

GLOBAL EDUCATION
MODELS IN
NATIONAL CONTEXTS:
THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF RESEARCH UNIVERSITIES
IN UKRAINE

MYROSLAVA HLADCHENKO



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Myroslava Hladchenko

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in Knyazha, Ukraine

This dissertation has been approved by the promotor:

Prof. dr. R. Torenvlied

and the co-promotors:

Dr. D.F. Westerheijden

Dr. H.F. de Boer

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Members of the graduation committee:

Prof. dr. L. Leisyte
Prof. dr. R.A. Wessel
Prof. dr. S. Kuhlmann
Dr. V. Junjan
Prof. dr. T. Brandsen

To my parents, Mykola and Nadia

Preface

I'm sincerely grateful to my supervisors Don Westerheijden and Harry de Boer as well as to my promotor Rene Torenvlied for helping me to become a researcher. I also thank Hans Vossensteyn for having established my collaboration with Don and Harry. Besides, I want to mention Martin Beninngoff, Dominik Antoniwicz, Romulo Pinheiro, Jens Jungblut and Michael Dobbins with whom I wrote articles related to this thesis. I also want to thank Ian Dobson and Ian MacNay for their contribution to the articles of this doctoral research.

This is my second defended PhD thesis. The first one in pedagogical sciences was defended in 2007 in Ukraine. There also was the second-level doctoral thesis done in Ukraine which led me to CHEPS to get a reference proving my international study visit to fulfil the formal requirement for the second-level doctoral research. However, that thesis was not defended, firstly, because of the corruptive process of defence in Ukraine and, secondly, because it has lost any sense for me when I got an awareness of the gap between research in Ukraine and Western societies. I regret having wasted years of my life on doing theses according to Ukrainian standards and publishing dozens of articles in Ukrainian journals which are decoupled from research.

The purpose of this thesis is, firstly, on the example of the reform in higher education to explain Ukrainian social reality and why the country has failed to reach the level of Western societies so far. Secondly, this thesis aims to highlight the life of individuals in the decoupled institutional environment and in such a way to reveal what is necessary to change at the state and organisational levels in Ukraine in general and in Ukrainian higher education in particular, to let Ukrainian science and society to develop. The history of Ukraine is pervaded with tragedy. 7 Millions of Ukrainians died because of famine created artificially by the Soviets in 1932-1933. Yet other millions of Ukrainians the Soviets put into prisons, concentration camps, repressed and executed. The history of Ukraine is pervaded with the struggle of Ukrainians for independence and a better future. Thousands of people perished for Ukraine to be and to be a prosperous and affluent country. Among them are 300 students who fought near Kruty in 1918 against Bolsheviks, patriots who fought in Kholodny Yar in 1918-1922, warriors of Ukrainian Insurgent Army. There were deaths of Dmytro Stus, Vasyl Symonenko, V'yacheslav Chornovil and multiple others similar to them. Patriots who perished during the Revolution of Dignity and those who fought against Russian invasion in the eastern part of Ukraine. These sacrifices, the lost human lives must not be in vain.

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1 Introduction

1.1. Means–ends decoupling at the state level and implementation of the global models in the new specific context

In this dissertation, I aim to explore why global policies implemented as intended do not always lead to intended outcomes in national contexts. To theoretically understand this phenomenon, I depart from theories of new institutionalism with a primary focus on sociological institutionalism. In many cases, national policies are based on global models which originate in Western societies and then diffuse among them (De Ruiter & Schalk, 2017; Kyvik & Aksnes, 2015; Homburg, Dijkshoorn & Thaens, 2014; Morris & Lancaster, 2006; Kuhlmann & Annandale, 2012; Degn, 2014). The non-Western states also implement global models in public sector in general (Haarhuis & Torenvlied, 2006; Kanapyanov, 2018; Sehring, 2009; Borrás, Carranza & Franco 2007; Okuonzi, 2004; Sakketa, 2018) and in higher education in particular (Beerens, 2009, 2010; Cai, 2014; Fussy, 2017; Rungfamai, 2016; Sabzalieva, 2017; Lamb & Currie, 2011; Eta, 2014; Kushnir, 2017; Oleksiyenko, 2014).

It is quite challenging to make nationally implemented policies work in such a way that they lead to intended outcomes. Unintended consequences of global models implemented in national contexts are primarily documented for developing states (Homedes & Ugalde 2005; Hammergren, 1998; Lahiff, 2007; Lahiff, Borrás & Kay 2007; Borrás, Carranza & Franco, 2007; Persson, Rothstein & Teorell, 2012; Gauster & Isakson, 2007; Pomfret, 2000; Rupidara & McGraw, 2010; Sehring, 2009) and much less for developed states (Caruana-Galizia & Caruana-Galizia, 2018; Schelkle, 2019; Butler, 2003). This is not surprising since most global models originate from a Western perspective.

Factors that hinder the implementation of global models

From the policy implementation perspective, different factors can intervene between the policy goals and outcomes of policy implementation (Grindle, 2017, p. 3). The achievement of the intended ends depends, firstly, on the commitment of political elites, otherwise policy implementation can be manipulated to achieve “overtly political ends” (Hammergren, 1998, p.19). Policy implementation, however, involves multiple actors with diverse interests (Schelkle, 2019; Kanapyanov, 2018) while political actors can lack capacities and power to ensure the policy to achieve the enunciated ends (Grindle, 2017). Furthermore, powerful non-state actors can oppose the policies, being unwilling to sacrifice their benefits in the interest of common good. This lack of willingness is mirrored by corruption and lack of

transparency in policy implementation (Gauster & Isakson, 2007; Borrás, 2003). Secondly, the successful implementation of one policy requires the implementation of other policies which relates to reforming a national context in general (Borrás et al., 2007, 1563; Gauster & Isakson, 2007). Thirdly, policy implementation requires scarce resources (McClintock, 2017; Grindle, 2017). Hammergren (1998), however, argues that it matters not how much is invested in reforms, but how efficient the allocation of funding is. Fourthly, a lack of coherent effective institutions is often mentioned as a major hindrance to policy implementation as intended (Homedes & Ugalde 2005; Rupidara & McGraw, 2010; Binswanger & Deininger, 1999; Sehring, 2009). And the last but not the least, civil society is often expected to have a strong voice in reforms to foster achievement of intended outcomes (Hammergren, 1998; Lahiff et al., 2007; Yanguas & Bukenya, 2016). Such voice can be counter-productive, dependent upon the vested interests in civil society.

However, policies may fail to lead to the achievement of the intended outcomes not only because of the faults in the implementation process but also because of faults in policies themselves (Borrás, 2003; Lahiff et al., 2007; Homedes & Ugalde, 2005). For example, it can refer to the bureaucratic procedure and unequal distribution of costs among the actors (Gauster & Isakson, 2007). Largely, faults in policies can be attributed to a “means–ends problem” which implies “an inadequate statement of the ends or desired improvements” (Hammergren, 1998, p.15; see also Gauster & Isakson, 2007; Butler, 2003). On the one hand, policy-makers can lack knowledge, skills and experience (Hammergren, 1998). In the case of public policies based on global ideas, “the adoption of ‘successes’ without much attention to the special circumstances allowing them to work, or without an examination of what that success really signified” (Hammergren 1998, p. 13) — makes little sense. On the other hand, the government can lack power (Homedes & Ugalde, 2005) while business elites can resist the changes being unwilling to lose their benefits (Gauster & Isakson, 2007; Lahiff, 2007; Rupidara & McGraw, 2010; Hammergren, 1998) as well as policies designed to pursue the interests of particular powerful actors (Homedes & Ugalde, 2005).

From the sociological institutionalist perspective, occasions when global models are implemented but intended outcomes are not achieved can be considered as instances of “means–ends decoupling”. Means–ends decoupling implies that “policies or practices have an uncertain link to outcomes” when despite coupling policies and practices the intended ends are not achieved (Bromley & Powell, 2012, p. 496).

Generally, the national contexts in which the implementation of public policies does not lead to the achievement of the intended outcomes are referred to “weak” and “predatory” states captured by oligarchic interests, and neopatrimonial regimes (Borrás et al., 2007; Gauster & Isakson, 2007; Yanguas & Bukenya, 2015; Sehring, 2009). Common for such states is that they are pursuing the particularistic interests of powerful actors or clans, that

predate on state resources, instead of pursuing common welfare interests (Villacorta, 1994; Kudeila, 2012; Grzymala-Busse, 2008; Tyagi, 2012; Smith, 2005; Ruget & Usmanalieva, 2007). In such contexts, nepotism, corruption, clientelism, cronyism, and personalistic rule prevail at the state level (Ruget & Usmanalieva, 2007; Sehring, 2009). Consequently, these states do not perform their core functions of ensuring security and basic services to the citizens. They also lack the proper legitimacy among their citizens to maintain political order, security and law enforcement (Tyagi, 2012; Smith, 2005). The literature refers to communist, post-communist and post-Soviet regimes from Europe to Central Asia—as well as post-colonial African states and those in Latin America—as such states (Bach, 2011; Hellman, Jones & Kaufmann, 2000; Hellman & Kaufmann, 2001; van Zon, 2001). Theoretically, these countries reflect strong instances of means–ends decoupling at the state level: their national policies and practices are decoupled from the core state’s goal of enhancing public welfare.

Ukraine as a weak state for adopting global models

Ukraine is one of the numerous post-communist and post-Soviet countries which sustains means–ends decoupling at the state level (Hellman, 1998; Åslund & de Menil, 2000; van Zon, 2001). Following the fall of the Soviet Union, Ukraine was established as an independent state in 1991 which entailed also the transition to a market economy. A specific aspect of the reforms was the introduction of a global model for higher education in Ukraine. The window for opportunity was supposed to result in a renegotiation of the contract between higher education and society in order for independent Ukraine to align itself with the twenty-first century knowledge economy. However, some crucial conditions for success were not present at that time. De-Sovietisation and decommunisation were not in force, while civil society was mostly absent in the state (Kuzio, 2001). This situation resulted in the “preservation of largely the same institutions with basically the same personnel” in Ukraine (Riabchuk, 2009, p.266). Under such conditions, the dominance of the old Soviet elite in governmental institutions and the concentration of resources within the state set the stage for extraordinary rent-seeking (Åslund, 2000, 2001; Kudeila, 2012). In the Ukrainian case, patrimonialism was the dominant mode of elite relations inherited from the Soviet state (Kudeila, 2012). Economic records of Ukraine were one of the worst among all transition countries, being a “predatory state with a wholly corrupt bureaucracy, a legal ‘jungle’, and a fundamental lack of rule-governed economy and society” (van Zon, 2001, p. 72). Thus, “neo-patrimonial culture came to permeate the new Ukrainian institutions” (van Zon, 2001, p. 72). In the years 1993 and 1994 actors from the Soviet shadow economy joined the government to maximise their individual incomes.

This rent-seeking behaviour of the ruling elite in Ukraine resulted in inconsistent implementation of privatisation and introduced the emergence of

a post-Soviet oligarchy consisting of the old Soviet political elite and actors from its Soviet shadow economy (Yurchenko, 2018; Åslund, 2001; Kudeila, 2012). With the oligarchy dominating both the economy and politics, state agencies actually engaged in for exploitative rent-seeking. Conditions beneficial to rent-seeking were installed through partial reforms and blocking radical reforms by business and political oligarchies (Hellman, 1998). These processes resulted in the emergence of a regime characterised as a “neoliberal kleptocracy”, which implies that “typical neoliberal features are exacerbated by omnipresent corruption and institutionalised state asset embezzlement” (Yurchenko, 2018, p. 4).

As a consequence, Ukrainian governmental institutions were converted from serving their intended purposes – the representation of public interest – to other serving ends: exploitation by business and political oligarchies through the protection of monopolies and economic subsidies (Åslund, 2000; 2001). The public disappointment with this exploitation of governmental institutions was the main factor driving the Ukrainian Revolution of Dignity in 2014. Nevertheless, even after this revolution, governmental institutions remain a source of financial gains for business and political oligarchies (Härtel & Umland, 2016). The Ukrainian state still maintains such a ‘means–ends decoupling’ at the state level as after the revolution the renewal of elite was rather limited while the dominance of informal rules persists (Matsiyevsky, 2018).

Global models of higher education

This doctoral thesis aims to explore the implementation in Ukrainian context the global models related to the domain of higher education, that is: university (Meyer et al., 2008; Scott, 2011; Olsen, 2007), higher education quality assurance (Kohoutek & Westerheijden, 2014; Enders & Westerheijden, 2014; Westerheijden, Stensaker & Rosa, 2007) and Triple Helix (Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 2000) with primary focus on the research university model (Mohrman, Ma & Baker, 2008; Altbach, 2013).

Research universities, as a global model, are viewed to be a key for social and economic development in a knowledge-intensive society (Mohrman et al., 2008; Amaral & Magalhaes, 2004; Välimaa & Hoffman, 2008; Altbach, 2013) as their quality and resources affect the growth of the knowledge economy (Kearney & Lincoln, 2013). Through teaching, research and service missions, research universities hold a unique position as producers of knowledge, trainers of knowledge workers and transmitters of knowledge to economic and societal stakeholders (Scott, 2006; Ylijoki, 2003; Upton & Warshaw, 2017).

The research university is supposed to have abundant financial resources, high degree of autonomy, linking country with global knowledge society and employing mainly academics, with doctoral degree in order to provide close nexus between research and teaching, and enrolling the most talented among

students; abundant financial resources for academic salaries, laboratories, funding for sending academic staff to conferences; linking country with global knowledge society, top-level scientific communication including publications in prestigious international journals; a high degree of autonomy and faculty governance (Altbach, 2013; Mohrman et al., 2008). In addition, research universities are institutions which appear in the global rankings, thus they are oriented on world-class standards (Altbach, 2013; Marginson & Van der Wende, 2007). According to Altbach (2003), world-class indicates that the university belongs to the most prestigious institutions globally. The characteristics of a research university and a world-class university coincide (Altbach, 2004; Salmi, 2009) because a world-class university must operate in the global context, competing with the best academic institutions in the world (Altbach, 2004), but not every research university can become a world-class university. The majority of research universities are located in the developed economies of industrialised world (Altbach, 2009). However, developing and middle-income countries also need research universities because these institutions not only link the country to the global scientific community but also important for nation-building (Altbach, 2013).

Apart from the research university, the Triple Helix is the other global model related to higher education. The main idea behind the Triple Helix lies in the expansion of the role of knowledge in social development more broadly and of the university in the economy more specifically (Etzkowitz, 2002). University is expected to extend its traditional missions of knowledge transmission (teaching) and production (research) to include economic and social development (Pinheiro, Langa & Pausits, 2015; Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff 1998)

Below, I first provide a theoretical foundation of the present doctoral thesis, grounded on the sociological institutionalism, identifying limitations of existing empirical studies. Subsequently, I elaborate on the research agenda and research question of the present dissertation. Finally, I highlight the research setting, research design, outline of the study, and societal and scientific relevance of the thesis.

1.2 Theoretical framework

The theoretical foundation of this thesis is grounded on the new institutionalism which, however, is not a unified body of thoughts but an eclectic collection of distinct approaches: historical institutionalism, rational choice institutionalism, sociological (organisational) institutionalism, Scandinavian institutionalism, and world polity studies (Hall & Taylor, 1996; Campbell, 2004; Suarez & Bromley, 2016). The common denominator in all approaches is the emphasis on the role of institutions in the determination of social, political and economic outcomes.

1.2.1 Historical institutionalism

The term historical institutionalism was introduced by Steinmo and Thelen (1992). Historical institutionalists define institutions as legitimate rules of behaviour and apply the term not only to policies but also to organisations if their existence is grounded in societal norms (Steinmo, 2001; Steinmo & Thelen, 1992). Accordingly, inherited rules and structures that may function as a buffer against the policy change, compel actors to stick to pre-existing institutional pathways, i.e. path dependence (Mahoney, 2000), and provide explanations for the distinctiveness of national outcomes. Yet far-reaching change may still occur despite deeply embedded historical institutions. One widespread concept to explain encompassing change is that of “critical junctures” (Gourevitch, 1986). While critical junctures may foster far-reaching institutional change, Mahoney and Thelen (2010) emphasise that institutions can also be transformed through the accumulation of subtle gradual changes (see also Thelen, 2004; Streeck & Thelen, 2005). When power dynamics during critical junctures do not produce clear winners change may be gradual. These authors have elaborated four such modes of change: *displacement*, *layering*, *conversion*, and *drift* (Streeck & Thelen, 2005; Mahoney & Thelen, 2010; Hacker, 2004). The main premise of the social ontology of historical institutionalism is that change occurs because actors act strategically in the institutional context that “favours certain strategies over others” (Hay & Wincot, 1998, p. 954). Institutions not only shape the political strategies but also themselves are “the points of critical juncture in an historical path analysis” (Steinmo, 2001, p. 561) or an outcome, intended or unintended of political struggles or political conflicts that are inbuilt into them (Hay & Wincot, 1998; Steinmo & Thelen, 1992).

1.2.2 Rational choice institutionalism

Rational choice institutionalism is inspired by such concepts as property rights and rent-seeking (Hall & Taylor, 1996). The main idea behind rational choice institutionalism is that individuals and their strategic calculations are central for the construction of the social reality, whereas institutions are created “by utility-maximizing individuals with clear intentions” (Koelble, 1995, p. 232). Two views on institutions can be distinguished in rational choice institutionalism. According to the first one, institutions are viewed as exogenous constraints or rules of games imposed externally (Shepsle, 2006; see also North, 1990) which provide the repertoires for the behaviour of the actors. In contrast to the first one, the second interpretation of institutions does not view them as being imposed exogenously since the rules of the game are considered to be developed by the players themselves. To rational choice institutionalists, institutions are able to affect the individual’s choices and actions but do not determine them (Koelble, 1995). Institutions function as coordinating mechanisms that sustain equilibria (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010). A basic notion in rational choice theory is Nash Equilibrium, that is: “a set of

strategies, one for each player, with the property that no player can improve her or his position by changing to some other strategy—assuming other players stick to their initial strategies” (Shepsle, 2006, p. 25). Thus, institutions are viewed as promoting strategic equilibria (Shepsle, 1986). The persistence of institutions is explained through the structural benefits they provide to actors involved (Hall & Taylor, 1996). Changes are described in terms of punctuated equilibria that are driven by external shocks (Steinmo & Thelen, 1992). Powerful actors, thereby, can convert pre-existing institutions or externally copied institutional innovations into the object of rent-seeking. Sometimes, an equilibrium property is “rent-seeking behaviour”, which implies “a return in excess of a resource owner’s opportunity cost” (Tollison, 1982, p. 575). However, rent-seeking can also take illegal forms as rational actors often reconfigure institutions or inefficiently allocate resources to their own benefit, often referred to as corruption (Krueger, 1974). Such practices became pervasive in numerous post-communist countries, resulting in the emergence of business, political, and bureaucratic oligarchies and the obliteration of general societal wealth (Hellman, 1998; Wittkowsky, 1999).

1.2.3 Scandinavian institutionalism

Scholars who belong to the Scandinavian school of institutionalism (Brunsson, 1989; Brunsson & Olsen, 1993; Czarniawska & Sevón, 1996; 2005) were inspired by John Meyers' theory about world society as well as studies of March (1981), Berger and Luckmann (1966), Callon and Latour (1981), Latour (1986) and Callool (1986). Whereas the line of research of Scandinavian institutionalism with focus on interpretive processes takes inspiration from Weick's theory of sensemaking (1979, 1995, 2001). Scandinavian institutionalism revolves around the concepts of loose coupling, sensemaking and translation of ideas (Boxenbaum & Pedersen, 2009; Brunsson, 1985; 1989; Boxenbaum & Johnsson, 2008; Czarniawska, 2008; Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008). Weick (1976) theorised the concept of loose coupling within the organisations raising also the issue of decoupling. As one of the forms of loose coupling, he defines the loose coupling between means and ends (Weick, 1976). Sensemaking is “the ongoing retrospective development of plausible images that rationalise what people are doing” (Weick, Sutcliffe & Obstfeld, 2005, p. 409). Translation refers to “the modification that a practice or an idea undergoes when it is implemented in a new organisational context” (Boxenbaum & Pedersen 2009; p. 190-191; see also Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996; Czarniawska & Sevón, 2005). The process of translation of ideas stresses both their “movement and transformation” into a new organisational context (Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008, p. 224). Sahlin and Wedlin (2008, p. 219) denote that the translation of ideas happens in “the context of other ideas, actors, traditions and institutions”. The meaning of a phenomenon thereby changes depending on the context as it derives from its connection with other “contextual elements” (Boxenbaum & Pedersen, 2009, p.191). The travel routes of ideas depend on the actors and the relationships among actors in the field (Rogers,

1983). The actors' understanding and interests make them interpret the same ideas in a different way. Actors function as interpreters of the institutional pressure and thus, through their interpretation they "shape the effects of the institutional pressure on the organisation" (Boxenbaum & Pedersen, 2009, p.190). However, actors are seen as "soft actors" (Sahlin and Wedlin, 2008) because their interests and identities are embedded within the wider environment and their actorhood is considered to be a process of social construction (Brunsson & Sahlin-Andersson, 2000).

Translation can be analysed as an editing process guided by the three sets of editing rules (Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008; Sahlin-Andersson, 1996). Firstly, rules of context which help to recontextualise an idea, disconnecting it from the previous, local setting and making it appropriate for the new one. Secondly, editing entails using of a plot or rules of logic that explain causes and effects of the translation, "allowing prototypes to follow a problem-solving logic and an application process or implementation plan, to be explained in relation to the action of certain actors" (Morris & Lancaster, 2006, p.213). Thus, editing follows a path from a broad context leading to a specific logic of action. Thirdly, rules of formulation or relabeling of an idea in an appropriate way so it seems changed but recognisable at the same time (Morris & Lancaster, 2006).

Boxenbaum and Pedersen (2009, p.1992) argue that apart from the sensemaking and translation, exploration of "the strategic opportunities associated with the different interpretations", is also among the interests of the Scandinavian scholars (Borum, 2004; Alvarez, Mazza, Pedersen & Svejenova, 2005).

1.2.4 Sociological institutionalism

Sociological institutionalism (neo-institutional sociology) forms the main theoretical foundation of this study. In ontological terms, sociological institutionalism is grounded on the sociological constructivist perspective according to which the world is socially constructed rather than discovered collectively by individuals (Kukla, 2000). Society is considered to be a human product and an objective reality while an individual is perceived as a social product (Berger & Luckman, 1991). Social constructivism views reality as multiple, experientially based and individually constructed (Sandelowski, 2000). The world originates in the thoughts and actions of individuals and it is maintained as real by them.

According to Berger and Luckman (1991), a reciprocal typification of habitualised actions by actors results in institutionalisation while any case of typification is perceived as an institution. Institutions always have a history and that is why they are the products of history and cannot be understood separately from their historical processes. Through institutions the world and reality gain "a firmness in consciousness" (Berger & Luckman, 1991, p. 77).

Institutions are embodied in individuals experience by means of roles that individuals are expected to perform because by playing roles individuals become involved in a social world. Institutions both constrain and empower agentic, autonomous, bound and purposive actors who build society through their choices. Thus, sociological institutionalism implies a tension between actors and institutions, or in other words between agency and structure (Meyer, 2010; see also Sewell, 1992). Among the main concepts of the sociological institutionalism are the institutional logics perspective, institutional complexity, decoupling, institutional work and identity work.

World society theory

Following the premises of sociological institutionalism, John Meyer (2009) posited a cultural conception of world society which implies the existence of global cultural models that function as actorhood models for states, organisations and individuals (Meyer, 2010). The main idea behind world society theory is that culture refers less to values and norms but more to cognitive and ontological models which define “the nature, purposes, technology, sovereignty, control, and resources of the nation-states and other actors” (Meyer, Boli, Thomas & Ramirez, 1997, p. 149; Meyer, 1999). The nation-states and organisations as actors are constructed out of individual agentic, purposive and bounded actor members. Actors rather than being embedded into their wider cultural environment viewed as “operating under institutional frame” (Meyer, 2009, p.7). According to Meyer and Jepperson (2000, p. 101) the actorhood of individuals, organisations, and nation-states is an “elaborate system of social agency”. Actorhood is understood as “the enhanced empowered comprehension of the scientised and rationalised environment in which actors act” (Meyer, 2010, p.9).

World society is organised around “collective goods” and Western societies position themselves as “instances of collective goods”, while supra-national professions i.e., scientific, legal and social elites, voice “supra-national truths to all the actors of the world” (Meyer, 2009, p. 3). As world society theory adopts a macrophenomenological approach, the nation-states are considered being culturally constructed and embedded within culture which is “organised on a worldwide basis, not simply built up from local circumstances and history” (Meyer et al., 1997, p.147-148; see also Meyer, 1999; Thomas, Meyer, Ramirez & Boli 1987). The culturally constructed nation-states are characterised by isomorphism in structures and policies.

One of the key public sectors, that experiences the influence of the world-society processes, is higher education (Schofer & Meyer, 2005; Meyer et al., 1997). A global field of higher education has been established (Marginson, 2008; Drori, 2008) and diffused through global models of higher education provided by universities (Meyer, 2008; Scott, 2011; Olsen, 2007), research universities (Altbach, 2013), world-class university (Altbach, 2004; Deem, Mok & Lucas, 2008) and new public management approaches (Amaral, Meek,

Larsen & Lars, 2003; de Boer, Enders & Schimank, 2007; Ferlie, Musselin & Andresani, 2008; Ferlie, Fitzgerald & Pettigrew 1996).

As world culture is rationalised and universalistic, “nation-states form as rationalised actors” claiming the features of rationalised actor, that is, law-based control systems and purposes like social justice and collective development (Meyer et al., 1997, p.153). The goals of the nation-states are supposed to refer to the enhancement of collective progress, citizen participation and equality (Meyer et al., 1997). However, as there are many variants of models within world culture, it results in “the eclectic adoption of conflicting principles” (Meyer et al., 1997, p. 154).

Moreover, the implementation of the global model in local contexts depends on the particularities of these contexts, i.e.: resources and organisational capacities of the nation-states (Meyer et al., 1997). The synergy between the global and local elements refers to the notion of glocalisation (Drori, 2018). The dependence of nation-states on exogenous cultural models results in structuration at the nation-state and organisational levels. However, the structuration of the nation-states dominates over the functionality of society, especially in peripheral countries. It is much easier for the nation-states to adopt the structural forms than to make them work effectively.

As a result, nation-states can exhibit a decoupling between “purposes and structures, intentions and results” (Meyer et al., 1997, p. 152), “policies and practices” (Meyer, 2010, p. 13; see also Hafner-Burton & Tsutsui, 2005). Especially it concerns impoverished states (Meyer et al., 1997; Schofer, Hironaka & Frank, 2012; Ramirez & Rubinson, 1979; Drori, Meyer, Ramirez & Schofer, 2003)

Means–ends decoupling

As mentioned above, the concept of decoupling relates to Weick (1976) who pointed out the loose coupling relations among formal organisational structures. Weick (1976) attributed the loose coupling to the detachedness of formal policies from specific context and organisational resources. Meyer and Rowan (1977) conceptualised the institutional explanation of decoupling and considered it to be the result of organisational isomorphism with the environment while formal organisational elements reflect the environment. Isomorphism with the institutional environment provides organisations with legitimacy which secures organisational survival and increases resources. Bromley and Powell (2012; see also Bromley, Hwang & Powell, 2012) drawing on the relevant literature identified two forms of decoupling, in particular, policy–practice decoupling and means–ends decoupling. Policy–practice decoupling refers to the gap between formal policies and daily practices of an actor in question (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978; Thompson, 1967; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Brunsson, 1989; Brunsson & Olsen, 1993; Torenvlied, 2012; Thomson, Torenvlied & Arregui 2007). Policies are adopted “as

ceremonial window dressing” (Bromley & Powell, 2012, p. 489) or if policies are implemented, they hardly affect daily activities of the organisation. Among the reasons behind policy–practice decoupling Bromley and Powell (2012) posit a weak organisational capacity to implement policies, a lack of fit between institutional demands and organisational identities; an organisation being powerful enough to resist the institutional pressures or if policies or practices “have an uncertain link to outcome” (Bromley & Powell, 2012, p. 496). Westphal and Zajac (1994) as well revealed that policy–practice decoupling occurs more often when the organisational leaders are characterised by unlimited power and the organisation has network ties with other organisations that engage in policy-practice decoupling. In turn, Bromley and Powell (2012; see also Cole, 2005) distinguish between decoupling due to a lack of capacity and decoupling due to lack of will. While the former reflects an unintended decoupling, the latter can be viewed as an instance of intended decoupling.

Meanwhile, Bromley and Powell (2012) argue that due to the increased focus on transparency and accountability in the contemporary world, policy-practice decoupling is seen as an operational failure while the number of instances of means–ends decoupling increases. Means–ends decoupling refers to a gap between practices and outcomes when despite coupling policies and practices the intended ends are not achieved. It occurs because implemented policies and practices are compartmentalised from the core goals of the actors (Bromley and Powell, 2012; for higher education see also McNay, 2015; 2016). If policy–practice decoupling can be viewed as a symbolic adoption, means–ends decoupling is about a symbolic implementation. Means–ends decoupling is particularly prevalent when 1) the effects of activities are difficult to measure; 2) law gives preference to procedure rather than outcomes; 3) the structural units are targeted primarily at meeting the external demands; 4) an organisation operates in a fragmented institutional environment which leads to the establishment of complex organisational structures (Bromley & Powell, 2012).

Means–ends decoupling involves a “goal drift or goal displacement” when means become ends in themselves (Grodal & O’Mahony, 2015, p.10; see also (Torenvlied, 1996) which entails an efficiency gap (Dick, 2015; Bromley & Powell, 2012). Dick (2015; see also Bromley & Powell 2012; Meyer & Rowan, 1977) puts forward that means–ends decoupling may be sustained as long as individuals maintain the logic of confidence in the policy and practice. However, if individuals gain awareness of the incompatibility between their practices and outcomes, they experience dissonance. Meanwhile, the awareness of individual actors about means–ends decoupling that they sustain may result in the loss of legitimacy or replacement of institutionalised practices (Dick, 2015; see also Seo & Creed, 2002).

Among the consequences of means–ends decoupling are internal complexity within the organisation and inconsistency, endemic reforms and diversion of resources and attention from core goals (Bromley & Powell, 2012). Although

Bromley and Powell (2012) address only the issue of decoupling at the organisational level they denote that it can also occur at other levels of analysis.

Institutional logics perspective

Sociological institutionalists distinguish between regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive elements of institutions which were selectively emphasised by different strands of institutional analysis (Greenwood, Oliver, Sahlin, & Suddaby, 2008), as Scott (1995, p.53) put it: “Institutions consist of cognitive, normative, and regulative structures and activities that provide stability and meaning for social behaviour. Institutions are transported by various carriers – culture, structure, and routines – and they operate at multiple levels of jurisdiction”.

The society is viewed as being constituted by institutional orders or central institutions: family, religion, state, market, corporation and profession each of which is associated with a specific institutional logic which provides social actors, both organisations and individuals, with vocabularies of motives and identities (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008; see also Friedland & Alford, 1991; see also Haveman & Rao, 1997; Rao, Monin & Durand, 2003; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999; Scott, Ruef, Mendel & Caronna, 2000). Institutional logics are “the socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals and organisations produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organise time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality” (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999, p. 804). Institutional logics provide cognitive and practical templates to organisations and individuals (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008; Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury 2012).

Institutional logics perspective as a metatheoretical approach set a framework for the exploration of interrelationships among institutions, organisations and individuals, thus between macro, meso and micro processes (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). A core premise of the institutional logics perspective is that “the interests, identities, values, and assumptions of individuals and organisations are embedded within prevailing institutional logics” (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008, p. 103). Consequently, the means and ends of individual and organisational actors are enabled and constrained by prevailing institutional logics (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008; see also Giddens, 1984; Sewell, 1992), the decisions and outcomes are viewed as “a result of interplay between individual agency and institutional structure” (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008, p. 103; see also Friedland & Alford, 1991; Jackal, 1988; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). The institutional logics perspective implies institutions to be socially constructed and constituted through the actions of organisational and individual actors which refers to their identities and practices (Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012; Thornton, 2004).

Institutional complexity

During the last decades the interest of institutional scholars has shifted from the exploration of the emergence and change of the dominant institutional logics (Rao, Monin & Durand, 2003; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999) to the multiplicity of institutional logics and contradictions among them (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005; Lounsbury, 2007; Pache & Santos, 2010; Reay & Hinings, 2009; Ocasio & Radoynovska, 2016). Ocasio and Radoynovska (2016) distinguish between institutional pluralism and institutional complexity. Whereas pluralism means the multiplicity of institutional logics, complexity refers to “the experience of incompatibility and tensions between logics” (Ocasio & Radoynovska, 2016, p.289).

Greenwood, Raynard, Micelotta and Lounsbury (2011, p. 317) argue that “organisations face institutional complexity whenever they confront incompatible prescriptions from multiple institutional logics”. However, Meyer and Höllerer (2016, p. 374) distinguish between inter-institutional and intra-institutional complexity, denoting that conflicting institutional demands can be imposed not only by multiple institutional logics but also “arise within the same institutional order” which refers to intra-institutional complexity. Intra-institutional complexity can be “a result of globalisation or other intercultural encounters” (Meyer & Höllerer, 2016, p. 393). Institutional complexity relates to externally generated red tape which refers to incompatible rules and regulations confronted by an organisation which consequently imply constraints on public managers and clients (Torenvlied & Akkerman, 2012; Bozeman, 1993). A red tape externally generated by the government can be categorised as intra-institutional complexity.

Ocasio and Radoynovska (2016) point out that as institutional complexity provides the organisation with conflicting institutional prescriptions in terms of values, beliefs and practices which ensure legitimacy, on the one hand, the “competing constructs of legitimacy” are supposed to constrain the organisation in strategic actions (Bertel & Lawrence, 2016, p.339; Dacin, Dacin & Tracey, 2011; Goldstein, Hazy & Silberstang, 2010). On the other hand, organisations obtain strategic opportunities and repertoires for actions which results in “differences in value creation and in value capture” (Ocasio & Radoynovska, 2016, p.288; see also Bertel & Lawrence, 2016; Jarzabowski, Matthiesen & Van de Ven, 2013; Lounsbury, 2001). To obtain legitimacy and resources organisations are supposed to respond to multiple institutional demands (Greenwood et al., 2011). Bromley and Powell (2012, p.449; see also Grodal & O’Mahony, 2015) argue that recent studies on institutional complexity (Greenwood et al., 2011) and competing logics (Lounsbury, 2007; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999) revealed the “incongruent and buffered elements within organisation” which can be classified as instances of means–ends decoupling. In their view, means–ends decoupling relates to *compartmentalisation response* to institutional complexity which implies that

“specific activities are isolated from the rest of the organisation” (Bromley and Powell, 2012, p. 504; see also Greenwood et al., 2011; Pratt & Foreman, 2000; Kratz & Block, 2008).

Organisational identity

Organisational identity refers to the central, distinctive and enduring features of an organisation (Whetten, 2006; Albert & Whetten, 1985) which are manifested as key values, labels and practices (Gioia, Patvardhan, Hamilton & Corley, 2013). Organisational identity can be viewed as shared beliefs “for what an organisation’s members should do” (Gioia, 2013, p. 161; see also Albert & Whetten, 1985). However, Corley (2004, p.1150) argues that organisational identity comprises different elements which “have different salience for organisational groups at different times”. According to Gioia et al. (2013), organisational identity is constructed out of the external influences (institutional forces) and internal resources which refer to values, beliefs and narration of top managers who are the primary carriers of organisational identity (Walsh & Glynn, 2008; Ravasi & Schultz, 2006; Glynn, 2008) and the past experiences of organisation members.

Ashforth and Mael (1996) point out that the organisational identity enables and constrains the organisational members. Organisational identity is embedded within the organisational culture (Hatch & Schultz, 1997) which refers to “the pattern of shared values and beliefs that help individuals understand organisational functioning and thus provide them norms for behaviour in the organisation” (Deshpande & Webster, 1989, p.4; see also Tierney, 1988; Ravasi & Schultz, 2006). Organisational culture functions as “a shared frame of reference that typifies organisations and guides members’ perceptions and behaviour” (Pratt & Rafaeli, 1997, p.864). While norms can be viewed as the visible manifestation of organisational culture, behind them are “taken-for-granted set of assumptions” shared by the organisational members which refer to the cognitive aspects of organisational membership and govern how organisational members perceive and react within the organisation (Schein, 1996, p.236). However, Tierney and Lanford (2018, p.2) argue that despite a certain level of shared values and beliefs common in almost every organisation, organisational culture “does not rely entirely on agreement among individuals”. Among the key dimensions of organisational culture Tierney (1988) defines socialisation, strategy and leadership.

Multiple identity management responses

Multiplicity in the institutional environment results in multiplicity within the organisation: multiple organisational identities (Greenwood et al., 2011; Kraatz & Block 2008; Ashforth & Mael, 1996; Foreman & Whetten, 1997; Golden-Biddle & Rao, 1997) and (sub)cultures (Hinings, 2011). To prevent ambiguity and conflict, multiple organisational identities are expected to be managed by organisational leaders and managers (Pratt & Foreman, 2000).

Drawing on sociology's identity theory (Stryker, 1987; Stryker & Serpe, 1982; Thoits, 1983), Pratt & Foreman (2000) elaborated a model of multiple identity management responses (integration, compartmentalisation, aggregation, deletion and multivocality).

This model of multiple identity management responses is grounded on two dimensions. The first dimension concerns the number of organisational identities, referred to as "identity plurality" that can vary from high to low. The second dimension of their classification is "identity synergy" is the extent to which identities can be coordinated and connected. Identities that lack in synergy among them may increase the potential for identity conflict. The first type of response is compartmentalisation. It occurs when managers preserve all organisational identities but do not try to attain any synergy among them. The disadvantage of compartmentalisation response is the potential for conflicts between identities due to the lack of synergy among the identities (Pratt & Corley, 2007). The second type of response is *deletion*. The third type of response is integration. This is low-plurality, high synergy response when organisational management attempts to fuse multiple organisational identities into a distinct new whole. Apart to synthesis as the purest type of integration response that implies a new identity to emerge from the integration of previous identities, Pratt and Foreman (2000) distinguish also "pseudo integration" or *Janusian integration*, which refers to identities being joined but not merged in a single identity. This type of integration response is closer to aggregation. Janusian integration reflects the case of hybrid organisations (Pratt & Foreman, 2000) e.g. university (Greenwood et al., 2011) and research university (Albert & Whetten, 1985). The fourth type of response is *aggregation*. Aggregation response implies either creation of identity hierarchy or the creation of new beliefs aimed to reconcile inconsistencies among identities (Pratt & Foreman, 2000). The new system of beliefs can be developed through the adoption of a meta-identity that is similar to the "master status" (Stryker, 1987, p. 100) and "master identity" (Deaux, 1991, p. 80) of individuals.

In addition, there can be other responses to a lack of identity synergy that "fall in between" the pure types" (Pratt & Foreman, 2000, p. 26), in particular, *multivocality*. Multivocality falls between aggregation and compartmentalisation but can be viewed as a type of aggregation response because synergy emerges between identities. In terms of sociological identity theory, multivocality can be viewed as the intersection of identities (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). This type of response occurs when managers are not able to either reduce plurality or attain synergy among organisational identities (Pratt & Foreman, 2000).

Institutional work

Organisations are not unitary entities but comprise micro-level actors who differ in their interpretations and responses to multiple institutional demands (Pache & Santos, 2010; Reay & Hinings, 2009; Bertel & Lawrence, 2016). According

to Bertel and Lawrence (2016; see also McPherson & Sauder, 2013; Lok, 2010), individuals' identities and their social interactions affect organisational responses to institutional complexity. Although individuals are considered to be embedded actors, they are able to reflect on institutions depending on their interests as they are not passive reproducers or institutional dopes but agentic actors (Lok, 2010; Binder, 2007; Bjerregaard & Jonasson, 2014). The relationship between institutional logics and individual identities and practices goes both ways: institutional logics do not only "define identity and inform and guide practical action, but are also constituted in actors' identity work and activities and hence are subject to change through changing practices and identifications" (Lok, 2010, p.1332; see also Haveman & Rao, 1997). Institutions are viewed as "inhabited' by agentic, creative people who background knowledge and interests of different types" (Binder, 2007, p. 549; see also Hirsch & Lounsbury, 1997; Scully & Segal, 2002; Hallett & Ventresca, 2006). Individuals interpret, translate and edit institutions while these processes "lead to unintended adaptations, mutations and other institutional consequences" which refers to the concept of institutional work (Lawrence, Suddaby & Bernard, 2011, p. 55; Lawrence and Suddaby 2006). Bertels and Lawrence (2016) argue that institutional biography provides a coherent conceptualisation of the relationship between individuals and institutional logics. Institutional biography is defined as "the exploration of specific individuals in relation to the institutions that structure their lives and that they worked to create, maintain, or disrupt" (Lawrence, Suddaby & Bernard, 2011, p. 55). Individuals are motivated to embrace the emerging institutional logics to the extent they have been already incorporated into their institutional biographies. Thus, institutional biographies condition both individuals' interpretation and responses to the institutional demands. However, the agency within the institutional work concept is seen as "a distributed phenomenon" i.e, "distributed agency" which implies that institutional change is the combination of coordinated and uncoordinated efforts of a large number of actors who operate at multiple levels (Lawrence et al., 2011, pp.55).

Identity work is an important form of institutional work because institutional logics are institutionalised through the construction of particular individual identities (Creed, DeJordy & Lok, 2010, see also Creed, Scully & Austin, 2002). Identity work implies "mutually constitutive processes whereby people strive to shape a relatively coherent and distinctive notion of personal self-identity and struggle to come to terms with and, within limits, to influence the various social identities which pertain to them in the various milieux in which they live their lives" (Watson, 2008, p.129). Social identities refer to the roles individuals play in society (Burke & Stets, 2009; Stryker & Burke, 2000) and social categories and groups to which they belong as memberships (Abrams & Hogg, 1990). Watson (2008, p. 131) defines social identities as "cultural, discursive or institutional notions of who and what any individual might be" while self-identity refers to the own notions of individuals of who and what

are. Lok (2010) argues that self-identity is constructed through “participation in multiple discourses and practices that continuously shift and evolve, offering multiple possibilities for identification” (Lok, 2010, p.1307). Consequently, individuals are not “unidimensional interpreters” as they draw on different interpretations and repertoires regarding roles and practices which they should perform (Binder, 2007, p. 552). In particular, with regard to identities in academia, Välimaa (1998) states that organisational, individual, disciplinary, professional and national cultural dimensions provide resources for individual identities. Professional and national dimensions refer to dominant institutional logics of the organisational field of higher education and the organisational fields with which academics interact, for example, an organisational field of an industry; both, in turn, are nested within institutional logics of the societal field (Zietsma, Groenewegen, Logue & Hinings, 2016). Additionally, the professional dimension also refers to global disciplinary communities within which academics interact.

The relationship between organisational and individual identities (Pratt & Corley, 2007; Alvesson & Empson, 2008) also goes both ways. On the one hand, an organisation as a cultural entity and multiple organisational identities impose roles and social groups memberships which provide individuals with social identities within the organisation (Pratt & Corley, 2007; Ashforth & Mael, 1996). On the other hand, organisational identity is manifested in practices and identities of organisational members (Alvesson & Empson, 2008; Gioia et al., 2013). Thus, the construction of organisational identities and identities of individuals are simultaneous processes which involve organisational members engaging in practices and at the same time reflecting on them. This refers to institutional work through which individuals either contribute or block institutionalisation of particular institutional logics because as we mentioned above the institutionalisation of logics requires the construction of both organisational and individual identities (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008; Gioia et al., 2013; Lok, 2010; Meyer & Hammershmid, 2006).

1.3 Towards a new research agenda

While, in the majority of cases, studies on implementation of reforms based on the translation of global models into the new context focus either on the macro and/or meso level of analysis (Antonowicz, Kohoutek, Pinheiro & Hladchenko, 2017; Cai, 2014; Sehring, 2009; Kanapyanov, 2018; Kuhlmann & Annandale, 2012) this research combines macro, meso and micro levels which allows exploring the phenomenon from different perspectives to gain a deeper understanding of beneficial conditions at different levels of governance required for the implementation of global models in the new institutional setting (Boxenbaum & Batillana, 2005).

1.3.1 Implementation of the global models in the national specific contexts: The macro level

The rise of the new institutional theory, as well as globalisational processes resulted in the rise of interest to the exploration of policy-making and implementation of global models in different national contexts. However, firstly, studies largely focus on the investigation of adoption and implementation of global practices, ideas and models at organisational level (Perez-Aleman, 2011; Lamb & Currie, 2011; Morris & Lancaster, 2006; Homburg, Dijkshoorn & Thaens, 2014; Carbery, 2012; Marquis, Yin & Yang, 2017; Rupidara & McGraw, 2010) while the implementation of global models at the state level from the neo-institutional sociology remains rather underexplored for the exception of rare studies (Cai, 2014; Antonowicz et al., 2017; Kuhlmann & Annandale, 2012; Kushnir, 2017; Sehring, 2007). Secondly, studies exploring the implementation of global models in the specific national context employ largely only one institutional approach (Cai, 2014; Kuhlmann & Annandale, 2012; Kushnir, 2017). However, combining of different institutional approaches allows exploring this phenomenon from different perspectives (Koning, 2016; Suárez & Bromley, 2016) and enrich our knowledge and understanding of the unintended consequences of reforms. Thirdly, though existing studies have uncovered various reasons for unintended consequences of the implementation of global models in the national context, there is a lack of systemic empirical research on how apart from interests, the interpretation of global ideas by powerful actors as well as the particularities of the national context contribute to the unintended consequences of reforms. Fourthly, existing studies largely address means–ends decoupling at the organisational level (Bromley & Powell, 2012) while means–ends decoupling at the state level requires both theoretical and empirical advancement.

1.3.2 Organisational implications of public policies: The macro–meso levels

To date, firstly, little is known about how global models adopted as public policies are implemented at the meso level of governance because as a rule, the scholars largely investigate policy implementation at macro level. Secondly, the implications of means–ends decoupling at the state level on the implementation of global models at the meso level of analysis have not been explored so far. Thirdly, as regards the institutional theory, the role of the state in affecting institutional change received little attention in the literature because in the majority of cases researchers explore institutional change in relation to other societal orders e.g., market, profession (McPherson & Sauder, 2013; Smets & Jarzabkowski, 2013; Reay & Hinings, 2009; Lok, 2010; Battilana & Dorado 2010; D’Aunno, Sutton & Price, 1991). Fourthly, existing studies address primarily organisational responses to inter-institutional complexity which implies incompatible institutional prescriptions imposed by different institutional orders. Meanwhile the exploration of organisational

responses to intra-institutional complexity is rather neglected (Meyer & Höller, 2016). Fifthly, although researchers have explicitly acknowledged that the views, beliefs and values of top managers affect organisational identity (Scott & Lane, 2000; Walsh & Glynn, 2008; Ravasi & Schultz, 2006; Glynn, 2008; Gioia et al., 2013) in new institutional sociology there is a lack of empirical research which describe and unpack multiple organisational identity management responses. Furthermore, the enactment of institutional complexity by top managers is rather underexplored for the rare exception e.g., Battilana and Dorado (2010). Sixthly, previous studies have explored organisational responses to institutional complexity addressing the internal representation of institutional demands (Pache & Santos, 2010), hybrid identity (Battilana & Dorado, 2010), and identity aspirations (Kodeih & Greenwood, 2014), literature, however, lacks a clear, empirically based understanding of how institutional complexity is translated at the organisational level in terms of multiple organisational identities. Studies on organisational responses to institutional complexity focus primarily on hybrid organisations which instantiate two conflicting institutional logics constructing hybrid organisational identity (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Jay, 2012; Pache & Santos, 2013b) while the exact process of multiple organisational identity management remains underexplored. As regards the theoretical framework of managerial responses developed by Pratt and Foremann (2000), it lacks empirical advancements. Morphew, Fumassoli and Stensaker (2017) have used this theoretical framework for the exploration of the management of multiple organisational identities in strategic plans of higher education institutions. However, they addressed only four pure types of responses having omitted responses which fall between these pure types e.g., multivocality. Seventhly, although existing studies have revealed relationships between institutional logics and organisational culture (Hinings, 2011) and organisational culture and identities (Ravasi & Schultz, 2006), the literature lacks empirical research on how institutional complexity affects organisational culture as well as on the relationship between organisational culture and multiple organisational identity management responses.

Finally, previous studies highlighted that an organisation can respond to institutional complexity applying means–ends decoupling (Bromley & Powel, 2012; Grodal & O’Mahony, 2015; Misangyi, 2016; Dick, 2015) as well as compartmentalisation response (Bromley & Powell, 2012; Greenwood et al., 2011; Kratz & Block, 2008). According to Greenwood et al. (2011, p. 350) institutional researcher often consider compartmentalisation “as a form of decoupling whereby an organisation gives a ceremonial and symbolic commitment to certain logics while preserving a core identity”. However, there is a lack of empirical studies which describe and unpack relationships between institutional complexity, means–ends decoupling at the organisational level and compartmentalisation response to institutional demands. Furthermore, conditions which are likely to trigger means–ends decoupling at the

organisational level as well as consequences of means-ends decoupling also require empirical advancement.

1.3.3 Public policies at the micro level of governance

Delbridge and Edwards (2013; see also Hwang & Colyvas, 2011) drawing on Barley (2008); Hinings and Tolbert (2008), Thornton et al. (2012) argue that there is a gap in sociological institutionalism in bringing together the insights from macro and micro levels of analysis. The macro-level studies dominate in the field of research with very few exceptions. In particular, Meyer and Hammerschmid (2006) explored the implications of shift in institutional logics on executive identities; Lok (2010) have investigated how management reworked their identities and practices because of the shifts in the institutional logics; Voronov, de Clercq and Hinings (2013) addressed actors' engagement in institutional complexity while McPherson and Sauder (2013) investigated enactment of institutional complexity at the micro level. However, little attention is given to the enactment of institutional complexity at individual level within the organisational bounds (Svenningsen, Boxenbaum & Ravasi, 2016; Bjerregaard & Jonasson, 2014; Smets & Jarbowski, 2013; Binder, 2007). Furthermore, those studies which address this issue largely focus on individuals' responses to inter-institutional complexity (Lok, 2010; Pache & Santos, 2013a; McPherson & Sauder, 2013), while the enactment of intra-institutional complexity at the individual level received little attention in existing studies (Creed, DeJordy & Lok 2010).

Though it is acknowledged that links between organisational identities and individual identities and practices run both ways (Pratt & Foreman, 2000; Alvesson & Empson, 2008; Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Fiol, 2002; Gioia et al., 2013), the process of simultaneous construction of multiple organisational and individual identities remains rather underexplored empirically for the rare exception e.g. Kreiner, Hollensbe and Sheep (2006). Finally, the implications of means-ends decoupling at the state and organisational levels for individual identities is also unexplored in empirical research with the exception of Dick (2015).

1.4 Research question

The main aim of this dissertation is to gain more insights into why national and organisational reforms, aimed to implement global models of higher education into specific contexts, do not (always) lead to the intended outcomes. After a careful review of theoretical and empirical research on the implementation of global models in different contexts as well as research on new institutionalism, some important theoretical and empirical limitations in the existing literature were pointed out.

Drawing on the aim of the study, I formulated three objectives that outline how I intend to achieve the claimed aim. First, I want to gain insights into the implementation of global models in the national specific context at the macro

level of governance. For achieving this objective, I employ historical, rational-choice, Scandinavian and sociological institutionalisms. Second, I want to shed more light on the relationship between macro and meso levels of governance under means–ends decoupling at the state level. In particular, I aim to explore organisational responses to institutional complexity through the management of multiple organisational identities. Third, I aim to gain an insight into the implementation of global models at the micro level of analysis exploring how means–ends decoupling at the state level affects individual identities. Based on these three objectives I, now can specify the overall research question.

Overall research question: How are global models translated at the various levels of governance (macro/meso/micro) within the institutional context which is characterised by means–ends decoupling at the state level?

From this overall research question three secondary research questions are derived:

1. *SRQ1*: How does means–ends decoupling at the state level affect the implementation of global models related to higher education e.g. research university, Triple Helix, in Ukraine at the macro level?
2. *SRQ2*: What were the organisational responses to the institutional complexity through the management of multiple organisational identities of the research university? How is the global model of the research university, thus, implemented at the meso level of governance through the multiple organisational identity management responses of the leadership of Ukrainian research universities?
3. *SRQ3*: How is the global model of the research university implemented at the micro level of governance in Ukraine under means–ends decoupling at the state level?

1.5 Research setting

In section 1.1 above I briefly described why Ukraine, as a weak state, is a critical national context to study problems of means–ends decoupling in the implementation of world models in higher education. In the present section, I elaborate more on this empirical context.

Contemporary Ukraine traces back to the Kyivska Rus established in the 9th century around the present-day capital Kyiv. However, the heydays of the Kyivska Rus' were followed by centuries of struggle of Ukraine for nation-building. In 1694, the Kyiv-Mohylanskyi Collegium was recognised as a higher education institution. The universities were established in Lviv and Chernivtsi in 1661 and 1875 respectively. While the former was under the authority of the Rzeczpospolita (Poland), the latter was under the rule of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Other universities opened in 1805, 1834, and 1865 in Kharkiv, Kyiv and Odesa respectively under the authority of the Russian Empire. Alongside the 'research-oriented' universities, several vocational higher education institutions were established in the 19th century, e.g. veterinarian and polytechnic institutes (Polonska-Vasylenko, 1992).

At the beginning of the 20th century, the major part of Ukraine was under the rule of the Russian Empire, while Western Ukraine belonged to Poland. The revolution of 1917 was viewed by Ukrainian intellectual elites as an opportunity for the establishment of Ukraine as an independent nation-state. This political development also impacted higher education, as, for example, in 1918 the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences was created to support the project of nation-building (Polonska-Vasylenko, 1955). However, independent Ukraine was short-lived and forcefully annexed by the Soviet Union. In 1919, it was occupied by Bolsheviks, while in 1922, Ukraine was forcefully annexed by the Soviet Union.

This also affected higher education as the Academy of Sciences was sovietised and universities were closed. Ukrainian researchers affiliated with the academy of science were gradually replaced by communist party members. From 1923 and up to World War II the communist party repressed (sent to concentration camps), put into prisons and sanctioned to execution more than one thousand of Ukrainian researchers affiliated to the academy (Polonska-Vasylenko, 1958). The Academy underwent the ideological restructuring while the communist party changed Ukrainian history, culture and nation. The Academy of Sciences, established as an institution aimed to contribute to Ukrainian nation-building, was for example converted into an institution aimed to promote the establishments of the Soviets. As there was a critical shortage of teaching staff for higher education institutions until the 1930s, the institutes of the Academy of Sciences were oriented to provide postgraduate (doctoral) education. While initially under the Soviets the doctoral degree was abolished, in 1934, instead of one, two scientific degrees were introduced – candidate of sciences (equivalent of PhD) and doctor of sciences (equivalent to habilitation). In 1934, however, several but not all higher education institutions, established on the basis of former universities, were again designated as universities, as they were no longer mono-disciplinary and were authorised to offer doctoral education. Yet, the majority of higher education institutions were mono-disciplinary and aligned with various areas of industry in the planned economy. In 1984, there were 146 higher education institutions, among them only nine classic universities (Bunina, 2013).

In 1991, after the fall of the Soviet Union, Ukraine became an independent state. As we mentioned above the dominance of the old Soviet elite and actors from the shadow economy resulted in the capture of the state by the post-Soviet oligarchy. While the Sovietisation of Ukrainian higher education implied the displacement of actors and institutions, after 1991 the powerful actors from the Soviet period managed to preserve their positions in Ukrainian higher education as well as the Soviet heritage was preserved e.g., the division between primarily teaching-oriented higher education institutions and research-oriented institutions of the academy of sciences. Meanwhile, the weakening of the state regulation resulted in massification and marketisation of higher education (Shevchenko, 2019). The weakening of the state regulation

and the emergence of the market-led also to institutional transformations. The higher education institutions that in Soviet times primarily had a mono-disciplinary orientation, according to the sectors of industry (Bunina, 2013), were transformed into multidisciplinary ones. The broadening of the universities' profile combined with the impact of the European TEMPUS TACIS programme, requiring the participation of institutions that are labelled as a 'university', entailed the majority of Ukrainian higher education institutions to be renamed into universities for which the permission of the state authorities was needed. However, 'new' universities missed a whole set of university education features. According to the legislation, these relabelled universities were indeed authorised and encouraged to conduct fundamental and applied research (Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, 1996). This, however, was not accompanied by an increase in state funding. The lack of research capacities also prevented universities from collaborating with industry, thus also hollowing out their knowledge-transfer function, while in the 'oligarchic economy' industries had only little if any interest investing in research and innovation. Starting in 1994, the new organisational form 'national university' merged in Ukrainian higher education. Initially, this status was awarded to the most distinguished universities. However, with time it was hollowed due to the great number of institutions which got this status and inability of the state to allocate to all of these higher education institutions promised additional funding.

In the mid-2000, amid large-scale processes of internationalisation of higher education policy and economic stagnation, increased transnational networking, and a perception of the inferiority of Ukrainian universities, the well-known rector of the leading technical university pushed for the introduction of a globally-inspired model of the research university (Zgurovskyi, 2005). Broadly in line with Mohrman et al. (2008) and Altbach's considerations (2007), the model of the global research university was expected to integrate research, teaching, knowledge transfer and to facilitate the development of a knowledge economy (Mohrman et al., 2008). Following up on this proposal, in 2007 the government declared its intention to establish five research universities (Cabinet of Ministers, 2007a). These five universities were promised additional funding and were expected to earn a significant part of their income externally. However, the government did not implement any initiative until 2009. Presidential elections were scheduled for the autumn of 2009 (eventually held early 2010). In the same period, already in 2009, the Cabinet of Ministers awarded the status of a research university to seven instead of five universities. In 2009-2010 fourteen universities got the status of a research university and were promised additional funding. The status was awarded for five years and after that period universities were obliged to prove their status according to the quantitative criteria of a research university. The government expected that in five years, research universities would start earning externally half of the amount that the government allocated to them for research. This was impossible under the conditions that were far from being a

knowledge economy as urgent domestic reforms to foster the knowledge economy were not undertaken. As well the research institutes of the Academy of Sciences inherited from the Soviet model persisted after the establishment of the research universities. Thus, part of the funding for research was diverted to the academy's institutes. In 2010, a new government was appointed which awarded the status of 'research university' was awarded to one additional domestic higher education institution and demanded the establishment of science parks at all research universities, irrespective of their profiles (Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, 2010c). Moreover, research universities were now required to earn externally half of what the government allocated to them for research in one year instead of five, as initially declared. In 2014 the newly appointed Cabinet of Ministers abolished the resolution about research universities. After 2014 powerful actors both at the education ministry and at the higher education institutions as well as at the state institutions are still driven by their self-interests. The factual involvement of other stakeholders such as academics or business representatives in university governance remains almost absent (Hladchenko et al., 2017) and rectors are often called 'feudals' due to their unlimited authority within the university (Yehorchenko, 2014). These factors, as well as the absence of knowledge economy and the persistence of means–ends decoupling at the state level significantly undermine the quality of higher education.

1.6 Research design: Data and analysis

To answer the research questions outlined above, the research was designed as a series of in-depth case studies on specific aspects of the implementation of the world model of higher education in Ukraine.

In an exploratory phase, in 2014, of data collection focused on the analysis of the higher education system in Ukraine and the institutional transformations that higher education institutions underwent during the last decades. This was the first substudy of my research. The analysis was based on process-tracing (Beach and Pedersen, 2013), which allows empirically establishing a chain of causal mechanisms, ultimately leading to the explanation of policy-making. To perform the process-tracing, qualitative data were collected. Given the long timespan of the analysis, the data consist of diverse sources including public debates, existing academic literature, as well as nine interviews with university (vice-)rectors and researchers. The qualitative data were evaluated by being structured according to the timeline of events and then analysed with regard to the defined analytical dimensions.

Then I shifted to a second substudy: the overview of the reform aimed at establishing research universities in Ukraine. In Brunsson's terms, the study is about 'talk': the focus of the research interest of this part of my study lies in the discourse on the intention to establish the 'research university' in Ukraine (Brunsson, 1989). Vehicles for 'talk' or discourse, or channels of communication, include written pieces on policy, influencing popular opinion,

and academic debate and verbal discussion/debate. The former is analysed through documentary analysis (policy document – official transcripts of parliamentary debates, white papers written by the government – and university documents, e.g., statute), the latter through interviews.

The period covered by this second substudy was 2007-2014, with 2007 being the first time the idea of the research university appeared in official Ukrainian documents. Through the documentary analysis I identified the main actors in the process of the translation of the global research university model into Ukrainian context. The interviews were conducted with representatives of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine (minister and deputy ministers, heads of departments of the education ministry) and representatives of the universities who participated in the development and implementation of the reform in 2007-2014 and also with educational experts in order to investigate more about causes and effects of the establishment of the research universities in Ukraine. The aim of interviews was to discover additional information not covered in the documents and give the opportunity to evaluate the validity of the respondents' answers by observing non-verbal behaviour, which is particularly useful when exploring sensitive issues.

On the basis of the prior analysed data, three research universities were selected for more detailed analysis and comparison. The basis of the sample selection was twofold. Firstly, it is considered that the early adopters of organisational innovations are commonly driven by the desire to improve performance, late adopters mainly aim to gain legitimacy (Meyer and Rowan 1977; DiMaggio and Powell 1983). Thus, one case, the National Technical University of Ukraine 'Kyiv Polytechnic Institute' is the initiator of the translation of the global research university model into Ukrainian context (2007). The second case, Taras Shevchenko National University, is the first Ukrainian university to be awarded research university status by the state, thus its organisational identity was considered to correspond best among all Ukrainian universities to the global model of the research university (2009). The third one, National University of Life and Environmental Sciences of Ukraine, was awarded the status of the research university later, in 2010. This chronology is seen to relate to distinctions in prior organisational identities of the selected universities. Secondly, as disciplinary culture has implications for higher education (Del Favelo, 2006), the three universities exhibit different disciplinary profiles: a technical university, a classical university and a university of life sciences. Data related to each of three Ukrainian research universities were collected for the period 2004-2014. Again, two sources of data were used – official documents and interviews. Universities' official documents included, e.g. strategic plans, documents regulating the ranking system of the staff and performance-based salary, annual reports, statutes. In addition, we explored the narration of top managers of all three universities in the press, national and university. Documents were supplemented with nine semi-structured interviews with top-level managers of the above-mentioned

research universities, which were conducted during the period December 2014 – October 2016. The top managers were interviewed about their interpretation of the research university model and about strategies which they applied to manage multiple organisational identities of a research university.

Meanwhile, next to the global model of the research university, we also investigated the implementation of the Triple Helix model into Ukrainian context, as these two models are intertwined. Apart from the three above-mentioned universities, the research involved one more Ukrainian research university. It was selected for its distinctive disciplinary profile in comparison with the other three universities – the university of economics. The focus of research lay on the knowledge transfer between the research universities and business through the sciences parks which were claimed to be established at each research university. Apart from the 6 interviews with the rectors and vice-rectors of the universities, semi-structured interviews were conducted with the directors (N=4) of the above-mentioned science parks.

For the further research, among three core above-mentioned universities I chose two because of the distinctions in the strategies applied by top managers to multiple organisational identities of a research university and as a consequence the distinctions in the degree of means–ends decoupling and organisational culture in these universities. The two universities are examples of the ‘polar types’ cases exploration of which allows to extend the emergent theory (Eisenhardt, 1989, p. 537). The semi-structured interviews were conducted with 38 academics from the humanities, social sciences and natural sciences at the above-mentioned universities. The goal of selection was to provide a wide variation and view the phenomena from diverse perspectives (Flyvbjerg, 2006) in order to obtain information about the implication of various social contexts and circumstances on the case processes and outcomes. The interviews were designed as semi-structured protocols with much room to digress from the interview guide.

As a case study typically combines different data collection methods (Eisenhardt, 1989), thus, documentary analysis and personal interviews were two methods applied in research. Regarding the data analysis, data collection overlapped with data analysis through making field notes as (Eisenhardt, 1989) suggests. For the transcribed text and notes we applied within-case analysis. The within-case analysis involves detailed case study write-ups which are crucial for the generation of insight (Gersick, 1988; Pettigrew, 1990). This approach allows exploring each case as “a stand-alone entity” (Eisenhardt, 1989, p. 540) which results in the emergence of patterns of each case before generalising the patterns across cases. The cases were compared regarding similarities and differences in such dimensions as research both at the national and international level and knowledge transfer. The search for similarities and differences was expected to lead to a more sophisticated understanding of the explored phenomenon. In addition, cross-case searching allows capturing the novelty findings that can be in the data (Eisenhardt, 1989). Within-case and

cross-case analysis led to the construction of the relationship between theoretical framework and empirical data. We constantly compared theory and data as it is advised by Eisengardt (1989) as it contributes to building and extending theory through the creation of constructs. The emergent theory was tied to the existing literature to increase the internal validity and generalisability of the research findings.

1.7 Outline of the study

This dissertation is based on five empirical studies that are presented in Chapters 2 to 6. Because the chapters are written as independent journal articles, some overlap between the chapters is unavoidable. The overlap lies primarily in the explanation of context and methodology.

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 address the first secondary question on implications of means–ends decoupling at the state level for the implementation of global models into the national context. Chapter 2 focuses on the patterns of change and stability in Ukrainian higher education over the past century. This study examines shifts in structures and practices of Ukrainian higher education employing sociological institutionalism (in particular world society theory) and historical institutionalism (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010; Thelen, 2004; Streeck & Thelen, 2005; Hacker, 2004) with a focus on dynamics during critical junctures (Gourevitch, 1986). Chapter 3 reflects on how the global model of research university was translated into Ukrainian context. The translation is seen as the process which implies the reinterpretation and transformation of global idea or model (Czarniawska & Sevón, 1996; Sahlin-Anderson & Engwall, 2002; Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008) while it is implemented in the local context. The main interest of this research lies on the implications of the national context as well as interests and interpretations of powerful actors involved in the process of translation. These factors condition the editing of the global model in the process of translation according to the three sets of editing rules: rules of context, rules of logic and relabelling (Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008; Sahlin-Andersson, 1996; Morris & Lancaster, 2006). Chapter 4 is concerned with a global model intertwined with the research university – the Triple Helix (Etzkowitz, 2003; Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 2000). The study uses both rational choice institutionalism (Tollison, 1982; Krueger, 1974) and sociological institutionalism (Meyer, 2010) to explore the implementation of the Triple Helix model under means–ends decoupling at the state level.

Chapter 5 targets the theme of implementation of the global model of the research university at the organisational level of Ukrainian research universities through the management of multiple organisational identities of the research university. As should be clear, means–ends decoupling at the state level results in institutional complexity, which implies inconsistent institutional demands to be confronted by organisational (Greenwood et al., 2011; Pache & Santos, 2010; 2013b) and individual actors. Meanwhile, this study, focusing on the organisational level, is concerned with institutional

complexity (Meyer & Höllerer, 2016). Organisational responses to institutional complexity caused by means–ends decoupling at the state level are explored through the management of multiple organisational identities. The study employs the model of multiple organisational identity management responses (integration, aggregation, compartmentalisation, deletion and multivocality) elaborated by Pratt and Foreman (2000). Organisational responses to institutional complexity are viewed as being affected by the degree of field-level institutional complexity; prior organisational identities (Greenwood et al., 2011); beliefs and values of the top-level managers (Gioia et al., 2013) and disciplinary profile of the university, thus disciplinary culture (Becher & Trowler, 2001). The study attempts to contribute to the growing body of knowledge on leadership behaviour in higher education (Degn, 2014a; 2014b; 2015; Pietila, 2013; Gioia & Chittipeddi, 1991; Gioia & Thomas, 1996), on the impact of managerial behaviour of leadership on organisational identity (Fiol, 2002; Gioia et al., 2010; Corley & Gioia, 2004) and organisational responses to institutional complexity (Kodeih & Greenwood, 2014; Raynard, 2016; Lee & Lounsbury, 2015) with a focus on decoupling (Greenwood et al., 2011, Bromley & Powell, 2012; Grodal & O'Mahony, 2015; Misangyi, 2016).

Chapter 6 explores how the global model of the research university was implemented at the micro level of governance. Drawing on the concept of identity work (Lok, 2010; Watson, 2008) this study targets the relationships between individual identities and practices and institutional logics (Lok, 2010; Meyer & Hammersmid, 2006; Chreim, Williams, & Hinings, 2007), as well as organisational identity and culture (Pratt & Foreman, 2000; Pratt & Corley 2006; Alvesson & Empson, 2008; Välimaa, 1998).

1.8 Societal and scientific relevance

Gaining additional insight into how the reforms based on the global models are implemented into the national context at different levels of governance is of practical relevance for politicians, managers and professionals in the public sector in general and in higher education in particular. This dissertation has practical implications beyond its insights into higher education in Ukraine. The experience of Ukraine is applicable not only to oligarchic economies but also to other states and organisations which aim to avoid unintended outcomes when implementing global practices and models. This study, firstly, explains what conditions at different levels of governance can hinder from implementing the global model into the new context as intended. Secondly, it highlights why strategies adopted and implemented at the organisational level do not lead to the achievement of the intended outcomes.

As regards the scientific relevance of this dissertation, firstly, it resides in contribution to the concept of means–ends decoupling. The study addresses means–ends decoupling at the state level, revealing how it affects the implementation of global models into the institutional setting. It also targets

the implications of means–ends decoupling at the state level for organisational and individual actors. Secondly, it aims to contribute to the body of knowledge on the management of multiple organisational identities (Pratt & Foremann, 2000) in response to institutional complexity (Greenwood et al., 2011), in particular to including both intra-institutional complexity and inter-institutional complexity (Meyer & Höllerer, 2016). Thirdly, this research exploring identity work (Watson, 2008) as one of the forms of institutional work (Creed, DeJordy & Lok, 2010), aims to address the implications of individual actors for the institutionalisation of institutional logics (Lok, 2010) as well as construction of organisational identities (Gioia et al., 2013).

2. Exploring change and stability in Ukrainian higher education and research: A historical analysis through multiple critical junctures¹

Introduction

This article focuses on patterns of change and stability in Ukrainian higher education (HE) over the past century. Ukrainian HE — like its Central and Eastern European counterparts (Dobbins & Khachatryan, 2014) — has faced tremendous challenges after more than 70 years of isolation from the West. The newly independent country inherited a system heavily rooted in the Soviet legacy of state centeredness and hierarchy. Unlike Humboldt-oriented systems, it lacked collegial governance structures and exhibited a stringent institutional differentiation between teaching and research (Clark, 1983; Hladchenko et al., 2017).

Yet globalisation, increases in transnational communication and the overall interest of the West in Ukraine have given Ukrainian policy-makers an opportunity to redesign HE since the 1990s. In particular, the Bologna Process conveyed transnational reform discourses and models while increasingly exposing Ukraine to a culture of ‘‘international comparison’’ (Martens, Nagel, Windizio & Weymann, 2010). Ukraine’s orientation toward western institutions and policy-making templates was further cemented with the signing of its Association Agreement with the EU in 2014. Yet despite increasing exposure to international examples of ‘‘best practice’’, the implementation of structural reforms has not produced the intended outcomes (de Knecht, 2017).

To explain the sluggish reform trajectory and relative stability of preexisting structures and practices, we draw on the historical institutionalist approach developed by Mahoney and Thelen (2010). While focussing on *critical junctures* (Gourevitch, 1986), we show that in Ukrainian HE and research, both domestically promoted and transnationally inspired policy innovations in many instances did not successfully materialise due to a lack of political support. In line with the concept of ‘‘drift’’, existing rules or institutions

¹ Hladchenko, M., Dobbins, M., & Jungsblut, J. (2018) Exploring change and stability in Ukrainian higher education and research: A historical analysis through multiple critical junctures. *Higher Education Policy*. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41307-018-0105-9>

frequently were held constant despite changing external circumstances, causing their outcomes to change (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010). In other cases, institutions were converted to serve initially unforeseen (self-serving) purposes.

Along these lines, our article contributes to a sizable body of research dealing with the troubled path of Ukrainian HE, much of which has focussed on corrupt practices and their detrimental impacts (Osipian, 2008, 2017). Research has shown that governments have exerted strong leverage over universities through corruption, while inconsistent and incomplete reforms have left numerous avenues open for corrupt practices within the HE system, including licensing, accreditation, admissions and testing (Osipian, 2008, 2017). We build on this previous literature by systematically showing how favoritism has also shaped the institutional architecture of Ukrainian HE and research to the benefit of powerful actors. We focus thereby not so much on corrupt practices themselves, rather on how the politics of “status enhancement” and favoritism has resulted in a situation in which organisational forms are largely decoupled from their endowed tasks and thus impede fundamental reform and the alignment with western HE models.

We first present our theoretical assumptions and highlight our theoretical approach. To better understand Ukrainian case, we subsequently provide a short overview of the historical context during Ukraine’s early attempts at statehood and under Soviet communism. We then analyze events after the collapse of the Soviet Union in greater depth, while relating the political dynamics to parallel developments in HE. Our analysis is based on process-tracing (Beach & Pedersen, 2013), which allows us to establish a coherent sequence of causal mechanisms ultimately leading to the explanation of policy drift and conversion (see below). The article concludes with a summary of our results and reflections on our general conceptual contribution.

Theoretical assumptions: Historical institutionalism and the spread of global HE ideas

Following neo-institutionalism, we see actors as being constrained by their environment and especially historical institutions. This requires the adjustment of societal institutions to allow for changes that are unaligned with the existing institutional order. Historical institutionalists define institutions as legitimate rules of behavior and apply the term not only to policies, but also to organisations if their existence is grounded in societal norms. Accordingly, inherited rules and structures may function as a buffer against policy change, compel actors to stick to preexisting institutional pathways (i.e., path dependence), and provide explanations for the distinctiveness of national outcomes. Yet far-reaching change may still occur despite deeply embedded historical institutions. One widespread concept to explain encompassing change is that of “critical junctures” (Gourevitch, 1986). During critical

junctures, the institutional equilibrium is punctuated, opening the possibility for more fundamental changes. Thus, critical junctures, similarly to the punctuated-equilibrium theory, explain how political processes can be driven by a logic of stability and incrementalism for a long time, but occasionally produce large-scale changes (True, Jones & Baumgartner, 1999). As crises do occur in any political system, they also have an impact on the public understanding of policy problems. In these situations, an equilibrium is punctuated by changes in either a) political institutions or b) the bounded rationality of decision-making (True et al., 1999). Both factors have an impact on agenda setting as well as issue definition. Thus, during critical junctures and punctuated equilibria, the legitimacy of existing institutions may be increasingly doubted, prompting actors to compete to redefine the existing paradigm and pursue alternative institutional pathways. Therefore, both stability and change are important elements of the policy process.

While this theory of institutional change is regularly applied to shifts in political systems, these dynamics are also highly relevant for HE, as it has always fulfilled key functions for the nation-state. Governments have in turn vested HE with a regulatory framework, public funding, and institutional legitimacy (Trow, 2006). This relationship has been conceptualized as a pact between HE and society, which is mediated through politics, i.e., the arena in which societal issues are negotiated and decided on (Gornitzka, Maassen, Olsen & Stensaker, 2007). Thus, critical political junctures can be expected to have a similar effect on HE as the struggle for power also opens the possibility for a re-negotiation of the pact between HE and society, and in turn a window of opportunity for institutional change in HE.

While critical junctures may foster far-reaching institutional change, Mahoney and Thelen (2010) emphasize that institutions can also be transformed through the accumulation of subtle gradual changes (see also Thelen, 2004; Streeck & Thelen, 2005). When power dynamics during critical junctures do not produce clear winners, change may be gradual. These authors have elaborated four such modes of change: *displacement*, *layering*, *conversion*, and *drift* (Streeck & Thelen, 2005; Mahoney & Thelen, 2010; Hacker, 2004). *Displacement* involves a removal of existing rules and models through the introduction of new ones. It occurs when new models emerge and spread. The establishment of these new institutions requires actors to be endowed with power and resources. As a rule, displacement is initiated by actors disadvantaged by old institutions.

If actors advantaged by old institutions have significant power, *layering* (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010) may be a more viable option. *Layering* is the introduction of new rules alongside existing ones (Schickler, 2001). Unlike displacement, layering does not involve the introduction of entirely new institutions or rules, rather amendments, revisions, or additions to existing ones. Thus, the old institution remains, but the overall trajectory is altered (Thelen, 2002, 102). *Drift* involves the changed impact of existing rules due to

changing circumstances (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010). It occurs when formal rules are deliberately held constant amid environmental shifts. This results in an alteration of the *outcomes* of the rules (Hacker, Pierson & Thelen, 2015; Hacker, 2004). By contrast, *conversion* refers to situations when the institution “as a product of one particular set of conflicts and interests” is “redirected to new ends” (Thelen, 2002, p.103; Streeck & Thelen, 2005). Conversion can occur, for example, through the inclusion of actors who were not expected to participate when the institutions were created (Thelen, 2002). Conversion and drift differ in that under drift the changing circumstances change the effects of institutions, while conversion implies that political actors reinterpret the rules and redirect them to the achievement of new ends (Hacker *et al.*, 2015). In order to study institutional change during critical junctures, we focus on two dimensions of organisational change. First, we analyze changes in the *organisational form* of HE. This is based on the classical neo-institutional idea that formal structures influence actors’ room to maneuver, what is perceived as rational or appropriate behavior, and that formal organisational structures create path dependence for organisational development (March & Olsen, 1989). Thus, we explore shifts in how organisations in the HE system are structured or governed. Second, we study changes in *organisational tasks*. Public management studies reveal that requirements and constraints inherent in primary tasks of organisations influence how these organisations are governed (Pollitt, Talbot, Caulfield & Smullen, 2004). The main idea is that tasks matter and that one cannot discuss organisational structures and processes without taking into account the particular activities to which they apply. Moreover, it is important to explore what functions HE is expected to fulfill for society and to what extent these functions change after a critical juncture.

We can identify several phases which potentially can be seen as critical junctures for Ukrainian HE and research, all of which had elements of crisis and impacted the public understanding of policy problems, political institutions, and the bounded rationality of decision-making. This includes, first, the short-lived era of independent statehood in the late 1910s, and second, the Soviet takeover of Ukraine and thus the imposition of Marxist–Leninist ideology on the education system. The collapse of the Soviet Union and ensuing independent statehood were a third crucial juncture, while both Ukraine’s integration into Bologna Process starting in 2001 and the events following the so-called Revolution of Dignity (2014 and onward) also had the potential to rattle the institutional order, thus opening critical windows of opportunity for policy change.

After the presentation of our research design, methods and data, we examine institutional change and stability in Ukrainian HE and research with a particular emphasis on these critical junctures and punctuated equilibria. Throughout the empirical analysis, we exhibit our main argument that, time and time again, institutions were either converted to serve the special interests

of powerful academic lobbies or deliberately held constant for the sake of political favoritism. As a result, the institutional forms of Ukrainian HE and research institutions have become detached from their intended tasks and purposes.

Research design, methods, and data

Our analysis is based on process-tracing (Beach & Pedersen, 2013), which allows us to establish a coherent sequence of causal mechanisms ultimately leading to the explanation of policy drift and conversion. More specifically, we use a case-centric process-tracing method (Beach & Pedersen, 2013, p.18 et seq.) with the main aim to understand how the development of Ukrainian HE was impacted by developments in the political environment. This allows us to build an explanation for the process through which HE developed in Ukraine over the last decades. In doing so, we are also able to identify processes that are arguably transferable beyond the case. In this sense, the mechanisms of interaction between HE and Ukrainian political environment serve as a hypotheses-generating case study (Lijphart, 1971) through which we will highlight general features of the relationship between HE and its political environment that can serve as a basis for future analysis. Thus, while our overall focus is on case-specific developments, we leverage it to suggest more general mechanisms. To perform the process-tracing, we rely on qualitative data. Given the long time-span of the analysis, the data consist of diverse sources including public debates as covered in media outlets, position papers from interest groups in the sector, existing academic literature, as well as nine interviews with policy-makers involved in the establishment of research universities, university (vice-)rectors, and researchers. An overview of the specific documents can be found at the end of the article. We evaluated the qualitative data by first structuring it according to the timeline of events and then analysing it with regard to our two analytical dimensions, namely changes in organisational form and changes in organisational tasks. These diverse data sources allow us to collect multiple observations on each phase of the development of Ukrainian HE, which in turn enables us to evaluate the accuracy of each piece of data and judge the development based on multiple pieces of data allowing for triangulation (Beach & Pedersen, 2013, 120 et seq.). While this process creates a high level of internal validity due to the intense focus on the case, the external validity of the results is more limited. However, by generating hypotheses about the relationship between HE and its political environment during critical junctures, our results will also have relevance for studies on other countries.

The origins of Ukrainian HE and research institutions and their Soviet transformation

Contemporary Ukraine can be traced back to the Kyivska Rus' established in the ninth century around the present-day capital Kyiv. The Kyivska Rus' era

was followed by a century-long struggle for nation-building. The earliest HE institutions in Ukraine were schools and collegiums, which trained the ecclesiastical and political elites of the Polish, Austro-Hungarian or Russian empires (Oleksiyenko, 2014). In 1694, the Kyiv-Mohylanskyi Collegium was recognized as a HE institution, while universities were established in Lviv and Chernivtsi in 1661 and 1875, respectively. While the former was under the authority of the Rzeczpospolita (Poland), the latter was under the rule of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Universities opened in 1805, 1834, and 1865 in Kharkiv, Kyiv and Odesa, respectively, under the authority of the Russian Empire. Alongside the research-oriented universities, several vocational HE institutions were established in the nineteenth century, e.g., veterinarian and polytechnic institutes (Polonska-Vasylenko, 1992).

The revolution of 1917 constituted a critical juncture as Ukraine became an independent nation-state. This led to a growing national awareness and changes in the public understanding of policy problems and the rationality of decision-making. This political development also impacted HE, as, for example, in 1918, the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences² was created to support the project of nation-building (Polonska-Vasylenko, 1955). Following the punctuated-equilibrium theory, this suggests both changes in an institution and decision-making rationality, as the creation of national institutions was a new and emerging policy aim.

However, independent Ukraine was short-lived as in 1919 it was occupied by Bolsheviks, while in 1922, Ukraine was forcefully annexed by the Soviet Union. Thus, the window for political change opened by the critical juncture of the 1917 revolution led to the inclusion of Ukraine into the Soviet Union. This also affected HE as the Academy of Sciences was Sovietized and universities were closed. Subsequently, postgraduate students in the Academy of Sciences were no longer selected by researchers, rather had to be appointed by the communist party. As of 1927, all research was subject to the communist party's approval, while after 1929 the public community was allowed to recommend "akademik" candidates (= official members of the academy of sciences or "academicians") (Polonska-Vasylenko, 1955; Gabovich, Kuznetsov & Semenova, 2015). By these means, Ukrainian researchers affiliated with the Academy of Science were gradually replaced by communist party members. The main entities of the Academy were restructured into research institutes, and collegial governance was replaced with hierarchical structures characterised by "powerful secretariat, a parliamentary façade, direct channels of governmental interference, and covert party control" (Vucinich, 1956, p.9). The Sovietisation of the academy involved the closure of the humanities departments, as well as the destruction of library materials.

² The law of the 1918 fulfilled the long-term wish of Ukrainian intelligentsia to have their own Academy (Polonska-Vasylenko, 1958).

Between the Soviet takeover and World War II, the communist party put more than one thousand Ukrainian academy-affiliated researchers into prisons, concentration camps or sanctioned their execution (Polonska-Vasylenko, 1958). Besides the systematic oppression of Ukrainian history, culture and the nation (ibid.), preexisting institutions, such as the Ukrainian Academy of Science, which were originally established to foster Ukrainian nation-building, were converted into institutions aimed at promoting Soviet ideology.

Ukrainian research was also embedded in extremely hierarchical structures under Soviet rule. The most “distinguished” academics were awarded the status of corresponding member and “akademik” (academician). These statuses provided lifelong income, thus ensuring loyalty to the communist system. Individual academics strived to move up the academic hierarchy by accepting and promoting communist ideology, thereby reinforcing and increasing the legitimacy of communist academic institutions. The critical juncture of Sovietisation also heralded numerous significant structural changes: All universities were closed and restructured into HE institutions catering to individual areas of industry, e.g., agriculture. They focused on spreading communist ideology and producing “communist people” for the communist society (Froumin, Kouzminov & Semyonov, 2014). In 1934, several but not all HE institutions established on the basis of former universities were again designated as universities, as they were no longer mono-disciplinary and authorized to provide doctoral education. However, the closure of all Ukrainian universities in the interbellum period and their reorganisation as mono-disciplinary HE institutions also involved the “dismissal of all [pre-Soviet] Ukrainian professors” (Polonska-Vasylenko, 1958, p. 37; addendum by authors) and all teaching in newly established universities was done in Russian (ibid). To this end, the Ukrainian HE system comprised several universities, but the majority of HE institutions were mono-disciplinary and aligned with various areas of industry in the planned economy.

The Soviet system of HE and research implied both vertical and horizontal separation. In particular, fundamental and applied research were detached from universities and conducted in research institutes of academies (Froumin *et al.*, 2014) which were also authorized to provide postgraduate (doctoral) education. This division of organisational forms and tasks in Soviet HE and research was guided by “the general ideology of the planned economy and social engineering” (Froumin *et al.*, 2014, 211). This institutional differentiation was characteristic of the Soviet HE system and clearly differed from Western universities, as even in countries with non-university research institutes (such as Germany) universities still performed both tasks equal (Clark, 1983).

Returning to our explanatory framework, institutions of HE and research under Soviet rule were transformed on both dimensions of organisational change. Regarding their organisational form, the old universities were redesigned as mono-disciplinary HE institutions, but later relabeled as universities.

Similarly, the transformation of HE governance, visible for example in the Academy of Sciences, began with the inclusion of new actors such as communist party officials, who gradually introduced new rules to cement Soviet ideology. A critical mass of communists in the academy facilitated a gradual shift toward hierarchical governance and partisan dominance. These shifts represent the *displacement* of existing rules and also supported the changes on the second dimension, namely organisational tasks. Here the HE system was redesigned to perform not only research or teaching tasks, but also spread Soviet ideology (Polonska-Vasylenko, 1958). Institutions like the academy became a “tool for construction of socialism” and “the executor of the prescriptions of the party” (ibid, 11). Moreover, the renaming of the “All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences” into “Academy of Sciences of Ukrainian SSR” resulted in its *conversion* from “a national to a territorial institution” (ibid, 37). The separation of teaching and research and the political control over the direction and focus of research activities also represented a significant shift in the tasks HE institutions performed. These changes resulted from the new political power arrangement following the 1917 critical juncture, which modified the societal contract between the state and HE. Thus, also from a punctuated-equilibrium perspective, 1917 was a clear crisis that reshaped the public understanding of policy problems, transformed political institutions, and significantly altered the bounded rationality of decision-making (True *et al.*, 1999). The focus on Sovietisation instead of the creation of national institutions and the impact it had on both organisational form and tasks show that policy dynamics were altered, which in turn strongly impacted the HE system.

Ukrainian HE Institutions from independence to the present (1991-2017)

Ukrainian higher education after 1991: General background

The establishment of Ukraine as a nation-state in 1991 and the following transition to a market economy constituted another critical juncture, which provided an opportunity to rearrange political and institutional dynamics and replace Soviet institutions. This punctuated the policy-making equilibrium because the public understanding of policy problems, political institutions, and decision-making rationality underwent significant changes, whereby Soviet ideology was supposed to be replaced with democratic decision-making structures. This window of opportunity also was supposed to lead to a re-negotiation of the contract between HE and society in order for independent Ukraine to align itself with the twenty-first century knowledge economy.

However, power struggles to define the new status quo were a formidable obstacle to consequential political change. State policies aimed at *lustration*³

³ Lustration in post-communist Europe generally referred to the purging or limitation of the

and *de-Sovietisation* were not implemented. For example, the first two presidents held high positions in the Soviet hierarchy. Moreover, inconsistently implemented privatisation allowed a post-Soviet oligarchy consisting of the Soviet political elite and actors from the Soviet shadow economy to emerge (Yurchenko, 2018; Åslund, 2000, 2001). Partly facilitated by the weakness of Ukrainian civil society, this development resulted in what Yurchenko (2018, p. 4) defines as “neoliberal kleptocracy,” according to which “typical neoliberal features are exacerbated by omnipresent corruption and institutionalised state asset embezzlement” (Yurchenko, 2018, p. 4). As a result, Ukrainian governmental institutions were frequently converted from intended outcomes — the representation of public interests — toward new ends, in particular exploitative activities by business and political oligarchies, e.g., the preservation of sectoral monopolies and economic subsidies. Due to its dependence on the political environment for regulations, funding, and legitimacy, HE also entered a phase of instability, as powerful actors both in government and HE — including, e.g., politicians, rectors, heads of the academy of sciences — often aimed to expand their influence and prestige (Gabovich *et al.*, 2015; Stadnyi, 2013b). As Osipian (2010) argues, corruption at the state level also pervaded institutions of HE and science. University rules and regulations (e.g., accreditation, degree requirements, curricula) became objects of public policy, while universities were seen by the political elite as venues of political socialisation. Corrupt practices, in particular bribery in admissions⁴, grading and diplomas, became widespread, whereby the state showed little interest in eradicating university corruption as it also was pervaded by corruption.

Building on and moving beyond Osipian’s observations, we argue that, under the scope condition of pervasive corruption, political favoritism has also heavily distorted the institutional architecture of Ukrainian HE and research. Following our historical institutionalist approach, we contend that institutional order of HE has been reconfigured or deliberately held constant in terms of function and aims to serve objectives of various interest group coalitions, which partly used them for securing personal advantages. Two frequent means of doing so were institutional *drift*, i.e., strategically holding institutions “in place” despite altered external circumstances, and *conversion* of their purpose to other ends (Hacker *et al.*, 2015). At the same time, the critical juncture also opened Ukraine to international policy ideas promoted within the framework of trans-European HE cooperation and later the Bologna Process (Voegtler, Knill & Dobbins, 2011). This offered other more internationally oriented actors within the HE sector the chance to introduce ideas from the European

political participation of former active communists from the political apparatus and security services.

⁴ Since 2008 admission to HEIs is based on the scores, school leavers achieve in exams conducted by the Independent External Evaluation Body. This significantly alleviated the problem of corruption in admissions

level, which at least in some cases then interacted with the local dynamics to shape the reform trajectory.

Like during the prior critical juncture, changes after 1991 affected both organisational forms and organisational tasks. Concerning the former, Ukraine maintained the division between primarily teaching-oriented HE institutions and research-oriented institutes of the Academy of Sciences (Hladchenko, de Boer & Westerheijden, 2016; Osipian, 2014). Unlike other more rapidly westernised post-communist countries (e.g., the Baltics or Czech Republic), many of which quickly developed a binary HE system differentiating between professional HE institutions and universities, Ukraine preserved a unitary system. In parallel, many private HE institutions emerged and state HE institutions were authorised to charge tuition fees for up to 49% of students. These shifts in the organisational forms were accompanied by a first wave of international policies that influenced the development of Ukrainian HE through the European TEMPUS program.

TEMPUS_TACIS as a reform stimulus

One first opportunity to modernize Ukrainian HE and research was the European TEMPUS-TACIS⁵ program in the early 1990s. As one interviewee explained, Ukrainian HE institutions (e.g., teacher training institutes, agricultural institutes) were given the chance to gain the status of “university” by engaging in consortiums with Western European partner universities (Interview, Ukrainian university ex-rector, 2017). A core aim was to better align post-communist HE institutions with economic demands by developing new teaching and research programs, modernizing HE administration and enhancing university-industry cooperation (TEMPUS-TACIS Project Management Handbook, 1996). This openness to changes in the HE system that TEMPUS-TACIS envisioned is a good indicator for the punctuated equilibrium and the shifts in the public understanding of policy problems, agenda setting as well as issue definition. These goals addressed both organisational form as well as tasks and were inspired by global ideas about appropriate structures and aims of modern HE.

One interviewee, who used to be a rector in that period, reflected on how HEIs were turned into universities: “The education ministry pushed for these consortiums, as they allowed academics affiliated with Ukrainian HE institutions involved in consortiums to study and research abroad. Once the consortium partners were found, Ukrainian HE institutions could apply to the education ministry to rename their institutions into universities. Soon, however, HE institutions were authorized by Ukrainian government to apply for university status without having found a consortium partner if they simply stated their intention to participate in the future. Hence, they could gain this

⁵ Trans-European cooperation scheme for higher education.

status, even if consortium partners were never found” (Interview, Ukrainian university ex-rector, 2017). In 1993 and 1994, 57 HE institutions were designated as universities, purportedly as an “improvement” to the HE system (Cabinet of Ministers, 1993, 1994a, b). The latecomers were particularly motivated by their willingness to increase prestige and funding as the university status attracted more self-paying students. Known as “universitisation” (Maximova-Mentzoni, 2013), this change in organisational form was essentially an institutional “relabeling”. It resulted in the “upgrade” of a multitude of institutions, which severely lacked common features of universities that the TEMPUS-TACIS program aimed to promote based on the idea of a research university (TEMPUS-TACIS Project Management Handbook, 1996).

According to the legislation, these relabeled universities were indeed authorised and encouraged to conduct fundamental and applied research (Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, 1996), but the mere status did not entail an increase in state funding to do so. Therefore, while the organisational tasks were expanded for these institutions, their organisational form could not match this due to insufficient resources. Lacking research capacities also prevented universities from collaborating with industry, thus also hollowing out their knowledge-transfer function, while in the “oligarchic economy” (Yurchenko, 2018; Åslund, 2000, 2001), industries had only little if any interest investing in research and innovation. Hence, in the language of Mahoney and Thelen (2010), HE institutions were *converted* to new ends, namely securing western funding, conducting research as well as knowledge transfer, and later status enhancement. In particular, the university status translated into more prestige and an increase in self-paying students. Yet despite somewhat greater financial leeway, universities still lacked solid foundations for knowledge transfer. Thus, while their organisational tasks were expanded, their preexisting organisational forms simply *drifted* into the new context and remained unable to properly tackle their new tasks. Despite the partially broader disciplinary profiles⁶, the preexisting HE institutions with non-existing research capacities, but now designated as universities, remained primarily teaching-oriented and structurally mismatched with their endowed new task of promoting a research-driven knowledge economy.

Establishment of “national universities”

Meanwhile, the old universities preserved since the Soviet period experienced negative effects from mass “universitisation,” i.e., the widespread granting of university status to specialised, teaching-oriented institutions, as it undermined their previous position of prestige. After 1991, the structure of some old universities remained unchanged, while others responding to market demands

⁶ In many cases, this resulted in their transformation from mono- to multi-disciplinary HE institutions.

experienced cases of *layering* through the introduction of new faculties for highly demanded specialisations (e.g., management, marketing). In 1994, three Ukrainian universities were awarded the status of “national university”. The President⁶ designated two universities as “national universities.” The first one, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, is the leading old classical Ukrainian university, while the National University of “Kyiv Mohyla Academy” is a medieval HEI revived in 1991 in the context of nation-building. The Parliament also granted this status to the National Agricultural University, while the head of the Parliament was an alumnus of this university. The new national universities were promised increased autonomy and funding for development.

Thus, Ukrainian policy-makers generated a new organisational form for new HE tasks. In 1995, a regulation on “national institutions” was adopted stating that this status is awarded to those establishments that best “use the intellectual potential of the nation, realize the idea of national revival and development of Ukraine” (President of Ukraine, 1995). One year later, the President passed a regulation on national HE institutions, defining 13 “groups” according to which national universities could be established, e.g., classical university, agricultural, teacher training. Meanwhile, only three public universities could obtain the status of “national” in each group, allowing for 39 national universities (from a total of 199 state HE institutions in 1996/1997) (Finnikov n.d.).

However, in 1998 and 2000, amendments were made to the regulation and the number of “groups” increased to 17 (President of Ukraine, 1996). Meanwhile, there were still no clearly defined criteria for national universities other than “the national and international recognition of the achievements of the institution” (President of Ukraine, 1995). Thus, political actors had extensive leeway in granting the status, which made it possible to turn it into a means of political favoritism. Shortly before elections, Ukrainian presidents were particularly “generous” in awarding the status to create political coalitions with rectors. As one interviewee explained, the new status not only resulted in gains for the HE institutions themselves, but also rectors of national universities, whose mandates were extended from 5 to 7 years (Interview, educational expert, 2015).

Due to mutual political favoritism between rectors and governmental actors, the system of national universities encompassed 117 HE institutions by 2013, far more than the initially planned 39. Hence, the “national university” became a means of political advantage, as it enabled governmental actors to gain the loyalty of rectors, who in turn expected increased funding and prestige. In other words, the concept of flagship national university was *converted* from a signifier of academic quality to a reward for political loyalty. However, due to the economic crisis, the state was unable to allocate all institutions the promised additional funding (Stadnyi, 2013a). Without specific classification criteria, the national university status was essentially nominal

and a source of prestige enhancement for institutions and their leadership. Specifically, national universities remained primarily teaching-oriented as a significant part of research funding was still allocated to academies of sciences, again weakening their organisational capacity to fulfill the newly endowed organisational tasks of research and knowledge transfer.

The establishment of research universities

In the mid-2000s, HE policy in Ukraine was largely driven by status preservation and enhancement of high-ranking academics and HE institutions, while most universities were unable to fulfill their newly regained core tasks of research and knowledge transfer. However, amid large-scale processes of internationalisation of HE policy and economic stagnation, and a perception of the inferiority of Ukrainian universities, the well-known rector of a leading technical university pushed for a globally inspired model of the research university (Zgurovskyi, 2005). Broadly in line with Mohrman *et al.* (2008) and Altbach's (2007) considerations, global research universities were expected to integrate research, teaching, knowledge transfer and facilitate the development of a knowledge economy in Ukraine (Interview, Ukrainian university rector, 2015). This push toward research universities can be seen as a reaction to the failure of both national universities and newly labeled universities to properly fulfill the organisational tasks of research and knowledge transfer. At the same time, the creation of both national universities and research universities represented a process of *layering* of organisational forms in an attempt to find a structure that properly addresses all organisational tasks that the political level expected of HE based on a new pact between HE and society.

Following up on this proposal, in 2007, the Ukrainian government declared its intention to establish five more generously funded research universities (Cabinet of Ministers, 2007a). However, no corresponding policies were adopted until immediately before the presidential elections in 2009, when seven HE institutions were relabeled as "research universities." However, as economic reforms stalled, the new research universities were instead converted from their intended mission of promoting a knowledge-based economy toward being a reward for loyal rectors. Specifically, powerful governmental actors, in particular the Prime Minister at that time, rewarded the status of "research university" to potential academic allies before presidential elections (Hladchenko *et al.*, 2016). The rectors, in turn, hoped that the new status would enhance their funding and prestige.

In early 2010, the government promised to allocate extra funding to the research universities, while demanding them to earn significant income from knowledge transfer within 5 years. Based on agreements between governmental actors, e.g., the Cabinet of Ministers and rectors, the number of research universities increased from seven to thirteen during the same year (Cabinet of Ministers, 2010b). However, in 2010, a newly appointed cabinet of ministers and awarded the status of a research university to one more HEI

and amended this policy. First, the amount that could be allocated from the state budget to the universities decreased. Second, universities irrespective of their disciplinary profile were called on to establish a science park and to earn a significant part of income externally within one year (Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, 2010c). In parallel, the research funding allocated to the universities decreased every year and in 2014 a newly appointed Cabinet of Ministers completely abolished the regulation on research universities. Thus, the organisational form and task of the research university were converted to new ends — ensuring the political loyalty of rectors, resulting in an increase from seven research universities in 2009 to fourteen in 2010.

This *layering* of organisational forms into the preexisting structural configuration and the accompanied policy *drift* into new circumstances had the effect that there was not sufficient funding for institutionally “upgraded” research universities or national universities. Hence, they were unable to properly address new organisational tasks with the organisational forms and state appropriated resources. Once again, a new institutional form — the research university — was introduced in Ukraine, but lacked the necessary political support to function properly, limiting its capacity to support the development of a knowledge economy (Hladchenko, Westerheijden, & de Boer, 2018).

The development of the academy of sciences in independent Ukraine

The development of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine can also be understood from the gradual institutional change paradigm. Despite the political transition following the 1991 critical juncture and the re-establishment of links between research and teaching in some universities, the preexisting hierarchical governance structures of the academy research institutes were preserved and they are still run by a board comprising academicians (National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2017). Moreover, the President of the National Academy of Sciences has held his position since 1962, and the average age of researchers with leading positions in the academy is 75 (website of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2017). Thus, similarly to the political and economic system, preexisting structures with powerful agents retaining their positions have been preserved even after critical junctures.

Building on Mahoney and Thelen’s terminology, we could label this phenomenon as “duplicated drift”: After 1991, Soviet-era actors duplicated the non-reformed model of the Academy of Sciences in specific disciplines by creating “sectoral” academies of sciences in areas such as agriculture, medicine, education, law or art. In 1992, for example, the Institute of Pedagogy established in the Soviet period became the nucleus for the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences. The director of the former institute became the new president of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences. His successor was a former Minister of Education and previously a high-ranking communist party

member. Hence, the 1991 critical juncture and the following struggle for power both at the political level but also in subordinate sectors did not lead to a complete overhaul of the system. Instead, powerful individuals active in the previous political order were able to maintain their influential position and shape the path of institutional development.

Through the spread of smaller disciplinary academies, preexisting practices and institutions were multiplied, resulting in a situation in which the research function of the Ukrainian HE system remained scattered and uncoordinated, as an increasing number of organisations were active in research. In parallel, the academies also underwent *conversion* toward new ends after 1991. While it is globally increasingly common to allocate part of research funding as basic funding and part as competitive project money, in Ukraine the dominant funding principle is institutional allocation, while the share of competitive project-based funding is insignificant (Schuch, Weiss, Brugner & Buesel, 2016). Keeping this funding model stable secures the advantaged positions of the leadership of the academies of sciences (Osipian, 2018). Furthermore, the preservation of the academies of sciences allowed academicians and corresponding members to uphold their status granted before the critical juncture. Like in Soviet times, Ukrainian academicians and corresponding members receive lifelong income for holding this status irrespective of their performance.

Altogether, the National Academy of Science and the sectoral academies underwent *drift*, as the organisational form persisted, whereas the environmental conditions changed significantly after 1991. While increased internationalisation made other models of research organisation and internal research governance available policy options, the lack of a coherent coalition of actors with the necessary power to induce change enabled old elites to preserve the institutional structure from before the critical junctures.

Ukrainian institutions of higher education after the Revolution of Dignity (2014-2017)

The public disappointment with the exploitation of state institutions by the personal interests of powerful oligarchies was the main factor behind the Revolution of Dignity in 2014, which also provided a “window of opportunity” for a revitalisation of the Ukrainian political system and institutions of HE and research. However, we argue that this window for change did not yet translate into a critical juncture, because, at least up to now, established patterns of action largely persist. Despite the political realignment and targeted efforts to purge Soviet-era practices, governmental institutions are again attracting new actors often pursuing self-interests and the state — as well as HE institutions — remain a source of political favoritism and financial gains for powerful actors who head them (Härtel & Umland, 2016; Pleines, 2016). Hence, the policy-making equilibrium has been punctuated by the Revolution of Dignity, but so far the system has not settled in a new state of equilibrium,

rather is characterized by ongoing changes in the public understanding of policy problems, political institutions, and decision-making rationality. This situation has been intensified by the Russian intervention in the eastern part of the country and the ensuing violent conflict, which created an ongoing crisis situation for the state.

The situation of university rectors and the new European-inspired quality assurance agency provide fitting examples for the stability of preexisting practices. According to 2013 data, 17% of the 177 rectors of national universities had been in their position for 21 years or more, and 42% for more than 14 years (Stadnyi, 2013b). This means that a significant number of university rectors assumed their positions in Soviet times or shortly after independence.⁸ In 2014, a limit of two five-year terms was introduced for rectors. However, irrespective of how long the rector is in the position, all of them are considered to have only their first tenure when the law was adopted. Even after 2014, the factual involvement of other stakeholders such as academics or business representatives in university governance is almost absent (Hladchenko et al., 2017) and rectors are often called “feudals” due to their unlimited authority within the university (Yehorchenko, 2014). Under these conditions, loyalty to the university leadership tends to outweigh the professional qualifications of academics and their achievements as key values at universities (Mokryk, 2017). This, in turn, undermines the professional development of academics and creates barriers for quality enhancement. Thus, in a situation in which the Ukrainian economy requires human capital, new channels of knowledge transfer, and enhanced research capacities, the preexisting internal governance structures simply have drifted into a new environment without significant adaptations.

In a political attempt to reorganize the institutional setup of HE, a new version of the HE Law was indeed adopted in 2014 (Parliament of Ukraine, 2014). In the context of European integration, the government aimed to shift part of the education ministry’s tasks to a government agency. Following the dominant international model of HE quality assurance, it created the National Agency for Higher Education Quality Assurance (NAZYAVO), which is supposed to ensure an adequate peer review system and implement the European Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance (ESG) (ESG, 2015).

However, the Bologna-inspired NAZYAVO was accompanied by problems resulting from national political power dynamics. Specifically, representatives from the academies of sciences and the Federation of Employees were not elected, rather appointed by the leadership of these organisations. In addition, two former education ministry officials, who were lustrated in 2015, were elected by the rectors of public HE institutions as their representatives in NAZYAVO (Ministry of Education and Sciences of Ukraine, 2015). Finally, two other representatives of the HE institutions were accused of plagiarism (Blahodeteleva-Vovk, 2016). In September 2016, the two lustrated officials were substituted by other individuals. However, these newly elected members

of NAZYAVO were also accused of plagiarism (Kvit, 2016). In 2017, all prior members lost their mandate and a new procedure for the selection of candidates was adopted. Thus, instead of the dismantling of preexisting departments of the education ministry and the establishment of NAZYAVO as an autonomous, non-politicized entity based on western quality assurance practices, the institutional and personnel structures the Ministry simply drifted into a new environment.

Conclusion

In this article, we traced the institutional development of Ukrainian HE throughout a period of approximately 100 years including critical junctures in 1917 and 1991. We started our analysis from the assumption that, due to HE's reliance on the state for legitimacy as well as its regulatory and fiscal framework, critical political junctures also impact the HE system. Against this background, we explored Ukrainian HE focusing on two dimensions, organisational forms and organisational tasks. In the aftermath of both critical junctures, we identified numerous changes on both dimensions. In line with expectations from the punctuated-equilibrium theory (True *et al.*, 1999), we find that both stability and change are important elements of the policy process. Especially once a critical juncture punctuates the policy-making equilibrium, a room for more significant changes opens. The critical junctures in the political environment allowed for the acknowledgement of new policy problems, the possibility of new policy solutions, and triggered changes in the bounded rationality of actors. This is visible in the HE reforms that followed the critical junctures in the political environment and that addressed both organisational form and tasks. However, with regard to the latest juncture, it is questionable whether a new equilibrium has already been reached or whether the instability persists, thus creating a situation of ongoing policy changes. Table 1 provides an overview of these changes.

These changes clearly show that critical junctures in the political environment lead to a re-negotiation of the pact between HE and society through powerful political actors. In line with our central argument, the results also indicate that, especially following the 1991 critical juncture, change happened mainly gradually. Due to the absence of a stable reform-oriented coalition, there was no coherent agreement about a new set of organisational forms and tasks for HE. Therefore, change processes have been characterized by back-and-forth dynamics and individual interests. The current state of semi-reform is, in our view, partially the result of the *drift* of preexisting structures from the Soviet or early transformation era and partially the result of institutional *conversion* for the sake of prestige enhancement or monetary gain. Instead of pursuing fundamental reform and/or aligning Ukrainian HE and research institutions with western counterparts, influential governmental and academic actors often simply relabeled existing institutions for status enhancement and financial gains, while underlying modes of operation largely remained unchanged or, in

the words of Mahoney and Thelen (2010), “drifted” into the new post-communist socioeconomic context.

Table 1 Change in organizational forms and organizational tasks after the two critical junctures in Ukrainian HE

	Change after 1917	Change after 1991
Organizational form	<p>Universities are transformed into mono-disciplinary HE institutions and later restructured as universities</p> <p>Majority of HE institutions are mono-disciplinary</p> <p>HE governance is controlled by the communist party</p>	<p>Upgrading of HE institutions to universities without significant additional resources</p> <p>Move back to multi-disciplinary HE institutions</p> <p>Creation of disciplinary academies of sciences</p>
Organizational tasks	<p>Spread of Soviet ideology is added as a task of HE</p> <p>Research and teaching are to a large degree separated into different organizations</p> <p>Research is subject to the Communist Party’s approval</p>	<p>Research and knowledge transfer are added to the tasks of universities in line with the global model of the research university</p> <p>Nation-building and introduction of the idea of a knowledge economy</p>

Ukraine has also pursued a path of European integration, leading to an openness for international models for HE including, for example, the creation of a quality assurance agency, or the establishment of research universities. However, these ideas were mediated through national reform processes in which a lack of political support resulted in only superficial policy implementation and the *conversion* of preexisting institutions. This frequently led to a mismatch or detachment of organisational forms and tasks, as new rules have not been implemented or were converted to serve different tasks. Therefore, global models for HE have mainly been used as legitimizing factors, but the practices of actors to a large degree remained decoupled from these models (Bromley and Powell, 2012) with the effect that the preexisting structures and functional logic of Ukrainian HE remain stable and only rudimentarily adapted to the new circumstances of a globally oriented knowledge economy.

Our analysis offers not only empirical knowledge on the case of Ukraine but also several general lessons for HE policy research. First, we show that critical junctures in the political system matter for HE as it relies on politics for regulations and funding. Second, lacking political support for the implementation of reforms following critical junctures can limit the potential

for change due to the path dependence of existing institutions, but also vested interests of actors who draw advantages from the status quo. These actors can limit the degree of reforms, and thus preserve (parts of) the existing institutional order. Regarding the 1917 critical juncture, the absolute power of the Soviet communist party allowed it to systematically re-structure the institutional order in both the political and HE system. By contrast, powerful actors frequently driven by self-interest have prevented a coherent reorganisation of Ukrainian HE following the 1991 critical juncture. It seems at this point that only stable political support for the implementation of reforms and a crack-down on political favoritism can bring about a more coherent and substantive reform of Ukrainian HE.

3. Establishing research universities in Ukrainian higher education: The incomplete journey of a structural reform⁷

Introduction

When Ukraine gained independence in 1991, the higher education system needed reform to become a well-respected part of the global and European higher education. Reforms require initiative by national policy-makers, the legislature or the government. This especially holds true for Ukraine where the national government has much authority over the higher education system, through stringent regulation and funding. In this article we explore a structural reform in Ukrainian higher education and why it has not led to the transformation that was desired, namely, the intention of the government to establish research universities in the Ukrainian higher education landscape.

One of the mainstays in contemporary society is that it needs places in which to concentrate the best minds of society in order (1) to maintain knowledge and pass it on to the next generations and to the rest of society, and (2) to develop new knowledge on a global scale and/or in the specific context of place, time and circumstances of this society. The connection between acquiring new knowledge (research) and disseminating it (education and knowledge transfer) is widely advocated. In broad terms, this connection is the rationale of the research university. Research universities are institutions committed to research in 'all' their activities, fostering a research culture from teaching and learning to their engagement with business, government and other broader community (AAU, LERU, G8 & C9, 2013).

We focus on Ukraine for two reasons. First, this country and its higher education reforms have received little attention in the academic literature. Second, this case study provides an opportunity to explore how a global idea comes to be translated into national policy.

Establishing research universities is a 'long journey', starting with the introduction of an idea and ending with the real transformation of (some) universities. During this journey many things might happen that can lead to an adapted version of the original idea or that can prevent a successful

⁷ Hladchenko, M., de Boer, H., & Westerheijden, D. (2016). Establishing research universities in Ukrainian higher education: the incomplete journey of a structural reform. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management*, 38(2), 111-125.

implementation of such structural reform. Therefore, the two-fold research question for this article is: (1) how did the idea to establish research universities enter Ukrainian higher education and (2) how was this idea translated to the local context(s)?

The normative model of the research university idea

The prime mission of the research university is to generate research and produce graduate students. The research university is a key institution for social and economic development in a knowledge-intensive society (Mohrman et al., 2008). Countries benefit from having “academic institutions that are linked to the global academic system of science and scholarship so that they can understand advanced scientific developments and participate selectively in them” (Altbach, 2009, p. 16). Research universities are central to a country’s capacity for both research and advanced education (Kearney & Lincoln, 2013). They provide the key link between global science and scholarship and a country’s scientific and knowledge system (Altbach, 2013). To achieve their mission, research universities must be provided with the necessary infrastructure and intellectual environment (Altbach, 2013; Mohrman et al., 2008), such as libraries with access to international databases, well-equipped laboratories, technicians, and administrative support. Universities that wish to be considered research-oriented need to participate in international scientific and other scholarly networks and collaborate and compete with institutions worldwide. For example, they should provide funding for staff to attend conferences.

In Europe the idea of the research university is an inseparable part of the knowledge-based economy. In 1997, the European Union adopted the goal of becoming the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based society in the world because it saw knowledge production and diffusion as the engine of economic and social progress (Commission of the European Communities [COM], 1997). “Given that they are situated at the crossroads of research, education and innovation, universities in many respects hold the key to the knowledge economy and society” (COM, 2003, p. 5).

The idea of the research university is connected with another global idea – that of the world-class university. Altbach (2004) agrees on a definition of a world-class as ranking among the foremost in the world and being of an international standard of excellence. Altbach (2004) and Salmi (2009) noted the following characteristics of a world-class university: excellence in research; academic freedom and an intellectually stimulating environment; internal self-governance by academics over key aspects of academic life; and adequate facilities and funding. The characteristics of a research university and a world-class university coincide, because a world-class university must operate in the global context, competing with the best academic institutions in the world (Altbach, 2004), but not every research university can become a world-class university.

Travelling and translation of ideas

According to Beland and Cox (2010, p. 3), “Across the social sciences, ideas are increasingly recognised as major factors in politics”. Ideas are a primary source of political behaviour (Beland & Cox, 2010) and it is commonly accepted that ideas from one political setting are used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in another political setting (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000). Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) developed a conceptual framework that explains the relationship between policy transfer and policy success and failure (uninformed, incomplete and inappropriate transfer).

Ideas travel in time and space across countries, become materialised and are finally manifested in organisational and human behaviour. The metaphor of travel is used to describe the circulation of ideas to emphasise that they do not flow automatically, but typically they follow certain highly structured and well-worn routes (Czarniawska & Sevón, 1996). The travel metaphor is helpful in the sense that it directs our attention to travel routes and means of travel. Connections between actors in the field may explain the likely routes through which ideas travel (Rogers, 1983).

Ideas do not diffuse spontaneously in a vacuum but are actively transferred and translated in a historically grown context of other ideas, actors, traditions and institutions. A certain degree of path dependency is therefore inevitable, though from an epistemology rooted in methodological individualism, individual agents and social networks are key to this process of translation (Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996). Agents who transport ideas play a significant role through their perception of the ideas and contexts. It is therefore important to explore who transports and supports certain ideas as well as how they are packaged, formulated and timed (Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996).

According to Degn (2014b, p. 32), “Such processes, where ideas tend to move over time and space, are best described by the concept of translation, indicating a dynamic approach to the process of travel”. Translation is the process whereby a general policy idea is transferred and reinterpreted in a new setting (Czarniawska & Sevón, 1996; Sahlin-Andersson & Engwall, 2002). This translation of ideas can be analysed as an editing process. Editing rules guide the process of translation. As regards the rules of editing of translation processes Sahlin and Wedlin (2008; see also Sahlin-Andersson, 1996) distinguish:

- Rules of *context* which help to recontextualise an idea, disconnecting it from the previous, local setting and making it appropriate for the new one.
- Editing entails use of a *plot* or *rules of logic* that explain causes and effects of the translation, “allowing prototypes to follow a *problem-solving logic* and an application process or implementation plan, to be explained in relation to the actions of certain actors” (Morris & Lancaster, 2006, p.213).

Thus, editing follows a path from broad context leading to a specific logic of action. Brunsson (1989) clearly distinguishes talk – decision – action in problem-solving logic. In this article we are interested in the talk, and that may not be directly connected with actual problem-solving, though probably the rules of the game of policy require that the talk be couched in terms of problem-solving: a policy should be presented as good to improve the national situation, in order for the policy to gain legitimacy in the eyes of salient stakeholders.

- *Rules of formulation or relabelling* of an idea in an appropriate way so that it seems changed but recognisable at the same time (Morris & Lancaster, 2006).

In order to explore the travel and translation of the idea of the research university into Ukrainian higher education, we will use these three sets of editing rules – the rules of context, the rules of logic and the rules of formulation.

Research methods and methodological considerations

In Brunsson's terms, our study is about 'talk': we are interested in the discourse on the intention to establish the 'research university' in Ukraine (Brunsson, 1989). Vehicles for 'talk' or discourse, or channels of communication, include written pieces on policy, influencing popular opinion, and academic debate (i.e., three areas of written sources), and verbal discussion/debate. The former are analysed through documentary analysis (policy documents – official transcripts of parliamentary debates, white papers written by the government – and university documents, e.g., statute), the latter through interviews.

The period covered by this study was 2007–2014, with 2007 being the first time the idea of the research university appeared in official Ukrainian documents. The number of documents reporting on the concept of the research university, however, is rather limited. Therefore, interviews were required to fully explore the travel of this idea. The aim of the interviews was to discover additional information not covered in the documents and give the opportunity to evaluate the validity of the respondents' answers by observing non-verbal behaviour, which is particularly useful when exploring sensitive issues. In addition, face-to-face contact can motivate participation from respondents who would otherwise not bother to complete a questionnaire (Gordon, 1975).

Academics and representatives of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, for example, the minister and deputy ministers, heads of the departments in the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine in the period 2007–2014 (N = 12) who participated in the preparation of the documents about establishment of research universities were interviewed about causes and effects of the establishment of the research universities, about formulation (relabelling) and re-contextualisation of the idea of the research university. The interviews were conducted between October 2014 and March 2015 and were

designed as semi-structured protocols and conducted face to face with sufficient room to digress from the interview-guide and pursue subjects and themes that the respondents deemed meaningful.

Analysis – structural reform in Ukrainian higher education: Travel and translation of the idea of the research university

The rules of context: Soviet heritage and tendencies of the higher education in independent Ukraine

The transition from central planning to a market economy in post-communist countries in Central and Eastern Europe was uneven. In the early days of the transition processes, two schools of thought on economic reforms emerged. Some economists argued for a rapid break with the past ('shock therapy'), whilst others opted for an incremental approach ('gradualism'). The more westernised countries in Central and Eastern Europe such as Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia and Croatia chose rapid economic transition, joined the European Union and are outperforming those former Soviet bloc countries that took a gradual approach (e.g., Belarus, Bulgaria, Albania, Romania, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Armenia, Ukraine). The different reform strategies explain readily the difference in outcomes and the increasing gap between the two groups of transition countries (Lenger, 2008).

Concerning countries that had a common Soviet Union legacy, for example, the Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) have made significant efforts to break away from the previous Soviet structure of higher education and science. The Baltic States now have binary higher education systems, which distinguish between research-oriented higher education and higher professional education. In 1992, the Latvian Academy of Sciences was reorganised into a classical (personal) type of Academy, so-called 'club of gentlemen/women' and former Latvian Academy of Sciences research institutes were integrated into universities (Parliament of the Republic of Latvia, 1995). The same happened in Estonia and Lithuania (Parliament of the Republic of Estonia (Riigikogu), 1992; Parliament of the Republic of Lithuania, 2009).

Other post-Soviet countries such as Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine maintained a unitary system of higher education in which the distinction between university education and higher professional education is often not clear. The Ukrainian system of higher education inherited features from the Soviet model, such as the division between higher education institutions which were primarily teaching-oriented (Parliament of Ukraine, 2002) and the research institutes of the Academy of Sciences, which persisted after 1991 without teaching obligations. In 1984, in Ukraine there were 146 higher education institutions but among them only nine comprehensive universities.

All the others were mono-disciplinary pedagogical, agricultural, medical, art and culture or technical higher education institutes (Bunina, 2013).

The tendency in those other post-Soviet countries to re-badge higher education institutions whatever their character as universities took place in Ukraine after 1991. This has been called ‘universitisation’ (But’ko, 2013; Maximova-Mentzoni, 2013). From one point of view, changes in the social-economic way of living in the countries forced higher education institutions to modify former narrow educational programs and develop a fundamental educational approach. Another popular view of explaining ‘universitisation’ emphasised ‘prestige’ and ‘state funding’ (But’ko, 2013; Maximova-Mentzoni, 2013). The ‘new’ universities probably missed a whole set of university education features (Maximova-Mentzoni, 2013). Their transformation in most cases concerned launching popular humanities and business specialisations which changed specialised single-discipline higher education institutions into multiple-discipline ones – in that sense becoming similar to comprehensive universities (Borisov & Zapryagaev, 2001).

Until 1991, all higher education institutions in Ukraine were state-owned and fully dependent on state authorities. In 1991, the adoption of the Law on Entrepreneurship (Parliament of Ukraine, 1991a), which allowed the establishment of private higher education institutions, contributed to the emergence of a market for higher education services. Later public higher education institutions were permitted to charge up to 49 per cent of admitted students a tuition fee (Parliament of Ukraine, 2002). These changes led to the emergence of competition among higher education institutions for students and resources, and to massification of higher education. Since 1990/1991, there has been a gradual increase in the number of public higher education institutions, and a private sector of higher education emerged. In 2008/2009, 353 higher education institutions were authorised to provide next to bachelor’s also master’s, doctoral and post-doctoral courses. In the following years, there was a slight decrease from this peak number (State Statistics Service of Ukraine, 2015).

Besides massification and universitisation of higher education, in 1994 another change occurred in the landscape of Ukrainian higher education – the first two flagship universities received the status of ‘national university’. Expanding this event into an idea, higher education institutions that were nationally and internationally recognised could be given the status of ‘national’ (President of Ukraine, 1995, 1996). At the time, it was forecast to establish 51 national universities in 17 disciplines. The Ukrainian presidents were ‘generous’ in awarding the status of national university especially before elections. As a result, the system grew to 117 national universities (Stadnyi, 2013), more than double the number initially expected.

The original idea was that the national universities would enjoy the privilege of additional funding (Oleksiyenko, 2014) but because of constant economic

crises in the country, there were problems with allocation of funding. Stadnyi (2013) states that the idea of the national university failed due to economic problems and to the absence of an adequate system of evaluation of higher education institutions. The establishment of research universities was in some way a logical continuation of the earlier efforts at structural change through universitisation and the creation of national universities.

A consequence of the constant crises in national economy was that Ukraine dropped from 51st to 56th on the Knowledge Economy Index (KEI) between 2008 and 2012 (World Bank, 2008, 2012), emphasising that Ukraine was not succeeding in transforming itself into a knowledge society. The Knowledge Economy Index shows whether the environment is conducive to the effective use of knowledge in economic development; in Ukraine, all governments were oriented more on borrowing from the International Monetary Fund than on developing a knowledge-based economy.

Rules of logic: The Ukrainian plot

Rules of logic aim to clarify causes and effects and to present a problem-solving logic to adoption of a new idea in policy. The idea of the research university was brought into the political discourse by actors from academia. In the period 2004–2006, the National Technical University of Ukraine ‘Kyiv Polytechnic Institute’ (hereafter shown as Kyiv Polytechnic Institute) participated in a TEMPUS project entitled ‘Bridging the gap between university and business’, in which European higher education institutions, such as Delft University of Technology (the Netherlands), the Royal Institute of Technology (Sweden) and the Polytechnic University of Catalonia (Spain) were also involved. As a consequence of participation in this project the Science Park ‘Kyivska Polytechnika’ was established in 2006.

Connected with this TEMPUS project, the rector of Kyiv Polytechnic Institute started a major discussion in the Ukrainian press on the knowledge economy in Europe and on the central role of research universities in building the knowledge economy. He asserted that in Ukraine, taking as an example a Europe of knowledge, higher education institutions must be the basis for the development of the knowledge economy in the country (Zgurovskyi, 2005, 2006). Analysing the European experience, he voiced the necessity to establish research universities in Ukraine in order to build a knowledge-based economy (Zgurovskyi, 2006). In more detail he said in his interview with us:

The research university is necessary for the country in order to build a knowledge-based economy. The main idea of the research university is the triangle of knowledge – education, science and innovation; the university must be the core of the innovation. It’s up to the state to provide scientists with a high enough salary in order for them to have all conditions just to focus on research and to create a legislative basis beneficial for

knowledge transfer. And it's up to universities and business to develop productive relationships through knowledge transfer.

This rector had also been head of the Public Board of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine (an advisory board of the Ministry). He presented this idea to the education ministry and as a result a new policy was adopted, the "State Targeted Scientific-Technical and Social Program 'Science in Universities' for 2008–2012", declaring the intention of the government to establish five research universities (Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, 2007a). A respondent from the education ministry confirmed: "The aim was to provide the flagship Ukrainian universities with an impulse to develop research and innovation and to support them". The program declares as its goal "stimulating research in universities and strengthening the nexus between research and education in order to educate a new generation of highly-skilled professionals for scientific sectors of the national economy and performing competitive research and development activities, implementation of innovation activity in market conditions, taking into consideration the goals and objectives of the development of the national innovation system" (Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, 2007a). The program also aimed to increase the collaboration of research institutes of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine and sectoral academies of sciences with universities by establishing science and education centres. The government planned to allocate to research universities additional funding for research and modernisation of research infrastructure, but it expected universities to earn through research an amount equal to half of the state funding for research (Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, 2007a). In addition, the state expected that the implementation of the Program would contribute to Ukraine's joining the European research and education area.

The Program was approved in September 2007 by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine headed by the Prime Minister, Victor Yanukovich, and in November 2007, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine approved the 'Statute of National Technical University of Ukraine 'Kyiv Polytechnic Institute' (Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, 2007b). In this statute of November 2007 the Kyiv Polytechnic Institute declared itself "an autonomous public higher education institution of research type" (Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, 2007b), thus using a designation that can be seen as a translation of 'research university' for the first time.

A few months later, a new Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine was appointed under the new Prime Minister, Yulia Tymoshenko. In 2008 all that was done in order to establish research universities was issuing the decree 'On Raising the Status of Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv' (President of Ukraine, 2008). As one interviewee explained:

The state wanted to provide Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv with stimulus and support, including finance for becoming a world-class research university. It was expected

the university to enter into world rankings and to present Ukraine on the international level.

Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv was promised benefits from the state such as a salary increase for its academic staff and additional funding for international study visits by staff and students and increased state funding for research (President of Ukraine, 2008).

From the Program, in which the intention of the government to establish research universities was declared, the idea spread among university rectors, who regarded it as an opportunity to increase their status and to obtain additional funding (translating this into a new opportunity for them, very much like being awarded the status of national university). Presidential elections were scheduled for autumn 2009 (eventually held early 2010) and already in July 2009, the Cabinet of Ministers awarded the status of research university to six universities and some months later to a seventh one. In addition, in 2009 at the 'widening meeting' of the Cabinet of Ministers headed by Yulia Tymoshenko, in which rectors of the leading Ukrainian higher education institutions participated, quantitative criteria for research universities were announced. Among the privileges promised to newly established research universities, the government planned to award them additional funding starting in 2011 expecting that the crisis in the national economy would be over by that time (Ukrainian Independent Information Agency of News [UNIAN], 2009).

In January and February 2010, two rounds of presidential elections were held. Four days before the second round, Yulia Tymoshenko, the Prime Minister and the presidential candidate, awarded the status of research university to another six universities. The Cabinet of Ministers promised benefits to research universities such as doubling the salaries of the academic staff for 2011–2012, additional funding for international study visits by staff and students and additional state funding for research infrastructure (Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c, 2009d, 2009e, 2010a).

Ten days after the second round of the presidential election a further twist occurred in the government's 'translation' of the idea of the research university: the Cabinet, still headed by Yulia Tymoshenko, as she did not win the presidential election, adopted 28 quantitative criteria for research universities focusing on research production. Research universities were obliged to prove their research university status within 5 years according to these 28 indicators (Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, 2010b). During the first 5 years, research at those universities would be financed from the state budget, and the share of this funding in the state budget of the university would comprise not less than 25 per cent. This meant a significant increase in the state funding for research universities because in other universities this share was usually about 10 per cent (Parliament of Ukraine, 1991b). In addition, it was stipulated that research universities would receive state funding after these 5

years only if their external research earnings equalled half the state funding for research.

Then in another twist, the newly elected president Yanukovich (the one who was forced from office by the Revolution of Dignity in 2014) appointed a new Prime Minister. The new Cabinet of Ministers awarded the status of research university to one more university, introduced three new criteria for research universities and changed some of the previous criteria. Moreover, the status of research university had to be proven, and significant income from private parties must be earned, already at the beginning of 2011, not after 5 years (Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, 2010c).

Table 1. Chronology of events.

Date	Event
2004-2006	Kyiv Polytechnic Institute participated in TEMPUS project 'Bridging the gap between policy and business'
September 2007	Cabinet of Ministers approves the 'State Targeted Scientific-Technical and Social Programme "Science in Universities" for 2008-2012' in which declares an intention to establish five research universities
November 2007	Cabinet of Ministers approves the statute of Kyiv Polytechnic Institute in which university declares itself "an autonomous public higher education institution of research type".
2008	Decree 'On Raising the Status of Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv' about measures aimed to transform this university into research one.
July 2009	Six universities are awarded the status of research
September 2009	One more university is awarded the status of research university
January 2010	First round of presidential elections
3 February 2010	Six more universities are awarded the status of research university
7 February 2010	Second round of presidential elections, lost by Prime Minister Tymoshenko
17 February 2010	Resolution 'On Approval of the Regulation on Research University which contains 28 criteria and universities are required to prove their status in 5 years.
March 2010	President Yanukovich appoints new Cabinet of Ministers
March 2010	One more university is awarded the status of research one
August 2010	Cabinet of Ministers adds three new criteria of research university, makes some changes in previous criteria and requires universities to prove their status at the beginning of 2011

As these almost chaotic policy developments (in Table 1) show, the actors involved in introducing research universities into Ukraine engaged in different problem-solving logic. Politicians who awarded the status of research

university wanted to get universities' support at elections by promising them abundant funding and expected them to start earning externally large amounts in 5 years' time. The government which came to the power after elections was obliged to implement the promises of their predecessors but they 'translated' it into their own interpretation of the research university by adding new criteria and requiring the research universities to prove their status and earn significant income from private parties almost immediately instead of in 5 years. In response to these highly fluctuating policies, some academics tried to resolve the problem of the gap between universities and business; other academics tried to obtain more funds for their ailing universities.

Relabelling: The rules of formulation

The primary mission of the research universities was formulated to be "to educate highly-skilled professionals and to conduct competitive research and development activities" (Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, 2007a, 2007c). In 2008, in connection with Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, the idea of the research university was formulated as establishment of a world-class university. Only in 2010, at the time of defining the quantitative criteria (and after the statuses of research university were awarded) did an official definition of a research university appear: "a national higher education institution which has significant achievements, does research and innovation, ensures the nexus between education, science and industry, and takes part in international projects" (Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, 2010b). This textual definition was operationalised into the 28 quantitative criteria mentioned before. Prime among these research production oriented performance indicators were, for instance, defence of 300 candidate of sciences (equivalent of PhD) and 50 doctor of sciences theses in 5 years; publication of 200 monographs and textbooks; employment of 150 full-time academics with doctor of sciences degree and 500 with candidate of sciences degree; functioning of 15 scientific boards at which candidate of sciences and doctor of sciences theses can be defended; a library with one million books; at least 50 foreign students in the master and doctoral programs; publishing at least 150 articles in journals indexed in international databases (Web of Science, Scopus) per year; and national and international study visits of 50 young academics and students per year (Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, 2010b). The status of research university was awarded by the Cabinet of Ministers but it was up to the education ministry to develop the criteria for the research universities. The paradoxical relabelling was that the ministry took its inspiration for quantitative criteria from the familiar Russian research universities' context. The quantitative criteria, therefore, were not based on the idea of research universities in Western Europe, where the travel of the research university had initially started. Moreover, the quantitative criteria had little in common with the expectation of the government that research universities would earn a substantial proportion of their research funding externally. The expectation that universities would earn externally was directly

connected with the establishment of a knowledge-based economy – though with stress on knowledge transfer and on monetary benefits (next to public funding), rather than on the idea of the research university as the core institution for knowledge discovery.

Notwithstanding the introduction of research universities, in Ukraine there still were the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine and sectoral academies of sciences, which received the largest part of the state funding for research. The funding of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine and sectoral academies of sciences annually was 3.5 higher than the total budget for education of the two flagship Ukrainian universities together, that is, Kyiv Polytechnic Institute and Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (Kovalchuk, 2010). The situation contrasts with the situation in, for example, the Baltic States, where the research institutes had been made to merge with universities to boost universities' research capacity. Such a reform was not on the agenda in Ukraine.

The idea of the research university was formulated in different ways when it was being translated by different actors: the initial idea about the research university as a part of knowledge-based economy was first transformed into the concept of the world-class university, and then transformed again by quantitative criteria which had little in common with the expectation that the universities would earn significant external funding in 5 years. In 2010, the new Cabinet changed the criteria of research universities including demanding universities already in the first year to earn significant income externally (knowing that it was impossible under Ukrainian conditions) in such a way justifying why it did not have to allocate the funding promised by Tymoshenko's Cabinet. Equally far beyond practicability was a new criterion requiring immediate establishment of a science park at each research university. Each agent in the process added its vision in the formulation of the idea of the research university. Moreover, during the period between 2007 and 2010 while the idea was being formulated into policy, the politicians in the education ministry and the government changed, leading to a further loss of consistency and renewed relabelling. As a result of this repeated process of reformulation there was a disparity between knowledge/research, earning money, and the quantitative criteria.

Conclusions

We explored the translation of the idea of the research university applying the theoretical framework of the rules of editing. Concerning the first set of these rules, about context, the global idea of the research university travelled from the European context of technological universities (remember the TEMPUS project with Delft University of Technology, the Royal Institute of Technology, and the Polytechnic University of Catalonia), and it landed in a post-Soviet Ukrainian reality, in an economy which was far from being a knowledge economy and which staggered on for years by relying on a constant

stream of foreign borrowings, in a country in constant financial crisis, in a country with a higher education system where the term ‘university’ did not correspond to the meaning it has in European realities and where a significant portion of research funding was allocated to the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine and sectoral academies of sciences.

Different agents had different perceptions of the logic of translation as they aimed to resolve different problems. Academics brought the idea of the research university into the political discourse to gain attention from Ukrainian politicians for the problems of the development of science in Ukraine. The initiators of the translation of the idea linked it with the establishment of Ukraine’s first science park; they were serious about research universities doing research even if the focus was more on innovation-oriented research rather than on curiosity-driven, fundamental research. However, that fits in with their context of technological universities. In 2008, the state was interested in establishing a world-class university, which was regarded to be the same as a research university. Later, in 2009, the idea of the research university was used by the government in order to gain support in elections.

Looking at the rules of formulation it can be stated that because of the lack of systemic vision on development of the knowledge economy in the country, and a lack of the funding, the idea of the research university was hollowed-out while travelling into the Ukrainian discourse. The state did not create conditions suitable for knowledge transfer between universities and business, and universities had funding for neither equipment for laboratories, nor working conditions that would enable academics to engage in research (salary, conference allowances, etc.). In the normative model of a research university, abundant funding is a necessary condition. From one point of view, Ukrainian government used the idea of the ‘research’ university as an opportunity to receive loyalty of higher education institutions in elections held in 2010. From another point of view, the government expected beneficial results from universities in knowledge transfer and third party funding. This second view, too, is a peculiar translation of the idea of the research university, driven rather by current fiscal and economic stringencies than by long-term visions of actually building a knowledge economy.

Our exploration has shown the importance of the agents who translate the global idea into national policy and how each of them translated it in a different way. In general, success or failure of reform depends on the interpretation of the idea by these actors in the process of translation, on the context from which they translate and into which they translate, how they see the causes and effects of translation, what problems they aim to resolve and how they formulate new policy. In summary, the establishment of research universities in Ukraine really is an incomplete journey because of an uninformed, incomplete and inappropriate transfer of the idea of the research university (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000). To succeed, the idea requires changes in context, rules of logic

and formulation of the idea. In 2014, a new Law on Higher Education (Parliament of Ukraine, 2014) was adopted which preserves the status of research university but the same year the resolution with criteria of research university was abolished. This means the development of a new approach to defining the research university, new criteria; in other words, again new rules of context, logic and formulation of this idea. In this way, 'research universities 2.0' in Ukraine may come closer to their destination – drivers of knowledge and innovation for a knowledge-based economy. However, for efficient completion of the translation of the idea of the research university into the Ukrainian context it is also necessary to explore the mismatches in the process of the implementation of the state policy in the universities in order to improve them. This issue requires further exploration.

4. Implementing the Triple Helix model: Means–ends decoupling at the state level?⁸

Introduction

During the last decades, the development of the knowledge economy in Western societies has significantly changed both the roles played by universities and the relationship between the university, industry and government, resulting in the emergence of the Triple Helix (Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 2000) as one of the global models of world society (Meyer, 2010). The main idea behind the Triple Helix lies in the expansion of the role of knowledge in social development more broadly and of the university in the economy more specifically (Etzkowitz, 2002). The university is expected to extend its traditional missions of knowledge transmission (teaching) and production (research) to include economic and social development (Pinheiro et al., 2015; Benneworth, de Boer & Jongbloed 2015; Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff 1998), shifting from “an individual to organisational focus in each mission” (Etzkowitz, 2002, p.7). Moreover, public policies, and thus the institutional logic of the state, must be “an outcome of the interactions among the Triple Helix agencies” (Etzkowitz, 2003, p. 295). Similar to other global models of world society, the Triple Helix originates and has been applied in the context of developed or mature economies, but less developed countries have also made attempts to implement this global model into their specific national contexts. Meanwhile, the specific national context as an institutional environment can be characterised by a high degree of institutional complexity caused by means–ends decoupling at the state level (Hladchenko & Westerheijden, 2018; Hladchenko, Westerheijden, & de Boer, 2018). Means–ends decoupling (Bromley & Powell, 2012) at the state level implies that policies and practices of the state are disconnected from its core goal of creating public welfare. Such means–ends decoupling occurs, for instance, in oligarchic economies, where the state is captured by exploitative, rent-seeking oligarchies in business and politics (Guriev and Sonin 2009). This bleak picture describes numerous post-communist countries (Hellman, 1998), one of which is Ukraine (Yurchenko, 2018; Åslund, 2000, 2001).

Thus, the research question addressed in this paper is as follows: How did means–ends decoupling at the state level affect the implementation of the

⁸ Hladchenko, M., & Pinheiro, R. (2019). Implementing the Triple Helix Model: Means–ends decoupling at the state level? *Minerva*, 57(1), 1-22.

Triple Helix model in Ukraine? To answer our research question, we employ both sociological institutionalism and rational choice institutionalism. The data emanate from personal interviews with the senior managers of four universities and science parks established within them who were directly involved with the pursuit of public policy geared towards promoting the implementation of the Triple Helix in Ukraine. The paper is organised as follows. In the next section, we sketch out the general underpinnings of our theoretical framework. We then present the backdrop for the case and its methodological considerations, followed by a presentation of the empirical data and key findings for each of the case universities. The paper concludes by reflecting on the key findings in light of the extant literature and by providing recommendations for future policies.

Theoretical framework

Sociological institutionalism and world society

New institutionalism is not a “unified body of thought” (Hall & Taylor, 1996, p. 936) as it comprises several different analytical approaches among which are sociological institutionalism and rational choice institutionalism. The theoretical integration of these two analytical approaches allows exploring institutional change from a variety of perspectives (Koning, 2016). Rational choice institutionalism is inspired by such concepts as property rights and rent-seeking (Hall & Taylor, 1996), with its proponents viewing institutions as coordinating mechanisms that sustain equilibria (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010), while actors are considered to be driven by self-interest and wish to maximise utility in a strategic manner (Hall & Taylor, 1996). The powerful actors can convert pre-existing institutions or externally copied institutional innovations into the object of rent-seeking. Rent-seeking behaviour implies “a return in excess of a resource owner’s opportunity cost” (Tollison, 1982, 575) and it can take illegal forms as rational actors often reconfigure institutions or inefficiently allocate resources to their own benefit (Krueger, 1974). In various post-communist countries rent-seeking practices have resulted in the emergence of business, political, and bureaucratic oligarchies and the obliteration of general societal wealth (Hellman, 1998; Wittkowsky, 1999).

Sociological institutionalism is grounded in the cultural perspective with institutions referring to symbolic systems and cognitive scripts (Hall & Taylor, 1996). Following the premises of sociological institutionalism, world society theory (Meyer, 2010) focuses on the existence of global cultural models that function as actorhood models for states, organisations and individuals. Since the global models involve cultural or meaning systems, they are supposed to influence actors’ agency, identity and activity. Despite viewing actors as culturally embedded, the global models imply agentic and purposive actorhood (Meyer, 2010). Meanwhile, Meyer and Jepperson (2000) point out the variations in the social construction of agentic actorhood depending on the

relationship between the state as authority and organisations and individuals (and civil society) as a social agent.

The embeddedness of states into world culture promotes the diffusion of global cultural models (Meyer et al., 1997). By adopting world models that are seen as legitimate and appropriate, states and other constructed actors are capable of drawing external and internal support or legitimacy “that rest[s] on claims to universal world applicability” (Meyer et al., 1997, p.148). The national context in which global models are implemented can be viewed as a societal field that comprises organisational fields and that is guided by the institutional logics of the societal institutions such as state or market (Zietsma et al., 2016). Institutional logics are “socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals ... provide meaning to their socially constructed reality” (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999, p.804; see also Thornton & Ocasio, 2008; Thornton et al. 2012). The means and ends of organisations and individuals are enabled and constrained by prevailing institutional logics (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). Organisations, and the actors composing them, can also initiate change in the prevailing institutional logics, in which case they are called “institutional entrepreneurs” (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). Moreover, organisations often confront incompatible prescriptions emanating from a single or multiple institutional logics, thus experiencing institutional complexity (Greenwood et al., 2011; Meyer & Höllerer, 2016).

The implementation of global models in a new national context requires adjustment of societal institutions in order to accommodate these new models. In those cases, where no local adjustments are made, the enactment of global models results in decoupling at the state level (Meyer 2010). Bromley and Powell (2012) distinguish between policy–practice and means–ends decoupling. The former refers to a gap between policy and practice, the classical object of implementation studies. The latter refers to a gap between practices and outcomes (Bromley & Powell, 2012), that is, policies are executed according to plan, yet intended outcomes are not achieved. It occurs because the implemented practices are compartmentalised from the core goals of the actor in question, e.g., state, organisation, individual (Bromley & Powell, 2012). Thus, means–ends decoupling at the state level implies that policies and practices of the state do not contribute to its main goal of creating public welfare. Means–ends decoupling also involves a “goal drift or goal displacement” when means become ends in themselves (Grodal & O’Mahony, 2015, p.10). Consequently, means–ends decoupling entails an “efficiency gap” (Dick, 2015) and the diversion of critical resources (Bromley & Powell, 2012). Means–ends decoupling is difficult to sustain unless the (individual) actors maintain confidence in the policy or practice (Dick, 2015; Bromley & Powell, 2012). Grodal and O’Mahony (2015) view means–ends decoupling at the field level as a cause of institutional complexity for an organisation. Meanwhile, institutional complexity promotes organisations in applying

means–ends decoupling to attain legitimacy (Bromley & Powell, 2012). Leaders and managers play a crucial role in organisational strategic responses to institutional prescriptions (Gioia et al., 2013), amongst other aspects, by attempting to address contradictory institutional logics in ways that minimise the disruption of internal activities (Berg & Pinheiro, 2016).

The Triple Helix as a global model

Knowledge production and diffusion are widely viewed as the engines of economic and social progress in Western societies (European Commission, 1997). The advent of the so-called “knowledge economy” has put a premium on the interplay between science and society/economy in the context of technology transfer and other collaborative arrangements to foster global competitiveness. As a result, conceptualisations such as the Triple Helix model (Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 2000) have become rather prevalent across policy and academic circles alike. Heuristically, the Triple Helix prescribes corresponding institutional logics both at the societal field level and at the level of the organisational fields of higher education and science, on the one hand, and industry/business, on the other (Cai, 2014). The core trigger for the implementation of the Triple Helix lies in the institutional logic of the state, which involves “shared beliefs on knowledge as a key to economic growth” (Cai, 2014, p. 4). Cai (2014) argues that the dominant institutional logics in non-Western societies, which tend to be contrary to the “ideal” institutional logics of Western societies, can hinder the implementation of the Triple Helix model. Meanwhile, Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff (2000) distinguish three types of the Triple Helix model. Under the *static model*, the state encompasses academia and industry and directs relations between them, as found in the former Soviet Union when state-owned industries were predominant. In the case of the *laissez-faire model*, characterised by a limited state intervention in the economy (as is the case in the USA), the three institutional spheres are separated. In contrast to the two previous models, an ideal model of Triple Helix presupposes the existence of overlapping institutional spheres in the form of tri-lateral networks and hybrid configurations (Fig. 1).

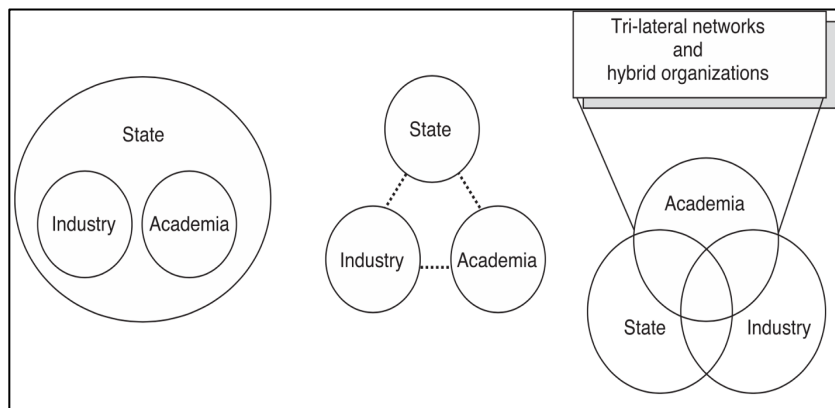


Figure 1. From static and laissez-faire to Triple Helix (Etzkowitz, 2003)

The implementation of the ideal or overlapping Triple Helix model requires the loosening of top-down control and the creation of a civil society, thus opening the way to bottom-up innovations (Saad, Zawdie & Malairaja, 2008; see also Marcovich & Shinn, 2011). Triple Helix implies the internal transformation of the state, industry and university. The state is expected to develop support mechanisms and provide public venture capital (Etzkowitz, Gulbrandsen, & Levitt, 2001). The EU's Framework Programmes is an example of a direct initiative of the governments involved, which is aimed at moving the institutional spheres closer to one another (Etzkowitz, 2003). Contracts, research projects and/or subsidies to foster innovations are among the key factors that facilitate transfer knowledge from academia to the wider world (Löfsten & Lindelöf, 2002). The state is expected to be rather active at the regional and local levels insofar as developing and implementing policies and mechanisms for promoting industrial growth (Etzkowitz, 2003). Industry is considered to undergo a transformation, moving away from the hierarchical model of large companies towards start-ups and academic spin-offs (Etzkowitz, 2003).

In addition to state initiatives, university policies are crucial for the successful implementation of the Triple Helix (Caldera & Debande, 2010; see also Geuna & Muscio, 2009). The university is supposed to play a greater role in society as an entrepreneur. Yet, the overall performance of a given university in knowledge transfer depends on a multiplicity of internal characteristics (Caldera & Debande, 2010), such as research excellence and a portfolio of disciplines (e.g., STEM fields) that produce knowledge which is considered attractive for industries, e.g., the biomedical and engineering faculties in the case of STEM (Lach & Schankerman, 2008; Powell & Owen-Smith, 2002).

As the Triple Helix model contends with the overlapping of institutional spheres, it results in the establishment of a knowledge infrastructure and organisational mechanisms fostering the rise of new social arenas for

collaboration, like science parks (Etzkowitz, 2003). Science parks originated in the USA in the 1950s, with the first being established in the vicinity of Stanford University. For many European countries, it was not until the 1980s and 1990s that a significant number of science parks were established (Quintas, Wield & Massey, 1992), with the Nordic countries leading the way (Lester & Sotarauta, 2007). Science parks diminish the problem of limited appropriability of research results as R&D cooperation among firms within the science park decreases the costs for each individual firm as more results become widely available (Mowery & Rosenberg, 1989).

Methodology

The research adopts a qualitative case study design (Yin, 2009). On the policy front, the case is Ukraine, whereas four case universities and their respective science parks were chosen to investigate variations in the implementation and effects of the policy frameworks (comparative approach). As far as data collection goes, field work was conducted in the following way: the initial phase (2014–2016 period) focused on an overview of the state reforms affecting the implementation of the Triple Helix in Ukraine. During this stage of the research, official documents and publications from governmental agencies and universities were explored as the main sources of information. Semi-structured interviews (N=6) were also conducted with the rectors and vice-rectors of the case universities involved with the implementation of the public policy geared towards promoting the enactment of the Triple Helix. This phase led to the selection of science parks at four public Ukrainian universities. The basis for selection was twofold. Firstly, as the disciplinary profile influences the performance of the university in knowledge transfer (Pinheiro, Benneworth & Jones, 2012), we selected the science parks located in/around universities with different disciplinary profiles: Technical University, Classical University, University of Economics and University of Life Sciences. Secondly, Meyer and Rowan (1977) denote that while early adopters of organisational innovations are commonly driven by the desire to improve performance, late adopters mainly aim to secure public legitimacy. Thus, one case (Technical University) is the initiator of the diffusion of the Triple Helix model in the Ukrainian context, while the other cases are late adopters. The selected science parks were established in 2006, 2011² and 2015, consecutively. During 2016, semi-structured interviews were conducted with the directors (N=4) of the above-mentioned science parks. As the directors of the science parks were appointed by the rectors, the scope for “managerial actorhood” of the former is rather limited as they are primarily implementers of the vision set out by the rectors and/or are obliged to receive approval for their strategies from the senior managers of the university.

Backdrop to the case: Means–ends decoupling at the state level in Ukraine

Between 1919 and 1991, Ukraine was a part of the Soviet Union what implied colonial dependency on the Kremlin (Oleksiyenko, 2016). During this period, the country hosted the foremost leaders of world science due to heavy involvement in military programmes (Yegorov, 2009). Despite the fact that Ukraine managed to develop a rather sophisticated research infrastructure, it nonetheless lacked adequate mechanisms for research commercialisation. Over time, as the centrally planned system failed to react to the new economic and technological challenges, and as resources were distributed inefficiently, the country started to lose its leading position in the fields of electronics and biotechnology. That being said, scientific fields such as mathematics, physics and new materials remained rather strong until the beginning of the 1990s. However, neither the research institutes of the academy of sciences nor universities formed the core of the R&D under the Soviets. Instead, this role was undertaken by the branch institutes and design bureaux directly subordinated to ministries (Yegorov, 2009).

Following the fall of the Soviet Union, Ukraine was established as an independent state in 1991, which also involved the transition to a market economy. However, state policies aimed at lustration, de-Sovietisation and decommunisation were not adopted and civil society remained underdeveloped. Under such conditions, the dominance of the old Soviet elite in governmental institutions (Egorov, 1996; Oleksiyenko, 2016) and the concentration of resources within the state, set the stage for extraordinary rent-seeking (Åslund, 2000). In 1993-94 the actors from the Soviet shadow economy joined the government to maximise their income. The rent-seeking of the ruling elite resulted in the inconsistent implementation of privatisation and in the emergence of a post-Soviet oligarchy consisting of the old Soviet political elite and actors from the Soviet shadow economy (Yurchenko, 2018); Åslund, 2000, 2001). As oligarchs dominated both the economy and politics, the state agencies were employed for the exploitative rent-seeking e.g., preservation of sectoral monopolies and economic subsidies (Åslund, 2000, 2001). Conditions beneficial to rent-seeking behaviour were maintained through partial reforms and the blocking of radical reforms by business and political elites (Hellman 1998). These processes resulted in the emergence of a regime characterised as a “neoliberal kleptocracy”, which implies that “typical neoliberal features are exacerbated by omnipresent corruption and institutionalised state asset embezzlement” (Yurchenko, 2018, p. 4). Drawing on our theoretical framework, in the Ukrainian case, means–ends decoupling was sustained at the state level, as the policies and practices of the state were disconnected from its core goal of creating public welfare. It resulted in inconsistencies within the institutional logic of the state, leading to a high degree of institutional complexity experienced by organisations and

individuals that did not belong to the privileged group of so-called “rent seekers”.

At the beginning of the 1990s, the domestic industry continued to produce high-tech products, but this did not last for long (Yurevich, 1996). During the transition to a market economy following independence, the domestic economy moved towards “a low equilibrium of high entry barriers for non-insiders, limited incentives for technology adoption, and high concentration on base commodities” (World Economic Forum, 2014, p.11). As a consequence, the Ukrainian economy became low-tech, based on raw-materials; 80% of all exports comprised of semi-finished products (World Economic Forum, 2014). The reorientation of the Ukrainian economy towards hi-tech imports and low-tech exports hampered the endogenous development of science and innovation (Yegorov & Ranga, 2014; Yegorov, 2015). Small and medium-sized firms play an important role in innovation and technology adoption (Dettwiler et al. 2006), but the conditions for their development are rather difficult in Ukraine due to the obstacles created by the taxation system and bureaucratisation (World Economic Forum, 2014; European Commission, 2016). In addition, there is an absence of public policies aimed at supporting start-ups (European Commission, 2016). Among the multiple factors that discourage global investors from doing business in Ukraine, corruption, inflation, tax rates, inefficient government bureaucracy and the complexity of tax regulations (World Economic Forum, 2015) are important examples.

In the 2000s, venture funds were established, but instead of investing in innovation, they were directed into supporting real estate development. Nowadays, regional innovation research is absent since there is no specific innovation governance system at the regional level (European Commission 2016). Public funding to support research and innovation on a competitive basis represents less than 1.5% of the state’s budget for research (Yegorov and Ranga 2014). The only beneficial factor for the development of innovation during the 2000s became the establishment of information technology (IT) outsourcing companies due to the tendency of diversification among Western IT companies. As for American IT companies, the difference in nine hours between time zones allows outsourcing through Ukraine so as to ensure a 24-hour work cycle. Another important factor in the development of IT in Ukraine was the extensive availability of talented IT youths, the result of strong domestic traditions in engineering education. Despite the willingness of Western IT companies to outsource in such Eastern European countries as Romania and Hungary, both members of the EU, these countries lack skilled IT programmers.

As regards the organisational field of higher education and science in independent Ukraine, its dominant institutional logics are determined by the institutional logic of the state with its contradictory prescriptions. After 1991, higher education institutions were expected to do research next to teaching, however, the lack of the knowledge economy in the country and the urge of

state actors to preserve much of the Soviet legacy created structural barriers to the development of vibrant domestic science system (Gomilko, Svyrydenko & Terepyschyi, 2016). Given the fact that Ukraine inherited from the Soviet period the division between higher education institutions and research institutes of the academy of sciences without teaching obligations, the bulk of research funds were allocated to the latter (Osipian, 2013; Hladchenko, 2016). Furthermore, the strong position of the rectors enables them to convert the higher education institutions into rent-seeking agents geared towards personal gains in terms of prestige, money and positions of power (Stadnyi, 2013; Yehorchenko, 2014), thus undermining quality of higher education.

Diffusion and implementation of the Triple Helix in Ukraine

This section of the paper is divided into two distinct parts. In the first part, we present data insights referring to dynamics (institutional logics) at the societal or macro level, whereas in the second sub-section the focus is on the meso dynamics at the level of the case universities and their respective organisational arrangements for promoting technology transfers (science parks).

Dominant Institutional logics at the societal field level: "The macro picture"

The diffusion of the Triple Helix model in the Ukrainian context was initiated by the National Technical University of Ukraine 'Kyiv Polytechnic Institute' (KPI), acting as an institutional entrepreneur. In the period 2004–06, KPI participated in the EU's TEMPUS project, titled 'Bridging the Gap between University and Business', together with such European higher education institutions as Delft University of Technology (the Netherlands), the Royal Institute of Technology (Sweden) and the Polytechnic University of Catalonia (Spain). As a result of this collaboration, the first Ukrainian science park (Kyivska Polytechnika) was established in 2006 (Parliament of Ukraine, 2006). It was granted the right to conduct entrepreneurial activities and to open bank accounts. Inspired by developments from Europe, KPI's rector voiced the necessity to establish research universities across Ukraine to prepare the country for the knowledge economy (Zgurovskyi, 2005). The government supported this initiative and, in 2007, declared its intention to designate five higher education institutions as research universities, promising them additional funding. However, no such policy was adopted until 2009, the year in which presidential elections were scheduled. In 2009, a new legislation allowing universities to establish science parks and conduct entrepreneurial activity was adopted (Parliament of Ukraine, 2009). Among the advantages provided to the science parks, the government claimed the import tax exemptions for research equipment and special rental conditions for the partners of the science park. In 2009–2010, in the context of implementation of the Triple Helix model in Ukraine, the government awarded the status of research university to 13 flagship universities, promising them additional state funding for the development of research and knowledge transfer capabilities in the following years (Oleksiyenko, 2014). The state expectation was that

within five years the research universities would earn through knowledge transfer half of what the government allocated to them for research. However, the implementation of the Triple Helix in Ukraine turned into means–ends decoupling at the state level due to the rent-seeking behaviour of the powerful actors from the governmental institutions, e.g., cabinet of ministers. As in the Ukrainian case means–ends decoupling at the state level implied incompatible prescriptions within the institutional logic of the state which caused inconsistencies between the prescriptions imposed by the institutional logics of the market and state, it resulted in institutional complexity for the science parks of the Ukrainian research universities. Firstly, urgent domestic reforms to foster the knowledge economy were not undertaken. Consequently, the institutional logics of the market and of the organisational field of industry were not innovation driven. Thus, there was no demand for research undertaken by the universities. Secondly, the research institutes of the academy of sciences inherited from the Soviet model persisted after the establishment of the research universities. Thus, part of the funding for research was diverted to the former. Thirdly, a new government was appointed in 2010. The latter awarded the status of research university to one additional domestic higher education institution and changed the prior institutional logic of the state by demanding the establishment of science parks at all research universities, irrespective of their disciplinary profiles (Cabinet of Ministers, 2010c). Moreover, research universities were now required to earn externally half of what the government allocated to them for research in one year instead of five, as initially declared. Research universities did receive additional funding from the state, but it was not sufficient to update their research infrastructures. Further, nothing was said about the allocation of state funding for the establishment of the science parks (Hladchenko et al., 2016). The amount allocated to universities for research decreased annually, thus raising the degree of institutional complexity that they experienced. In 2014, and following the Revolution of Dignity, the new cabinet of ministers abolished the regulation regarding the research universities. In the same year, Russian intervention in the eastern part of Ukraine caused the Ukrainian economy to lose its growing momentum. Moreover, a significant part of the state budget was allocated for defence spending (Oleksiyenko, 2016). Regarding the degree of means–ends decoupling at the state level after 2014, it was decreased but not eliminated as governmental institutions remained a source of rent-seeking for the powerful actors heading them (Härtel & Umland, 2006).

In the next section, we illuminate how the implementation of the Triple Helix model at each of the case universities manifested itself.

Technical University

Technical University was founded in 1898 and houses approximately 25,000 students. This university can be considered a flagship among Ukrainian technical universities. In 2011, the university made a breakthrough, becoming

the first Ukrainian university to get into QS World University Ranking, though at position 601+.

Its science park was established in 2006, following the university's participation in the TEMPUS project. The park started working in R&D, and its director contacted Ukrainian technical companies located in the region in an effort to explore what innovations and solutions they required. In this way, the science park aimed to connect regional industry representatives with local academics. Thus, academics affiliated with the university could direct their research to areas that were of potential interest to industry. The science park managed to establish collaborations with some regional companies, but this was less than expected. Some R&D projects were undertaken together with larger international companies like Samsung. However, viewing R&D as just the 'selling of time', the director of the science park strived for the establishment of start-ups.

In 2012, an annual competition ("Sikorsky Challenge") for local start-ups was conducted on the premises of the science park. The three winners were awarded seed funds to establish firms and for further development. The managers of the science park found investors who were interested in supporting these start-ups, and it was expected that students rather than academics would develop the start-up projects. Meanwhile, in the first year of the Sikorsky Challenge, the start-ups did not manage to garner any major investment. According to the director of the science park:

The investors complained that students who represented their projects told them nothing about the advantages of the innovation in general but described in detail the components of the innovation; thus, they presented the projects in a very complicated way. The problem was to teach the students who developed the ideas for start-ups to present the projects in a more 'appropriate' way from the point of view of investors. The investors were not ready to invest money without seeing a ready product or at least a prototype. Taking into account all these shortcomings, we established the start-up school to help the students turn ideas into products (Director, Science Park).

The establishment of the start-up school allowed the Sikorsky Challenge to significantly increase investments in start-ups in the following years. In addition to the collaboration through the science park, the university, in particular the academics from the IT faculty, collaborate with outsourcing IT companies. These companies equip science and education laboratories, and academics using this equipment educate professionals for them. Thus, students and academics have an opportunity to study and conduct research using modern high-tech equipment, while IT companies scoop up employees with the skills and knowledge that they view as important. It is necessary to stress that academics, particularly those from the IT faculty, are quite willing to

participate in the science park projects and would like the number of these projects to increase. Moreover, taking into account the Russian intervention in the eastern part of Ukraine, the science park is involved with R&D in the defence area. Meanwhile, the director of the science park maintains that, nowadays, taking into account the instability of the Ukrainian banking system and economy, there are sufficient investors but not a sufficient number of interesting projects that can be competitive at the international level. Moreover, despite the fact that the university provides a double salary to all academics compared with the state appropriation, it is nonetheless uncompetitive with the salary offered by outsourcing IT companies. Thus, employment at the university does not attract the talented graduates in IT.

To summarise, the disciplinary profile of the technical university decreases the degree of the institutional complexity experienced by this science park. However, as the institutional complexity is not eliminated fully, the science park sustains means–ends decoupling at the organisational level even despite the senior managers' orientation on practices prescribed by the Triple Helix Model. The means–ends decoupling at the organisational level implies unintended rent-seeking behaviour of the senior managers of the university and the science park. In particular, due to the lack of state funding the science park is neither able to ensure a full-size research infrastructure nor secure the number of projects that academics expect, thus making them look by themselves for the projects that can be conducted at the science park.

Classical University

This university was established in 1834 and has always been a leading classical Ukrainian university. The university employs approximately 2,900 academics and hosts 26,500 students. In 2014–2015, the university gained position 420 in the QS ranking. The largest share of state funding among domestic higher education institutions, and prestige of the university have contributed to attracting the most talented academics and students from the country. Research has always been a distinctive feature of the university because from the 1950s a research department has functioned in which the academics—primarily from the natural sciences—are appointed to do research. However, almost all of them are employed additionally to teach. This university has the highest position among Ukrainian universities regarding SCOPUS publications. In 2011, the university, together with another higher education institution and three research institutes of the academy of sciences, established a science park. They expected the research institutes to involve them in their projects. In 2012, the science park started to bring in income through research expertise and training courses provided by academics, but not through the creation of innovations together with business and industry as initially planned. The director of the science park highlights that the key hurdle for knowledge transfer with industry is the lack of state interest and support in creating the adequate conditions:

The legislation declared that the state would award innovative projects to the science park, but that did not happen. We regularly write proposals about different innovative projects to the Ministry of Education, but they explain that they do not have funding. The representatives of the governmental institutions claim that their aim is simply to create the legislative basis for the science park so that it could be established and that it is up to the science park to search for projects and establish collaborations with industry. In 2016 alone, the science park got involved in one of the projects of Horizon 2020, which can be viewed as a project that is really connected with innovation (Director, Science Park).

Thus, for the government, the adoption of the law that allows the establishment of the science park is a sufficient condition for knowledge transfer to occur. Moreover, the interviewee notes that the establishment of the science park requires the creation of the necessary infrastructure; however, according to Ukrainian legislation, it is forbidden for the university to spend its income from tuition fees on the infrastructure of the science park. Thus, it is a vicious circle: in order for the science park to acquire infrastructure, it should generate funds, yet the science park requires a research infrastructure and staff before it can generate any income. Concerning the collaboration with the industry representatives in the region, the director of the science park meets them regularly to present the research of the university's academics. He stresses that it is rather difficult to establish collaboration between representatives of industry and academics because this would require the science park to have the staff with the corresponding skills, which it cannot afford. The director of the science park emphasises that those academics who are well known and have experience in collaboration with industry prefer to provide consultancy to the industry directly instead of doing it via the science park and earning money not only for themselves but also for the university. In most cases, the science park gets a project only if the company ordering a service wants to work with the organisation and not with an individual academic. In 2015 start-up school was established in the university to stimulate entrepreneurial activity among students and academics. Its aim is to provide theoretical knowledge about the basics of innovation enterprise. The science park's director believes that the park requires promotion among academics and students and thus arranges meetings with students and academics, informing them about the opportunities that the science park offers. However, he argues that should there be no change in the behaviour of the state authorities and industry, science parks in Ukraine have no future.

To summarise, as the profile of the classical university with fundamental disciplines is inconsistent with the state's prescriptions to earn significant amounts of money from applied activities, the science park established at this university experiences a higher degree of institutional complexity than the

science park at the Technical University. Moreover, despite the science park being unable to provide necessary conditions, the director is confident that academics are obliged to undertake their projects with business via the science park rather than directly as in the past. However, such interpretation of the science park deviates from the global Triple Helix model. Thus, this science park sustains a higher degree of rent-seeking and means–ends decoupling at the organisational level when compared to the science park at the Technical University.

University of Economics

This university was established in 1906 and nowadays hosts approximately 15,000 students. Its science park was set up in 2011 in order to fulfil the requirements for the status of research university. However, the university did not invest in the establishment of the science park by recruiting all the required staff and creating the necessary infrastructure. The majority of the science park's income emanates from its participation in NATO projects aimed at the retraining of Ukrainian ex-military men in an effort to update their qualification by attending courses in marketing management. Meanwhile, similar to the situation with the science park at the Classical University, such a way of earning reflects a case of means–ends decoupling as external income has become a goal in itself irrespective of how it is generated. The director of the science park notes the following barriers to generate income:

Academics are interested in collaboration with the science park if they have a project that requires the payment to be transferred to the organisation and not to the individual. In addition, the science park helps academics to fill out the documents necessary for participation in that or another project. As regards Ukrainian business, it is not interested in investing in innovation; they want to buy a ready-made product. We are working on a software for banks, and we have already presented it at conferences in Ukraine and abroad. Representatives of the banks declare their interest in buying this software when it is ready but do not want to invest money in its development. Regarding the advantages of the science park, while presenting that or another project on behalf of the science park, the name of the university works as a brand (Director, Science Park).

The interviewee points out that according to the Ukrainian legislation, it is expected that the funding for the science park projects is provided by the science park itself, its partners or from the state budget. However, this is the same for other universities; this science park does not have sufficient income to fund its own projects. The manager also highlights that, in reality, the Ukrainian legislation does not give an advantage to businesses that collaborate with science parks. By contrast, those companies investing in science parks are burdened with bureaucratic procedures that involve preparation of different

reports for the state authorities. The rent that companies should pay to the university (not to the science park) is the same as in other organisations. The problem is also to get state funding for any project because of the ambiguity of the legislation and the bureaucratic application procedure. According to the science park's director, the adoption of the legislation regarding tax exemption for the company, while it collaborates with the science park on a joint project, could contribute to the development of knowledge transfer between universities and industry. Moreover, the interviewee maintains that it makes more sense to collaborate, not with academics, but with talented students who they enrol as doctoral students, involving them in knowledge transfer projects and providing them with an opportunity to earn extra income. Similarly to the previous two cases, the institutional complexity constrains the director of this science park and triggers means–ends decoupling at the organisational level.

University of Life Sciences

University of Life Sciences was established as an independent institution in 1923. It currently has around 15,000 students while the total number of academics stands at 1,400. According to the aforementioned legislation, it was expected that the science park would commence operation during 2010 when the status of research university was awarded. There were several unsuccessful attempts at establishing the science park. In 2014, a new rector was appointed, and in 2015 the science park was finally established. The director of the science park also takes on the position of department head, and alongside him, there are two academics recruited as staff. The problems experienced by this science park are similar to those facing other universities:

The science park lacks funding for infrastructure and staff recruitment. All the projects that the science park conducts were arranged through my [Director's] personal contacts. In my opinion, there is no systematic approach at the level of the state for the establishment of the activities of the science parks in Ukraine. In particular, the science park cannot even apply for projects that are financed by the education ministry and for which the university can apply. The problem is also the immaturity of the law on intellectual property rights Our goal is to attract business representatives by providing them with the material resources and infrastructure of the university. We want to involve them in the processing of the agricultural products. In addition, the university has land that can be used for research in agriculture. We are discussing the possibility of collaboration with one company that works in the area of seeds imports. We can provide it with farm land for the purpose of conducting joint research. The aim of collaboration with business is to establish research and industrial production (Director, Science Park).

The director of the science park analysed the results of the research conducted by local academics and the corresponding patents, and arrived at the conclusion that there was a small level of R&D that could be commercialised. Meanwhile, he complains that researchers affiliated with the university collaborate directly with industry and not through the science park. Thus, providing consultancy to business, researchers earn money for themselves and not for the science park. The science park's director considers that academics with clients from business who are interested in their research expertise should bring their clients to the science park and share their income with the science park. However, the science park has not created win-win conditions for the academics to provide research consultancy to the business through the science park.

Having studied the experience of science parks in other Ukrainian universities, the director came to the conclusion that there is a tendency among domestic science parks to seek funding applying to international grants. Thus, he also decided to focus on international projects. However, the problem is that international project applications require staff who are proficient in English and who can be involved in searching and applying for international projects. However, as mentioned above, the science park cannot afford to recruit staff with the necessary skills because of the lack of funding.

Similar to his colleague from the University of Economics, the director of this science park notes that the business representatives can be attracted to the science park through lower taxation of the amount they invest in the science park. In his opinion, however, the science park is not only a place for the development and commercialisation of research results but also a place for educating students:

The problem is that there is no understanding among Ukrainian business representatives that by investing in R&D they can train future employees. This is so because the labour market in Ukraine is underdeveloped (Director, Science Park).

Further, the interviewee points to the fact that neither academics nor business representatives are aware of the advantages of the science park and that, with time, marketisation will become a reality. Although this science park experiences the same level of institutional complexity as the science parks at the Classic University and the University of Economics, it sustains a higher degree of means–ends decoupling due to the higher degree of rent-seeking behaviour of the senior managers of the university and the science park. The science park lacks the necessary infrastructure and does not provide academics with favourable conditions for earning externally, yet the senior managers expect academics to bring in external income. High degree of the rent-seeking behaviour of the managers of the university and the science park occurs because they are guided by a logic of confidence in old (institutionalised) practices that deviate from the Triple Helix model.

Discussion and conclusion

The data presented above show that means–ends decoupling at the state level, caused by the rent-seeking behaviour of business and political oligarchies, led to the implementation of the Triple Helix model in Ukraine also reflecting a case of means–ends decoupling. Consequently, contradictions within the institutional logic of the state resulted in a high degree of institutional complexity experienced by the science parks established at the case universities. In terms of the Triple Helix, the Ukrainian government implemented a static rather than an overlapping model (Etzkowitz 2002; see Fig. 1 above). This occurred because the institutional logic of the state is, to a large extent, determined by the rent-seeking behaviour of business and political oligarchies. As such, the state is not driven by the economic and societal interests of the citizens/public but, rather, those of a few dominant rent seekers or profiteers. In order for the government to be able and willing to implement the global models of the world society, including the Triple Helix, without deviance, changes in the dominant institutional framework or societal order (associated with the identified institutional logics) would be required (Thornton et al. 2012). For this to happen, however, it would imply proper mechanisms to enhance state accountability, the development of market institutions, and a vibrant civil society. Moreover, the state should shift its focus from rent-seeking to its core goal of creating public welfare. In the Ukrainian case, instead of empowering both organisational and individual actors, current domestic institutional arrangements — regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive (Scott 2014) — constrain them, not allowing them to function as purposive and agentic actors as prescribed by the global models of world society (Meyer 2010), including the Triple Helix. This occurs because the means and ends of individual and organisational actors are embedded within the prevailing institutional logics (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008).

What is more, means–ends decoupling at the state level causes the means and ends of the organisational actors to be also decoupled due to the institutional complexity that they confront. That is, institutional complexity triggers means–ends decoupling at the organisational level, as claimed by Bromley and Powell (2012). Due to the institutional complexity, the senior managers of the universities and science parks unable to create win-win conditions for academics to earn additional income through the science park, demand that academics earn for the university. This is similar to a chain reaction: the state, despite being unable to create win-win conditions for universities to earn externally, demands that they earn through knowledge transfer, and the managers of universities behave in a similar manner. This, in turn, suggests that in a weakly institutionalised environment characterised by financial scarcity and little oversight (accountability), resource dependencies can have a detrimental effect on goal achievement (Pfeffer & Salancik, 2003). However, the Ukrainian situation also attests to the resilience of newly formed organisational arrangements in their ability to generate additional income in

the absence of a supportive regulative framework (Hardy & Maguire, 2008; Pinheiro, 2016). In this respect, one possible interpretation of the role of the state insofar as the Triple Helix is concerned could be that the focus was *less* on promoting collaboration (transfer of knowledge) between industry and academia and more about injecting a “spirit of enterprise” or entrepreneurialism within the internal fabric of public universities (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Pinheiro & Stensaker, 2014).

As regards the degree of institutional complexity experienced by the science parks, it depends not only on the financial resources of the science park but also on the degree of consistency between the institutional environment and the particularities of the disciplinary profile of the university. Thus, the science park of Technical University experiences a less degree of institutional complexity compared to the science parks of three other case universities. The greater institutional complexity experienced by the science park implies the larger mean-ends decoupling and rent-seeking at the organisational level. In addition, the more senior managers of the university and the science park maintain the logic of confidence in practices that deviate from the Triple Helix model, the greater rent-seeking and means–ends decoupling at the organisational level, e.g., the University of Life Sciences.

One of the many negative consequences of means–ends decoupling at the state level and rent-seeking behaviour of powerful actors in governmental institutions is the loss of intellectual capital through brain drain (Kupych, 2016). In the absence of a supportive institutional environment and resource conditions, talented graduate and postgraduate students as well as entrepreneurial and engaged academics, are likely to look elsewhere for opportunities. The same refers to means–ends decoupling at the organisational level and rent-seeking behaviour of the universities’ senior managers.

Meanwhile, our empirical findings from the case of the University of Economics resonate with Thune (2010) and Pinheiro, Normann and Johnsen (2016), suggesting that the university–industry–government interaction could create a beneficial environment for the research training of doctoral students. Another challenge pertains to matching supply and demand (strategic response) in an environment laden with multiple and often contradictory demands imposed by institutional logics (Greenwood et al., 2011; Thornton et al., 2012). As indicated by the director of one of the science parks, despite a large number of patents by the local university, it was nonetheless difficult to find academic projects of interest to local industry. This is also the result of the means–ends decoupling at the state level; the longer that such a condition is preserved, the more intellectual capital the country is likely to lose.

Thus, the longer means–ends decoupling and rent-seeking will persist both at the state and organisational levels, the further will Ukraine move away from the so-called ‘world society’ and its corresponding institutional arrangements (Lechner, 2009). Interestingly, such issues have come to the fore during an

unprecedented historical moment in which such liberal-minded institutional arrangements (markets, rules, knowledge, etc.) are being contested, in Europe and elsewhere (Howden, 2011; Jacobs & Mazzucato, 2016).

Going forward, the state should provide attractive conditions, both in terms of incentives and a coherent regulative framework, for universities to be actively involved with knowledge transfers in partnership with industry. Likewise, the universities should provide academics with beneficial conditions (win-win situations) for them to collaborate with industrial partners through the science parks, thus minimising the risk of being perceived as local competitors. Future studies could, for example, focus on the interplay between path- and resource-dependencies as well as strategic agency in processes relating to the implementation and institutionalisation of the Triple Helix at different points in time, and within the scope of university systems with distinct disciplinary profiles and local traditions.

5. Means–ends decoupling at the state level and managerial responses to multiple organisational identities in Ukrainian research universities⁹

Introduction

Plurality in the institutional environment leads to plurality within the organisation, in particular, to multiple organisational identities (Greenwood et al., 2011). It is the responsibility of organisational leaders to develop strategies and to manage those multiple organisational identities. Pratt and Foreman (2000) elaborated a model of managerial responses to multiple organisational identities that comprises tactics such as integration, aggregation, compartmentalisation, deletion and multivocality. We explain this below.

The research university can be conceived as a global model of world society that is supposed to play a key role for social and economic development in knowledge-intensive societies by undertaking several activities and having multiple identities regarding teaching, research and knowledge transfer (Altbach, 2013; Geschwind & Broström, 2015; Mohrman et al., 2008). Such a research university can be typified as a hybrid organisation, with hybrid organisational forms, practices or identities (Greenwood et al., 2011, p. 332). As a hybrid organisation (Greenwood et al., 2011), the research university posits Janusian integration (Pratt & Foreman, 2000) as managerial response to multiple organisational identities. This means that the different organisational identities are joined together but not fully merged into a single identity – it has two faces (Pratt & Foreman, 2000, p. 31). The global model of the research university is connected with the global model of the world-class university. However, not every research university can become a world-class university.

The implementation of the global model of the research university in a new institutional context requires relevant institutional logics of core societal institutions, driven by beliefs on knowledge as a key to economic development. If not aligned with those institutional logics, enactment of global models in a new national institutional context may result in decoupling at the state level (Meyer, 2010). Means–ends decoupling at the state level implies that policies

⁹ Hladchenko, M., Westerheijden, D., & de Boer, H. (2018). Means–ends decoupling at the state level and managerial responses to multiple organizational identities in Ukrainian research universities. *Higher Education Research & Development*, 57(1) <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11024-018-9355-3>

and practices of the state are disconnected from its core goal, that is, creating public welfare. Such means–ends decoupling occurs, for instance, in oligarchic economies, where the state is captured by exploitative, rent-seeking oligarchies in business and politics (Guriev & Sonin, 2009). This bleak picture describes numerous post-communist countries (Hellman, 1998), one of which is Ukraine (Åslund & de Menil, 2000).

In Ukraine, the designation of research universities in 2007–2014 turned into means–ends decoupling at the state level (Hladchenko et al., 2016). It occurred because the means applied by the Ukrainian state under its declared aim to make universities more research-oriented, led neither to the development of a well-established Ukrainian science sector, nor to the development of a knowledge economy.

This article aims to explore the managerial responses to multiple organisational identities of the Ukrainian research university whilst means–ends decoupling takes place at the state level. Data are taken from recent interviews with 11 top managers from three Ukrainian research universities.

Theoretical framework

Following the premises of sociological institutionalism, the world society theory (Meyer, 2010) focuses on the existence of global cultural models that function as actorhood models for states, organisations and individuals. Since the global models involve cultural or meaning systems, they are supposed to influence actors' agency, identity and activity. Meanwhile, despite viewing actors as culturally embedded, the global models imply agentic and purposive actorhood (Meyer, 2010). The embeddedness of states into world culture promotes the diffusion of global cultural models into specific national contexts. The latter can be viewed as a societal field that comprises organisational fields and that is guided by the institutional logics of societal institutions such as state or market (Zietsma et al., 2016). Institutional logics are “socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals ... provide meaning to their socially constructed reality” (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008, quoting themselves, 1999, p. 804). Prevailing institutional logics enable and constrain actors' means and ends (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). Organisations, however, can also initiate change in the institutional logics of societal institutions, in which case they are called “institutional entrepreneurs” (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). And most pertinently for our study, organisations may be confronted with incompatible prescriptions from one or multiple institutional logics, that is, they experience institutional complexity (Greenwood et al., 2011; Meyer & Höllerer, 2016).

Implementation of global models in a new institutional context requires adjustment of the institutional logics of the societal institutions in order to accommodate these models. Without such adjustment, enactment of global

models in a new context results in decoupling (Meyer, 2010). Bromley and Powell (2012) distinguish between policy–practice decoupling and means–ends decoupling. The former refers to a gap between policy and practice, the classical object of implementation studies. The latter refers to a gap between practices and outcomes (Bromley & Powell, 2012), that is, policies are executed according to plan but nevertheless intended outcomes are not achieved. It occurs because the implemented practices are compartmentalised from core goals of the actor (Bromley & Powell, 2012; for higher education see also McNay, 2015, 2016). Thus, means–ends decoupling at the state level implies that policies and practices of the state do not contribute to its core goal of creating public welfare. Consequently, means–ends decoupling generates an “efficiency gap” (Dick, 2015, p. 900) and diversion of critical resources (Bromley & Powell, 2012). Means–ends decoupling is difficult to sustain unless the (individual) actors maintain confidence in the policy or practice (Bromley & Powell, 2012; Dick, 2015).

Grodal and O’Mahony (2015) view means–ends decoupling at the field level as a cause of institutional complexity for an organisation. Degree of institutional complexity experienced by organisations varies depending on the characteristics of the organisation (Greenwood et al., 2011). Moreover, organisations respond to institutional prescriptions by adapting their culture and identity (Greenwood et al., 2011; Hinings, 2012; see also Ion & Castro Ceacero, 2017). Organisational culture is “the pattern of shared values and beliefs that help individuals understand organisational functioning and thus provide them norms for behaviour in the organization” (Deshpande & Webster, 1989, p. 4). Tierney and Lanford (2018, p. 2) argue that despite a certain level of shared values and beliefs common in almost every organisation, an organisational culture “does not rely entirely on agreement among individuals”. Organisational identity is embedded within the organisational culture (Hatch & Schultz, 1997) and reflects the central, distinctive and enduring features of the organisation that are manifested as key values, labels and practices (Gioia et al., 2013). Meanwhile, practices result from values which define what kind of organisation it is, in policy and strategy terms, and then what kind of experience people have, what are the dominant ways of behaving – “the way we do things here” – which is one way of describing organisational culture [McNay, 2018, personal communication].

The multiplicity of institutional logics results in several organisational identities (Greenwood et al., 2011). It is the responsibility of organisational leaders to manage these organisational identities (Gioia et al., 2013; Rodriguez-Pomeda & Casani, 2016). Pratt and Foreman (2000), based on sociological identity theory, elaborated a model of managerial responses to multiple organisational identities. The first response is compartmentalisation: all institutional demands are preserved but synergy is not attained among them (Pratt & Foreman, 2000). The risk of compartmentalisation is a high potential for conflict between identities (Pratt & Foreman, 2000). A

compartmentalisation response can be either segregation (identities are equal) or subordination (one identity dominates the other). The second type of response is deletion, whereby managers aim to limit the number of identities. The third type is integration, when management fuses multiple identities into a distinct new whole. Next to integration, Pratt and Foreman (2000, p. 31) distinguish also “pseudo integration” or Janusian integration, which refers to the identities joined together but not merged into a single identity. Janusian integration resembles aggregation, the fourth type of managerial response that occurs when management forges links between multiple identities. Aggregation can take at least two forms: the creation of an identity hierarchy or the creation of new beliefs, for example, through the adoption of a meta-identity. A meta-identity means “constructing a superordinate self-categorisation with which discrete organisational identities can relate” (Pratt & Foreman, 2000, p. 36). A meta-identity can lead to a fully integrated response, thus to an integrated identity. In addition, there can be responses that “fall “in between” the pure types” (Pratt & Foreman, 2000, p. 26). They mention, in particular, multivocality, as a type of aggregation response that is close to compartmentalisation. Multivocality can be viewed as the inter-section of identities (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). The type of the managerial response that emerges in an organisation depends both on the compatibility among organisational identities and organisational resources (Morphew, Fumasoli, & Stensaker, 2017; Pratt & Corley, 2007).

Since the global model of the research university represents a hybrid organisation model (Greenwood et al., 2011), Janusian integration is expected to be the managerial response to multiple organisational identities. Through employing sociological institutionalism and the model of managerial responses, we aim to explore the managerial responses to multiple organisational identities in three Ukrainian higher education institutions.

Means–ends decoupling at the state level and institutional complexity in Ukraine

In 1991, after having been part of the Soviet Union for more than 70 years, Ukraine gained independence. However, state policies aimed at lustration, de-Sovietisation and decommunisation were not adopted and the civil society remained underdeveloped. Under such conditions, the dominance of the old Soviet elite and concentration of resources within the state resulted in inconsistent implementation of economic privatisation and in the emergence of a post-Soviet oligarchy. The Ukrainian state became converted from intended outcomes – the representation of public interest – to other ends, in particular to exploitation by business and political oligarchies, for example, protection of monopolies and economic subsidies (Åslund & de Menil, 2000). In terms of our theoretical paradigm, in Ukraine, means–ends decoupling was sustained at the state level. It resulted in inconsistencies within the institutional logic of the state and consequently in a high degree of institutional complexity

experienced by all organisations and individuals who did not belong to the privileged rent receivers.

The higher education system in Ukraine underwent marketisation and massification after 1991. Professional and national cultural dimensions of higher education were inherited from the Soviet model, which separated primarily teaching-oriented higher education institutions from research institutes of the academy of sciences (McNay & Hladchenko, 2015). Thus, teaching formed the primary organisational identity of Ukrainian universities.

Meanwhile, in 2006–2007 the rector of the National Technical University of Ukraine ‘Kyiv Polytechnic Institute’ tried to trigger a change in the institutional logic of the state. He voiced the necessity to establish research universities in Ukraine. The government supported this initiative and from 2009, it began to confer the status of research university on higher education institutions (Oleksiyenko, 2014). The enactment of the global model of the research university, however, turned into means–ends decoupling at the state level. That resulted in a high degree of institutional complexity for the new research universities (Hladchenko et al., 2016). Firstly, in exchange for additional state funding, the state expected universities to earn a substantial proportion of their research funding externally but it did not take any initiatives to build a knowledge economy that could ‘buy’ university services. In the 2000s, the only beneficial factor for knowledge transfer between universities and business became the development of an IT outsourcing sector in Ukraine. Secondly, the extra state funding allocated to research universities was not enough for them to build up their research infrastructure. Further, the state did not develop transparent competitive mechanisms for academics to apply for international mobility grants. Thirdly, the state preserved the division between higher education institutions and research institutes of academies of sciences. Research at universities was conducted primarily in the context of doctoral education. However, candidate and doctor of sciences theses were not relevant to the needs of the economy or society, as the dominant institutional logic of the organisational field of industry was not innovation-driven. Fourthly, as state regulation was strict, higher education governance in Ukraine did not match the agentic actorhood prescribed by the global models of world society including the research university (Hladchenko et al., 2017). Moreover, the research university policy was ‘one size fits all’, without considering the universities’ different disciplinary profiles. The demand to establish a science park in each university, whatever the university’s disciplinary profile, was beyond practicability. The performance of research universities was to be measured through quantitative criteria (Box 1). Achievement of the criteria would not contribute to the government’s main expectation of the research universities, that is, to earn externally or to do research at the international level. To summarise, Ukrainian higher education institutions experienced significant constraints in selecting their means and goals during the

transformation into research universities due to the institutional complexity caused by the means–ends decoupling at the state level.

Research at national level	Research at international level
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • defence of 300 candidate of sciences (PhD) and 50 doctor of sciences theses during 5 years • employing 150 full-time academics with doctor of sciences degree during 5 years • employing 500 full-time academics with candidate of sciences degree • library with 1 million books. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • publishing 150 articles in journals indexed in international databases (Web of Science, Scopus) per year • 50 foreign students at master and doctoral programmes • the study visits of 50 students, PhD students and young academics at the national and foreign universities
	Innovation / knowledge transfer
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • establishment of a science park • earning through research an amount equal to the half of the university's state funding for research

Box 1. Examples of quantitative criteria for research universities, developed on the basis of Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine (2010)

Research method and methodological considerations

We conducted our research as a comparative and longitudinal case study to explore differences and similarities between the cases (Eisenhardt, 1989). The initial phase of data collection in 2014 provided an overview of the reform aimed at establishing research universities in Ukraine. The exploratory phase led to the selection of three universities for more detailed analysis and comparison. The basis of selection was twofold. Firstly, Meyer and Rowan (1977) denote that while early adopters of organisational innovations are commonly driven by the desire to improve performance, late adopters mainly aim to gain legitimacy. Thus, one case is the initiator of the diffusion of the global model of the research university in the Ukrainian context (2007). The second case is the first Ukrainian university to be awarded research university status by the state, thus its organisational identity was considered to correspond best among all Ukrainian universities to the global model of the research university (2009). The third higher education institution was awarded the status of the research university later, in 2010. We assume that this chronology relates to distinctions in prior organisational identities of the selected universities. Secondly, as disciplinary culture has implications for higher education (Del Favelo, 2006), the three universities exhibit different disciplinary profiles: a technical university, a classical university and a university of life sciences.

Data relating to each research university were collected for the period 2000–2014 because in 2014 a new Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine abolished the prior resolutions about the research universities (Hladchenko et al., 2016). Two sources of data were used: official documents were supplemented with semi-structured interviews with 11 top managers of the three universities (rectors, vice-rectors, heads of administrative departments and of science parks). Interviews were conducted during the period December 2014 – October 2016. Detailed notes were taken from each interview and these formed the basis for analysis.

Managerial responses to multiple organisational identities in three Ukrainian research universities

Technical University

In the 2000s, teaching formed the primary organisational identity of this university although it also managed to maintain the organisational identities of research both at national and international levels. Practices of knowledge transfer were rather rare, partially because the economy was not knowledge-driven. As a rule, university practices were implemented at the individual rather than the organisational level. The university provided double salary to all academics compared with the state appropriation, which enabled them to really devote their working time to their job at the university instead of having to engage in moonlighting to make ends meet. In 2004–2006, the university participated in an ERASMUS project, “Bridging the university and business”, which led to the establishment of a science park in 2006. The same year, to strengthen the multiple organisational identities and attain synergy among them, the university initiated annual contests for the ‘Lecturer-researcher’ and ‘Young lecturer-researcher’, which aimed to reward academics’ performance in research (national and international) and in knowledge transfer. The winners of each contest obtained a 15% or 20% salary rise for the following year. In 2007, the top managers, positioning the university as a technical European university, claimed the organisational identity of research university. This status of research university was declared in the statute of the Technical University, which was approved by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. An aggregation response developed by the top managers comprised both individual and organisational levels and involved the elaboration of meta-identities such as ‘research university’ and ‘lecturer-researcher’ with a new system of beliefs focused on bringing education, research and innovation together in order to become an international technical research university. In addition, the rector provided the faculties with more autonomy, including financial autonomy, and emphasised collegial governance.

In 2008–2009, the top managers of the Technical University introduced ranking of academics to maintain the aggregation response. Ranking did not influence academics’ level of payment but was of primary importance for the continuation of employment. In 2009, according to the ranking criteria,

academics were obliged to score 1000 points each academic year: 50% were allocated for teaching (around 750 hours, depending on academic position) and methodological practices, 40% for research and innovation, and 10% of the score for administration and 'nurture' of students. Later, the shares of teaching and methodological practices were equalled with research and innovation, at 45% each. However, the research category also comprised writing textbooks, which is connected to teaching rather than to original research. Moreover, the difference in the scores allocated for articles published in international and Ukrainian journals was insignificant. Publishing articles in Scopus-indexed journals already was a practice implemented by academics, seen as part of the profile of a technical university.

To strengthen the standards of a world-class university, in 2009 the Technical University started a collaboration with QS company to enter QS's university ranking. In 2011, the university made a breakthrough. It became the first Ukrainian university to get into QS World University Ranking, though at position 601+.

In 2010, the Technical University's status as a research university was approved by the Cabinet of Ministers and the government's quantitative criteria for research universities came into force. The university fully corresponded to the governmental requirements for research universities concerning research at national and international levels. To develop the organisational identity of knowledge transfer, the head of the science park contacted technical companies in the region to explore what they would require from the university's academics. Furthermore, academics also were expected to bring contracts from business to the science park by themselves. The science park succeeded in establishing collaboration with regional companies, but fewer than expected. Some R&D projects were done for international companies like Samsung. In collaboration with investors, in 2012 the university established an annual competition for start-ups as part of its innovation ecosystem, the so-called Sikorsky Challenge, aimed primarily at students for developing start-ups. The three winners of the first competition were awarded funding to establish themselves in the science park. Initially, the science park's managers had limited success in finding investors to support the start-ups. They did not manage to get more investments because investors did not like the way the projects were presented. Consequently, a start-up school was established, and in the following years, investments in start-ups increased.

To summarise, this university managed to develop and maintain an aggregation response to multiple identities, which were relatively well-aligned. However, despite the rector's orientation on practices prescribed by the global model of the research university, despite the specialised disciplinary profile of this technical university, and despite prior organisational identity that was close to the one imposed by the public policy, the degree of institutional complexity experienced by the university remained rather high. Consequently, it led to unintended means-ends decoupling at the organisational level. For instance,

the university was neither able to ensure a full-size research infrastructure, nor to provide funding for academics to visit international conferences or participate in study visits abroad.

Classical University

Classical University had always been a leading Ukrainian university. Receiving the largest state funding among Ukrainian universities, the rector was able to pay double salaries to all academics and to attract the most talented academics and students from the country. The teaching workload of academics was similar to as in the previous case. Research had always been a distinctive organisational identity of the university because from the 1950s a research department had functioned in which the academics – primarily from the natural sciences – were appointed to do research. However, almost all of them were employed additionally to teach. The university had many permanent scientific boards in which candidate (PhD) and doctor of sciences theses could be defended, which significantly stimulated research. Publishing in international journals and participation in international projects were well-developed practices, though primarily among the academics from the natural sciences affiliated with a research department.

In 2009, the university was officially awarded the status of research university. According to one of the top managers of the university, the unofficial expectation of the state was the establishment of a world-class research university that would gain high positions in the international rankings. In 2012, the university entered the QS World University Ranking at position 501 and in 2014–2015 it improved its position to 420. The top managers motivated academics to increase the number of international publications by offering a salary increase for those with an h-index above three. After 2010 the problem for this university was to strengthen knowledge transfer in the organisational identity. A science park was established at the university and the allocation of funding for research was changed to prioritise projects that could lead to commercialisation next to research. Hurdles for the success of the science park were both a lack of demand from the market and the state policies that did not assure funding for collaborative projects between the science parks and industry.

In 2012, as a result of contradictions between state and market logics in Ukraine, that is, the necessity for the science park to earn external funds while there is very little demand for knowledge transfer, the university introduced a practice of research expertise to be provided by academics. Further, the university counted international grants as income from knowledge transfer. In this way, since 2012 the university has complied formally to the institutional demand to earn externally an amount equal to half the state funding for research.

The managerial response of this university is aggregation of teaching and research while the organisational identity of knowledge transfer falls into multivocality as it was maintained through a high degree of means–ends decoupling at the organisational level. The difficulty for this university with knowledge transfer occurred because of a lack of demand for innovations from industry, but also because the profile of the classical university with fundamental disciplines was inconsistent with the state’s prescription to earn significant amounts of money from applied activities in the science park.

University of Life Sciences

This university has been the leading Ukrainian agricultural university for many decades. It is noteworthy that the same person was rector of this university from 1984 to 2014. From 2002 the state allocated additional funding to the university and the rector had to justify it through the university’s special performance. This institutional pressure forced the university to develop multiple organisational identities. Moreover, next to the institutional pressure, the aspiration of top managers to keep everything and everyone in the university under control led to the introduction of a ranking of academics. From 2002 onwards, 20% of the academics’ salary depended on their ranking. To develop knowledge transfer, the rector established the Ukrainian Laboratory of Quality and Safety of Agricultural Products, which started to function in 2007, and which provided some academics opportunities to conduct research and to earn third-party funding. The same year, the top managers of the university found out about the state’s intention to establish research universities. They were determined to achieve this status, as it provided prestige and additional funding. In 2008, the university was renamed and the agricultural profile was changed into life sciences. However, the renaming of the university as the creation of a meta-identity and aggregation strategy affected not so much the multiple organisational identities of research university, but rather occasioned a broadening of the disciplinary profile. New faculties and departments were founded and the number of students increased. According to the rector’s vision, the broadening profile of the university provided an opportunity to strengthen the focus on fundamental and applied research. However, the new faculties were on foreign languages and information technology rather than on core life sciences. They conducted neither fundamental nor applied research, and additional funds for the university were gained through high student demand for languages and IT. In this way, the establishment of the new faculties, just like the renaming of the university, reflects means–ends decoupling at the organisational level, because these strategies did not contribute to refocusing the university on research and knowledge transfer.

In relation to the ranking of academics and managerial response to the multiple organisational identities, the Ukrainian legislation prescribes academics’ workload to be 1548 hours per year (6 hours times 6 days times 43 working

weeks). The university's ranking of academics divided the 1548 hours in the following way: (1) teaching 58%, (2) research 13%, (3) teaching, research and innovation and international activity 9%, (4) research and methodical activity 11%, and (5) nurturing of students 9%. Remarkably, some headings duplicate each other. The teaching workload in this university was rather large, 900 hours per year. To earn a double salary, academics were to account for 3096 hours per year (literally double the number of hours), and then 900 hours of teaching would take only 29% of their time. In 2011, the quantitative criteria of the research university (presented in Box 1) were introduced additionally into the University's ranking criteria of academics. In 2013, half of the academics' salary depended on the governmental research university criteria.

With regard to the governmental quantitative research university criteria, the problem was that the university did not comply with some of them, for example, the number of international students in master's and postgraduate programmes and the amount of earned third party funding. In 2011, as another step towards the status of research university, the rector initiated an institutional accreditation process according to the standards of Southern Association of Colleges and Schools Commission on Colleges (SACS-COC) in the USA. The rector claimed that accreditation would grant the university international recognition, leading to more foreign students, who could be charged higher tuition fees than Ukrainian students. However, the application was rejected and significant human resources had been wasted on the preparation of the accreditation. Moreover, the rector could have known beforehand that the university's infrastructure did not correspond to SACS-COC's criteria. Probably, in applying for accreditation the rector's own interests might have played a role, as his term in office was about to end and he expected that the university's process of preparing for international accreditation would allow him to remain in office. Thus, the accreditation process was a case of means–ends decoupling; it was detached from the core goal of the university to become more research-intensive.

Besides, the university produced too few articles published in journals indexed in international databases. In 2010 and 2013 academics from the university published 12 and 33 articles, respectively, in journals indexed in Scopus. Many of these articles, however, were published by scholars affiliated with the university's research institute – a structural unit loosely associated with the university. To tackle this problem, the top-level managers initiated a new environmental sciences journal, aiming to get it indexed in Scopus. It is understandable that this goal was not achieved, because before establishing a journal it would have been necessary to develop a critical mass of academics who could publish internationally. This journal adventure is further evidence of means–ends decoupling as the university's leadership did not support academics to enhance the quality of their publications as implied by the global model of a research university, but were interested just in increasing by any means the number of 'international' publications, through setting up their own

journal. Furthermore, the ranking system did not incentivise academics to spend time on international-level research. For an article in a journal indexed in Scopus, 250 hours were awarded in the system, while an article published in a Ukrainian journal gained 40 hours for an academic's ranking. As mentioned above, next to the 900 hours of teaching, the academics were expected to accumulate 2196 hours of research per year to gain their double salary, that is, almost 9 international articles or 55 national ones! However, international articles could be substituted with textbooks, which also were considered as research and which provided a much higher number of hours while being a much less risky time investment (articles can get refused, textbooks not). Academics, moreover, were obliged to present their publications to the university library, which helped the University to achieve the government's criterion of a library with one million (primarily homespun) books.

As regards knowledge transfer, the Ukrainian Laboratory of Quality and Safety of Agricultural Products and research funded by state/private organisations brought some, though insignificant income. There were several attempts to establish a science park, but all failed. A new practice of research expertise provided by academics was introduced by the university managers. However, the ranking of academics allocated a small number of hours for income earned externally through providing research expertise. Moreover, the university top-sliced 64% of the income academics brought in through research expertise, which is a very high 'tax' rate, making such activity hardly attractive to academics. Consequently, the university did not earn enough third-party funding to satisfy the state's criteria. However, this university had the largest number of patents among Ukrainian universities, which can largely be ascribed to the university's ranking system, but as a rule, those patents were not commercialised, which can be explained by the market logic. University patents can be viewed as another example of means–ends decoupling, as the patents were obtained not for commercialisation but for hours in the ranking.

The big gap between the prior organisational identity of the university and the identity imposed by the state caused this university to experience an even higher degree of institutional complexity than the two prior universities. This, together with the top managers' efforts to initiate practices and organisational identities that deviate from the global model of the research university, resulted in a high degree of means–ends decoupling at the organisational level. The university's strategies can be subsumed under multivocality as the dominant managerial response to multiple organisational identities. This significant degree of means–ends decoupling at the organisational level entailed a diversion of both financial and human resources, which in turn created barriers both against strengthening of underdeveloped identities and against attainment of synergy among them.

Conclusions

Our findings reveal that a high degree of means–ends decoupling at the state level resulted in institutional complexity, which created barriers for managers of the three Ukrainian universities in our study to respond with a Janusian integration of the multiple organisational identities of research universities. As the means and ends of organisational actors are embedded within prevailing institutional logics (Thornton & Ocasio 2008), institutional complexity caused by means–ends decoupling at the state level constrains the universities in their choice both of means and ends. It precludes them from functioning as the purposive and agentic actors that are prescribed by the global models (Meyer, 2010), including the research university. The uniform, ‘one-size-fits-all’ character of the public policy also suppressed the actorhood of the universities with their different disciplinary profiles; it increased the degree of institutional complexity for the universities, as shown by the knowledge transfer at Classical University. Furthermore, we also saw how the gap between prior organisational identity and the identity imposed by the public policy created greater institutional complexity for the University of Life Science compared with the Technical University and the Classical University. The greater institutional complexity led to higher degree of means–ends decoupling at the organisational level in the University of Life Science, as Bromley and Powell (2012) posited.

In addition to the effects of institutional complexity, the top managers maintaining a logic of confidence in practices and organisational identities that deviate from the global model of the research university also results in means–ends decoupling at the organisational level, as, for example, shown in the University of Life Sciences. This refers also to the authoritarian leadership style of top managers, which suppresses agentic and purposive actorhood within the organisation. These findings support Gioia et al.’s (2013) statements about the implication of top managers’ beliefs and interpretation for organisational identity.

Regarding the managerial responses in our three case studies, the Technical and Classical Universities were more successful than the University of Life Sciences. As institutional entrepreneur, the Technical University managed to maintain an aggregation response: it kept the organisational identities of the research university in a hierarchy and developed the meta-identity of a research university before it was imposed by governmental authorities. The examples of Pratt and Foreman (2000) addressed a meta-identity imposed on equally developed organisational identities. The application of a meta-identity to organisational identities that are not equally developed, as in the Technical University, implies that managers must strengthen weak identities and diminish the dominant organisational identity to move their response closer to integration. Such a strategy is required because the resources of an organisation, both human and financial, are limited (Pratt & Corley, 2007). In

the case of Ukrainian universities, only by diminishing the teaching workload could managers strengthen research and knowledge transfer. In particular, the Technical and Classical Universities tried to behave in that way. In contrast, the University of Life Sciences attempted to develop the organisational identities of research and knowledge without diminishing teaching. The multiplicity of practices imposed on academics created barriers both for strengthening weak identities and for attaining synergy among identities.

In the University of Life Sciences, the managerial response is classified as multivocality. Analogous to Bromley and Powell's (2012) assertion that a high degree of means–ends decoupling results in structural complexity, our findings especially about the University of Life Sciences emphasise that the lack of synergy among identities results in cultural complexity within the organisation. Cultural complexity refers to a pluralistic and contradictory culture within the organisation (Browaeyts & Baets, 2003). This was most clearly in how academics were obliged to do research at the international level without getting the necessary research infrastructure or funding.

In sum, the three cases illustrate how hard it is to attain Janusian integration of multiple organisational identities in untoward contexts. World society theory has developed models of actorhood for states, organisations and individuals. If a country wants to become a respected member of global society, it should translate such models into the national context without too many deviations, to avoid means–ends decoupling at the state level. Thus, it implies that changes in the institutional context must to some extent align with global models. The Ukrainian case suggests that too much 'glonacalisation' (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002) – non-aligned adaptation of global models to national and local interpretations – leads to means–ends decoupling both at the state level and university level, which must be eliminated to stop the diversion of financial and human capital of the country.

6. Academic identities in Ukrainian research universities under conditions of means–ends decoupling at the state level¹⁰

Introduction

Following the premises of sociological institutionalism, world society theory (Meyer, 2010) argues for global cultural models to function as actorhood models for states, organisations and individuals. The research university is one of these global models, which implies this higher education institution plays a key role for social and economic development in knowledge-intensive societies by having multiple organisational identities regarding teaching, research and knowledge transfer (Mohrman et al., 2008; Altbach, 2013). Multiple organisational identities of the research university determine the individual identities of academics affiliated with this higher education institution (Sá, Dias, & Sá 2016; van Winkel, van der Rijst, Poell & van Driel, 2017), as organisational identities next to organisation as a cultural dimension define the roles and group memberships which provide organisational members with social identities (Pratt & Corley, 2007).

Similar to other global models of world society, the research university originates and has been applied in the context of developed economies but less developed countries have also made attempts to implement this global model into their national contexts. The implementation of the global model of the research university requires the construction of both organisational and individual identities that align with this model. However, the specific national context as an institutional environment can be characterised by a high degree of institutional complexity caused by means–ends decoupling at the state level (Hladchenko & Westerheijden, 2018; Hladchenko, Westerheijden & de Boer, 2018). Means–ends decoupling at the state level implies that the policies and practices of the state are disconnected from its core goal of creating public welfare. Such means–ends decoupling occurs, for instance, in oligarchic economies in which the state is captured by exploitative, rent-seeking oligarchies in business and politics (Guriev & Sonin, 2009). This bleak picture describes numerous post-communist countries (Hellman, 1998). One of these countries is Ukraine (Yurchenko 2018), in which the designation of the research universities in 2007–2014 also turned into means–ends decoupling at

¹⁰ Hladchenko, M. (2018). Academic identities in Ukrainian research universities under conditions of means–ends decoupling at the state level. *Journal of Further and Higher Education*.

the state level (Hladchenko et al., 2016) because the means applied by the Ukrainian state under its declared aim to make several universities more research-oriented led neither to the development of the Ukrainian science sector nor to the development of a knowledge economy.

Thus, this article aims to explore academic identities in Ukrainian research universities whilst means–ends decoupling takes place at the state level. The data which form the basis of analysis were collected through recent semi-structured interviews with 38 academics from the humanities, social sciences and natural sciences at 2 Ukrainian research universities.

Theoretical framework: Sociological institutionalism and academic identities

Following the premises of sociological institutionalism, world society theory focuses on the existence of global cultural models that function as actorhood models for states, organisations and individuals (Meyer, 2010). Since the global models involve cultural or meaning systems, they are supposed to influence actors' agency, identity and activity. Meanwhile, despite viewing actors as culturally embedded, the global models imply agentic and purposive actorhood (Meyer, 2010).

The embeddedness of states into world culture promotes the diffusion of global cultural models. The national context in which global models are implemented can be viewed as a societal field that comprises organisational fields and that is guided by the institutional logics of societal institutions such as the state or market (Zietsma et al., 2017). Institutional logics are “socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals . . . provide meaning to their socially constructed reality” (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008, p. 804). Prevailing institutional logics enable and constrain actors' means and ends (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). Organisations, however, can also initiate change in the institutional logics of societal institutions, in which case they are called “institutional entrepreneurs” (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008, p.115).

Implementation of global models in a new institutional context requires the adjustment of the institutional logics of the societal institutions in order to accommodate these models. Without such adjustment, the enactment of global models into a new context results in decoupling (Meyer, 2010). Bromley and Powell (2012) distinguish between policy–practice decoupling and means–ends decoupling. The former refers to a gap between policy and practice, the classical object of implementation studies. The latter refers to a gap between practices and outcomes (Bromley & Powell, 2012), i.e. policies are executed according to plan but nevertheless intended outcomes are not achieved. It occurs because the implemented practices are disconnected from core goals of the actor, e.g. the state, organisation, or individual. Thus, means–ends decoupling at the state level implies that policies and practices of the state do

not contribute to its core goal of creating public welfare. Consequently, means–ends decoupling generates an “efficiency gap” (Dick, 2015, p.900) and diversion of critical resources (Bromley & Powell, 2012). Means–ends decoupling is difficult to sustain unless the (individual) actors maintain confidence in the policy or practice (Dick, 2015; Bromley & Powell, 2012). On the one hand, if actors gain awareness of the incompatibility between their practices and outcomes, they experience dissonance which refers to an individual holding simultaneously two psychologically inconsistent cognitions (Aronson, 1969). On the other hand, the awareness of the individual actors about means–ends that they sustain may result in the loss of legitimacy or replacement of institutionalised practices (Dick, 2015). Grodal and O’Mahony (2015) view means–ends decoupling at the field level as a cause of institutional complexity for organisations, which implies that organisations confront incompatible prescriptions from one or multiple institutional logics (Greenwood et al., 2011; Meyer & Höllerer, 2016).

Organisations respond to institutional prescriptions by adapting their culture and identity (Greenwood et al., 2011; Hinings, 2011). Organisational culture refers to the values and beliefs shared by organisational members (Tierney & Lanford, 2018). Thus, the organisational culture enables and constrains the means and ends of the organisational members. Organisational identity is embedded within the organisational culture (Hatch & Schulz, 1997) and reflects the central, distinctive and enduring features of the organisation that are manifested as key values, labels and practices (Gioia et al., 2013). The multiplicity of institutional logics results in multiple organisational (sub)cultures and identities (Greenwood et al., 2011; Hinings, 2011). While institutional complexity triggers means–ends decoupling at the organisational level, the latter results in complexity (Bromley & Powell, 2012), both structural and cultural. Cultural complexity refers to pluralistic and contradictory cultures within the organisation (Browaeyts & Baets, 2003). Cultural complexity can be viewed as the continuation of institutional complexity at the organisational level and occurs because the contradictions between institutional prescriptions were not reconciled at the institutional level.

At the individual level, roles and group memberships of individuals in society provide them with social identities (Ibarra, 1999). In the case of organisational members, the organisational identities next to the organisation as a cultural dimension define the roles and group memberships which provide individuals with social identities (Pratt & Corley, 2007). However, the individual identity involves identity work, which implies that individuals mediate meanings imposed by the social environment and their own notions of who they are (self-identity) derived from their practices (Lok, 2010). Individual identities, similar to organisational identities, can be in either an active or a latent state (Fathi, 1967). Moreover, there can be a varying degree of synergy among both organisational and individual identities, e.g. merger, dominance, intersection

and compartmentalisation (isolation or separation of identities) (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Individuals can also have “aspirational identities” (Thornborrow & Brown, 2009, p. 356) or “provisional selves” (Ibarra, 1999, p. 765) to which they aspire. However, if an individual is committed to two or more distinct, incompatible identity components, it leads to identity conflict. Identity conflict reflects “the problem of multiply defined self” with incompatible elements or definitions (Baumeister, Shapiro & Tice, 1985, p. 408). In terms of this definition, identity conflict can be viewed as one of the dimensions of cognitive dissonance. Meanwhile, the relations between organisational and individual identities run both ways: organisational identities influence the identities of individuals, but also identities and practices of individuals shape the organisational identities (Pratt & Foreman, 2000; Alvesson & Empson, 2008).

The roles and groups to which organisational members belong and within which they interact are not restricted by the organisation. With regard to academic identities, Välimaa (1998) states that next to the organisational cultural dimension, individual, disciplinary, professional and national cultural dimensions provide resources for academic identities. The professional and national dimensions refer to the dominant institutional logics of the organisational field of higher education and the organisational fields with which academics interact, e.g. an organisational field of industry. Additionally, professional dimension also refers to the global disciplinary communities within which academics interact.

Thus, in the following sections, employing sociological institutionalism, I aim to explore academic identities in two Ukrainian research universities.

The national cultural dimension: Means–ends decoupling at the state level and institutional complexity in the societal field in Ukraine

Following the fall of the Soviet Union, Ukraine was established as an independent state in 1991, which also entailed the transition from a centrally planned to a free market economy. However, state policies aimed at lustration, de-Sovietisation and decommunisation were not adopted and the civil society remained underdeveloped. Moreover, inconsistently implemented privatisation allowed a post-Soviet oligarchy consisting of the Soviet political elite and actors from the Soviet shadow economy to emerge (Yurchenko, 2018). Partly facilitated by the weakness of Ukrainian civil society, it resulted in the emergence of a regime characterised as a “neoliberal kleptocracy”, which implies that “typical neoliberal features are exacerbated by omnipresent corruption and institutionalised state asset embezzlement” (Yurchenko, 2018, p. 4). Thus, the Ukrainian state became diverted from intended outcomes – the representation of public interests – to other ends, in particular to exploitation by business and political oligarchies, e.g. the protection of monopolies and

economic subsidies (Åslund, 2001). In terms of the theoretical paradigm outlined here, in Ukraine, means–ends decoupling was sustained at the state level which entailed inconsistencies within the institutional logic of the state and consequently a high degree of institutional complexity experienced by all organisations and individuals who did not belong to the privileged rent receivers.

As regards the higher education system in Ukraine after 1991, it underwent marketisation and massification (Hladchenko, Dobbins & Jungblut, 2018; Shevchenko, 2018). Meanwhile, the professional and national cultural dimensions of higher education to a significant degree preserved the Soviet legacy – in particular, the two-level system of scientific degrees (candidate of sciences and doctor of sciences) and the division between the primarily teaching-oriented higher education institutions and the research institutes of the academies of sciences. Thus, teaching was the dominant organisational identity of the Ukrainian universities.

However, in 2006–2007 the rector of the National Technical University of Ukraine ‘Kyiv Polytechnic Institute’ tried to initiate a change in the institutional logic of the state. He voiced the necessity of establishing research universities in Ukraine. The government supported this initiative and in 2009, it began to confer the status of a research university on higher education institutions (Hladchenko, de Boer & Westerheijden, 2016). The enactment of the global model of the research university, however, turned into means–ends decoupling at the state level because the means applied by the Ukrainian state under its declared aim to make several universities more research-oriented led neither to the development of the Ukrainian science sector nor to the development of a knowledge economy. As a consequence, the new research universities confronted a high degree of institutional complexity (Hladchenko, Westerheijden & de Boer, 2018; Hladchenko & Pinheiro, 2019).

Firstly, in exchange for additional state funding, the state expected the universities to earn a substantial proportion of their research funding externally but it did not take any initiatives to build a knowledge economy that could ‘buy’ university services. In the 2000s, the only beneficial factor for knowledge transfer between universities and business was the development of an IT outsourcing sector in Ukraine. Secondly, the extra state funding allocated to research universities was not enough for them to build up their research infrastructure. Further, the state did not develop transparent competitive mechanisms for academics to apply for international mobility grants and for allocating a significant part of research funding on a competitive basis. Thirdly, the state still preserved the division between higher education institutions and research institutes of academies of sciences. Research at universities was conducted primarily in the context of doctoral education. However, doctoral theses were not relevant to the needs of the economy or society, as the dominant institutional logic of the organisational field of industry was not innovation-driven. The doctoral research did not go beyond the intellectual

curiosity of the researchers, who did not push their ideas to the market. The performance of research universities was to be measured through quantitative criteria which were decoupled from the main expectations claimed by the state, i.e. to earn externally or to do research at the international level. One of the criteria was that the research university should publish 150 articles per year in journals indexed in the international databases (Web of Science, Scopus). This number can be viewed as rather small. However, the practice of publishing in English in the international journals was rather new for Ukrainian academics. It occurred also due to the requirements for the defence of doctoral theses that obliged academics, next to the thesis, to publish the results of their research in Ukrainian journals. Only since 2012 has the education ministry required that academics, for the defence of their doctoral theses, must have publications in international journals as well as in Ukrainian journals. As regards Ukrainian professional journals, as a rule, they charge a fee for publication and do not conduct a peer-review process. The length of the article on average is 2500 words but can be even less, which is insufficient for a piece of research with solid theory and empirical findings.

Research design: Case selection and methodology

Fieldwork was conducted in the following way. The initial phase in 2014 provided an overview of the policy reform aimed at the establishment of the research universities. The exploratory phase led to the selection of two universities for more detailed analysis and comparison. The reasons for the selection of the universities are twofold. Firstly, the universities exhibit different disciplinary profiles: a technical university and a university of life sciences. Secondly, the interviews with the top managers revealed the differences between the organisational cultures in these universities. Later, interviews were also conducted with the deans and department heads from the humanities, social sciences and natural sciences at these universities.

The data that form the basis of analysis were collected through semi-structured interviews with 38 academics at the 2 aforementioned universities. Academics were interviewed about the period from 2010 to 2014, taking into account that in 2014 the status of research university was abolished. All the interviewees hold a doctoral degree. The interviews were designed as semi-structured protocols with much room to digress from the interview guide.

Organisational cultural dimensions and organisational identities in two Ukrainian research universities

Technical University

In 2007, after the establishment of the science park in 2006, the university declared its status as a research university in its statute. In 2008–2009 a ranking system of academics was introduced. However, it did not affect the level of payment of academics and all of them got a double salary (compared to the

state's standard). In 2013 it operated as follows: a working year (nominally of 1548 hours) equalled 1000 points. Forty-five per cent of the total score was allocated for teaching (around 750 hours per academic year, depending on academic position) and methodological practices which referred to preparation for teaching, including writing and publishing methodological textbooks. Through research and innovation academics were supposed to gain another 45 per cent of the score and the remaining 10 per cent depended on administration and 'nurture' of students. However, research next to monographs and articles comprised also teaching textbooks. While the methodological textbooks required the approval of the faculty board, the teaching textbooks were supposed to be larger and required the approval of the university board or the education ministry. As regards articles, an article in a journal indexed in the international databases provided 150 points, while an article in a Ukrainian journal provided 100. In 2004 and in 2010 academics affiliated with this university published 180 and 282 papers, respectively, in journals indexed in Scopus. To strengthen knowledge transfer, in 2012 the Technical University, in collaboration with investors, established an annual competition for start-ups, the so-called Sikorsky Challenge. However, it was expected that the competitors would be primarily the students, not academics.

University of Life Sciences

This university has been the leading Ukrainian agricultural university for many decades. To stimulate performance, starting in 2002 a performance-based salary was applied to all academics at this university and 20 per cent of the salary depended on their ranking. In 2011, the quantitative criteria of the research university (presented in Table 1) were introduced additionally into the ranking criteria of academics. And in 2013, half of the academics' salary depended on the governmental research university criteria. It was necessary for an academic to justify 1548 hours per year to earn a basic salary and 3096 hours for a double salary. Remarkably, the term 'hours' rather than 'points' is used in the ranking system of the University of Life Sciences. The time calculations included 900 hours of teaching. The ranking system of academics divided the 1548 hours as follows: (1) teaching (900 hours or 58%), (2) research (13%), (3) teaching, research and innovation and international activity (9%), (4) research and methodical activity (11%), and (5) nurturing (9%). Confusingly, some headings duplicate each other. Moreover, the methodological textbooks, grouped under teaching in the Technical University, are classified as research. Just like in the Technical University, research comprised not only articles in Ukrainian and international journals but also teaching textbooks. Moreover, publishing teaching textbooks was a priority among academics, because it counted for many more hours (60 hours per 16 pages, on condition a 10% of the total print run was submitted to the university library). In 2013, the number of hours awarded for an article in the databases of Scopus or Web of Science was 250, whereas the number of hours for an article in other databases was reduced to 100 (down from 250 in 2011).

For an article in the Ukrainian professional journals, 40 hours were awarded. Publishing internationally was a new practice for the academics at this university: in 2010 and in 2014 they published 12 and 46 articles, respectively, in journals indexed in Scopus. Regarding knowledge transfer, hours were awarded for third-party funding. However, academics could get no more than 36 per cent of the value of the contract in this way. Furthermore, the university did not provide academics with the necessary conditions for earning externally, e.g. a science park did not function. It is necessary to note that at both universities academics had contracts for three or five years and their ranking influenced contract renewal.

To summarise, in Ukrainian case, institutional complexity resulted in means–ends decoupling at the organisational level and cultural complexity in two universities, e.g. academics were expected to do research and earn through knowledge transfer but the universities did not provide them with supportive conditions, e.g. good salaries, research infrastructure, funding for attending conferences abroad. Further, the ranking systems in both universities did not motivate academics to publish internationally. However, as the practices and values of the University of Life Sciences leadership significantly deviated from those prescribed by the global model of the research university, it sustained greater means–ends decoupling at the organisational level than the Technical University.

A lower degree of cultural complexity in the case of the Technical University allowed both the development of organisational identities regarding research and knowledge transfer and the maintenance of synergy among them. In the case of the University of Life Sciences, a higher degree of cultural complexity hindered both the development of organisational identities of research and knowledge transfer and the maintenance of synergy among them. Moreover, contrary to the global model of the research university, both universities, firstly, maintained one more organisational identity which refers to publishing methodological textbooks and, secondly, categorised teaching textbooks as research when they are more related to teaching.

Findings: Four types of academic identities in two Ukrainian research universities

Drawing on my theoretical framework I defined four types of academic identity in these two Ukrainian universities, as will be illustrated in this section.

Lecturers with an academic degree

Academics that belong to this type of identity are from all disciplines at both universities. They are characterised by only two academic identities regarding teaching and research at the national level. However, after the defence of the PhD thesis, their identity of a researcher at the national level is latent most of the time and this latent state is punctuated by rare periods of activity. Latency occurs because as there is no established system of allocation of state funding

for research on a competitive basis and neither state nor industry is interested in the results of research, academics need to invent the themes for research by themselves. As a rule, they try to exploit the theme of the defended PhD thesis. The frequency of activation of the identity of a researcher at the national level and the character of research practices vary depending on the individual and organisational cultural dimensions. The same refers to the degree of synergy among the research and teaching practices, which ranges from the dominance of teaching practices over research to compartmentalisation.

As in the University of Life Sciences, the number of practices for the double salary goes beyond reasonable measures; the more practices academics enact, the less the synergy among them. Consequently, a part of the research practices is compartmentalised as they are done only in order for academics to earn hours towards their salary, e.g. academics publish textbooks, submit the required number to the library but do not use them for teaching. It reflects a case of means–ends decoupling that academics sustain at the individual level. Moreover, the more time academics devote to the practices that provide hours for their ranking, the less time they have for practices which they consider meaningful, e.g. to prepare properly for lecturing. Consequently, it causes them to experience inner conflict and dissonance.

As academics at the Technical University are required to engage in a lesser number of practices than their colleagues at the University of Life Sciences, the former have more freedom in terms of selection of their practices and can attain more synergy among them. However, academics at the Technical University also point out the factors related to organisational and national dimensions that cause them to experience dissonance:

How we can do research if we do not have an approach to the financial recordings of Ukrainian companies. It is declared that there is a market economy in the country but in reality, the share of shadow economy is around 60 per cent. Moreover, Ukrainian journals charge a fee for publication. I do not understand why I must spend my salary on articles. In addition, I have large lecturing workload that does not leave me time for writing articles. (Social sciences, Technical University)

Since the publications in the Ukrainian journals are a compulsory requirement for the defence of the master's thesis at both universities, those academics who supervise master's students are at an advantage as they can publish in co-authorship with students. As regards the impact of the individual dimension on the research practices of academics, e.g. one academic in the humanities publishes from time to time articles related to the theme of her PhD thesis to maintain the identity of a researcher in order to be the opponent for the defences of the doctoral theses.

As for the defence of the PhD thesis, academics were obliged to publish only in Ukrainian journals; publishing in English in international journals is a new

and unknown practice for them. In addition, academics claim a lot of factors hinder them from publishing internationally. Firstly, they erroneously think that all journals indexed in Scopus or Web of Science charge a fee for publication which is rather high for them to pay. Secondly, some academics express doubts whether their publications correspond to the international level, as one interviewee clarifies: “An article in the international journals expects you really discover something new in science” (social sciences, Technical University). Thirdly, most academics lack knowledge of English. Meanwhile, the case of academics in the humanities (e.g. departments of foreign philology) shows that a high level of proficiency in English does not entail publishing internationally. If these academics have publications in English, they, as a rule, reflect a case of means–ends decoupling because the published article is viewed as a goal in itself irrespective of its quality and content. In particular, one academic in foreign philology published in English in a Ukrainian journal only because the journal requires all the articles to be in both Ukrainian and English. Another one published for money in a foreign journal having done it primarily to gain the hours necessary for remuneration. Fourthly, as the salaries paid by the Ukrainian universities are rather low even if they are doubled, academics prefer to allocate their time and efforts not to research but to the extra job that provides them with additional income. As one interviewee from the social sciences clarifies:

My colleagues from another university have published an article in a journal with a high impact factor, but the research took almost two years and I’m not ready to devote so much time to a research paper. I have family and I’m interested in additional income. I have an extra income from being involved in a group of researchers who collaborate with the international companies and we do analytical projects using foreign methodology but this activity is not connected with the university. (Social sciences, Technical University)

Having an additional job, however, also refers to academics in IT at both universities. While academics in IT at the Technical University earn additionally by either lecturing at training IT courses beyond the university or doing projects for manufacture and business, one academic at the National University of Life Sciences claims to earn additionally by being employed in an insurance company, because next to a degree in technical sciences he has a degree in economics. The IT faculty in the University of Life Sciences was established only in 2010 and the university leadership did not take any remuneration initiatives to recruit academics with a PhD in IT.

To summarise, as national and organisational environments do not provide favourable conditions for academics, e.g. a salary sufficient for a comfortable living and grounded in reasonable criteria, academics through deletion or compartmentalising of the roles/practices imposed by the university allocate

their time and energy to adopting practices and developing identities beyond the university to get an additional income.

National lecturer-researchers

To this type of identity belong academics from the social sciences and humanities – in particular, academics with a second-level doctoral degree who supervise PhD students and academics with PhDs doing second-level doctoral research. In terms of the organisational dimension, similar to the prior type, as academics at the Technical University are required to engage in a lesser number of practices than their colleagues at the University of Life Sciences, the former can maintain more synergy among their practices than the latter. Consequently, academics at the University of Life Sciences compartmentalise part of their research practices. Meanwhile, due to their rather high status at the university and in the academic community, they do not always openly admit it. One interviewee confesses to compartmentalisation in the following way: “If not the ranking I simply would not publish so many textbooks as I do not need them in such a quantity” (social sciences, University of Life Sciences). As regards publishing internationally, academics argue that a low level of English and a lack of access to data (social sciences) hinder them from adopting research practices at the international level. Meanwhile, some academics argue for the absence of distinctions between doing research at the national and the international level. As one interviewee clarifies: ‘I do not have publications in the international journals and I do not read them. However, I have attended an international conference and can assure you that we do research at the same level as our international colleagues’ (social sciences, Technical University). Meanwhile, the experience of attending a conference abroad described by the interviewee is more related to so-called “academic tourism” than to engagement in academic discussion and dissemination of the results of research. Those academics who have publications in English admit that either they wrote the whole article in Ukrainian and another person translated it into English or they wrote in English with significant help. Consequently, such articles are published only in journals that charge a fee. The problem is that doctors of sciences who supervise postgraduate students and represent this academic identity do not publish in prestigious international journals, thus they are not able to teach the postgraduate students whom they supervise to publish internationally.

Would-be integrators into the global research community

This type of identity is represented by academics who hold PhDs in humanities and social sciences and are affiliated with both universities. Contrary to their colleagues who belong to the two prior types, these academics strive to enact research practices not only at the national but also at the international level. However, they do not have an identity of a researcher at the international level as they only strive for it by adopting related practices, e.g. trying to publish articles in the international peer-reviewed journals.

These academics are primarily in their early thirties. They have recently obtained a PhD degree and want to maintain the identity of a researcher in active state. Thus, they are either doing second-level doctoral research or are looking for opportunities to start doing it. As the knowledge of English is a necessary precondition for integration into the global research community, all academics claim to have a high level of English.

Meanwhile, there are different triggers behind these academics that pushed them to start integrating into the global research community. One academic already working on a second-level doctoral thesis points out that she was triggered by the demands for the second-level doctoral thesis adopted in 2012 which required academics to have publications in the international journals. Moreover, as the second-level doctoral research of this academic is related to the EU, she needed to have at least a one-week study visit abroad and a reference to prove her visit. Fulfilment of this formal demand resulted in research collaboration with foreign colleagues from the university which she visited. Another academic started collaborating with foreign colleagues while she was doing her PhD research.

As regards the impact of the organisational dimension, similar to their colleagues that represent the two prior types, academics at the University of Life Sciences are not able to maintain synergy among the great number of practices in which they engage and, consequently, they compartmentalise part of their research practices. In particular, this refers to publishing methodological and teaching textbooks. Moreover, these academics claim to be torn between the inner striving to devote their time to research practices that provide them with meaning and the necessity to engage in practices that ensure a double salary but are either disconnected from, or loosely connected to, research. Consequently, they experience dissonance and inner conflict.

Meanwhile, academics affiliated with the Technical University also experience dissonance as the criteria of the ranking system do not evaluate highly the practices of research at the international level:

Of course, my salary does not depend on my ranking index and it is rather symbolic but for an article in the Ukrainian journal I get 100 hours and for an article in the international journal only 150. I must spend much more time and effort on publishing an article in the international journal but it is not rewarding according to the ranking system. Such system does not motivate for a quality of research. (Humanities, Technical University)

The more academics are conscious about the gap in the quality of publications between the national and international levels, the less meaning they see in publishing in the Ukrainian journals. As one interviewee clarifies:

I was doing a candidate of sciences thesis participating in a research project conducted by foreign researchers. I found out

that there is a striking difference in research methodology in humanities in Ukraine and in Europe. I wanted to apply the international experience that I got for my Ukrainian thesis but sadly my intention was not supported by the supervisor and reviewers. To tell the truth, I prefer to read foreign scientific journals. However, the problem is limited access to the databases. (Humanities, Technical University)

And here starts a dilemma. On the one hand, the strengthening of the practices of research at the international level requires the weakening or even elimination of the practices of research at the national level. As human resources are limited and as publishing internationally is a new practice for Ukrainian academics, they need to put in a great deal of effort to gain international recognition to become professionals at the international level. On the other hand, the second-level doctoral research which allows maintaining as active the identity of a researcher implies publishing in Ukrainian journals. The same dilemma applies to the fulfilment of the demands of the university rankings.

Engineers

This type of identity comprises three academics from the IT faculty at the Technical University. The first one has a second-level doctoral degree and he not only maintains as active the identity of a researcher but this identity is his dominant one. It occurs because he supervises PhD students and leads research projects funded by the education ministry. However, not everything is going as well as it seems on first sight. The academic notes that none of his doctoral students has defended a PhD thesis so far as they either go abroad for study or drop out of the doctoral programme for a job in the private sector. Concerning the research projects funded by the education ministry, the interviewee claims to be significantly constrained in the allocation of state funding within the research projects as it is strictly regulated by the ministry. As for knowledge transfer, this academic is involved in projects done through the science park. In addition, he is responsible for the laboratory equipped by one international IT company. Next to teaching, the laboratory is supposed to develop innovative solutions for this company. To summarise, this academic points out that his engagement in practices of knowledge transfer and research enhances the quality of his teaching. Thus, he maintains a high degree of synergy among identities regarding teaching, research at the national level and knowledge transfer. In terms of research at the international level, the interviewee does not have a fully fledged identity. Together with the head of the department, they visited MIT for their own expense and have several publications in English, primarily in conference proceedings. Meanwhile, the interviewee admits that he cannot afford to attend conferences abroad.

The second academic that belongs to this type of identity is characterised by a latent researcher identity that he activates from time to time by publishing in

Ukrainian journals. However, the interviewee claims to have initiated a joint article with a Polish colleague. And, more pertinently for our research, he lectures at the training courses for students funded by the international IT company in the university laboratory equipped by this company. In this way the company obtains employees with that knowledge which it considers crucial. Meanwhile, both the aforementioned academics are from the one department in which the department head tries to create a supportive environment for academics to engage in research and knowledge transfer.

The third academic holds the position of a researcher and lectures part-time to get some additional income. As regards research, he is involved in projects funded by the education ministry. However, the interviewee claims that the drawback of these projects is a vast bureaucracy at both the university and state levels. The interviewee points out that he would like to supervise PhD students but the graduates in IT are not willing to pursue a career in academia. Concerning research at the international level, he has read scientific journals in English since the Soviet era and started publishing in English long ago, before the university was awarded the status of a research university. Meanwhile, he publishes in English primarily in conference proceedings which are indexed in Scopus. However, similar to the two prior academics, he cannot afford to attend international conferences abroad. As regards knowledge transfer, the interviewee collaborated with the state organisation which approached him, but the project was accomplished without the engagement of either the university or the science park.

Discussion and conclusions

To summarise, institutional and cultural complexities, caused by means–ends decoupling at the state and organisational levels, created barriers to academics in the two universities of our study constructing identities that align with the global model of the research university. As means and ends of individuals are embedded within prevailing institutional logics (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008) and organisational culture (Tierney, 1988), institutional and cultural complexities impose severe constraints on academics. On the one hand, it makes them unable to function as purposive and agentic actors, which is prescribed by the global models (Meyer, 2010) including the research university (Mohrman et al., 2008). On the other hand, it triggers means–ends decoupling at the individual level. A higher degree of means–ends decoupling at the individual level implies a greater efficiency gap (Dick, 2015) and a larger diversion of resources (Bromley & Powell, 2012). In our case it refers to human intellectual resources. Consequently, the higher degree of means–ends decoupling at the individual level entails a greater gap between the constructed academic identities and the identities prescribed by the global model of the research university. The more academic identities deviate from the global model of the research university, the more organisational identities do, too. Moreover, institutional complexity experienced by academics leads them to

enact a lesser number of roles and attain among them less synergy than the university maintains at the organisational level regarding its organisational identities.

In terms of the organisational dimension, a high degree of cultural complexity and a low synergy among organisational identities result in a high degree of means–ends decoupling at the individual level and lack of synergy between practices adopted by academics, which entail the academics compartmentalising part of their research practices. This applies to the University of Life Sciences in which a high degree of cultural complexity triggers its academics to sustain a higher degree of means–ends decoupling at the individual level than academics at the Technical University.

However, the degree of cultural complexity confronted by academics depends not only on the organisational dimension of the university but also on the cultural dimension of the faculty and department, e.g. the supportive attitude of the department head, in the case of two academics from natural sciences at the Technical University who belong to the fourth type of academic identity, decreases the cultural complexity experienced by them. Moreover, as depending on the disciplinary culture academics differ in the role prescriptions that they are supposed to perform, thus they confront varying degrees of institutional and cultural complexity, e.g. academics from the humanities and natural sciences.

With regard to the impact of the individual dimension, the four types of academic identities that have defined differ in terms of roles/practices and the synergy attained among them not only due to the impact of the aforementioned cultural dimensions but also because of distinctions in the aspirational identities of interviewees. Those academics who belong to the first type of identity view teaching as their primary role at the university. The academics that represent the second type of identity consider teaching and research at the national level as their dominant roles. Whereas, academics that belong to the third and fourth types of identity are oriented to the global model of the research university. However, the aspirational identities of all academics to a varying degree deviate from roles imposed on them by the organisational and national cultural dimensions. To summarise, all of the academics in varying degree do not maintain a logic of confidence in the identities and practices imposed on them by the organisational and national cultural dimensions. The greater awareness of academics about their practices being either loosely related or not related at all to their core goal (aspirational identity), and the larger the number of practices which they compartmentalise, the greater the dissonance they experience. In turn, conflict arises between the self-identities of academics derived from their practices and aspirational identities. Regarding the degree of dissonance and identity conflict, the doctors of sciences affiliated with the Technical University that belong to the second type of academic identity experience both these states in the least degree among all

the academics. The only cause of discomfort for them is practices of research at the international level. However, the case of these academics raises the issue of a gap between doing research at the national and the international level. Moreover, my research addresses a bigger problem that concerns a gap between research practices in the global and Ukrainian contexts. As can be seen, Ukrainian research practices are only loosely related or not related at all to research up to the global standards. Ukrainian journals that publish any content for money and Ukrainian academics who have 'significant achievements' at the national level but are not known anywhere in the world raise the issue of the dubious quality of so-called research at the national level produced by Ukrainian researchers.

To summarise, the diversion of human intellectual capital in Ukraine due to means–ends decoupling at the state and organisational levels entails terrifying consequences for the Ukrainian society and economy. Ukraine urgently needs the elimination of means–ends decoupling at both the state level and organisational level of universities to stop their destructive effect. As one academic stated: "What is the use that I have got this international experience if I return to the system that does not need it, and does not appreciate it if I cannot apply efficiently international experience in Ukraine."

7. Conclusions: Theoretical and empirical contributions

In this dissertation, I employed a new institutionalist perspective to explore why the implementation of global models of higher education in national contexts does not lead to the intended outcomes. I focused on higher education in Ukraine to empirically address this question. From an institutional perspective such implementation can be viewed as means–ends decoupling at the state level. Drawing on the new institutionalist research literature means–ends decoupling occurs in states which can be characterised as ‘weak’ and ‘predatory’ ones.

Ukraine is a proper example of such a weak state, and therefore chosen for further investigation of the implementation of global models of higher education into its national context. I focused on three levels of governance: the state, organisational and individual levels. For each of these three levels, I formulated a secondary question. These three secondary questions are discussed in sections below.

7.1 The implementation of global models in the national context at the state level

The first secondary question of the present dissertation concerns the exploration of effects of means–ends decoupling at the state level on the implementation of global models in the *national* context—at the macro level of governance. Chapters 2 to 4 addressed this question and revealed that in Ukraine it was quite challenging to make national reforms work. The implementation of global models of higher education in terms of university, research university, Triple Helix, and higher education quality assurance was investigated through applying four approaches to the new institutionalism: historical institutionalism, rational choice institutionalism, sociological institutionalism, and Scandinavian institutionalism.

7.1.1 Changing logic of the global model

The new institutionalism provided an insightful understanding of what happened when the global model of higher education was implemented in Ukraine. The designation of the research university in Ukraine was explored from the historical, sociological and Scandinavian institutionalist perspectives.¹¹ Scandinavian institutionalists employ the concept of translation

¹¹ The present section focuses on the research university. For the other dimensions of the global model, slightly different combinations of the neo-institutional perspectives appeared to be most insightful. To explore the implementation of the Triple Helix model, the rational choice

mainly to investigate the implementation of ideas in another organisational context. I applied their perspective to understand the implementation of the research university global model in the national context of Ukraine. More specifically, I employed three sets of rules of editing which guide the process of translation: rules of context, rules of logic, and rules of formulation (Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008).

Sahlin and Wedlin (2008) define that the rules of logic refer to “initiatives and effects”, while the effects should result from activities following the problem-solving logic (Sahlin and Wedlin, 2008, p.226). Drawing on the theoretical framework of this research the rules of logic refer to defining the outcomes which the global model is supposed to achieve and required means. Consequently, the state actors must adhere to the logic of the global model implementing it in the new setting. However, from the rational choice institutionalist perspective state actors are assumed to pursue their self-interest (Krueger, 1974). Powerful actors, thereby, can convert pre-existing institutions or externally copied institutional innovations into the object of rent-seeking which implies “a return in excess of a resource owner’s opportunity cost” (Tollison, 1982, p. 575). Historical institutionalists (Thelen & Mahoney, 2010) argue that the actors can convert institutions from the intended outcomes to the initially unforeseen purposes. The Scandinavian institutionalist perspective assumes that actors’ interests and understandings of global models and ideas condition their translation into new settings (Sahlin & Wedlin 2008, Sahlin-Anderson, 2009; Boxenbaum & Pedersen, 2009; Boxenbaum & Batillana, 2005). Sociological institutionalists argue that institutional biographies (Bertel & Lawrence, 2016; Lawrence, Suddaby & Bernard, 2011) affect individuals’ interpretations of institutions. Furthermore, according to world society theory (Meyer et al., 1997), impoverished nation-states largely adopt global models just to comply with the modern trends trying to position themselves as rational actors while the adopted global models do not achieve the intended outcomes in these states. Drawing on all these theories, the case of Ukraine reveals that the pursuit of self-interest by political actors entails them to convert the global model from the intended outcomes to the new ends which correspond to their self-interest. Consequently, this implies the change of the global model logic. In particular, the designation of universities and research universities in Ukraine was not aimed to contribute to the development of a knowledge-based economy as it is supposed to be. The status of the research university was awarded to 13 universities before presidential elections and only afterwards the criteria for the research university were approved. Arguably, the criteria were developed in such a way that it was impossible for the designated research universities to align with them. The study findings also reveal that different political actors involved in the implementation of the research university

institutionalist perspective and sociological institutionalism were employed. The implementation of the global model of university was best understood from combining the historical institutionalist perspective with sociological institutionalism.

model in Ukraine in 2007-2014 had different interpretations of the logic of translation as they aimed to resolve different problems. The same refers to the establishment of sciences parks in Ukraine. While in Western societies, science parks are a means for the establishment of a knowledge economy, in Ukraine their primary purpose was to ensure the universities to earn externally. On the one hand, the establishment of science parks can be viewed as a reform for the sake of a reform which resonates with the views expressed by Meyer et al., (1997) that impoverished states adopt policies based on global models just to comply with the global trends while the adopted global models do not work in these states. On the other hand, in Ukrainian case, the state actors converted the science park global model into the object of rent-seeking. Ukrainian research universities were demanded to earn externally through the science parks while beneficial conditions required for the achievement of this outcome were not created.

Deviant interpretations and practices of Ukrainian state actors in the case of global higher education models implementation can be attributed to their prior experiences or institutional biographies. As I mentioned above, capital of the majority of Ukrainian political elites was gained in unfair ways (Aslund, 2000; 2001) and the aim of a career in politics in Ukraine is nothing else but the pursuit of a personal financial interest.

To summarise, according to the study findings the cause of change in the logic of the global model in a new setting can be seen a consequence of the interpretation and understanding of the global model by political actors involved in policy adoption and implementation. In Ukrainian case, public policies based on global models largely were aimed to fulfil the needs of powerful actors such as political and organisational leadership but not the public needs. Consequently, from the sociological institutionalist perspective, such public policies reflect instances of means–ends decoupling at the state level. In general, the results of research support the findings of Hammergren (1998) and Gauster and Isakson (2007) that an inadequate statement of the problem and means required to resolve this problem leads to the unintended outcomes of global models implementation.

7.1.2 Aligment of the national context with the global models

The second set of editing rules which guides the process of translation concerns the context (Sahlin & Wedlin 2008). This study reveals that—as there was a profound gap between Ukrainian context and the context from which the higher education global models were translated—this gap created strong barriers to the implementation of higher education global models as intended. Appropriate context is one of the means of achieving the intended outcomes of global models. These findings resonate with the literature emphasising that the successful implementation of reforms is linked to macro policies aimed at national development (Borras et al., 2007; Gauster & Isakson, 2007).

From the sociological institutionalist perspective, the alignment of the new context with the context from which the global model was diffused ensures the institutional logics of the context from which the global model was diffused to be preserved (Cai, 2014). Consequently, in order to align the national context with the global model, it requires the adoption of related global models. Applied to Ukrainian case, the designation of research universities required, actually, the establishment of a knowledge-based economy—implementing the Triple Helix and New Public Management models as necessary context conditions which in turn required the establishment of civil society. In Ukrainian case, the knowledge-based economy was not established largely because of the political and business oligarchies unwillingness to sacrifice their benefits for the public sake. The state imposed on the research universities demands without providing them with conditions required for their achievement which reflected the rent-seeking behaviour of the state actors.

7.1.3 Change in the formulation of the global models

The third set of rules, guiding the process of translation, which I applied to the exploration of the translation of the research university global model into Ukrainian setting concerns the formulation of the global model itself. According to the rules of formulation, the global model can be changed while it is translated into a new setting. The empirical findings from the case study of Ukraine reveal that the change in the logic of the global model as well as a lack of appropriate context leads, indeed, to the change in the formulation of the global model itself. Examples of the change in the formulation of the research university global model in Ukrainian context are the quantitative criteria for Ukrainian research universities that are quite detached from the research university global model. Another example is the lack of conditions for Ukrainian research universities in terms of funding for research facilities and salaries for academics sufficient to build a sustainable career in academia. Furthermore, the study indicates that different political actors involved in the adoption of public policy aimed at establishing the research universities in Ukraine pursued logics which differed from the research university global model. Consequently, public policy aimed at establishing the research universities in Ukraine significantly differed from the global research university model.

Such changes in the formulation of the global model itself, driven by changes in the logic of the global model and lack of appropriate context, lead to the hollowing out of the global model while being implemented into a new setting. In particular, the establishment of science parks and a national quality assurance agency in Ukraine turned into the establishment of institutions the practices of which were only loosely related to their intended outcomes. In case of the designation of the universities and research universities existing institutions of higher education were simply relabelled under the concepts of the global model of higher education while the underlying practices were not

coupled with their intended outcomes. Hence, the stability of the practices of these national institutions actually implied a drift from reforms that were necessary for Ukrainian institutions of higher education to correspond to the changing social and economic environment.

The findings from Ukrainian case reveal that in order for the global model implemented in a new setting to achieve the intended outcomes, the logic and formulation of the model must be preserved unchanged while the national context must be adapted to the global model. In this way, the study outcomes resonate with Hambergren (1998) who stresses that the adoption of “successes” requires the adoption of details allowing them to work. In order this to happen, a political will must be as it is a required condition for public policies to achieve the intended outcomes (Hambergren, 1998; Lahiff, 2007; Rupidara & McGraw, 2010) as well as effective societal institutions (Homedes & Ugalde, 2005; Rupidara & McGraw, 2010; Binswanger & Deininger, 1999; Sehring, 2009). The study findings highlight that lack of these conditions hinders not only policy implementation but also policy adoption as intended which entails means–ends decoupling at the state level.

To summarise, with the relation to the issue of ‘glocalisation’ (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002), the study suggests that the significant adaptation of the global model to local conditions instead of alignment of the local context to accommodate the global model results in the conversion of the global model from the intended outcomes.

7.2. Organisational responses to institutional complexity

The second secondary question in this dissertation focuses on the consequences of the implementation of the global research university model as well as the Triple Helix model at the organisational level (meso level). Chapters 4 and 5 addressed this question employing sociological institutionalism and the framework of multiple organisational identity management responses developed by Pratt and Foreman (2000).

7.2.1 Institutional complexity and means–ends decoupling at the organisational level

As it was mentioned in the theoretical framework of this dissertation, Meyer and Höllerer (2016, p. 374) distinguish between inter-institutional and intra-institutional complexity, denoting that conflicting institutional demands can be imposed not only by multiple institutional logics (inter-institutional complexity) but also “arise within the same institutional order” which refers to intra-institutional complexity. Addressing the implications of means–ends decoupling at the state level for organisational actors, the findings from chapters 4 and 5 reveal that means–ends decoupling at the state level, which implied the inconsistent prescriptions of the state, resulted in intra-institutional complexity for Ukrainian research universities and the science parks established within them. In particular, the state expected the research

universities to do research at the international level and earn externally while the quantitative criteria for the research university were only loosely related to these demands. The state also did not provide the research universities with funding necessary for the research infrastructure and salaries of academics sufficient for the sustainable life and them being involved in the international academic community, for example, through visiting international conferences. Furthermore, the inconsistent behaviour of the state when, on the one hand, the research universities were expected to earn externally while, on the other hand, a knowledge economy was not established in the country because the state pursued the interest of oligarchy, resulted in inter-institutional complexity for Ukrainian research universities. Industry was not innovation-driven and there was no demand on research done at universities. Thus, complexity which confronted Ukrainian research universities implied incompatible prescriptions of the state as well as inconsistent logics of the state and market caused by contradictory logic of the state. From an institutional perspective, institutional complexity constrains the organisation in its strategic actions (Bertel & Lawrence, 2016; Dacin, Dacin & Tracey, 2011; Goldstein, Hazy & Silberstang, 2010). Torenvlied and Akkerman (2012) and Bozeman (1993) addressing the red tape, which relates to institutional complexity, also posit that it constrains organisational and individual actors. While Bromley and Powell (2012) argue that institutional complexity results in means–ends decoupling at the organisational level. The findings presented in chapters 4 and 5 support both these propositions. Institutional complexity triggers means–ends decoupling at the organisational level because the means and ends of organisational actors are conditioned by prevailing institutional logics, as it is claimed by Thornton and Ocasio (2008). Consequently, contradictory prescriptions confronted by organisation constrain it in the choice of means and ends. With respect to Ukrainian research universities, constraints which they experienced over their means and ends precluded them from functioning as agentic and purposive actors—as assumed by the sociological institutionalist perspective (Meyer, 2010). These constraints triggered means–ends decoupling at the organisational level. This is similar to a chain reaction: the state despite not having created conditions for the policy implementation demands the universities to achieve the intended outcomes, and the university leadership behaves in a similar way. Furthermore, the pursuit by Ukrainian research universities the state quantitative criteria for the research university which were only loosely related to the global research university model entailed the universities being converted from the achievement of the intended outcomes.

From the sociological institutionalist perspective, the degree of institutional complexity confronted by the organisation varies depending on the inconsistency between institutional demands and prior organisational identity which functions as a filter for institutional prescriptions (Glynn, 2008; Greenwood et al., 2011). The empirical findings of chapter 5 support this statement and highlight that the gap between institutional demands and prior

organisational identity conditions the organisational response and degree of means–ends decoupling at the organisational level.

With regard to higher education, the ‘one-size-fits-all’ character of public policy drives inconsistencies between institutional demands and the disciplinary culture of university which conditions the organisational identity of university. In particular, the inconsistency occurred with the disciplinary culture of Classical University and institutional demand to earn externally through the science park, as described in chapter 5. Consequently, it resulted in an increase in the degree of institutional complexity confronted by this university.

Distinctions in organisational responses to institutional demands are attributed not only to distinctions in prior organisational identities (Greenwood et al. 2011) but also to distinctions in the interpretations of institutional demands by organisational top managers who depend on their values and beliefs (Scott & Lane, 2000; Walsh & Glynn, 2008; Ravasi & Schultz, 2006; Glynn, 2008; Gioia et al., 2013). While the findings of chapters 3 and 4 highlight that the interpretations of the global model by the state actors largely condition its implementation at the state level, the findings of chapters 4 and 5 reveal that the interests and interpretations of organisational leadership condition the implementation of the global model at the organisational level. Similar to rent-seeking behaviour of powerful actors, predating on state resources and pursuing self-interest which leads to means–ends decoupling at the state level, the pursuit of self-interest by organisational top managers entails means–ends decoupling at the organisational level. While Westphal and Zajac (2001) argue that the pursuit of self-interest by organisation management leads to policy–practice decoupling, this study indicates that the pursuit of self-interest by top managers can also trigger means–ends decoupling.

Further, the findings of chapters 4 and 5 highlight that the authoritarian leadership style also leads to means–ends decoupling at the organisational. This occurs because the authoritarian leadership style implies the suppression of the agentic actorhood of organisational members, which contradicts the global models of world society. In this way, this study addresses the issue of higher education governance. In Ukrainian case, it refers to the procedure of selection and appointment of university top managers, taking into account that in one case university the rector held his position for 30 years while in the other the same person was in the position of rector for more than 20 years. This concerns the accountability of university management to the public and involvement of higher education stakeholders in the management of higher education institutions in order they not to be detached from the needs of the society and economy being driven by the distorted interpretations and self-interest of top managers.

Bromley and Powell (2012) view the lack of capacity and a lack of will as primary causes of policy–practice decoupling. However, the findings of

chapters 4 and 5 indicate that these two factors are also the causes of means–ends decoupling. Means-ends decoupling triggered by institutional complexity can be attributed to a lack of capacity. Consequently, such decoupling can be considered as unintended. On the other hand, the university leadership maintaining a logic of confidence in practices and organisational identities that deviate from the global models reflects to some extent intended decoupling. The confidence in identities and practices which deviate from the global models accounts not only for the lack of knowledge and skills but also for the pursuit of self-interest which reflects a lack of will.

Bromley and Powell (2012, p.503-504) view structural complexity as the consequence of means-ends decoupling at the organisational level. However, this study indicates that means–ends decoupling at the organisational level also leads to cultural complexity. Cultural complexity refers to pluralistic and contradictory culture within the organisation (Bwowaeyts and Baets 2003).

7.2.2 Means–ends decoupling and managerial responses to multiple organisational identities

The model of multiple organisational identity responses, elaborated by Pratt and Foreman (2000), was applied to explore organisational responses to institutional complexity at three Ukrainian research universities. The findings, presented in chapter 5, suggest the following six conclusions about organisational responses to multiple identities at Ukrainian research universities under study.

Firstly, institutional complexity caused by means–ends decoupling at the state level hindered the top managers of three Ukrainian universities from establishing multiple organisational identities of the research university and attaining synergy among them. Consequently, institutional complexity created barriers to organisational response which is intended according to the research university global model, in particular it refers to Janusian integration.

Secondly, while Pratt and Foreman (2000) focus on each response separately, the study results highlight that organisational response to multiple organisational identities can involve the combining of two types of responses. Organisational response of the one case university implied the combining of aggregation of two identities and multivocality of one.

Thirdly, Pratt and Foreman (2000) view organisational response as a consequence of the internal change. However, the empirical findings of study reveal that apart from this, organisational response to multiple organisational identities can be imposed as an exogenous change, for example, through public policy. Ukrainian public policy aimed at designating the research universities can be considered as an aggregation response expected by the state from Ukrainian universities. However, only one case university, which—being an institutional entrepreneur—brought the research university model in Ukraine, succeeded in achieving this type of response. Among all case universities, it

was the most aligned with the research university global model. As a consequence, it is possible to assume that the organisation is more successful in developing an aggregation response applying a meta-identity and maintaining organisational identities in the hierarchy if it is a result of an endogenous, not exogenous change.

Fourthly, the examples of Pratt and Foremann (2000) address a meta-identity imposed on equally established organisational identities. However, as regards Ukrainian case universities, a meta-identity was applied to organisational identities which were not equally developed. It required the managers to strengthen weak identities through the diminishment of the dominant organisational identity to move their responses closer to integration. Such a strategy is necessary because organisational resources both financial and human are limited. In the case of Ukrainian universities, the elaboration and strengthening of knowledge transfer and research required the diminishment of teaching. Further, the results of the study, on the example of organisational identities regarding research at the international level at the two case universities indicate that a new organisational identity that is close to deletion needs to be put rather high in a hierarchy at the organisational level because it requires time to be institutionalised and to acquire synergy with other organisational identities.

Fifthly, while Greenwood et al. (2011) and Pratt and Foreman (2000) argue that compartmentalisation response relates to decoupling, the findings of this research highlight that multivocality response also implies means–ends decoupling, but to a lesser degree than compartmentalisation. In the case universities, the maintenance of organisational identities through means–ends decoupling hindered the attainment of the synergy among organisational identities as well as the establishment of these identities. Multivocality response which involves means–ends decoupling at the organisational level was applied to identities for which universities did not have resources or which fell between the contradictions of institutional prescriptions or did not align with the disciplinary culture of university.

Sixthly, the case of the University of Life Sciences highlights that if an organisation simultaneously develops multiple organisational identities declaring each of them equally important while one or some of the identities are rather a new one and close to deletion, it is not integration or aggregation as top managers might think, but multivocality. Such a strategy does not only lack synergy among identities but also hinders the strengthening of weak identities.

7.3. Implementing the research university model at the micro level of governance

The third secondary question of this research concerns the implementation of the research university model at the micro level. This question is addressed in

chapter 6 which aimed to explore how individual actors implemented the research university global model responding to institutional and organisational demands imposed on them.

7.3.1 Implications of institutional and cultural complexities for individual actors

Similar to the research universities as organisational actors, academics at Ukrainian case universities as individual actors confronted incompatible prescriptions of the state, as well as contradictory logics of the state and market, resulted from the inconsistent logic of the state. As from the sociological institutionalist perspective, the means and ends of individual actors are conditioned by prevailing institutional logics (Thornton & Occasion, 2008), drawing on this statement the study findings indicate that institutional complexity constrained Ukrainian academics in their choice of means and ends. It precluded them from functioning as agentic and purposive actors as it is supposed to be according to the sociological institutionalist perspective (Meyer, 2010).

Meanwhile, as the means and ends of organisational members are conditioned not only by institutional logics but also by organisational culture (Tierney, 1988; Välimaa, 1999), the study findings reveal that apart from institutional complexity, cultural complexity also constrained the means and ends of Ukrainian academics within the university as an organisation. Chapter 6 highlights that a higher degree of cultural complexity implies a lower degree of agentic actorhood and greater constraints confronted by organisational members.

With regard to the organisational dimension, as it is stated in the theoretical framework of this research, the means and ends of organisational members are conditioned not only by organisational culture but also by organisational identities (Alvesson & Empson, 2008) which relates to organisational responses to multiple organisational identities (Pratt and Foreman 2000). The outcomes of chapter 6 stress that the less synergy is attained in organisational response and the less organisational identities are established, the higher degree of cultural complexity is confronted by organisational members.

Tierney (1988) argues that structural units within the organisation differ in culture. Binder (2007) posits that departments within the organisation may differ in their responses to the environment. Indeed, the present study clearly shows that the degree of cultural complexity, experienced by academics, depends not only on the cultural dimension of university but also on the cultural dimensions of the faculty and department. Moreover, these higher-level units affect individuals' responses to demands imposed on them.

The disciplinary dimension is claimed to impact the individuals in academia (Välimaa, 1999) and chapter 6 supports this statement. The disciplinary culture affected the degree of institutional and cultural complexities confronted by Ukrainian academics. Depending on the disciplinary culture Ukrainian

academics differed in role demands that they were supposed to perform e.g. academics from natural sciences were more expected and more apt to be involved in knowledge transfer than academics from social sciences and humanities. Consequently, distinctions in perceived roles affected the degree of constraints confronted by Ukrainian academics which in turn conditioned the degree of means–ends decoupling sustained by them.

Apart from the above-mentioned cultural discourses (Watson, 2008) or dimensions, Välimaa (1999) posits that the professional and individual cultural dimensions also condition the interpretations and responses of individuals to the imposed on them demands. The professional cultural dimension refers to the national context related to the profession as well as global norms and beliefs in a particular profession. However, in Ukrainian case, the national professional dimension for academia significantly differed from the global one. As regards the individual cultural dimension it refers to individuals' identities and social interactions (Lok, 2010; Bertel & Lawrence, 2016; McPherson & Sauder, 2013), their interests and knowledge (Lok, 2010; Binder, 2007; Bjerregaard & Jonasson, 2014) as well as institutional biographies (Bertel & Lawrence, 2016; Lawrence, Suddaby & Bernard, 2011) which affect both the individuals' interpretations and responses to imposed on them demands. The study findings support these statements and show that Ukrainian academics interpreted demands imposed on them depending on their identities, institutional biographies and interests. This resulted in varying degree of cultural and institutional complexities confronted by them and consequently entailed the distinctions in their responses.

Institutional and cultural complexities restricting Ukrainian academics in the choice of their means and ends triggered them to sustain existing means–ends decoupling also at the individual level. In this way, the present study findings touching upon the important issue of tensions between agency and structure addressed by institutional scholars (Seo & Creed 2002, Meyer, 2010) indicate that institutional complexity caused by means–ends decoupling at the state level, as well as cultural complexity, results in significant constraints for individuals triggering means–ends decoupling at the individual level. This is exactly what was observed in the empirical study in chapter 6. Means–ends decoupling at the individual level in the case of Ukrainian academics implied that their practices were either loosely related or even unrelated to the intended outcomes of academics at the research university, e.g. high-quality research at the international level, engagement in the development of the knowledge economy.

7.3.2 Identity work of Ukrainian academics

On the one hand, the above-mentioned cultural dimensions provide individuals in academia with resources for identities (Välimaa, 1999). On the other hand, the institutionalisation of a new logic (Lok, 2010) and the establishment of organisational identities require the corresponding identities and practices to

be reproduced by individuals (Alvesson & Empson, 2008; Gioia et al., 2013). However, Watson (2008) argues that identity implies identity work when individuals mediate social identities imposed on them with their own notions of who they are. Individuals interpret social identities depending on their identities, interests (Lok, 2010) and institutional biographies (Lawrence, Suddaby & Bernard, 2011). Drawing on these theoretical statements and empirical data, chapter 6 indicates that Ukrainian academics differed in identities and practices in which they maintained confidence as well as in practices and identities which they reproduced. And yet, none of the interviewees maintained confidence in these or other practices and identities imposed on them by the national and organisational dimensions. While some academics did not maintain confidence in practices which did not align with the research university model, for others the problem specifically arose because of the practices aligned with the research university model e.g. publishing internationally. The latter can be attributed to the gap between the global research university model and national professional cultural dimension as well as institutional biographies of academics.

Practices and identities adopted by Ukrainian academics, as well as a degree of confidence in them, varied from case to case. Practices and identities which academics reproduced without maintaining confidence in them, were either loosely related or fully unrelated to their perceived core practices and identities, either constructed or those for which they were striving. While loose connections refer to the intersection (Roccas & Brewer, 2002) or multivocality of identities (Pratt & Foremann, 2000), their lack implies compartmentalisation. Dick (2015) stresses that if individuals gain awareness of them sustaining means–ends decoupling, it evokes cognitive dissonance. Chapter 6 indicates that the more practices are either loosely coupled or decoupled from the perceived core practices and identities of academics and the weaker the connections, the greater dissonance they experience.

The commitment of Ukrainian academics to practices and identities that are unrelated to their perceived core practices and identities (either constructed or aspirational) can be viewed as an expression of identity conflict. Conflict experienced by academics can be considered as the continuation of conflicts sustained at the state and organisational levels and reflected in institutional and cultural complexities. Lawrence et al. (2011) point out that the ability of an individual to challenge institutional pressure relates to either a very high or low social position. The study results support this statement, revealing that the study results indeed highlight that academics with a higher social position at university (academics with the second-level doctoral degree vs academics with the first-level doctoral degree) were less prone to be aware of sustained means–ends decoupling which they sustained. I attribute this to their institutional biographies, in particular to their greater embeddedness into the existing institutions because of the advantages which they obtain from them. As it was mentioned above, the establishment of organisational identities of the research

university requires the reproduction of corresponding identities and practices by organisational members. Consequently, the greater means–ends decoupling sustained by academics at the individual level results in the wider gap between the constructed individuals’ identities and identities prescribed by the global model of the research university. The more the individual identities of academics deviate from the global model of the research university the more organisational identities do. Similar to means-ends decoupling at the organisational level, the causes of means–ends decoupling at the individual level can be divided for the external and internal ones. The external causes of means–ends decoupling at the individual level refer to institutional and cultural complexities confronted by individuals. As for the internal ones, they refer to the lack of knowledge about the identities and practices of the research university model as well as the lack of skills and competencies which hinders academics from reproducing practices and identities aligned with the research university global model.

To summarise, in general, the findings of the research resonate with Boxenbaum and Battilana (2005, p. 357) that the successful implementation of global models and ideas into the specific national context requires “the simultaneous presence of facilitating conditions at multiple levels of analysis”. This refers to the state, organisational and individual levels. Otherwise, means–ends decoupling at the state level which, on the one hand, promotes means–ends decoupling at the organisational and individual levels, and, on the other hand, is facilitated by the lack of required knowledge, skills, competencies and interests of individual actors results in unintended consequences in the implementation of the global models in the national context. Furthermore, as it is claimed by Bromley and Powell (2012), means–ends decoupling entails the diversion of critical resources, both financial and human. Consequently, means–ends decoupling at the above-mentioned levels has grave consequences for the society and economy in general and individuals’ well-being in particular.

7.4 Contributions

Practical implications

In this dissertation, I aimed to answer an overall research question concerning the conditions which led to unintended consequences in global higher education models implementation in Ukraine with the primary focus on a research university model. The study results suggest that – in the specific context characterised by means-ends decoupling at the state level – implementation of the global higher education models turns into means–ends decoupling at the state level. This happens because under such conditions the adoption of the global models in public policies implies their conversion from the intended outcomes to the pursuit of self-interest of political actors. Means–ends decoupling sustained at the state level results in institutional complexity for organisational and individual actors which in turn triggers means–ends

decoupling at the organisational level. Apart from institutional complexity, the organisational leadership pursuing self-interest and maintaining rent-seeking behaviour also entails means–ends decoupling at the organisational level which results in cultural complexity for organisational members. As a consequence, institutional and cultural complexities, as well as individual actors pursuing the interests/outcomes deviated from the global research university model trigger means–ends decoupling at the individual level. Means–ends decoupling at the above-mentioned levels hinders the proper implementation of the global research university model as intended. Then, an important question concerns whether the obtained conclusions can be generalised to other national and organisational contexts. The results of the study can be generalised primarily to the states characterised as weak, predatory and neopatrimonial regimes—focusing on the public organisations in these states.

The findings of the present research, however, have some practical implications also for the states and organisations that, more generally, aim to implement public policies or models borrowed from other national contexts. First, study indicates that beneficial conditions for global model implementation in the new setting should be ensured at all levels of governance. The powerful actors at the state and organisational levels must be guided by the public not private interests and actors at all levels being oriented on practice and identities aligned with the global models and have the required knowledge and competencies. Second, the global model to achieve the intended outcomes in the new context requires the preservation of the logic and formulation of the global model and creation of context which accommodates this global model. Third, the state should ensure the purposive and agentic actorhood for organisational and individual actors, as well as the organisational leadership should provide organisational members with agentic actorhood.

As regards higher education, this study contributes, firstly, to discussion on academic identities (Henkel 2005; Henkel 2006; Leisyte 2015; Leisyte and Dee, 2012). Secondly, to reforms aimed at implementing global higher education models in the countries which do not belong the core ones (Fussy, 2017; Rungfamai, 2016; Eta, 2014), including the former post-Soviet countries (Kushnir, 2017; Oleksiyenko, 2014; Sabzalieva, 2017; CohenMiller & Kuzhabekova 2018; Kuzhabekova & Ruby, 2018). The study indicates what beneficial conditions at different level of governance are required in order the global higher education models to achieve the intended outcomes in a new setting.

Scientific implications

Scientific implications of this dissertation reside in the empirical advancement of the understanding of relationships between the institutions and organisational and individual actors. The present study has six such theoretical implications. Firstly, the study addresses the unexplored causes of

incompatible institutional prescriptions of the state which refers to intra-institutional complexity highlighting empirically how means–ends decoupling at the state level caused by pursuit of self-interest by powerful business and political actors results in both intra-institutional and inter-institutional complexities. As such, apart from inconsistent prescriptions of the state, organisational and individual actors also confront incompatible logics imposed by different institutional orders.

Secondly, drawing on the institutional logics perspective according to which the means and ends of organisational actors are conditioned by prevailing institutional logics (Thornton Ocasio, 2008; Thornton et al., 2012) the empirical findings of this research support the statement of Bromley and Powell (2012) that institutional complexity triggers means–ends decoupling at the organisational level.

Thirdly, the present research provides insights into how the deviated interpretations of the global model caused by the pursuit of self-interest and maintenance of rent-seeking behaviour by organisational management result in means–ends decoupling at the organisational level.

Fourthly, the study contributes to the understanding of the consequences of means–ends decoupling at the organisational level for organisational members having revealed that means–ends decoupling at the organisational level lead to cultural complexity which refers to the contradictory cultures within the organisation.

Fifthly, employing the framework of managerial responses to multiple organisational identities (Pratt & Foreman, 2000), this study addresses the implications of institutional complexity for managerial responses to multiple organisational identities and reveals that institutional complexity, as well as the pursuit of self-interest by organisational management entails means–ends decoupling at the organisational level. This hinders the establishment of the organisational identities of the research university as well as the attainment of synergy among them.

While Greenwood et al. (2011) and Pratt and Foremann (2007) argue that compartmentalisation implies decoupling, the study findings indicate that multivocality also implies decoupling. As regards the empirical advancement of the framework of managerial responses, the study results reveal that the managerial response can combine two types of responses.

Concerning the micro level of governance, firstly, the results of this dissertation contribute to the discussion on the tension between agency and structure in sociological institutionalism (Seo & Creed 2002, Meyer, 2010), indicating that intra-institutional complexity as well as inter-institutional complexity caused by means–ends decoupling at the state level significant constraints for agency. As a consequence, this triggers means–ends decoupling not only at the organisational but also at the individual level. Secondly,

drawing on the organisational studies which argue that the means and ends of organisational members are conditioned by organisational culture and identities (Ashforth & Mael, 1996; Tierney, 1988; Pratt & Rafaeli, 1997), the study findings highlight that cultural complexity as well as managerial response lacking synergy among organisational identities which also implies cultural complexity results in means–ends decoupling at the individual level. Thirdly, Lok (2010) argues that the institutionalisation of institutions occurs through reproduction of corresponding practices and identities by individual actors, while Alvesson and Empson (2008) and Gioia et al. (2013) connect the same mechanism to the establishment of organisational identities. This dissertation reveals that institutional and cultural complexities confronted by individual actors hinder the reproduction of identities and practices aligned with the global models, thus the institutionalisation of the global models as intended. Fourthly, according to sociological institutionalism, individuals' responses to institutional demands and their local meanings depend on individuals' identities and social interactions (Lok, 2010; Bertel & Lawrence's, 2016; McPherson & Sauder, 2013;), their interests and knowledge (Lok, 2010; Binder, 2007; Bjerregaard & Jonasson, 2014) as well as institutional biographies (Bertel & Lawrence, 2016; Lawrence, Suddaby & Bernard, 2011).

Building on these studies, the dissertation indicates that individual actors lacking knowledge about identities and practices associated with the global models as well as competencies to reproduce these practices and identities or pursuing outcomes/interests which do not align with the global models also results in means–ends decoupling at the individual level.

To summarise, addressing the issue of the causes of means-ends decoupling, though Bromley and Powell (2012) define the lack of capacity and lack of willingness as the causes of policy–practice decoupling, this study reveals that these two factors also promote means–ends decoupling. The lack of capacity can be attributed either to external or internal reasons. At the organisational and individual levels, the external reasons refer to complexity(ies) which constrain the actors' means and ends. The internal reasons refer both to the lack of knowledge about the practices and identities associated with the global models as well as a lack of competencies to reproduce these identities and practices. Lack of willingness can be attributed to individuals pursuing the outcomes/interests which do not align with the intended outcomes of global models. Depending of the cause, means–ends decoupling can be categorised either as intended or unintended as well as a combination of these two forms.

7.5 Limitations and suggestions for further research

Finally, this dissertation has a number of limitations that point toward promising directions for future research. Below I discuss these limitations and the associated paths for future research.

Public policies at the state level of analysis

As regards the macro level, firstly, despite the majority of the studies attribute the unintended consequences of the public policy to the implementation process (Grindle, 2017; Homedes & Ugalde, 2005; Rupidara & McGraw, 2010; Schelkle 2019; Kanapyanov 2018), the findings presented in chapters 3 and 4, support the insignificant number of studies which highlight that the unintended consequences of public policy are triggered by the faults in policy itself (Borras 2003; Lahiff et al., 2007; Homedes & Ugalde, 2005) which results in means–ends decoupling. Consequently, the additional research should investigate in detail not only public policy implementation but also public policy adoption.

Secondly, while the findings of this research support the views expressed by Scandinavian institutionalists that the interests and interpretations of the actors involved in translation impact the editing of the global models (Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008, Sahlin-Anderson, 2009), this dissertation did not address the implications of the knowledge, skills and institutional biographies of the actors at the state level involved in policy adoption and implementation for the outcomes of these policies. Meanwhile, as the results of this study reveal that the pursuit of the self-interest by powerful actors involved in the implementation of the global models in the national context results in the conversion of these models to the new ends, the further exploration requires the conditions which can prevent this from happening.

Thirdly, although this study includes the description of the research setting, the relationship between the implementation of the global model and other reforms conducted in the research setting was not explored in detail. Consequently, further investigation requires the alignment of the context in which the global model is implemented with the context from which the global model is diffused (Boxenbaum & Batillana, 2005; Beerkens, 2010; Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008). Such arrangement ensures the alignment of the prevailing institutional logics in order they to accommodate the global model in a new setting (Cai, 2014). This relates to the issue of glocalisation (Marginson & Sawir, 2005; Mok, 2003) and the extent to which the global model and the context to which it is implemented can be changed in order the global model not to be converted to the new ends.

Fourthly, the limitation of this research is that it does not employ the comparative perspective which implies the exploration of the translation of the same global model within different contexts (Antonowicz et al., 2017; Beerkens, 2010; Beerkens, 2009; Haarhuis & Torenvlied, 2006). Targeting all the above-mentioned issues should contribute to the deeper understanding of mechanisms and factors which can prevent the implementation of global models in the new context from turning into means–ends decoupling at the state level.

Organisational responses to institutional complexity

As discussed earlier this study shed light on organisational responses to institutional complexity caused by means–ends decoupling at the state level through managerial responses to multiple organisational identities. Firstly, although I tried to address the suggestion of Greenwood et al. (2011, p. 354) to explore organisational responses to institutional complexity in terms of “the actual scope for agency” which possesses organisation confronting institutional complexity, the further research should advance empirically in this direction exploring organisational responses to intra-institutional complexity as well as inter-institutional complexity. Secondly, though the dissertation addressed the implications of the interpretations, values and beliefs of top managers for organisational responses to institutional complexity, the implications of the skills, competencies and institutional biographies of organisational managers were not discussed. Furthermore, as the study results reveal that the leadership style affects the organisational response to institutional complexity, the insights are also required into the implications of the organisational management structures, for organisational responses to institutional complexity.

For the exploration of managerial responses to multiple organisational identities, the framework elaborated by Pratt and Foreman (2000) was employed. However, the limitation of the study is that, firstly, the format of the article did not allow highlighting changes in managerial responses during the explored period. Additional longitudinal studies could contribute to the exploration of the dynamic of managerial responses.

Secondly, this study focused on two factors which affect managerial responses to multiple identities: the degree of institutional complexity confronted by the organisation (Greenwood et al., 2012) and beliefs and values of top managers which condition the organisational identity (Gioia et al., 2013). However, the study rather underexplored the relationship between managerial responses to institutional complexity and organisational resources. These issues can be further elaborated through the employment of resource dependency theory (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978).

Thirdly, addressing the statement of Pratt and Foreman (2000) that the management of multiple organisational identities implies employment of specific mechanisms, this dissertation explored the implications of performance-based salary allocation and rankings of organisational members unrelated to their salary. However additional research is necessary for the investigation of other mechanisms related to the management of multiple organisational identities.

Finally, this study provides only brief insights into the implications of managerial responses to organisational identities for individuals’ multiple

identities. Consequently, it requires further exploration, as well as the relationship between individuals' and managerial responses.

The implementation of the global research university model at the micro level

As regards the micro level of analysis, this study provided insights into the implications of academics' identity work for the implementation of the global model of the research university at the individual level. However, firstly, this study involves a rather insignificant number of academics from three universities. Secondly, identity work is a form of institutional work (Creed, DeJordy & Lok, 2010) while agency within the institutional work concept is seen as 'a distributed phenomenon' i.e, 'distributed agency' which implies that institutional change involves both coordinated and uncoordinated efforts of a large number of actors who operate at multiple levels governance (Lawrence et al., 2011, p. 55). The limitation of this study is that it neglects to explore the implications of Ukrainian academics' identity work for institutional logics at the societal level. Thirdly, as it was mentioned above the relationship between the individuals' responses and managerial responses to multiple organisational identities, requires further exploration. Fourthly, while the study findings reveal that means–ends decoupling at the state and organisational levels results in means–ends decoupling at the individual level which entails individuals experience cognitive dissonance, the current research neglects to explore how individuals resolve this inner conflict.

To summarise, this study explored the implementation of the global models at macro, meso and micro levels of analysis and raised the issue of conditions at different levels of analysis which hinder the implementation of the global model into the national context as intended. Additional research in this direction can improve the understanding of the implications of relationships among multiple levels of analysis for policy adoption and implementation which are required to avoid unintended outcomes of public policy.

7.6 Final words. Ukrainian higher education under means–ends decoupling at the state level

The main idea behind this thesis is that, as Ukrainian political and business elites predate on state resources being driven by self-interest and have the deviant and distorted interpretations of the norms and values, it results in a distorted social reality in Ukraine. The values and beliefs of the powerful actors in Ukraine can be attributed to their origin as well as Ukrainian politics in which dominates nepotism, cronyism and corruption. As it was mentioned above, after 1991, that can be considered as a critical juncture in the development of societal institutions in Ukraine, the majority of the actors with communist past managed not only to preserve but even strengthen their positions both in state institutions and higher education and science. The rent-seeking of ruling elite resulted in the inconsistent implementation of privatisation and in the emergence of a post-Soviet oligarchy consisting of the

former Soviet political elite and actors from the Soviet shadow economy (Yurchenko, 2018). The origin of Ukrainian political and business elites explains the persistent path-dependence of Ukrainian institutions which hinders the conduction of radical reforms. Nowadays, business and political oligarchies in Ukraine are not interested in reforming either the economy or public sector because it would result in the loss of their sources of income. According to this study's results, it is unreasonable to expect from actors who have already engaged primarily in pursuing their self-interest to start acting in the public interest. The behaviour of ruling elite in Ukraine is explained by their prior experiences and institutional biographies and consequently, they are not willing to change anything in Ukraine in order not to lose their benefits.

Meanwhile, the behaviour of powerful actors who head Ukrainian higher education institutions differs little from those who captured the state. It occurs because in distorted Ukrainian reality only those actors who share the distorted values and norms can take high positions, in such a way reinforcing deviant societal institutions. Institutions in the public sector which refers also to the higher education persist in their current state because they provide benefits to the actors who head them. In 2014, Ukrainian society made an attempt to change the 'distorted' reality imposed on them by the oligarchic state and powerful ruling actors and convert distorted societal institutions to the intended ends. However, despite the successful revolution, the expectations of the public were not realised because the state was again captured by the actors driven by self-interest.

Society is a reflection of societal institutions and in the case of means–ends decoupling at the state level it is a decoupled society whereas the means and ends of individuals are decoupled and constrained by distorted societal institutions. As it is said "one person's freedom ends where another person's freedom begins". Drawing on sociological institutionalism, Ukrainian society needs to engage in institutional work which implies the construction of civil society which is also one of global models and which implies public control over societal institutions. Only in such a way Ukrainians can change the 'distorted' reality around them. However, the construction of civil society requires the majority of Ukrainians to be oriented on common human values and beliefs.

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Nederlandstalige samenvatting

Mondiale onderwijsmodellen in nationale context: Invoering van onderzoeksuniversiteiten in Oekraïne

Inleiding

De dissertatie bundelt artikelen die alle explorerend onderzoeken waarom hogeronderwijsbeleid dat uitgaat van mondiale modellen, zelfs als dat wordt uitgevoerd zoals bedoeld, niet altijd leidt tot beoogde resultaten in nationale contexten. Om dit fenomeen theoretisch te begrijpen, wordt gebruik gemaakt van theorieën in het neo-institutionalisme, vooral het sociologische institutionalisme.

Vaak is nationaal beleid gebaseerd op mondiale modellen die hun oorsprong vinden in westerse samenlevingen en vervolgens verspreid worden over de hele wereld. De onbedoelde gevolgen van mondiale modellen die in een nationale context worden toegepast, zijn vooral gedocumenteerd voor ontwikkelingslanden, veel minder voor landen voortgekomen uit de voormalige Sovjet-Unie.

Vanuit het sociologische neo-institutionalisme kunnen gevallen waarin mondiale modellen volgens plan worden uitgevoerd, maar de beoogde resultaten niet worden bereikt, worden beschouwd als *middel-doel ont koppeling*. Dit impliceert dat “policies or practices have an uncertain link to outcomes” indien ondanks getrouwe uitvoering van geformuleerd beleid het beoogde doel niet wordt bereikt (Bromley & Powell, 2012, p. 496). In het algemeen worden nationale contexten waarin de uitvoering van overheidsbeleid niet leidt tot het bereiken van de beoogde resultaten, aangeduid als ‘zwakke’ en ‘roofzuchtige’ staten, of als ‘neo-patrimoniale’ regimes, die door oligarchische belangen in hun greep worden gehouden. Dergelijke staten behartigen de specifieke belangen van machtige actoren of clans, in plaats van het gemeenschappelijke belang. In een dergelijke context prevaleren vriendjespolitiek, cliëntelisme, nepotisme en corruptie. Post-Sovjetstaten, waaronder Oekraïne, worden in de literatuur vaak als zodanig beschreven (Bach, 2011; Hellman, Jones & Kaufmann, 2000; Hellman & Kaufmann, 2001; van Zon, 2001; Yurchenko, 2018). Deze landen zijn daarmee ernstige gevallen van middel-doel ont koppeling op het niveau van de staat: hun nationale beleid en praktijken zijn losgekoppeld van de kerndoelstelling van de staat, namelijk het verbeteren van het welzijn van zijn burgers.

Publieke teleurstelling over deze uitbuiting van overheidsinstellingen was de belangrijkste reden voor de Oekraïense Revolutie van Waardigheid in 2014. Toch blijven ook na deze revolutie dergelijke toestanden voortduren.

Het mondiale model van onderzoeksuniversiteiten wordt beschouwd als een sleutel tot sociale en economische ontwikkeling in de kennisintensieve samenleving. De onderzoeksuniversiteit wordt gekenmerkt door ruime financiële middelen, een hoge mate van autonomie vooral via collegiale besluitvorming door academici, en uitstekende faciliteiten voor die (hoofdzakelijk gepromoveerde) academici, om zodoende een nauwe verbinding tussen onderzoek en onderwijs te bewerkstelligen en van daaruit bij te dragen aan de kennissamenleving (Altbach, 2013; Mohrman et al., 2008).

Theoretisch raamwerk

De theoretische onderbouwing van dit proefschrift is gebaseerd op het neo-institutionalisme, dat echter geen samenhangende theorie is, maar een eclectische verzameling van benaderingen, waarbij we gebruik maken van historisch institutionalisme, rationele-keuze-institutionalisme en sociologisch institutionalisme.

We beschouwen actoren als ingeperkt door hun omgeving en in het bijzonder door historisch gevormde instituties, die kortweg worden omschreven als legitieme gedragsregels. Verandering van een bestaande institutionele orde vereist aanpassing van de maatschappelijke instituties.

Aan het rationele-keuze-institutionalisme ontleen ik de assumptie dat instituties, als repertoires voor gedrag, gecreëerd worden door (subjectief) nutsmaximaliserende individuen met duidelijke doelen. In sociale situaties met meerdere actoren kunnen evenwichtssituaties ontstaan—en voortduren—als nepotisme en ‘rent seeking’.

Neo-institutionele sociologie vormt echter de belangrijkste basis van deze studie, vooral het inzicht dat gebruikelijke gedragingen (‘instituties’) een sociaal product zijn en actor tegenover structuur stellen. De Scandinavische school van sociologische institutionele theorie (o.a. Brunsson, 1989; Brunsson & Olsen, 1993; Czarniawska & Sevón, 1996; 2005) focust op interpretatieprocessen van zulke instituties, geïnspireerd door de zingevingstheorie van Weick (1979; 1995; 2001). Ten slotte gebruik ik daaruit de benadering van Meyer, die een wereldgemeenschap voorstelde met mondiale model-instituties als kern (Meyer, 2009; 2010). In het proces van het zingeven van zulke model-instituties bij invoering ervan in een ander land wordt hun migratie en transformatie naar een nieuwe context van ideeën, actoren, tradities en instellingen benadrukt (Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008).

De algemene onderzoeksvraag voor de artikelen is daarom: *Hoe worden mondiale modellen vertaald op de diverse bestuursniveaus (macro/meso/micro) binnen een institutionele context die gekenmerkt wordt door middel-doel-ontkoppeling op het niveau van de staat?* Daaruit zijn drie specifiekere vragen afgeleid:

SRQ 1: Wat is de invloed van de middel-doel-ontkoppeling op het niveau van de staat op de implementatie van mondiale modellen voor hoger onderwijs, zoals de onderzoeksuniversiteit en 'triple helix', in Oekraïne op macroniveau?

SRQ 2: Wat waren de organisatorische reacties op de institutionele complexiteit ten gevolge van het management van meervoudige organisatie-identiteiten van de onderzoeksuniversiteit? Hoe wordt het globale model van de onderzoeksuniversiteit dus op mesoniveau geïmplementeerd via de bestuurlijke reacties van de leiding van Oekraïense onderzoeksuniversiteiten op de meervoudige organisatie-identiteiten van de onderzoeksuniversiteit?

SRQ 3: Hoe wordt het globale model van de onderzoeksuniversiteit op microniveau in Oekraïne geïmplementeerd in de context van middel-doel-ontkoppeling op het niveau van de staat?

Om deze onderzoeksvragen te beantwoorden, werd het onderzoek opgezet als een reeks diepgaande, kwalitatieve case studies over specifieke aspecten van de implementatie van het mondiale model van het hoger onderwijs in Oekraïne. In de hoofdstukken 2, 3 en 4 wordt de eerste deelvraag behandeld. Hoofdstuk 5 richt zich op het thema van de implementatie van het globale model van de onderzoeksuniversiteit op organisatieniveau. Hoofdstuk 6 gaat in op de wijze waarop het globale model van de onderzoeksuniversiteit op microniveau is geïmplementeerd.

Empirische studies

***Exploring change and stability in Ukrainian higher education and research: A historical analysis through multiple critical junctures*¹²**

Het eerste artikel richt zich op patronen van verandering en stabiliteit in het Oekraïense hoger onderwijs in de afgelopen eeuw. Na meer dan 70 jaar isolement van het Westen kreeg het land vanaf 1991 te maken gehad met enorme uitdagingen. Globalisering en de algemene belangstelling van het Westen voor Oekraïne gaven Oekraïense beleidsmakers de kans om het hoger onderwijs te herontwerpen. Met name het Bologna-proces bracht

¹² Hladchenko, M., Dobbins, M., & Jungblut, J. (2018) Exploring change and stability in Ukrainian higher education and research: A historical analysis through multiple critical junctures. *Higher Education Policy*. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41307-018-0105-9>

transnationale hervormingsdiscoursen en -modellen met zich mee en stelde Oekraïne bloot aan een cultuur van internationale vergelijking. Desondanks hebben structurele hervormingen niet de beoogde resultaten opgeleverd.

We bouwen voort op eerdere historisch-institutionalistische literatuur door aan te tonen hoe vriendjespolitiek de institutionele architectuur van het Oekraïense hoger onderwijs en onderzoek heeft vervormd ten voordele van machtige actoren. Het gaat ons daarbij niet zozeer om de corrupte praktijken zelf, maar veeleer om hoe het streven naar statusverhoging en vriendjespolitiek hebben geleid tot een situatie waarin organisatievormen grotendeels losgekoppeld zijn van hun doelen en daardoor fundamentele hervorming en afstemming op mondiale modellen van hoger onderwijs belemmeren.

We kunnen diverse kritieke fasen identificeren voor Oekraïens hoger onderwijs en onderzoek, die elk elementen van crisis vertoonden en het begrip van het publiek voor beleidsproblemen, politieke instituties en de beperkte rationaliteit van besluitvorming beïnvloedden. De hernieuwde natiestaat in 1991 en de bijbehorende overgang naar een markteconomie vormden een dergelijk kritiek moment waarbij de Sovjet-ideologie moest worden vervangen door democratische instituties om aansluiting te vinden bij de 21^e-eeuwse kenniseconomie. De samenleving onttaarde echter in een 'neoliberale kleptocratie' (Yurchenko, 2018). Twee veelgebruikte mechanismen waardoor bepaalde belangengroepen het hoger onderwijs voor eigen voordeel wisten te gebruiken waren *drift* (strategisch handhaven van oude instituties ondanks gewijzigde externe omstandigheden) en *conversie* van hun missies voor andere doeleinden (Hacker et al., 2015). Zo bleven in Oekraïne onderzoeksinstituten onder de Academie van Wetenschappen gescheiden voortbestaan naast de volledig op onderwijs gerichte hogeronderwijsinstellingen, als in de Sovjetperiode.

Tegelijkertijd was er wel enige invloed van mondiale modellen via andere, op Europa gerichte actoren, vooral via het TEMPUS-TACIS programma en later het Bologna-proces. Met TEMPUS-TACIS kregen Oekraïense hogeronderwijsinstellingen (bijvoorbeeld pedagogische academies en landbouwhogescholen) de kans om de status van universiteit te verwerven door deel te nemen aan consortia met West-Europese partners. Hoofddoel was om instellingen voor hoger onderwijs en onderzoek beter te laten aansluiten bij de economie door nieuwe onderwijs- en onderzoeksprogramma's te ontwikkelen, HO-bestuur te moderniseren en de samenwerking met het bedrijfsleven te verbeteren. Al spoedig echter konden instellingen universitaire status aanvragen als zij simpelweg beloofden om in de toekomst aan zulke consortia deel te nemen. Zo werden in 1993 en 1994 wel 57 instellingen aangewezen als universiteiten, naar verluidt als 'verbetering' van het hogeronderwijsstelsel. In feite ging het deze laatkomers in wat werd genoemd 'universitering' om prestige en om verhogen van inkomsten, aangezien universitaire status meer

collegegeld betalende studenten aantrok. Volgens de wetgeving werden deze universiteiten bovendien gemachtigd en aangemoedigd om fundamenteel en toegepast onderzoek te verrichten, maar zonder dat de overheid daarvoor extra middelen beschikbaar maakte.

De instellingen die al in sovjet-tijden ‘universiteit’ heetten, zochten naar een nieuw onderscheid. In 1994 werden daarom drie ‘nationale universiteiten’ gelabeld, met de belofte van meer autonomie en meer financiering van de Oekraïense overheid, en rectors zouden voor 7 in plaats van 5 jaar verkozen worden. Een jaar later werd deze status in een presidentieel decreet gereguleerd teneinde ‘het intellectuele potentieel van de natie te gebruiken, het idee van nationale heropleving en ontwikkeling van Oekraïne’ te realiseren. Ruimte werd geschapen voor drie nationale universiteiten in elk van dertien kennisgebieden. In volgende jaren voegde de politiek vier groepen toe. Criteria voor welke universiteiten ‘nationale’ status konden verwerven, bleven onduidelijk en in 2013 waren er 117, in plaats van de oorspronkelijk voorziene 39.

De derde poging om het hoger onderwijs te verbeteren was via ‘onderzoeksuniversiteiten’. Een rector propageerde dit model, kreeg steun van de overheid en in 2007 werden er zes onderzoeksuniversiteiten afgekondigd met de belofte van genereuze onderzoeksfinanciering door de overheid. De economie raakte echter in het slop, evenals de hervormingen. Net voor presidentsverkiezingen in 2009 werden alsnog zeven onderzoeksuniversiteiten ingesteld. Een nieuwe regering breidde de criteria voor deze status in 2010 uit, verminderde de beloofde additionele bekostiging en verleende de status aan opnieuw zeven instellingen.

Driemaal werden zodoende oude vormen van hoger onderwijs gehandhaafd in nieuwe omstandigheden (*drift*), al ondergingen hun doelstellingen *conversie*—op papier.

Iets dergelijks zien we in de Academie van Wetenschappen in Oekraïne na 1991. De oude structuren bleven bestaan en bestuurders-onderzoekers uit sovjet-tijden behielden hun posities, met levenslange benoeming en met dezelfde onderzoeksbekostiging. In Mahoney en Thelens terminologie: ‘duplicated drift’.

Na de Majdan-Revolutie van 2014 is de situatie in feite nauwelijks veranderd [artikel geschreven in 2017].

In conclusie, werd in dit artikel het hoger onderwijs in Oekraïne verkend en geanalyseerd vanuit twee dimensies, namelijk organisatievormen en organisatorische doelen. Na kritieke momenten hebben we talrijke veranderingen op beide dimensies vastgesteld. In lijn met de verwachtingen uit

de gepuncteerde evenwichtstheorie (True et al., 1999) stellen we vast dat vooral als het evenwicht in het beleid door een kritisch moment wordt verstoord, er ruimte ontstaat voor meer significante veranderingen. Kritieke momenten in het politieke klimaat leiden tot een heronderhandeling van het pact tussen het hoger onderwijs en samenleving. De huidige staat van de halfbakken hervorming is naar onze mening deels het gevolg van *drift* van eerder bestaande structuren en deels van institutionele *conversie* gericht op prestigeverhoging of geldelijk gewin voor enkele belangengroepen.

***Establishing research universities in Ukrainian higher education: the incomplete journey of a structural reform*¹³**

Ideeën reizen in tijd en ruimte door landen en uitend zich dan in organisatorisch en menselijk gedrag. De reismetafoor richt onze aandacht op reisroutes en -middelen. Verbindingen tussen actoren in het veld kunnen de routes verklaren waarlangs ideeën zich bewegen (Rogers, 1983; Czarniawska & Sevón, 1996). Degn (2014b) stelt dat processen van reizende ideeën het best begrepen worden als ‘vertaling’. Vertalen is het proces waarbij een beleidsidee uit de ene omgeving wordt overgedragen en geherinterpreteerd in een nieuwe omgeving. Vertaling vindt plaats via drie regels van ‘redactie’ (Sahlin and Wedlin, 2008; Sahlin-Andersson, 1996):

- Contextregels, die helpen een idee los te koppelen uit de vorige, lokale context en het geschikt te maken voor de nieuwe;
- Regels van logica, die oorzaken en gevolgen van de vertaling formuleren en die een probleemoplossings-logica presenteren voor de toepassing van een nieuw idee;
- Regels voor heretikettering, zodanig dat het idee veranderd lijkt maar tegelijkertijd herkenbaar is (Morris & Lancaster, 2006).

Om de reis en de vertaling van het idee van de onderzoeksuniversiteit naar het Oekraïense hoger onderwijs te onderzoeken, zullen we deze drie verzamelingen redactionele regels gebruiken.

De periode waarop deze studie betrekking had was 2007–2014. Het aantal relevante documenten was beperkt. Om aan aanvullende informatie te komen, waren interviews nodig. Academics en vertegenwoordigers van het Oekraïense ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschap, en van de minister en de vice-ministers in de periode 2007–2014 (n = 12) die deelnamen aan de voorbereiding van dit beleid kregen vragen over oorzaken en gevolgen van de invoering van onderzoeksuniversiteiten, over de formulering (heretikettering) en de hercontextualisering van het idee van de onderzoeksuniversiteit. De

¹³ Hladchenko, M., de Boer, H., & Westerheijden, D. (2016). Establishing research universities in Ukrainian higher education: the incomplete journey of a structural reform. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management*, 38(2), 111-125.

semi-gestructureerde, face-to-face interviews werden gehouden tussen oktober 2014 en maart 2015.

Contextregels: het idee van de onderzoeksuniversiteit volgde op twee mislukte campagnes om meer diversiteit in het Oekraïense hoger onderwijs te introduceren, de 'universificatie' en de invoering van 'nationale universiteiten' zoals in het eerste artikel al beschreven. Een gevolg van de voortdurende crises in de nationale economie was dat Oekraïne tussen 2008 en 2012 van de 51^e naar de 56^e plaats op de kenniseconomie-index (KEI) is gedaald (World Bank, 2008, 2012), wat aantoont dat Oekraïne er niet in was geslaagd zich om te vormen tot een kennismaatschappij.

Regels van logica: Toen het Kyiv Polytechnisch Instituut via een TEMPUS-project in 2006 had kennisgemaakt met Westerse onderzoeksuniversiteiten en met het idee van wetenschapsparken, zette het zo een park op bij zijn campus in Kyiv en begon het een lobbycampagne bij de regering voor invoering van onderzoeksuniversiteiten om tot een kenniseconomie te komen. De ministerraad kondigde in 2007 inderdaad dergelijk beleid af. Tot 2009 ontvingen het het Kyiv Polytechnisch Instituut en één andere instelling het predicaat 'onderzoeksuniversiteit'. In een bijna chaotische reeks beslissingen net voor geplande presidentsverkiezingen kwamen er in 2009 zeven bij. Net voor de laatste verkiezingsronde, begin 2010, opnieuw zes. Tegelijkertijd werd hen alle meer financiering toegezegd vanaf 2011 en hogere salarissen, maar ook werd er een lijst kwantitatieve criteria voor de status van onderzoeksuniversiteit afgekondigd. Een nieuwe regering voegde in maart 2010 aan die criteria toe dat de onderzoeksuniversiteiten een substantieel deel van hun budget op de markt moesten verdienen—met ingang van 2011. De nieuwe regering, wetende dat dit onder Oekraïense omstandigheden onmogelijk was, kon met die nieuwe eis verantwoorden waarom de beloofde extra overheidsfinanciering niet hoefde door te gaan.

Heretikettering: In 2007 werd de primaire missie van de nieuwe categorie van onderzoeksuniversiteiten geformuleerd als 'het opleiden van hoogopgeleide professionals en het uitvoeren van concurrerende onderzoeks- en ontwikkelingsactiviteiten'. In 2008, toen de tweede onderzoeksuniversiteit werd aangekondigd, werd het idee van de onderzoeksuniversiteit geformuleerd als een universiteit van wereldklasse. Pas in 2010, ten tijde van het definiëren van de kwantitatieve criteria, verscheen een officiële definitie van een onderzoeksuniversiteit: een nationale instelling voor hoger onderwijs die belangrijke prestaties levert, onderzoek en innovatie verricht, de verbinding tussen onderwijs, wetenschap en bedrijfsleven verzekert en deelneemt aan internationale projecten. De lijst met 28 criteria moest dit operationaliseren en benadrukke input (zoals een bibliotheek met een miljoen boeken) en processen (onder andere: per vijfjarige periode honderden verleende doctoraten in minstens vijftien kennisgebieden; honderden boeken gepubliceerd en 150

artikelen in de leidinggevende databases World of Science en Scopus; internationale mobiliteit). De kwantitatieve criteria waren dus niet gebaseerd op het idee van onderzoeksuniversiteiten in West-Europa. Bovendien werd de eis toegevoegd dat deze universiteiten een substantieel deel van hun onderzoeksbudget extern moesten verdienen, wat de nadruk legde op commerciële kennisoverdracht, in plaats van op het idee dat de onderzoeksuniversiteit vooral nieuwe kennis behoort te ontwikkelen. Ondanks de introductie van onderzoeksuniversiteiten bleven de Nationale Academie van Wetenschappen van Oekraïne en sectorale wetenschapsacademies het grootste deel van de overheidsfinanciering voor onderzoek ontvangen.

We concluderen dat elke actor in het proces zijn visie toevoegde aan de formulering van het idee van de onderzoeksuniversiteit, omdat zij ieder een andere perceptie van de ‘vertaling’ hadden, gerelateerd aan het probleem dat zij poogden op te lossen. Academici introduceerden het idee, voor ontwikkeling van de wetenschap maar al gauw ook voor commerciële kennisuitwisseling (*science park* van Kyiv Politechnic). In 2008 was de staat geïnteresseerd in wereldklasse-universiteiten. Een jaar later werd het idee van de onderzoeksuniversiteit door de actors in de overheid gebruikt om steun te verwerven bij verkiezingen. Door het gebrek aan een systematische visie op de ontwikkeling van de kenniseconomie in het land en een gebrek aan financiering, werd zodoende het idee van de onderzoeksuniversiteit tijdens de vertaling naar het Oekraïense discours uitgehouden. Onze verkenning heeft het belang aangetoond van de actors die het mondiale idee vertalen naar nationaal beleid en hoe elk van hen het anders vertaalde. Om de reis te voltooien naar onderzoeksuniversiteiten is verdere vertaling en implementatie op lokaal niveau nodig. Een van onze volgende studies zal daarop—en op de dan optredende discrepanties—ingaan.

***Implementing the Triple Helix Model: Means–ends decoupling at the state level?*¹⁴**

De ontwikkeling van de kenniseconomie in westerse samenlevingen heeft zowel de rol van de universiteiten als de relatie tussen universiteit, bedrijfsleven en overheid aanzienlijk veranderd, met als gevolg de opkomst van de Triple Helix (Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 2000) als een van de mondiale modellen van de wereldmaatschappij (Meyer, 2010). De onderzoeksvraag in dit artikel is daarom: Wat was de invloed van de doel–middel-ontkoppeling in de staat op de werking van het Triple Helix-model in Oekraïne? Om onze onderzoeksvraag te beantwoorden, maken we gebruik van zowel sociologisch institutionalisme als rationeel keuze-institutionalisme. De gegevens zijn afkomstig uit tien interviews met senior management van vier universiteiten

¹⁴ Hladchenko, M., & Pinheiro, R. (2019). Implementing the Triple Helix Model: Means-ends decoupling at the state level? *Minerva*, 57(1), 1-22.

en bijbehorende wetenschapsparken. De basis voor de selectie was tweeledig: verschillende disciplinaire profielen (technisch, algemeen/klassiek, economie/bedrijfskunde en levenswetenschappen), en zowel ‘early adopters’ (meestal gedreven door prestatieverbetering) als ‘late adopters’ (vooral gericht op legitimiteit).

De belangrijkste trigger voor het Triple Helix-model ligt in de institutionele logica van de staat, die ‘opvattingen over kennis als sleutel tot economische groei’ inhoudt (Cai, 2014, blz. 4). Cai stelt dat de dominante institutionele logica in niet-westerse samenlevingen, als die niet overeenkomt met de ‘ideale’ institutionele logica van westerse samenlevingen, implementatie van het Triple Helix-model kan belemmeren. Etzkowitz en Leydesdorff (2000) onderscheiden drie stappen naar het Triple Helix model. In het *statische* model omvat de staat zowel de academische wereld als het bedrijfsleven en stuurt hij de relaties tussen hen aan, zoals in de voormalige Sovjet-Unie. In het *laissez-faire* model, met beperkte staatsinterventie in de economie (zoals in de VS), zijn de drie institutionele sferen gescheiden. Een *ideaal* model van Triple Helix veronderstelt echter overlappende institutionele sferen in de vorm van trilaterale netwerken en hybride configuraties. Dat laatste vereist loslaten van top-down controle en het functioneren van een maatschappelijk middenveld, waardoor de weg wordt vrijgemaakt voor bottom-up innovaties (Saad, Zawdie & Malairaja, 2008; Marcovich & Shinn, 2011).

Voor wat betreft onze bevindingen op het macroniveau verwijzen we naar de introductie van onderzoeksuniversiteiten zoals beschreven in de vorige studie. Tegen de verkiezingen van 2009 ontaardde de invoering van de Triple Helix in Oekraïne in middel–doelontkoppeling op het niveau van de staat door het *rent-seeking* gedrag van de ministerraad. Toen de volgende regering onmiddellijk commercieel succes van de niet-bestaande Triple Helix eiste en de onderzoeksuniversiteiten steeds minder additionele middelen toedeelde, nam de institutionele complexiteit absurde vormen aan. Na de Maidan-revolutie, de inval van Rusland in de Krim en de feitelijke oorlog in Oost-Oekraïne werd de regelgeving ten aanzien van onderzoeksuniversiteiten afgeschaft—wat de middel–doelontkoppeling en de institutionele complexiteit verminderde maar niet wegnam, omdat overheidsinstellingen een bron bleven voor *rent-seeking* (Härtel & Umland, 2006).

Op het mesoniveau van instellingen met hun wetenschapsparken vatten we onze bevindingen als volgt samen.

Voor de technische universiteit: het gespecialiseerde en op de industrie gerichte disciplinaire profiel van de technische universiteit beperkt de institutionele complexiteit voor dit wetenschapspark. Niettemin ervaart het wetenschapspark middel–doelontkoppeling op organisatieniveau, wat onbedoeld *rent-seeking* gedrag van het topmanagement van de universiteit en

het wetenschapspark in de hand werkt. Met name door gebrek aan overheidsfinanciering kan het wetenschapspark geen volledige onderzoeksinfrastructuur bieden en evenmin voldoende projecten realiseren voor de eraan verbonden onderzoekers, zodat die laatsten zelf projecten moeten proberen te verwerven.

De cultuur in de klassieke universiteit, gericht op fundamentele wetenschap, is inconsistent met de eis van inverdienen door een wetenschapspark. Voor zover er relaties met ondernemingen bestaan, verlopen die meestal direct tussen onderzoekers en bedrijven. De directie van het wetenschapspark ziet zich dus met een hoge mate van institutionele complexiteit geconfronteerd.

De twee andere gevallen zijn vergelijkbaar met het vorige geval: zowel de economische universiteit en haar wetenschapspark als de universiteit voor levenswetenschappen en het hare staan voor een hoge mate van institutionele complexiteit. De economische universiteit is meer geïnteresseerd in directe externe financiering (met name via training van ex-militairen in marketing management). De academici in beide universiteiten prefereren directe contacten met bedrijven; de bedrijven vermijden evenzeer liever de additionele bureaucratie van een tussengeschoven wetenschapspark. Bedrijven zijn bovendien niet geneigd te investeren in R&D maar wachten liever af tot ze een kant en klaar product kunnen verwerven, of ze laten promotiestudenten wat bijverdienen met kennistransfer. De directeuren van beide wetenschapsparken wijzen op de gebrekkige institutionalisering van hun soort organisaties in wetgeving (IPR) en beleid (ze mogen soms niet inschrijven op bepaalde projecten, maar universiteiten wel). De universiteit en het wetenschapspark voor levenswetenschappen lijken meer dan het andere geval institutionele complexiteit te ervaren, doordat de leidinggevenden ervan hardere eisen stellen aan medewerkers om extern geld te verdienen voor de beide instellingen. Deze leidinggevenden lijken te blijven vertrouwen op verouderde maar geïnstitutionaliseerde praktijken, die niet overeenkomen met de Triple Helix.

We concluderen uit deze bevindingen dat de middel–doelontkoppeling op staatsniveau leidt tot middel–doelontkoppeling op organisatieniveau in de realisatie van de Triple Helix. Tegenspraken tussen conflicterende institutionele logica's op staatsniveau zorgen voor institutionele complexiteit voor universiteiten met hun wetenschapsparken. De Oekraïense regering lijkt nog te opereren—in termen van Etzkowitz (2002)—vanuit een statisch model. *Rent-seeking* gedrag van oligarchen in bedrijfsleven en politiek lijkt daarachter te liggen. Een bepaalde vorm van ondernemendheid lijkt daardoor echter wel in het hoger onderwijs wortel te schieten (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Pinheiro & Stensaker, 2014).

De mate van institutionele complexiteit die wetenschapsparken ervaren hangen niet alleen af van de capaciteiten en hulpbronnen waarover ze beschikken,

maar ook van de mate van consistentie tussen de institutionele context en het disciplinaire profiel van de instelling. De technische universiteit met haar wetenschapspark ervaart dan ook minder institutionele complexiteit dan de drie overige cases.

Means–ends decoupling at the state level and managerial responses to multiple organisational identities in Ukrainian research universities¹⁵

Pluraliteit in de institutionele omgeving leidt tot pluraliteit in de organisatie onder andere in de vorm van meervoudige organisatorische identiteiten (Greenwood et al., 2011). Leiderschap in organisaties dient strategie te ontwikkelen om met die situatie om te gaan. Pratt & Foreman (2000) stelden vijf mogelijke klassen van strategieën voor: integratie, aggregatie, compartimentalisering, verwijdering, en multivocaliteit. De onderzoeksuniversiteit, als ‘hybride organisatie’, zou geneigd zijn tot ‘Janusachtige integratie’: diverse organisatorische identiteiten worden wel aaneengesmeed maar niet volledig met elkaar geïntegreerd tot één identiteit—ze behoudt twee gezichten.

In dit artikel exploreren we de reacties van managers in Oekraïense universiteiten op de meervoudige organisatorische identiteiten van onderzoeksuniversiteiten in een context van middel–doelontkoppeling in de periode 2000–2014. Data werden verzameld via 11 interviews met topmanagers van drie onderzoeksuniversiteiten, de klassieke, de technische en de levenswetenschappelijke universiteit die ook in onze vorige studie figureerden.

De technische universiteit was al bezig haar identiteit als onderzoeksuniversiteit te integreren met de reeds in sovjet-tijden bestaande onderwijsmissie toen de onderzoeksuniversiteit landelijk beleid werd; ze zette zelf immers tot dat beleid aan. Het eerste wetenschapspark van het land werd gesticht, er kwam een ‘onderzoeker-van-het-jaar’ competitie gekoppeld aan een salarisbonus, ranking van medewerkers op basis van onderwijs- en onderzoekprestaties, ondernemerschapscursussen, competities voor financiële steun aan start-ups, enzovoorts. Alles overziend is deze universiteit erin geslaagd om een aggregatiereactie te ontwikkelen en te onderhouden voor haar meerdere identiteiten, die zodoende relatief goed op elkaar waren afgestemd.

De klassieke universiteit was altijd al de toonaangevende Oekraïense universiteit, met een duidelijke onderzoeksidentiteit. Dankzij relatief ruime overheidsfinanciering waren salarissen hier twee keer zo hoog als standaard.

¹⁵ Hladchenko, M., Westerheijden, D., & de Boer, H. (2018). Means–ends decoupling at the state level and managerial responses to multiple organizational identities in Ukrainian research universities. *Higher Education Research & Development*, 57(1) <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11024-018-9355-3>

Mede daardoor trok deze universiteit de meest getalenteerde academici uit het land aan, en daardoor weer de meest getalenteerde studenten. Onderzoek in deze universiteit vond al sinds de jaren vijftig echter alleen geïstitutionaliseerd plaats in een separate onderzoeksafdeling – voornamelijk voor natuurwetenschappen. De medewerkers van die afdeling hadden echter tegelijkertijd een onderwijstaak. Na verkrijging van het label ‘onderzoeksuniversiteit’ werd de informele opdracht een universiteit van wereldklasse te worden, geïndiceerd door vermelding in internationale rankings. Daartoe stimuleerden topmanagers academici onder andere om meer internationaal te publiceren, via salarisverhoging voor wie een h-index boven de drie bereikte. De managementstrategie van deze universiteit is de aggregatie van onderwijs en onderzoek, terwijl de organisatorische identiteit van kennisoverdracht (via het wetenschapspark) valt in multivocaliteit, aangezien deze werd gerealiseerd door een hoge mate van middel–doelontkoppeling op organisatieniveau (zie het vorige artikel)

De toenmalige agrarische universiteit ontving sinds 2002 extra middelen van de overheid en de rector moest dit rechtvaardigen door hoge prestaties van de universiteit. Naast deze institutionele druk leidde het streven van de topmanagers om alles en iedereen in de universiteit onder controle te houden onder andere tot invoering van een ranglijst van academici, die 20% van hun salaris bepaalde. Om meer kans te maken op het label van onderzoeksuniversiteit, verbreedde de leiding de naam van agrarisch naar levenswetenschappen en werden nieuwe faculteiten toegevoegd. De nieuwe faculteiten waren echter gericht op vreemde talen en informatietechnologie, niet op de kernactiviteiten van de biowetenschappen. Zij waren ook niet gericht op fundamenteel of toegepast onderzoek, maar trokken vooral veel (collegegeld betalende) studenten aan. De toevoeging van de nieuwe faculteiten, evenals de naamswijziging van de universiteit, leidde weliswaar tot verkrijging van het label van onderzoeksuniversiteit, maar weerspiegelt vooral middel–doelontkoppeling; deze strategieën hebben immers niet bijgedragen tot een heroriëntatie van de universiteit op onderzoek en kennisoverdracht. En zo waren er meer initiatieven om de universiteit te laten voldoen aan de criteria voor onderzoeksuniversiteiten: doorvertaling van de criteria in salariscriteria voor docent-onderzoekers, aangaan van een (bij voorbaat kansloos) traject van accreditatie bij een Amerikaanse organisatie in de herverkiezingscampagne van de rector, start van een eigen ‘internationaal’ tijdschrift, enzovoorts. Samenvattend illustreren de strategieën van deze universiteit multivocaliteit.

We concluderen hieruit dat de hoge mate van middel–doelontkoppeling op staatsniveau heeft geleid tot institutionele complexiteit. Het uniforme, 'one-size-fits-all' karakter van het overheidsbeleid belemmerde de *actorhood* van universiteiten met verschillende disciplinaire profielen. De technische universiteit had hier beduidend minder last van dan de beide andere gevallen.

Samengevat illustreren de drie gevallen hoe moeilijk het is om Janusiaanse integratie van meerdere organisatorische identiteiten te bereiken in een ongunstige context.

***Academic identities in Ukrainian research universities under conditions of means–ends decoupling at the state level*¹⁶**

In dit artikel onderzoek ik de academische identiteiten aan Oekraïense onderzoeksuniversiteiten. De gegevens voor de analyse werden verzameld door middel van semi-gestructureerde interviews in de periode 2010–2014 met 38 academici uit de geestes- en sociale wetenschappen en de natuurwetenschappen aan twee contrasterende Oekraïense onderzoeksuniversiteiten, de eerder al onderzochte technische universiteit en die voor levenswetenschappen.

Organisatie-identiteit is ingebed in de organisatiecultuur (Hatch en Schulz 1997) en weerspiegelt de kernwaarden, labels en praktijken van de organisatie (Gioia et al. 2013). De veelheid aan institutionele logica's resulteert in meerdere organisatorische (sub-)culturen en identiteiten (Greenwood et al. 2011; Hinings 2011). De individuele identiteit wordt actief geconstrueerd ('identiteitswerk'), opgebouwd uit betekenissen aangedragen door de sociale omgeving en uit hun eigen opvattingen over wie ze zijn (zelfidentiteit) (Lok 2010). Individuele identiteiten, net als organisatorische identiteiten, kunnen actief dan wel latent zijn (Fathi 1967). Ook kan er een wisselende mate van synergie bestaan tussen zowel organisatorische als individuele identiteiten, bijvoorbeeld fusie, dominantie, kruising en compartimentering (Roccas & Brewer, 2002), maar kan daardoor ook lijden aan identiteitsconflicten. Naast de werkorganisatie kunnen andere dimensies bijdragen aan de identiteit(en) van individuele academici: discipline, professie, en nationale culturele dimensies (Välimaa, 1998). Op basis van deze literatuur en de interviews onderscheid ik vier typen identiteiten.

Academische docenten komen voor onder alle onderzochte disciplines van beide universiteiten. Zij worden gekenmerkt door slechts twee academische identiteiten: onderwijs, en onderzoek op nationaal niveau. Na de verdediging van hun proefschrift is hun identiteit van onderzoeker op nationaal niveau echter meestal latent; deze latente staat wordt onderbroken door zeldzame perioden van activiteit. Samengevat komt het erop neer dat, aangezien de nationale en organisatorische omgeving geen gunstige voorwaarden biedt, met name voldoende salaris, academici hun tijd en energie besteden aan extra inkomen verwerven buiten de universiteit om, wat alleen lukt door het

¹⁶ Hladchenko, M. (2018). Academic identities in Ukrainian research universities under conditions of means–ends decoupling at the state level. *Journal of Further and Higher Education*.

schrappen of compartimentaliseren van de identiteiten die door de universiteit worden opgelegd.

Nationale docent-onderzoekers zijn veelal academici uit de sociale en geesteswetenschappen. Zij begeleiden veelal promovendi bezig met onderzoek voor hun eerste of hogere doctoraat. Net als bij het voorgaande type, hoeven academici van de technische universiteit minder verschillende rollen te vervullen dan hun collega's van de universiteit voor levenswetenschappen, en kunnen daardoor meer synergie tussen hun rollen bewerkstelligen. Die in de universiteit voor levenswetenschappen gaan vaker over tot compartimentalisering.

Aspirant internationale onderzoekers. Dit type identiteit kenmerkt vooral academici die gepromoveerd zijn in de geesteswetenschappen en sociale wetenschappen in beide universiteiten. Deze academici streven ernaar internationaal te publiceren, maar hebben er geen of weinig ervaring mee. Hoe meer academici zich bewust zijn van de kloof in de kwaliteit van de publicaties tussen het nationale en internationale niveau, hoe minder betekenis zij zien in de Oekraïense tijdschriften. Tegelijkertijd ervaren zij druk om aan andere eisen te voldoen, alweer meer in de universiteit voor levenswetenschappen (bijvoorbeeld tekstboeken schrijven) dan in de technische (maar ook daar weegt de kleine extra waardering voor internationale publicaties niet op tegen de grote extra inspanning die ze vereisen).

Ingenieurs: Drie academici van de IT-faculteit in de technische universiteit vormen een aparte groep. Hun identiteit is verdeeld: zij doen opdrachtonderzoek gefinancierd door de overheid, geven onderwijs aan studenten die vaak snel de universiteit verlaten om in het bedrijfsleven te gaan werken, en gaan heel af en toe naar internationale congressen hoewel daarvoor meestal de middelen ontbreken.

De conclusie uit deze interviews is dat de middel–doelontkoppeling van de staat leidt tot middel–doelontkoppeling en institutionele complexiteit voor universiteiten en dat die zich doorvertaalt in middel–doelontkoppeling voor individuen daarin. Dat impliceert een gebrek aan individuele efficiëntie (Dick, 2015). Hun gedrag voldoet niet aan de verwachtingen van het mondiale model van een academicus in een onderzoeksuniversiteit. De vier types academische identiteiten die ik heb gedefinieerd in termen van rollen/praktijken verschillen qua synergie die zij tussen hun rollen/praktijken weten te bewerkstelligen. Dat komt niet alleen door de institutionele complexiteit die zij ervaren, maar ook door verschillen in hun aspiratieve identiteiten. Academici met de derde en vierde soort identiteit zijn georiënteerd op het globale model van de onderzoeksuniversiteit. De aspiratieve identiteiten van alle academici wijken echter (in verschillende mate) af van de rollen die hun door de organisatorische en nationale culturele dimensies worden opgelegd en waarin geen van hen

vertrouwen hebben. De verschillen tussen de academici hangen samen met hun disciplinaire achtergrond maar ook met de instelling waar zij werken. Hoe meer academici zich ervan bewust zijn dat hun praktijken matig of niet gerelateerd zijn aan hun kerndoel (aspiratie-identiteit), en hoe groter het aantal praktijken dat zij compartimenteren, hoe groter de dissonantie die zij ervaren, met als gevolg een groter conflict tussen hun identiteiten.

Conclusie

In dit proefschrift heb ik een neo-institutioneel perspectief gebruikt om te onderzoeken waarom de implementatie van globale modellen van hoger onderwijs in nationale contexten niet leidt tot de beoogde resultaten. Ik heb me gericht op het hoger onderwijs in Oekraïne om deze vraag empirisch te beantwoorden. Ik richtte me op drie bestuursniveaus: het staats-, het organisatorische en het individuele niveau. Voor elk van deze drie niveaus heb ik een deelvraag geformuleerd.

De eerste deelvraag van dit proefschrift (SRQ 1) heeft betrekking op de verkenning van de effecten van middel–doelontkoppeling op het niveau van de staat op de implementatie van de globale modellen op governance op macroniveau. Mijn onderzoek toont aan dat het nastreven van het eigenbelang door politieke actoren ertoe leidt dat zij het mondiale model vervormen en dat impliceert de verandering van de logica van het model. Via drie redactie-regels (Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008) toonde ik aan hoe door de gebrekkige context (rent-seeking politici, onderontwikkelde kenniseconomie) het globale model van de onderzoeksuniversiteit werd verdraaid, en hoe de formulering van regels (kwantitatieve vereisten) bijdroeg aan verdere mislukking van bereiken van de gewenste uitkomsten.

De tweede deelvraag (SRQ 2) betreft de gevolgen van de implementatie van het globale model van de onderzoeksuniversiteit en het Triple Helix-model op organisatieniveau (mesoniveau). De empirische bevindingen ondersteunen de stelling dat de mate van institutionele complexiteit waarmee organisaties worden geconfronteerd varieert met de inconsistentie tussen de institutionele eisen en de voorafgaande organisatorische identiteit (Glynn, 2008; Greenwood et al., 2011). De kloof tussen de institutionele eisen en de vroegere organisatie-identiteiten beïnvloedt ook de organisatorische respons op de institutionele eisen en de mate van middel–doelontkoppeling op organisatieniveau. Het model van managementreacties van Pratt en Foreman (2000) werd toegepast om de organisatorische reacties van de drie Oekraïense onderzoeksuniversiteiten op hun institutionele complexiteit te onderzoeken. Elke universiteit stond voor de opgave om meerdere identiteiten te managen, waarbij het leiderschap van de instelling meerdere strategieën van Pratt en Foreman bleek te combineren, met meer of minder succes.

De derde deelvraag van mijn onderzoek (SRQ 3) betreft het microniveau. Ook de individuele academici als actoren voelden zich geconfronteerd met onverenigbare voorschriften en tegenstrijdige logica's afkomstig van staat, markt, universiteit, faculteit, vakgroep, discipline, en persoonlijke culturele factoren. De onderzoeksbevindingen benadrukken dat de Oekraïense academici al die eisen interpreterden vanuit hun identiteit, institutionele biografieën en belangen, wat resulteerde in een wisselende mate van culturele en institutionele complexiteit. De resulterende middel–doelontkoppeling op individueel niveau hield in dat hun werk hoogstens losjes verband hield met, of zelfs los stond van wat men verwacht van academici aan onderzoeksuniversiteiten, dus kwalitatief hoogwaardig onderzoek op internationaal niveau en betrokkenheid bij de ontwikkeling van de kenniseconomie.

Voor wat betreft praktische implicaties kunnen de resultaten in de eerste plaats worden generaliseerd naar andere staten die als zwak, roofzuchtig en neopatrimoniaal worden gekenmerkt. Ze hebben echter ook praktische implicaties voor staten en organisaties meer in het algemeen bij invoering van modellen die geleend zijn uit andere nationale contexten. In de eerste plaats blijkt dat op alle niveaus (macro, meso en micro) gunstige voorwaarden moeten worden geschapen voor invoering van een nieuwe modellen in een nieuwe context. Ten tweede is een vereiste dat de logica en de formulering van het mondiale model behouden blijven. Ten derde moet de staat doelbewust en actief zorgen voor de handelingsmogelijkheden voor de organisatorische en individuele actoren, en moet organisatorisch leiderschap actief zorgen voor handelingsruimte voor de leden van de organisatie.

De wetenschappelijke implicaties van dit proefschrift liggen in het betere empirische begrip van de relaties tussen de instituties en organisatorische en individuele actoren. Ten eerste behandelt de studie de nog niet onderzochte oorzaken van incompatibele institutionele voorschriften van de staat, en hun gevolgen voor zowel intra-institutionele als inter-institutionele complexiteit. Ten tweede bevestigt dit onderzoek de stelling van Bromley en Powell (2012) dat de institutionele complexiteit leidt tot middel–doelontkoppeling op organisatieniveau. Ten derde geeft het onderzoek inzicht in hoe het management van organisaties, gestuurd door hun eigenbelang, bijdraagt aan middel–doelontkoppeling op organisatieniveau door hun afwijkende interpretaties van een mondiaal model. Ten vierde draagt het onderzoek bij tot beter begrip van de gevolgen van middel–doelontkoppeling op organisatieniveau voor de leden van de organisatie. Ten vijfde gaat dit onderzoek in op de implicaties van institutionele complexiteit voor meervoudige organisatorische identiteiten (Pratt & Foreman, 2000) en toont het aan dat institutionele complexiteit en zelfzuchtig organisatorisch management in de weg staan van vorming van samenhangende organisatorische identiteiten die behoren bij een onderzoeksuniversiteit. Ten

opzichte van Greenwood e.a. (2011) en Pratt en Foremann (2007) voegen de onderzoeksbevindingen toe dat een multivocaliteitsreactie ook middel-doelontkoppeling inhoudt.

Wat het microniveau betreft, blijkt ten eerste uit de studie dat dezelfde problemen worden doorvertaald naar het individuele niveau. Ten tweede toont het onderzoek aan dat dit te meer geldt voor individuen die geen kennis hebben van verwachtingen behorend bij de mondiale modellen en die niet in staat zijn—of door hun organisatorische context niet in staat worden gesteld—om deze praktijken en identiteiten te reproduceren of om bij het model behorende resultaten na te streven, zodat ook bij hen middel-doelontkoppeling optreedt.

Tot slot kent dit proefschrift een aantal beperkingen, die tegelijkertijd wijzen op kansen voor toekomstig onderzoek. Ten eerste, op macroniveau worden ongewenste uitkomsten van beleid vaak geweten aan de implementatie, maar dit onderzoek heeft voor één context aangetoond dat onbedoelde consequenties van het overheidsbeleid het gevolg kunnen zijn van fouten in de keuze voor het beleid. Het aantal studies waaruit dit ook voor andere contexten is onderzocht, is nog gering (Borras 2003; Lahiff et al., 2007; Homedes & Ugalde, 2005).

Ten tweede blijkt uit deze studie dat het nastreven van het eigenbelang door machtige actoren die betrokken zijn bij de keuze en implementatie van mondiale modellen in de nationale context leidt tot afglijden van mondiale modellen naar nieuwe doelstellingen. Verdere verkenning van hoe dit kan worden vermeden zou waardevol zijn. Vertekening van mondiale modellen kan ook gerelateerd zijn aan de context waarin zulk nieuw beleid wordt geïntroduceerd. Ook die samenhang is in deze studie onderbelicht gebleven. Verder onderzoek zou meer helderheid kunnen verschaffen over hoe institutionele logica's daartoe op elkaar afgestemd dienen te worden (Cai, 2014); dit sluit aan bij studies naar 'glocalisatie' (Marginson & Sawir, 2005; Mok, 2003).

Ten derde is een beperking van dit onderzoek dat het niet internationaal vergelijkend was, wat de analyse zou hebben verrijkt (Antonowicz et al., 2017; Beerkens, 2010; Beerkens, 2009; Haarhuis & Torenvlied, 2006).

Op mesoniveau is in dit onderzoek alleen gekeken naar externe oorzaken voor institutionele complexiteit, niet naar interne. Hoe individuele kenmerken van managers of hun leiderschapsstijlen een verschil kunnen maken, is buiten beschouwing moeten blijven.

Het onderzoek naar het microniveau was beperkt tot een enkele studie van kleine omvang. Versterking van de bevindingen is in elk geval nodig. Daardoor was het ook niet mogelijk te onderzoeken hoe het individuele gedrag invloed

had op de realisatie van het mondiale model van onderzoeksuniversiteit op meso- en macroniveaus.

Het belangrijkste idee achter de studies verzameld in dit boek is dat de afwijkende en verdraaide interpretatie van de normen en waarden door Oekraïense politieke en zakelijke oligarchieën die gedreven worden door het eigenbelang en rent-seeking, heeft geresulteerd in een verdraaide sociale realiteit in het Oekraïense hoger onderwijs. De samenleving is een afspiegeling van de maatschappelijke instituties en door de middel-doelontkoppeling op het niveau van de staat is het een ontkoppelde samenleving. Volgens de inzichten besloten in deze studies, gebaseerd op het sociologisch institutionalisme, moet de Oekraïense samenleving werken aan een *civil society*, wat ook een van de mondiale modellen is en we hebben laten zien hoe moeilijk het is die in deze context op te bouwen. Toch kunnen alleen op die manier de Oekraïners de misvormde realiteit om hen heen veranderen.

GLOBAL EDUCATION MODELS IN NATIONAL CONTEXTS: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF RESEARCH UNIVERSITIES IN UKRAINE

The main thesis of the articles making up this dissertation is that policies drawn on global models may fail to achieve the intended outcomes in a new context not only because of faults in the implementation process but also because of faults in policies themselves in this new context. From a sociological institutionalists perspective, the latter can be called means–ends decoupling. Ukraine is one of the numerous post-communist and post-Soviet countries which sustain means–ends decoupling at the state level.

The articles treat how in the Ukrainian case, means–ends decoupling at the state level affected university management and individual academics. All three levels were explored separately through in-depth case studies on the implementation of global models of higher education, in particular the research university and the Triple Helix. Consistently, the studies show that means–ends decoupling at the state level creates complexity at the meso and micro levels, which leads to struggles for university management to integrate the different identities of research universities and to behavior among academics that is only loosely coupled to the expectations of global research universities. It is also shown that there are differences among Ukrainian universities in the degree of decoupling and in the coherence of reactions to it. Means–ends decoupling, in sum, entailed grave consequences for the society and economy as well as for individuals' well-being.



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