Translation And Diffusion Process of The Shopping Mall Form: A Case Study[1]

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Alışveriş Merkezi Formunun Çeviri ve Yayılım Süreci: Bir Vaka Analizi[2]

Abstract

This study aims to reveal how the shopping mall form, a management idea, changed during its transfer to Türkiye and to analyse the effective factors in this process. For the research part, interviews were held with 23 people, including the general managers of 21 shopping malls operating in Türkiye and two leading sector executives. The findings point out that during the initial embedding of the shopping mall idea in Türkiye, the idea was preserved mainly in terms of managerial and structural aspects. Factors such as flexibility of the idea, environment, management, level of knowledge and rivalry among existing competitors are effective in the prominence of diffusion or translation. Finally, by expanding the scope of translation, the study puts forward the concepts of individual and social translation as well as interpersonal translation.

Keywords : Institutional Theory, Scandinavian Institutionalism, Diffusion, Translation, Shopping-Mall.

JEL Classification Codes : L2, L81, M1, M3.

Öz

Bu çalışmanın amacı, bir yönetim fikri olan AVM formunun Türkiye'ye geçiş sürecindeki değişimini ve bu süreçte etkili olan faktörleri açığa çıkarmaktır. Araştırma kısmı için, Türkiye'de faaliyet gösteren 21 AVM genel müdürü ve sektörün önde gelen 2 üst düzey yöneticisi olmak üzere toplamda 23 kişi ile görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir. Elde edilen bulgular, Türkiye'de AVM fikrinin ilk yerleşimi sırasında, fikrin yönetsel ve yapısal açıdan büyük ölçüde korunduğuna işaret etmektedir. Fikrin esnekliği, çevre, yönetim, bilgi düzeyi ve mevcut rakipler arasındaki rekabet gibi faktörlerin yayılım veya çevirinin öne çıkmasında etkili olduğu görülmüştür. Son olarak; çalışma, çeviri kavramının kapsamını genişleterek bireyler arası çevirinin yanında bireysel çeviri ve toplumsal çeviri kavramlarını öne sürmüştür.

Anahtar Sözcükler : Kurumsal Kuram, İskandinav Kurumsalcılığı, Yayılım, Çeviri, AVM.

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1. Introduction

Researchers usually differ in their interpretations of the same event or phenomenon. These differences in perspective also emerge in management and organisation, as in every field. For example, there are different explanations about how much management ideas change during their transition from one place to another. Institutional theorists describe the transition process of ideas more concretely as the transition of an object to another place and emphasise the similarities between the source of the idea and the place it reaches (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Tolbert & Zucker, 1983; Deephouse, 1996). Scandinavian institutionalism, which is rooted in institutional theory and creates a separate school, argues that ideas are in a constant flux of change and will change wherever they reach, so this will cause differences between the source and the target (Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996; Sahlin-Andersson, 1996; Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008). Institutional theory refers to the similarity with the concept of "diffusion" (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977), while Scandinavian institutionalism refers to differentiation with the concept of "translation" (Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996; Sahlin-Andersson, 1996; Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008; Sevón, 1996).

This study focuses on shopping malls (SMs[3]), which occupy an important social sphere and have a significant economic and social impact on society. With an organisational structure first emerging in the United States (USA) (Coleman, 2006: 42), this management idea spread rapidly to the world as a successful model. It consolidated its place in the retail sector. Therefore, as a management idea, the process of introducing SMs in Türkiye, the factors affecting it, and their changes over time since their introduction are subjects worth studying and researching. The study will also provide an opportunity to test the predictions of institutional theory and Scandinavian institutionalism, which explain the transition of ideas to different spaces from two different perspectives. The study examines whether the SM idea differs from the models that the SM idea was taken as an example of during its establishment in Türkiye, whether the SMs operating in Türkiye differ intellectually and structurally, and if they do, the extent to which this difference occurs.

Current studies in translation generally focus on the applications of management ideas in different organisations and translation processes. However, in this study, the translation process of the SM, which is both a management idea and an organisational structure, was examined. However, it has a unique place in that it deals with institutional theory and Scandinavian institutionalism approaches and tries to analyse them comparatively. Therefore, this research will contribute to the translation studies that have been developing recently. In addition, in terms of its scope, it addresses both theorists and practitioners, that is, managers in the sector. Finally, by expanding the scope of translation,

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[3] *In this study, the term shopping mall (SMs) only represents today's organised and modern shopping centres, and the term shopping place will be used for all other traditional buildings.*

the study puts forward the concepts of individual and social translation as well as interpersonal translation.

The outline of the study is as follows:

First, the historical development and main arguments of the institutional theory, which is the basis of the study, and the Scandinavian institutionalism, a school of institutional theory, are discussed. Then, the historical development and general characteristics of SMs are briefly explained. In the next section, the data and research findings of the research conducted on SMs are presented. The final section presents a discussion and conclusion, limitations, recommendations, and suggestions for future research.

2. From Institutional Theory to Scandinavian Institutionalism

Scott (2014: 2) states that early institutional discussions emerged during the discussions of scientific methods in the social sciences in Germany and Austria in the late 19th century. During this period, some innovative economists opposed the idea that the economy could be reduced to a set of universal laws and argued that economic processes develop within a social setting shaped by culture and historical events.

Institutional theory studies in the field of organisation are based on Selznik's study titled "TVA and the Grassroots (1949)", in which he examines the activities of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), established for the development of the Tennessee Valley in the USA in the 1930s (Scott, 2014: 23).

Institutional theory assumes that individuals, groups or organisations should not be considered in isolation from society and other environmental factors and that the actors exposed to these factors cannot act freely because they are restricted. Actors whose behaviour is restricted are rejected by the environment if they do not comply with the order and are forced to comply with the system by various mechanisms (Dimaggio & Powell, 1983). This suggests that actors will act similarly to gain legitimacy and become homogeneous after a while (Hawley, 1981: 424; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983: 150-154; Powell & DiMaggio, 1991; Deephouse, 1996). According to Schuman (1995), the sources of this motivation are based on utility, morality, or some cognitive reasons. As such, institutional theory tries to explain the similar processes among organisations (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996).

Diffusion theory is generally associated with Rogers' (1983) book "Diffusion of Innovations" (Mica, 2013: 4). Rogers defines *diffusion* as the process of communicating an innovation, a new idea, product, or service, among members of a social system through specific channels over time (Rogers, 1983: 5). The author defines the factors affecting the diffusion process as the characteristics of the innovation, the social system (community of potential adopters), communication channels and time (Rogers, 1983: 10). According to Latour (1986), there are three important elements of the diffusion process, which are the

energy that triggers movement for diffusion, the means that provides continuity, and diffusion. Wejnert (2002: 298-299) argues that three factors are decisive in the process of diffusion, namely, the characteristics of the disseminated idea, the characteristics of the actor involved in the process, and the environmental conditions.

The concept of diffusion is considered to be valid for organisations that are in search of more legitimacy because organisations adopt certain routines to gain approval from their institutional environment, and this results in a process with only minor changes in the original idea (Boons & Strannegård, 2000: 15). Proponents of the institutional theory generally argue that management ideas spread with slight variation among organisations. As a result, organisations become homogenised.

Most diffusion research emphasises inter-organizational situations, analyses at the population level, and generally focuses on accepting or rejecting disseminated ideas (Ansari et al., 2010: 67).

Although various studies have been conducted on the diffusion of management ideas for many years, these studies have generally been based on the concept of diffusion, and the focus has been on travel routes and means rather than the content and transformation of ideas (Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008). However, something unexpected happened during the 1980s-1990s. Many organisational practices such as total quality management (TQM), management by objectives (MBO), and new public management (NPM) spread rapidly among organisations (Abrahamson, 1996a; Abrahamson, 1996b; Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008: 220), and became fashionable, especially in the public sector, but these practices did not always go as planned. Although institutions often implement these practices as predicted by institutional theory (Meyer & Rowan, 1977), disseminated management ideas triggered organisational change in some institutions during this period (Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008), which could not be adequately explained and was considered as an exception by the institutional theory (Czarniawska, 2008: 771).

Scandinavian institutionalists emerged in this period and put forward the concept of *translation* by offering an important perspective in explaining why the same idea or practice differed while spreading among organisations. Accordingly,

- Management ideas do not spread identically among organisations and are transformed by actors during the deployment process, during which ideas cannot remain unchanged, and in a sense, they are subject to translation. Therefore, although imitation may seem like just copying, it is a process of change and reconstruction.
- Institutional theory suggests that organisations imitate each other due to institutional pressures in the institutional environment, and as a result, similar organisations emerge in the same organisational area (homogenisation). On the other hand, Scandinavian institutionalism claims that even if organisations imitate each other at the micro level, they will apply the same idea in different ways.

Scandinavian scientists were previously inspired by the work, ideas and theories of Richard W. Scott, James G. March, and John W. Meyer. Still, they later combined them with other research traditions that were influential in Scandinavia or emerged in Europe and formed a different school (Czarniawska, 2008; Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008: 219).

Translation studies are generally carried out at two levels (Røvik, 2016: 292): inter-organizational translation processes (creation and dissemination of the idea, adaptation of the idea to different places, etc.) and intra-organizational translation processes (resistance, power relations, intra-organizational practices, etc.).

Scandinavian institutionalism focuses on organisational diversity rather than uniformity and standardisation, on which institutional theory is more focused (Boxenbaum & Pedersen, 2009: 179). According to Scandinavian institutionalists, institutional theory focused too much on stability and standardisation issues and fell short of explaining change processes (Van Grinsven et al., 2016: 272).

The differences between the concept of diffusion studied by institutional theorists and the concept of translation reviewed by Scandinavian institutionalists are summarised in Table 1 (Kayra et al., 2022: 70).

Table: 1
Comparison of Diffusion and Translation Concepts

	DIFFUSION	TRANSLATION
The theoretical idea on which it is based	Scientism	Social constructivism
Perspective	Macro	Micro
Description of Organisational Communities	Homogeneous	Homogeneous in the macro dimension; heterogeneous in the micro dimension
Individual actors	Active	Passive
Spreading concept	Innovation	Idea
Change in the spreading concept	None or very little	More than the diffusion
Result	Predictable	Unpredictable

3. Shopping Malls (SMs)

With the emergence of modern lifestyles, the retail industry has evolved from small and independent stores to large and often combined outlets (Cheng et al., 2007: 885). Perhaps one of the most important of these is SMs.

SMs are planned and architecturally integrated retail outlets where various retail businesses operating as tenants are located and managed, have parking lots and are generally established in residential areas around the city (Baron et al., 1991: 175). Harris (2006: 883) defines SMs as "large structures planned around a large and central courtyard, usually with two or three floors, housing movie theatres, fast-food restaurants and entertainment venues as well as many shops".

SMs, which previously attracted consumers with the promise of a wide range of stores and products, have gradually become places where people spend their time and have fun (Bloch et al., 1994: 24).

The change in consumption culture played a key role in the emergence of SMs (Ritzer & Stepnisky, 2012: 211-212), and written and visual media advertisements also encourage consumption (Malec, 2010: 15).

Of course, SMs have not simply come out of nowhere. Historical shopping venues such as the Greek agora, the Roman forum, the temple in the East, markets and bazaars, medieval market fairs and the glass-enclosed passages of 19th-century Europe paved the way for the emergence of SMs (Cohen, 2002: 9; Singh & Srinivasan, 2012: 5).

The emergence and development of the first SMs in the modern sense of the world took place in the USA. Population growth, limited space for expansion in urban centres, universal increase in car ownership, traffic congestion in city centres, an abundance of available and accessible lands, and technological developments in ventilation-air conditioning-lighting accelerated this process and enabled the spread of SMs throughout the country (Coleman, 2006: 42). In addition, developments in cast iron engineering have made new multi-storey architectural structures that allow many goods to be displayed together possible (Shields, 2005: 3).

Completed in 1954 and designed by Victor Gruen (an Austrian immigrant), Northland Mall is located 20 miles from the city centre of Detroit, USA, an early example of these structures (Jewell, 2015: 16). Figure 1 shows a photo of Northland SM from 1954.

Figure: 1
Northland SM, 1954, Detroit

Source: <https://esotericsurvey.blogspot.com/2015/08/northland-detroit.html>, 27.02.2020.

Victor Gruen's next project, Southdale Mall in Edina, Minneapolis, is a significant milestone that has truly revolutionised the concept of shopping. Opened in 1956, Southdale was the first fully enclosed mall. This two-storey building was the largest mall ever built at the time (Coleman, 2006: 42-43).

The most crucial development in the process of transferring SMs to Türkiye is Türkiye's transition to a free market economy in the 1980s, which accelerated the inflow of

foreign capital into Türkiye and contributed remarkably to large projects such as SMs (Kolsuz & Yeldan, 2014: 49-50).

The first SM opened in Türkiye is Galleria, which was opened in 1988 in İstanbul Ataköy with the partnership of the state, inspired by The Galleria Mall in Houston (Altuna, 2012: 38). Figure 2 shows a photo of Galleria SM from 2015.

Figure: 2
Galleria SM, A Photo from 2015, İstanbul

Source: <https://onedio.com/haber/turkiye-nin-ilk-avm-si-yikiliyor-566086>, 09.03.2020.

After Galleria SM, such SMs started to spread rapidly. Currently, most SMs in Türkiye are in Istanbul, and one-third of the shopping centre investments are financed by foreign investors (Istanbul Valuation Consultancy Research [IGD], 2019: 30). The cities with the most SMs are İstanbul (147 units), Ankara (39 units) and İzmir (28 units). As of the end of November 2019, there are 454 SMs throughout Türkiye (Association of Real Estate and Real Estate Investment Companies [*GYODER*], 2019: 45). The total investment made for SMs opened by the end of 2018 is 58 billion USD (IGD, 2019: 30). However, due to economic fluctuations in recent years, high costs, low profitability and fierce competition, the time needed for investment return has become much longer, leading to a substantial reduction in new investments (IGD, 2019: 30).

In the ICSC classification of shopping centres, malls are included in regional and super regional shopping centres and refer to indoor spaces (Singh & Srinivasan, 2012: 25). In addition, our research subject is modern shopping centres, that is, SMs. Since there is no universally agreed standard definition of SMs, our research is based on SMs defined according to the laws currently in force in Türkiye.

For a commercial building to be called a SM in Türkiye, it must be composed of

- A building or a group of buildings within a particular area,
- At least 5000 m^2 sales area,

- At least ten workplaces where some or all the nutritional, dressing, entertainment, resting and cultural needs are met, provided that at least one has the quality of a big store. In case of lacking such a big store, it must consist of at least thirty workplaces where part or all these needs are met.
- Common use areas and areas specified in this regulation and
- It should have centralised management.

4. Methodology

In this section, information will be given about the purpose of the study, the research questions, the method used in the research, and the research procedures.

4.1. Research Problem and Research Question

From the perspective of managers operating in the SM sector, this case study aims to describe:

- How SMs were built together with the translation process during their establishment in Türkiye and how they were constructed by which actors,
- Similar and different aspects of SMs in Türkiye and other countries,
- The evolution of SMs in Türkiye and
- Which factors play a role in the differentiation of SMs?

The main research question is as follows: "What was the translation of SMs in the process of being placed in Türkiye, and how were they constructed?"

The study assumes that *the mall*, which emerged due to modernisation with a new management style and commercial structure, has been translated into many forms during and after its import to Türkiye and has been differentiated intellectually and structurally.

4.2. Research and Procedures

In this section, information is given on the research method and research process. The research design, study group, data collection process, data analysis, and ethical issues were discussed in this context.

4.2.1. Study Design

Designed as a case study, this research is based on the qualitative research method. Case studies are based on an in-depth and comprehensive analysis of a case. A group, individual, organisation, process or all social relations can be considered "cases" and, therefore, can be the subject of research (Strumińska-Kutra & Koładkiewicz, 2018: 2). Merriam (1998: 27) defines a case study as "an intense and holistic description and analysis of a single event, phenomenon or social unit".

The semi-structured interview is the primary data collection tool in this study. The dataset was further strengthened and diversified by adding other data sources (regulations, biography, interviews, and other academic studies).

4.2.2. Study Group and Data Collection

Purposeful sampling was used for this research, with 21 SM managers (P1-P21) from seven geographical regions of Türkiye and two company general managers (P22 and P23) who witnessed the establishment of many of the first SMs in Türkiye. The interviews were conducted with 23 people, one of whom (P23) was a World ICSS (International Council of Shopping Centres) Jury Committee Member. Particular care was taken to select the participants representing many companies operating in the sector. The interviews, all of which were previously planned to be carried out face to face, were carried out through phone and Zoom due to pandemic restrictions. One interview was conducted face-to-face, 12 interviews were conducted by phone, eight interviews were carried out through Zoom, and two interviews were carried out both over the phone and through Zoom. The total duration of the interviews is 28 hours and 8 minutes. The interviews began on November 11, 2020, and continued until March 14, 2021, covering four months.

4.2.3. Data Transcription and Ethical Issues

After completing the interviews, the interview records of 28+ hours were manually transferred to the electronic environment and the data pages were read repeatedly. The *MAXQDA Analytics Pro 2020* program was used to organise the data. In addition:

- The interview questions, which were created as a result of a long research, reading and intensive analysis process, were also examined by different academics and their confirmation of their appropriateness was obtained.
- An application was submitted to Anadolu University, Social and Human Sciences, Scientific Research and Publication Ethics Committee for the ethical approval of the interview questions, which responded with a positive decision. The decision date is 03.11.2020, and the protocol no is 61075.
- The coding, categorisation and thematisation of the data was carried out in a coordinated manner. An agreement was reached on the coding process, and the hierarchical theme-category-code-subcode model was created.

5. Results

The research consists of 3 themes, as can be seen below.

- SMs in Türkiye from Past to Present
- How the SM Idea Came to be Adopted in Türkiye
- Factors Impacting the Diffusion or Translation of the Malls

Now, let us examine the themes and sub-titles.

5.1. SMs in Türkiye from Past to Present

The different aspects of SMs compared to traditional shopping places, the change and development of SMs over time, their institutionalisation, and the potential changes in the future are discussed in this section.

5.1.1. Comparison with Traditional Shopping Places

The participants generally stated that SMs differ significantly from traditional shopping venues. Modern SMs are managed from a single source and with a professional perspective, include large-scale stores (anchors) and generally house corporate organisations. In addition, these more comfortable and modern buildings differ from traditional shopping places regarding additional functions (cinema, playgrounds, beauty centre, etc.) and other services (infirmary, baby care room, etc.).

Emphasising real estate ownership and thus single-handed management as a distinguishing point, P23 explained this issue as follows:

> *Is the Grand Bazaar an SM? Unfortunately, no. (…). Even though there is a tradesman's association in the Grand Bazaar, the ownership there is fragmented, and each store can turn into any business it wants, whenever it wants (…)*

Therefore, although the commercial operation and structure of the Grand Bazaar are similar to the logic underlying the mall concept, the Grand Bazaar does not have the status of an SM. However, some participants stated that the idea of SMs emerged as an improved version of the shopping venues in the past. They also noted that SMs sometimes contain traces of the past and often play the role of traditional shopping places.

5.1.2. Change Over Time

All the participants stated that SMs were affected by many factors over time, such as changing and developing social characteristics, technology, and some legal regulations. For example, P5 explained this change with sociological variables such as "the increase in the transition from rural life to urban life". Accordingly, with the transition to urban life, needs have increased and diversified, production has grown due to free market conditions, and the places where goods/services are supplied have remained inadequate. Therefore, these developments provided a driving force for the importation of SMs and the rapid increase in their number.

In addition, according to some participants, so far, there have been four generations of SMs in Türkiye, explained by P23 as follows:

> *In Türkiye, we can observe four generations of SMs. While the first-generation SMs have an introverted structure that does not receive daylight from the*

*outside, the lights of the shop windows overflow into the corridors. In contrast,
the second-generation SMs, which later became multi-storey due to the
expense of the land, included entertainment factors such as food and beverage
and cinema on the upper floors. Then, after the smoking ban in Türkiye, we
have seen examples of SMs that moved food and beverage units to their
balconies, terraces, or doorways in the 3rd generation, which were more open
to the outside, letting in the daylight. In the 4th generation, we see different
centres with more open spaces, with SMs that are becoming more and more
avenues, which allow shopping in open spaces, eating and drinking, and
where cars can enter if necessary.*

In the interviews, many ideas were expressed about the development of SMs over
time. The critical developments pointed out by the participants are summarised below under
ten headings:

- Structural Development: Over time, SMs have been built more extensively,
  functionally more diversified, and look aesthetically more pleasing.
- Technology: Establishing technical infrastructures that cost less, consume less
  energy and provide more comfort, zero-waste projects, benefiting from alternative
  energy sources such as solar energy, SM advertisements shifting to digital venues
  such as social media by replacing classical venues (newspapers, magazines, radio),
  and the use of advanced security technologies (X-rays and detectors at the
  entrances, cameras, etc.).
- Shareholding Structure: A multiple partnership structure was observed in the early
  periods, which caused difficulties in making quick decisions. However, recently,
  such a numerous partnership structure is not preferred.
- Socialization: While shopping was given the primary focus in SMs in the first
  period, later, the need for socialisation increased. Various events such as concerts,
  exhibitions, theatre plays, autograph sessions and entertainment organisations
  began to be organised. With the implementation of the smoking ban in indoor
  areas, SMs are designed to have large terrace areas.
- Knowledge accumulation: Over time, experience has been gained about SMs, and
  knowledge has increased in the sector, which has also played an important role in
  the differentiation of SMs.
- Additional needs: Recently, various needs such as baby care rooms, accessible
  toilets and parking lots, infirmaries, and medical help call buttons have been
  integrated into malls.
- Payback Period of Investment: The payback period of SM investments has become
  longer.
- Power: Power has generally shifted from SMs to retailers over time. The low
  number of SMs in the early periods and the strong desire of retailers to operate
  within the mall gave mall management a strong position. However, the increasing
  number of malls competing has led to losing this superiority over time.

- Promotions: The number of promotions/sales to attract consumers to malls has increased, and they have become more diversified. In addition, although individual stores initially organised promotions, they began to be managed by mall management in the following periods.
- Institutionalization: According to the participants, SMs have been firmly institutionalised over time and have become an important societal actor. Therefore, malls should not be considered as a fad.

5.1.3. Change in the Future

The participants voiced many opinions about the possible future changes that SMs will undergo. Six sub-headings were created according to the answers: location, architecture, specialisation, transformation, e-commerce, and technological developments. However, most participants mainly focused on location, store mix and management issues and emphasised that these factors will play an important role in determining the future of SMs.

- Location: Due to the increase in land prices in the city centres in the future, the growth of cities and the formation of new residential areas, the idea that new SMs to be established will generally be built outside the city centres has emerged.
- Architecture: In the interviews, it was highlighted that the SMs in the future might become smaller, mainly due to the competitive factor, and that with the effect of the pandemic, open or semi-open SMs could become widespread by modelling street retailing in the past. For example, P9 stated that they had to change their current projects under construction due to the pandemic, and they increased the open spaces in SMs.
- Specialization: Many participants expressed a common opinion that malls could develop in the field of entertainment in the future and that the number of themed SMs, that is, specialising in a particular subject, could increase.
- Transformation: In the interviews, the idea that SM investments may decrease over time, and some may be closed due to intense competition or economic difficulties, was dominant. In addition, these buildings can be transformed into different buildings (hotels, hospitals, etc.) by considering the customer needs, or they can be used as shared offices, congress centres, dormitories, marriage offices, dental health centres, cargo delivery centres, or e-commerce companies.
- E-Commerce: According to the participants, the issue of e-commerce will continue to be an important agenda item in the future as it is now. For example, P2 stated that "e-commerce, which has gained momentum in recent years, has adversely affected SMs, but some companies have balanced this by selling their merchandise both online and through their physical stores."
- Technological Developments: Developing technology (for example, navigating in different places with 3D applications) forces trade channels such as SMs to keep up with developments.

5.2. How the SM Idea Came to be Adopted in Türkiye

In this section, the factors affecting the importation and popularisation of the SM idea, the transfer process of the idea, how the SMs in Türkiye differ, how they are defined and classified by the participants, as well as the change efforts in SM practices and the factors affecting these efforts are discussed.

5.2.1. The Actors Leading the Foundation and Popularization of SMs

According to the data obtained from the participants, many actors, such as consumers, retailers, management-leasing and consultancy companies and investors, government institutions, construction companies, financial institutions, and NGOs in the sector, played an active role in establishing and expanding SMs. Most participants stated that although SMs have been transferred to Türkiye, this has emerged in response to a social need.

Regarding the customers, who are vital actors, P3 stated that:

(…) The first and most important factor in Türkiye is population. The second important factor is needs. The third important factor is trendiness. In other words, the most important thing in the spread of SMs is that we want to see the global brands in our cities. Everyone wanted to own them. So, there was already a demand. Seeing world brands in magazines and newspapers, people used to say they had these brands there but not here. That was in the 60s-70s. We wanted to see the things that were available abroad in Türkiye. It is an adventure that started there. (…)

As can be seen, the demands and expectations of consumers in this regard have played a vital role in the import and expansion process of SMs. Some participants stated that the developments in Türkiye have accelerated this process. For example, according to P20, SM investments have increased rapidly with the rise of the construction sector in Türkiye. According to P17, the differentiation and diversification of human needs and improvements in income levels paved the way for this as well. In addition (P3), the inability to produce enough places for street retailing because of the increased production of goods and services has also increased the interest in SMs.

P3 drew attention to investors and retailers:

Investors were also influential in this regard. (…) Based on their experiences abroad, when they returned to the country, they said, "Oh, why don't we do this? We can do it." (…) Brands also encourage this. Our textile manufacturers encouraged investors who could build these malls. They said, "We produce the merch; why don't you build an SM? There are such examples from around the world. Build the malls, and we will be in them." These are mostly the things that have come out of these conversations.

P22 highlighted investors' role in the popularisation and spread of the malls:

(...) If you have a land, research is done about it. What is this? They call it the "best use study". "How is this land best used?" When we look at that type of research, the sector in which the money you invested returned the fastest was the SM sector for a while. (...) The first 20-30 SMs that opened for the first time and made huge profits made good money, arousing everyone's appetite, especially the investors. And this was how SMs began to increase. (...)

Another remarkable point is the participants' statements on branding. Most of the participants stated that many businesses have been able to increase their number of stores by operating within an SM, and over time, they have become a brand and gained a corporate identity.

Emphasising the influence of many other actors and explaining SMs with the metaphor of a "chimneyless factory", P16 expressed his views on the issue as follows:

The state also enjoyed regular tax collection thanks to SMs and organised retail. In other words, SMs prevented irregular tax collection and off-the-record businesses. Because the stores and stands in the SM must go to the municipalities and get a business license, it helped both our state and local administrators (...). This is such a giant money-making machine that investors and retailers make money. Those who work in it make money. The city council make money. Our government collects taxes and makes money. In other words, SMs are factories without smokestacks (...)

5.2.2. The Transfer Process of the SM Idea

The first SMs in the modern sense, built in the USA in the 1950s, appeared in Türkiye towards the end of the 1980s. With the transition to a free market economy in Türkiye in the 1980s, investments increased, and obstacles to trade began to be removed. The findings indicate that, in this process, the experiences of many Turkish investors during their visits abroad played an important role in establishing the first SMs and that examples from abroad inspired the first SMs in Türkiye. P22 makes the following comment on this subject:

The first SMs built-in Türkiye started with examples from abroad. (...)

P2 made a comment supporting P22's statement:

Our architects, who generally do construction work... Let me put it this way: our contractors or the people who attempt to build an SM generally take more examples from abroad than from the domestic market; I can say this. (...)

Now let us look at the establishment story of Galleria Mall, the first mall opened in Türkiye:

In his autobiography titled "I Did Not Have Time to Seek Luck" (Bayraktar, 2004: 141-142), Hüseyin BAYRAKTAR, one of the founding partners of Galleria Mall, Türkiye's first mall, states that he began to look for new investment opportunities due to the favourable investment environment at the time and says that he made long-term plans on the empty land on the Ataköy coast, where Galleria Mall was to be built years later.

> *The ANAP (Anavatan Partisi / Motherland Party) government, headed by Prime Minister Özal, prioritised economic issues for the country's development. The economic indicators, which had been at a standstill for years, started to improve suddenly. Employment, production, and exports reached a promising level. Encouraged by this environment, I began searching for new investment options. (...)*

Hüseyin BAYRAKTAR reports the process leading to the establishment of Galleria Mall as follows (Bayraktar, 2004: 144-150):

> *During my travels to America in 1975, I saw the big SMs in this country and wondered whether I could transport them to my country. While visiting Summit Mall in Akron-Ohio in 1975, the idea of Galleria began to take shape firmly in my mind. I wanted to implement similar projects in Türkiye because those big SMs were civilisation projects. We could use that, too. It was not a copy, either. It transferred a universal project, technology, and architecture to our country. (...) After finding the architect and forming the team, we went to the USA, examined the projects implemented there (...) and returned to Istanbul excitedly. (...)*

To the question, "Was there any inspiration from examples in other countries in the architectural design or operational activities of the first SMs opened in Türkiye?" P23 responded as follows:

> *(...) They always inspired us. I can give this example: Although the architect of the Galleria was a Turkish man named Hayati Tabanlıoğlu, its investor was Hüseyin Bayraktar. At that time, they founded Lassa together with Sakıp Sabancı. Before establishing Lassa, they researched the chemical industry in the USA. When they go there, they want to bring the mall here because Dallas Galleria inspires them. Akmerkez's architects were American, however. But we also had a local Turkish architect. Fatin URAN. However, they were inspired by an American architect working at the Development Design Group (DDG) in Baltimore. (...)*

Mehmet BAYRAKTAR states in an interview that he was inspired by many places and received consultancy in the establishment of Galleria Mall. (AYD, 2019: 184);

> *On the day the Galleria project was opened, there were no supply opportunities in Türkiye, especially human resources, to make it work with all*

its parts. Inspired by the security guards wearing cowboy hats and sheriff's outfits at the malls in Texas, we dressed our specially trained security staff the same way. Since we had to solve all the business problems ourselves, we received "know-how" from abroad (on many issues). (…)

As can be seen, Turkish investors and state officials played an active role in opening SMs in Türkiye.

In his memoir (Bayraktar, 2004: 179), Hüseyin BAYRAKTAR states that sometime after the opening of Galleria, other partners started a disagreement with an excuse, and he was forced to sell his shares. That is why he founded the Carousel Mall, one of the very first malls in Türkiye.

He stated his idea of establishing the first outlet-style SM in Türkiye as follows (Bayraktar, 2004: 174-175):

(…) I wanted this investment to be "original", like my other investments. In other words, a new one would be added to Türkiye's firsts. I had an "outlet" in my portfolio. (…) We brought an "outlet" project from the USA. (…)

According to some participants, SMs have evolved after they were established in Türkiye, and most SMs have taken the form of activity centres and shopping places. The following is the comment made by P21 on this subject:

(…) Now, as Türkiye, we brought SMs from the world. We brought its basics. After we brought its basics, we shaped it according to the Turkish style. How did we shape it? We have shaped them as Life and Entertainment Centres.

After the establishment of the first SMs in Türkiye by domestic investors, international management/consulting companies also played an important role. These companies brought important information about SMs from abroad to the country and profoundly contributed to the sector's development. For example, P14 drew attention to foreign investment/consulting companies and stated that they transferred important knowledge from Europe to Türkiye.

Another critical issue is how the definition of the *mall* is created. The statements of some of the leading names of the sector in this regard are as follows:

We contributed to the clarification of the mall in the legal definition in the most recent law during the work carried out within the Ministry of Commerce (…) (P23)
We gave the legal definition to the state. We had an association called AMPD (Shopping Centres and Retailers Association). (…) The International Council of Shopping Centres, called ICSC in America, has certain criteria regarding the definition of SMs. We, as AMPD, translated these criteria completely into

Turkish from there and considered the standards in Türkiye. When this law was first enacted, they asked our association. We shared our internal work with the Ministry of Commerce, which was approved in a certain way. (…) (P22)

When asked whether the ICSC definition of the *mall* was taken directly, P22 responded:

There were no significant changes in the translation. But of course, if you do a one-on-one Google translate, it sounds ridiculous. Let us say it was translated according to the retail language in Türkiye.

It should be emphasised that although examples are taken on many subjects, this does not mean exact copying in every aspect.

5.2.3. How Türkiye Differs

Although some interview participants stated that SMs in Türkiye differ in various aspects, such as sociability, gastronomy, and security, most participants noted that the SMs operating in Türkiye maintain the global SM structure and standards. Below are some comments from the participants:

(…) We have more indoor parking garages. Of course, this is all about land costs. There is a lot of land in America, but our country's land plots are small. Therefore, building an indoor parking lot is necessary for big projects on those small plots. There are places of worship in our SMs. (…) You know, the prayer rooms are one of the things we have added. (thinking) Frankly, I do not think we have added much. Tastes related to gastronomy differ in Türkiye. There are doner (shawarma) shops and lokma makers inside. But have we changed anything structurally? No, they are all the same. (P1)

(…) I am someone who cares about differentiation (…). But (…) we offer similar experiences at the mall in Malaysia. (For example) Our working hours may change due to our cultural texture. It is just that the applications are changing, but I do not think the content has changed much. (For example) We make movies, and producers in Germany also make movies. We are both filmmakers. We both use movie theatres. In my movie, the landlord is mentioned. His movie is about a chemist's new experiment with the girl in the lab. But he is making a movie, and I am making a movie. (P20)

P10 stated that SMs in Türkiye, unlike the examples in other countries, are located more in city centres and have become an important part of life.

Stating that SMs in Türkiye have stricter security (X-ray devices at the entrance, detectors, etc.), P7 attributed this to the geopolitical position of Türkiye.

The points made by P3 on differentiation are also remarkable. According to P3, SMs established in European city centres are generally built on traditional shopping spaces where people gather. The aim is to "manage the existing crowd, that is, to benefit from the existing crowd". However, "These crowds, which are not common in Europe, are formed more and more easily in Türkiye." Also, "Türkiye stands out among the other nations in crisis management due to the many crises it has experienced."

Some other differences of Türkiye pointed at by the participants are as follows:

While there are generally no food markets, supermarkets, or hypermarkets in the American type of SMs, we built SMs where food and catering are strongly emphasised. (...) Also, we can observe that places with coffee shops and tea houses are adapted to our SMs because past inns, like the courtyard in the inns, influenced them. (...) (P23)
(...) They have their separate movie theatres abroad and do not have to be in a mall; there are cinemas in almost every SM in Türkiye. (P3)
For example, there is an obligation to give 1% of the SM (gross leasable area) to handicrafts on the verge of disappearing professionally. (...) It also exists as a law. (...) (P12)
Even though there is a shopping centre culture in the SMs in our country, I can say that we still maintain an artisan culture. I can say that this artisan culture in Europe is a little different. (P19)

5.2.4. SM Definition and Classification from Managers' Perspective

This section discusses how SMs are defined and classified according to the participants' perspectives.

5.2.4.1. Definitions of the Mall

In the interviews, the participants made different definitions of SMs. Let us have a look at some of these definitions:

SMs are multiple building systems under a certain roof and a certain management. (...) (P5)
SMs are the peak of the retail industry. (...) (P7)
(They are the places) where supply and demand are brought together. (...) (P13)

P23 defines the SM system as "municipalism by the private sector". SMs are also defined with the metaphors of "town" or "trade ship" (P2, P3).

All 23 participants defined SMs from different perspectives. However, 3 of the 23 participants stated that although they made a specific definition of SMs, it would not be

possible to have a standard definition that could represent all SMs in the World, considering the great diversity.

Table 2 shows the mall characteristics of the participants' attention when defining SMs.

Table: 2
Contents in SM Definitions

	Shopping Area (Product/service variety, "brand mix", etc.)	Socialising Area	Area with Certain Architectural Features (Structural integrity, m^2, etc.)	Management Area (Rules, not selling stores, etc.)	Retail Area / Trade Centre	Comfortable Space (Security, cleaning, air conditioning, etc.)
P1	√		√	√		√
P2		√	√			
P3	√	√	√	√	√	
P4	√	√	√		√	
P5	√		√	√		
P6	√	√	√			√
P7	√				√	√
P8	√	√				
P9	√	√	√	√		√
P10	√		√			
P11			√			
P12	√	√				
P13	√	√	√	√	√	
P14	√	√		√		
P15	√	√				
P16	√	√				
P17	√	√				
P18	√	√				
P19	√			√	√	
P20	√		√	√	√	√
P21	√	√	√			
P22	√	√	√	√		√
P23	√	√	√	√	√	
Total	21	16	14	10	7	6

As can be seen in the table, the most prominent subject in the definitions is *shopping*. Sociality, architectural features, management style and features, retailing, and comfortable space elements follow Shopping.

5.2.4.2. Classification

The classifications reported by the participants show parallelism with the global mall types and characteristics. However, while shopping places with a gross leasable area of less than 5000 m2 in Türkiye are not considered SMs, P2, unlike other participants, says that shopping spaces with a gross leasable area of 1000-4000 m² are not considered SM. Still, these are classified as small shopping centres.

After the SMs were opened in Türkiye, different constructs emerged. In an interview, Avi ALKAŞ stated the following on this subject (AYD, 2019: 198):

> *Olivium, the first urban "outlet", emerged as a new concept as a mix of SM-outlet, which we can call a Turkish model hybrid. The concept of "outlet",*

which includes many SM services, has emerged. I think it also significantly impacted the urban transformation of Zeytinburnu. Afterwards, it formed the starting point of the municipality's square movement. Later, we continued this model with the Optimums (malls) of the Renaissance.

Another important finding is that the concepts of small, medium, and large-scale SMs vary from person to person based on m^2. For example, while P2 defines a shopping centre with a gross leasable area of 30 thousand m2 or more as a large-scale shopping centre, according to P6, shopping centres with a gross leasable area of up to 50 thousand m2 are small-scale shopping centres. Since SMs in Türkiye are not yet legally classified according to their size, there is no consensus among the participants. The statements of P22 indicate that a legal arrangement regarding this point may be made shortly:

(...) Now, our problem is this: standardising SMs. Just as there is a star system for hotels, we also intend to establish one for SMs. To get a certain star, a mall must raise its standards accordingly. (...)

5.2.5. Change Efforts, Factors Limiting Freedom and Differences

20 of the 21 SM managers declared that they are trying to differentiate the SM they work with from other SMs and carry out their activities in line with this purpose. The participants stated that they try to make a difference compared to other SMs with their innovations in service quality, advertising, and promotions. The findings show that many factors prevent managers from changing, which can be listed as follows:

- Expectations of Investors/Shareholders or Management/Consulting Firm Undertaking SM Management
- Retailers' (Tenants') Expectations
- Consumers' Expectations
- Stakeholders' Expectations
- Laws and Regulations
- Job Description and Authorizations
- Economic Conditions (Budget)
- Customs
- Difficulty of Architectural Changes

According to the answers given by the participants, the distinguishing features of the mall where they work from other malls are as follows:

Table: 3
Distinctive Features of SMs

P1	• Large and comprehensive theme park • Manager's academic knowledge
P2	• Large theme park • The mall has two main entrances • Valeting Service
P3	• Large theme park • Comfort • Size
P4	• There is no obvious difference
P5	• Comfort • Generally, appeal to families
P6	• Size • Aesthetic
P7	• Large theme park • Comfort • Location (By the sea)
P8	• Size (Although it's an outlet) • High power of attraction
P9	• Use of alternative energy sources (Solar energy, generating electricity from natural gas)
P10	• It is covered with glass (In this way, electricity can be saved)
P11	• Having a retractable roof
P12	• Investors from that region
P13	• Bitcoin ATM (*Automatic teller machine*)
P14	• Consisting of streets • Spaciousness • Having a nostalgic tram inside
P15	• Being a student dormitory on one side
P16	• Presence of restaurants that are independent of the main mass of the SM but adjacent to the SM • The mall has a tower
P17	• Spaciousness • Having indoor and outdoor parking
P18	• Good location • The inside of the SM receives enough daylight (In this way, electricity can be saved)
P19	• Management concept (Being sincere to customers like a tradesman)
P20	• The mall has stores in both indoor and outdoor areas • Originality of architecture • Large area of activity
P21	• Flexibility in some rules • Strong communication with store managers

Some significant data were also obtained on translating the SM concept at the micro level in the eyes of SM managers. The results show that the participants' philosophy, beliefs, and moral values directly impact many decisions and activities.

P5's statements on this issue are noteworthy:

For example, a girl and a boy cannot kiss in my SM. I will get them out of the mall right away. Someone else may overlook it. Children come to our mall but cannot run around in the halls because security prevents them. Why? Let us say an older person is coming from the opposite side. In front of them, the child comes running around. What will he do? (…)

Another participant (P17) highlighted public health and social projects:

(…) I always attach importance to public health. People can also learn something when they come here. I try to show that it is not just a place for shopping. My management approach has always been this way. (…) I do not

know... Measures to be taken against cigarettes, cancer, violence against women... I care about social responsibility projects. (...)

P18, on the other hand, explained his sensitivity to women's rights through the activities she held on 8 March Women's Day.

You know, on March 8, on International Women's Day, pictures of women who have been subjected to violence are displayed, and pictures of helpless women are exhibited. (...) For example, we exhibit the paintings of women who add value to the economy instead of women subjected to violence. (...)

5.3. Factors Impact the Diffusion or Translation of the Malls

The participants were asked about standardisation and differentiation to determine which diffusion or translation processes dominate SMs in Türkiye. 18 of 23 participants stated that imitation and standardisation among SMs predominate, and five noted that change, that is, differentiation, is dominant in the malls. Another finding is that imitation and standardisation among SMs occur similarly. According to the participants, SMs are inspired by each other in many subjects, from architecture to interior decoration, from event organisations to campaigns, and sometimes they even try to copy them. Here are a few examples from the data related to this subject:

(...) In real terms, looking at a model, they say: "Oh, that model is gorgeous; let's make the same model." This model is where I work now. They tried to copy Forum Bornova directly for the place where I work. They tried to copy Forum Bornova SM in Izmir (when building my workplace). (P1)
(...) Of course, different places are also looked at in SM architecture. For example, ours was likened to Kayseri Park SM. In terms of management, other SMs were examined, and some examples were taken. (...) So, it would be best if you considered these examples. (P12)
(...) The SM I am at is an outlet made by taking an example from another SM. (...) (P13)

Some participants (P10, P16, P20, P22) discussed the topic of imitation/inspiration by saying, "You do not need to rediscover America."

Again, most of the participants stated that SMs are similar to each other in terms of management. For example, P11 said:

(...) Malls are administratively similar. All malls are managed the same way, all of them. The architecture may be different, the brand concept may be different, but the management job is the same. In other words, you are the same driver if you get into a Volkswagen today. If you get into a Peugeot, you are the same driver. In other words, there is no difference in driving or managing. (...)

In this section, the issues of imitation/standardisation and change/differentiation among SMs have been examined, and standardisation has been shown to predominate. It is time to focus on the factors that emphasise standardisation or differentiation and, thus, the diffusion or translation process, respectively.

5.3.1. Management Being the Same

SMs can be managed by the holding/group they are affiliated with or by management/consulting firms for a certain fee. However, there are also SMs owned and operated by some management/consulting firms. The results show that SMs affiliated with the same group, same company, or duplicate/management consultancy firm have relatively similar structures and management styles. This indicates that the concept of diffusion is stronger among these SMs. Because a particular concept is created from the same source, it is also applied in other SMs connected to them. Let us take a look at some examples given by the participants:

> *(…) Here is a group called Fashion Design Outlet. They have SMs in different countries; they are all the same in Europe. (…) (P20)*
> *(…) SMs built and managed by the same group are similar in design. (…) (P5)*
> *(…) All of Rönesans Holding's SMs are almost similar to each other. (…) The SMs operating under the name of Optimum are especially similar to each other. Where? First Ankara Optimum... When you go to Ankara Optimum, you will see an ice rink. You will see an ice rink at Adana Optimum and Istanbul Optimum. (…) (P16)*

According to some participants (P13, P22), one of the reasons why SMs affiliated with the same management/consulting firm are similar is that these companies generally follow policies to include the same brands. Of course, this policy is because these companies want to market the places they have difficulty renting together with the places they can easily rent out. In this regard, the examples given by P13 are remarkable:

> *(…) (For example) There are 5 SMs that you provide management consultancy. 3 of the 5 SMs you provide management consultancy are in good condition. They are good places, well located, and have a good shop mix, but the two are bad. (When a company wants to rent the stores in your SM) You say, "You have to open them in 5 of the 5 SMs." "No, I want to open on only 3 of them," they say. "You cannot open only in 3 of them, sorry, if you get in all of the 5, you can," you say. (…)*

P1 explained their administrative similarity as follows:

> *(…) In terms of marketing and management, there is a centralised structure. For example, today, when the Minister of Interior comes out and orders something, all the governors do that, and we do the same thing.*

Another critical issue is the architectural designs of SMs. According to the findings, significant companies operating in SM architecture in Türkiye whose designs are similar. For example, P17 said:

> *(…) If you will build a professional, corporate, medium-sized SM, 3-5 architectural firms in Türkiye already do this job. Big-name companies. For example, A Tasarım. This architectural office drew perhaps one-third of the SMs in Türkiye. Of course, these drawings are similar to each other.*

5.3.2. Brands Being the Same (Uniformity of the Brands)

According to the findings, another issue that highlights the similarity between SMs, and therefore the concept of diffusion, is the brands operating within the SMs. Accordingly, SMs with the same brands exhibit more similar features than other SMs. In addition, the low number of brands operating in Türkiye makes SMs more similar in content. For example, according to P3, brands are very similar in every SM due to the low number of brands in Türkiye.

> *(…) In other words, there are a maximum of 200 brands in Türkiye. So, there are no 1000 brands, so 200 would be in one mall and 150 in another. The same brands go everywhere. What happens then? They have no attraction. Then, they try to attract customers with marketing, and they try different things. (…)*

P8, on the other hand, stated that some domestic investors who had recent financial difficulties went bankrupt. Therefore, the similarity between SMs was more evident with the decrease in the number of brands operating in SMs.

According to P19, brands owned by SMs of similar scale have a stronger resemblance.

According to some participants, retailers often make a joint decision to operate in a new SM. This is an important factor in the similarity and differentiation of SMs. For example, let us look at P13's comment:

> *(…) Do you know the most important rule here? The bush telegraph. Advertise as much as you want and say things like "The mall is doing great; the mall is the best." no one will believe it. But one or two companies that do a good job go to the other company and say: "Come on, let's get in there; look, it is nice there." they all get in. This is what I understand... In Türkiye, these actors are just a handful. When one of these actors gets in, all ten get in simultaneously, and these are the big players. Feasibility studies and such, they do not mean anything. (…)*

According to another participant (P2), some brands can take positions relative to each other.

(…) Kiğılı says, "I would not go anywhere but next door to LCW. That's my principle." Whichever LCW you go to in Türkiye, Kiğılı is either next to it or it is not in that mall. (…)

P5, from a macro perspective, stated that the presence of global brands in most SMs in the world creates similar structures.

(…) Carrefour is a French company. It is the same model all over the world. It varies according to their size. There are medium-large scale Carrefours. But when you go to the store blindfolded, for example, if you go to a nut aisle there, the chocolate aisle, or the meat aisle, and if you know Carrefour in Türkiye, you will find whatever you want there as if you put them there yourself. (…)

Some participants say most global brands prefer SMs that meet their standards. For example, P3 states the following:

(…) All the malls that bring national/big brands are more or less similar... You look a little alike since national brands seek those standards in you. So, a trademark - for example, a Spanish or US company or a chain brand abroad - goes to places where it can see its standards. Well, that clears up some differences. It means that the SMs where they are located are similar to each other in some standards.

5.3.3. The Flexibility of the Idea in terms of Change

Another critical issue highlighting the spread and, thus, the similarity among SMs is that SMs are established by similar structures and activities in technical and strategic issues. In other words, SMs are built according to some forms with predetermined boundaries and features. They also carry out similar practices in many fields of activity, such as marketing and leasing policies. Most participants think the most critical factor that reveals these similarities is the experience gained over time. For example, according to P13;

(…) You cannot change the structure very much in SMs. (…) So, you cannot break that bone; it has become ossified now.

However, P20 stated that open-concept SMs offer more opportunities for differentiation.

Some participants, making a general observation, pointed out some standard features of SMs and said that SMs have similar characteristics worldwide. For example (P19);

(…) The rules for SMs in many parts of the world are almost the same; I can say there is a certain standard. There are many different types of SMs, but the general standards of SMs are almost always the same.

P21 made similar statements:

(…) Looking at the world, yes, shopping is a basic form. So, what is it? Classic stores… Women's, men's, children's, sportswear, food markets, electronic markets, optics, diamonds, gold, cosmetics… These are the stores that form the basis of shopping. These are indispensable and exist in SMs all over the world. (…) Places such as cinema, children's entertainment centre, bowling… These are also some basic features. Now, what would be the next level of that? They built an SM in Dubai and a ski resort on its roof. Now, that takes it to the level of entertainment. Dubai's weather is scorching, but you can ski on the roof. (…)

Some similar structures and practices in SMs are summarised according to the data obtained from the participants.

- There should be no intermediate corridors in SMs.
- Since goods are received in SMs from the car park or the ground floor, these floors generally have higher ceilings than the middle floors. Another aim is to deliver products purchased from DIY stores to the parking lot quickly. In addition, the food court floor is built close to the roof (to be close to the chimney due to smoke) and has higher ceilings (to reduce the smell of food, noise, etc.) compared to the mezzanine floors.
- Column spaces, corridor spaces and areas reserved for stores in SMs are generally designed according to specific standards. For example, P22 stated the following:
  (…) In such an architecture, a column is placed approximately every 8 meters, with a maximum spacing of 16 meters. In such an architecture, you have to go square by square or rectangular by rectangle. If you do not do this, the view can be beautiful architecturally, but you lose a lot of space. (…)
- Legal obligations can also shape SMs. For example, shopping places with a sales area of less than 5000 m^2 do not qualify as SMs. In addition, SMs must have areas such as a baby care room, prayer room, and emergency medical intervention unit.
- There are also sections for management room, security room, cleaning room, boiler room or heating/cooling systems in SMs.
- Floor layout in SMs is created similarly in line with marketing strategies and needs. For example, important brands are placed on the top and bottom floors of the SM, and foot mobility is created for the stores on the mezzanine floors.

According to P2, this order is also related to "correct management", and the system is generally set up in this way in every SM:

What can you do to revitalise the lower floor of the SM? It would be best to put a store where people must go. What should I put there? I put Migros there; what else can I put there? Every mall is the same; many malls are 90% the same. This is not imitation. This is "correct management", that is, what it should be. "I want to be different." Do you know what will happen if I put Migros upstairs or put another store downstairs? You cannot do business. You cannot work at all. People do not go upstairs for Migros. How will those shopping carts go down? Have you ever seen a fast-food restaurant downstairs in SM and Migros upstairs? You cannot see that. This is the system. (…) This is what should happen.

- SMs are generally built with a small number of floors. Since multi-storey buildings will tire the customers, creating more than four floors is generally not preferred.
- Important "anchor stores" are located on the corners of SMs.
- Sectoral positioning is practiced in SMs. In other words, stores and areas that will support each other and create synergy are positioned to be adjacent.
- By using marketing activities, SMs generally hold events on important days such as official and religious holidays.

In addition, most participants emphasised the cultural and physical similarities of the SMs. They stated that SMs directly impact the culture of the places where they are established, significantly change social institutions, and spread the global SM culture to the local communities. For example, P17 said the following:

(…) The SM changes neither physically nor administratively. On the contrary, it makes the local people keep up with it. Take Starbucks, for example. Until Starbucks came to Türkiye, people would not go and get their coffee by getting in line. But right now, people get in line to get their coffee. Also, Starbucks is jam-packed with people. People sit, take pictures, take selfies, and post them on social media. This, for example, has changed our understanding of the cafeteria. (…) In other words, SMs make the people of the region they go to adapt to them.

And highlighted the effect of malls:

(…) Malls have influenced our culture. For example, before SMs were opened, New Year's Eve was unimportant in our Turkish culture. Whichever SM you visit today, you will see pine trees, decorations, and Santa Claus. (…)

P3 shared his observations as follows:

(…) In the past, Syrian boys were dressed badly when we first opened the malls. Well, now, ladies and girls, come here, you know. I mean, even those boys are dressing more stylishly now. They also used to have loud conversations among themselves. Now I see that they want to talk to the girls

at the mall and try to have a dialogue with them (So) they pay more attention (to how they talk). (…)

P4 made another interesting comment:

(…) No matter where this system (Mall) goes, no culture can prevent it. (…) (This is) because SMs are structures that spread their own culture. This is the same in Türkiye and in the world.

5.3.4. Status of Competition

According to most participants, one primary reason SMs resemble or differ from each other is competition. Accordingly, while the effects of diffusion are seen in market conditions where competition is weak, the concept of translation gains prominence due to the need for differentiation in the opposite case, when there is intense competition. First, let us turn our attention to the relationship some participants established on competition and differentiation:

Where there is competition, there must be differentiation. (…) (P7)
The early SMs were very similar, but because those built in recent years are more competitive, they must differentiate. (P11)
(…) Where there is no competition, the service may remain poor. But if there are two SMs in the same area, they can differentiate to attract more customers and offer more services. (…) (P9)

As can be seen, the concepts of competition and diffusion develop inversely. According to the findings, similarity and diffusion were more obvious due to the gap in the sector, especially in the first years. For example, P5 said;

Initially, the pattern is "copy-paste" or "follow the leader". So, here you copy-paste without overthinking. But after a while, you see that "copy-paste" does not work anymore due to competition. (…) You start to differentiate things. (…)

5.3.5. The Effect of the Environment

The findings show that environmental factors are some of the critical factors determining the differentiation or similarity of SMs, and therefore, which of the concepts of translation and diffusion will be emphasised. Accordingly, geographical position, climate, culture, and demographic structure play a vital role in shaping SMs, and similar types of SMs emerge among similar regions. Most participants stated that although there are remarkable similarities in general, a different typology is observed in each country. Therefore, the translation effect between countries is more pronounced and stronger due to different environments.

The participants also stated that while planning an SM, another mall can be taken as a model. However, this is only possible if they are of a similar scale and environment.

Now, let us examine the critical environmental factors in the diffusion and translation of SMs, respectively.

5.3.5.1. Demographics

The most crucial issue mentioned by many participants is that SMs are affected by the demographic structures of their region. Accordingly, SMs are designed and operate according to many different variables, such as the interests and demands of potential consumers, the region's population, and the region's income and development status. P12 pointed out that the current demand determines whether an SM will be opened in an area. In addition, P14 also stated that the products and services to be offered by SMs should be determined according to the targeted consumer group. P1 reported that they conducted extensive feasibility analyses before opening the malls. Some participants stated that despite all these feasibility analyses, they still had to make changes to address different needs and demands even after opening the mall. The most important factor at this point was consumer demand. For example, P10 stated:

> *(…) There may be some demands and changes after opening a SM. If you ask me why… Let me give a severe example. Since we opened the mall, we have added two new escalators and two elevators. Customer behaviour has driven us to do just that. Before the opening, everything seemed great, but after the opening, we noticed our shortcomings. After the opening, customer demands are different. (…)*

Another critical factor is the population of the region where the SM is planned to be opened (P13). Of course, population is not the only key factor in this matter. For example, P2 stated that SMs are to be established in regions with different levels of development, even if they are located in areas with similar populations.

5.3.5.2. Location

Some participants emphasised factors such as climate, geographical features, and social development depending on the location in planning and building SMs. For example, P2 stated:

> *(…) In 2012, Movapark Mall between Kızıltepe and Mardin was opened, an open-top SM... It is located midway from these towns, 10 km from Kızıltepe and 10 km from Mardin. A SM, open to all sides, next to the airport. It was always exposed to wind, dust, smoke, and storms. Cleaning was done during the day, but 5 minutes later, it got dirtier again. Then, the whole place was covered in layers of dust. Cleaning was done in the evening, but everyone could count your steps because of the dust outside when you walked into the*

mall the next morning. That is how much dust and dirt there was… If it rained, the mall would flood. Within a year, they had to cover the mall. A was based on a wrong model, and some wrong choices were made. So, now it is fixed. (…)

P10 stated that SMs operating in the same region and during the same period would be like each other because they are affected by legal or technological developments. Therefore, various mall structures have emerged in Türkiye depending on the developments in different periods. This makes diffusion prominent among the SMs operating in the same period. For example, P11's comment on this issue is as follows:

(…) Think of it like a generation. (For example) My father's generation, my generation, my son's generation, my grandson's generation and so on. Malls of the same generation are also similar to each other. (…) In other words, those who are close to each other in age. (…)

Another example in this regard is the legal standardisation of the definition of the SM in Türkiye. For example, most buildings defined as *SM* before the legal regulation on this subject were excluded from this status because they did not meet the specified conditions. Thus, this legal development has made SM structures in the same geography more homogeneous.

The findings also indicate that since there is a strong organisational bond between SM managers operating in the same geography, managers support each other in most of the activities they carry out. This brings similar practices in many areas, especially in operational activities. Therefore, from a macro point of view, SMs in Türkiye bear a stronger resemblance than those operating in other countries; that is, the diffusion process within Türkiye is more straightforward. A statement made by P14 on this subject is as follows:

(…) Our 450 SM managers have a WhatsApp group. In other words, when something happens in an SM in Ağrı[4], I learn about it within five minutes and take immediate action.

5.3.5.3. Culture

Another critical factor in the similarities or differences between SMs is culture. The findings show that the culture in which SMs operate affects many issues, such as determining the external architectural structures, working methods, and the products and services they offer.

P5 explained the effects of the organisational environment on the mall as follows:

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[4] *It is one of the most eastern cities in Türkiye.*

(…) For example, SMs in Istanbul only close for half a day during the holidays. But I am in Konya[5]. Eid is an important factor here. Therefore, I completely closed on the first day of Eid. I close for 1.5 days on Eid-al-Adha. If the stores in SMs open at 10:00 in the morning and close at 10:00 in the evening almost all over Türkiye, they must be open during this period and continue their activities. Well, now this is Konya. Men attend the Friday mass prayers here. What are we supposed to do? The shop owner closes his shop and goes to the mosque. Whether you like it or not, he will go there. What do you do then? You get flexible. Know what I mean? So, we closed the shop on Friday and went to the mosque. (…)

P11, on the other hand, shares a memory as follows:

(…) I worked in an SM in Iskenderun. Its owners were among the city's wealthiest and best-known businesspeople. And these guys loved sushi. They said, "There will be sushi in my mall, too". So, we opened a sushi restaurant. But of course, it failed because the locals in Iskenderun did not care about such a taste. They had never eaten anything like that. (Sushi) is served in Istanbul and Ankara; it is available in metropolitan cities. (…)

5.3.6. Having the Know-How

The findings show that the actors' knowledge level is important in the SM dissemination or translation processes. It was observed that translation processes were dominant in cases where the level of knowledge was high, and in cases where it was low, the diffusion processes were dominant. For example, most participants said that the SMs established in the first years were more similar because they did not have profound know-how, and they quickly put ready-made SMs into practice. P20 stated that;

The early SMs were more similar. (…) Because it had not been tried before and was not widely known, it had to be done in the most practical and fastest way. Things started to change after that; now we have the data. (…) We did not know about them before. In other words, we were trying to build 50 thousand square meters of SMs everywhere. Or we were trying to build 20 thousand square meters of SMs everywhere because we did not know any better. We thought that the mall should be like this.

According to some participants, many SMs were opened quickly from the beginning of the 2000s until 2015 due to the favourable investment environment. The haste and insufficient knowledge of most investors to spread an SM quickly created diffusion during this period and in the early periods. For example, P14 stated the following:

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[5]   *It is one of the most conservative cities in Türkiye.*

*In the early years, imitation was more common. In the decade between 2005
and 2015, there was a lot of imitation because there was no time to waste. So,
we looked at them, we tried to be different, we did something different to differ
from them… No. Everyone looked at each other and did so quickly. Because
they had to do it quickly, they quickly built their SMs. Later, they began to try
to separate.*

P16 added the following:

*Between 2000 and 2010, this was a trendy investment. So many SMs were
built during this period but can no longer sustain their popularity. (…)*

P17 emphasised the manager's experience in copying other SMs:

*In other words, this is a bit about the manager, the manager's self-
disclosure... For example, I used to do it in my youth, in the first years of my
management. I would visit the SMs in Istanbul, take pictures, copy-paste them,
and apply them to my SM. But these are not enough. After a point, you feel the
need to do different things. (…)*

However, some participants stated that although SMs take each other as an example,
differentiation can be seen in the details. For example, P2's statement on this issue is as
follows:

*(…) We differentiate the standard in SMs with minor retouches. People like
diversity anyway. In other words, similarities in basic issues and
differentiation in details are important.*

6. Discussion and Conclusion

Drawing on the translation concept of Scandinavian institutionalism, this study
analyses how the idea of SMs was reconstructed during the introduction of the SM in
Türkiye, the influential actors and their role in this introduction, and how SMs have
developed and evolved. In addition, the other primary foci of the study are how SMs differ
from each other over time and which factors affected this differentiation.

The findings show that SMs have similar functions to traditional shopping places but
differ significantly in many respects. However, some participants stated that traditional
shopping venues are a source of inspiration for SMs and that the idea of SMs emerged as an
improved version of the shopping venues in the past because of modernisation.

According to the answers, many actors played an active role in the importation and
rapid increase of SMs in Türkiye. However, SMs were introduced to Türkiye in response to
a social need, with population growth, consumer behaviour and needs changes, and social
developments triggering. Therefore, consumers can be seen as one of the most influential
factors in the import of SMs. Translation studies pay special attention to idea carriers such

as management consultants, publishers, gurus, and business schools in transferring ideas from one place to another and focusing on the actions of these actors. However, the findings indicate that the consumers provide a large part of the energy and motivation required by the idea carriers during the translation process of the SMs. Therefore, in the early periods, Turkish consumers acted as "idea bearers" in importing the idea of SMs.

The findings further indicate that four generations of SMs have been formed in Türkiye. In the early days, wholly closed SMs with rows of shops and low-rise SMs were built and opened, and then multi-storey SMs offering food, beverage, and cinema on the upper floors were introduced. Later, with the smoking ban in indoor areas, SMs with more open areas such as balconies and terraces, and finally, SMs integrated with the street, allowing shopping in open areas and offering more sophisticated entertainment options, have become widespread. SMs have changed and developed in many aspects over time. The participants also stated that SMs will alter many aspects.

Counter-intuitively, the findings point out that during the initial placement of the SM idea in Türkiye, the idea was primarily limited to management and structure, and there were no significant differences in the fundamentals. This can be explained through the diffusion of institutional theory or the concept of duplication put forward by the translation perspective of Scandinavian institutionalism. Thus, "If an application's components are technical and articulated, copying is foreseeable because the application is less transformable (Wæraas & Sataøen, 2014: 245)." "Diffusion can be considered as a more appropriate form of interpretation in cases where a certain policy is dominant, and the disseminated ideas are technological innovations with relatively well-defined uses (Johnson & Hagström, 2005: 384)." As a result of these ideas, examples from abroad were taken as a model in the early periods, and the structure was implemented without changing it. It can be said that this resulted from many factors, such as the lack of know-how in Türkiye in the early periods and the lack of trained staff in this field, as many of the participants mentioned. In addition, the strong similarity, that is, the isomorphism, that emerged between the organisations, especially in the early periods, occurred due to a tendency and will to preserve an existing successful structure or maintain legitimacy (Boons & Strannegård, 2000: 15). The results do not fully support the notion that every translation is a unique and reconstructive process (Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996). The idea of reconstructing and recreating every idea in the transmission process will occur in every idea without exception, which may be seen as an overly assertive statement. If such recreation were the case, many different SM structures or management styles would have emerged in Türkiye. However, it is remarkable that SMs in Türkiye have not undergone a significant change in ideas and structure in more than 30 years. Indeed, this does not mean that the idea of an SM has not been translated in any way. For example, while there are almost no food markets, places of worship or security points at the entrance the SMs in the USA, which is taken as a model, the fact that these elements are present in most shopping centres in Türkiye, including the first SMs, is an indicator of this. In addition, while the effect of diffusion was great early on, some differentiations were observed in the following years due to the organisational environment. For example, since SMs are located in city centres, and some are built with buildings such as residences, hotels,

and entertainment centres, they have been transformed and become widespread as socialisation and activity centres besides shopping. The concepts of diffusion process and isomorphism fall short of explaining the hybrid mall concept of the Turkish model, which is designed as a different SM version as a combination of SM and outlet. The differences among the managers' perspectives are also striking. For example, while some participants think that SMs should have a mission in the educational growth of society, some managers perceive the SM as a non-governmental organisation that takes the initiative in many areas, such as women's rights, in addition to being a shopping and socialising place. It was also observed that some managers act in line with their own beliefs, values and philosophical stances in the decision-making processes regarding the SM rules. Another differentiation, for instance, is related to the definition and classifications of SMs expressed by the managers. Despite many similar statements, viewed at the micro level, 23 different definitions and classifications were made. Despite all these, it is possible to say that there has not been a significant change in the idea and structure of SMs in Türkiye, based on the findings. For example, most of the participants mention many standard practices and a ready-made SM format among the SMs in the world. In addition, the existence of a common global SM culture and the direct impact of this on the local cultures and social organisations of various countries was often mentioned. Of course, SMs are affected by the elements of the organisational environment in many respects.

Although almost all the participants expressed their interest in change, this does not seem possible due to the predominance of standardisation. The participants generally stated that they try to make a difference compared to other SMs with their innovations in service quality, advertising, and campaigns.

SM classifications and definitions are similar in most countries in the world. For example, in Türkiye, during the creation of the legal definition of the mall, the ICSS definition of an SM was taken as an example. Of course, it is worth remembering that a richer and more developed SM structure is formed in some economically developed countries such as Dubai or Singapore.

One of the important findings is related to the evolution of SMs over time. The concept of translation generally focuses on the interpersonal transfer of ideas and neglects the concept of time and social structure. For instance, the change in the concept of SM, which has shifted from simply shopping to socialising and entertainment, was not abrupt, that is, with a momentary transfer between people. The development and changes of shopping places over time can be an example. Another example is the perception and purpose of using the "phone" object between the current society and the society 30-40 years ago, although the basic functions remain similar. As seen in these examples, a cumulative and collective translation process rather than one-to-one is also possible. In other words, besides being an event that takes place between people in the short term, translation can also be a phenomenon between societies living in the same region but in different historical periods and spreads over time. In this process, which we can call "Collective Translation", ideas can be transferred not only from person to person but also from one group to another

or from one generation to another over time. Intergenerational differences, such as perception, purpose, and value, can also be mentioned because society's perception, goals, and ideas naturally change over time. Therefore, a social translation process between two social consciousnesses is also possible. In addition, ideas can be perceived differently at different times, not only in passing from person to person but also in one's inner world. What a person understands from the SM today and what s/he perceives tomorrow or 20-30 years later may be different. When the person's perceptions, mindset and ideas change, the person can go through other translation processes. Here, we can think of someone who, in his/her youth, had ideologies close to socialism, but over the years, s/he became more sympathetic to capitalist ideas. The SM perception of this individual in his/her youth will not be the same as the SM perception formed in another period of his/her life. Further, any business manager's ideas about a management practice (total quality management [TQM], management by objectives [MBO], etc.) may change over time. Therefore, it is possible to logically infer that individuals can go through a mental translation process in the said process. Considering all these, the translation process is not only interpersonal, but the scope of the "translation" concept should be expanded to include

- Individual Translation,
- Interpersonal Translation, and
- Social Translation (Collective Translation)

and the concept of "translation" needs to be expanded to include these three dimensions.

Another important finding is that ideas are not exposed to the effects of mere diffusion or translation during their journey. It was also found that SM diffusion or translation has occasionally emerged in Türkiye. In the first years and the period from the beginning of the 2000s to 2015, the effects of the spread can be observed more strongly. The years when SMs were first built - from the late 1980s to the early 1990s - was when Türkiye opened up internationally with the transition to the free market economy, the economic dynamism was powerful, and the migration from the village to the city was intense. Likewise, from the first half of the 2000s to 2015, the economy increased, a very convenient investment environment was created, and there were years when the migration from the village to the city continued, although not as much as in the first periods. The rapid increase in SMs in these periods and the strong diffusion mechanisms can be explained by such reasons. Apart from these periods, the concept of translation is more prominent with differentiation. For example, the implementation of the smoking ban in indoor areas enabled the creation of terrace areas in SMs, and the expansion of these areas over time and their opening to different uses contributed to the translation process, which resulted in SMs' perception as a socialising place as well as a shopping place. However, it can be concluded that, theoretically, there is a translation in every diffusion process and a diffusion in every translation process. Of course, one of the processes of translation and dissemination may predominate.

The only difference between institutional theory and Scandinavian institutionalists is their distance from the facts, that is, their point of view. Scandinavian institutionalists can be described as institutional theorists with a magnifying glass in their hands. According to an institutional theorist, for example, a standard mall and an outlet-style mall -or any other type - can be viewed as the same structures from a structural and managerial perspective. While a Scandinavian institutionalist finds many micro-level differences between the two structures, s/he can view the outlet model as a translated form of the SM. Thus, the problem is the rate of change in transferring ideas. In other words, it is unclear how much a change in an established idea can qualify as diffusion or translation. When it would be almost impossible to make a precise judgment and measure the change, talking about relativity may not be too trivial because the concepts of diffusion and translation cannot be separated with clear boundaries. Therefore, "There cannot be only one truth in the social sciences." These two phenomena should not be considered independent. They should be seen as complementary concepts because such differences of opinion are directly related to how the world is viewed and how events or phenomena are perceived. When we look at the literature in the field, we observe that the diffusion and translation studies are generally carried out separately. Commenting on an issue based only on one point of view may result in an incomplete assessment because, although both a micro and a macro perspective have strengths, both have some weak and ambiguous aspects. For example, the translation approach is a perspective that makes it difficult to analyse. It can push the person into a relative process where answers can never be given by drowning them in detail and taking them out of the context of the researched subject. On the other hand, the concept of diffusion cannot fully explain the changes during the transfer of abstract or embodied ideas from one place to another. It usually focuses on the big picture and often misses the details. Therefore, approaching the events only from a macro perspective often renders the analysis inadequate.

According to most participants, SMs are inspired by each other in many aspects, from architecture to interior decoration, from event organisations to campaigns, and sometimes they even try to copy each other. Therefore, the findings show that diffusion, rather than translation, plays a strong role in SMs in Türkiye. It was also observed that multiple variables shape the prominence of the dissemination or translation processes in SMs. In other words, which similarities and differences will be more dominant may vary depending on these variables. The findings indicate that the standardisation of many administrative and technical features of the SM structure causes similarity between SMs, especially among homogeneous ones. In addition, the fact that certain groups and companies are influential in the shopping centre sector, the number of brands operating within the shopping centre is not enough, and the fact that SMs operate in a similar environment makes diffusion more powerful. Indeed, the legal and social developments in the organisational environment motivate differentiation and, thus, translation after a while. Finally, it was observed that diffusion was dominant in periods when there was not enough knowledge about SMs. Considering the reasons that

push malls towards similarity or difference, the diffusion-translation relationship is explained in Figure 3[6].

Figure: 3
Diffusion and Translation Matrix
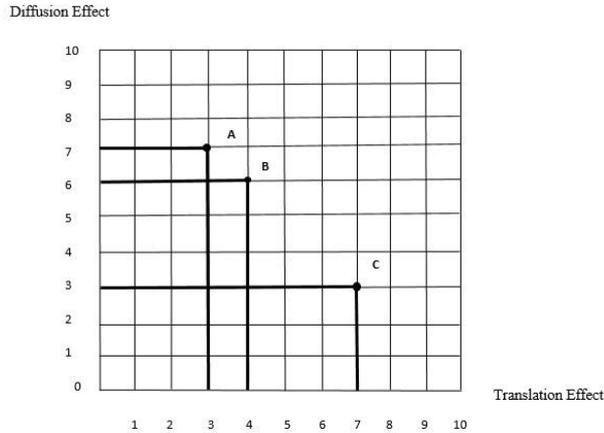
To create and interpret the matrix, we must use the "Ceteris Paribus", a Latin-based expression used in many disciplines, especially economics. Accordingly, while analysing the change in a subject, all other mentioned subjects are accepted as fixed, that is, unchangeable, and an independent evaluation is made for each subject, albeit in theory. Let us consider the letters A, B and C as different SMs. The matrix shows that diffusion up to the 7th degree and translation up to the 3rd degree are effective at point A. At point B, diffusion up to the 6th degree and translation up to the 4th degree are effective. Lastly, diffusion up to the 3rd degree and translation up to the 7th degree is effective at point C. Therefore, considering the Ceteris Paribus assumption, compared to the SMs at point C, the SMs at points A and B;

- operate in a similar environment (geographical situation, climate, culture, demographic structure, etc.), including the competitive environment,
- homogeneous structures and have approximately similar scales,
- contain similar brands,
- are affiliated with the same company or management/consulting firm or

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6   *As mentioned, it is not easy to explain numerically the diffusion and translation rate that takes place during the journey of any idea. This situation varies from person to person and contains uncertainties about what measurement technique should be used. The matrix was created to describe the relationship between diffusion and translation and the positions of the structures affected by this process against each other.*

- have a strong organisational area, thus a strong communication and similar level of knowledge.

Therefore, the opposite of these situations is valid between A and C or B and C malls.

In addition, if the diffusion or translation degrees for any of the A, B or C malls in the matrix are zero, that is, at (x, 0) or (0, y) points, or if any of these malls (0, 0) or (10, 10) points are theoretically possible, but in practice it is almost impossible.

7. Limitations

The first limitation of the study is the language. The resources about the study that were accessed are in Turkish and English. Unfortunately, studies on this subject in languages other than Turkish and English could not be accessed.

The second limitation concerns the statements of the participants. Although most of the issues raised have been confirmed by research, all of the things reported by the participants must be accepted as true by the researcher.

Another limitation is the emergence of the pandemic at the time of the research. For example, travel restrictions prevented visiting SM management and conducting more detailed investigations on-site.

The final limitation is about the interviewees. Interviews were held with senior managers. Other stakeholders, such as consumers, employees operating at lower levels, and NGO members, could not be included.

8. Suggestions for Further Research

Postgraduate and academic studies in Scandinavian Institutionalism are relatively limited. Further research can be conducted on this subject in the future. For example, the translation processes of different managerial ideas or organisational forms can be examined. The concept of translation can be tested in different ways by running national or international comparative analyses. Or, as was carried out in this study, studies in which translation and diffusion issues on a management idea or an organisational form can be conducted. In addition, regional translation or dissemination studies can be carried out by making spatial limitations. Finally, more in-depth studies can be performed by including other stakeholders operating in the sector.

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