

LIFELONG LEARNING POLICY MAKING PROCESS IN TURKEY:
THE LIFELONG LEARNING COORDINATION LAW

ONUR SEÇKİN

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

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THE LIFELONG LEARNING COORDINATION LAW

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Onur Seçkin

Boğaziçi University

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Onur Seçkin, certify that

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ABSTRACT

Lifelong Learning Policy Making Process in Turkey: The Lifelong Learning Coordination Law

The aim of this study is to explore lifelong learning (LLL) policy making process in Turkey under the global effect in the case of the Lifelong Learning Coordination Law (HBÖKK). Findings emerged as a result of a content analysis of in-depth elite interviews with major policy makers in the HBÖKK making process with the assistance of Qualitative and Mixed Methods Data Analyses Software, MAXQDA.

The findings indicate that bringing the LLL concept and the HBÖKK into the policy agenda in Turkey is mostly related to global changes and the accession process of Turkey to the European Union. Maintaining the coordination of LLL activities, increasing participation rate in LLL were the other reasons for bringing the HBÖKK into the policy agenda of Turkey.

The findings showed that having operations and activities in the field of LLL, particularly on vocational education and training, was the main criteria for the selection of stakeholders in the HBÖKK making process. The stakeholders mostly take the LLL issue into hand in terms of vocational education and training. There were conflicts in the process among the stakeholders especially related to the issue of financing of LLL and changing authorities that will emerge as a result of the HBÖKK. There were some problems related to the participative dimension of the policy making process. Besides, the process was affected negatively due to administrative changes.

ÖZET

Türkiye’de Hayat Boyu Öğrenme Politikalarının Geliştirilmesi:

Hayat Boyu Öğrenme Koordinasyon Kanunu

Bu araştırmanın amacı, küresel etkiler altında Türkiye’de hayat boyu öğrenme (HBÖ) politikalarının geliştirilmesi süreçlerini, Hayat Boyu Öğrenme Koordinasyon Kanunu (HBÖKK) örneği üzerinden araştırmaktır. Araştırmanın bulguları HBÖKK sürecine dahil olan politika yapıcılar ile yapılan elit görüşmelerin Nitel Veri Analizi yazılımı MAXQDA yardımıyla içerik analizi sonucunda ortaya çıkarılmıştır.

Araştırma bulguları, Türkiye’de HBÖ kavramının ve HBÖKK’nın gündeme gelmesinin küresel değişimlerle ve Türkiye’nin Avrupa Birliği’ne giriş süreciyle ilişkili olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. HBÖ etkinliklerinin koordinasyonun sağlanması ve HBÖ’ye katılım oranlarının artırılması, HBÖKK’nın Türkiye’nin politika gündemine getiren diğer önemli sebepler olduğu görülmektedir.

HBÖKK geliştirme sürecinde, paydaş kurumlar esas olarak, HBÖ alanında ve bu alanda da özellikle mesleki eğitim alanında faaliyet yürütme kriteri üzerinden seçilmiştir. Süreçte paydaş kurumların HBÖ’yü bir kavram olarak özellikle mesleki eğitim bağlamında ele aldıkları görülmektedir. Kanun oluşturma sürecinde özellikle HBÖ’nün finansmanı ve kanunla kurumların yetkilerinde yapılması planlanan değişiklikler başlıklarında paydaş kurumların arasında çeşitli çatışmaların olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır. Sürecin katılımcılık boyutuna yönelik çeşitli sorunlar olduğu görülmektedir. Ayrıca, kanunun geliştirilmesi sürecinde yaşanan yönetim değişikliklerinin süreci olumsuz yönde etkilediği görülmektedir.

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME OF AUTHOR: Onur Seçkin
PLACE OF BIRTH: Niksar, Tokat
DATE OF BIRTH: 01 January 1981

DEGREES AWARDED

PhD in Educational Sciences, 2015, Boğaziçi University

MA in Educational Sciences, 2008, Boğaziçi University

Bachelor Degree, 2005, Secondary School Science and Mathematics Education Department, Integrated B.S. and M.S. Program in Teaching Mathematics, Boğaziçi University

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST

Adult education, informal learning, globalization and politics of education, lifelong learning policies, qualitative research and qualitative analysis methods.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Research Assistant, Department of Educational Sciences, Boğaziçi University, 2006-2014

GRANTS

Boğaziçi University Financial Coordination Office Scientific Research Fund Ph.D. thesis support, 2012- 2015, Boğaziçi University.

Boğaziçi University Foundation (BÜVAK) Conference support, 2012, Boğaziçi University.

Book chapter fund award by Boğaziçi University Foundation (BÜVAK). 2012, Boğaziçi University.

Support for Graduate School in Lifelong Learning Summer School in Roskilde/Denmark Summer School Support, 2010, The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK).

Ph.D. student bursary for participation in ESREA (European Society for Research on the Education of Adults) Conference in Wroclaw, Poland, 2008, ESREA.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

Book Chapters

Göktürk, G. Güvercin, G. and Seçkin, O. (2012). The New Stream of Trade Unionism: The Case of Eğitim-Bir-Sen in Turkey. In *Neoliberal Transformation of Education in Turkey*, K. İnal & G.Akkaymak (eds.). Palgrave Macmillan, 109-124.

Conference Proceedings

Ünlühisarcıklı, O., Güvercin, G., Seçkin, O. Sabırlı, I. (2013 Volume 2 and 2011 Volume 1) (Prepared proceedings book to print). Positioning and conceptualizing adult education and learning within local development. 2011 Seminar of ESREA Network Between Global and Local - Adult Learning and Development Conference Proceedings Book. Volume II. 28-30 April 2011. European Society for Research on the Education of Adults (ESREA), İstanbul: Boğaziçi University Press.

Seçkin, O. (2009). *Social movements and adult learning: A story of the women in the environmental social movement*. In Evans, R. (ed.), Local development, community and adult learning- learning landscapes between the mainstream and the margins, 315-327, III International Seminar Esrea Network Between Global and Local - Adult Learning and Development Conference Proceedings, 28-30 May 2009, European Society for Research on the Education of Adults (ESREA), University of Magdeburg, Magdeburg.

Seçkin, O. (2008). Learning in Social Movement: The case of Kaz Mountains environmental social action in Turkey. In Fragoso, A., Kurantowicz, E., Lucio-Villegas, E. (eds.) Local in Global: Adult Learning And Community Development. European Research Conference Proceedings, 259-274, 29 - 31 May 2008, European Society for Research on the Education of Adults (ESREA), Wrocław, Poland.

Seçkin, O. ve Çankaya, D. (2004). Demokratik Değerlerin Benimsenmesi Açısından Öğretmen ve Öğretmen Adaylarının Görüş ve Tutumları. In International Symposium on Democracy Education Proceedings, 461-466. Çanakkale: Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Master's Thesis

Seçkin, O. (2008). *Learning in the Kaz Mountains Environmental Social Movement*, Unpublished M.A. thesis, İstanbul: Boğaziçi University.

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ABBREVIATIONS

APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
AKP (Turkish)	Justice and Development Party
CWEC	Common World Educational Culture
DİSK	Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey
EC	European Commission
EU	European Union
GATS	The General Agreement on Trade in Services
GATT	The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GSAE	Globally Structured Agenda for Education
Hak-İş	Confederation of Turkish Real Trade Unions
HBÖGM (Turkish)	Directorate General for Lifelong Learning
HBÖGP (Turkish)	The Promotion of Lifelong Learning in Turkey Project I
HBÖKK (Turkish)	Lifelong Learning Coordination Law
IMF	International Monetary Fund
İŞKUR	Public Employment Service
ILO	International Labour Organisation
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
MoNE	Ministry of National Education
MGK	The National Security Council
MYK	Vocational Qualifications Authority
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PIAAC	Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies
PISA	The Programme for International Student Assessment
PKMB (Turkish)	Projects Coordination Center
RPL	Recognition of Prior Learning
SVET	Strengthening Vocational Education and Training Project
TBMM (Turkish)	Turkish Grand National Assembly
TESK (Turkish)	Confederation of Turkish Artisans and Craftsmen
TİSK (Turkish)	Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations
TOBB (Turkish)	The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges in Turkey
TÜİK (Turkish)	Turkish Statistical Institute
Türk-İş (Turkish)	Turkish Confederation of Turkish Trades Unions
TÜSİAD (Turkish)	Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organisation
WB	World Bank
WTO	The World Trade Organization
YÖK (Turkish)	Council of Higher Education

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The concept of lifelong learning (LLL) has reemerged in recent years as one of the most popular concepts in education and has come into the policy agendas of countries all around the world.

In recent years, there has been a shift in vocabulary, where “transnational and inter-state organizations working in the field of adult education have silently dropped the term ‘adult education’ in favour of the alternative term, ‘lifelong learning’” (Milana, 2012, p.103). Hake (1999) states that Japan set the pace first with the establishment of the Promotion of LLL Law and National LLL Council in 1990 and since then, LLL appealed to a notable range of supporters in different parts of the world. According to Field (2010), the term LLL, which was in occasional use before the mid-1990s, obtained an enormous push when the European Commission declared 1996 to be the European Year of LLL. He affirms the LLL idea first came up in the Commission’s White Paper with the focus on competitiveness, employment and growth (Field, 2010).

Field (2010) asserts that international governmental bodies have played an important role in the popularization of LLL as a policy concept and the LLL concept has moved toward the center of policy discourses. Besides a wide range of national governments, Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the European Commission (EC), the United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the World Bank (WB) and the International Labour Organization (ILO) have been some of the intergovernmental policy actors that sanction LLL (Field, 2010). According to Field (2010), LLL is seen as a policy

recipe that is often shaped and dominated by globalization and competitiveness, and presents answers to a number of common economic and social challenges.

Information society and knowledge society, employability, uncertainty, competition, skills and competencies, adaptation to labor market, effectiveness and productivity are some of the key concepts that have come up together with the LLL discourse in recent years. Field (2010) states the main difference of the current debate over LLL from earlier policy attempts has been the strong economic bias on LLL. By citing Nicoll (2006), Field (2010) affirms that the abovementioned concepts can be understood as tools that are concentrating on individuals that are anticipated to take phase to pre-empt change, by making people ready for adapting to new changes through their own financial contributions.

The global era is usually referred to as the main reason behind the increasing emphasis on the importance of LLL in educational policies (Rizvi and Lingard, 2000). According to Dale and Robertson (2002) globalization is:

an extremely complex process, whose most important feature is that it operates at many different levels with a range of different effects, and a powerful and far from monolithic discourse that is employed and called on to justify or denounce a wide range of changes in contemporary societies. (p. 10)

Dale and Robertson (2002) state that globalization is not a process without a subject and is associated with three quite distinct forms of regionalization, which are the European Union (EU), the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). According to Dale (2000), profit is the basic driving force behind the whole system.

Global policies affect and reshape most of the aspects of our sociality (Rizvi and Lingard, 2000). National policy making is also one of the most debated issues in

the global era, which has been changing under global effects. Rizvi and Lingard (2010) state the emerging process of globalization has shown its effects mainly on the political and economic contexts in which public policies were developed. Accordingly, while public policies were developed just in a national setting before, now they are also placed inside the globalized system (Rizvi and Lingard, 2010). Jacobi (2009) states, “Current globalisation processes are likely to cause an enlarged scope of policy-making, a ‘rescaling’ of the political system to the global sphere” (p. 473). Accordingly, the rise of global public policy that we are witnessing today, which deeply influences national policies, has been shaped by international actors (Jacobi, 2009).

In this period, the discourse of global realities has been covered in political arena in many countries and “states’ individual responses to changing global realities centre on making themselves more competitive” (Dale, 1999, p.4). In recent years, one of the main strategies of many countries to be competitive in the world economy is valuing knowledge economy and LLL more. Rizvi and Lingard (2000) state both knowledge economy and the LLL ideas are dominantly based on the expectations of social efficiency that is viewed mainly in terms of economic efficiency.

Jacobi (2009) remarks that LLL policies on a world scale provide a clear example for the global policy field of education, since it first presents the global diffusion of this policy idea and subsequently distinguishes different actors, instruments and policies. Accordingly, despite the vast differences in their national background, around two thirds of the countries in the world have been referring to the LLL concept in their policies in recent years. Jacobi (2009) states that there are different actors in global policy and the community interested in LLL policy, and the range of these spans from various non-governmental organizations to business

associations. Accordingly, the most outstanding political advocates of these actors have been international organizations and they use several instruments to affect LLL policies in national settings, although this does not necessarily mean that every organization uses each of the instruments in the same way. Jacobi (2009) emphasizes that international organizations “can disseminate ideas, set standards, provide financial means and incentives, coordinate national policy efforts and offer technical assistance” (p. 481). While deciding on the programs and the implementation of these programs generally remains at the national level, on the other hand, “agenda, policies and partial financing is provided at international level, from international organizations, non-governmental organizations or also from the other states” (Jacobi, 2009, p. 475). Accordingly, the LLL policy field demonstrates an increasing relevancy of global policy making for explaining education policy making processes at the national level.

Dale and Robertson (2009) draw attention to three dangers that can mislead us in understanding the relationship between globalization and educational issues, which are methodological nationalism, methodological statism and methodological educationism. As mentioned by them,

the assumption/acceptance of the ‘isms’ means that the understanding of changes brought about by globalisation may be refracted through the lenses of unproblematic conceptions of nationalism, statism and educationism, even as these changes themselves bring about changes in the meaning of, or the work done by, nation states and education systems, and thereby undermine their validity. (p. 1114)

As it has been all over the world, there have been crucial changes related to LLL policies and the LLL system in Turkey recently, where the discourse of globalization is often referred to as the main reason behind the increasing importance of LLL.

There are many references to LLL in various significant policy documents and many important public LLL policy documents have been published in Turkey recently.

Development Plans are among the significant policy documents that point out the LLL issue, which are published by the Turkish Ministry of Development and the aim of these plans is to make a road map for projecting Turkish economy and policies for five years. These are the most important authentic documents that are prepared by governments and evaluate international developments and trends, current economic and social situation in the country for the related period and determine the targets economically, politically, socially and culturally for next five years. The 1st Development Plan covered the period 1963-1967 and lastly the 10th Development Plan was published in 2014 and covers the period 2014-2018.

The 9th (2007-2013) and the 10th (2014-2018) Development Plans include highlight on LLL and point out the importance of LLL for the country. The 9th Development Plan was prepared with the vision of “Turkey, a country of information society, growing in stability, sharing more equitably, globally competitive and fully completed her coherence with the European Union” (SPO, 2007, p. 11). The plan (SPO, 2007) included the “Increasing Competitiveness, Increasing Employment, Strengthening Human Development and Social Solidarity, Ensuring Regional Development, Increasing Quality and Effectiveness in Public Services” development axes and there were four paragraphs in the 9th Plan that directly refer to LLL. Two of these paragraphs were under the “Increasing Employment” development axis, “Increasing the Sensitivity of Education to Labour Demand” heading, and the others were under the “Strengthening Human Development and Social Solidarity” development axis, “Enhancing Education System” heading. In these paragraphs, the

relationship of LLL with labor market was emphasized; skills, labor productivity and employability came into prominence.

Furthermore, four main objectives in the 10th Development Plan are stated as follows: Qualified People, Strong Society; Innovative Production, Steady High Growth; Livable Places, Sustainable Environment; and Global Partnership For Development. In this currently valid plan, the heading of “Education” is included under the objective of “Qualified People, Strong Society” and there are three paragraphs in the plan that refer to LLL. As it was in the 9th Plan, transformation of education in line with the needs of the labor market to enable people to get skills and competences that they need in the labor market within the framework of LLL approach are emphasized in the 10th Plan as well. In the 10th Plan, there are primary transformation programs, which are defined as critical reform areas that will provide solutions to fundamental structural problems and contribute to the transformation period. One of these programs is named Improving Basic and Professional Skills Programme, and “developing lifelong learning programs which aims to bring basic skills” (Kalkınma Bakanlığı, 2013, p. 186) is one of the stated aims of these programs.

Besides the recent development plans that included LLL and have drawn a framework for the future of LLL in Turkey, significant and comprehensive policy papers have been published in the LLL policy field in recent years. The “Driving Force for the Success of Turkey: Lifelong Learning Policy Paper” (SVET, 2006) was published in 2006, which was the first government-supported LLL policy paper. The paper emerged especially through the works done by the experts from the EU and from Turkey in the context of the Strengthening Vocational Education and Training project (SVET) (SVET, 2006). SVET was a project that was funded by the EU with

58.2 million Euros, aiming to raise quality of vocational education and training system in Turkey and implemented in the period 2002–2007. In the preface of this paper, it is stated that the paper is about the meaning and significance of LLL for Turkey. Accordingly, the paper was drafted in the context of the SVET work plan and aimed to “assess the current role of lifelong learning in Turkey and to make recommendations for policy-makers in stakeholder organisations on how to improve lifelong learning policies” (p. 2). The paper points out the significance of competitive global society, necessity of skills and competencies for the labor market and states that “every individual needs to be able to adapt to changing life conditions, and practise continuous learning in order to improve his or her personal abilities, job-related skills and competencies” (SVET, 2006, p. 13).

After the publishing of LLL Policy Paper in 2006, the Higher Planning Council published the first Lifelong Learning Strategy Paper of Turkey in 2009 (MoNE, 2009). It is stated in this first Strategy Paper that it was prepared within the scope of the Adjustment Programme to the European Union acquis (2007-2013) in tandem with MoNE, by asking the opinions of related organizations and institutions. The Lifelong Learning Strategy Action Plan was also published as an appendix to the first Strategy Paper and sixteen priorities were defined in the action plan regarding the special requirements of Turkey and EU measures, the European Benchmark and components of the Lisbon Strategy of EU (MoNE, 2009). Nimet Çubukçu, the Minister of National Education of the period, states in the foreword of the first Strategy Paper that the changing process in living, learning and working forms around the world has been continuing to influence deeply individuals, institutions, and countries. Accordingly, people need to obtain employability qualifications and constantly improve and renew these qualifications to compete in an extremely

dynamic and changeable labor market under this change process and this process brings emergence and widespread usage of the LLL approach (MoNE, 2009). In the paper, it is stated that aim of the preparation of the paper was “to establish a lifelong learning system that can respond to the needs and expectations of the society in Turkey and to bring this system to a functional and sustainable status” (MoNE, 2009, p. 5). Accordingly, the preparation process of the paper was introduced within the scope of SVET and the paper aimed to contribute to the development of a shared LLL understanding within the society. The first Strategy Paper affirms that changes and developments in the world bring new challenges to the employment problem and the LLL approach is gaining more importance day by day in establishing economical and social policies (MoNE, 2009). In the first Strategy Paper (MoNE, 2009), “Issuing a Legal Regulation in Which Duties and Responsibilities of the Parties are Expressly Specified for the Coordination of Lifelong Learning” was the first priority of the 16 priorities, where the making process of the Lifelong Learning Coordination Law (Hayat Boyu Öğrenme Koordinasyon Kanunu- HBÖKK) started within the scope of this priority.

The second Lifelong Learning Strategy Paper (Resmi Gazete, 2014b) was published in 2014, which covers a four-year period and is currently the main political document to project LLL policies in Turkey for the following years. Similar to the first Strategy Paper, there is an action plan as an appendix in the second paper as well. It is stated in the paper that it aims to generate a more systematic structure in the LLL system in Turkey in accordance with national and international approaches as maintenance of the studies that have started with the previous strategy paper.

There are six priority areas in the second Strategy Paper, which are as follows:

Generation of LLL Culture and Awareness in the Society, Increasing LLL

Opportunities and Provision, Increasing Access to LLL, Developing a Lifelong Guidance and Counseling System, Developing the System of Evaluation of Prior Learning, Developing a LLL Monitoring and Evaluation System.

There have been many other significant steps in the field of LLL besides the publishing of these two LLL strategy papers. One of these changes in the field was the establishment of the Directorate General for Lifelong Learning (HBÖGM) in 2011. The Decree Law numbered 652 established HBÖGM instead of the Directorate General for Apprenticeship and Non-Formal Education in the MoNE. The Decree Law was about “The Organization and Duties of the Ministry of National Education” and was published with the aim “to regulate organization, duties, powers and responsibilities of Ministry of National Education” (Resmi Gazete, 2011, Article 1). Within the scope of the Decree Law, duties of the MoNE were redefined and one of the main aims of the MoNE was changed to designing education and training programs to equip students with knowledge and skills that the global competitive economic system necessitates (Resmi Gazete, 2011, Article 2). The MoNE has constituted the HBÖGM in the reorganization process and six departments have been formed under the Directorate, where the Department of Education Policy and Programs has become one of them.

The emerging changes in the LLL area are not restricted to these; there are more. In recent years, there have been large-scale and big-budget projects with the collaboration of the EU and the MoNE on the promotion of LLL in Turkey. The Promotion of Lifelong Learning in Turkey Project I (Türkiye’de Hayat Boyu Öğrenmenin Geliştirilmesi Projesi I- HBÖGP) was the first project, budgeted at 15 million Euros, which started in 2011 and finished in 2013. The aim of the project was stated as “to establish an institutional framework and capacity within lifelong

learning perspectives in line with EU practices so as to support individuals access to education for increasing employment opportunities and within a system designed to value every kind of learning” (Avrupa Birliđi Koordinasyon Dairesi Başkanlıđı, 2014a). There was another important dimension of this project, in that studies for the HBÖKK were maintained under this project. The first priority of the first LLL Strategy Document (MoNE, 2009) was “Issuing a Legal Regulation in which Duties and Responsibilities of the Parties are Expressly Specified for the Coordination of Lifelong Learning” and works for making this law were defined within the HBÖGP. Within the scope of the works that were maintained under the HBÖGP, the MoNE and different stakeholders carried out and generated a policy paper that includes suggestions related to the development and coordination of LLL in Turkey and provide basis for the draft HBÖKK. Accordingly, it is based on views of stakeholders, experiences in the EU countries and expert analysis (MoNE, 2013).

Furthermore, another project was funded by the EU and started in September 2012, namely Turkey Adult Learning Project: European Practices for Adult Learning, which was for two years and budgeted at 483,120 Euros (Türkiye Yetişkin Öğrenme Projesi, 2014). The objectives of the project were stated as the measurement of the current level of adult education in Turkey and exploring the reasons for low participation in adult education activities, increasing participation in adult education especially through raising awareness about the issue through symposia, seminars, newsletters, etc., and increasing awareness of the relevant non-governmental organizations in adult education and making them more active in the field. It is stated on the web site of the project that research and analysis on the participation rates in LLL, seminars about adult education to directors of non-formal education institutions, promotional activities about adult education and symposia on

LLL and adult education were organized within the scope of the project and the Closing Conference of this project took place in September 2014 (Türkiye Yetişkin Öğrenme Projesi, 2014).

What is more, studies related to the Promotion of Lifelong Learning Project II started in 2014, which is a project budgeted at 15 million Euros and funded by the EU and Turkey jointly (Avrupa Birliği Koordinasyon Dairesi Başkanlığı, 2014). In the Operation Identification Sheet of the project, it is stated, “The overall objective of the operation is to contribute to developing human resources capacity by promoting lifelong learning in Turkey” (p. 3). Accordingly, the purpose of this project is “to improve LLL opportunities through the development and implementation of coherent and comprehensive strategies for LLL” (p. 3). The concept of LLL is associated with the development of skills and competencies, qualification and competence transfer, vocational education and training within the project. The Promotion of Lifelong Learning Project II aims to contribute to increasing employment opportunities and supporting the Turkish education system with the LLL perspective where Turkey attempts to construct a structure of the LLL system through different operations in recent years.

All comprehensive changes such as the two LLL Strategy Papers, establishment of the HBÖGM, three EU-funded projects and works that have been done within the scope of these projects and other changes indicate that there has been a remarkable concentration both politically and practically in the field of LLL especially since the beginning of the 2000s in Turkey. All these changes in the public policy field have come with the discourse of necessities of globalization and the aim of adaptation to it. All these changes and developments in the field of LLL and the handle of LLL mainly in terms of skills necessary in the labor market and with its

vocational dimensions provide possibilities for researchers to understand national public policy making processes in education and specifically in LLL in the global era.

As a researcher, I started to think more about the recent rapid changes in the field of LLL especially after I started my graduate education in the Adult Education MA program at the Educational Faculty of Boğaziçi University in 2005. Since 2005, various governmental and non-governmental institutions, ranging from the MoNE to trade unions of employers and workers, have begun to put the issue of LLL on their special agenda and have increased their operations in the field. Besides, especially through the works done by governmental institutions within the scope of the EU accession and harmonization process, policy studies on LLL were enhanced. The main discourse of governmental institutions regarding their operations on LLL has been the aim of raising global competitiveness of Turkey and making its citizens adapt to the global world by developing their skills and competencies.

The nature and meaning of the LLL concept have been altered and new extensive policy steps occurred in the field of LLL in Turkey within the last years, as it has been all over the world. Recent policy documents, new regulations, projects and new policy implementations clearly present that knowledge and policy production concerning LLL has been rising in Turkey. Developments and changes in the field of LLL indicate that the concept of LLL and making LLL policies are among the hottest issues in the current education agenda of Turkey.

The discourse of necessities of global era, adaptation and reorganization of the Turkish educational system in line with these necessities have been the important dynamics behind the motivation of policy makers in developing LLL policies in Turkey. Besides, the EU as a regional actor and supranational body especially

through the EU harmonization process of Turkey and EU-funded projects has been important within the context of its potential to have an effect in all these changes.

When the issue is followed up in different types of policy documents that focus on the LLL concept and policies in Turkey, globalization is the one most used concept and the EU is the most referenced actor. On the other hand, in spite of the fact that the effects of globalization and global actors on national policies, as in the case of LLL policies, are widely accepted and recognized, delivery mechanisms of globalization, or, in other words, how it is done, as Dale (1999) emphasizes, are rarely questioned.

By considering the developments and rapid changes in the field of LLL, I decided to explore the policy making processes of LLL under the effects of globalization in Turkey in my PhD research. After this decision, I started to review documents about LLL chronologically where I was planning to understand policy making process in LLL in Turkey through the document analysis of some significant public policy papers and interviews with some MoNE bureaucrats who have played a role in the policy making process recently. When I decided to explore the recent making process of LLL policies in Turkey, operations related to the HBÖKK were not so dense in the public agenda and were not heard of so much by the public. After my decision and review of key political documents on LLL in Turkey and of related studies on globalization and changing LLL policies in national contexts, and an interview with the LLL Department Deputy Branch Manager in İstanbul Provincial Directorate of the MoNE, I decided to focus on the making process of the HBÖKK as a case to explore public policy making processes in the field of LLL in Turkey, since it was current, comprehensive and determinative policy process with its described actors. As a very important political step in the field of LLL recently in

Turkey, the making process of the HBÖKK was started within the EU-funded project that is the HBÖGP. Exploring the making process of this law is important to understand the complex dynamics of LLL policy making processes in national settings under global effects with its various stakeholders, conceptualization of the LLL by the stakeholders in the process and contributions of the stakeholders and participative dimension of the process.

1.1 Statement of the problem

The aim of this study is to explore the LLL policy making process in the case of the making process of the HBÖKK with a focus on the LLL concept, bringing of the HBÖKK into the policy agenda of Turkey and effects of various factors on this process on the basis of views of MoNE officials, of agents of stakeholders and of one of the HBÖGP experts in the HBÖKK making process.

1.2 Purpose of the study

The aim of this study is to explore the processes of LLL policy making in Turkey in the case of the making process of the HBÖKK. In-depth interviews with major policy makers, who are MoNE officials, representatives of the stakeholders and the expert in the HBÖKK making process, generate data of this study.

On the basis of this aim and as a result of reviewing the related literature, the following research questions were generated in the study:

1. What are the factors that have an effect in bringing the LLL concept into the policy agenda?

2. What are the reasons for bringing the HBÖKK into the policy agenda?
3. What are the views of the stakeholders on the LLL concept?
4. Which stakeholders were selected in the HBÖKK policy making process and how they were selected?
5. To what extent were the stakeholders involved in the HBÖKK policy making process?
6. Were there any conflicts during the HBÖKK policy making process, and if so, what were those conflicts?
7. Was the HBÖKK affected by any factors during the policy making process?
If so, what were those factors and how did they affect it?

1.3 Significance of the study

Policy making is a dynamic and complex process and new actors have been participating in policy making processes through the effects of globalization on policy making in national contexts recently.

The global effect on education policies in general and LLL specifically is widely recognized and there is an increasing interest among researchers to describe those effects in the world and in Turkey as well. On the other hand, the question of “How do those effects occur?” is still rarely asked. In this sense, systematically describing the actors, the instruments, and the mechanisms of policy making in LLL under the global effect is important to understand the nature of global policy making processes in LLL in Turkey.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, relevant literature to the study will be considered under the titles of “Globalization and Education”, “Lifelong Learning Concept and Policies in Global Era”, “Adult Education and Lifelong Learning in Turkey”, “Recent Developments in Lifelong Learning Policies in Turkey” and lastly “Theoretical Framework: Researching Educational Policies Under the Global Effect”.

The era that is named globalization has important effects on the making of educational policies in national settings. In this part of the study, firstly the concept of globalization will be discussed. After that, national policy making processes under the global effect will be handled, and later on, the effects of globalization on educational policies specifically will be considered.

2.1 Globalization and education

The globalization concept is a very popular concept and changes in national policy making processes, educational policies and practices have been attributed to globalization recently. Rizvi (2004) emphasizes that over the past decade “there has been no other concept in social, political and educational theory as widely and passionately debated as globalization” (p. 157).

Scholte (2002) states that even though the term *globalization* was not came up with until the second half of the 20th century, it has an extended pedigree and globalization notions have clutched many an intellectual imagination in the last two decades. The first appearance of the globalization concept in a dictionary was in the

American English in 1961. According to Scholte (2002), the ideas of the global emerged independently in several academic fields around the beginning of the 1980s as a purposely-shaped analytical tool. Today, the globalization concept is everywhere across disciplines, across the world, across theoretical approaches and across the political spectrum (Scholte, 2002).

According to Rizvi (2004), the rise of the term and the discourse of globalization need to be understood historically. He states that exchanges across national boundaries, which are usually associated with globalization, are as old as the history of human society, but the rapid expansion of these exchanges was not extensively recognized until the end of the 1980s. Rizvi (2004) underlines the rise of the discourse of globalization coincided with end of the Cold War historically:

The fall of the Soviet Bloc meant that the world no longer had two super powers but only one, and that in the ideological battle between capitalism and communism, the West could finally claim a victory. It was now possible for the leaders of multinational corporations to represent the world economic system as 'globally integrated'. (p. 159)

Rizvi (2007) draws attention to the political character of the term *globalization* as well. According to him, globalization frequently has been theorized as an objective process, without any subject behind it. He states we need to look at the political character of the globalization by approaching specific historical and political contexts that it emerged in. In a similar vein, Dale (1999) also points out the necessity of looking at the globalization historically. According to him, globalization “emerged from the particular set of circumstances that attended the decline of the post-war economic and political settlement that centred on the set of international financial agreements and institutions known collectively as the Bretton Woods agreement” (p. 3).

Yeldan (2007a) states that the main cliché of the globalization discourse lies in the claim that globalization is the natural outcome of human society's history and as such it is an inevitable process. He states the globalization rhetoric is not neutral but it is ideological, which is promoting the interest of international capital. Accordingly, the key supporters of this ideology are transnational companies, international financial institutions and multinational organizations such as the IMF, the WB and the WTO. He emphasizes:

Globalization is a cover-phrase disguising the ideological interest of globalizing capital and entails a set of strategic policies to re-arrange the role of the developing nations in the international division of labor and to consolidate the capital's supremacy over labor (p. 44).

Dale (2000) states, in ongoing debates, the status of globalization is often characterized "either as an answer to all sorts of questions thrown up by the manifest changes experienced in contemporary Western societies, or as an inevitable end-point, target, or telos" (p.427). Accordingly, this approach is confused and poorly informed. Dale (2000) indicates the same point as Yeldan (2007a) focused on with the abovementioned words and affirms that globalization is variously taken as an unavoidable process in the direction of cultural homogeneity, which may result in something like a world polity as a consequence of making nation-states become obsolete by a set of forces, where this approach is evaluated as indiscriminate applications of the term *globalization*. According to him, globalization is not a neutral process and is "associated with three quite distinct forms of regionalization (in Europe, Asia and America) which themselves generate and mediate different policies and mechanisms" (Dale, 1999, p. 3).

In the same sense, Rizvi (2004) points out the relationship of the discourse of globalization and interests of capital. Accordingly,

The discourse of globalization was thus institutionalized around a set of converging ideas, based loosely upon neo-liberal economic theories, popularized a decade earlier by President Reagan in the USA and Prime Minister Thatcher in the UK. Central to these theories was the view that national boundaries represented a major impediment to the development of a truly free market, in which capital could move around the globe more freely. (p. 159)

Scholte (2002) states that one should include a careful and critical examination of the term *globalization* in globalization studies. Accordingly, “a muddled or misguided core concept compromises our overall comprehension of the problem” (p. 3). On the contrary, Scholte (2002) states, “sharp and revealing definition promotes insightful, interesting and empowering knowledge, an understanding that helps us to shape our destiny in positive directions” (p. 3). According to Yeldan (2007a), the term *globalization* itself transmits a dual conceptual meaning in terms a definition, on the one hand, and a policy recipe, on the other. According to him, as a definition, the term applies “to the increased integration of the world’s commodity and finance markets and its cultural and social values” (p. 43). What is more, on the basis of this definition, as a policy recipe, “liberalization of the commodity trade and financial flows yield the narrowest economic implications of the globalization process” (Yeldan, 2007a, p. 43).

Robertson and Dale (2008) assert, whereas there is a substantial debate about defining globalization in the best way, there is a wide consensus that globalization is a historical process that includes unequal development and partially the transformation of political, economic and cultural structures, practices and social relations. Accordingly, the denationalization is one of the important distinctive

features of globalization, but this does not mean it is not also taking place within national boundaries. Verger et al. (2012) state if globalization is defined broadly, it is “a constitutive process of increasing, interdependence between people, territories and organizations in the economic, political and cultural domains” (p. 5). According to Taylor et al. (1997), simply, globalization is “a set of processes which in various ways—economic, cultural and political—make supranational connections” (p. 55). Furthermore, according to Boratav et al. (2000),

Globalization is the process of the complete integration of the constituent parts of the world economy with each other and with international markets. In the terminal stage of globalization, nation-states as distinct economic identities pursuing national objectives are expected to disappear. (p. 2)

Berberoglu (2003) associates globalization with the stages of capitalism and states that globalization is the most advanced phase of capitalist imperialism that is accelerated by transnational capital for the strengthening of capitalist extension throughout the world. Furthermore, Calderone and Rhoads (2010) emphasize the economic basis of globalization as well:

At the core of any discussion of globalisation is a desire to make sense of the rapid changes in factors of economic production and the ways in which the exchange of commodities and information has resulted in a new logic of accumulation and profit. (p. 5)

Dale (2000) states there are three main characteristics of globalization, which are “hyper-liberalism in the economic domain, governance without government in the political domain, and commodification and consumerism in the cultural one” (p. 5). Rizvi (2007) singles out the economic, political and cultural facets of globalization as well. According to him, globalization is an exceedingly contested concept and it is

used to define nearly all parts of contemporary life with the declining power of the nation-state system, the increasing power of transnational organizations and corporations, the rise of a global culture against local traditions, the rapid movement of ideas, money, and people through the developments in the information and communications technologies. Similarly, Marginson (1999) points out the complex nature of globalization and remarks on embracing economic, political, sociological, cultural, linguistic and semiotic aspects of globalization.

The main economic and political approaches that shape the global period can be handled under the umbrella of neoliberalism. According to Yeldan (2007), the term *globalization* becomes prominent as the hegemonic concept of the neoliberal ideology, while Fitzsimons (2000) similarly points out that neoliberalism is the theoretical support of globalization. Onaran (2007) states neoliberal economic policies were seen as the answers for crises of the golden age of capitalism for the capital, which emerged with the 1970s. According to Saraçoğlu (2011), the neoliberalism project has been implemented in many advanced and developing countries since the beginning of the 1980s. According to Kumar (2009), the current stage of globalization is characterized by the attack of the neoliberal capital. Rizvi and Lingard (2000) remark on the role of globalization as a supporter of neoliberal policies and emphasize its preference for the market over the state. What is more, Hursh and Henderson (2011) point out that neoliberal policies “are promoted by those who are the most powerful, and who can, therefore, control public debate and present neoliberalism as both the inevitable evolution of capitalism and as a technical and apolitical response to economic and political issues” (p. 171).

Furthermore, Dale and Robertson (2009) tell about neoliberalism briefly within the scope of its emergence and advance as follows:

Neoliberalism is to be seen as a project and a programme rather than as a set of policies, or a process without agents. It emerged from, on the one hand, the “Fall of the Wall” in 1989, and with it the “End of the Cold War” and the removal of any alternative to Western capitalism, and on the other, the new technologies that made possible not only the rapid flow of finance around the globe, but the creation of new industries and patterns of consumption. This was advanced through a vigorous round of negotiations and treaty-making activities such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1991, the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1995, and the expansion of the European Union through the Maastricht Treaty (1993) and the Stability and Growth Pact (1999), which culminated in the Lisbon Declaration (2000). (p. 113)

According to Torres (2009), neoliberal governments advocate ideas of open markets, free trade, the decline of the public sector, the reduction of state intervention in the economy and the deregulation of markets. He states neoliberal globalization is urged by agencies as the WB, the IMF and UNESCO, and the OECD has accompanied this process. According to Bronwyn and Bansel (2007), the appearance of neoliberal states mainly has been characterized by the transformation of the administrative state, which was previously responsible for human well-being besides the economy, into a state that supports global corporations and establishes tools and knowledge through which people are reshaped as productive economic entrepreneurs for themselves.

Dale (1999) points out a new type of relationship between nation-states and the world economy that has emerged in the global era as well. According to Dale (1999), it is a new and distinct form of relationship but it takes many different forms. Bonal (2003) states that hegemonic neoliberalism has grown in the 1990s and it has been driven by multilateral agencies and the main powerful states as the major global project for economic growth and development. Accordingly, both developed and developing states have voluntarily or compulsorily embraced this neoliberal project since they see it as the best economic and political strategy to keep up with the

challenges of the global economy. Inequalities both between states and within states have enlarged intensely in the global neoliberal era (Hill and Kumar, 2009).

Furthermore, Giroux (2007) states neoliberalism has evolved into one of the most extensive and antidemocratic movements of the new millennium.

Yeldan (2006) analyzes the relationship of the neoliberal agenda and developing world briefly as follows:

At the turn of the millennium, the neoliberal orthodoxy juxtaposed a new set of conditionality as part of its hegemonic agenda on the developing world: privatization, flexible labor markets, financial deregulation, central bank independence, flexible exchange rate regimes, and fiscal austerity. To this end, integration of the developing nation-economies into the evolving world financial system has already been achieved through a series of policies aimed at liberalizing their financial sectors and privatizing major industries. Furthermore, the state apparatus had to be transformed to facilitate the hegemony of international finance capital. (p. 193)

Neoliberal globalization has made changes in policy making processes in nation-states and the roles of transnational agencies and corporations advanced in policy making processes in the global era. A redefinition of the roles of nation-states in policy making has accompanied this process.

In the next section, changes in policy making processes under globalization and neoliberal economic policies will be examined.

2.1.1 Globalization and changes in policy making

One way globalization has been affecting policy making processes is through its effects on nation-states, through regime-level changes. According to Taylor et al. (1997), globalization, “as a conception upon which so much explanatory weight has

been placed, it remains poorly understood and inadequately utilized in policy research generally” (p. 54).

Taylor et al. (1997) state public policy is beyond a specific policy document or text but it is both a process and a product. They emphasize, “Policy involves the production of the text, the text itself, ongoing modifications to the text and processes of implementation into practice” (p. 25). Accordingly, policy studies characterize an extremely contested field and contestation starts from the instant of the entrance of an issue to the policy agenda and continues through the beginning of action to the unavoidable trade-offs involved in the creation and application. Contestation in the policy field is related to whose voices are heard or whose values are authoritatively allocated in the policy and which groups will benefit from the policy (Taylor et al., 1997).

There have been changes in policy making processes in nation-states during the global era. Saraçoğlu (2011) states that in the global era, the process of neoliberalism has been “materialized through the dissolution of institutions, policies and regulations associated with the welfare state in the West and national developmentalist programmes in ‘developing’ societies” (p. 80). Nowadays, the nation-state is no longer the carrier of modernization and economic and cultural zone. In this sense, Marginson (1999) states, “There is no longer any part of the world that is immune from global systems” (p. 20). Accordingly, if the nation-state is to continue to be viable in globalization, each state has to become part of the larger network of global regulation, bilateral and multi-lateral connections, supranational organizations and multinational companies.

The capacities of individual states to consider their own individual policy options were reduced under globalization. Today, all nation-states have been urged to restructure themselves in the way of considering market activities as the main part of this restructure (Taylor et al., 1997). Accordingly, “globalization has become an ideology, proselytized by international organizations such as the OECD and the World Bank in assertions of the need for less interventionist and leaner government and for freer forms of economic competition between nations” (p.79).

Köse and Öncü (2007) state one of the results of the global neoliberal restructuring has been the restriction of the capacity of the nation-state to intervene in the economy. The profit rate has been the ultimate objective and nation-states are to be reshaped with the aim of providing the greatest profitability for the capital in the global era. In accordance with this purpose, the role of public in the regulation of the economy was reduced and discourses of governance and market-friendly and credible governments have surrounded the public field (Yeldan, 2007). Calderone and Rhoads (2010) highlight that, while a specific vision of the state was in the public interest before, this is subordinated for the sake of the private with the growing power of the market.

According to Dale (1999), states’ reactions to changing global economic circumstances can be discussed in two broad forms, which are individually and collectively. By citing Cerny (1997), he emphasizes that states have taken a competition state form individually, and collectively they have concentrated on setting up a framework of international organizations to establish governance without government as that Roseneu refers to (cited in Dale, 1999). Calderone and Rhoads (2010) affirm governance is inseparably associated with the free market and leading capital from public to private domains. Accordingly, “the exercising of profit motive

takes precedence over benefits and programs previously rendered through actions of the state” (p. 6).

According to Taylor et al. (1997), in the global era, there is an assumption that since older bureaucratic structures and practices of the state were inefficient and expensive, this structure of the state results in inhibited market competition that means it could not be able to respond quickly to rapid changes. And so, competitive state is the answer to bureaucratic structures, “which imply the need for smaller and more efficient government and a less state directed market economy” (Taylor et al., 1997, p. 80).

On the other hand, “globalisation does not impinge on all nation states in exactly the same way. Nor does it entirely determine how nation states relate to their awareness of its salience” (Taylor et al., 1997, p. 56). Dale (1999) points out the same point: “While globalization has certainly not made nation states either irrelevant or obsolete it has affected both the content and form of at least some of the policy making procedures and outcomes of all states” (p. 2). In the same way, according to Marginson (1999), globalization is about world systems and these systems tend to determine the local and national, which does not mean the global determines the national and local entirely. These changes do not mean globalization replaced the nation-state but they weakened the old type of nation-states in particular respects and forced them to change. As Taylor et al. (1997) state, the nature of the relationship between globalization and nation-states depends on their histories, political institutions, cultural traditions and the economic constraints. Dale (1999) states the effects of globalization differ extremely across different countries on the basis of these countries’ position in the world and their regional economies.

States have lost some of their capacity to make national policy independently more or less under the global effect. Globalization, as a distinct phenomenon, operates in a qualitatively different manner from the traditional mechanisms of external policy influence, and delivery mechanisms of global effects on national policy also define the nature of that effect (Dale, 1999). According to Dale (1999),

The main dimensions along which globalization mechanisms differ from ‘traditional’ mechanisms are that their locus of viability is external, that their scope embraces policy goals as well as policy processes, that they are externally initiated, that they draw on a wider range of forms of power, and that they cannot be directly sourced to other individual nations. (p. 3)

Verger et al. (2012) state, while globalization describes the problems to be addressed on the one hand, it changes the capability of the states to answer to these problems by themselves. International actors are being empowered and the transnational organization of policy networks is having more power in the global era. According to Verger et al. (2012), “it is a strategically selective and conflicting terrain for educational policy-making, which is more conducive to certain education policy ideas and political actors than others” (p. 5).

As a part of public policy, education has been one of the fields that has been most affected in the global era. According to Marginson (1999), as globalization is permanently altering the politics of the nation-state and its regional sectors, domestic classes and nationally-defined interest groups, it is generating new potentials and limits in the politics of education. Marginson (1999) states these are complex effects. Accordingly, since the nation-building projects were based on modern education systems, this aspect of education systems has been rendered gradually problematic in a global order where education itself functions as one of the subjects and objects of globalization as well. Marginson (1999) emphasizes:

Increasingly shaped as it is by globalization—both directly and via the effects of globalization in national government—education at the same time has become a primary medium of globalization, and an incubator of its agents. As well as inhibiting or transforming older kinds of education, globalization creates new kinds. (p. 19)

According to Verger (2014), while the education policy landscape has been deeply changed under the global effect, globalization brings new problems in education agendas, compacts time and space in policy making processes and regenerates the role of a range of supranational actors in educational reform. Furthermore, Moutsios (2009) states we are experiencing not just the transnationalization of education policy making in the beginning of the 21st century but also the subjugation of education to the orders of the global economy.

While policy making processes in education have been reshaped as a part of national public policies, organizational forms and aims of national educational systems have been reorganized under the effects of globalization as well. In the next section, the relationship of educational policies and globalization will be briefly presented.

2.1.2 Globalization and educational policies

Education systems all over the world have faced major changes through the effects of globalization. As Leuze et al. (2007) state, in the global era, “education policy has been heaved up highly onto national and international political agendas and triggered intense debates about the goals and means of education” (p. 3).

Bonal (2003) affirms that, as a hegemonic economic doctrine in the global era, neoliberalism has influenced education like the other areas of public sector. Accordingly, these effects are in many different ways. However, the changing role of the state, which results in deeper social and economic consequences, is among the wide range of impacts of neoliberalism. Bonal (2003) affirms that changes in the global economy, which have outcomes on the scope and mode of operation of the state, challenged the role of the state in educational policy making, provision and funding. Vidovich (2007) states that education policy and its analysis has been a topic of heated debate by the end of the last century, where these debates were framed with the claim of “rapidly changing contexts for education and the inadequacies of pre-existing approaches to policy for understanding these changes” (p. 288). In this period, the globalization, knowledge society and knowledge economy discourses have been dominant in education policy and binding education to efficiency and effectiveness to serve the national interest in the global market became the main interest of governments (Vidovich, 2007).

Researchers from different disciplines are exploring the reshaping of educational policies under globalization. On the other hand, as Verger et al. (2012) emphasize, research on global educational policies does not always involve globalization in its analytical framework. Accordingly, “research on the topic does not provide an account of how and why policies are globally constructed and settled in global agendas” (p. 3).

According to Dale (1999), global effects on public services such as education are largely indirect, which means “they are mediated through the effect of globalization on the discretion and direction of nation states” (p. 2). Robertson and Dale (2008) state that under the global effect, there has been:

shift away from a predominantly national education system to a more fragmented, multi-scalar and multi-sectoral distribution of activity that now involves new players, new ways of thinking about knowledge production and distribution, and new challenges in terms of ensuring the distribution of opportunities for access and social mobility. (p. 20)

Today, policy making in education is no longer a whole concern of the nation-state, but mainly transnational institutions describe educational goals (Moutsios, 2009).

There have been fundamental changes in educational policy field and state public education has been turning into an international and private good recently. Leuze et al. (2007) state ongoing changes in education can be ascribed to two main trends, which are, first, an increasing activity of international organizations and, secondly, the rising marketization of education. Accordingly, “the state is no longer the only player which designs and shapes education policy, rather international and market actors are increasingly infiltrating its domain of education policy making” (p. 4).

They state that international organizations, with their extended scope in education since the 1990s, affect national debates about education policy, influence aims and goals of states in education and change national education systems as well. Besides, commodification in education carries new market actors such as private education companies to the field of education.

Moutsios (2009) emphasizes liberalization, privatization and deregulation have been the main policies in education systems of many countries that have been happening in the last two decades and these policies continue to spread. Accordingly, transnational organizations are the major agents of this neoliberal agenda. In the same sense, Torres (2009) states neoliberal agenda in the global era involves a motivation toward privatization and decentralization in public education, a drive toward standardization of education and the testing of academic success to define

quality criteria of education in terms of the level of students, schools, and teachers.

Bronwyn and Bansel (2007) state that schools were early targets of neoliberalism and competition where accountability measures have been the main tools of the neoliberal management technologies. According to Dale (2005),

Neo-liberalism is a form of accumulation that contains imperatives for all areas of social life, with education particularly powerfully affected in its multiple roles of support for accumulation, maintaining cohesion and identity and legitimating the system as a whole. What we are witnessing is not just changes, albeit important ones, in the contexts of education, that have to be adequately taken into account and reflected in our accounts of the relationship between globalisation and education, but conscious efforts to develop new supranational forms of 'education' that consciously seek to undermine and reconfigure existing national forms of education, even as they run alongside them, and even in their shadow. (p. 123)

Moutsios (2010) emphasizes that the EU, OECD, World Bank, IMF and WTO, as the transnational institutions, and other national and international agencies and organizations networking with these institutions have been endorsing a set of education policies worldwide over the recent decades that aim to bring education into the service of the global economy. Accordingly, the space that educational policies have been altering in is not international but transnational, taking these global actors into account. He states that the international space indicates the making of policies in openly distinguished relations between nation-states but the making of policies in the transnational space has been "instituted and sustained by nation states, international organisations, inter-state entities and global corporations, and in which policies and discourses cross borders and flow in and out of the nation states' arenas of power" (p. 122). On the other hand, Dale (2005) suggests the term *supranational* to understand educational policies under the global effects. Accordingly,

The concepts 'transnational' (literally across nations) and 'international' (literally between nations) commonly used in comparative education, both assume a 'national' level or basis of activity; their focus is what happens across and between nations. By contrast, the concept supranational (literally above nations) denotes a separate, distinct and non-reducible level or scale of activity from the national. The non-reducibility of 'interventions' or 'policies' to the activities or interests of any particular nation-state that is implied by the term supra-national is one of the characteristics that most clearly defines the qualitative difference between it and trans- or inter-national, and that indicates a key element of what is to be understood by globalisation (p. 125).

Robertson and Dale (2008) affirm that competitiveness, LLL, knowledge-based economy and education as an export industry have been the new mandate for education in the global era. Furthermore, education has focused on efficiency, effectiveness and accountability in terms of resources and relationships between the state and civil society, public and private, citizens and communities have been reconfigured through new structures of governance accordingly. Moutsios (2009) points out the emphasis of neoliberalism on human capital, which means national education policies should be oriented to increasing productivity and global competitiveness.

According to Taylor et al. (1997), economic restructuring in the global era has resulted in the calls to make education more alert to the altering labor market needs in states. They state the marketization of education is part of the larger process of restructuring of the state under globalization where straightforward public-private divisions between activities of the state and the market have been unclear in this process. İnal (2012) states neoliberalism aims to privatize and globalize education for the sake of training the work force for global markets.

Furthermore, Moutsios (2010) says the meaning of progress has changed recently and is not same as before. He states the idea of progress was understood

accordingly as “the unlimited accumulation of scientific and technological knowledge and increase of production and consumption capacity” (p. 123). On the other hand, it has continued as to be a guiding idea in policy making across societies and education systems in the global era, but now it is “identified more than ever before with economic competitiveness, is becoming a global policy-making project, managed, coordinated and measured through/by transnational institutions” (p. 123). Moutsios (2010) states there is a necessity of re-testing the meaning of power and its operation in the building and promotion of a shared set of education policies on a global scale. Accordingly, power groups extend a specific perception of about what education should serve, to sustain competitiveness or growth or progress, which are used in the same sense.

Rizvi (2006) points out that if national policies have new dimensions in the global era, which are international, transnational and global dimensions, researchers “need to ask how this has become so, and what implications this has for thinking about national policy programs, local policy initiatives and internationalising policy dialogue” (Rizvi, 2006, p. 203). Accordingly, this situation is fundamental to educational policy research under globalization.

As it has been all over the world, there have been significant changes in the Turkish education system in the global era as well. Besides the aims of the education, organizational system of the MoNE and schools, administrative processes, the content of courses taught in schools have been under change through the new policies due to the effects of globalization for nearly recent 30 years. In the next section, the relationship of globalization with education in the Turkish context will be examined.

2.1.3 Globalization and education in Turkey

The integration process of Turkey with neoliberalism and globalization started in the early years of the 1980s. As Karadag (2010) emphasizes, international financial institutions started to impose structural adjustment programs that were planned not only to overcome monetary crises of countries but also to introduce systematic changes towards export-oriented and market-based economic guidelines in the early 1980s. Karadag (2010) states, differently from the capitalist democracies of the West, these changes forced many upper adaptation coerces on late developing countries.

Just in the early days of 1980, on January 24, 1980, a stabilization program was accepted in Turkey, and a military coup followed this program on September 12, 1980. The military coup made it easier for prospective governments to implement the stabilization program and neoliberal policies (Özmen, 2012). Karadag (2010) states the political and economic crisis dynamics of the late 1970s were addressed in the decision of January 24 by introducing liberal economic restructuring reforms and the Turkish Armed Forces supported this process as well. With the facilitating effects of the military coup, Turkey introduced a long process of integration with the global markets (Boratav et al., 2000).

Through the integration with globalization and neoliberalism, economic policies of Turkey were radically reoriented under strict measures by the military coup leaders and governments after the 1982 Constitution was designed consistent with the demands coming from global and domestic capital (Özdemir and Özdemir, 2012). As Boratav et al. (2000) state, “Since its early inception, Turkish adjustment program was hailed as a model by the orthodox international community and

supported by generous structural adjustment loans, debt relief, and technical aid” (p. 2).

Polat (2013) affirms restructuring of the states through neoliberal policies was seen as a solution for the crisis of capitalism in the late 1970s. She evaluates the decisions of January 24, 1980 as the milestone for economic and social transformation for Turkey as well. Accordingly, public responsibility in the economy was reduced, money transfer to the market economy was significantly enhanced and the delivery of social services such as education, health and social security was moved from the public to the private sector in this period (Polat, 2013).

Soydan and Gürkan (2014) summarize the changes in public policies of Turkey since the early years of the 1980s until today briefly as follows:

Nowadays, the scope of public services is being constricted as part of a comprehensive restructuring process, which can be traced back to 1970's when the first symptoms of a long-term crisis of capitalism were observed. This process became a part of Turkey's agenda through structural adjustment and reform programs initiated after 1980 characterized by a significant change in a capital accumulation regime from import substitution towards an export oriented one and accompanied by administrative reforms aiming at a new type of integration of the Turkish state with the world system. All these dynamics led to an overall transformation of the public sphere. These transformations were justified through theories one of which is new public management theory assuming that there is no essential difference between the public and private sectors in terms of the provision of public goods and services. In many countries including Turkey, these processes resulted in the weakening of the states' existence in the provision of goods and services for social use outside market mechanisms. (p. 364)

According to Soydan and Gürkan (2014), the establishment of the market economy was nearly finalized by the restructuring that took place between 1980 and 1990.

They call this process the first generation of structural reforms, and accordingly, limitations on capital flows were abolished in this period. They emphasize that through the end of the 1990s, second generation of structural reforms were presented

and “by these reforms new institutions which would deal with markets were founded and the state was made part of the transition process by redefining some of its functions” (p. 370). Accordingly, the IMF, EU, OECD and WTO have been the main actors in the integration process, which meant a structural adjustment of Turkey to the global economy. They state, the WB through Structural Adjustment Loans, the IMF via stand-by agreements and letters of intent, the OECD by country reports and consultation opinion, the EU through accession partnership documents and country progression reports, and the WTO via GATT for the liberalization of trade of goods and GATS for the liberalization of trade of services have played a significant role throughout the integration process of Turkey into globalization and neoliberalism (Soydan and Gürkan, 2014).

Yıldız (2012) emphasizes neoliberal policies and practices have significantly affected all educational processes in the last 30 years in Turkey. The main aim of education had been the development of citizen consciousness, which had targeted the formation of the Turkish nation-state in the early years of establishment of the Turkish Republic. On the other hand, this aim has been replaced by the commodification of education and it is moving away from the public service position since the early years of the 1980s. Furthermore, the link between education and employment has started to be focused upon more by the representatives of several segments of capital, social sections other than capital and the state since the late 1990s. International actors such as the WB, the OECD and the EU played a significant role in framing the educational change in Turkey in these years (Ercan and Uzunyayla, 1999). According to Sayılan (2015), “Neoliberal transformation of education has been expressed through ‘structured adjustment program,’ directives of

the World Bank imposed over thirty years and through the European Union's 'harmonization' process enforced steadily within the past 10 years" (p. 156).

The liberalization of the education system has been accelerated in Turkey especially since the 2000s due to increased focus on educational policies in this way by the AKP governments (Özmen, 2012). According to Yeldan (2007b),

The AKP had acted faster and more boldly than any preceding government in implementing the above neoliberal agenda in attempt to respond to the requests of international capital on the one hand, and to settle its problem of adaptation to the State and administrative traditions of the country, on the other. (p. 4)

The AKP defines itself as a modest Islamic political party where the practices of the AKP in educational policies have been an amalgam of Islamic conservatism and neoliberalism. In the period of AKP governments, the strategy to build a social policy regime encompassing the essences of neoliberalism, conservatism, and Islam has extended the gap between the rich and the poor by advancing the capital-owning class over the interests of the public at large (Özdemir and Özdemir, 2012).

Education has been seen as the most important element of development and has been instrumentalized by the AKP within the framework of neoliberal ideology. İnal (2012) states that education has been seen as an economic asset to raise human capital where the discourse of quality, competition, standards and governance has been expanded in the field of education through the AKP governments. In the words of İnal (2012), "The aim of having Turkey take part on the world stage as an important actor by adapting itself to the process of globalization forced the AKP to reestablish education through a neoliberal discourse" (p. 26).

Soydan and Gürkan (2014) state the adequacy of public resources allocated to education and utilization of these resources effectively, commodification practices in public education and the policies inducing private schools are important facets of neoliberal financial policies in education. Okçabol (2014) states steps toward the marketization of education in the AKP period started just in their early days of the first government in 2003. The AKP came into the power on November 3, 2002 for the first time and explained the Immediate Action Plan whereby it was aiming at the marketization through different aspects of education. Okçabol (2014) emphasizes the AKP aimed to raise the ratio of private schools in education system from 2-2.5 percent to 10 percent within a few years through this plan. Accordingly, the AKP tried to enroll 10 thousand poor children who had graduated from primary education in private high schools by paying their tuition fees from the state budget. The implementation of this initiation was blocked by the veto of the president of the period, Ahmet Necdet Sezer. On the other hand, the AKP government enacted providing incentives to private schools in 2014. The government decided to support 250 thousand students to facilitate their attending private schools at all levels before the university education by providing incentives of 2500 TL-3500 TL apiece for the term of 2014-2015 (MEB, 2014). Furthermore, Okçabol (2014) states during their government periods, the AKP has taken many such steps as the public-private partnership model, the FATİH project, the selling of schools in city centers, which have meant marketization and commodification of education.

There have been two comprehensive changes in education on the system level in the AKP period. The first one was a Decree Law numbered 652, which was “About the Organization and Duties of The Ministry of National Education” and emerged on September 14, 2011. The second significant change was brought with

the “Law Amending Primary Education and Education Law with Some Other Laws,” which is known as the law of 4+4+4 in the society and which became a law on March 20, 2012.

According to Okçabol (2014), with the Decree Law numbered 652, the organizational structure of the MoNE was changed and the system changed from the Republican education, which had secular and scientific education, to a system that has conservative and neoliberal characteristics. He states, by this Decree Law, the aim of the system was determined as equipping students with the knowledge and skills which the economic system that has competitiveness at the global level necessitates (Okçabol, 2014). Furthermore, Okçabol (2014) states the law of 4+4+4 is a law that will make education more conservative and market-oriented.

Several discourses have come into the Turkish agenda such as information and knowledge society, lifelong learning, effectiveness, efficiency, flexibility, and standardization in the integration process of Turkey to globalization. According to Ercan and Uzunyayla (1999), these concepts and discourses aim to set up a functional relationship between education and employment and are “used for the realization, legitimization, and internalization of this transformation” (p. 110).

LLL has been one of the most popular concepts in the field of education recently in Turkey, as it has been all over the world. With globalization, many people started to their focus words on the importance of LLL and the necessity of organizing the education system on the basis of the LLL approach in recent years.

In the next section, firstly, advent of the LLL concept will be dealt with, which started with adult education and learning and has become very popular recently. After that, the relationship of globalization and the LLL concept will be

discussed, and then LLL policies in Turkey, both historical and recent, will be presented.

2.2 Lifelong learning concept and policies in the global era

In this part of the literature, the LLL concept and policies in the world will be dealt with historically. At first, some developments related to the LLL concept will be discussed from its birth. And then, changes both conceptually and politically in the scope of LLL in the global era will be summarized.

2.2.1 Lifelong learning concept and policies in historical perspective

LLL is one of the most popular and hottest issues in the political arena around the world in recent years. Even though the concept has become very popular recently, it has a long history and has come today with some changes from its roots.

LLL has not only been an important topic of education of late years, but it also has been mostly referred to in policy discourse related to employment and market regulation (Centeno, 2011). There is a consensus among scholars that LLL first appeared as an educational concept in the early 20th century in the sense of adult education. Basil Yeaxlee and Eduard Lindeman were two significant pioneers in the field of adult education and LLL in those years. Early formulations of Yeaxlee and Lindeman had a significant effect on adult education in the context of theoretical and ideological foundations. According to Field (2001), intellectual arguments in those years were over the extension in citizenship, women and working class men's rights. Accordingly, international developments such as the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia

had affected these arguments and thereby the LLL ideas had emerged in the world. Field (2001) affirms the expression of LLL as an aspect of active citizenship in the early years of the 20th century was associated with liberal adult education and should not be evaluated as clearly radical. He states the emphasis of liberal approach on LLL decreased in the following crisis years over the world. After the Second World War, a renewed interest emerged in adult education, where the necessity for fast adult retraining to function in the armies and main industries had an effect on this comeback (Field, 2001).

Centeno (2011) deals with the concept of LLL as the most recent descendant of a family of concepts that conceptualize Education Across the Lifespan (EAL). Accordingly, EAL, at its first arrival was an educational approach that is mostly appreciated in the context education of adults. Nevertheless, this paradigm was appropriated and formalized by international organizations, and this paradigm was converted into educational policy later. Centeno (2011) continues as follows:

It is important to highlight that education across the lifespan was initially an educational and pedagogical conception aimed at adults. Lifelong education was gradually developed in the field of adult/popular education, and thus outside the institutionalised school system, while internationally it was legitimated against the backdrop of the socio-economic context. This 'origin' underlines and likely explains the subsequent conceptualisations of education across the lifespan. (p. 136)

Centeno (2011) states LLL can be historicized in four periods as lifelong education as adult education: the beginning; *Éducation Permanente*: a humanistic-political conception; Permanent education: a European political conception; and Recurrent education: a socio-economic conception. Accordingly, these approaches have been represented by different intergovernmental organizations. There are various intergovernmental bodies such as UNESCO, the OECD, the EC and the EU that have

an effect on dissemination of discourses of lifelong learning policy in the world (Centeno, 2011).

Borg and Mayo (2005) state lifelong education, or its latter version LLL, has been part of the popular rhetoric surrounding education for many years by governments, international organizations, educationists and politicians. According to Dehmel (2006), LLL did not become an important topic in the international discussion until the early 1970s. What is more, Barros (2012) states the world crisis in education at the end of the 1960s changed the significance given to adult education. Even though there had been some developments as a result of the socio-economic context in the early years of the 20th century, adult education has been an integral part of the education policy especially in the second half of the century through the attempts of international organizations (Centeno, 2011). According to Barros (2012), the lifelong education movement of this time symbolizes a turning point in thoughts about education in terms of both its worldwide dimension and its socio-political stance. He emphasizes this crisis made UNESCO an international actor in the field of education and the lifelong education concept was reintroduced in debates about education in the second period of the 20th century.

Barros (2012) affirms, in this reemerging process of lifelong education into the world agenda, the dominant understanding comprised three basic dimensions, which are as follows:

One is a severe criticism of the school model of formal education; a second dimension is related to the need to ensure a form of 'lifelong' education which keeps knowledge up to date and allows adults to keep up with technological developments in society, and a third dimension promotes equal educational opportunities and access to permanent and effective social promotion. (p. 120)

Dehmel (2006) points out two peak points in the history of LLL. The first one is from the early 1970s until the mid-1970s and the second one has started with the early 1990s. He states despite the fact that the LLL discourse did not drop in the years between these peak points it was not being a central topic on most policy schedules. Dehmel (2006) states UNESCO, the OECD and the EC were the main intergovernmental bodies in the first peak point of LLL, from the early to mid-1970s. Accordingly, although the OECD and the EC published some important documents in this period, the report titled “Learning to Be: the World of Education Today and Tomorrow” by Faure and published by UNESCO was regarded as the most important one. Dehmel (2006) emphasizes that mostly for the reason of the economic crisis, the LLL discourse decreased from the mid-1970s until the early 1990s and humanistic ideals that attributed to the idea of LLL disappeared from policy agendas as well.

According to Mandal (2012), UNESCO was the first transnational organization, which has had an extensive impact on the spreading of lifelong education and later LLL in the world since the 1960s. Gouthro (2002) points out a similar point and states UNESCO has taken a dynamic role in promoting the concept of lifelong education and LLL over the years. In the field of LLL, UNESCO organized the first International Conference on Adult Education in 1949, the Elsinore Conference, and 25 countries and 79 educational experts participated in this conference. This conference may be considered the first international initiative in the conceptualization of education over lifespan. UNESCO organized the Second World Conference in Montreal in 1960, with the participation of 51 countries and 112 official representatives. This conference declared the concept *éducation permanente*, which is not constrained by training some specific groups of population but concerns

with the education of all citizens to change and increase the quality of their lives.

Centeno (2011) states the Montreal Conference defined the international cooperation network, roles of the NGOs and connection between developed and undeveloped countries. Accordingly, *éducation permanente* “was the first political–institutional project articulating adult education theorization and ideology in a policy framework” (p. 137). He emphasizes the following features of *éducation permanente*:

1) The timing and extent of an individual’s life (it covers all ages and dimensions of life); 2) the educational structure (conceived as a global system where all the elements are important); 3) the educational facilities (recognizing others besides school); 4) the society itself (*éducation permanente* considered all aspects of education). (p. 137)

The proclamation of the International Year of Education in 1970 accelerated the moving of lifelong education from an educational to a political problematization and aided in putting the concept into the world agenda (Centeno, 2011). After that, UNESCO organized the third conference, Tokyo Conference, in 1972. The “Learning to Be” report by Faure, which has been the one of the cornerstones in the history of LLL until now, was published just after this conference and is considered to be the manifesto of *éducation permanente*.

Centeno (2011) states *éducation permanente* was the result of the first problematizing of EAL as an education policy. He affirms that it emerged against an educational crisis and “envisaged as a framework to attain a democratic education and, therefore, it emerged as a strategy for social action, with individual development, education and society put into relation” (p. 138).

According to Barros (2012), lifelong education concept had implications for the entire educational process through the studies of UNESCO, where the understanding of lifelong education was focusing on development of both the

individual and social dimension of education. He states the focus on lifelong education was aiming at the construction of a 'new man' and creating collective values on the basis of a humanist system.

Gouthro (2002) states the use of lifelong education increased after UNESCO Faure report as well. According to Gouthro (2002), lifelong education was indicated "as the answer to the multiple problems plaguing non-Western countries and was seen as an effective way to adapt to the rapid social and economic changes created by the swift technological advances of the 20th century" (p. 335). Field (2001) states the Faure report of UNESCO as a turning point accelerated a global debate about LLL over the world. Similar to Barros (2012), Field (2001) points out that the essential humanistic concern of the Faure report was the fulfillment of man through flexible arrangement of the different phases of education through extending access to higher levels of education, through appreciation of informal and non-formal learning besides the formal learning, and through new curricular concerns such as environmental education. Barros (2012) points out the LLL concept lived unprecedented expansion in this period and

...it reached beyond the public space of the school with regard to its educational practices, and stepped outside the temporal constraints of the inflexible logic of a school education by introducing the possibility of negotiating schedules and timetables with a degree of flexibility. (p. 121)

According to Crowther (2004), the idea of LLL "brought together an eclectic range of interests and ideas concerned with moral and political issues about the nature of society and the contribution of education to it in economic, political, social and cultural terms" (p. 127). He states LLL was primarily influenced by a humanist ideology concerned with personal growth in the 1960s and early 1970s, but the

humanistic perception of learning is now marginal to the current LLL policy approach.

On the other hand, Field (2001) opposes the idea of many writers in terms of the thoughts that LLL was radical in the 1960s and 1970s. Accordingly, “lifelong learning was never intrinsically a particularly radical concept, nor is it a particularly conservative project in the contemporary context. Its fate displays at least as many continuities as discontinuities” (p. 3). He emphasizes there was certainly radicalism in the early conceptions of LLL and lifelong education in the 1960s, especially in the writings of people such as Ettore Gelpi, Paul Lengrand and R. H. Dave, but radicalism in those years was secondary to humanism.

Besides UNESCO, the OECD has begun to play an important role in the dissemination of the LLL idea in the early years of the 1970s. Olöf Palme, who had been minister for education and later prime minister in Sweden, introduced the concept of “recurrent education” at an OECD education ministers’ meeting in 1969, which would become the motto of the OECD on education in the following years. Studies of the OECD on recurrent education resulted in the paper titled “Recurrent Education: A Strategy for Lifelong Learning” in 1973 (Centeno, 2011). Centeno (2011) states, “The OECD proposed a policy concept that intended both to reform the existing post-compulsory educational system and to provide a structured framework for adult education” (p. 140). He affirms recurrent education was a widespread usage of education across the lifespan in end of the 1970s and accordingly, many countries welcomed this new concept in those years, but as a policy concept it could not be asserted in the same way. Centeno (2011) says this concept played an important role in shifting the debate from lifelong education (right of education and self-development) to LLL (development of individual skills for

professional development), which was a very functionalistic turn is focusing on the economic potential. Contributions of the OECD to the LLL idea were in the way of human capital thinking, where they took the issue in hand with the term recurrent education generally. In these years, very few practical developments emerged as an outcome of the LLL debate (Field, 2001).

According to Field (2001), spite of “the idea of lifelong learning was produced from the intellectual crucible of the 1960s, only in the 1970s did the idea really start to penetrate the starched world of educational policy-making” (p. 6). He affirms there were two main factors for the limited effects of the LLL debate on policy and practice in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Accordingly, at first, the debate was ongoing in the world of intergovernmental agencies and they were basically without powers to directly influence national LLL policies. Besides, the second restrictive factor was related to an economic crisis and the changing climate in the economy in the 1970s. Field (2001) states LLL and recurrent education were on the agenda of just the professional adult education community as a result of these factors. Nevertheless, “the debates of the 1970s were both far-reaching and, in the long term, influential” (Field, 2001, p. 7).

Borg and Mayo (2005) state, “The movement of writers on lifelong education associated with UNESCO seemed to have died out in the late 1980s” (p. 208). According to Field (2001), there was a turning point during the 1990s and the main feature of this period was the ceasing of LLL “to be largely a slogan promoted largely through intergovernmental debating chambers, and became increasingly a tool for the reform and modernization of aspects of national education and training systems” (p. 3). Barros (2012) explains the transformation in adult education both

conceptually and politically from the 1960s to the 1990s by looking at the transformation from lifelong education to LLL respectively. Accordingly,

One of the main differences between lifelong education and lifelong learning comes down to the role and mission that is assigned to adult education itself. Thus, as far as lifelong education is concerned adult education political mandate was essentially a social transformation plan, based on a humanist ideology, seen as a vision of building a learning society, made up of interdependent institutions and committed to the safeguarding of social justice and the *res publica*. But with respect to lifelong learning, the political mandate applied to adult education is seen as a social adaptation policy, following a neoliberal and individualistic ideology, represented in the vision of building a learning society, made up of autonomous organisations that provide qualifications and which are committed to safeguarding private interests. They are two opposite poles of a continuum with contextual characteristics to which researchers should apply even greater tools of analysis. (p. 131)

According to Field (2001), LLL is likely to become one of the factors that are changing the governance of late modern societies “as the state sheds directive powers both downwards (to individuals and associations) and upwards (to transnational corporations and intergovernmental bodies)” (p. 3). There has been a rapid dissemination of the LLL idea in national contexts during the 1990s, where it was in focus of policy documents of especially Western governments. LLL has started to be seen as the main tool to modernize education and training system in European countries in these years, where “as in the intergovernmental agencies, it is often associated with attempts to increase competitiveness and innovation at a time of intensifying global trading pressures, by promoting investment in human resources across the life span and in a variety of settings” (Field, 2001, p. 11).

In the next section, the global effects on LLL will be dealt with briefly especially since the 1990s.

2.2.2 Effects of globalization on lifelong learning

LLL has been gaining an enhanced significance in the global era. The concept of education has turned into learning, where transnational organizations have started to promote LLL instead of lifelong education in the global era (Mandal, 2012).

According to Hake (1999b), LLL has reappeared as one of the hottest topics in societies that has been related to organization of education and training in the 21st century. Dehmel (2006) states there has been an extending attention internationally on LLL again since the early 1990s, where humanistic ideals in the years of the first peak in the 1960s changed into more utilitarian and economic objectives in the re-emergence period. Dehmel (2006) affirms:

Globalization, the rise of new information technologies, or the ageing society are just some of the keywords also used by national as well as international bodies to justify the need for lifelong learning. Among those bodies were in particular the OECD, UNESCO and the European Commission, which discussed new strategies and tried to foster the development of a concept of lifelong learning. (p. 52)

Barros (2012) states the current interest in LLL is unlike the interest in the political and social ideals of the early years, but it is based on deliberate and continuous erosion. Accordingly, today's emphasis is related to post-Cold War international politics, where this situation revealed a new economy, a new type of politics and a new social stratification and brought the shift from the hegemony of the perspective of lifelong education to that of LLL. Barros (2012) states a conceptual and theoretical reconstruction in adult education has accompanied this transformation process, where the theory of human capital and the development of human resources have made major inputs to the reconstruction. Barros (2012) emphasizes:

The main consequence of this is that the meaning and purpose of education is now reinterpreted in terms of productivity and competitiveness. This

political-ideological trend is reflected in the majority of adult educational practices on offer in the capitalist centres and southern European developing countries. (p. 125)

According to Sayılan (2015), there exists a human capital development approach in the EU and the OECD countries behind the conceptual change from adult education to LLL. Sayılan (2015) states that “the prominence of human capital approaches dissolved the historical social gains of adult education and the non-formal education field on global scale and instead, vocational training became primary” (p. 158).

Sayılan (2015) states,

Today Lifelong Learning, with a new meaning within the human capital approach, increasingly works as a strategy that organizes and adjusts global educational systems. LL has broken away from broader humanitarian and social implications, and has focused only on regulation of employment. Thus, while the aim of maximizing marketing capacity and skills is placed at the heart of individual learning and market characteristics, the ethic of competition, quality and productivity are placed at the centre of human development. A perspective where each individual is motivated to maximize his/her individual learning for the sake of his/her own interests replaces social priorities and social needs. (p. 158)

According to Field (2001), the main changes occurred in the political and cultural context in that the LLL policy is now developing in the global era. Besides the new socio-economic trends, there have also been important changes in political culture, such as the transforming of the labor movement which turned from a democratic movement of active members to professionalized organizations, and the political culture of the intelligentsia, which in the same way turned from social movements in the public space to individual efforts. Borg and Mayo (2005) state the reemergence of the term LLL in the 1990s has been related to a setting in the world economic system which is characterized by the strengthening of globalization and neoliberalism. Similarly, Barros (2012) points out the crisis of the capitalism in the

years of the 1970s, which brought “a new global swing to the neo-liberal right at the end of 20th century had a significant impact on what inspired the U-turn with regard to adult education” (p. 123). Accordingly change from lifelong education to LLL is related to the domination of neoliberal globalization.

Field (2001) states, in learning society, individuals are seen as people who can acquire and understand the implications of new information about their well-being and can learn by themselves. Accordingly, this perception has been the justification for diminishing the resources that were offered through public services before. He states that currently LLL urges a search for individual solutions where currently individuals are responsible for their own well-being and should acquire the skills and knowledge required for them.

Mandal (2012) states the LLL concept has gone beyond its theoretical and classical definition in the global era, that is, learning from cradle to grave. Furthermore, it has been more value-laden with the political agenda, the socio-economic goals and moral focus. According to Tuschling and Engemann (2006), LLL plays a particular role in applying the drawn models of governing individuals. Gouthro (2002) affirms the interest in LLL recently is often linked with a marketplace orientation that dominates learning with the aim of upgrading vocational and professional skills. Accordingly, this type of approach excludes many important educational and societal concerns of LLL. He emphasizes:

Within this context, the wider concept of lifelong learning has been conflated to mean lifelong training. Education that focuses on the broader goals of democratic citizenship or attends to the concerns of women and minorities is given low priority. Increased participation in adult education programmes is motivated primarily by the widespread perception that continuing education is needed within a globally competitive economy. (p. 334)

Gouthro (2002) states, within the scope of the marketplace focus, the initial interest in LLL, where it was seen as a solution to world problems, seems to have mostly dissolved, shifting to global issues. He emphasizes the support for LLL aims not to run a more democratic and egalitarian world but rather to locate people and societies to extend a competitive advantage. In the same way, Tuschling and Engemann (2006) state, the “existing educational settings are criticized as having neither enough awareness nor as providing suitable instruments for a systematic approach to generate key-competencies among individuals” (p. 459). Accordingly, lifelong learning has been put to task for this aim.

In the global era, LLL addresses mainly the connections between adult education and the paid workplace where the main assumption is that education is valuable if it is useful for training workforce for the changing global market. This type of understanding advises competition instead of cooperation and personal development instead of social justice; in this context, it excludes the ensuring a more equitable world ideal of LLL under the perspective of globalized capitalism (Gouthro, 2002). According to Crowther (2004),

The compact the ‘market state’ seeks to make with its people is that its role is a strategic one of extending individual choice rather than providing goods and services. These are the responsibility of individuals to achieve for themselves through market transactions. In this context, lifelong learning contributes to redefining citizens as consumers in the market place rather than political actors in the public arena. To meet these challenges, public services are being reorganized along the lines of the private sector and market-driven systems of performance (p.129).

Barros (2012) states the economic, political and cultural roots that emphasize the acceptance of LLL in a political sense have contributed to the presentation of a new mission declaration for adult education, which is “as a management tool of the work

force; as a means to prevent forms of social conflict; and as a tool of adaptability” (p. 126). Accordingly, this perspective of LLL is a limited and instrumental perception of adult education and excludes its potential for social transformation and social emancipation. In this context, its perception has been harshly reduced to necessities of the market with philosophically technocratic and vocational roots rather than radical roots. According to Barros (2012), in the journey from lifelong education toward LLL, there has been an alteration from the Taylor-Ford production model to a new flexible or post-Ford production, and the concept of competences settled down to the central ground. He points out:

These new practices based on competences are, of course, the ones which are given the most support today by the supranational financing policies based on the lifelong learning approach, which, in the context of the European Union in turn mark the agenda both of educational policies carried out by the Ministries of Education, as well as the social policies carried out by the Ministries of Labour of the various Member States. (p. 129)

Barros (2012) affirms the main discourses on the relationship between the new economy, flexible work practices and educational practices in improving competences and skills in adult education particularly come from approaches and concepts used in the scope of management theories. According to Sayılan (2015), LLL is introduced along with various slogans such as knowledge economy and learning society, “which are interrelated globally and which strengthen each other, and also operate in the spirit of ‘advertising’ and ‘branding’ which is characteristic of the market” (p. 158). Barros (2012) explains the current situation and transition of LLL as follows:

All these transitions are a reflection of the latest evolution in capitalism, which has been transformed into a wild capitalism, which leaves its marks on the whole of today’s social life, making it de-standardized and

individualistic and creating a constant climate of uncertainty and risk. We live in times of growing insecurity arising from the instability of our professional situation, which is also reflected in the physical and psychological health of workers, who are becoming increasingly isolated and socially unprotected. This is exacerbated by increasing social inequality, exclusion and violence. Seen as a whole, this situation gives society a general sense of disenchantment and alienation, allied to a paradoxical situation in which the adult is incited to action while at the same time is discouraged from acting, that is, people are encouraged to be compulsively active while receiving education. Furthermore it is to be noted that they are engaged in lifelong learning in all aspects of their lives. These individuals are told not only that their employability is in their own hands but also that the possibility of them becoming competent workers is also their own responsibility. But a competent worker at the beginning of the 21st century is a well-adapted one, whose personal action is reduced to the sphere of their positive professional commitment, and their positive performance as a consumer. Therefore, a citizen that is competent to work and consume cannot be too active in asking questions and in querying unfair social realities. In a way, the competences model of lifelong learning seems today to be actively advocating the consolidation of a 'collective free aspirations world'. (p. 130)

According to Crowther (2004), LLL is used as the common toolkit of global capitalism adjustable to all conditions and complications currently. He states this perception is "not primarily its narrow vocationalism but its hidden agenda of creating malleable, disconnected, transient, disciplined workers and citizens" (p. 127). He says the emergence of a market for LLL has been reducing the public sphere since it is adjacent to the discourse of consumer choice, where this view accepts that markets are free, neutral and passive. Crowther (2004) states flexible capitalism demands workers who are willing to train and retrain continuously due to the changing demands and necessities of the labor market. He emphasizes that this situation makes participation in LLL less of an option but more of an obligation, as there is an increasing forced expectation and demand that adults should join particular areas of learning. Accordingly,

Lifelong learning is shifting the responsibility for learning to individuals, undermining welfare, disguising the reduction of the democratic public

sphere, and working on people as objects of policy to ensure their compliance with the brave new world of flexible capitalism. (p. 130)

As it has been this way before, the reemergence of the LLL idea came from international bodies in the 1990s as well. Delors report by UNESCO was one of the key policy documents, which was published in 1996. Furthermore, the EC, OECD and the Group of Eight industrial nations have been the key players that returned to the LLL ideas as well (Field, 2001). Dehmel (2006) states the issue of LLL arose as an essential approach in education and training policies of the EU since the mid-1990s and the EU has been an important actor in the field of LLL on an international stage since those days. According to Dehmel (2006), the rising interest of the EU in the field of LLL is encouraged by the process concerning a single European market and by the risks as well as the opportunities offered by globalization and new information technologies. He emphasizes the EU has chosen LLL as a slogan to defend, sum up, announce and promote its values, ideas and policies in the area of education and training. According to Kaya and Zukal (2012), the EU and its subsidiary institution, the EC, have become major intergovernmental policy actors in the LLL debate in the 1990s, which had limited power and thus influence in the 1970s. Kaya and Zukal (2012) state the LLL program has been the most aspiring European educational project recently, which is perceived as the necessary condition of improving economical growth and competitiveness of the EU. Mandal (2012) emphasizes the EU has been a major supranational organization, which has made an important change in its policy domain through their support of LLL in the 1990s. The EU as a key regional actor and supranational body played an important role in the conceptualization and promotion of the LLL policy in recent years, which has been

supported by many other international organizations and think tanks (Centeno, 2011).

Crowther (2004) states a series of policy papers that were published by the EU during the 1990s have been a way of increasing the popularization of the LLL in Europe. Accordingly, two key effects began to create the LLL policy of the EU. The first of these effects was the emphasis on economic competitiveness in a world market, which was dominated by international capital, and the second one was the crisis of welfare in European countries due to increasing unemployment and migration. According to Hake (1999b), by the mid-1990s, “the general direction of thinking about EU policy was moving towards the encouragement of lifelong learning as a key priority for the future and the way to meet the challenge of globalization” (p. 61). According to Hake (1999b), the interest in LLL in Europe since the early 1990s was stimulated by:

Progress towards the single internal market, continuing high levels of structural unemployment, recognition of an education and training lag in Europe, and increasing competition in the global market place. Stimulated by employers’ organizations, trade unions, and other European organizations, the Commission embarked upon a major review of policy and programmes with a view towards constructing a more coherent system. (p. 59)

Field (2001) states there have been two main differences in the reappearing process of LLL when it is compared with the late 1960s and early 1970s. Accordingly, the EU as one of the intergovernmental bodies gained decision-making powers by the 1990s and was in a position to make a real change to policy. Field (2001) states, secondly, especially after the declaration of the European Year of Lifelong Learning in 1996, the concept of LLL captivated national policy debates and continued to play a part in legitimating an extensive range of policy implementations.

Dehmel (2006) states the main role of the EU in this context was clearly underlined firstly in the White Paper of the Commission in 1994 that was titled “Growth, Competitiveness and Employment”. According to Dehmel (2006), this report has been one of the milestones in the LLL history of the EU. Hake (1999b) points out the importance of this paper in terms of LLL policies of the EU as well and states this was the entry of the EU as a fundamental actor in the rise of LLL. In this sense, it can be said that the EU has a moderately short past if it is compared with the whole history.

After this report, the White Paper titled “Teaching and Learning: Towards the Learning Society” was published in 1995 that developed the idea of LLL in the EU. Furthermore, the declaration of the European Year of Lifelong Learning in 1996 has been another milestone and LLL has become a priority within the European Employment Strategy (Dehmel, 2006). Hake (1999b) states,

European Year of Lifelong Learning was intended as a year in which consciousness-raising activities would be organized in order to put lifelong learning firmly on the policy agenda throughout the EU, to inform citizens in the member states of the need for continuing education and training, and to convince them of the necessity of their own responsibility for lifelong learning. In practice, the year comprised a diverse range of activities throughout the EU including conferences, seminars, exhibitions, festivals, and adult learners weeks. (p. 61)

According to Field (2001), the idea in declaring the European Year of Lifelong Learning was clear, which was orienting the idea of LLL in line with the requirements of the single European market. According to Field (2001),

The European Union was faced by the threats and opportunities of globalization, information technology and the application of science. If they were going to stand up to Japan and the USA, the EU’s member states had to pool some of their sovereignty and resources, in education

and training as in other policy areas; this would also help develop a sense of European citizenship and foster social inclusion. (p. 10)

Barros (2012) states the White Paper of the European Commission (1995) and the European Year of Lifelong Learning (1996) have been cornerstones in terms of making LLL a widely known concept in transnational policies concerning adult education. He emphasizes LLL has been presented as the main instrument to adapt to change in the context of it being the best educational tool to raise flexibility and economic competitiveness. Besides, LLL has been seen as a political tool for social cohesion through educational programs and aspect of employability and professional advancement and as a strategy to expand consumer-citizen participation in the social, cultural and political spheres of societies. Barros (2012) states all European governments have been referring to the LLL paradigm and implementing adult education policies recently in the scope of this perspective, which are vocational and technocratic in nature. Accordingly, in Europe,

The lifelong learning paradigm provides an understanding of the concept of competence that appears to be deeply instrumental and applies overwhelmingly to key benchmark skills that underpin a logic of educational results (meaning productivity gains for companies, and competitive empowerment for employees). (p. 127)

The Memorandum on Lifelong Learning, which was published by the EC in 2000, has been one of the most significant policy documents in the 21st century in the field of LLL (Barros, 2012). The memorandum delivers a structured framework through six key messages with the aim of launching a European-wide argument on an inclusive strategy for the operation of LLL (Dehmel, 2006). According to Dehmel (2006), the memorandum “presents the promotion of active citizenship and the promotion of employability as equally important, interrelated aims of lifelong

learning, which are considered indispensable for the transition to a knowledge-based economy and society” (p. 56). He states the memorandum mainly focuses on the employment and labor market issues, which are related to the economic aims of the EU. Accordingly, the social participation aspect of LLL was preserved only as negligible points in the memorandum; the understanding of LLL for personal development and the fulfillment of personal aims and potentials was ignored to a great degree. Dehmel (2006) affirms the memorandum is important since it arguably signaled a significant step forward in the EU’s arguments on LLL. Accordingly, the memorandum offered not only a description of LLL and its purposes but also an agenda for a EU-wide discussion on an inclusive strategy for LLL.

Kaya and Zukal (2012) deal with the six key messages of the memorandum as the basis for LLL using discourse analysis in terms of taking the definition of knowledge to the center. Accordingly, the narrowest definition of knowledge in the memorandum centers on employability where employability is strongly related to the concepts of effectiveness and adaptability. They state the concept of LLL is conceptualized as a certain tool to participate in workforce. Accordingly, the aim of the LLL system in the memorandum is “to produce an individual usable to improve its competitiveness and effectiveness; nonetheless as individual is achieving ontological security by the very same means there is a certain interfusion of individual identity and system interests” (p. 44). Furthermore, according to Borg and Mayo (2005), the memorandum included the neoliberal set of strategies that function to heighten competitiveness of the member and candidate countries in a scenario that is characterized by the consolidation of globalization. Kleibrink (2011) states the necessity of economic competitiveness is essentially linked to LLL policies in terms of education policy in the EU. He emphasizes the norm of LLL is derived from the

business world and not from academia or policy communities. In the same way, according to Kaya (2010), LLL policies of the EU are shaped on the basis of the aim of being the most competitive, dynamic and knowledge-based economy of the world.

According to Lee, Thayer and Madyun (2008), the LLL policy of the EU ironically included both the neoliberal model, which is the Anglo-Saxon model in general, and the social democratic liberal model, which is the Scandinavian model. They state,

The lifelong learning policy of the EU tended to be hybridised with UNESCO and the OECD in terms of aims and discourses embedded in its major policy documents. Considering the fact that, historically, UNESCO and the OECD took different policy approaches to lifelong learning during the 1970s and 1980s, the EU's lifelong learning policy, cross-fertilised by both UNESCO and the OECD, is in particular an intriguing phenomenon. (p. 458)

There has been convergence in LLL policies of the member and candidate countries in the EU in recent years. According to Dehmelt (2006), the open method of cooperation (OMC) by the Lisbon European Council in 2000 is often considered a significant tool of the EU's convergence policy because it carries out structures, mechanisms and processes which frequently lead to parallel changes in education and training systems of the member states. He affirms, "This new principle of cooperation focuses on the joint search for, and dissemination of, best practice and the development of common benchmarks and guidelines" (p. 54). Accordingly, the increasing convergence pressures were supplemented by the idea of creating a European educational space. Kleibrink (2011) states the OMC has been very operational in promoting cooperation in LLL in the EU countries. According to Dehmelt (2006), policy on LLL appears to offer a particularly interesting and

productive base for exploring the larger, greatly discussed issue of the EU convergence policy.

Tuschling and Engemann (2006) emphasize that the EC has been recently trying to establish “uniformity within diversity” in the area of social policy where the main instrument for achieving this aim is the OMC. Accordingly, the OMC is:

A process whereby the European Commission develops certain objectives and a corresponding timeframe in a specific area of (social) policy, which then become the basis for contracts with the member states. By signing the contract, the particular member state agrees on achieving the contracted goals within the specified timeframe—for example reducing youth joblessness by 5% in two years. The means by which this goal is achieved usually remain free to the member state. In the second step the EU can evaluate and benchmark the performance of the member states. OMC ideally should lead to a competition for the most efficient framework of social policy between the member states, although the factual impact and importance of the systems remains contended. (p. 453)

Furthermore, Hake (1999b) explains the EU convergence policy as follows:

To the degree that there is any significant convergence in the education and training systems in the member states, it could be argued that this has had little to do with co-ordinated EU policy and programmes. Convergence has arisen from the same powerful forces that influence the structures of provision in the member states. These include the weakening of the welfare state, the deregulation of markets, a focus upon ‘start qualifications’ for young adults entering the labour market, shifts towards market principles in the provision of continuing education and training for adults, together with the emphasis upon individual responsibility for education and training. (p. 58)

In the same way, Novoa (2007) points out an unexpected familiarity in the way that educational matters are debated around the world. Accordingly,

The feeling of commonality does not resist the historical and political differences of national and regional contexts. It is an illusion to think that the ‘problems’ and the ‘solutions’ are similar from one country to another. But the strong appeal for a ‘globalized discourse’ drives us to generalizations that, in the end, are empty of any critical or interpretative potential. (p. 143)

Kleibrink (2011) emphasizes that the EU effectively established its perspective on LLL policy as a norm and this perspective diffused to neighboring states, especially those that are less developed. Accordingly, emulation and bounded learning mechanisms illustrate this convergence. Kleibrink (2011) points out the EU has been the first international actor to set up a regionally accepted meta-framework, which is the European Qualifications Framework (EQF), that urges the initiation of National Qualifications Frameworks (NQF) in different countries. He states, in spite of the fact that there is no clear empirical evidence of this system being successful, this system is diffusing around Europe. According to Kleibrink (2011), the EC and its agencies are the norm entrepreneurs for LLL and multinational companies affect the norm appearance in LLL. Kleibrink (2011) states NQFs are the essential element of how the EC framed lifelong learning approach. Accordingly,

EU institutions and agencies successfully established this norm of lifelong learning in member states. At the same time, they turned to neighbouring states to diffuse it abroad. For this, they used capacity-building in the form of policy expertise and information sharing. Governments that initiate NQFs indicate that they have to a certain extent accepted the norm as framed by the EU. (p. 71)

Kleibrink (2011) explains four stages in norm-setting of the EC and its agencies. He states, in the first stage, once the multinational companies convince a critical mass of states to admit the norm, it becomes a behavior that disperses more widely. Accordingly, after this tipping point, the sense of the norms is stabilized. He asserts the EC and its agencies contributed to the meaning of LLL by differentiating the concept from the earlier humanistic idea and merging social justice with efficiency deliberations based on the notion of human capital at this stage. Kleibrink (2011) states, in the third phase, community members internalize the norm and begin acting within the scope of its grounds by developing and accepting policies that adhere to it.

In the last stage, the bureaucracy that drives policy change in the previous stages might expand its capacity beyond its community. According to Kleibrink (2011), in this stage, “capacity-building through exchange of expertise and information has been relatively successful in establishing the norm and then ‘teaching’ it and diffusing it to neighbouring countries” (p. 72).

Furthermore, Moutsios (2010) states knowledge production, diffusion and certification are no longer exclusive matters of the European states but the affairs of a shared reform program designed by, through and within the EU. Accordingly, the Maastricht Treaty and the European dimension in education; the Lisbon strategy and the creation of a European education space; and the Bologna Process and the European Framework for Lifelong Learning have been important cornerstones for common reform programs through and within the EU. The European states commonly agree that they should be focusing on competitiveness, growth and productivity and strengthening social cohesion, where knowledge, innovation and the optimization of human capital should be emphasized in policies of European countries.

Tuschling and Engemann (2006) state LLL is a certain outstanding discourse within the efforts to alter the educational frameworks in Europe where it is one of the major resources for the aim of making the EU the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economic market of the world. Accordingly,

The European Union, faced with the problem of finding means of modernization and integration for the vastly different educational systems of its member states, the rapidly changing market demands on the skill sets of human-capital and concurrently the problem of maintaining the employability of its ageing populations over their whole lifespan, expresses the political will to utilize lifelong learning in order to overcome these challenges. (p. 454)

Novoa (2007) emphasizes that the issue of improving employability in all of the European guidelines puts an emphasis on LLL. Accordingly, the concept of employability is a way of linking employment with education or depicting unemployment as a matter of uneducated people. He states, “The mobilization of this concept in political discourse entailed its transition from the social or economic sphere to the individual sphere” (p. 146). He emphasizes one can understand the increasing focus on LLL in European educational policies through such an understanding of the concept.

Sayılan (2015) summarizes the LLL understanding of the EU as follows:

The EU also needs a Lifelong Learning strategy for adapting the given labor forces to the qualifications and skills required by flexible production around its territory. Thus it is aimed to connect and interconnect all over the continent. Also, it aims to form the substructure of developing common certification standards through formal, all non-formal and informal learning webs, which will provide continuous skilling and re-skilling that the market and economy demands. Under EU conditions where there is no problem of access to basic and advanced education; where varied and widespread learning opportunities with new technologies are on the agenda; and where informal learning is part of formal learning it seems that LL strategy is in accordance with EU position in global competition and objective interests. The European Commission (EC) under these conditions determines steering principles of member country policies for creating a European educational domain. The EU uses criteria and indicators for monitoring the performance of member countries. (p. 160)

According to Novoa (2007), there is a consensus about the educational programs and guidelines that have been applied at the European level recently. He states the EU has defined new ways of governing, which have been “proven to be extremely attractive, and tended to de-legitimize all alternative positions and dispositions” (p. 149). Novoa (2007) points out the role of comparability as a way of governance as well. Accordingly, it must not be seen as just a method; it is a policy in the scope of

one of the most powerful means of governance being managed in the European space. According to Novoa (2007), EU member countries are including indistinguishable guidelines and discourses, all of which are seen as the single way to get over educational and social problems. He affirms the member states evaluate the power of EU guidelines with a feeling of unavoidability.

Dale (2005) uses the following words to describe political activity on the EU scale and relationships of individual member states with this process:

The European Union now represents a distinct scale of political activity, irreducible to the aggregate of the interests of the member states that make it up. This does not mean that all members have equal influence on the decisions by which they are all equally bound, but it does entail recognising the EU is more than an extension of particular national interests. Decisions made, and policies agreed, at the European scale are not reducible to, or explicable in terms of, the intentions and interests of individual member states. (p. 126)

According to Novoa (2007), the EU tends to influence national policies in the field of education through functioning as a regulatory ideal. He states, discussions on educational topics are “influenced by the media, by an expert-discourse that tends to homogenize ‘problems’ and ‘solutions’ and by excessive references to the ‘past’ and to the ‘future’ of Europe” (p. 144).

Changes and developments in the field of LLL in the EU have affected lifelong learning policies in Turkey as a candidate country for the EU. Turkey has been following the EU countries closely in terms of the new regulation in LLL policies in the country. As Sayılan (2015) states, in the borders of the EU, “the arrangement and organization of education and training under Lifelong Learning system differs in relation to countries that have different and varying social, cultural and political traditions” (p. 161). The EU builds up a LLL space as a part of

neoliberal transformation of education systems in countries such as Turkey (Sayılan, 2015).

In the next part of the literature review, adult education and LLL issues in Turkey will be dealt with briefly. The next part starts with the historical foundations of adult education in Turkey and by following the history of the Turkish Republic comes to this day with globalization and the EU accession process, which have been highly influential on LLL policies recently.

2.3 Adult Education and Lifelong Learning in Turkey

In this part, developments and changes in the fields of adult education and LLL will be dealt with historically and in the recent context in Turkey. For this aim, at first, the history of adult education policies and practices, especially after the establishment of the Turkish Republic, will be discussed. In the second part, LLL policies in Turkey in the global era will be examined. Besides as a cornerstone in LLL policies in Turkey, the membership application process of Turkey to the EU and the effects of this process on LLL policies will be examined in this part.

2.3.1 Historical perspective

The issue of LLL is one of the most popular issues in the Turkish education system nowadays, as it has been all around the world. The concept of adult education has been replaced with the concept of LLL especially since the 2000s in Turkey. Even though the LLL concept has had a short life so far, Turkey has a long history of adult education with various established institutions and program areas (Miser, Ural and Ünlühisarcıklı, 2013).

History of adult education in Turkey extends back to the sixth century (Duman and Williamson, 1996). On the other hand, the development of policies on education of adults, organizing institutional activities that reach people in large-scale territories, especially accelerated by the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, but there were also some institutions that were offering educational activities for adults before.

Duman and Williamson (1996) state there were many instances of institutions, practices and traditions in the pre-Republic era of Turkey related to adult education. They exemplify these practices as hunting parties, the stories of Dede Korkut, Kutadgu Bilig, mosques and medreses as well as tradesmen's guilds (loncalar) and humilities (dervişler) and institutionally Enderun (palace) School, Training Hearths (Terbiye Ocakları), Apprenticeship Schools (Çıraklık Okulu). Furthermore, Okçabol (2006) affirms mosques, sects, libraries, cultural riddles, fables, Karagöz, stories of Nasreddin Hodja, encomiasts and eulogies are some examples of the facilities and means for adult education especially in the development periods of the Ottoman Empire until the 16th century. Accordingly, Vestibule Schools, which were started by Islam Teaching Association in 1865, were providing literacy, calculation and religious knowledge to working people similar to today's understanding of adult education. Bilir (2009) states learning built upon coincidental observations and experiences before the Republic period was dense but social change was slow in this period. He affirms that in this period, adult education institutions were "Ahi communities, guilds, Madrasas, military/barracks, coffee houses (places those where people were reading magazines and newspapers) and voluntary agencies" (p. 42).

Miser, Ural and Ünlühisarcıklı (2013) affirm “institutions like Madrasa provided education for the privileged and various foundations, and religious groups provided adult education for the public” (p. 168) during the Seljuk (1040-1308) and Ottoman empires (1299-1920). According to Bilir (2009), Ethem Nejat and İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu were pioneers of adult education in the pre-Republic era. Furthermore, Oğuzkan (1955) points out another dimension of the adult education activities in the pre-Republic period and affirms various experiments were made in the field of citizenship and vocational education in this period; these actions, however, remained limited mainly to İstanbul.

The foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923 was one of the cornerstones in the history of adult education in Turkey. Okçabol (2006) states that adult education was valued just before the establishment of the Republic during the War of Independence as well. In the early years of the Republic, education in general, and specifically adult education, “was much valued and regarded as the most important means of eliminating widespread ignorance, poverty, and illiteracy” (Miser, Ural and Ünlühisarcıklı, 2013, p. 168). According to Oğuzkan (1955), certain governmental circles and individuals have been concerned with the need for educating out-of-school youth and adults since the early days of the Republic.

Duman (1999, p. 148) divides the development of adult education in Turkey after the foundation of the Turkish Republic in four main periods, which are as follows:

- a) Seeking production of utilities (1923-1950)
- b) Seeking organization (1950-1960)
- c) Seeking progress (1960-1973) and

d) Seeking integration (1973-1990).

Duman (1999) also adds the period after the 1990s, which accordingly could be identified as seeking restructuring. Duman (1999) summarizes the understanding of adult education in the early Republican period as secular, contemporary and enlightened, which aimed to procure unity and coherence of feelings, thoughts and culture in the society. According to Duman and Williamson (1996), after the declaration of the Republic, Atatürk's revolution could not be explained efficiently to the people living in Turkey and the founding cadres of the Republic needed an organization which enabled them to propagate the principles of the Republic to the people. For the purpose of achieving this aim, People's Houses were established in 1932 and consisted of an extensive range of activities such as literature, fine arts, theatre, publishing and librarianship.

Oğuzkan (1955) provides some statistical data about the status of adult education in the early years of the Turkish Republic. Accordingly,

The year 1928 witnessed the inauguration of a large-scale literacy campaign for adults. A census taken in 1927 showed that out of a population of 13,648,270, only 1,111,496—less than 9%—knew how to read the Arabic characters. In 1928, the Arabic alphabet was replaced by a Latin alphabet, and stationary and mobile courses for teaching the new alphabet were opened for adults on a basis of compulsory attendance. In the operation year 1928-1929 alone, more than 20,000 courses, or, as they were called, 'national schools', were opened; attendance ran to more than one million, those receiving Certificates reaching more than 500,000. (p. 18)

According to Okçabol (2006), efforts to extend literacy were the prominent activities related to adult education in the early years of the Turkish Republic. Through literacy campaigns, the literacy rate increased from 11 percent in 1928 to 22.4 percent in 1940, to 39.5 percent in 1960 and to 67 percent 1980 in Turkey (Okçabol, 2006).

Until the 1960s, many important institutions were established such as National Schools (1928), Vocational Evening Schools for Men (1928), Vocational Evening Schools for Women (1929), Public Reading Rooms (1930), People's Houses (1932), Training of Trainers (1936), Village Courses (1939), Village Institutes (1940), Evening Schools (1942), Public Courses and Classrooms (1953), and Community Development Studies (1961), which aimed to increase educational level of adults (Miser, Ural and Ünlühisarcıklı, 2013). Oğuzkan (1995) states the national school movement was a well-structured and effective anti-illiteracy campaign in this period to eradicate illiteracy.

After these developments, the Basic Law of National Education No. 1739 was issued in 1973. According to this law, which is currently valid, the Turkish National Education System has two main divisions, which are formal and non-formal education. This law has given the responsibility and coordination roles to the MoNE to accelerate the development of adult education in Turkey (Okçabol, 2006). As a cornerstone in history of adult education in Turkey, this law defined non-formal education as “education, training, guidance and applied activities outside the formal education system” (Resmi Gazete, 1973). Accordingly, non-formal education is specifically oriented to citizens who have never been within the formal system, or who are currently at a particular stage of their education, or who have left their education. On the basis of general aims and basic principles of national education, specifically non-formal education aims to teach citizens how to read and write, provide educational possibilities for them to bring themselves up to scientific, technological, economic, social and cultural developments of the century, provide educational activities related to national culture, provide vocational and technical

education, and provide in service training and make them get useful knowledge and skills (Resmi Gazete, 1973).

Furthermore, education of adults was first included in academic programs in the 1950s, with the decision of Gazi Education Institute to introduce the adult education issue in its teacher training programs. After that, undergraduate, master and doctoral programs in adult education were opened in 1965 in Ankara University (the undergraduate program was closed a few years later and reopened in 1989). Besides, some other universities such as Boğaziçi and Marmara Universities opened these programs on different levels, but undergraduate programs were closed in all universities by the decision of YÖK in 1997 (Okçabol, 2006). Duman and Williamson (1996) state the MoNE have not employed many people who are specifically trained in adult education in adult education services and who have received their BA, MA or PhD degrees in this field.

Duman and Williamson (1996) emphasize that some of the main problems in the field of adult education in Turkey are “lack of physical facilities and equipment; legislative problems in the field of adult education; lack of well-trained adult educators and shortage of financial resources” (p. 297). Accordingly,

The essence of the changes needed to improve Turkish adult education lies in the need to decentralize services, to improve the training and professional expertise of adult educators and to re-focus the concerns of service providers on the needs of their own localities. This has to be achieved through measures to encourage much higher levels of local participation in the design and provision of adult education services. (p. 286)

Furthermore, Duman and Williamson (1996) point out the problem of confusion in the terminology of adult education where adult education, non-formal education,

people's education, lifelong education, continuing education, popular education, in-service education, permanent education and post-school education have been the concepts that mostly substitute adult education, but accordingly these are different concepts. On the other hand, they emphasize the problems of adult education in Turkey are not conceptual in the end but especially political in terms of power groups in the Turkish society and the state who define methods, content and staffing of adult education. Accordingly,

Turkish adult education leads to a number of key observations. First, Turkey has a long tradition of adult education. Second, there have been times when the Turkish state has regarded adult education as a central element of national regeneration. Third, there is a large, diverse but not well-co-ordinated structure of adult education provision, which could form the basis of much more successful policies in this field. The main weakness, from which many others follow, is the absence at present of a coherent vision of what adult education could achieve and what values the system of post-school provision should represent. The problem, essentially, is a political one and inseparable from the tension of Turkish society itself. (p. 300)

Okçabol (2006) states there are problems in the field of adult education in a wide spectrum from conceptual confusion to inadequate resources, from bureaucratic structure to education and teaching processes. Accordingly, the wish of the youth and adults for acquiring skills and getting jobs has been the driving force in development of adult education recently.

According to Bağcı (2011), lifelong education/learning has been the most used concept in the field of education both in Turkey and around the world recently. Bağcı (2011) states this popularity of the concept is related to fast and multifaceted changes in the world where these changes have brought new necessities for the people and education has been seen as the answer to these necessities. Furthermore, Miser, Ural and Ünlühisarcıklı (2013) state,

Distinctive feature of today's world is the importance attributed to knowledge. In Turkey, knowledge is considered a source of superiority for today and the near future; thus, learning is fundamental and the pursuit of lifelong learning a necessity. There is common consensus among politicians and pedagogues that learning should continue lifelong, and all consider lifelong learning important. (p. 167)

In the next part, changes in the field of adult education in Turkey, through the adaptation process of the country to the globalization and harmonization process in the EU accession period, will be summarized. The concept of LLL is used instead of that of adult learning in the title of the next section since the use of the adult education concept was replaced with the LLL concept recently in Turkey.

2.3.2 Globalization, the EU accession process and lifelong learning in Turkey

In recent years, there have been important changes and developments in the field of LLL in Turkey. Many of these changes have been related to the accession period of Turkey to the EU and Turkey's aim of integration to the global economy and policies in this period.

As it has been all over the world, neoliberal policies have been a significant factor in restructuring of education and specifically of adult education as well in Turkey. According to Yıldız (2012),

The neoliberal policies that dominated Turkey after 1980 led to a radical change in adult-education practices and approaches, following the discourse and practices of the AKP, which came to power in 2002. This stance claims that the state should have a limited role, and that education should be considered as a gradual process of social change, family, and traditional values rather than being radical. (p. 246)

Yıldız (2012) states, while in the early years of establishment of the Republic, the use of the concept of “public education” was widespread, it has become obsolete in Turkey recently and has given way to the concepts of ‘adult education’ or “lifelong learning” (p. 245). He affirms that public education indicates something older that is recalled with nostalgia and is reflected to be an old-fashioned concept that bears no relationship to today. Yıldız (2012) points out adult education has begun to be described on the basis of neoliberal policies and individualistic approach by the effects of the neoliberal policies. Yıldız (2012) states the adult education approaches and practices in the AKP governments period can be handled under four different titles, which are:

- (1) Approaches and practices that reduce adult education to workforce training, and in which the role of the civil society is particularly important;
- (2) adult-literacy endeavors; (3) educational services offered by the local authorities ruled by the AKP; and (4) religious courses. (p. 246)

According to Yıldız (2012), public responsibility in the usual route of adult education has been broken, and private economy and religion have determined the content of adult education in the AKP period. He emphasizes that adult education approaches and practices have appeared not just as responsibilities under the MoNE, but the Ministry of Economy and the Directorate of Religious Affairs organized activities in the field in recent years as well. Accordingly, the dominant approach in adult education has been shaped by the needs of the markets in the context of global trends in Turkey of late years. He states this approach excludes egalitarian practices that demonstrate a sense of public responsibility.

In the same way, Okçabol (2013) states that LLL has become a mainly economic interpretation in the market economy and “[i]nstead of ‘lifelong learning’

and ‘learning to learn,’ usage of ‘lifelong learning’ and ‘learning to earn’ is becoming common reality” (p. 18).

According to Yıldız (2012), the market ideology defines the context and content of adult education. He states adult education has been mostly defined on the basis of increasing the sensitivity of the workforce to the economy and employability skills. Accordingly, there has been a shift from the public to the individual and from education to learning recently, which accordingly “has meant a shift from public right to charity and from public service to commodity” (p. 254).

According to Bağcı (2011), Turkey has tried to harmonize its education system with the countries of the EU in the accession process to the EU, where this harmonization route has dominated the debates of LLL in Turkey. Bağcı (2011) states that LLL documents in Turkey were prepared on the basis of the documents that were published by the EU, and so there were many similarities, which were reflected in both the language of the documents and educational necessities and aims of education that were emphasized in the documents. He states in spite of the fact that Turkey has unique problems related to LLL and so unique solutions should be implemented for these problems, the LLL policies in Turkey have been based just upon the EU membership dynamics and integration to globalization. Bağcı (2011) emphasizes that this approach neglects the distinctive problems of Turkey. In the same way, Yıldız (2012) states an analysis of basic authorized documents that have recently guided education in Turkey uncovers a neoliberal approach in that education is shaped by the demands of the market.

According to Sayılan (2015),

the existing LL perspective and discourse of Turkey is more reductionist than the EU perspective and discourse, and through LL it is aimed at establishing market-driven vocational education and training systems formally and non-formally. Hence some steps to strengthen the employment-education connection are taken rapidly. Many multipartite projects, which are conducted under the name of “modernization of vocational education and training,” are incorporated under LL concepts, a professional competence council and system is structured, and a group of social partners coming from business circles, are created. (p. 164)

In the next part, some key developments and changes in the field of LLL that have come through the integration process of Turkey with globalization and accession process to the EU will be dealt with briefly.

2.4 Recent developments in lifelong learning policies in Turkey

There have been significant changes and developments in the field of LLL in Turkey recently. The publication of the “Driving Force for the Success of Turkey: Lifelong Learning” Policy Paper in 2006, of the first Lifelong Learning Strategy Paper in 2009 and of the second Lifelong Learning Strategy Paper in 2014, the establishment of the HBÖGM, and the making process of the HBÖKK within the scope of works done under the HBÖGP have been the cornerstones in the context of LLL policies in Turkey lately. In this part of the literature, some brief information related to recent changes in the field of LLL in Turkey will be presented.

2.4.1 “Driving Force for the Success of Turkey: Lifelong Learning Policy Paper”

The “Driving Force for the Success of Turkey: Lifelong Learning” Policy Paper was published in 2006 as an outcome of Strengthening Vocational Education and Training Project (SVET-MEGEP). SVET was implemented “in a total of 145 pilot

institutions in 30 provinces, aims to establish a more qualified vocational education and training (VET) system that is up to the EU standards” (Delegation of European Union to Turkey, 2014). This project had a budget of 58.2 million Euros; it had been funded by the EU and implemented in the period 2002–2007.

According to this policy paper, the demographic feature of the Turkish population signifies the main question for Turkey in terms of the necessity of regarding human resources development. The paper states, the SVET project was started “to help the process of modernisation and adaptation of the VET system to the socio-economic needs of the country and to the principles of lifelong learning” (p. 39). Accordingly, since Turkey misses appropriate and inclusive learning and training inducements to approach essential unemployment and low participation in labor, the perspective of LLL should be considered to generate solutions for these issues.

The policy paper, which emerged especially as a result of studies done by EU and Turkish experts in the period of June 2005-June 2006 in the context of the SVET project, was the first important report related to LLL policies in Turkey (SVET, 2006). It is stated in the preface of the paper that the paper is about the meaning and significance of LLL for Turkey. The purpose of the paper is stated as to “assess the current role of lifelong learning in Turkey and to make recommendations for policy-makers in stakeholder organisations on how to improve lifelong learning policies” (p. 2). The paper included four main chapters: “Lifelong Learning Concepts and European Systems of Lifelong Learning”, “Lifelong Learning in Turkey”, “Assessment of Lifelong Learning Practices and Prospects” and lastly, “Recommendations and Suggestions for the Future” (SVET, 2006).

In the paper, LLL is defined as “all learning activities undertaken throughout life with the aim of improving knowledge, skills and competencies, within a personal, civic, social and/or employment-related perspective” (p. 13). It is stated that LLL comprises formal and informal learning, courses for gaining technical training and skills, vocational skills obtained at working places. Accordingly, LLL is unlimited in the sense of age, socio-economic status and education level and one can access learning at schools, at home, at work or in another place. It is stated LLL is designed to allow all people to adapt to the knowledge-based society and to contribute in all circles of social and economic life.

The paper often emphasized such concepts as competitive global society, labor market requirements and job-related skills and competencies of individuals, which are the key concepts in the field of LLL nowadays in the global era. According to the paper,

Nowadays each and every individual needs to be able to adapt to changing life conditions, and practise continuous learning in order to improve his or her personal abilities, job-related skills and competencies. It is proving essential in modern fast-changing and competitive global society to keep undertaking education and training in line for both personal objectives and labour market requirements. Lifelong learning is therefore an essential tool to raise the quality of life in Turkey. (p. 13)

Besides, the paper especially stresses the European effect on the pervading of the concept of LLL. Accordingly, the concept has been popular and more central over the past ten years and reasons for this popularity are explained as follows:

Now it is in the context not just of late industrial society or post-industrialism but also of the new information (ICT) revolution, and especially globalisation and what we now call the knowledge society. It is because of this new context and the new imperatives of ‘globalism’ that LLL has come back to the very centre of the policy stage, not just in education but across many Ministries and portfolios including such most senior portfolios as the Prime Minister’s, and the Treasury or Finance Ministry. (p. 14)

In the paper, it is stated that the meaning of the concept has significantly been restricted from entire social and human growth to the accomplishment of workplace skills in the recent popularization of LLL. Accordingly, changes in the workplace and the vanishing of many types of jobs and the emergence of new jobs, the uncertainty and the imbalance in the labor market, the increasing migration of workers internationally and the emerging of new technologies are some of the reasons for this new situation. It is stated that these changes put the idea of learning from cradle to grave to the center especially in terms of its economic basis.

It is stated in the paper that LLL as a policy concept was bound up to the wealthiest countries with advanced economies before, but recently it has been important in middle-income and developing country contexts as well. Accordingly, in spite of the fact that skills for employability are frequently referred to as the main focus of LLL policies, the LLL concept is about more than short-range economic success.

The first chapter in the paper is titled “Lifelong Learning Concepts and European Systems of Lifelong Learning” and one of the sections in this chapter deals with LLL systems in the Europe. In this section, the paper tells about the “EU Idea of Lifelong Learning”, the key messages of the “EU Memorandum on Lifelong Learning” and the “EU Working Programme on the Concrete Future Objectives of Education and Training Systems”. In this part, OMC, which is the main tool for convergence in policies in Europe, is analyzed under a separate title. The views of the paper about OMC are as follows:

While respecting the breakdown of responsibilities envisaged in the treaties under the principle of subsidiarity, this method provides a new

co-operation framework for the Member States with a view to convergence of national policies and the attainment of certain objectives shared by everyone. (p. 20)

According to the paper, the EC has given central importance to LLL and advises the shared benefits of collaboration in the field of LLL. It is stated that Turkey should develop a strong LLL policy and practical strategy in the accession process to the EU.

The paper deals with the current situation of LLL as well and assesses the strengths and weaknesses of LLL policies and practices in Turkey. Accordingly, the most significant issue is “the cognitive readiness of the stakeholders at all levels and corners about the concept and implementation of lifelong learning” (p. 25). It is stated that the concept of LLL seems to be very attractive and rather familiar and all relevant parties use the concept widely but there is no consensus about the real meaning of the term. At this point, the paper refers to the necessity of a well-intended strategy for the operation of LLL.

The paper states that learner-centeredness, accessibility and flexibility, regionalization, partnership and quality assurance, curriculum renewal and effective national credit framework, effective comparison, monitoring and development are some of the important issues in the field of LLL. Furthermore, the paper emphasizes that it is crucial to move to a more dynamic client-oriented service in public administration in order to make LLL an effectively growing area. In this context, accordingly, “the gradual approach towards a date of EU accession, and the connection of Turkish framework qualifications to common qualifications frameworks across the Community, will add weight to the process” (p. 49).

According to the paper, as the most common non-formal education centers, People Education Centers (PECs) can play a significant role in the local training market. It is advised in the paper that PECs

should assess the current training demand and offer good quality courses that match the actual training needs in their province. Subjects on high demand are technical training courses, sales and marketing courses, coaching and training courses, ICT courses, management courses and language courses. Investing in public information is necessary, not only to correct the negative image and present themselves as high-quality training providers, but also to familiarise the general public with their course offerings. If PECs start to operate in the same areas as private training providers, they will need to introduce a course fee. (p. 30)

The issue of financing LLL is also discussed in the paper. The paper suggests co-financing of LLL and accordingly one should pay if s/he benefits from it.

According to the paper, “As a part of formulating a long-term lifelong learning policy strategy, benchmarks for Turkish lifelong learning development and the fields in Turkey has to accelerate development to reach EU average values have to be specified” (p. 55). The paper states there is a necessity of a progressive and practical way where wide-ranging public communication and dialogue can contribute to this way. The paper suggests Turkey should be able to participate fully in European indicator and benchmark activities. Accordingly, like numerous other European-funded projects, SVET is also a contribution for preparing Turkey for accession to the European Community.

The last chapter of the paper is titled “Recommendations and Suggestions for the Future.” According to the paper, outsider experts can only contribute to the development of LLL in Turkey but they cannot fulfill this task. And so, “the plan, serving the purposes of the country, has to be born out of the motivation and activity

within that country” (p. 58). The paper states social inclusion, democracy and citizenship should not be neglected for the sake of economic competitiveness.

Accordingly, there are seven key areas for the development of the LLL policy in Turkey, which are as follows:

1. System, Infrastructure and Funding of Lifelong Learning
2. The Collection and Use of Data for Monitoring and Decision-Making
3. Decentralisation and Devolution, Civil Society and Collaboration
4. Information, Advice and Guidance to Learners, and a Culture of Learning
5. The Development of Staff Capacity
6. International Co-operation
7. Quality Assurance and Accreditation. (p. 59)

In the paper, it is stated that there is a necessity of developing convenient and effective legal regulations, quality assurance and numerous governmental incentives to raise the variety of training courses under the title of “System, Infrastructure and Funding of Lifelong Learning” area. The paper suggests making a LLL framework law to accord regulations regarding employment, social policy and other issues and the establishment of the Turkish Lifelong Learning Council (TNCLL) and a Lifelong Learning Centre of Turkey (LLCT).

It is stated in the paper that the TNCLL should include governmental organizations, civil society and social partners and it should have its own constitution, which should concern all aspects of LLL. The paper suggests the TNCLL should play the role of a counselor and policy development advisory body, raise coordination and promote civil society and its social partners in terms of enhancing LLL policies and practices.

Furthermore, the paper suggests the establishment of the LLCT “as a publicly subsidised, semigovernmental institute having its own constitution based on law” (p.

60); it might have stakeholders from governmental representatives and civil society and the social partners half and half. Accordingly, the LLCT would provide services on the national level such as publications, quality assurance and accreditation. It is stated that financing of the LLCT could be partly based on public resources and partly come from stakeholder institutions. The paper emphasizes the necessity of strong broad-based NGO contributions for delivering and representing high-quality LLL especially for non-formal education to groups that are hard to reach.

What is more, in terms of financing lifelong learning, the paper suggests,

Co-financing mechanisms, and different measures as individual learning accounts, vouchers, learning loans and schemes must be considered. The share of benefits and responsibilities between government, business and the individual, as well as financial initiatives regarding the involvement of marginal groups of society have yet to be worked out. (p. 60)

The paper suggests harmonizing data-collecting activities and methods carried out by the National Statistical Office in the field of LLL with those of Eurostat and EU Concrete Objectives of the Education and Training Systems in Europe, which are indicators and benchmarks of the EU in the field of education and training. The paper advises using common methods, analysis, research and survey with the EU, OECD, UNESCO and the World Bank to provide consistency and the presentation of the EU indicator and benchmark system into national institutions.

The paper suggests separation of responsibilities among national, regional and local authorities in the scope of decentralization, where educational issues should be taken into hand in the same way in the context of “Decentralisation, Devolution, and Collaboration”. The Paper advises actions of delegating functions and services to actors, raising the autonomy of providers in the field of LLL and making opportunities for a closer co-operation of various stakeholders.

The paper states, under the “Information, Advice and Guidance to Learners, and a Culture of Learning” title, the awareness about LLL urgently needs to be increased and a development strategy for comprehensive basic skills and key competencies should be advanced.

The Paper suggests Turkey should adopt the experiences of European programs, while using various European resources such as structural funds should be made known. Accordingly,

Various European initiatives are important from the viewpoint of LLL. They should be introduced in an accessible and understandable way and used according to the distinctive needs of Turkey. Such initiatives and approaches include: Adult Learning Week, Corporate Social Responsibility, Learning Organisations, Learning Regions and Learning Cities. (p. 64)

The paper suggests a combined method for developing a LLL program for Turkey on the basis of 15 LLL quality indicators that were determined by the Lisbon Strategy of the EC and time planning. The LLL quality indicators that were determined by the EC are grouped under four areas, Group A, Group B, Group C and Group D as in the Table 1 (European Commission, 2002).

The paper emphasizes the importance of the education and training indicators established in the Lisbon Strategy as well for developing a LLL program in Turkey in the scope of providing accordance with the setting and fulfilling benchmarks. According to the paper,

It is necessary to apply the indicators currently accepted in the EU so that Turkey can draw closer to the Lisbon process as a whole, now, until 2010, and subsequently, in order to see where the gravest insufficiencies are and to be able to continuously monitor what has been planned and what changes have been achieved. (p. 66)

Table 1. European Quality Indicators of Lifelong Learning.

Groups	Group A Skills, Competencies and Attitudes	Group B Access and Participation	Group C Resources for lifelong learning	Group D Strategies and System Development
Indicators	Literacy	Access	Investment in lifelong learning	Strategies for Lifelong Learning
	Numeracy	Participation	Educators and learning	Coherence of Supply
	New skills for the learning society		ICT in learning	Guidance and Counseling
	Learning to learn skills			Accreditation and Certification
	Active citizenship, Cultural and social skills			Quality Assurance

Source: European Commission (2002). European Report on Quality Indicators of Lifelong Learning. Retrieved from http://www.aic.lv/bologna/Bologna/contrib/EU/report_qual%20LLL.pdf on November 24, 2014.

Furthermore, the paper advises visiting especially new member countries of the EU to enhance peer learning, grasp European experiences and to exchange views on the field of LLL policy in Europe.

After the publishing of the “Driving Force for the Success of Turkey: Lifelong Learning” Policy Paper in 2006, the first Lifelong Learning Strategy Paper was published in 2009, which covered the years of 2009-2013. In the next section, this Strategy Paper will be presented briefly and the main themes of this paper will be summarized.

2.4.2 The first Lifelong Learning Strategy Paper (2009-2013)

The first Lifelong Learning Strategy Paper was published in 2009 when it was prepared within the scope of the Adjustment Programme to European Union Acquis (2007-2013) in tandem with the MoNE by taking opinions of related organizations and institutions (MONE, 2009).

The preface of the paper was written by Nimet Çubukçu, who was the Minister of National Education in that period. Çubukçu states since living, learning and working practices are quickly altering in the 21st century, the definition of an educated person needs to be changed as well. Çubukçu says an educated person in information society should follow the developments and changes around him/her, should orient him/herself to these changes and should be able to adapt to information and communication technologies well. Çubukçu emphasizes that the emergence and spread of the LLL approach are arised from the changes in the world, which accordingly make a necessity of changes in education systems as well. Accordingly, acquiring the abilities of employability for individuals is essential and they need to endlessly improve and renew such qualities in order to compete and maintain their economic levels in a labor market that is very dynamic and variable today. Çubukçu states such necessities have accelerated the emergence and spread of the LLL approach recently.

In the first LLL Strategy Paper (2009), there are four main parts, which are the Introduction, Concept of Lifelong Learning, Overall Aim and Conclusion. Besides, there is an Annex part in the paper that includes the Turkish Lifelong Learning Strategy Action Plan.

In the introduction part of the paper, there is an emphasis on the effects of the EU and the Lisbon Strategy in gaining the importance of the LLL approach recently. Accordingly, the LLL concept “is an extension of instruments and frameworks developed for the purpose of efficiently implementing the European Employment Strategy (EES)” (p. 4). The paper states changes and developments in the world bring new problems for the employment issue and the LLL approach is gaining more importance day by day as a part of economic and social policies.

It is stated that the aim of the preparation of the LLL Strategy is “to establish a lifelong learning system that can respond to the needs and expectations of the society in Turkey and to bring this system to a functional and sustainable status” (p. 5). The paper refers to the SVET project and it is stated that the preparation process of this paper has been launched within the scope of this project and so the first LLL Strategy Paper accepts the “Driving Force for the Success of Turkey: Lifelong Learning Policy Paper” as its basis. It is stated the main aim of the Strategy Paper is to contribute to the development of a shared LLL understanding within the society.

In the paper, LLL is defined as “any learning activity to which an individual attends during his/her whole life with a personal, social and employment related approach for the purposes of developing his/her knowledge, skills, interests and qualifications” (p. 7). This definition is similar to the definition in the previous policy paper, but it is not exactly the same. Furthermore, it is stated that the aim of learning is to create an opportunity for people to contribute actively in all aspects of economic and social life in order to ensure the adaptation of people to information society and to make them better control their lives.

In the first Strategy Paper, it is stated that developments in science and technology, which are rapid and comprehensive, bring a nonstop change in every aspect of life and introduce new requests and the knowledge of people that they gained during the school period through formal education is not enough for them to adapt themselves to these changes. And so, nonstop renewal and upgrading of knowledge is achievable only through LLL. According to the paper, the education system should be renewed and go beyond the limits of the traditional approach, where it should “educate qualified labour which shall cover the expectations of economical market and strengthen the relation between employment and education with the execution of such system” (p. 7).

Similarly with the previous policy paper, the first Strategy Paper states that the concept of LLL used to be recognized as only a matter concerning developed countries before, but it is also in the agenda of developing and underdeveloped countries with its current meaning nowadays. In this process, the extent of the concept has been widened as well from social and human development to gaining skills necessary for the labor market. It is stated,

The concepts, values and principles related with education which is formed in accordance with the values of industrial society necessitates a re-definition in line with lifelong learning approach and the needs of information society which is under the effect of globalization. (p. 7)

The paper states the LLL concept in Turkey has a very long past, but it is lately being considered in Turkey more. Accordingly, the incidence of changing jobs is growing, short-term jobs are becoming extensive, and while some professions are losing their significance, new jobs are emerging and continuity in the labor market is decreasing recently. The paper states all these changes have made the LLL approach more

important to set economic and social policies. The paper emphasizes a flexible system is essential in order to develop LLL in society, which would consider all previous learning of people and enable transitions between the school and business life. Accordingly, the establishing of the National Vocational Qualifications System in Turkey is one of the most important instruments to address this need.

It is stated in the paper that currently, people need endless learning in order to adapt themselves to the developments and changes in today's world. Accordingly, globalization has accelerated the necessity for gaining these skills in competitive societies, where LLL is becoming the most essential tool for improving quality of life. The paper focuses on the necessity of multi-dimensional cooperation and coordination for LLL policies. Accordingly, LLL policies should be executed with the joint perspectives of other public agencies and institutions, employee and employer professional organizations and non-governmental organizations besides the point of view of the MoNE.

In the first LLL Strategy Paper (2009) there are 16 priorities, which are handled in the chapter that is named "Overall Aim: Facilitation of Access to Quality Education through Strengthening Lifelong Learning Infrastructure". Before the priorities are presented in this chapter, the paper presents "2010 Lisbon Joint Education–Training Targets" and states these targets are very important for Turkey as a candidate country for the EU. Accordingly, EU Ministers of Education have agreed upon three fundamental strategic targets, which are "Increasing the Quality and Efficiency of EU Education and Training Systems, Providing Accessibility to Education and Training Systems for Everyone, and Opening Education and Training Systems to a Wider World" (p. 10). In the paper, the European Benchmarks are presented, and it is stated the European average of rate of participation in LLL should

be arrived to at least 12.5% of working adult population aged 25–64 by 2010 on the basis of these benchmarks.

It is stated in the paper that the development of LLL strategies in countries is important for the EC in order to assist the transition process to information society in the scope of Lisbon Strategy. In this context, the paper presents the following strategies:

Improving cooperation between institutions and enterprises which render education services, social parties, local associations and non-governmental organisations at all levels of public management nationally, regionally and locally; Determination of the needs of potential beneficiaries of labour market and lifelong learning activities in compliance with the needs of information society; To determine the amount of increase in public and private sector investments which shall be incurred by learning opportunities to be developed and established under the scope of lifelong learning and to establish mechanisms which shall encourage new resource models; To make learning opportunities more accessible by facilitating learning at work and increasing learning centres at workplaces; Developing learning opportunities which are appropriate with the needs of rural population, disadvantaged individuals and persons who have faced the risk to be excluded; Developing a learning culture for determining learning needs at all ages and increasing the numbers of beneficiaries of such opportunities and motivating potential beneficiaries; Establishing an efficient monitoring, evaluation and quality control mechanism; Encouraging public and private agencies/institutions which support the development of lifelong learning opportunities. (p. 11)

The paper presents 16 priorities considering the specific needs of Turkey and the EU criteria, which are as in Table 2 (MoNE, 2009).

“Issuing a Legal Regulation in Which Duties and Responsibilities of the Parties are Expressly Specified for the Coordination of Lifelong Learning” was the first priority of the first LLL Strategy Paper. According to the paper, besides MoNE, there are numerous public, private and nongovernmental organizations, which are operating in the field of LLL.

Table 2. Priorities in the First Lifelong Learning Strategy Paper (2009).

Priority 1	Issuing a Legal Regulation in Which Duties and Responsibilities of the Parties are Expressly Specified for the Coordination of Lifelong Learning
Priority 2	Establishing a Lifelong Learning Culture by Increasing Social Awareness
Priority 3	Strengthening Data Collection System for Efficient Monitoring, Evaluation and Decision Making
Priority 4	Increasing Literacy Rate through Ensuring Acquisition of Literacy Skills By All Individuals
Priority 5	Increasing Schooling Ratios at All levels of Education, Starting with Basic Education
Priority 6	Ensuring that Education Institutes' Physical Infrastructure and Trainer Personnel Number and Quality are Sufficient for Needs
Priority 7	Updating Training Programs Continuously in the Direction of Changing Needs
Priority 8	Activating Information and Communication Technologies for Individuals to Accommodate with the Changing Needs of the Age
Priority 9	Giving Special Importance to Disadvantaged Individuals in the Process of Participation to Lifelong Learning; Priority
Priority 10	Strengthening Career Guidance Services Under the Scope of Lifelong Learning
Priority 11	Establishing a Quality Assurance System by Activating Vocational Adequacy System; Priority
Priority 12	Facilitating Transitions between Training Programs and from School to Work and from Work to School
Priority 13	Reaching Labour Quality to Internationally Competitive Level
Priority 14	Providing Share of Funding Lifelong Learning by the Parties
Priority 15	Increasing International Cooperation and Mobility Under the Scope of Lifelong Learning
Priority 16	Supporting Lifelong Learning Activities in order to Increase the Participation of Elders into Social and Economical Life

Source: MoNE (2009). Lifelong Learning Strategy Paper, Retrieved from http://planipolis.iiep.unesco.org/upload/Turkey/Turkey-Lifelong-Strategy_2009.pdf on November 5, 2014.

The Paper affirms that the aim of LLL Coordination Law and relevant legislation would create “efficient operation of Lifelong Learning system for covering the needs which grow parallel to today’s conditions and new meanings affixed to education

and training by lifelong learning concept should come into force” (p. 13). Besides, roles and responsibilities of the stakeholders would be settled in this law.

Accordingly, to create legal regulations for LLL, an inter-ministerial study group should be established and non-governmental institutions should be included in this group as well. It is stated that this study group should overview the current legal structure and make a LLL law that harmonizes legal regulations considering employment, social policy, enterprise, education and administration.

The paper states, if the LLL system is established, it will offer various benefits to individuals; besides, it will also contribute to economic, social, cultural and political development of the country. Accordingly, in the preparation process of the document,

The primary principle adopted was that needs and interests of the community are determined, a policy is established, legal substructure is prepared, operation legislation is developed, programmes are renewed, and that they are included in the whole process from the provision of labour force and financial support through various means until the implementation stage. (p. 44)

There is an Action Plan as an Annex in the first LLL Strategy Paper, which accordingly has been prepared for decision makers and implementers to coordinate, follow and evaluate operations concerning the abovementioned priorities. In the Action Plan, there are measures for the related priorities, the names of authorized organizations, relevant organizations and the timeframe to succeed in the related measures. According to the paper,

Effective implementation of Lifelong Learning strategies in Turkey shall facilitate integration of Turkey with the world; especially with EU, and shall provide an advantage in terms of attainment of purposes, determined in Lisbon Strategy, foreseeing that Turkey becomes the most competitive, dynamic and information-based economy in the world as of the year 2010. (p. 47)

Having presented briefly the main dimensions of the first LLL Strategy Paper, the second LLL Strategy Paper, which was published in 2014, will be handled briefly. The second LLL Strategy Paper includes six priorities, while the first one had 16 as well as a LLL Action Plan as in the first Strategy Paper.

2.4.3 The second Lifelong Strategy Paper (2014-2018)

The second LLL Strategy Paper was published in the 2014 (Resmî Gazete, 2014b) and covers a four-year period, and so that is the key policy document about lifelong learning in Turkey currently. The paper includes five main parts, which are: “Introduction”, “Lifelong Learning and Its Importance”, “Lifelong Learning in Turkey and Proposals”, and “Priority Areas and Conclusion.” There is an Action Plan as an appendix in the paper as it had been in the first LLL Strategy Paper.

There are six priority areas in the second LLL Strategy Paper, which are as in the Table 3 (Resmî Gazete, 2014b).

Table 3. Priorities in the Second Lifelong Learning Strategy Paper (2014).

Priority 1	Generation of LLL Culture and Awareness in the Society
Priority 2	Increasing LLL Opportunities and Provision
Priority 3	Increasing Access to Lifelong Learning
Priority 4	Developing a Lifelong Guidance And Counseling System
Priority 5	Developing the System of Recognition of Prior Learning
Priority 6	Developing a LLL Monitoring and Evaluation System

Source: MoNE (2014). Turkey national lifelong learning strategy paper 2014-2018. Retrieved from <http://yetiskinproje.meb.gov.tr/eng/icerikbir.php?id=9> on May 5, 2015.

In the introduction of paper, it is stated that the LLL concept is not a new concept in Turkey but the acceleration of its use emerged especially since the 2000s. The paper refers to the first LLL Strategy Paper and states related institutions and organizations implemented operations related to the 16 priorities that were included in the first

Strategy Paper and reported to the Vocational Training Council regarding their realization situation in six-month periods. Accordingly, the second Strategy Paper aims to set up a more systematic structure in the LLL system in Turkey in accordance with national and international approaches so that studies will be coherent with the developing system especially started with the previous Strategy Paper.

The chapter of “Lifelong Learning and Importance of It” in the paper starts with the focus on the relationship of the increased importance of the LLL concept and the needs of the current era, which are as follows:

The lifelong learning concept is emerges with the purpose of the needs of the era, keep up with rapidly changing and involving social and cultural life and become an indicator for education level and employment conditions of developed and developing countries. (MoNE, 2014, p. 3)

The paper refers to the Memorandum on LLL of the EC in 2000 and its six basic strategies, which are New basic skills for all, More investment in human resources, Innovation in teaching and learning, Valuing learning, Rethinking guidance and counseling and Bringing learning closer to home. According to the paper, these strategies determine the general framework of LLL in the 21st century.

The chapter of “Lifelong Learning in Turkey and Proposals” in the paper consists of nine subheadings which are, “Participation rate in lifelong learning”, “Vocational training activities in working places”, “Awareness in lifelong learning”, “Monitoring and evaluation of the lifelong learning system”, “Coordination of the lifelong learning system”, “Access of disadvantaged groups to the lifelong learning”, “Flexible learning ways”, “Lifelong guidance and counseling services” and “Recognition of prior learning.”

Under the subheading of “Participation rate in lifelong learning” in the paper, it is stated that the participation rate in LLL in Turkey increased from 1.8 % in 2006 to 3.2 % in 2012, while it declined from 9.5 % to 9 % respectively in the EU countries. Accordingly, this situation indicates that the EU could not reach its target, which had been determined as 12.5 % for 2010. The paper states, although Turkey has been advancing in LLL participation rates recently, a deliberate effort must be made to reach the EU targets, and the second LLL Strategy Paper aims to increase this rate through enhancing the provision, awareness and access in LLL.

The second subheading is named “Vocational training activities in working places” in this chapter. Accordingly, one of the most important factors affecting the participation rate in LLL is the proportion of employees participating in training activities in their workplaces. The paper states the proportion of enterprises providing vocational training to their employees among all enterprises increased from 32 percent in 2007 to 33.9 percent in 2010. Accordingly, the participation rate in LLL is likely to increase if the proportion of vocational education that is provided by businesses is increased. The paper emphasizes this situation would provide an increased efficiency in production for employers as well.

Furthermore, under the subheading of “Awareness in lifelong learning”, the paper states that related studies in the field of LLL in Turkey show that the learning culture in Turkey is not strong and individuals are not aware sufficiently about the benefits that they can get as a result of their learning experiences. For this reason, increasing awareness about LLL has been identified as one of the priority areas in the Strategy Paper.

The paper also points out that the low awareness about LLL in Turkey also makes measuring the LLL participation rates difficult in terms their accurateness as well. Accordingly, Household Labour Force Survey that is implemented by Turk Stat determines the LLL participation ratio and if the individual is not familiar with the concept of LLL s/he cannot give a proper response to the relevant survey questions, which means increasing awareness in LLL will reflect truer participation rates as well. According to the paper, increasing awareness is useful not only for people who benefit from LLL but also for the general public, and so this is one of the basic priorities in the paper.

Furthermore, the paper tells about “Monitoring and evaluation of the lifelong learning system” under the fourth subheading. The paper states there are many actors such as public and private institutions, universities and municipalities in Turkey that are among the providers of LLL. Accordingly, on the one hand, this situation strengthens the LLL system in Turkey, but on the other hand, it makes monitoring and evaluating the system difficult since it has been an obstacle for mutually compatible data collection. The paper emphasizes that during the period of the first LLL Strategy Paper (2009-2013), “one of the main challenges about monitoring and evaluation of the actions is inability to obtain data about lifelong learning. Not existed or not accessible data harden the quality and efficiency of applied strategy” (MoNE, 2014, p. 7). The paper states the lack of current and consistent data generates serious problems for decision making by policy makers, strategic planning, monitoring and evaluating the LLL system and this situation necessitates making the monitoring system of LLL more sensitive to different types of indicators and data diversity.

The next subheading in the chapter of “Lifelong Learning in Turkey and Proposals” is the “Coordination of the lifelong learning system” subheading. The paper states, since there are a number of actors in the provision of LLL activities in Turkey, coordination of these activities is necessary and improvement in the coordination of activities will make the efficient use of resources and increase the effectiveness of learning opportunities. Besides, the paper points out another problem related to the lack of coordination in the field of LLL, which is discrepancy among certificates in the aspects of their duration and content. According to the paper, this is one of the problems that will be solved by the coordination of LLL activities as well.

The sixth subheading in this chapter is named “Access of disadvantaged groups to the lifelong learning”. The paper affirms the basic principle of LLL is its openness to everyone; however, disadvantaged groups in the society may have difficulties in participation in LLL activities. According to the paper, individuals with disabilities have lower levels of education in Turkey, where 41.6 percent of disadvantaged people are illiterate. Besides, people with disabilities are faced with several challenges in the labor market and they need expert support; all these problems create the necessity of considering a priority principle for disabled people in LLL activities. Furthermore, the paper mentions working children and women, where accordingly increasing participation of these people in LLL activities is among the primary targets.

Another subheading is “Flexible learning ways” in this chapter. The paper states, since the average duration of education is low in Turkey, flexible learning pathways should be introduced for people that will enable them to re-enter the education system.

The paper discusses “Lifelong guidance and counseling services” as another subheading in this chapter. Accordingly, people should be aware of what, why and how to learn in the LLL process and this situation necessitates lifelong guidance in the scope of reaching accurate information about career opportunities throughout one’s life and evaluating and deciding about these opportunities. On the other hand, it is stated that deficiencies and weaknesses in the existing vocational guidance and counseling services reduce access to LLL opportunities, which necessitates the development of guidance services in the field. According to the paper, the development of the LLL guidance and counseling system together with the developments in career guidance and counseling services will contribute to individual and social development.

The last issue the paper mentions in this chapter is “Recognition of prior learning”. The paper defines recognition of prior learning as “the recognition process of learning outcomes that were obtained in the framework of formal, non-formal education and /or informal learning based on agreed standards” (Resmi Gazete, 2014b, p. 19). Accordingly, there are some important benefits of this system such as preventing repetition in education and waste of time, providing early graduation, reducing the cost of learning and promoting learning, where the recognition of prior learning system would serve to focus the individual on his/her lacking competences. Another point the paper states is that the process of recognition of prior learning would help individuals in terms of updating their position in the labor market and maintaining their employability.

The six priorities of the second LLL Strategy Paper are presented in the next chapter of the paper. The first priority that is stated in the paper is “Generation of the LLL Culture and Awareness in the Society”. The paper states there are personal,

social and economic benefits of participation in LLL activities for individuals, families and communities, where acquisition of new knowledge and skills provides better employment and personal development opportunities for individuals. According to the paper, due to these reasons, the importance of lifelong culture and awareness should be ensured in all society in an effective manner. In this context, the paper suggests a national information and awareness-raising campaign related to LLL. Accordingly, the main aim of raising awareness about LLL is the transformation from an individual learner to a learning society.

The second priority area in the paper is “Increasing Lifelong Learning Opportunities and Provision”. In the scope of this priority, the paper emphasizes the coordination problem in the provision of LLL activities by many different types of institutions and points out the lack of coordination, which accordingly prevents providing LLL more efficiently. The paper suggests a social dialog among institutions and states,

Raising the social dialogue made it easier to develop communication opportunities, planning of lifelong learning and application of it, creating the legal framework, sharing the decision making process and policy-making and promoting of services to urban and rural areas. (MoNE, 2014, p. 15)

Furthermore, the paper states the basic elements of a LLL system are ensuring competitiveness and improvement of employees’ skills in order to keep up with developments in technology. Accordingly, this situation brings the leading role of organizations of employers and trade unions in the development of skills of workers. In this context, the paper emphasizes that to provide competing of Turkey in the economy with other countries in a globalized world, the acquisition of key skills to

individuals has become extremely important where in this context EU has adopted the Key Competencies Framework as well.

The next priority area in the Paper is named “Increasing Access to Lifelong Learning”. It is stated under this Priority that LLL must be designed to meet the specific conditions and needs of individuals who are faced with the risk of lack of access to education. In the Paper, paying particular attention to disadvantaged children and regions to expand pre-school education, increasing the access of disabled people to LLL activities, making open learning and distance education more effective especially for the disabled people and increasing the access of working children to education are suggested in the Paper.

The fourth priority area in the Paper is “Developing a Lifelong Guidance and Counseling System”. It is stated in the Paper, guidance and counseling are strategic components for the implementation of key aspects of LLL and employment strategies and career guidance and counseling services are seen as important components of lifelong guidance system.

The fifth priority area in the Paper is “Developing the System of Recognition of Prior Learning”. According to the Paper, this system provides recognition of knowledge, skills and experiences of individuals no matter where and how they have gotten and the system provides numerous benefits to both individuals and employers. The Paper gives the example of increasing in mobility of individuals in the market by this system. On the other hand, in terms of employers, accordingly, the system contributes elimination of lack of competences and increasing of interests of employees in the workplace. The Paper states, services of advice, assessment and

evaluation with certification, recognition and validation processes will continue in next years in Turkey.

The last priority area in the paper is “Developing a LLL Monitoring and Evaluation System”. According to the paper, the main objective of monitoring and evaluation systems is to provide evidence to confirm that progress occurs. It is stated that this system needs to be improved in terms of considering indicators systematically. The paper emphasizes the necessity of reliable, current and valid data to maintain policy making and decision making processes. Accordingly, Turkey needs a wider range of data since the LLL participation rates are determined by the household labor force survey by Turk Stat, and this survey provides limited information to policy making in LLL. Furthermore, the paper suggests increasing of knowledge about LLL through research that accordingly will ensure the development of the LLL system and responses for the necessities of Turkey in changed conditions as well. The paper recommended the development of Turkey’s LLL database (web portal) in the next years, which was established in 2013 and currently includes employment opportunities within the MoNE and İŞKUR .

In the conclusion part of the second LLL Strategy Paper, it is stated that priorities and measures contained in the document present large-scale goals to be achieved over the next five years and the Action Plan attached to the document gives the details of necessary activities to reach these goals. The paper points out a shared responsibility and commitments of different institutions in the provision of LLL, performance indicators for monitoring the implementation of measures and states the HBÖGM in the MoNE will be responsible for the coordination and monitoring of the implementation of the measures.

Lastly, in the “Action Plan” of the Strategy Paper, the list of all measures, responsible institutions and organizations, cooperating institutions and organizations, time period to succeed in the related measure and related performance indicators take place under the title of “Related Priority”.

Besides two Lifelong Strategy Papers, another type of public documents that draw a frame for LLL policies and practices in Turkey are the Development Plans. In the next section, the LLL issue in the recent Development Plans of Turkey will be summarized briefly.

2.4.4 Lifelong learning in development plans

The issue of LLL has not just taken part in the two Strategy Papers as a policy issue but also other significant policy papers have given consideration to the issue as well. Development Plans, which are main policy documents for governments, are important policy papers that included the LLL issues as a significant part of educational policies recently.

Five-year development plans have been implemented in Turkey since 1963, where the first Development Plan was prepared for the period of 1963-1967. The following Development Plans were published since 1963, which are the main policy documents for governments that have created targets for the country in the economy and in all other fields: 1st Five Year Development Plan (1963-1967), 2nd Five Year Development Plan (1968-1972), 3rd Five Year Development Plan (1973-1977), 4th Five Year Development Plan (1979-1983), 5th Five Year Development Plan (1985-1989), 6th Five Year Development Plan (1990-1994), 7th Five Year Development

Plan (1996-2000), 8th Five Year Development Plan (2001-2005), 9th Development Plan (2007–2013), 10th Development Plan (2014-2018).

The Development Plans usually start with an overall assessment of developments in the world and Turkey in terms of economic, social and cultural developments, and continue with basic targets and strategy for long-term development and for the Plan period. The Development Plans are the main policy documents for governments, whereby all other policy documents should be harmonized with this main document.

Educational policies are among policies that are included in the Development Plans, where main objectives for education in general and targets for specific branches of education are presented in the Development Plans. LLL is one of the issues that the plans have started to include as a part of education in recent publications.

The concept of LLL was first seen in the 7th Plan (1996-2000) in the part titled “Development and Environmental Protection”. The 7th Plan used *lifelong education* instead of LLL and it was handled in the scope of educational activities related to environmental protection. The following words related to lifelong education take place in the 7th Plan:

Studies about the information and awareness raising for the protection of the environment will be associated with the needs of the target audience; taking into account the strategic priorities for protection of the environment the lifelong education principle will be considered. (DPT, 1996, p. 193)

The Development Plans after the 7th Plan have given place to LLL in more detail and taken the issue of LLL as an integral part of educational issues. It is stated in the

8th Plan (2001-2005) that the plan is prepared in an era in which radical economic and social changes occur in the world and Turkey should develop a long-term development strategy to benefit from the opportunities that arise in the world due to changes experienced around the world. Accordingly, the period that the plan in operation

shall be a period in which life quality of the society will be improved, a continuous and stable growth process will start, basic transformations shall be realised within the process of European Union membership, integration with the world will be ensured and Turkey will attain a more powerful, influential and respectful role both global and regional. (p. 25)

The 8th Plan (2001-2005) points out that the EU will be one of the pivotal points in the globalization process of Turkey. According to the plan, the aim of education is to advance people to the information age. It is stated that the necessity of qualified labor for economic development shall be met and competitiveness shall be attained with the development of the educational system. The plan emphasizes that education will be the main instrument in terms of making the society ready for the requirements of information society in the global era since globalization affects economic and social life to a great extent. The plan includes specific points related to LLL in the part titled “Development of Human Resources”. Accordingly,

Improvement of the educational system shall be carried out with the aim of meeting the qualified manpower requirements of the economy and enhancing Turkey’s international competitiveness. The educational system shall be restructured in an integral way on the basis of the life-long learning approach. This new structure shall consist of effective counseling services, enabling opportunities for horizontal and vertical transition, decentralisation and equality of opportunity, and emphasising an education geared towards production. (p. 252)

Furthermore, there are two more paragraphs related to LLL in the 8th Plan under the title of Education. Both paragraphs are in the Objectives of Education part and are numbered with 676 and 693:

676. National education shall be restructured within a unique system instructing ways and methods of reaching information for everyone with an approach of life-long learning, containing an effective counseling service, enabling opportunities for horizontal and vertical transitions at all stages of education, appropriate for professional standards of the market, giving emphasis on production oriented education, taking the transfer of power as basis, providing equal opportunity for all students without exception. (p. 89)

693. The possibility of all sorts of extended education based on the approach of life long learning shall be developed, training activities shall be increased for young people who are not able to enter into any higher education programs so as to gain skills and professions, activities of local administrations, non-governmental organisations and the private sector on the issue shall be encouraged. (p. 91)

After the expiry of the 8th Plan, the 9th Development Plan, which covers the period of 2007-2013, was published in 2007. It is stated in the plan that the publishing of the plan coincides with the era when there is a multi-dimensional and rapid change, intense competition and many uncertainties in the world. According to the 9th Plan, globalization occurs pervasively in various areas, which also brings opportunities and dangers for persons, institutions and states. It is stated that the Plan, as a main policy document, aims to set transformations for Turkey through an integrated approach to meet the necessities of this period. Accordingly, the vision of the 9th Plan is to make “Turkey, a country of information society, growing in stability, sharing more equitably, globally competitive and fully completed her coherence with the European Union” (SPO, 2007, p. 11).

The EU Accession Process is one of the chapters of the 9th Plan and the Plan defines its transformation targets under the title of the EU Accession Process. It is

stated that the 9th Plan is the basis for the necessary documents in the accession process to the EU. The development axes in the 9th Plan are as follows: Increasing Competitiveness, Increasing Employment, Strengthening Human Development and Social Solidarity, Ensuring Regional Development and Increasing Quality and Effectiveness in Public Services.

The 9th Plan, points out a new period has started between Turkey and the EU with the introduction of full membership negotiations on October 3, 2005 and states:

In line with the target of EU membership, it is aimed to complete the accession process by the end of the Plan period through increasing the level of harmonization with the Copenhagen political criteria, fulfillment of the economic criteria and finalization of negotiations concerning the EU acquis gathered under 35 chapters. (p. 21)

The issue of education is dealt with under the “Increasing Employment” and “Strengthening Human Development and Social Solidarity” development axes in the 9th Plan, where the “Increasing the Sensitivity of Education to Labor Demand” and “Enhancing the Educational System” are the related headings under these axes respectively.

In the Plan, there are four paragraphs related to LLL, which are the 570th and 571st paragraphs under the “Increasing Employment” development axis and the “Increasing the Sensitivity of Education to Labour Demand” heading and the 583rd and 594th paragraphs under the “Strengthening Human Development and Social Solidarity” development axis and the “Enhancing Education System” heading. As it was in the 7th Plan but differently from the 8th Plan, the 9th Plan uses the term *lifelong education* instead of LLL. The paragraphs that include lifelong education are as follows:

570. A lifelong education strategy will be developed towards increasing the employment skills of individuals in line with the requirements of a changing and developing economy and labour market. Such strategy shall comprise mechanisms which shall support increasing formal and non-formal education for the persons to increase their skills and talents, strengthening horizontal and vertical relation between aforementioned education types, structuring apprenticeship and public education according to the same and operation of private sector and NGOs in this field. (p. 98)

571. In order to develop the information systems related to the labor market, to provide the education and labour market with a more flexible structure, and to increase employment and labour productivity, work force will be trained in the areas demanded by the economy taking the life-long education strategy into consideration. (p. 98)

583. The education system will be handled with the integrated approach by taking lifelong education into consideration to support the development of human resources. The structure of the system, which is based on efficiency, accessibility and equal opportunities, will be strengthened. (p. 100)

594. With the aim of ensuring the lifelong education approach to be adopted by the society, opportunities in non-formal education, including e-learning, will be developed, individuals beyond the education age will be encouraged to benefit from open education programs, and activities related to acquiring skills and a profession will be increased. (p. 101)

As it is seen in these paragraphs, lifelong education was handled in the 9th Plan mainly in terms of vocational education and training on the basis of increasing skills of people to meet the needs of the market.

After the expiry of the 9th Plan, the 10th Development Plan was published, which covers the period of 2014-2018. As the current development plan, the 10th Plan consists of a chapter called “Global Developments and Trends” and it is stated in the Plan that the globalization process offers significant opportunities to countries in terms of growth and development but it also includes some threats and risks in itself where globalization has been deepening and gradually becoming multi-dimensional. According to the Plan, countries that take these threats and risks into

account and develop measures for them will be among the leading countries in the future world.

The 10th Plan includes four main objectives, which are named as “Qualified Individuals, Strong Society”, “Innovative Production, Stable and High Growth”, “Livable Places, Sustainable Environment” and “International Cooperation for Development”, and 25 headings under the title of “Primary Transformation Programs” as well. The 19th heading, that is “Development of Basic and Occupational Skills” under the “Primary Transformation Programs”, includes the LLL issue.

The education issue is handled under the “Qualified Individuals, Strong Society” heading in the plan. In the Policies part of the “Education” subheading, there are two paragraphs that refer to lifelong learning. These paragraphs are as follows:

144. Quality-oriented transformation in education which develop personality and abilities of individuals, strengthen the cohesion of the labor market within the framework of lifelong learning approach, based on equality of opportunity will continue. (p. 31)

158. Harmony between the education system and the labor market will be increased through making skills and competencies gained that working life necessities by moving from lifelong learning perspective, the adoption of an entrepreneurial culture, strengthening of school-business relationships in vocational and technical education by considering the medium and long term industry projections (p. 33).

In addition to these, there is one more paragraph related to LLL under the “Qualified Individuals, Strong Society” heading in the plan, which is in the Policies part of the “Employment and Working Life” subheading. This paragraph is as follows:

318. Employability of the workforce will be raised through increasing of educational level of the workforce and importance will be given to

lifelong learning activities to bring the skills, which are demanded by the market. (p. 47)

Furthermore, under the Program Aims part of the “Basic and Professional Skills Development Program” heading, the aim of the development of LLL programs that bring basic skills is given place in the plan. What is more, under the heading of “Basic and Professional Skills Development Program”, the third component is named “Development of Basic Skills of Young Labour” and one point under this component is related to LLL, which is, “Restructuring of public education centers and vocational training centers of local governments as lifelong learning centers and increasing the quantity and quality of basic skills training activities offered at these centers” (p. 187). Moreover, the fifth component is named “Enhancing the Professional Qualifications” under the same heading, and “Ensuring the promotion of lifelong learning activities by diversifying learning opportunities of individuals” (p. 187) is another point related to LLL that is emphasized in this part of the plan.

Similar with other development plans that included the issue of LLL, the 10th Plan is also taking the issue into account especially on the basis of understanding of vocational and market-oriented approach.

Besides Strategy Papers and Development Plans, there are some other important policy events recently that refer to the issue of LLL as well. The 17th National Education Council was one of the important meetings that gave place to LLL as one of the main themes and the Council made many decisions about LLL. In the next part, the 17th National Education Council, which gathered in 2006, and the issue of lifelong learning in the Council will be discussed briefly.

2.4.5 The 17th National Education Council

National Education Councils are defined as the senior advisory board of the MoNE. It is stated in the National Education Council Regulation, which was renewed in 2014, the Council “takes decisions and investigates issues related to education and training to improve the Turkish national education system and raise the quality of it” (Resmî Gazete, 2014). According to the Regulation, the Council meetings are done within four-year periods with the invitation of the Minister of National Education.

The first National Education Council gathered in 1939 and the last one, the 19th Council, gathered in 2014. The issue of lifelong learning was one of the separately discussed topics in the 17th National Education Council, which gathered in 2006. In this Council, there were two main topics, which were “Level Transitions between Turkish National Education System, Guidance and Examination System” and “Turkish Education System in Process of Globalization and the European Union.” The issue of LLL was discussed under the second main topic, where “Mobility in Education” and “Quality in Education” were the other headings under this topic.

In the 17th National Education Council, 26 decisions were taken related to LLL. Making national education policies that will support, develop and promote LLL; performing relevant legal regulations about LLL; considering training programs in formal and non-formal education centers in the scope of their compliance with international standards; preparing documents as a result of LLL activities which have national and international standards; utilizing communication tools to increase awareness of individuals of LLL; reopening of adult education undergraduate programs in universities which were closed by the Higher Education Council in 1997; collecting statistical information related to the activities carried out

within the scope of LLL by the Turkish Statistical Institute were some of the important resolutions that were taken in the 17th National Education Council (Talism ve Terbiye Kurulu Başkanlığı, 2006).

In the next section, a very significant change in the history of adult education in Turkey that comes today with a new understanding and a new term LLL will be discussed, which is the establishment of the HBÖGM in 2011 with the restructuring of the MoNE.

2.4.6 Establishment of the Directorate General for Lifelong Learning

The Directorate General for Lifelong Learning (HBÖGM) has taken the place of the General Directorate for Apprenticeship and Non-Formal Education in the MoNE with the Decree Law numbered 652, which is “About the Organization and Duties of The Ministry of National Education” and was published on September 14, 2011 in Official Gazette (Resmî Gazete, 2011).

It is stated that the aim of the Decree Law was to “regulate organization, duties, powers and responsibilities of Ministry of National Education” (Article 1). In the scope of the Decree Law, the aims of the national education system in Turkey and the duties of the MoNE and the units that the MoNE included changed. By the Decree Law, one of the main aims of the MoNE has been determined as designing education and training programs to equip students with knowledge and skills that the global competitive economic system necessitates (Article 2).

The Decree Law numbered 652 established the HBÖGM based in the MoNE whose duties were defined as follows:

- a) Making policies and implementing, monitoring and evaluating these policies to promote education and training beyond compulsory education in scope of providing it lifelong.
- b) Running non-formal education and training and open education services.
- c) Providing education and training in the field of general or vocational and technical education through non-formal education to people who did not attend formal education system, who left formal education in any stage or who completed formal education.
- ç) Preparing and making education and training programs textbooks, educational tools and materials of non-formal education and teaching institutions and presenting them to the Board of Education.
- d) Running services related to the non-formal private education institutions.
- e) Providing general and vocational education of candidate apprentices, apprentices, journeymen and masters on the base of Vocational Education Act dated 5/6/1986 and numbered 3308.
- f) Performing similar duties assigned by the Minister (Article 12).

In the scope of reorganization of the MoNE through this Decree Law, six departments have been created under the HBÖGM, which are: Non-Formal and Vocational Education Department; Social and Cultural Education and Activities Department; Department of Social Partners and Projects; Monitoring and Evaluation Department; Department of Education Policy and Programs and Open Education Department (HBOGM, 2014).

After the establishment of the HBÖGM, Assoc. Prof. Mustafa Kemal Biçerli has been appointed as a General Director, whose doctoral field is in economy and expertise areas are the issues of unemployment and employment policy, wages, trade unions, labor market. Before this new duty as the General Director, he was the General Director of the İŞKUR in the years of 2010-2011.

After the establishment of the HBÖGM, all public operations related to LLL in Turkey were given to the responsibility of this Directorate. The HBÖGM also has been the responsible institution in the preparing process of the Lifelong Learning Coordination Law (HBÖKK).

In the next section, EU-funded LLL projects will be discussed as very important operations in the field of LLL especially in the scope of proliferation of LLL activities and recent policy making process in LLL.

2.4.7 EU-funded lifelong learning projects

EU-funded LLL projects have been significant tools in the scope of widespread use of the LLL concept and acceleration of making policies in the field of LLL recently. The “Driving Force for the Success of Turkey: LLL Policy Paper”, the first LLL Strategy Paper in 2009 and the second LLL Strategy Paper in 2014 were published as a result of EU-funded projects, which are the cornerstones in the recent history of LLL in Turkey.

In the web site of the HBÖGM, there are four projects, which are presented under the title of “Projects with European Union Contributions” and are as follows: “Promoting of Lifelong Learning in Turkey Project 1; Promoting of Lifelong Learning in Turkey Project 2; Turkey Adult Learning Project: European Practices for Adult Learning; and Social Inclusion Support Operations in Places where the many Romany Live”. In this section, the first three projects, which are related to the development of the LLL system and making LLL policies in Turkey, will be dealt with briefly.

The Promoting of Lifelong Learning in Turkey Project 1 (HBÖGP) started in May 2011 and finished September 2013; it was funded by the EU with the budget of 15 million Euros. It is stated that the development of an appropriate and comprehensive LLL strategy and supporting its implementation were the overall objectives of this operation. Accordingly, aim of the Project was:

Making an institutional framework and capacity building on the basis of lifelong learning perspective and in line with EU practices with the aim of supporting individuals' access to education to improve employment opportunities of them by making part of a system which is designed to give value to all types of learning. (MEB, 2012, p.1)

In the scope of the HBGÖP, many remarkable steps were taken within the context of developing the LLL system and making LLL policies in Turkey. It is stated that the provision of basic logistics facilities, preparation of legislation with the participation of stakeholder institutions for the development of LLL, creating a model for the recognition of prior learning based on learning outcomes, supporting qualification system in Turkey which is compatible with the EQF system, development of local capacity for LLL policy and approach and raising awareness about the LLL approach were implemented in the scope of this project (Hayat Boyu Öğrenme Web Portalı, 2014).

The HBÖGP was finished in September 2013 with the closing conference. As a result of the studies done in the scope of the project, a policy paper (MEB, 2013) was published. It is stated that the Policy Paper was prepared with the contributions of working groups and workshop participants who participated in the project as stakeholders and shared their insights and experiences about the lifelong learning system in Turkey. Accordingly,

This Policy Paper sets out recommendations for the development and co-ordination of lifelong learning in Turkey. These policy recommendations build on a history of development in Turkey and provide the basis for the provisions of the draft Lifelong Learning Co-ordination Law. It is based on: Turkish stakeholder views and opinions; EU country experience; and expert analysis (p. 8).

The Policy Paper starts with the Concept part that includes “The Lifelong Learning Concept and Implications for Policy” and “Lifelong Learning and the Turkish Qualifications Framework” chapters. And then, the Policy Paper continues with the Evidence part, which consists of “Views of Stakeholders” and “Lessons Learned from Study Visits to EU Member States” chapters. The last part is named Proposals in the Policy Paper and it includes ten chapters: “Institutional Structure for Co-Ordination of Lifelong Learning”, “Action Planning for Co-Ordination of Lifelong Learning”, “Financing Lifelong Learning”, “Monitoring and Evaluation of Lifelong Learning”, “Qualifications and Credit for Lifelong Learning”, “Quality Assurance of Lifelong Learning”, “Recognition of Prior Learning”, “Raising Awareness of Lifelong Learning”, “Partnership With Social Partners and Participation of the Private Sector” and “Implications for Legislation.” In addition to these, the Policy Paper includes two appendices, which are the glossary and the list of members of working groups.

In this Policy Paper, LLL is defined as “all learning activities undertaken throughout life with the aim of improving knowledge, skills and competences, within a personal, civic and social and/or employment-related perspective” (p. 8).

Furthermore, the necessity for lifelong learning is explained in the paper as follows:

Turkey has achieved impressive economic growth in recent years, but for this growth to continue, it is essential to develop the skills of the population to match better the needs of the labour market. The required level of skills development cannot be achieved through reliance only on the initial education programmes provided by formal education. It is essential that adults learn and re-learn throughout their lives. (p. 8)

It is stated in the paper that, the development of the LLL system is crucial for the economic and social development of Turkey. Accordingly, “Turkey is pursuing a

course of development aligned with EU policy and set out in the National Lifelong Learning Strategy” (p. 8).

It is stated in the Paper that the aim of the Policy Paper is to contribute to the operation of the strategy by laying out suggestions under the following titles: “An institutional structure for co-ordination of LLL”, “Action planning for LLL”, “Financing LLL”, “Monitoring and evaluation of LLL”, “Qualifications and credit for LLL”, “Quality assurance of LLL”, “Recognition of prior learning (RPL)”, “Communication and awareness raising” and “Partnerships with social partners and private sector.” It is stated that these proposals mainly target the non-formal adult learning sector, which involves different forms of learning and kinds of providers and contains learning in workplaces, in public education institutions, in NGOs and private institutions.

According to the Policy Paper, during the HBÖGP, Institutional Working Groups were established and people in these groups were representatives of stakeholder institutions to make suggestions on revisions for the current LLL legal structure. The Policy Paper presents 17 recommendations that came from the Institutional Working Groups (Appendix G). Some of these recommendations are related to how the new organizational structure of the lifelong learning system should be in Turkey at both central and provincial levels. Furthermore, according to the Policy Paper (MEB, 2013), there are suggestions from the stakeholders in the working groups of the HBÖGP in terms of data collection and analysis, about RPL, certification, accreditation and quality assurance, finance, career guidance and counseling issues and participation of stakeholders out of the MoNE in the LLL system.

Besides recommendations from stakeholders, another part of the Policy Paper is dedicated to study visits to European countries and the lessons from these visits. Accordingly, seven study visits to Europe were organized on the basis of the criteria of their success in adult learning participation rates, and visitors examined how diverse countries have advanced their national education and training system in terms of supporting the LLL system in these visits. The paper presents these lessons as 21 items (Appendix H) and states the lessons taken from the study visits to Europe guided many of the suggestions made in the Policy Paper. Some of the items are related to organizational structures of LLL systems in the European countries, some of them are related to legal structures in these countries, collaboration with social partners, participation of the private sector in the LLL system, finance of LLL, monitoring, evaluation and quality assurance systems in these countries and the RPL system in Europe (MEB, 2013).

The proposals of the Policy Paper are presented in ten different chapters as follows: Institutional Structure for Co-Ordination of LLL; Action Planning for Co-Ordination of LLL; Financing LLL; Monitoring and Evaluation of LLL; Qualifications and Credit for LLL; Quality Assurance of LLL; Recognition of Prior Learning; Raising Awareness of LLL; Partnership with Social Partners and Participation of The Private Sector; Implications for Legislation (MEB, 2013).

In the “Institutional Structure for Co-Ordination of LLL” chapter, “It is recommended that four types of structure are established to be responsible for co-ordinating the non-formal adult learning sector of lifelong learning” (p. 52). It is stated in the paper that the adult learning sector in Turkey is currently varied but it is uncoordinated, has fragmented outlook and is of varying quality.

Accordingly, these problems make it hard to achieve one of the key indicators of the LLL system in Turkey, which is increasing participation rates of adult learning to above percent 15. It is stated that it is aimed to focus on the establishment of coordination of LLL to increase participation rates for all citizens through these new structures. Accordingly, “the proposals on institutional structure begin to address many of the challenges of developing a lifelong learning system in Turkey. They provide for an improved system of coordination and governance for lifelong learning” (p. 62). The Policy Paper states strategic planning and financing, monitoring and evaluation, quality assurance and information and raising awareness about LLL are the areas that necessitate better coordination for the development of the LLL system of Turkey.

The Policy Paper states all kinds of courses available for people who are not in formal education and training are included in the LLL courses, and both vocational or hobby, long or short and public or private courses are regarded in this scope. On the other hand, the paper emphasizes, “In the proposed system there is a focus on courses which give recognition to learners through assessment and certification” (p. 53).

The paper describes LLL services besides LLL courses, which are accordingly as follows:

Implementing arrangements for RPL; Offering guidance and counseling services; Providing information on lifelong learning for learners, institutions and employers; Collecting data on participation in lifelong learning and on the quality of lifelong learning courses and services. (p. 53)

In the paper four types of structures for coordination are recommended, which are National Lifelong Learning Council, Provincial Lifelong Learning Councils,

National Lifelong Learning Co-ordination Centre (NLLLCC) and Provincial Lifelong Learning Co-ordination Units (PLLLCU).

It is stated in the paper that the aim of the National Lifelong Learning Council will be to “take decisions and present opinions to the Ministry on planning, developing, financing, monitoring, evaluation and quality assurance of lifelong learning activities” (p. 54). It is proposed in the paper that the Council should be a stakeholder body including representatives from public and private providers, NGOs, employer and employee organizations and learner representatives who are part of the LLL system. Accordingly, the aim of this shared structure is to ensure the contribution of stakeholders properly in the planning of strategic targets and in developing the LLL system through their views. The paper states the duties of the Council are to be established in the draft HBÖKK. Its proposed duties are declaring opinions about LLL policies to the Ministry, initiating and approving a LLL strategy and action plans, monitoring and evaluating the implementation of them and some others that are presented in the Appendix I.

Another legal structure that is proposed in the paper are the Provincial Lifelong Learning Councils, which accordingly “introduced by law to take decisions and present opinions to the Governorate and the National Lifelong Learning Council on planning, developing, financing, monitoring, and the evaluation and quality assurance of lifelong learning in the province” (p. 55). The paper states these Provincial Councils should include stakeholders as well and aim to guarantee that provincial necessities are met in line with the national lifelong learning system. The paper proposed that the Governor should chair the Provincial Councils and the duties of the Provincial Councils proposed in the

paper are similar to those of the National Lifelong Learning Council but these duties are on the scale of provinces (Appendix J).

The third structure for the coordination of LLL in Turkey that is proposed in the paper is the National Lifelong Learning Coordination Centre (NLLLCC). It is stated the NLLLCC aims to play a principal role in coordinating the LLL system and providing the availability and quality of lifelong learning. It is proposed that the NLLLCC would perform the secretariat duties in the National Council. Accordingly, it would:

Raise awareness and provide information on lifelong learning, collect and publish data on lifelong learning measured against national and international indicators and benchmarks, establish and operate the quality assurance system for lifelong learning, and perform research and evaluation activities regarding lifelong learning. (p. 56)

Through these proposals, it is suggested that the NLLLCC would also be responsible for PLLLCUs and it would follow Provincial Lifelong Learning Action Plans across the works in line with the PLLLCUs. It is stated in the paper that the NLLLCC should be founded in the HBÖGM as a part of the MoNE since the idea of an autonomous national center was not supported by the stakeholders. Accordingly, most of the proposed duties of the NLLLCC are mainly relevant to Policy and Programmes and Monitoring and Evaluation Groups in the HBÖGM currently. The paper recommends that a small team should be established that would be responsible for the secretariat in the National Council and that serves under the Director General in order to provide coherence and leadership and to coordinate the work of the NLLLCC. The proposed duties for the NLLLCC are presented in the Appendix K.

The last structure that the Policy Paper proposed for the coordination of LLL is the Provincial Lifelong Learning Co-ordination Units (PLLLCU). It is suggested that a PLLLCU should be founded under the responsibility of the Provincial Directorate of National Education in a province to realize the decisions of the Provincial Lifelong Learning Council and the NLLLCC to provide coherency of lifelong learning policies and practices. Accordingly,

Operating at the provincial level, these units will play a key role in the coordination of lifelong learning and ensuring that the needs of local communities are met.

In addition to performing secretariat duties for the Provincial Lifelong Learning Council, the PLLLCUs would ensure implementation of all decisions of the Provincial Lifelong Learning Council and of the NLLLCC. (p. 58)

The proposed duties for the PLLLCUs are presented in the Appendix L.

The paper recommends the establishment of a performance monitoring and assessment system for the NLLLCC and PLLLCUs in the scope of their duties. The paper makes some suggestions for financing the new structures as well. The allocated budget for the NLLLCC each year is recommended in the paper, which accordingly should include all spending needed for leading all activities both at the national and provincial level.

The paper takes the Action Plan for Co-ordination of LLL in hand, in a separate chapter. It is stated that the National LLL Strategy should be developed and revised every four years and the Action Plan yearly by the NLLLCC. Accordingly, Provincial LLL Action Plans will be developed by PLLLCU under the responsibility of the Provincial LLL Council and will be the center of the

LLL system. It is proposed that LLL Action Plans should “contain activities to increase participation in lifelong learning, support social and economic development in the province, and improve the quality and effectiveness of the lifelong learning system” (p. 13). Furthermore, action planning should also ensure an increase of participation of stakeholders in the coordination of LLL in each province through defining a clear role for the stakeholders.

Another chapter in the paper is about the financing of LLL in Turkey. It is stated that the state, the private sector and individuals finance LLL in Turkey currently, which reflects the diverse nature and financing of the system of adult learning. The paper affirms a small-scale study was implemented in the scope of the HBÖGP to define financial participation of actors in LLL and to evaluate the effectiveness of the current financing mechanisms, but such an evaluation could not be available since there was no clear and required data about the financing of LLL.

It is proposed in the paper that new structures for coordinating LLL should be financed from the general budget. Accordingly, the National Centre and Units, which are proposed to be located in the MoNE, should be financed from the budget of the MoNE that necessitates increasing the budget of the HBÖGM. On the other hand, it is stated in the paper that National and Provincial LLL Action Plans should be financed through a variety of sources: from the MoNE, from other public sector funds, from social partners such as employer and employee organizations and private enterprises who have roles in ensuring lifelong learning activities. The paper proposes making protocols to determine the financing agreements for each case between the MoNE and its LLL partners.

The paper proposes establishing a devoted Training Fund to increase social partner and private sector contributions in financing. Accordingly, Training Funds may be beneficial mechanisms to ensure that all employers contribute to the funding of LLL through a tax paid into the fund and are motivated to train their employees through getting grants from this budget. This suggestion was not supported by some of the important stakeholders because of the worries about management quality of some current funds, and so it is decided to provide some significant preconditions for the introduction of a Training Fund, and so that is delayed to rethink it in the future.

The paper suggests introducing grant mechanisms to increase the participation of targeted groups in LLL through presenting tax incentives for individuals if they finance their own training and reinforcing institutional providers through taximeter system as in the example of performance-based grants.

Another chapter in the paper is about the issue of monitoring and evaluation of LLL in Turkey. Accordingly, the monitoring and evaluation capability of the system is currently limited due to weak information systems and data that are not adequately safe to be considered reliable by stakeholders. For this reason, the paper suggests strengthening both information systems and expert capacity as one of the priorities in the Turkish LLL system. The paper has some recommendations to develop monitoring and evaluation systems in the field of LLL such as introducing tracer studies and surveys within the non-formal adult learning system, introducing expert assessments, qualitative studies and performance measurements in institutions that provide LLL activities.

Another chapter is named “Qualifications and Credit for LLL” in the paper and mainly mentions the Turkish Qualifications Framework (TQF).

Accordingly,

The TQF has been designed as a single integrated structure allowing for the classification of Turkish qualifications. It will accommodate all quality assured qualifications achieved in general, vocational and academic education and training programmes including primary, secondary and higher education, as well as those achieved through other means of learning. (p. 16)

The paper states the MoNE, Vocational Qualifications Authority (VQA) and the Council of Higher Education (CoHE) are responsible institutions for the TQF and these institutions “ensure that qualifications required by the business world and society are described based on learning outcomes according to certain specific criteria” (p. 16).

The paper states vocational qualifications of the MoNE have not yet met the targets in the scope of the TQF and vocational qualifications do not have the components of learning outcomes grounded on national professional standards as well as lack healthy assessment measures. It is stated that if the specifications of qualifications and assessment procedures are not improved, it will be impossible to introduce a credit accumulation and transfer system in Turkey.

The next chapter in the paper is named “Quality Assurance of LLL” and it is stated that quality will be at the heart of the new system so that new structures that are proposed for the coordination of LLL will play a significant role in the quality issues. Accordingly, quality assurance consists of three functions that support the

development of qualifications, quality assurance of providers and trainers and developing the assessment competence of trainers.

The next chapter in the paper is about the RPL system in Turkey. The paper defines RPL as “the process of recognition, against a certain standard, of learning outcomes attained through formal, non-formal and/or informal learning” (p. 20). It is stated that RPL is valuable for adults who have experience and competence higher than their level of formal qualification and they can empower themselves by the recognition of these experiences through upgrading their status in the labor market.

The next chapter in the paper is named “Raising Awareness of LLL”. It is stated in the paper that one of the significant difficulties in increasing the participation rates in LLL is the lack of awareness about where the LLL opportunities exist and how learning outcomes contribute to the development of individuals. The paper affirms that raising public awareness of LLL is a priority and the new structures for coordination of LLL will play a leading role in increasing public awareness of LLL both at the national and provincial levels through several campaigns.

Furthermore, the paper points out importance of the National LLL Web Portal that emerged as a result of the works done in the HBÖGP and it is stated in the paper that this web portal provides information about current LLL activities and allows people to enroll online.

The next chapter in the paper is “Partnership With Social Partners and Participation of the Private Sector”, which deals with contributions of the stakeholder institutions and enterprises in LLL. Accordingly, contributions of these groups in LLL are several, including their involvement in policy making processes, ensuring

training for their members and their financial provisions for LLL. It is stated in the paper that inclusion of the private sector and social partners is important in the scope of national and provincial planning for LLL where they are seen as vital partners for the implementation of the plans. Accordingly, the goal of reaching 8% by 2015 for adult participation rates in LLL necessitates strong partnerships between public institutions, private sector and social partners. It is stated that to ensure a strong partnership with the private sector, the system should be based on common interests, involvement and commitment. Therefore, “a system of partnership agreements should be developed which define roles and expectations in relation to specific activities and secure the involvement of those concerned within an overall legal framework of rights and responsibilities” (p. 22).

The last chapter in the paper is named “Implications for Legislation”. It is stated that propositions made in the paper can be applied if the legal regulation on LLL is introduced. The paper states the draft of the Law on the Coordination of Lifelong Learning is developed to be discussed with stakeholders. It is proposed that the legislative preparations should include law and regulations and while the law should determine the institutional framework, the details should be covered in the regulations.

The paper states the Law on the Coordination of Lifelong Learning should establish structures responsible for coordinating LLL, should determine the duties of these structures and should define the membership of the suggested stakeholder structures. It is emphasized that the extent of the duties of structures should be reduced to adult non-formal education. Accordingly, “the purpose of the Law should be to regulate the co-ordination of adult non-formal learning through planning,

development, financing, monitoring, evaluation and quality assurance of lifelong learning at national and provincial levels” (p. 22).

The paper states the law should establish structures that will improve partnerships between public and private sector institutions where National and Provincial LLL Councils should comprise representatives of social partners, employers, private providers and NGOs and specific duties of partner institutions should be determined through regulations.

This Policy Paper emerged as a result of works done in the scope of the HBÖGP and introduces comprehensive policy proposals in terms of the LLL system and policies in Turkey for the following years. On the one hand, it provides clues as to understand bases of the LLL policies in Turkey recently, and on the other hand, it draws a frame for a legal structure of the LLL system in Turkey. And so, it can be said that, as the second LLL Strategy Paper (2014-2018), this Policy Paper is very important in terms of understanding policy projections for the LLL system and policies in Turkey as well.

After the finishing of the HBÖGP, the Promoting of Lifelong Learning in Turkey Project II started, which is budgeted at 15 million Euros, funded by the EU, and covers two years. It is stated in the operation sheet of the project:

The operation reflects the priorities set in the priority axis on increasing adaptability of workers, enterprises and entrepreneurs, in particular by promoting lifelong learning and encouraging investment in human resources by enterprises and workers, in particular the need to expand and improve the opportunities of LLL, to increase the adaptability of employees, employers in SMEs and self-employed. The Operation is aiming at the development and continuation of the Life Long Learning activities and the structures built by the previous operation (LLL I). (Avrupa Birliği Koordinasyon Dairesi Başkanlığı, 2014b, p. 2)

Accordingly, this project will contribute to the achievement of decreasing the unemployment rate particularly among young people and increasing the employment rate of women as well as extended and better LLL opportunities throughout the development and implementation of coherent and comprehensive approaches for LLL in Turkey.

Turkey Adult Learning Project: European Practices for Adult Learning is another EU-funded project, which started in September 2012 and finished in August 2014 and was maintained under the responsibility of the HBÖGM. The budget of the Project was 483,120 Euros (Türkiye Yetişkin Eğitimi Projesi, 2014).

It is stated that the measurement of the current level of adult education in Turkey, reasons for low participation rates in LLL, raising awareness about LLL in society through symposiums, seminars, newsletters, brochures, etc., raising awareness of nongovernmental institutions in LLL and making them active in the field were some of the important objectives of the Turkey Adult Learning Project.

In this part of the literature, recent changes and developments in the field of LLL were presented. In the next part, an analytical framework for the study will be presented.

2.5 Analytical framework: Researching educational policies under the global effect

The aim of this part of the study is to discuss how we can understand educational policy making processes in national settings under the global effect and to present an analytical framework for this aim. Taylor et al. (1997) state there is no ready recipe

for doing policy analysis and approaches to policy analysis will depend on the nature and production site of the policy.

Dale and Robertson (2007) mention some methodological dangers for analysis of educational policies in comparative education in the global era.

Accordingly, these dangers stem from not caring about the major consequences of globalization not just for education but also for economic, political and social world that we inhabit. They state,

The danger can be summed up by suggesting that the ways of approaching the central elements of comparative studies of education, national systems, state-run, of education, are in severe danger of becoming 'isms'. We may be confronted by, or reliant on, not just methodological nationalism, but methodological statism and methodological educationism. (p. 1113)

Dale and Robertson (2007) use the 'isms' to tell about methodological dangers in comparative education today. Accordingly,

The assumption/acceptance of the 'isms' means that the understanding of changes brought about by globalisation may be refracted through the lenses of unproblematic conceptions of nationalism, statism and educationism, even as these changes themselves bring about changes in the meaning of, or the work done by, nation states and education systems, and thereby undermine their validity. (p. 1114)

Dale and Robertson (2007) emphasize that the previous theorizing in comparative education has shortcomings in the global era due to "the changes of the scale and the means of governance at and through which 'education' is carried out" (p. 1114).

According to Dale (2005), currently, the actions of governing in the case of education might be divided into funding, provision, ownership and regulation, where these activities will not all be performed by the state but might be implemented by the market, the community or the household as well.

According to Taylor et al. (1997), critical policy analysis must pay attention to the processes of policy development and implementation, besides the content of the policy. Accordingly, in the policy making processes one should “observe politics in action, tracing how economic and social forces, institutions, people, interests, events and chance interact”. (p. 20) Taylor et al. (1997) state that investigation of issues of power and interests, who is included in policy making, how the processes of consultation are organized and whose interests policies serve, are critical issues in policy analysis. They state, “Policy analysis must scrutinize the ways in which a given policy constructs policy problems and their context, including the way the context has been framed, more recently, in terms of global imperatives” (p. 53).

There has been an increasing interest in studies that explore the globalization-education relationship recently, but still there is a need for analytic and systematic frameworks to understand this relationship. Today’s world order is different from the past and reflections of the new global order on education may be understood only through updated perspectives and methodologies. While globalization has changed the scales, range of actors and meaning of educational policies, it has altered the way we think about and study educational policies as well. In this sense, global education policy studies, as an emerging area of research, promote important theoretical and methodological implications for educational policy researchers (Verger et al., 2012).

Verger et al. (2012) identify four main sets of interlinked research questions to understand the globalization-education relationships in policy studies:

1. What is the nature of relationship between globalization and processes of educational change? Why is ‘global education policy’ happening?
2. How are global education agendas and global policy solutions formulated and constituted, and by whom? Why do certain policies and not others become selected and privileged in global agendas?
3. To what extent are global education policies being disseminated effectively? Why do local

policy-makers and practitioners adopt them? 4. What are mediating elements and institutions affecting the translation and re-contextualization of global policies to particular education contexts? What are the specific difficulties associated with the implementation of educational policies in local contexts? (p. 11-12)

There have been increasingly converging education reforms around the world in recent decades, which have been framed with similar concepts and justifications. There are different labels in educational policy studies for understanding these similarities, such as policy borrowing, policy learning, policy lending and some others. According to Perry and Tor (2008), the most shared terms to describe the types of educational transfer are educational borrowing and lending in comparative education. Perry and Tor (2008) state, “Educational borrowing and lending denote a relatively narrow range of partners and mechanisms. They also imply a deliberate and unidirectional process. While borrowing and lending are important, they are not broad enough to serve as an overarching label” (p. 510). As Perry and Tor (2008) state, “Educational transfer is a complex social phenomenon involving layers of structures, forces and actors, analyses should be similarly complex and multi-layered” (p. 523). Today, we need more comprehensive frames to understand the analytically complex, multilayered and contested facets of policy field under global effects.

There are several theoretical and analytical lenses that have been used to explore the scope and nature of educational transfer where various viewpoints are based on a precise set of assumptions and offer a different way of analyzing educational policy transfer (Perry and Tor, 2008).

There are two comprehensive, holistic and macro-theoretical approaches that try to understand the nature of the education-globalization relationship in the

literature. These are the neo-institutionalist approaches, represented by the World Society theory, and the international political economy approaches, represented in education by the Globally Structured Agenda for Education (GSAE) (Verger et al., 2012; Verger, 2014). Verger (2014) emphasizes both the World Society and GSAE approaches recognize worldwide convergence trends in education policy, but the first one does so by highlighting educational institutional isomorphism while the GSEA emphasizes the constitution of a global agenda for education.

Reflections on the first approach that comes from the World Society theory by neo-institutionalists into the field of educational policy is named the Common World Educational Culture (CWEC) by Dale (2000). Accordingly, this approach is “a very well-established theory of the effect of globalization on education” (p. 428). Dale (2000) states that John Meyer and colleagues has developed this approach at Stanford University over a number of years.

Meyer and his colleagues use their approach as a tool to understand especially the spreading of mass schooling over the world (Meyer et al., 1992). Meyer et al. (1992) indicate nation-states as organizational carriers of the new world models and see nation-states as a transnational cultural model and accordingly, mass schooling is the main mechanism for generating the symbolic relations between individuals and the nation-state. Accordingly,

Mass education is not primarily an adaptation to societal realities of function and power. It arose as nation-states and candidate states affirmed, enhanced, and thus legitimated nationhood within the broader Western civilizational network. The wider world environment and its models of the legitimate political organization must be central to the explanation of the striking similarities in the expansion of mass schooling across widely varying national circumstances. (p. 131)

As Dale (2000) states, the followers of the CWEC view support the idea that national educational systems and curricular categories are to be understood through universal models of education, state, and society, not through various national factors.

According to the proponents of this view, nation-states are shaped at the supranational level by the Western ideology, which brings universal norms and culture with values of Western modernity to nation-states, and these values are connected with the building of the ideas of the state and the individual and focus on progress and justice.

On the other hand, the other approach, the GSAE, has been shaped and is still developing under international political economy perspective especially by the works of Roger Dale. According to Verger (2014), the GSEA approach

stresses that most significant educational changes we witness today should be understood as being embedded within interdependent local, national and global political economy complexes. International financial organizations are key agents in this multi-scalar scenario due to their agenda setting capacities; among other things, they define what the main problems are that member-states should address if they want to successfully integrate into an increasingly globalized and competitive knowledge-economy. (p. 15)

Dale (2000) states the GSAE approach mainly “draws on recent work in international political economy that sees the changing nature of the world capitalist economy as the driving force of globalization and seeks to establish its effects on educational systems, even as they are also locally mediated” (p. 428). The GSAE, as an approach based on international political economy theories, does not place so much emphasis on cultural or ideational factors but focuses on economic ones to show the dynamics behind educational change (Verger et al., 2012). While culture implies common and equally available set of resources for states in the CWEC approach, there is a

structured agenda that includes a systematic set of unavoidable issues for states in their relationship with globalization in the GSAE approach (Dale, 2000). As Verger et al. (2012) state, for scholars of international political economy,

Economic globalization, and the competitive pressures associated with this phenomenon, are provoking educational changes all around the planet. Globalization is putting governments under financial pressure to control inflation and the public deficit and, as a consequence to reduce public spending growth and find alternative funding sources to cover educational expansion. (p. 13)

When it is mentioned about globally structured agenda in the field of education, one should consider the roles of transnational organizations, which are the key agents in the global era. The followers of the CWEC approach seem to take all these organizations in the same set of Western modernizing agents. On the other hand, the GSAE approach considers these organizations as key transmitters of specific views on education, educational policies and reforms to national settings, which are shaped in market-oriented ways generally (Verger et al., 2012).

The GSAE approach focuses on and exposes the impact of globalized capitalism on education systems and points out the existence of a transnational space of education policy that is connected with economic globalization (Moutsios, 2010). As opposed to the CWEC approach, the GSAE deals with education as a topic and aims to provide answers to the questions of what is going on in the field of education and tries to explain structures that frame the field (Dale, 2000). Verger et al. (2012) state that, according to the followers of the GSAE approach, globalization affects educational policies mostly in terms of changing structural conditions at the regime level in which educational policies happen. As Dale (2000) states, social and

economic forces operate at the supranational and transnational, rather than international, level according to the GSAE approach.

Dale (2005) compares the CWEC and GSAE approaches briefly as follows:

For CWEC, both the state and education systems are intrinsic features of, and endogenous to, the world polity, based on the values of western modernity, that are not reducible to the intentions or interest of any individual nation state, which they take as the source of the ideas and processes that underlie the isomorphism they see between national education systems. However, they also see these values, etc., being 'diffused' across nation states, rather than being endogenously developed within them and hence representing exogenous influences in the case of each individual nation state. The GSAE follows a similar line of reasoning, seeing the globally structured agenda for education as similarly not reducible to the interests and intentions of any individual nation states, but created by them collectively, in the common interest of those transnational forces currently controlling the global economic system, and constructed as external influences on national systems. Underlying these arguments is the recognition that rather than merely to a degree complementing each other, these CWEC and GSAE are offering explanations of two separate sets of phenomena, that are so closely intertwined as to be typically taken as symbiotic. Thus, we might see the CWEC and GSAE as offering separate and overlapping accounts of the distinct but mutually imbricated and mutually reinforcing structures and processes of modernity and capitalism respectively. (p. 120-121)

According to Dale (2000), the two approaches have major differences about the nature of globalization, the understanding of education and its relation to globalization, which are the central aspects of the argument (Dale, 2000). One main difference in two approaches lies in their understanding of the nature of globalization and the supranational level. The GSAE approach takes globalization into account as "a set of political-economic arrangements for the organization of the global economy, driven by the need to maintain the capitalist system rather than by any set of values" (Dale, 2000, p. 436). The GSAE approach takes globalization into account as being constructed through three related sets of activities, which are economic, that is characterized as hyper-liberalism, political, that is characterized as governance

without government, and cultural, that is characterized as commodification and consumerism. In the GSAE approach, globalization is seen as a complex and inconsistent process and it is centered on three major regional groupings of states—Europe, America, and Asia—as social, political-economic constructions. These groupings have a common idea in context of controlling and agreeing on the rules of the game and pursuit of profit is the motor of the whole system (Dale, 2000).

Dale (2000) states conceptions of education are another main difference in the two approaches of the CWEC and the GSAE. While the CWEC takes education as a resource, the GSAE takes education as a topic to clarify and realize globalization and education relationship. Three crucial sets of questions that shape the conception of education in the GSAE are as follows:

Who gets taught what, how, by whom, and under what conditions and circumstances? How, by whom, and with what relations to other sectors and through what structures, institutions, and processes are these things defined, governed, organized, and managed? and, To what ends and in whose interests do these structures and processes occur, and what are their social and individual consequences? (Dale, 2000, p. 438)

In the GSAE approach, it is estimated that roles of nation-states are changed both nationally and internationally and the global order affected national educational systems and policies through global mechanisms (Dale, 2000). Global effects on state changed the nature of the problems facing nation-states and the nature of their capacity to answer them. A significant characteristic of these changes has been conceding some of the powers of individual states to supranational organizations, which are the major actors in the settlement of their agendas for education at the global level (Dale, 2000).

Education is seen as a significant factor and plays a key role in the responses of states to global economic and political changes, especially in terms of increasing their competitiveness in the global era. States have reshaped themselves as competitive and contractual states and become smaller but stronger, which has resulted in significant changes for education. The GSAE approach mainly tries to clarify the relationship between changes in the global economy and policies and changes in educational policies and practices (Dale, 2000).

Dale (2000) emphasizes one should care about three things to recognize how globalization might affect national education policies and practices. First, understanding and specifying the nature and force of the external effect has a critical importance. Secondly, specification of what it is that may be affected, such as education in this case, and what practices those changes may take is significant. And thirdly, how the effect on national policies occurs is crucial in terms of is it direct or indirect or it is in the scope of logical consequences of other changes within the education area.

LLL policy making processes on national scales provide us with a clear example of global policy field through changing scales, effects of a range of partners from national to the supranational and emerging of a global agenda for the LLL issue especially in terms of making it an effective tool to promote competitiveness of the nation-states. In this context, the complex nature of making policies of LLL in national settings could be understood only through analyzing political economy of globalization and its interaction with education in national settings.

Dale (1999) analyzes and specifies the effect mechanisms of globalization in national educational policies in one of his articles, "Specifying globalization effects

on national policy: a focus on the mechanisms”. In this article, Dale (1999) compares the effect mechanisms of globalization in national policies with policy borrowing and policy learning, which are the traditional mechanisms of policy transfer. Dale (1999) points out that global effects are different from these traditional mechanisms and global mechanisms themselves are diverse rather than homogeneous as well.

Dale (1999) states that “harmonization, dissemination, standardization, installing interdependence, and imposition” are the mechanisms of globalization in national public policies and points out these mechanisms are different from policy borrowing and policy learning, which are the traditional mechanisms of external effects. In his article, Dale (1999) reveals characteristics of global mechanisms on the basis of the dimensions of “nature of relationship, explicitness of process, locus of viability, scope, process, parties involved, source of initiation, dimension of power, nature of effect on education” (p. 6, Figure 4.1) (See Appendix M).

The nature of the relationship is the first dimension, and it implies the degree to which the reforms were willingly accepted by the recipient state. Dale (1999) denotes the explicitness of the process is the second dimension, which “is used to highlight the apparent assumption that many reforms are introduced ‘behind the back’ of the recipient nation” (p. 7). The scope of the externally influenced reform, which is the third dimension, is extremely important and the main issue here is whether the effects are limited to policy programs and organization or can include policy goals as well. According to Dale (1999), the fourth dimension is locus of viability of the mechanism and he states,

The viability of any policy is usually assumed to be judged at a national level and according to existing national norms and expectations. The argument for political globalization suggests that that may no longer necessarily be the case, while the argument about the variability of forms

of globalization also suggests that more than a simple shift from a 'national' to a 'global' locus of viability may be involved. (p. 7)

The fifth dimension that Dale (1999) emphasizes is the process that is related to ways by which the external effect is introduced. Furthermore, in terms of the dimension of parties involved, accordingly, the range of partners involved in the effect process shows more clearly the difference between the traditional mechanisms of the external effect and global mechanisms. Another dimension of the global effect is the issue of source of initiation (Dale, 1999). In the sense of this dimension, Dale (1999) asks whether the external effect on policies is started by the recipient country or is decided collectively by the members of the connected organization or supranational body. Dale states, "Globalization is not the result of the imposition of a policy by one country on another, possibly backed up by the threat of bilateral military action, but a much more supranationally constructed effect" (p. 8).

The seventh dimension in Dale's (1999) analysis is the dimension of power.

Dale explains using of power in the global era as follows:

The increasing use of less direct means of power is a further manifestation of the changing nature of the relationship between states. Power over third world states is now much less likely to be bilaterally applied and much more likely to be achieved through a supranationally organized rearrangement of the rules of the game. (p. 8)

The final dimension that Dale (1999) uses to analyze characteristics of the global effect is the nature of the effect on education. Dale (1999) affirms,

The more we confine ourselves to the level of education politics—that is, to policies and practices that are clearly of direct and immediate relevance to education policy or practice—the greater the risk that we will neglect the level at which the agenda for education politics is set, that of the politics of education. (p. 8)

According to Dale (1999), on the basis of these dimensions, the distinctiveness of globalization from policy borrowing and policy learning

lies in their extra-national locus of viability, their use of less ‘direct’ forms of power, the fact that they are externally rather than internally initiated and that their scope, as a result of the paradigm shift brought about by globalization, extends to policy goals as well as to policy processes. (p. 12)

Dale (1999) states that the first global mechanism is the harmonization and it is mainly limited to the European region. Dale (1999) affirms the most important defining variable of the harmonization mechanism is that it operates through a process of collective agreement. Accordingly, “The point is that the process involved requires all member nations to cede and pool some of their national policy making capacity to the regional organization” (p.12). Dale (1999) states dissemination is another global mechanism of policy transfer and varies from harmonization primarily in the process, initiation and dimension of power. Furthermore, the standardization mechanism has an external locus of viability and a supranational body initiates it externally and it covers policy goals while affecting national policies. Furthermore, installing an interdependence mechanism is determined essentially by a concern for subjects such as environmental, human rights and operates from the bottom-up and has no effective locus of viability. According to Dale (1999), the final global mechanism is imposition, which is the only mechanism that is able to force recipient nation-states to decide on specific policies and it is just the mechanism that does not requisite trust on policy learning, inducement or collaboration for wanted changes.

This study aims to explore LLL policy making process in Turkey under global effects in the case of the HBÖKK making process. In this sense, the GSAE

approach, developed by Dale (1999) on the basis of international political economic approaches, provides a proper ground to understand the HBÖKK making process. LLL has been one of hottest and most popular issues in nation-states globally in recent years and the emerging of LLL policies in Turkey is often associated with global necessities. Thus, if one wants to examine LLL policy making processes in Turkey, s/he should consider political economy of globalization and its effects on education in national settings regarding both national and transnational actors in the process. For all the reasons above, the GSAE approach as an analytical framework significantly contributes to understanding of the LLL policy making process in Turkey, which is a contested and multilayered issue with a range of partners in the global era.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, the methodology of the study will be presented. The chapter introduces the features of the research techniques used in the study, including grounds for preferring these techniques. The following section will initially present the design of the study and reasons for preferring this design. Then the research questions of the study will be stated. Lastly, the data collection and data analysis of the study will be presented.

3.1 Qualitative case studies

The case study methodology as a part of qualitative research techniques was used to explore the making process of the LLL policies in Turkey in the case of the HBÖKK making process in this study.

Qualitative research is an umbrella term, which covers various research strategies that share common characteristics (Merriam and Simpson, 2000; Bogdan and Biklen, 2003). The term *qualitative research* itself was first used in the social sciences in the late 1960s (Bogdan and Biklen, 2003) and the interest of researchers in qualitative research has increased throughout the second half of the 20th century (Creswell, 2008).

According to Merriam and Simpson (2000), the rationale behind qualitative research is “to achieve an understanding of how people make sense out of their lives, to delineate the process (rather than the outcome or product) of meaning-making, and to describe how people interpret what they experience” (p. 98). Accordingly, if a researcher wants to understand how things happen, the most appropriate design is the

qualitative design. Furthermore, Creswell (2008) states research deserves a qualitative approach if the issue needs to be understood in detail, because little research has been done on it. Creswell (2008) emphasizes, “Qualitative research is exploratory and is useful when the researcher does not know the important variables to examine” (p. 13).

As Bogdan and Biklen (2003) emphasize, in qualitative studies, “the data collected have been termed soft, that is, rich in description of people, places, and conversations, and not easily handled by statistical procedures. Research questions are not framed by operationalizing variables; rather, they are formulated to investigate topics in all their complexity, in context” (p. 2). According to Merriam and Simpson (2000), there are three main characteristics of qualitative research: 1) the role of the researcher as the primary instrument for data collection and analysis, 2) that it usually includes fieldwork, and 3) mostly it is an inductive research strategy.

In this study, the case study methodology is used as a part of qualitative research. Creswell (2007) states,

Case study research is a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information (e.g., observations, interviews, audiovisual material, and documents and reports), and reports a case description and case-based themes. (p. 73)

Merriam (1998) affirms if researchers are connected in insight, discovery and interpretation more willingly, qualitative case studies are the suitable designs for them than hypothesis testing. She states, “By concentrating on a single phenomenon or entity (the case), the researcher aims to uncover the interaction of significant factors characteristic of the phenomenon. The case study focuses on holistic

description and explanation” (p. 29). In case studies, strategies of inquiry focus on explaining and defining a phenomenon or social unit and by concentrating upon the case they aim to reveal the interaction of important factors that are characteristic of the phenomenon. Case studies, which are particularistic, descriptive and heuristic, provide us with a rigorous description and analysis of a phenomenon (Merriam and Simpson, 2008).

Yin (1999) states researchers prefer case studies if they have the ‘how’ or ‘why’ questions and they have little control on events and if they care about the real-life context. Yin (2006) emphasizes there are two important situations in which to implement the case study. Accordingly, “the case study method is pertinent when your research addresses either a descriptive question (what happened?) or an explanatory question (how or why did something happen?)” (p. 112).

Merriam (1998) points out the boundedness dimension of case studies. She states, if the phenomenon that one is interested in is not substantially bounded, this is not a case. Accordingly,

One technique for assessing the boundedness of the topic is to ask how finite the data collection would be, that is, whether there is a limit to the number of people involved who could be interviewed or a finite amount of time for observations. If there is no end, actually or theoretically, to the number of people who could be interviewed or to observations that could be conducted, then the phenomenon is not bounded enough to qualify as a case. (p. 27-28)

Merriam (1998) emphasizes that case studies are the appropriate design if the researcher is interested in the process and uniqueness of a case study lies in the questions asked and their relationship to the end product. Merriam (1998) explains why case studies are the suitable approach and important for researching educational issues using the following words:

The case study offers a means of investigating complex social units consisting of multiple variables of potential importance in understanding the phenomenon. Anchored in real-life situations, the case study results in a rich and holistic account of a phenomenon. It offers insights and illuminates meaning that expand its readers' experiences. These insights can be construed as tentative hypotheses that help structure future research; hence, case study plays an important role in advancing field's knowledge base. Because of its strengths, case study is a particularly appealing design for applied fields of study such as education. (p. 41)

The policy making process is a complex and contested issue, where it cannot be understood just by looking at documents that only inform us about the outcomes. One should care about the context that the policy was made in, actors and their experiences and interpretation of these experiences, and commonalities and conflicts among actors, if s/he wants to understand how things happen or how the process occurs in this complexity.

The aim of this study is to explore the making process of the LLL policies in Turkey under global effects in the case of the HBÖKK making process. The policy making process in LLL in Turkey has been accelerated especially since the beginning of the 2000s. LLL policies in Turkey are different from adult education policies of previous years, both in terms of their goals and with their defined actors in the making process of policies. In this sense, the making process of LLL policies in Turkey needs to be clarified with its new dimensions since this policy field could be accepted as new and mostly unknown. In this regard, in exploring policy making processes with their different dimensions in the scope of actors in the process and both the commonalities and conflicts among them, their contributions to the process, global effects on the process and the mechanisms of these effects, all abovementioned features of the qualitative research approach and the case study methodology provide a proper ground for this aim. In this sense, focusing on the

experiences of the participants who were active in the process through qualitative data gathering techniques present in-depth, detailed and thus rich responses since these participants know much more about the process of making LLL policies.

3.2 Research questions

The aim of this study is to explore the LLL policy making process in Turkey within the case of the making process of the HBÖKK. In order to reach this aim and to formulate the research questions, the related literature was reviewed on policy making processes both in Turkey and in the world, including the effects of globalization on education and national policy making processes, and also recent developments in the field of LLL in Turkey and studies on the HBÖKK. As a result, the following research questions were generated:

1. What are the factors that have an effect in bringing the LLL concept into the policy agenda?
2. What are the reasons for bringing the HBÖKK into the policy agenda?
3. What are the views of the stakeholders on the LLL concept?
4. Which stakeholders were selected in the HBÖKK policy making process and how were they selected?
5. To what extent were the stakeholders involved in the HBÖKK policy making process?
6. Were there any conflicts during the HBÖKK policy making process, and if so what were those conflicts?
7. Was the HBÖKK affected by any factors during the policy making process? If so, what were those factors and how did they affect it?

3.3 Pilot study: justification for the research questions and participants of the study

In this part of the study, the importance of the pilot study for the research will be explained since the pilot provided the justification for the research questions and determining the participants.

As a researcher, I interviewed the LLL Department Deputy Branch Manager in Istanbul Provincial Directorate of National Education within the scope of the pilot study in May 2013. The interview lasted 55 minutes. The interview form for the pilot study was unstructured with open-ended questions that were generated on the basis of related literature and with the guidance of my advisor. In the pilot study, I explained the interviewee that I have been exploring the LLL policy making process under global effects in Turkey and asked unstructured open-ended questions to the interviewee about recent developments, changes and policies in the field of LLL in Turkey and main policy actors in making LLL policies.

During the pilot study, the interviewee mentioned that there have been important changes that recently took place in the field of LLL both conceptually and politically. She stated that international relationships and benchmarking have been the main reasons behind the recent changes in the field of LLL. She also emphasized that the most important policy process in terms of LLL in Turkey recently is related to the making process of the HBÖKK. The interviewee explained that the making process of the HBÖKK has been a very central ongoing process and provincial organizations are not determinative in the process and the main policy actors are in the central organization of the MoNE, in Ankara. The interviewee pointed out that the best way to explore the making processes of recent LLL policies is talking with bureaucrats within the HBÖGM and other stakeholders in the making process of the HBÖKK.

After the pilot study, I made a search on the web to obtain more information about the making process and the content of the HBÖKK and the actors involved in this process. As a result of the information that I got from web search. I learned that the making process of the HBÖKK is an ongoing process, where studies on the HBÖKK have been done within the scope of the HBÖGP under the responsibility of the HBÖGM. After that, with the views of my dissertation advisor, I decided to focus on the HBÖKK making as a case to explore how LLL policies have been shaped recently in Turkey, which is the main aim of this study.

After the pilot study, I decided to reach the people who have played an active role in the HBÖKK process to include them as participants in the study on the basis of the aim of the study. I reformulated the unstructured open-ended interview questions that I used in the pilot study in context of focusing on the HBÖKK process with the guidance of my advisor.

3.4 Participants of the study

In this section, the participants of the study and the selection process of the participants will be presented.

In qualitative studies, selection of participants is purposeful since researchers are interested in understanding the issues in detail and need to interact with those who know the most (Merriam and Simpson, 2000). In this study, the participants of the study were purposefully selected from among the people who had actively participated in the HBÖKK making process, which is the case for this study.

The policy making process of the HBÖKK was continued in the scope of the studies under the HBÖGP with the coordination and under the responsibility of the

HBÖGM. At the start, the HBÖGP studies were ongoing in the Projects Coordination Center (Projeler Koordinasyon Merkezi Başkanlığı-PKMB) in the MoNE. After the establishment of the HBÖGM in 2011, the HBÖGP studies were transferred to the HBÖGM. In this sense, at first, I tried to reach senior officials of the HBÖGM and the PKMB in selection process of the participants.

At the beginning, I sent e-mails to two senior officials in the HBÖGM and a senior official in the PKMB who are the people that took responsibilities in the making process of the HBÖKK. In the e-mail, I introduced myself as a researcher, told about the aims of the study and stated that I wanted to include them as participants of the study. After I sent the e-mails, two of these senior officials contacted me by phone and one of them corresponded by email. As a result of communications with these three senior officials of the MoNE, they accepted to be participants of the study.

A few weeks after this communication, I sent another email to the abovementioned three senior officials from the MoNE to arrange an interview schedule and they made an appointment for me on the same day. I conducted the first two interviews with the two senior officials in the HBÖGM, in their offices. During the first interview, the interviewee provided me with the Policy Paper of the HBÖGP, which was published as a result of the HBÖGP and provides the basis for provisions of the HBÖKK since the making process of the law was conducted mainly in the scope of the HBÖGP (MoNE, 2013). The first two interviewees, who are senior officials in the HBÖGM, emphasized that members of the Policy Group of the HBÖGP actively participated in the making process of the HBÖKK and the names of the stakeholders in the Policy Group are included in the HBÖGP Policy Paper. After I conducted these initial interviews with the two senior officials in the HBÖGM, I

interviewed the senior official in the MoNE, who was one of the responsible people in the PKMB before the restructuring of the MoNE.

During the interviews with them, both senior officials in the HBÖGM suggested the names of two people to include as participants of the study who were active participants of the HBÖKK making process but whose names were not in the Policy Group list of the HBÖGP Policy Paper. One of them was an official in the HBÖGM and worked as a specialist in the HBÖKK making process and the other one was a professor in Ankara who was a project expert in the HBÖGP.

Afterwards, I decided to extend the number of participants of the study in compliance with the information provided by the officials from the HBÖGM and the views of my dissertation advisor.

The Policy Group list in the Policy Paper of the HBÖGP includes 32 people. Eighteen of them are officials of the MoNE in various units, but none of them is from the HBÖGM. Five of the 32 people are from other governmental institutions and the remaining nine people are from different non-governmental organizations. Table 4 indicates institutional distributions of the people in the Policy Group list.

Table 4. Institutional Distributions of the People in the Policy Group.

Institutions	Number of People
MoNE	18
Governmental Institution Stakeholders YÖK, MYK, ÇSGB, İŞKUR, and Republic of Turkey Ministry of Development	5
Non-Governmental Institution Stakeholders TOBB, TESK, TİSK, TÜSİAD, Türk-İş, Hak-İş, Union of Municipalities of Turkey, Eğitim Bir Sen and Türk Eğitim Sen	9

Source: MoNE (2013). Promoting lifelong learning in Turkey project TR07H2.01-01/001 policy paper. Retrieved from http://hbogm.meb.gov.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/2014_12/23105258_a.2.7apolicypaperv3iindicator.pdf on March 9, 2015.

I decided to include representatives of five stakeholder governmental institutions and nine non-governmental institutions as participants; those institutions are shown in Table 4. I had already excluded stakeholders from the MoNE in the Policy Group as participants, since none of them were from the HBÖGM and I interviewed two senior officials from the HBÖGM who actively participated in the HBÖKK making process. Besides the two senior officials in the HBÖGM, I decided to include a specialist in the HBÖGM as a participant of the study since he was active in the HBÖKK making process and the two interviewed senior officials pointed out his name. By this way, after the initial interviews with three senior officials from the MoNE, other participants that were desired to be included in study were determined.

After the decision about who will be included as the participants of the study, I started to reach the representatives of specified governmental and non-governmental institutions that are shown in Table 4 to invite them as participants. At first, I tried to obtain contact information of the representative people through web browsing and I created a contact list that included names, institutions, e-mails and institutional phone numbers of the people that I want to include as participants. Then, I wrote an email to each of the people in the list; the email introduced me as a researcher, my institution and profession, and gave information about the study as well. Some of the people replied to the email, but some of the others did not. Answers of some participants were positive and they accepted to be part of the study, but some of them stated they could not participate in the study due to various reasons. Then I tried to reach the people who did not respond to the email via their institutional phone numbers and called their institution to talk with them. As a result of this process, I contacted all representatives that I aimed to reach in the Policy Group list except the representative of the Türk Eğitim Sen.

As a result, despite the fact that I intended it, I could not include the representatives of TOBB, TİSK, Union of Municipalities of Turkey and Eğitim Bir Sen as participants of the study due to such reasons as retirement, pregnancy and workload that they declared. Besides, the representatives of YÖK and Türk-İş in the Policy Group list declared that other people in their institutions participated in the Policy Group meetings essentially and directed me to these people in their institution to interview, and so those were selected as participants of the study. Thereby, representatives of nine stakeholder institutions outside the MoNE in the Policy Group list were selected as participants of the study in total, while I aimed at 14.

Besides, I tried to reach the specialist in the HBÖGM and the HBÖGP project expert whose names were given to me by the senior officials in the HBÖGM during the interviews with them. As a result of email contact with these two people, they accepted to be participants of the study.

Therefore, after the initial interviews with the participants who were the senior officials in the MoNE, additively 11 people were selected as the participants of the study. Thus, in total, four MoNE officials, representatives of five governmental institutions and four non-governmental institutions and an expert in the HBÖGP generated the participant group of the study. The participant group of the study with their institutions is summarized in Table 5. In Table 5, officials from the MoNE were named Bureaucrats and abbreviated as “B”, Governmental Institution Stakeholders abbreviated as “GIS”, Non- Governmental Institution Stakeholders representatives abbreviated as “NGIS” and the project expert abbreviated as “PE”.

Table 5. Participants of the Study.

Abbreviations	Institution
B1	HBÖGM
B2	HBÖGM
B3	General Directorate of the European Union and External Relations in MoNE
B4	HBÖGM
GIS1	Republic of Turkey Ministry of Development
GIS2	MYK
GIS3	ÇSGB
GIS4	İŞKUR
GIS5	YÖK
NGIS1	TÜSİAD
NGIS2	TESK
NGIS3	Hak-İş
NGIS4	Türk-İş
PE	Consultant as Key Policy Expert of the HBÖGP

After presenting the selection process of the participants of the study and the participants themselves, the development of the interview form and data collection process will be presented.

3.5 Development of the interview form and data collection

There are three main ways of collecting data in a qualitative research, which are interviewing, observation and analyzing documents. Interviews are mostly used as data collection instruments in qualitative studies in the field of adult education, which range from highly structured to unstructured, but mostly they are semi-structured (Merriam and Simpson, 2000). In this study, semi-structured elite interview forms were used to collect data for the study.

People who have a close proximity to policy making processes are called elites in literature, and this category comprises elected representatives, senior officers

of organizations and state institutions (Lilleker, 2003). In general, “serious gaps exist in our knowledge of the ways in which contemporary education policy has been shaped and steered” (Batteson and Ball, 1995, p. 204). The category of elites is close to knowledge of policy and to policy making process.

Harvey (2011) states that the term *elite* can point out various meanings in different contexts. So, elite interviews are significant tools to explore how policy making processes take place. As Lilleker (2003) emphasizes, elite interviews

do provide insights into events about which we know little: the activities that take place out of the public or media gaze, behind closed doors. We can learn more about the inner workings of the political process, the machinations between influential actors and how a sequence of events was viewed and responded to within the political machine. (p. 208)

The aim of selecting elite interviews is to reach people in the policy making process directly. According to Beamer (2002), these people

may have special insight into the causal processes of politics, and interviewing them permits in-depth exploration of specific policies and political issues. The resulting information offers not just the potential for a richer description of political processes, but also for more reliable and valid data for inferential purposes. (p. 87)

Beamer (2002) emphasizes that if done properly, elite interviews propose a rich, lucrative constituent in a research that can create a valid and unique data resource for state policy studies.

For this study, semi-structured elite interviews were implemented to collect data. Since the participants of the study actively participated in the policy making process in the case of the HBÖKK and know much more about specific policies compared to others, and they are in high positions in their institutions, the interviews with them could be described as elite interviews.

In the development process of the semi-structured elite interview form for this study, at first, as a researcher, I reviewed similar studies both at the national and international levels. Besides, I reviewed recent changes in the field of LLL in Turkey chronologically and after these steps, I prepared a draft unstructured interview form with the support of my dissertation advisor for the pilot study, which included open-ended questions concerning the remarkable changes in LLL policies and the global effects on these policies in Turkey recently. After that, I used this form in a pilot interview with a senior official in the LLL Department Deputy Branch in Istanbul Provincial Directorate of the MoNE. After this interview, I made extensive changes in the draft interview form because the interviewed official pointed out the LLL policies are currently shaped mainly in the scope of the HBÖKK making process. After this interview, the questions in the draft interview form were revised to include questions related to the HBÖKK making process. Later on, I discussed the changes in the draft interview form with my advisor and one of the thesis committee members. As a result of the pilot study and discussions with thesis committee members, three types of semi-structured interview forms were generated on the basis of the revisions in the draft interview form, one for the officials of the MoNE, one for the representatives of stakeholders and one for the expert, consisting of parallel questions within the scope of the case of the HBÖKK. (See Appendix A, B, C for interview questions in Turkish; Appendix D, E, F for in English.)

The data of the study were gathered through these semi-structured elite interview forms. In the data collection process, I conducted 12 interviews with the participants face to face. Besides, two participants wanted to fill out interview forms themselves and after they filled them out, they sent them to me by e-mail.

I made appointments for the interviews by e-mail or telephone and went to Ankara from İstanbul three times in order to conduct 12 face-to-face interviews. After the arrangement of appointments, I reminded the interviewees of the appointments just a few days before going to Ankara and confirmed the interviews. The 12 face-to-face interviews were conducted on four different days (September 26, 2013; November 22, 2013; January 8, 2014 and January 9, 2014) in the work places of the interviewees in Ankara. The longest interview lasted 83 minutes 37 seconds and the shortest one lasted 22 minutes 34 seconds. In total, the 12 face-to-face interviews lasted 9 hours, 46 minutes and 29 seconds, which means the average duration per interview was 48 minutes.

Since all the interviews were elite interviews and it is hard to rearrange appointments with the interviewees due to their occupational positions and busy schedule, I laid the groundwork for the interviews. Before conducting the interviews, I explored information about the interviewees in terms of their position and responsibilities in their institutions, the LLL approach and LLL practices of their institutions, since I would not get a chance to talk with them again due to their busy schedule. Preliminary preparation for the interviews was essential, since I had to complete elite interviews efficiently in a limited time.

During the interviews, some of the participants were more skeptical about what I am exploring as a researcher and how their words through interviews will be used in the study. In such cases, I described the aims of the study in detail to the interviewees and explained that their expressions will be used just in the scope of the study. I also answered their all questions about the study in detail, and I told the interviewees that I could send them their voice recording if they wanted.

During the conduction of the interviews, one of the representative stakeholders did not permit digital voice recording and I took notes with the permission of the interviewee. The remaining interviews were recorded digitally with the permission of the interviewees. Besides recording, I took notes during the interviews to highlight important issues that were indicated by the interviewees and to be more careful about these issues during the analysis process. I took time right after the interviews as well to take some notes as memos by considering the interview environment, approach and attitudes of the interviewees. In general, all the interviewees welcomed me as a researcher and they were eager to contribute to the study with their positive approaches.

Two of participants, one of the officials in the MoNE and one of the representatives of stakeholder organizations, preferred filling the interview form online, and delivered it to the researcher via e-mail.

In Table 6, the interview dates and duration of the interviews are presented.

Table 6. Dates and Duration of Interviews.

B1	September 26, 2013 - 35 minutes 59 seconds
B2	September 26, 2013 - 30 minutes 27 seconds
B3	September 26, 2013 - 22 minutes 34 seconds
B4	Sent the online interview form via e-mail on January 19, 2014.
GIS1	November 22, 2013 - 42 minutes, 13 seconds
GIS2	November 22, 2013 -63 minutes
GIS3	November 22, 2013- 48 minutes 04 seconds
GIS4	November 22, 2013- 45 minutes
GIS5	Sent the online interview form via e-mail on February 6, 2014.
NGIS1	January 8, 2014- 43 minutes 44 seconds
NGIS2	January 8, 2014- 38 minutes 11 seconds
NGIS3	January 8, 2014- 71 minutes 31 seconds
NGIS4	January 9, 2014 - 83 minutes 37 seconds
PE	January 9, 2014 - 62 minutes 09 seconds

3.6 Analysis of data

In this study, in order to analyze the data of the study, the content analysis method was used with the support of qualitative data analysis software named MAXQDA 11.

Qualitative content analysis is one of the methods that is used to analyze interviews and is defined “as a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns” (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005, p. 1278). Qualitative content analysis defines the meaning of qualitative data. One should follow a systematic way in the content analysis where it is done by assigning relevant parts of documents to categories of a coding frame. Qualitative content analysis is a systematic and flexible methodology in data analysis that reduces given data (Schreier, 2004).

In this study, the content analysis was used for the analysis of in-depth interviews with stakeholders who participated actively in the HBÖKK making process. The data of the study were generated from semi-structured interviews, which lasted nearly 10 hours in total. To analyze these large data, I needed a systematic classification of these data, to reveal prominent themes that were presented by the interviewees, where the qualitative content analysis provides a proper basis for this analysis.

In recent years, computer-assisted qualitative data analyses have begun to be often used in academic studies. Making qualitative data analyses with computer assistance have a 30-year-long history and there are more than 20 computer-assisted qualitative data analysis packages available today (Saillard, 2011). Gibbs (2014) states one of the most commonly used acronyms for Computer-Assisted Qualitative

Data Analysis is CAQDAS that was introduced by Fielding and Lee. Accordingly, a widespread use of CAQDAS has started especially since the 2000s in academia.

Gibbs (2014) states most of the software has common functions to help the thematic coding of data and to compare themes across cases. Accordingly, some core functions of CAQDAS are as follows:

The construction, modification and maintenance of code lists, the use of these to code documents, retrievals, ways of dealing with case-based data, writing memos and linking them with other elements in the project, sophisticated text searches, a range of diagrams and charts and the ability to deal with a range of documents including digitized media documents such as images, audio and video. (p. 279)

As a researcher, I preferred using CAQDAS software to analyze the data of the study, since, first, software provides researchers with a more systematic way of organizing data and enables researchers “quickly to retrieve and collect together all the text and other data that they have associated with some thematic idea so that they can be examined together” (Gibbs, 2014, p. 283) during data analysis. Besides, using software strengthens the truthfulness of the study since it provides a systematic, organized and transparent way in the analysis process.

According to Gibbs (2014), there are different and popular CAQDAS programs such as Atlas.ti, MAXQDA, NVivo, HyperRESEARCH, QDA Miner, Qualrus, which do the similar jobs in terms of straightforward coding and thematic analysis. In this study, as a researcher, I used the MAXQDA software to analyze the data. I preferred the MAXQDA software due to its user-friendly utilization and accessibility for me as a researcher. Boğaziçi University Education Policy Application and Research Center (BEPAM) provided me with the MAXQDA software to use during my data analysis process. The MAXQDA software has been used for systematic data

analysis in qualitative studies since 1989. It offers the possibility of uploading user files in different extensions (doc, pdf, jpeg) to the software and then grouping these files, and enables the user to analyze texts through codes formed by the users.

In the first step of the data analysis, I transcribed the recorded interviews and saved them as separate Word documents. After transcribing the digital recordings, I listened to all of them again to check the accuracy of the transcription and made the necessary corrections. Then, I uploaded the transcribed raw data to MAXQDA as Word documents. After that, I grouped the transcribed interview files as “bureaucrats, stakeholders and expert” in MAXQDA.

Subsequently, I started the coding process with the support of MAXQDA. First, I started to read all the interview files that I had named using the names of interviewees respectively in MAXQDA. While I was reading these interviews following each line in a document, a code was given for each main theme when it occurred. Continuing to read the text, I created different sub-codes under the codes, which are related to the main theme but differentiate among each other in some dimensions. Then this process continued until new themes arose and so, the necessity of a new code and sub-codes emerged. When new themes arose, I created new codes for these themes and the related sub-codes under these codes. Such process continued until all the necessary data were included under related codes. At the end of the coding process, I reviewed all the codes and sub-codes and the related passages that included these. I repeated coding process a week later, to check the accuracy of the emerging codes, and so to strengthen the validity and reliability of the analysis. As a result of this consecutive coding process, the codes and sub-codes were clustered similarly. At the end of the process, all main codes and related sub-codes were determined and these codes appeared in the area of Code System in MAXQDA.

After the process defined above, all the codes for the themes emerged. Then, by using the utilities of the MAXQDA software, related interview pieces under the codes were retrieved by making the related interviewees group active, which means retrieving what a particular group of participants said about the particular theme. Thus, the expressions of particular participants about a particular theme were gathered in code segments where these code segments could be exported to a specific Excel file. Then, I organized the expressions of the interviewee groups for each code in a Word file and the findings of the study emerged.

In the next section, issues related to validity and reliability of the study will be presented.

3.7 Validity and reliability

The issues of validity and reliability are important in any type of research. On the other hand, as Merriam (2000) affirms, the issues of validity and reliability in qualitative research differ to some degree from those in quantitative research. However, “the trustworthiness of the findings of a study with a small, nonrandom sample is dependent upon the internal validity, reliability, and external validity of the study” (Merriam, 2000, p. 103).

Cresswell (2007) states many perspectives exist regarding the importance of validation issues in qualitative studies, and he summarizes these perspectives as in Table 7 (p. 203).

Table 7. Perspectives and Terms Used in Qualitative Validation.

Study	Perspective	Terms
LeCompte & Goetz (1982)	Use of parallel, qualitative equivalents to their quantitative counterparts in experimental and survey research	Internal validity External validity Reliability Objectivity
Lincoln & Guba (1985)	Use of alternative terms that apply more to naturalistic axioms	Credibility Transferability Dependability Confirmability
Eisner (1991)	Use of alternative terms that provide reasonable standards for judging the credibility of qualitative research	Structural corroboration Consensual validation Referential adequacy Ironie validity
Lather (1993)	Use of reconceptualized validity in four types	Paralogic validity Rhizomatic validity Situated/embedded voluptuous validity
Wolcott (1994b)	Use of terms other than "validity," because it neither guides nor informs qualitative research	Understanding better than validity
Angen (2000)	Use of validation within the context of interpretive inquiry	Two types: ethical and substantive
Whittemore, Chase, & Mandle (2001)	Use of synthesized perspectives of validity, organized into primary criteria and secondary criteria	Primary criteria: credibility, authenticity, criticality, and integrity. Secondary criteria: Explicitness, vividness, creativity, thoroughness, congruence, and sensitivity
Richardson & St. Pierre (2005)	Use of a metaphorical, reconceptualized form of validity as a crystal	Crystals: Grow, change, alter, reflect externalities, refract within themselves.

Source: Creswell, J. W. (2007). Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches. USA: Sage Publications.

Cresswell (2007) states validation in qualitative research is an effort to judge the accuracy of the findings. Accordingly,

Validation as a distinct strength of qualitative research in that the account made through extensive time spent in the field, the detailed thick description, and the closeness of the researcher to participants in the study all add to the value or accuracy of a study. (p. 207)

Cresswell (2007) points out eight strategies for validation frequently used by qualitative researchers. Accordingly, they are triangulation, peer review or debriefing, negative case analysis, clarifying researcher bias from the outset of the study, member checking, rich, thick description and external audits. Cresswell (2007) recommends engaging in at least two of them in any given study for qualitative researchers.

Furthermore, Cresswell (2007) states reliability can be addressed in qualitative research in different ways. Accordingly, employing a good-quality tape for recording and transcribing, blind coding, the use of computer programs to assist in recording and analyzing the data are some strategies for strengthening reliability in qualitative studies. He states the importance of intercoder agreement for reliability that is based on the use of multiple coders to analyze transcript data.

Lincoln and Guba (1986) discuss axioms that support naturalistic and responsive evaluations, which are used in qualitative research. Their axioms are concerned with the nature of reality, the nature of truth statements, the explanation of action, the nature of the inquirer-respondent relationship, and the role of values in the inquiry. Accordingly, the axioms that support qualitative studies necessitate developing rigorous criteria uniquely suited to the naturalistic approach, where accordingly, “parallel criteria of trustworthiness” and “unique criteria of authenticity” are two approaches for dealing with these issues.

Lincoln and Guba (1986) state parallel criteria of trustworthiness, which is parallel to the term *rigor*, and are “concerned with truth value, applicability,

consistency, and neutrality, and they can also be answered within naturalism's bounds, albeit in different terms" (p. 76). They suggest corresponding terms such as *credibility* for *internal validity*, *transferability* for *external validity*, *dependability* for *reliability* and *confirmability* for *objectivity*.

Lincoln and Guba (1986) suggest some techniques to increase the possibility that these criteria can be met. Accordingly, prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation (cross-checking) of data, peer debriefing, negative case analysis, member checks are some techniques for credibility, which is an analog to internal validity. Merriam (2000) states internal validity is related to coherence of one's findings with the reality and points out multiple, changing realities in qualitative inquiry. Accordingly, "because qualitative researchers are the primary instruments for data collection and data analysis, interpretations of reality are accessed directly through observations and interviews" (p. 101). Merriam (2000) affirms triangulation, which means the use of multiple sources of data, member checks, peer/college examination, statement of researcher's experiences, assumptions, biases and engagement in the research situation, are some strategies in qualitative research for getting as close to reality as possible.

Furthermore, Lincoln and Guba (1986) suggest a thick descriptive data technique for transferability. They use *transferability* as an analog to *external validity*, which is the "narrative developed about the context so that judgments about the degree of fit or similarity may be made by others who may wish to apply all or part of the findings elsewhere" (p. 77). Merriam (2000) states external validity is related to generalizability of findings. Accordingly.

In qualitative research one might end up with working hypotheses – hypotheses that reflect situation-specific conditions in a particular context. In this view, the extent to which findings from an investigation can be applied to other situations is determined by the people in those situations.

It is not up to the researcher to speculate how findings can be applied to other settings; it is up to the consumer of the research. (p. 103)

According to Lincoln and Guba (1986), the part of the external audit that considers the process results in a dependability judgment while if the part of the audit is connected with the product, it results in a confirmability judgment. Lincoln and Guba (1986) use *dependability* as an analog to *reliability*, and *confirmability* as an analog to *objectivity*. According to Merriam (2000), “reliability asks the question of the extent to which one’s findings will be found again” (p. 102). She states, “The more important question for qualitative researchers is whether the results are consistent with the data collected” (p. 102). Merriam (2000) states triangulation, peer examination and the audit trail are some strategies that can be used in qualitative research to ensure consistency.

Lincoln and Guba (1986) state the term *authenticity* refers to “new, embedded, intrinsic naturalistic criteria” (p. 78). They state fairness is the most important one in the unique criteria of authenticity. According to Lincoln and Guba (1986),

if inquiry is value-bound, and if evaluators confront a situation of value-pluralism, it must be case that different constructions will emerge from persons and groups with differing value systems. The task of the evaluation team is to expose and explicate these several, possibly conflicting, constructions and value structures. (p. 78)

In this study, I considered the following itemized issues to strengthen the validity and reliability of the study in the scope of confirming trustworthiness:

- Since the study aims to analyze the LLL policy making process in Turkey under the global effect in the case of the making process of the HBÖKK, I had to reach people who had been active in this process. I used purposeful

sampling to achieve this aim. I reached first the participants who are the most authoritative names in the policy making process and asked them about the other people who had been active in the making process of the HBÖKK. I also checked the stakeholders in the policy making process and included them as participants in the study.

- Before conducting the interviews, I explored the professional and academic history, works in the field of LLL of the interviewees to make the interviews more effective and productive.
- The data of the study were gathered through in-depth interviews that included open-ended questions whose focus on the LLL policy making process related to the HBÖKK in the scope of the research questions. A semi-structured interview form was developed as a result of reviewing related documents and the guidance of experts in my dissertation committee. The interview form aimed at getting the most coherent and thick data through open-ended questions in the scope of the aim of the study.
- During the interviews, as a researcher, I explained the aims of the study to the interviewees in detail and answered their questions about the study and myself as a researcher. Furthermore, besides recording interviews with the permission of the interviewees, to get descriptive thick data, I took notes to highlight important points by considering the emphases of the interviewees. What is more, I wrote my observations and notes as memos just after conducting the interviews to describe the context thicker.
- As a first step of the data analysis, I transcribed the recorded interviews. After transcribing the recordings, I listened to all of them again to check the accuracy of the transcription and made the necessary corrections.

- In order to analyze the data of the study, I used qualitative data analysis software that is named MAXQDA 11. Using the software program enabled me to keep the data in an organized and transparent way and retrieve the data easily and consistently for the content analysis.
- I repeated the coding process a week later from my first coding using MAXQDA in order to strengthen the reliability of the codes. As a result of this repetitive coding process, codes and sub-codes were clustered similarly.
- I presented the interview forms, interview schedule and data analysis process regularly to my thesis advisor and in dissertation follow-up meetings to get feedback. I tried to present all the processes of the study in detail to the readers in related parts of the dissertation as well.
- Besides the data that were generated from the interviews, I used my field observations, my notes during and after the interviews, and reviewing of related significant policy documents in the LLL policy making process in Turkey to support these data. This situation enabled me to present a thick and descriptive view of the context of the policy making process to the reader.

The next chapter will present the findings of the study.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

The findings of the study will be presented in this chapter. In this study, MAXQDA, a qualitative data analysis software program, was used to analyze the data. The content analysis of the data was done with the aid of MAXQDA, and the main themes of the data emerged. As a result of the data analysis process, the codes and related sub-codes emerged as in Table 8, where each code represents a generated theme as a result of the data analysis.

Table 8. Codes and Related Sub-Codes.

Codes	Related Sub-Codes
Lifelong Learning Concept	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Reasons for Bringing the Concept into the Policy Agenda• Lifelong Learning Framework of the MoNE
The Lifelong Learning Coordination Law	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Reasons for Bringing the Law into the Policy Agenda• Scope of the Law• Expectations of Stakeholders from the Law• Recent Case of the Law
Conflicts in Policy Making Process	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Problems Related to the Management Process• Problems Relating to the Content of the Law
Stakeholder Participation in the Policy Process	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Selection of Stakeholders• Non-Participant Stakeholders• Has it been Participative Process?• Active Stakeholders in the Process• Contribution of the Stakeholders• Suggestions of Stakeholders• The Expectations of Stakeholders for the Future• Lifelong Learning Framework of the Stakeholders
Global Effect on the Process	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Effects on Bringing of the LLL Concept into Agenda• Effects on Bringing of the LLL Coordination Law into Agenda• Effects on Making Process of the LLL Coordination Law

The findings of the study emerged on the basis of the themes and sub-themes that were generated from the codes and sub-codes as a result of the content analysis. The themes and sub-themes are organized in the Findings chapter within the proper titles and the interview quotations are organized and presented under the related titles systematically. Figure 1 summarizes the overall findings of the study. Figure 1 indicates that the findings of the study are grouped into three main headings, which are “Bringing the Concept of LLL to Policy Agenda and Its Conceptualization”, “Bringing the HBÖKK to Policy Agenda” and the “Making Process of the HBÖKK”. Related sub-headings within these main titles are presented in Figure 1 as well. The findings of the study and expressions of the interviewees that generated these findings will be presented in detail in the next pages.

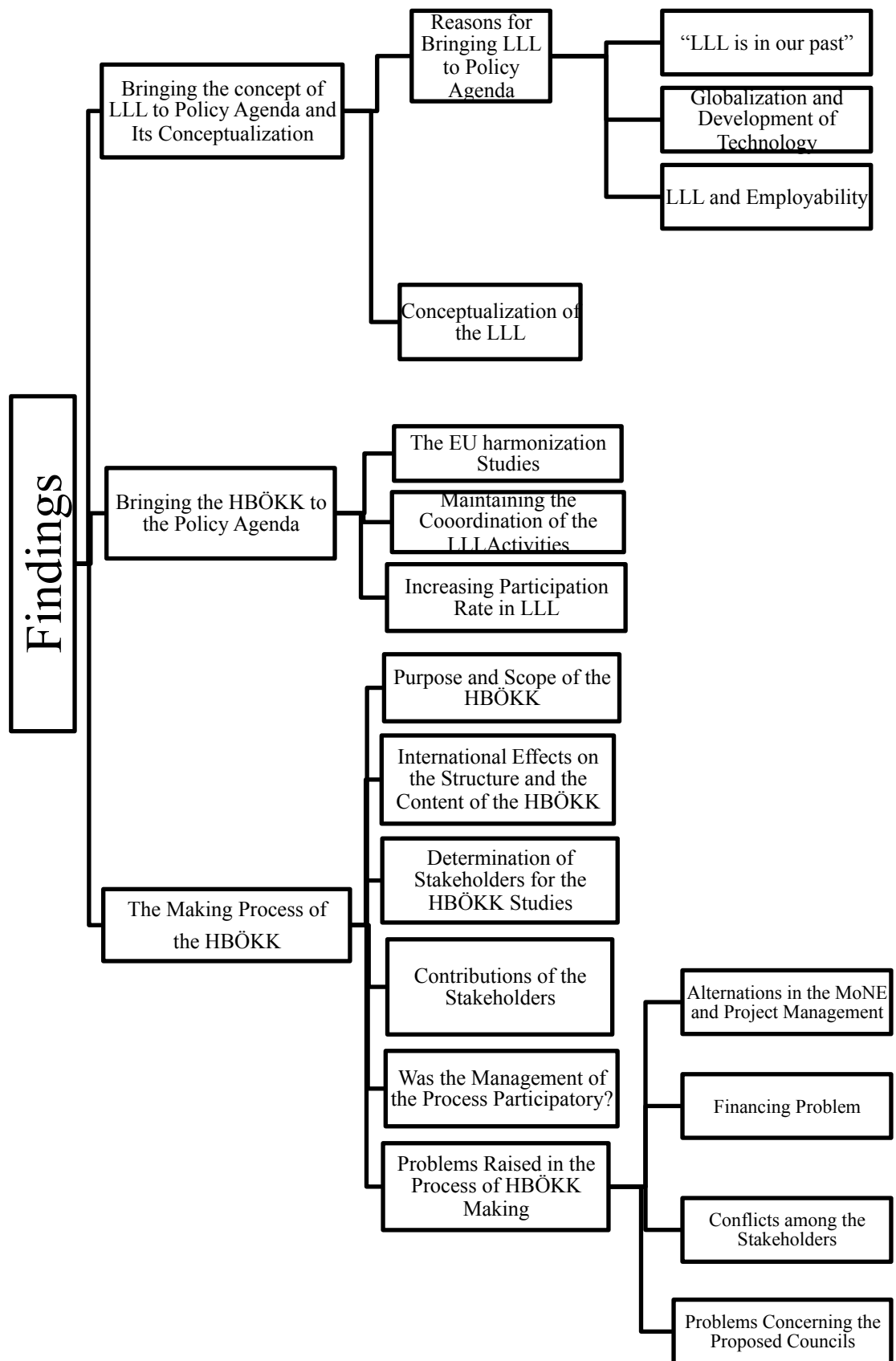


Figure 1. Overall summary of the findings

4.1 Bringing the concept of LLL to policy agenda and its conceptualization

In the scope of the study, the MoNE officials, the representatives of stakeholder institutions and the expert of the HBÖGP who participated the HBÖKK making process were questioned about the reasons for the LLL concept's becoming a current issue extensively in recent years and about the conceptualization of the LLL concept both by the MoNE and the stakeholder institutions.

The findings will be presented under the subheadings “Reasons for Bringing the LLL to Policy Agenda” and “Conceptualization of the LLL”. The subheadings in this part will present initially the views of the participants in relation to the reasons for bringing LLL to the policy agenda of Turkey. After that, the views of the MoNE officials, the representatives of stakeholder institutions and the HBÖGP project expert on the conceptualization of LLL by the MoNE will be presented. While presenting quotations from the interviews, the views of the MoNE officials will take place first; then the views of the project expert and representative of other stakeholder institutions will be presented.

4.1.1 Reasons for bringing LLL to policy agenda

While indicating the reasons for bringing LLL to the policy agenda, the MoNE officials and some of the representatives of stakeholder institutions emphasize that the origins of the LLL concept were imbedded in our history. They also indicate that in recent years, particularly in European countries, the concept was again updated through globalization, rapid developments in technology, changes in the labor market, needs for employability and continuity of employment. It is also pointed out that the acceleration of relations between Turkey and the EU has been influential in the concept's becoming a current issue in a widespread manner as well.

The views of the interviewees on the reasons for LLL becoming a current and an intensive issue are presented under the subheadings “LLL is in Our Past”, “Globalization and Development of Technology”, “The Concept of LLL and Turkey-EU Relations”, and “LLL and Employability”.

4.1.1.1 “LLL is in our past”

About the reasons for bringing LLL to the policy agenda, some of the interviewees indicate that the concept has existed in our origins societally. While stating the reasons for having brought the concept to the policy agenda, three of the four MoNE officials emphasize this view. Besides, two of the MoNE officials also specify that the concept has importance in the religious history of Islam.

The views of the two officials in the HBÖGM (B1 and B2) are presented in below:

B1: You know, LLL is not a new concept actually. If we say in foreigners’ expression “old wine in new bottles”, it is about putting the old wine into a new bottles...Indeed, it is a concept that already existed in our ancient past, our civilization roots. You see, our Prophet commanded that if a person’s two day are the same, it means this person is wasting his time. This is a hadith. If you analyze this, it alone explains LLL already. One day’s being better than the previous day, continuous progress. Of course although it has its roots in the Western civilization and in us, it was not a known and mentioned concept with this name. (Appendix N.1)

B2: In the old days, this had to be the white paper; it had to be Jack Delors. When it was first declared as the LLL year, in 1996, there was a white paper related to this. Delors initiated it but, while Delors was mention about it, our culture was already referring to the concept. When we go back to 1400 years ago, look at our Mevlana, look at Yunus Emre, look at our religion. All in all, LLL is a thing that exists in our roots. Perhaps, it is brought into agenda again in the meaning of refreshing faith (translation note: bringing to agenda once again). The LLL is now an inevitable reality for us. (Appendix N.2)

Some of the representatives of stakeholder institutions indicate that the roots of the LLL concept exist in the past of the Turkish culture as well. In the interviews, the interviewees GIS1 and GIS5 both point out that “education from cradle to grave” is an approach that has existed from the past to the present.

In the next subheading, the findings concerning the relation between bringing the concept of LLL to the policy agenda and globalization and technological development will be presented.

4.1.1.2 Globalization and development of technology

The interviewees indicate that both in the country and worldwide, globalization and, in relation to globalization, technological developments have been influential in bringing the LLL concept to the policy agenda broadly.

All four of the MoNE officials specify that the international developments, globalization and the rapid technological developments that emerged in this process were effective in bringing the LLL concept to agenda and in its becoming a prevalent issue. The MoNE officials also indicate that globalization requires a rapid renewal of information, and in relation to this, the presence of qualified labor force for competition and employability becomes a significant need. Additionally, they state formal education cannot meet these needs alone and LLL is the only factor that can respond to these needs; therefore, the concept has gained currency more than ever before in recent years.

Below, the views of the senior official in the HBÖGM (B1) on the relation of the LLL concept to globalization and technological development are presented:

B1: With globalization and rapid technological development, the world has gotten into a different mood. Let me say in this way: Until the

Industrial Revolution, the doubling speed of the world's technological development was 1750 years. With the Industrial Revolution it was doubled. Then, the world technology doubled every 50 years. Nowadays, world technology doubles every four years. That is to say, we are in 2013 now, and we can say that today's world technology is twofold of the technology of 2008. In the 2020s, this doubling duration is expected to decline in 73 days. In technology, huge steps are taken. Unlike it was in the past, in the old days gaining a wide currency of any technological development used to take long years. Now, it happens in days. Something is invented in America; it is in Turkey just after one month. Now of course, this changes our working relations, the things that we know, the things that we learn, the way we work. Thus, most of the things that we know can disappear in a very short time. In this condition, in Europe, the speed of changing work, changing profession is growing rapidly. Fifty years ago, with a craft that he learnt from his father, a person used to spend his life for 70-80 years without adding anything to that craft. But now, such a condition cannot prevail. Hence the need for continuous development, continuous vocational improvement, and even if a person is in an occupation that lost its actuality, changing that occupation has become possible. The West uses LLL in this context. For them, LLL equals to "employability". (Appendix N.3)

Similar to B1, the official (B2) who takes on significant tasks in policy making processes in the HBÖGM considers globalization as an inevitable process and refers to the relation of globalization and knowledge technologies. B2 emphasizes that globalization increases the rate of competition between individuals and countries and also he states that there is a need for LLL to improve competitiveness. The quotation below gives place to the views of this official.

B2: Let me move from the forest to the tree. There is a globalization process; we have such an inevitable process. The process that we live in is a process where no one owns the helm... What does globalization bring to us? First, it brings competition to us. When we say global competition, it brings the competition of countries with each other. What makes the competition between countries possible, it is possible with qualified manpower from now on. Training qualified manpower is only possible through education... Otherwise, we don't have any power other than education for training qualified manpower. We cannot do this through the duration of formal education unfortunately. I can say that, currently, let's say, the duration of formal education used to be five years before, then it was not sufficient, we made it eight years; even eight years was not sufficient, we made it 12 years. Twelve years will not be sufficient soon.

That is to say, one of the countries increased this to 20 years, 25 years, 30 years; this has no end. Increasing the duration of formal education doesn't have a limit. One day, we will be incapable of increasing the duration of formal education. The way for this is LLL. Formal education only prepares one for life, gives the minimum necessity, the rest is related to LLL. We have to educate individuals; we have to increase the employability. In order to employ and to provide the continuity of the employment of that person, we need LLL. LLL is from now on an inevitable reality. (Appendix N.4)

The interviewee (GIS1) who participated in the HBÖKK making process as a representative of a governmental institution indicates Turkey has been striving to be an actor in the international arena in the globalization process. He adds there was a new structuring in the field of education in this context, and bringing LLL to the policy agenda had to be evaluated in this framework. The views of this interviewee are given in the following quotation:

GIS1: Now, Turkey is expecting to be a significant actor. Therefore, the things that are provided through globalization, you see, depend on how and where you look. You see, knowledge society refers to the opportunities provided by knowledge society and globalization, and also to the opportunities for accessing information. You know, it says knowledge is something that changes rapidly, you know, instead of access to information, its synthesis, and ability to know its usage in daily life gain importance. Actually, while constructing policies in education, we try to work in this direction. We really think that from now on, tests that evaluate not knowledge but skills need to be conducted. (Appendix N.5)

So far, in this subsection, the findings about the effects of globalization and technological developments on bringing the LLL concept to the policy agenda were described. In the next subsection, as a part of international relations, the effects of the Turkey-EU relations on bringing the LLL concept to the policy agenda will be presented.

4.1.1.3 The Concept of LLL and Turkey-EU Relations

The analysis of data come up with the inference that the most significant factor for bringing the LLL concept to the policy agenda in Turkey extensively are the relations with the EU institutions during the EU accession process of Turkey.

In the interviews, it is pointed out that the international relations of Turkey, particularly the relations in terms of the EU accession process, and also reports of the EU institutions concerning LLL, have a fundamental role in bringing the LLL concept to the policy agenda and in its becoming a prevalent issue.

The interviewee (B2) who is a senior official in the HBÖGM, who also represents Turkey in the relations with the EU as an adult education coordinator of Turkey, says that LLL is one of the important issues that have been brought to the agenda by the EU in recent years. B2 states that Turkey went along with the EU and with the EU documents; due to this, the LLL concept became prevalent extensively in Turkey. In the quotation below, his views are presented:

B2: Of course, now, Europe and the world refer to LLL while starting each single word; the LLL has become a key word from now on. Now we are associated with the EU documents, the EU policies. We are not disconnected from them. Now, we are running EU projects, in most of the fields we go along with EU documents. That is to say, due to this, all of these are interconnected. Thus, we cannot stay disjointed from the world. Globalization requires this. We don't live a disjointed, isolated life, you know. There are EU indicators in relation to this. There are publications of the EUROSAT, there are OECD documents, there are indicators in there, and we want to adapt to these, for instance. There is the PIAAC research, for instance; it is like the PISA for adult education. Please look at the PIAAC research, for instance. All these are the connections of us with the world. We face some problems in Turkey, for instance. We say, do the Europeans face such problems, or, how do they figure out [a solution] if they do? We sometimes have travels. Sometimes we even read external reports. There are activities for making prevalent the best practices, the best samples in Turkey. This is the general framework of this work. (Appendix N.6)

The HBÖGP is the EU-funded project in which the HBÖKK studies are carried out. In the interview, B3 indicates the projects run in the EU harmonization process have responded to the research and development needs of the MoNE, and he adds these projects were effective in this manner.

The representatives of stakeholder institutions also indicate that the studies were done as a necessity of the EU harmonization process and the relations with the EU have significant roles in bringing the LLL concept to the policy agenda of Turkey.

The representative of an employer organization (NGIS1) considers the EU accession process as a critical issue in terms of the LLL concept. The representative of a labor union (NGIS3) points out that the concept is completely a copy that was translated from Europe, but this does not mean that the concept is internalized as it is in Europe.

A governmental institution official (GIS2) states that the concept's taking place in the significant documents of the EU has provoked the discussion of the concept in Turkey. The views of GIS2 are presented below:

GIS 2: Yes, for this concept, particularly in recent years, this concept's taking place in the documents in Europe has induced the discussion of the concept also in Turkey, among us. (Appendix N.7)

In this section, the findings about the relationship of bringing the LLL concept into the policy agenda with the Turkey-EU harmonization process took place. The next subsection will present the findings about the relation of the LLL concept's becoming prevalent in the policy agenda with its relation to employability.

4.1.1.4 LLL and Employability

The interviewees identify the bringing of the LLL concept to the policy agenda extensively, particularly in recent years, with the transformation in the labor market, employability, continuity of employment and vocational education need for this. The interviewees associate their views on changes in the labor market especially with international developments and changes as well.

In the interview quote below, the views of an official (B2) are presented. During his graduate studies, B2 studied globalization, vocational education, lifelong learning and human resources. B2 initially referred to the competition that emerged during globalization in the labor market and then said there was a need for LLL to increase employability in the competitive medium. Below, B2's views about the relation of the LLL concept to employability are presented:

B2: We said, in Turkey we increased the duration of the compulsory education to 12 years, but this has no end, because the people who work in workplaces have to continuously update themselves regarding their occupations. If they don't update, they will be fired; job guarantee is open to discussion from now on. It has become a controversial issue even in Japan. Lifelong job guarantees do not exist anymore; it already does not exist in the private sector. In public, to get a promotion, people have to train themselves. They have to learn in a lifelong manner, because everything changes. The environment changes, the society changes. Teachers have to renew themselves, since the school changes, the student changes, everything changes. That is to say, the period that includes the view "I learnt this thing, I will use it during my lifetime" is over. (Appendix N.8)

A representative of a stakeholder institution (NGIS2) indicates that the issue of employment plays a major role particularly in LLL being brought to the policy agenda in Turkey. He indicates the Western countries also have a significant effect on this, as it is presented in the quotation below.

NGIS2: The fundamental purpose here is the employment, once again. Preventing informal employment, generating qualified labour force, there are such needs. This need does not exist in Turkey only; there is a need

for qualified labour force in the West too. With this project, it is intended to develop such a qualified labour force in our country. (Appendix N.9)

One of the interviewees (NGIS1) who had participated in the HBÖKK making process as a representative of an employer organization and who has an expertise in labor economics and industrial relations refers to the relation of the LLL concept to vocational education in the quotation below. He indicates the concept was mostly brought to the agenda along with the Strengthening the Vocational Education and Training System Project (SVET). The quotation below presents the views of this interviewee on the relation of LLL to employability, transformation in employment, vocational education and relation of all of these to the EU harmonization process of Turkey.

NGIS1: LLL has been brought to the agenda mostly with SVET in Turkey. Actually, before SVET, the issue has been discussed in the academy extensively. Actually, within the EU model, one of the most remarkable issues in the vision is the structural adaptation of the funds under the social policy applications, occupational alternations for diminishing unemployment, changing working areas in time, support for promotion, actually these are the steps for working efficiently while struggling with the transformation of the employment market and strictness. Actually, these are the steps that the EU is aware of and suggested to Turkey as well and in this sense, SVET was the one of the projects that was recommended to Turkey by the EU and the EU became a partner. The issue of Vocational Qualifications Authority, the issue of vocational qualifications, its transformation to a document and certification, its validation in the EU-wide through accreditation are the vital matters of LLL. Of course, if we say why LLL is being brought to the agenda this much, it has obvious reasons. Unemployment has been always one of the considerable problems of Turkey and it will continue to be since our population grows rapidly. It required new employment transformation. While doing this, the service in the agriculture sector and a serious progress in the industry sector and at the same time rural-to-urban migration are in question. Of course this poses the adaptation problems in the employment market. You have to provide training to many people who did not get this training in their youth or childhood. Actually, even though you provide good training to those people in their youth and childhood, there might be an inconsistency, renewal and even alternation. A person might want to change his city, even want to change

his income level, might be pleased with his job. There might be problems in the market in that period and a vacancy might not exist so he can not find a job. Thus, we can talk about seven different technical documents that take place in the EU norm in relation to people's educational renewal and their specialization. (Appendix N.10)

Besides, in the quotation presented below, a stakeholder (GIS1) who is a representative of a governmental institution identifies LLL fundamentally with bringing the required skills for the employment market.

GIS1: In Turkey, LLL is identified with the labour force in most of the fields. This is because labour force is a problem and it will become the most important problem in the future, if our youth population will face the unemployment problem more. Due to this, LLL is too much identified with unemployment and the labor market. That is to say, it is thought that each educational experience is expected to have meaning in the employment market... In this framework, the fundamental thing of LLL is up-skilling the basic skills that are required for lifelong and gaining the information and skills together and transforming these to an activity. (Appendix N.11)

Another governmental institution's representative (GIS3) indicates that bringing LLL to the policy agenda also has a purpose of preventing a social explosion arising as a consequence of unemployment.

As a consequence, according to the views of the stakeholders, on the one hand, LLL is handled as concept that exits from the past to the present; on the other hand, a wide usage of the LLL concept in recent years is identified with globalization, technological developments and the relations of Turkey to the EU. Also, it is highlighted that based upon the concept's identification with employability and the employment market, it was brought to the policy agenda more.

In the next subsection, the conceptualization of LLL by both the MoNE and participant stakeholder institutions in the HBÖKK making process will be presented.

4.1.2 Conceptualization of the LLL

In this section, the conceptualization of LLL by the MoNE officials and the representatives of stakeholder institutions will be presented. In the interviews, while conceptualizing LLL, both the MoNE officials and the representatives of stakeholder institutions frequently refer to the relationship of the concept to the employability issue. Furthermore, some of the MoNE officials point out the difference between the approaches of the EU and Turkey. According to these MoNE officials, the EU focuses only on employability in relation to LLL concept; they indicate that, as a MoNE, they reach beyond employability and handle the concept from a more broad perspective. However, in their statements, they mostly highlight the relation of the LLL to employability as well.

B1, who is senior official in the HBÖGM and whose expertise is on unemployment, employment policies and labor economics states that the West handles LLL only within the context of employability. B1 also indicates LLL cannot be handled only within the context of employability in Turkey since Turkey does not have similar standards with the West, particularly in average education and income levels. B1 notes that there is a need for the activities in Turkey that support personal development besides vocational education and training, but Turkey will follow the same developmental road with the West in time.

B1: The West uses LLL in this context. For them, LLL equals to employability. They handle it in this framework. However, from our point of view, we are not at that point yet. That is to say, the average education level in the West is high; our education level is, as they say, 6.1 years, 6.2, 6.5 years. Thus, we still did not graduate from the middle school in our country. Therefore, we need educational activities, trainings for vocational changes, for development of vocational formation and for the trainings that support personal development... In Turkey, now, the income is about 10,000, close to 11,000 dollars, per capita. When it become 20-25,000, it will be same for us. The duration of the compulsory education increased to 12 years, 8-10 years later, this 6.5 years average education level suddenly will increase to 11-12 years. People still go to

university consistently; the number of universities is about 180, maybe more. Turkey is so different than it was 10 years ago, different than 20 years ago. Maybe, after 10-20 years, people will not demand a painting course, mottling (*ebru*) training, needlecraft training from us. Thus, departing from the principle “the goods without customer are waste” (“*müşterisiz mal zayıdır*”), we will not open those courses. Then, what they demand will be opened. That is to say, necessarily, if a development starts in the West, we will also move to that point in here... In the West, LLL emerged within the framework of specific conditions as an alternative prescription to reduce unemployment. We also have this in Turkey; we follow the West, even though a few steps behind, behind in terms of economic development, but our people need fundamental qualifications and cultural education. Due to this, we cannot wear a dress made for the West in much the same way for our own system. There is a problem. (Appendix N.12)

Another official from the MoNE (B3) also stated that the MoNE regards LLL beyond vocational education. However, while stating this, B3 refers to the relation of LLL to vocational education. The views of B3 in terms of the conceptualization of LLL by the MoNE are presented below:

B3: In our societal perspective, actually the first thing coming to mind with LLL is vocational education. But, the MoNE doesn't consider it in this way; we, as a MoNE, don't consider it in this way. So, as a society, what we understand from LLL is vocational education, but it has so many important social and cultural sides. In our homeland, we live in a time when people retire at a very early age; they quit their profession after a certain age and become inactive. (Appendix N.13)

The HBÖGP project expert (PE) notes that identifying it mostly with employment in the scope of the HBÖGP degrades LLL:

PE: This project is slightly directed to there, but it shouldn't be like that. There are sentences that highlight employment while determining the aims of the project. But it is not true for me. It is unseemly that we identify LLL only with finding a job, creating employment. That is to say...employment is OK, because the rate of unemployment is high. (Appendix N.14)

On the other hand, the representatives of stakeholder institution indicate that the MoNE handles LLL substantially in the context of employability. In the quotation below, one of the interviewees (GIS3) states that the appointment of İŞKUR's previous General Manager as the HBÖGM General Directorate has led to the construction of the LLL and employment relation.

GIS 3: To begin with, after Mr. Kemal's appointed as the General Director, and after Mr. Kemal came there, of course Mr. Kemal previously used to be İŞKUR's General Manager, in his period, you know the employment rates, participation, they did very good tasks, they ran projects. Kemal teacher ("*hoca*") really did unforgettable things when he was the General Manager of İŞKUR; he created certain structures. When he came to the HBÖGM with his background there, education and employability, when we look from the point of the cause and effect relationship, they are interconnected and he put this into the LLL system. (Appendix N.15)

One of the interviewees who is the representative of a stakeholder institution (NGIS2) indicates in the early days of the HBÖGP, in which the studies of the HBÖKK making were run, the LLL framework was defined more broadly; however, later on this framework was narrowed down through the certification of information and skills in relation to employment.

NGIS2: We actually initially called for both defining LLL and learning it. Thus, what will we understand by LLL? You know, it was said, "From 7 to 70, all the learning experiences are included in LLL." It was defined so broadly, each learning experience will be certified, they need to be certified...those were stated initially. But, through the end of the study, it changed slightly. It was narrowed down. Because it came to the position that "how can you certify the skill that she learnt from her mother, how can you certify handwork" and "what are the benefits of making these so institutional?" Using the resources more economically, the certification of information and skills in relation to employment, evaluation of these in this scope are not stated openly but...the institutions that are thought to be created emphasized this. That is to say, a consideration that puts forward employment has emerged. (Appendix N.16)

What is more, the same interviewee (NGIS2) points out that without creating new employment areas, promoting LLL in relation to employment would be inadequate:

NGIS2: Certification of information and documents by the state or by the authority and maybe providing the opportunity for making plans are significant facts and concepts. But I am not sure that it would be beneficial on an individual basis. If employment areas will not be created, new factories will not be opened, new working areas will not be constituted, everyone would have such certificates... In the EU process, everyone became an owner of a university diploma, everyone became an owner of a license, those were done rapidly. But previously, a university diploma used to have value, used to have weight. (Appendix N.17)

On the other hand, the participant from a labor union (NGIS 3) thinks that the MoNE is inadequate in terms of the adaptation of the LLL perspective to the labor market.

Also, he refers to the necessity of excluding the skills that are not related to employment from the scope of LLL.

NGIS3: I don't like the definition of the MoNE. Three daily SWOT analyses were done just for the definition. A very frivolous definition emerged. Well, saying from 7 to 70, all the learnings are so-so. I am against even this. We, as a union included in industrial relations, are on the one side of the system. LLL is defined as a measurement and certification of all kinds of learning. But I, individually, it is not a institutional view, don't want to include a seven-year-old girl's ballet education within LLL, as the most important concept of this huge employment market. My problem is different. I don't deny this learning. Or, you see, along with not denying the presences of the municipalities' BELMEK or something like the -MEK courses, like mottling, patchwork, I think that these don't have provision in the employment market, and due to this they have to be excluded. This is my conflict. If we can relate this to the employment market, we would be constituted as an institution. (Appendix N.18)

In the interviews, the representatives of stakeholder institutions that participated in the policy-making process were asked about their institutions' conceptualization and definition of LLL. Similar to the MoNE officials, the representatives of stakeholder institutions handle the LLL concept especially on the basis of employment issues as

well. They identify LLL with gaining skills required in the labor market and certification of these skills in general.

One of the representatives of an employer organization (NGIS1) handles LLL within the context of the employment market and also points out that LLL would be fruitful if it is handled in this manner:

NGIS1: LLL, yes, is an approach for cradle to grave, but when we say cradle to grave, as I said shortly before, this does not mean to the nutrition of a pregnant lady; this is an issue of the employment market. An individual's improving these skills, improving in a lifelong manner are aimed at. In this sense, if we work on the correct point, it would be fruitful; it would be beneficial in that sense. (Appendix N.19)

In one of the previous interview quotations, the interviewee NGIS3, who participated in the HBÖKK making process as a representative of a labor unions' confederation and who criticizes the inadequacy of the harmony of the LLL framework with the labor market, states that they also have activities related to LLL in their own institution and generally they prepared the scope of these activities with the employers. He also emphasizes these activities are organized for the needs of the labor market.

NGIS3: With non-formal education, through up-skilling particularly for the women and youth who I will call the risk group, we provide employment opportunities for them. Our secret in here is this: we construct the curriculum and models together with the workplaces' education managers, even with the CEOs. The employer itemizes for me the qualities of the labour force that he needs. I prepare an education model according to this prescription, and within the shortest time I provide the on-the-job training. You know, the motto is from education to work... The description of LLL and the descriptions of the employment market are sine qua non. That is to say, you have to clarify what it is, the first item of LLL and the purpose of it. You have to construct LLL according to the requirements of the employment market. Otherwise, all kinds of information, skills from 7 to 70, I know not what, for God's sake, please don't do. (Appendix N.20)

In the interview quote below, the views of another labor union confederation representative (NGIS4) are presented. NGIS4 refers to their conceptualization of LLL and the relation of LLL to vocational education. He focuses on the necessity of meeting the required educational standards, starting from the professional standards, and on LLL being the umbrella organization of the system.

NGIS4: Preferentially, the action that had to be done was this: Let's train people appropriate for the qualities needed by the employment market, let's give education to them. The labour market has to be analyzed initially for this. Let's analyze this, determine the qualities of the profession; this will take us to the professional standards. The professional standards will bring us to the education standards; the education standards will improve the curriculum. Let's constitute education based on this curriculum and let's certify this. You know, let's handle the vocational qualification in this framework, let's relate this to the European qualification framework and let's certify the information that was gathered out of schools and let's provide the recognition of these certificates through a mechanism and this will lead to the free movement of labor when we are in the EU harmonization process, increase the mobility. At the same time, this will increase employability. When we build this as a system, LLL will be the umbrella organization of the whole system. (Appendix N.21)

Besides, GIS4 states that their own organizational approach focused on employment and recognition of prior learning as well. Also, NGIS2 points out the importance of acquiring vocational skills through LLL and refers to the unsuitability of including the courses for hobby in the scope of LLL. The interview quote below presents the views of NGIS2:

NGIS2: Employment constitutes the main framework nowadays. In my opinion, it is not a wrong approach; it is the requirement of the practical life. If the person wants to learn knitting, no one can prevent this. But, in my opinion, allocating resources for someone who wants to be happy at home and wants to spend his/her time through learning knitting, organizing this is not practical. Or what is the practical benefit of keeping the statistics of the people who know knitting? If this has an economic yield, if this has a contribution to employment, then it would be beneficial to keep the statistics of this. But if the person becomes happy while doing that, let him/her be happy. Thus, if she/he is doing this as a hobby, let her/him do it. Organizing this doesn't have a practical benefit. But studies related to employment, acquiring a profession, empowering

skills, certification of skills would be beneficial. It is not wrong as it is. That broad definition of LLL somehow dilutes the work. (Appendix N.22)

Another participant, GIS3, points out the necessity of reaching over to the people who are thrust outside the economic life and employment area and of organizing LLL programs for them.

GIS 3: After determining the people who are thrust outside the economic and employment wheel in the country, and do whatever they do, the ones who cannot be one of the gears of that wheel, the ones who cannot find a place within the system of that employment wheel, then, what we say, we say the LLL program, don't we? Through including them, in my opinion, these programs have to be developed. Otherwise, one should not come to me and include me to the LLL program. (Appendix N.23)

What is more, GIS1 indicates that identifying LLL only with the employment-based framework is not correct, but as a matter of their work, they have to approach the LLL concept in that manner.

GIS1: For example, I, personally, disagree; it is absolutely not true. It is the necessity of being a social state, you cannot wait the direct thing from it, actually, this might be the participation for labour market, and it can be investment in the personal capital of individuals as well. But as a person who works in the public sector, particularly who works in planning, something happens that it has to be like in this way, because we consider schools to train people for labour force, we look at schools in that way as well. Firstly, training people for labour force, secondly removing the problems related to discipline and societal culture, so on. In the public, it is discussed in this way, but as I said, this might be also the individual capital of individuals. It is, of course, a controversial issue. (Appendix N.24)

The interviewees NGIS4 and PE state the priority was employment in terms of LLL, but according to their point of view, identifying the LLL concept only with employment was not correct. The quotation below presents the views of NGIS4:

NGIS 4: ...yes, primarily we look at the issue from the point of employment, but the issue is not only employment, because we as a confederation, as the associated unions, without the employment dimension, organize courses related to domestic economy for the wives of the workers. We organize university exam preparation courses for the workers' children; these were not related to occupation. It is also a part of that education; due to this, we don't stand up for limiting the concept with vocational education. You see, taking this within the context of LLL is possible. The system has to be open. (Appendix N.25)

Under this “Bringing the Concept of LLL to Policy Agenda and Its Conceptualization” title, the findings related to the reasons for bringing LLL to the policy agenda and also the conceptualization of the LLL concept by the MoNE and the representatives of stakeholder institutions were presented. It was revealed that both the MoNE officials and the representatives of stakeholder institutions emphasize the presence of LLL in our past. On the other hand, in the statements about bringing LLL extensively to the policy agenda, the MoNE officials highlighted the globalization process and the technological developments in this process and also a rapid renewal of information. Additionally, they remarked on LLL having been brought into the policy agenda due to the relations between the EU and Turkey in the context of the accession process of Turkey to the EU and the needs for sustainability of employment in the labor market and increased compatibility with the globalization process. The representatives of stakeholder institutions noted also particularly the Turkey-EU relations and the changes in the conditions of competition in the employment market influenced the bringing of the LLL concept to the policy agenda.

In this part, the findings regarding how the MoNE and the representatives of stakeholder institutions conceptualize LLL were also presented. The findings show that the MoNE conceptualizes LLL in relation to vocational education and employability. Similarly, the representatives of stakeholder institutions who participated in the HBÖKK making process also emphasized vocational education

and employability in their conceptualizations of LLL. In this manner, there are no significant differences between the conceptualization of LLL by the MoNE officials and by the representatives of stakeholder institutions.

In the next section, the findings related to the reasons for bringing the HBÖKK to the policy agenda will be presented.

4.2 Bringing the HBÖKK to the policy agenda

In the scope of the study, questions related to the HBÖKK making process, which was carried out as a part of the HBÖGP with the EU-Turkey collaboration, were addressed to the interviewees. The interviewees expressed their views in relation to both the bringing of LLL to the policy agenda and the making process of the HBÖKK.

In this section, the findings related to how and why the HBÖKK was brought to the policy agenda emerged through the content analysis of the views of the MoNE officials, the representatives of stakeholder institutions and the HBÖGP project expert; they are presented under three different subheadings: “The EU Harmonization Studies”, “Maintaining the Coordination” and “Increasing Participation in LLL”.

4.2.1 The EU harmonization studies

The MoNE officials, the representatives of stakeholder institutions and the HBÖGP project expert state that one of the significant reasons for bringing the HBÖKK to the policy agenda was the EU accession process and Turkey’s commitments to the harmonization with the EU.

Among the interviewees, the MoNE officials handle the identification of Turkey's commitments in the first LLL Strategy Paper as the primary reason for bringing the HBÖKK to the policy agenda. B1, who is a senior official in the HBÖGM, states that preparation for the HBÖKK fundamentally started with the LLL Strategy Paper in 2009. He also adds they consider the HBÖGP, which is run with the cooperation of the EU and Turkey, as a basis for the preparation of this law.

B1: Let me say this initially, the preparation of this law is a kind of task that is given to us through the Strategy Paper. It exists in the action plan. That is to say, the idea for preparing this law was not form from evening to morning, the task was given to us, and due to this we prepared such a draft law. We only had make it with the project. The project came; it was doing something here. What were we supposed to do, instead of doing unnecessary or necessary things, we have such a preparation for action plan, we said sit and prepare this, as a consequence it is the task of our General Directorate, even though it is an output of the project, and we are the ones who made that output written there. It is a tool, whether you do this over the project or you do this through organizing 5-10 workshops, it does not change. (Appendix N.26)

Another senior official in the HBÖGM (B2) refers to the task given by the first LLL Strategy Paper as well, as one of the underlying reasons for bringing the law to the policy agenda.

B2: We also have the LLL Strategy Paper. It was published in 2009; it is still in force. That paper says prepare the legal base related for LLL coordination, make the draft coordination law. (Appendix N.27)

The interviewee B3, who is a senior official in the MoNE, states that the studies in the field of LLL are related to the EU harmonization process, and the lack of coordination in the activities linked to LLL is one of the critiques directed to Turkey during the EU negotiations process. He also notes certain steps have been taken to catch up with the EU averages in the LLL participation rates and these steps are

important in the sense of the EU harmonization, and LLL has to be handled in this context.

B3: LLL is one of the critical thresholds for our studies in the EU harmonization. In relation to this, there are lots of works in Turkey. There are lots of studies that were included in the scope of LLL but not in the system. Our fundamental problem actually is this. I expect this will be integrated with both the Vocational Qualification Institution and the HBÖKK draft... Now, LLL doesn't have a dimension that is only related to us, as the MoNE. The government supports it. Actually, the fundamental gist of the project originated from the EU harmonization studies. The HBÖKK draft, all studies related to LLL are related to our harmonization process with the EU that was started in 1960, the negotiation process that was started in 2005 and in parallel to this it is one of the important studies in relation to the EU harmonization process ... We do this together with the EU harmonization studies, also in our country, the coordination of all the works related to LLL by a single unit, it is coordination by the Ministry, and identification of shortcomings are the significant step for both taking strategic steps and the EU harmonization. (Appendix N.28)

B2 introduces himself as the adult education coordinator who is representing Turkey in the EU; he indicates that, as the coordinator, he was also responsible for bringing the EU agenda in Turkey. B2 also states Turkey and the EU act accordantly, but it was not correct to handle the harmonization as an imposition of the EU on Turkey.

The interview quote below presents the views of B2.

B2: In relation to the EU candidate and member countries, there are adult education coordinators in every country. I am one of the coordinators for adult education related to Turkey. That is to say, we are the adult education coordinator that represents Turkey, you know. We are charged with making the EU agenda prevalent in our own country, explaining the application here over there, for sharing knowledge. Err, now we have studies related to this. We act accordingly, so as it means harmonization there, doesn't mean this. The EU has a "subsidiarity" principle, if you want, write, and search for it. When you search for it, the EU definitely generally gives the general philosophy, policy, but beyond there are no things such as you will make a law like this, you will do this, you have to have such structure, and so on. Due to that, we, now, harmonization is OK, good. Harmonization with general policies, but we have to construct a system compatible with our own country, our own system, our own needs. It emerged as the product of this. (Appendix N.29)

The interviewee (PE) who is in the HBÖGP expert team within the HBÖKK studies indicates the EU harmonization process, the expectations of the EU and the studies done in the EU countries had an effect on bringing LLL to the policy agenda.

PE: I would say the studies in Europe made this a current issue probably. There are similar studies and problems regarding this also in the EU. For example, most of the friends from the MoNE and unions, NGOs made country visits; they analyzed the models there... When the EU projects, the pressure of Europe, when all of these are merged, such a need emerged. (Appendix N.30)

The representatives of stakeholder institutions also frequently identify bringing the HBÖKK to the agenda with the EU harmonization process. The interview quote below presents the views of a representative of a governmental institution (GIS1).

GIS1: The HBÖKK making actually is entirely an output of the HBÖGP. It is a project that takes place in the investment program. The EU finances a part of it, but it takes place in the investment program... One of the outputs of the HBÖGP is the HBÖKK; the other is the Strategy Paper. (Appendix N.31)

The representative of an employer organization (NGIS1) indicates the EU examples were influential in making LLL a current issue during the development of LLL policies. Also, similar to the MoNE official (B2), NGIS1 points out this did not imply pressure and notes the ones who popularized the EU examples in Turkey were the worker and employer institutions.

NGIS1: Maybe this might be said. When you say LLL, when you say its international dimension, the EU membership process is one of the critical titles of this. So, not including itself, the EU is absolutely affected as a pleasant example. In the context of becoming a current issue, there are very good or poor examples; these are obvious. How these are done is also obvious... Thus, the EU comes to the table exclusively as a stakeholder, different from the pressure “do this in that way”, first for setting the agenda, second there are the EU documents, also the structures, don’t forget to examine these... You know, the opportunity for tracing the EU countries on site emerged up to present. From them

too... The power of being such a source of inspiration always exists, and it will be, I think so. But the worker and employer institutions and we are the ones who lobbied for this. (Appendix N.32)

A governmental institution representative (GIS2) identifies the HBÖKK's becoming a current issue with the concept's coming to fashion; on the other hand, he indicates that it might be related to the directions of the EU.

GIS2: On the one hand, we can say it is the coming to fashion as well. I won't say that it is not defined adequately in Turkey yet, but it is not entered as a definition, in our sector, it is defined as a shortcoming that led to the emergence of the need for constitution of a cohesive framework in this issue. But on the other hand, there were things that come through certain objectives from the EU as well, from the world also to us. On the other hand, there was probably a pressure just like that. Thus, actually I won't do something about that side; I do this because it is the fashion. Such a need already showed itself, you know. (Appendix N.33)

The representative of a labor union confederation (NGIS4) states the studies related to LLL initiated with the EU's external activities and the EU constituted the framework of the conducted activities.

NGIS4: Now, when we started the studies in relation to LLL, once I wouldn't say completely, but it is an external factor. It is an application that is carried out by the EU's external activity. I regard it as it is; at least, I regard it also as an institution. Because when we started the initial studies of the MEGEP, our first question was: How did you determine the sectors, what are the parameters of this, what did you use? This question was left unanswered, but when you look at the chosen sectors, apart from them being the needed sectors by Turkey, these sectors are the reflections of where the EU wants to see Turkey; it was my consideration. Because, I looked, you see, there are services like care services, education, tourism; for example, the chemistry sector, petro chemistry sector, the heavy things do not exist. It can be, it is a project, I put my own conditions forth... The SVET project was conducted with the EU. Based on the framework that was drawn by them, a reform application was started here. (Appendix N.34)

Under this subheading, the effect of the EU harmonization studies in bringing LLL to the agenda was presented. The next subsection presents the findings related to maintaining the coordination among the institutions as a factor for bringing the HBÖKK to the policy agenda.

4.2.2 Maintaining the coordination of LLL activities

The interviewed MoNE officials, the project expert and the representatives of stakeholder institutions consider providing LLL activities by different institutions as one of the most important points for bringing the HBÖKK to the policy agenda, since there is a necessity of maintaining the central coordination and eliminating the disorganization. This situation was indicated by most of the interviewees.

In the interview, the senior official in the HBÖGM (B1) notes that there was no connection among the actors that present LLL activities and this situation caused inefficiency in the field. B1 indicates that they aimed to maintain coordination of these activities.

B1: We prepared this draft law because there was a liability that was given to us in the strategy paper and the action plan and there wasn't a connection among the LLL actors in real terms in Turkey... Although the LLL system wasn't given a name, there is a system in Turkey. And in this area, there are different actors. Several associations, foundations, establishments, institutions organize courses, seminars, education for adults. But it is not organized systematically; it is mostly similar to a blind person's effort to find his way in darkness. A lot of courses in similar areas are opened at the same time. The priorities of the cities, regions are not taken into consideration. Naturally, the causes-effects like waste of resources or poor quality might emerge. While preparing the HBÖKK draft, primarily we used the lack of coordination here as a base. (Appendix N.35)

Similar to B1, B2, who is in charge of the policy development process in the HBÖGM, points to the lack of coordination among the institutions that organize LLL

activities. B2 considers one of the consequences of this incoordination as the emergence of certificates that have no recognition. The interview quote below presents the views of B2:

B2: It needs to have coordination; it needs to be more effective in this field. Multi-focality is directionlessness. The focus is dispersed now; everyone organizes education. Two different associations organize the same education. They should join their forces; their energy should be united. We wanted to not waste the resources. We said it should be more effective, they should use their power in more different fields... When we looked, we saw that everyone distributes certificates, everyone does it in their own way, the education hours are different, the contents are different, but everyone demands work with those certificates. They apply to the public, they apply to the private sector, the problems related to the recognition of the certificates by each other start to occur, the problems start to occur in the transition to each other. When a person says that I have certificate, but I want to add another certificate on it, it doesn't have an infrastructure, it doesn't have recognition, and there are such problems too. The institutions that give certificates start to emerge everywhere. From municipalities to universities, to continuing education centers. We said we need to provide coordination among them in the field of LLL. (Appendix N.36)

Another official from the MoNE (B3) points out a similar problem and states that the lack of coordination in LLL activities resulted in a “certification dump site”.

B3: There are various and comprehensive works conducted in our country in the LLL framework. For instance, there are vocational courses of the municipalities. There are workplaces where the child works during his apprenticeship training, what I can say more, there are studies conducted by NGOs, there are courses, and there are certificates. So, we are faced with the constitution of a certification dumpsite in the CVs and diplomas of people. When we asked people, I got such a certificate from this municipality, I got such a certificate from this company, but we don't have equivalent recognition of this. The institution that we call MYK has a strategic importance in this point. Thereby, in our hometown, in our country or let's say in Turkey, LLL actually means bringing into the system all of the studies conducted out of regulatory authorities. (Appendix N.37)

Some of the representatives of stakeholder institutions that participated in the HBÖKK making process also consider providing the coordination among institutions as one of the important reasons for bringing the HBÖKK to the policy agenda. For

instance, GIS4 states that a lot of governmental institutions and foundations organize educations and trainings with the HBÖKK; the purpose is to gather LLL activities under a single roof.

In this subsection, the lack of coordination and disorganization in LLL are presented as the causes for bringing the HBÖKK to the policy agenda. In the next subsection, “Increasing Participation Rate in LLL” as a factor that is effective for bringing the HBÖKK to the policy agenda will be presented.

4.2.3 Increasing the participation rate in LLL

In the scope of the study, the target of increasing the participation rate in LLL was highlighted as one of the prominent reasons for bringing the LLL to the policy agenda. In the interviews, increasing the participation rate in LLL in Turkey is mostly identified with catching up with the participation rate in the EU countries.

The interview quote below presents the views of the official (B2) who was influential in the HBÖKK policy making processes. B2 indicates the MoNE alone would not be enough for increasing the participation rate in LLL; this can solely succeed with the participation of other institutions.

B2: ...we looked and saw that we have about 900 PEC, 338 Vocational Training Center (VTC), we have 1,300 institutions. We said let's bring the participation to rate 8 percent. We set this as a goal for ourselves. We made a lot of calculation in the participation rate in LLL with a calculator. Let's say the participation rate is 10 percent; I said this would make the calculation easier. To make the participation rate 10 percent, let's say within the 75 million people in Turkey, the number people in the age group 25-64 is 37 million; OK, let's say it is 40 million to make the calculations smooth. There are 37 million people who are aged 25-64. To increase the LLL participation to 10 percent, each month, we have to give education to 3 million 700 thousand people. We have to provide education for them. Three million 700 thousand. How many institutions do we have? We looked at the number of person per institution; it is too much. We said we cannot afford it with these institutions. Rather than it being in the responsibility and authorization of the MoNE, other social

partners and all the ministries have to be included in this. We can only get through this with the participation of the municipalities, civil society, chambers of industry and trade, universities, continuous education centers. We can increase the LLL participation rate. We can provide the LLL opportunities for all individuals. Otherwise, it is not a thing that can be handled only by the MoNE, PEC, VTC or schools, institutions. It is beyond this, even if we increase the number of institution from 10 to 1,000, we still cannot get through this. (Appendix N.38)

In the interviews, one of the MoNE officials (B3) indicates the low participation rates in LLL in Turkey has been a prominent issue that was brought to the agenda in the Turkey-EU relations. B3 also notes that the MoNE took steps to solve this problem.

B3: Now, when we looked at the criteria related to LLL, we saw that the EU revised the 2020 targets related to this. We saw that the EU increased the targets from 10 percent in 2020, even to 15 percent. In Turkey, currently we try to increase the activities in the scope of LLL to 3 percent... But, when we look at the basic documents related to the EU, we always see that we have problems in the harmonization of the LLL criteria and the applications related to the LLL with the EU, there are criticisms toward us in this issue. Errr, the MoNE took a significant step for this. During the reconstruction of the MoNE with the Statutory Decree numbered 652, the General Directorate under the name of LLL was established. So, we see the care of both our government and the ministry and a solution of a problem that was mentioned in the EU progress reports by the Ministry. (Appendix N.39)

One of the senior officials in the HBÖGM (B1) states various steps were taken in the scope of the HBÖGP apart from the HBÖKK. He adds these steps have a significant place in the context of increasing the participation rate in LLL. The interview quote presents the views of this interviewee:

B1: I will advise you to pay attention to the things that were done with the framework of this project. One of them is the LLL web portal. This web portal is important, why is it important? The participation rate in LLL in Turkey is 3.2. It was 2.9 in the previous year; it was 2.1 in the former previous year. It has a tendency to increase, but it is not enough. Because it is about 8.9-9 in the EU countries. It was 11-12 percent. With the crisis, it was decreased. It is inadequate. Why is it inadequate in Turkey, it has several reasons. Firstly, in the adult population, as you know, the participation in LLL comprises the 25-65 age group,

additionally there is an unwillingness for taking education in the adult population in Turkey. Secondly, the adult population doesn't know where the LLL opportunities are. Thus, there is a problem in the access point. Ask randomly selected 10 people in the market. Ask them what they know about public education centers, courses, in these issues, they will say we have no information. The one who is curious would know. Or they would have difficulty in this, whereas we combined both the education and employment opportunities in this portal. It is going on through the collaboration with the İŞKUR. So, it has become such a portal that is harmonized with the Platous network of the Europe. This portal is very important. We can see all the possible courses that can be opened in Ankara, for instance. When you say the PEC in Çankaya is close to me, what is the name of the course that will be opened there, it is an ornamentation, it fits my need, I will register to this, you can make your preregistration immediately. You can even access the course abroad; you can access employment opportunities abroad. It is important in this context. (Appendix N.40)

The interviewed project expert and the representatives of several stakeholder institutions even point out the target of catching up with the EU participation rates in LLL activities is one of the important reasons that brought the HBÖKK to the policy agenda. The interviewees also highlight the differences between the questions that were used for calculations of the participation rates in LLL in the EU and the questions that were used by the TÜİK in Turkey. They express that this difference shows the participation rates in LLL in Turkey lower than it is. The interview quote below presents the views of the HBÖGP expert (PE):

PE: ...When the EU makes the computations, it shows the rates in Turkey lower. You might have seen the table; those calculations show it is about 2.8. It is the study conducted by the TÜİK, but a similar study was conducted in the Europe too. But, the people in the Europe are conscious, even if they participate in a folkloric dance course or bridge game course, they answer affirmatively. Our question is this: the TÜİK asks, as I guess, "Did you participate in an activity within the last 6 months?" When it is asked to me, I will answer correctly, but when it is asked to a person in the street, he assumes the question asks whether he graduated from school. It was explained in this manner. Because, generally, the rate in the minds of the people is higher, they say, it might be 5 or 6. They say the way of asking questions, the way of conducting this survey shows the participation rate lower. But they have also targets; it is about 8 or 9. (Appendix N.41)

Besides, GIS1 points out certification of participation in the activities related to LLL were a study originated using international comparisons. GIS1 also indicates data related to the participation in LLL was become a need nowadays and points out the differences between the questions that were asked for determining the LLL participation rates in the EU.

GIS1: For us, certification of this, that is to say certification of the activities done related to LLL, is already something that has come with international comparisons. In other words, when the international comparative researches were brought to the agenda, we felt the need for the constitution of such data for Turkey, that is to say comparative studies that we conducted completely for determination of our position in the international community... Our need for determination of participation rates or the conducted activities emerged in this time period... We don't have sufficient information about what we know, what our adults and youth know. Actually, since the LLL participation rates started to be calculated in the framework of the EU standards, we faced this problem, it was about 2 percent 3 percent... The calculation of the TÜİK is different, through considering the complete lack of coordination; it is completely a unit that provides coordination and a unit that determines what we know, if something happens, we think this problem can be solved if something will happen... For instance, the TÜİK calculates the participation rate in LLL by asking the question, "Is there any education that you participated in" in the last few months. It is something different, how can I know, the private teaching institutions ("*dershane*") lie beyond the scope of this. The PEC courses are out of this. The citizens also don't know what and how he knows. (Appendix N.42)

Another interviewee (GIS4) indicates the question, "Did you participate in any educational activity within the last few months?", which was asked to determine the reasons for participating rates properly and calculating the LLL participation rates is main reason for starting the HBÖKK making process.

GIS4: According to me, one of the most important reasons for the starting point of the HBÖKK is the question, "Did you participate in any education within the last few months?" in the EU. These rates are very high in the EU. The aim in Turkey is to approximate this rate to the level in Europe. The reason for the low participation rate is that our community does not internalize it. The answer to the question, "Did you

participate to education?” generally is understood as derzhane or schools; due to this, most of them give a negative answer. (Appendix N.43)

The interviewee NGIS2 mentions a different point about the planned steps to increase the participation rates in LLL. He indicates in order to show the participation rates higher, it was discussed in the HBÖKK making process to include worships of individuals in the scope of LLL as well.

NGIS2: When these were included, these were not mentioned openly, but these religious services were attempted to be put in the scope of this. For instance, is it possible to handle the preaching a sermon by an imam in the mosque as LLL activities? As you know, in the labour force survey, it was thought to include this and ask this. Because in the EU countries, while preparing the survey questions, when similar things, questions like “Did you go to church?” were posed, the participation rate suddenly increased. There are two concerns about the statistics there. The first is we cannot determine the exact participation rate in LLL; the second one is there is a target and a way to reach that target has to be found. The 2.9 percent is a calculated rate. The EU average is 8 percent; if we can find 5 percent, it would be very good. But how can it be found? Let’s do this with a one question. “Let’s include the ones who participate in the Friday prayer in LLL.” Does participating in the Friday prayer mean participation in LLL activities? Is it so? According to my point of view, it is not. But if we extend the boundaries of the definition, yes, the ones who participate in the Friday prayer listened a sermon, he participated in a social activity, he came together with other people, and he absolutely learned something. (Appendix N.44)

In this “Bringing the HBÖKK to Policy Agenda” section, the findings that emerged as a result of the content analysis of the views related to how the HBÖKK was brought to the policy agenda were summarized. In the interviews, two of the MoNE officials who took significant responsibilities during the HBÖKK making process stated that the preparation of the HBÖKK was a task that was performed with the first LLL Strategy Paper in 2009. Generally, the point that was mostly referred to by the interviewees was the EU harmonization process in the context of bringing the HBÖKK to the policy agenda. The second factor that was influential in bringing the

HBÖKK to the policy agenda was the lack of coordination among institutions in providing LLL activities and the low ebb in the LLL participation rates. The next part presents the findings related to the HBÖKK making process.

4.3 The making process of the HBÖKK

In the scope of the study, questions related to the details of the HBÖKK making process were posed to the interviewees. In this section, the findings that emerged through the content analysis are organized under the six subheadings: “Purpose and Scope of the HBÖKK”, “International Factors Concerning the Structure and the Content of the HBÖKK”, “Determination of Stakeholders for HBÖKK Studies”, “Contributions of the Stakeholders”, “Was the Management of the Process Participatory?” and “Problems in the Making Process of the HBÖKK”. In this section these subheadings will be presented.

4.3.1 Purpose and scope of the HBÖKK

The findings show that a solution for the lack of coordination problem among organizations that provide LLL activities is one of the important points that determines the purpose and scope of the HBÖKK.

The MoNE officials indicate that the HBÖKK will be a framework law, and it will be based on coordination and its scope mostly will focus, rather than on formal education, on non-formal education. The interview quote below presents the views of the interviewee (B4) who is charged with important tasks in the HBÖKK making process and works in the HBÖGM.

B4: In the draft document, the purpose of the HBÖKK was stated as: “The purpose of this law is the regulation of the procedures and principles related to planning of LLL services, their presentation, development, monitoring and evaluation, maintaining the quality assurance, financing and recognition of prior learning and its documentation and maintaining the coordination.” Each target in the purpose sentence refers to coordination that could not be accomplished in this field. After the conducted meetings and the produced reports, it was understood that although the scope of lifelong learning is from cradle to grave, the activities that are needed to be organized in our country are mostly lifelong learning activities after formal education. As it is in England, there is a need for legal regulation in the adult education field. For this reason, the framework of the draft law is generated through lifelong learning activities covering the activities apart from formal education. (Appendix N.45)

Another interviewee (B1) who is a senior official in the HBÖGM indicates the purpose of the law in the interview quote below:

B1: In the law, we draw a frame for the LLL strategy. Who makes the decisions about LLL and what kind of education would be organized? A “board” decides these. Who would be involved in this board, how the actions plans are prepared? What is the running of this board? What will its tasks and responsibilities be? Who is going to finance the cost of this? That is to say, in such a law, in depth, you cannot write this kind of education will be organized in the x city or x region, in the y region vocational courses will be organized, these are the phenomena that will be developed in time. When you construct the structure of the framework, you will determine how it will be run, who the actors are, you will determine the tasks, responsibilities, warrants, the system will work... The purpose here is to give LLL a tidy status, to determine the position of the actors, to generate coordination in LLL units and centers in the cities. As much as possible, we tried to cover the entire stakeholders related to LLL. (Appendix N.46)

The project expert (PE) indicates that the HBÖKK was prepared in order to maintain coordination and generate a fresh structuring. PE also states that, along with maintaining coordination, one of the purposes of the HBÖKK was the study related to the recognition of prior learning. The interview quote below presents the views of the PE:

PE: In this structuring, the law already assigns tasks to city coordination councils, to the national council; these tasks are defined in the law and one of the tasks is, for instance, as we mentioned earlier, the Recognition of Prior Learning. This system will be on track with this law. That is to say, when a citizen who learned a craftsmanship from his mother or father or worked somewhere as an apprentice and learned to repair a car, he would know where to go, he would improve himself with very well defined and described steps. (Appendix N.47)

B1 states that the studies related to the recognition of prior learning proceeded with the inspiration of the Western countries. The interview quote below presents B1's views on this issue.

B1: ...The significant outcome of the project, in my opinion, is RPL. Recognition of Prior Learning. That system has sprung to life with this project. That is to say, you know the inertia principle. It is too hard to set a standing object in motion, but when the wheel starts to spin, when you push it, it continues its way easily. Departing from here, actually the project did a great job. In Turkey, we give the first RPL in three different fields such as electric panel assembling, cookery and hotel desk clerkship; I believe that, through study visits, analyzing these in detail, portfolio approach, with the framework of the theoretical and practical exams, how it is done here is similar to the things done in the West. In my opinion, it is a historically important start. We will improve this, if God permits. (Appendix N.48)

In this subsection, the findings related to the purpose and the scope of the HBÖKK were presented. The next subsection presents the findings related to the international impacts concerning the structure and the content of the HBÖKK.

4.3.2 International effects on the structure and the content of the HBÖKK

This subsection presents the findings that emerged through the analysis of the views of the interviewees about the international effects on the structure and the content of the HBÖKK.

While preparing the content of the HBÖKK draft, legal regulations and coordination structures in the EU countries were influential, serving as an example. According to the views of the interviewees, in the framework of the HBÖGP, the study visits conducted to various countries, the analysis of these countries' systems and their reports were evaluated, and these were influential in the generation of the HBÖKK.

One of the MoNE officials (B4) who took important tasks in the HBÖKK making process indicates that the practices abroad were taken into consideration and the EU countries were taken as a reference. The interview quote below presents B4's views about the international effects on the HBÖKK making process.

B4: During the making process of the law, the practices abroad were taken into consideration. Different from other projects, the scope of the study visits covered only institutional visits and presentations. As a decision maker, the Policies and Educational Programmes Group President and an expert conducted a two-week analysis and have the opportunity to understand that country's practices and legal basis. In the making process of the law, in their visits, the representatives of stakeholder institutions evaluated also the studies related to the HBÖKK. According to me, the contributions of the practices abroad have influenced the making process of the law and have directed them... Because in our studies, our reference is the EU countries. The EU approach affected all activities and reports... There isn't any international institution as an official stakeholder. But, during the study visits to the EU member countries, we got in touch with many institutions and establishments. According to my point of view, the major contribution for the making of the law draft was from the Ministry of Education of Denmark. (Appendix N.49)

Another official in the HBÖGM (B1) also indicates the study visits abroad were influential during the HBÖKK making process and adds the project team's being an international team increased the international effect. The interview quote below presents the views of B1 related to which countries were selected and the selection process of the countries for the study visits.

B1: Of course, particularly since we did this in the EU framework, we departed from the study visits of the EU experts to the EU countries, the information gathered by our local experts from the developments in there... If you ask, in this framework, which actors lent assistance in which field, first, the project team is already an international team, that is to say, the Cambridge Education was the main executive. Our team leader was a foreigner, most of our key experts were foreigners, there were local key experts also, and we conducted several study visits. I participated in some of them... We went to Germany, Spain, Portugal, these were really study, there wasn't almost the visit part. They sorted us out, I would say. Without taking any breath, think this, we stayed 2-3 days in Spain, we got 17 different briefings. From that institution to this institution, our international team met with the all the related institutions, appointments were made, we went, the man continuously explained their system to us, we also asked. Why did we choose these? For instance, Portugal increased the participation rate in LLL from 2-3 percent to 11 percent. How this happened, I said particularly, write the Portugal, we should go there. But, it is interesting, no one gave the answer how it happened. They don't know what they did also. Spain is also a country that is not half bad. Friends conducted a study visit to Denmark. You know, the rates in the Scandinavian countries are above the European. It is about 30 percent. The participation rate in LLL in Europe is 9 percent. In countries like Denmark, Sweden, it is about 30 percent. Study visits were conducted many times to England and also to Scotland. All of these were reported... So, all kinds of studies were added to this, including the HBÖKK draft, similar to making a perfume. In perfume making, you know, you put a tone of jasmine oil into the boiler, you boil it in water, and acquire a jasmine essence. It was revealed through the consequence of very detailed studies. But, absolutely, it has shortcomings, the points for critique. But really there is a serious work here and international actors also. (Appendix N.50)

Similar to B1, the official B2 in the HBÖGM who was influential during the HBÖKK making process also indicates that they analyzed the legal regulations related to LLL in their visits to various countries while constituting the HBÖKK. B2 states they conducted studies through taking into consideration the experiences of these countries along with the conditions in Turkey in the HBÖKK making process.

B2: We took the friends to the EU countries to visit... We looked at them. We actualized all of these together with them. What if something

combined happened, that is to say? All in all, it is not completely taking from there to here, already it is generally like this. Something that works for a country might not work for another country. (Appendix N.51)

Another official in the MoNE (B3) also indicates that the primary reason for the HBÖKK was to bring LLL activities in Turkey in compliance with the EU standards.

B3: The fundamental trick of this is based on the EU, because the EU is one of the strategic targets of Turkey... In the period that we call globalization, even though it is not exactly the same with the valid current laws, not completely but generally, it is about harmonization with the EU due to the EU being our strategic partner. (Appendix N.52)

The representatives of stakeholder institutions who were interviewed also point out the international impact on the content of the HBÖKK. GIS2, who is a representative of a stakeholder governmental institution, states it was felt that the first version of the HBÖKK draft was completely a translation and adds the EU experts were highly influential during the HBÖKK making process. The interview quote below presents GIS2's views on this issue.

GIS2: When we took the first draft of the HBÖKK, it was completely a translation. We could clearly see that it was a translation, or there were some concepts, the MoNE corrected them in time... The condition at the start was a complete translation that was inspired from abroad; I remember it in that way. Later, the MoNE worked hard on it. Apart from the experts, with its own experts... At a more macro level, the delegation representatives here also might indicate their views not only through their own expertise, but through the experts there also, or through the associations, foundations in there, because they are in contact with the EU. That is to say, the EU experts or structures were actively involved in this process, as I know... The delegation representatives that we or the MoNE interviewed about the EU already reflect their views on the laws, small documents, strategy documents, as I know, they took part in it. That is to say, their contribution is there; yes, they contribute in an expert level, you see, they are the experts that are hired in the scope of the project, but except this there are targets in the EU too. So, there are studies in relation to the actualization of them here. But the experts, the EU experts who work here reflect their experiences that they gained there or their experiences in their own countries or their opinions in similar laws. That is to say, actually Turkey is being analyzed. About Turkey,

initially they have processes, they try to understand. They conduct meetings, etc. But consequently, they reflect their own views to these documents. The thing that we said, a complete translation was sourced from this. But, actually, we have to look from a more broad perspective. (Appendix N.53)

Another interviewee (GIS3) states that the practices in the EU were taken as an example in the HBÖKK making process. A representative of the stakeholder labor union confederation (NGIS4) notes when the stakeholder participants did not integrally have a good grasp of the subject, the foreign experts easily directed the process in the HBÖKK making process. In the interview quote below, NGIS4 presents the dialog in one of the meetings in the scope of the HBÖKK making process that exemplifies this situation:

NGIS4: The ones that came were the experts in their fields. They handle the issues limited to their fields. What happens in that case, the ones who are aware of these can easily direct the work. The EU experts directed it here. Because, there was a discussion like this: In the steering committee meeting, the EU representative said that first we would see the law draft. It was not shared with anyone yet; he said first we would see. He said, we would see it initially, we would approve it and then you would open it to discussion. I felt disturbed by this consideration. I asked to speak and said that in Turkey the way of how a proposal or a draft becomes a law is determined. That is to say, the related ministry prepares this, so this ministry in this condition is the MoNE. First, it opens the draft to public discussion, collects the views of the public, ask for views from the social side. It is presented to the parliament, it is discussed in the National Education commission, then it goes to the General Assembly and it finishes. There isn't a concept as the EU in here, the EU approval, prevision, postulation exists in colony countries. I said we refuse such kind of consideration. (Appendix N.54)

On the other hand, two of the MoNE officials (B1 and B3) indicate that they treated the EU project called the HBÖGP as a basis and opportunity for maturation of the studies related to the HBÖKK making process. The interview quote below presents to views of B1 on this issue.

B1: We only had it with the project. The project came, it does something here. What were we supposed to do, instead of doing unnecessary or necessary things, we have such a preparation for the action plan, we said sit and prepare this, as a consequence it is the task of our General Directorate; although it is the task of the HBÖGM, it is an output of the project, and we are the ones who made that output written there. It is a means, whether you do this over the project or you do this through organizing 5-10 workshops, it is not the matter. (Appendix N.55)

B3, who is an official in the MoNE, states that EU projects provide financial sources for the MoNE's research and development activities and also notes the project is a kind of a means in this manner.

B3: As I said in the beginning, from the point of the EU projects' visible side, another positive side of the project is its giving response to the research and development needs. For example, let's say, studies were conducted on LLL during two years. What is the source of this? It is not originated from the absence of sources in our state. But, a source has to be found for this in a way. So, during the two years, experts from universities and the foreign EU experts—with the accomplishment of the EU—worked together in this project; Turkey and the EU financed it together, so this project has academic and bureaucratic framework. This is the fundamental track of this... So, the project has become a means that takes us to the point that we want to come. (Appendix N.56)

As can be seen in the statements presented above, the HBÖGP is treated as a background for continuation of works for the HBÖKK by some of the MoNE officials. Additionally, senior officials in the HBÖGP, B1 and B2, also indicate the studies related to LLL and the HBÖKK were inspired by the EU countries, but the acquired experiences were not one-to-one copied to Turkey; these experiences were adopted under the specific conditions of Turkey. The views of these interviewees are presented below:

B2: In a school, you develop a solution for a problem. This solution wouldn't work in the school across the road. This is what it is. Due to this, we tried to sew a dress that fits our body, which belongs to us. Of course, while sewing the dress, while fixing its collar, or that or this, or its color, we looked at the dresses in other countries, but as a consequence, we tried to sew a dress for our own size. We did the dress

fitting, the draft of the dress that fits our size, together with them... The EU absolutely, generally, gives the general philosophy, gives the policy, but beyond this, there aren't things like, "You will make such kind of law, you will do this, you have to have such structure" and so on. Due to this, currently the harmonization is OK, good. The harmonization with the general policies, but we have to construct the system that belongs to our own country, that is compatible with our own system, own needs. It is revealed as a product of this. (Appendix N.57)

B1: Also, of course tailoring is important here. You cannot copy-paste a complete system. England is not Turkey; Turkey is not Denmark. The thing that works there cannot work here. You see Turkish wisdom and expertise also have a role there. Ultimately, they provide the range to us, they say, look at Spain, look at Portugal, there is this and that, and we sit and think. Also, there are sociological facts of Turkey. There are economic facts. We tried to make it so that it is specific to us. (Appendix N.58)

Similar to B1 and B2, the interviewees GIS2 and GIS3 indicate that the EU experts had a significant influence on the HBÖKK making process, and add by means of this, the studies gained an international framework. The interview quote below presents these views:

GIS2: That is to say, so, as I know, the EU experts or the structures might take place in this process actively. But all in all, it is a law, they put in an international framework, you know, they reflect the requirements, expectations and the needs of Turkey. In that meaning also, that is to say, something emerges that both two sides might be likeminded, as I thought. (Appendix N.59)

GIS3: According to me, here, the EU as an actor only presents the good examples to us. Of course, just like in each EU project, the experts came and explained, saying, here you see it happens in this way, in that way in our country. There is no bindingness and imposition. For example, four experts from abroad came for a seminar, explained the practices in their countries, [but] I still make a plan, programs according to the conditions and economic status of my country. (Appendix N.60)

Under this subheading, the findings related to the HBÖKK's structure and content were presented. The next subsection presents the selection of stakeholders in the HBÖKK making process.

4.3.3 Determination of stakeholders for the HBÖKK studies

In the scope of the study, the MoNE officials and the project expert participant were asked questions related to the selection criteria of the stakeholders and their inclusion processes in the HBÖKK making process. Also, the representatives of stakeholder institutions were asked how their institutions were included to the process.

The interviewed MoNE officials indicate that during the HBÖKK studies, in order to conduct a participatory law making process, they spared no effort to include the institutions that are related to LLL.

The interview quote below is about the selection of the stakeholders as described by the interviewee who works in the HBÖGM and who was responsible for important tasks during the HBÖKK making process (B4).

B4: In our project, the institutions/establishments were determined which participated in LLL and had activities. Fifteen stakeholder institutions were selected. Mostly, the General Directorates within the MoNE that carry out education-training activities particularly after formal education were selected. From the social stakeholders, the ones who have their own educational activities or the ones who have the potential to support training were selected. According to me, the right decisions were made in determination of the stakeholders. Because preparing a law draft with the institutions that cannot find a person to participate or the ones that have difficulty in giving participant names would be quite meaningless. (Appendix N.61)

Similar to B4, B1, the senior official in the HBÖGM, states they tried to include all the participants who had to be included in the process.

B1: If I can say something general, there is an expression of old people, an expression in Ottoman Turkish, “Ayarını mani efradını cami” (translation note: including the ones that belong to oneself, excluding the ones that do not belong to oneself). We showed such an approach. That is to say, everything and everyone who had to be there were included; everything and everyone who did not have to be there were excluded. To what extent we got along, I don’t know... The actors of LLL are apparent. There is a certain criterion, there are unions in this thing, there

is the YÖK, I mean, education unions are included, there are these; except these, there are labour confederations, the representative of the TOBB, the TİSK, TÜSIAD. So, we tried to include every conceivable one that can be both in the position of being an actor and a customer of education. (Appendix N.62)

B1 denotes they included every stakeholder that they wanted to include and there was not even one stakeholder that could not be included. Similar to B1, B4 also notes that generally the stakeholders they wished to include were included in the process. On the other hand, B4 points out, “In the beginning of the studies, a leftist education union refused to be included because it was completely against the EU studies, it notified of this situation—its stance officially.”

The interviewed HBÖGP expert (PE) states that the stakeholders that participated in the process were seen as the representatives of a certain wing; he notes that according to his point of view, certain institutions that had to be present as participants did not take part in the process. The interview quote below presents his views:

PE: Of course, some certain wings participated mostly... For example, certain unions are not present. I asked that they were absent, because every view had to be included, they said they didn't want to be included. You cannot know, of course, weren't they called? Didn't they want? When you ask someone from there, he might say there... Sometimes extreme views are there. We don't work with Europe; it is an EU project. There are some people who have such a point of view. They are still with old thoughts. If he said so, go and call them once again; in this case, the outcomes of the project would represent the views of only one wing. Maybe there are better views among them. Every view has to be included, we said, but they said they didn't come. For instance, the KOSGEB is absent. They should be certainly called. They also give a lot of education and research support. (Appendix N.63)

In the interviews, some of the MoNE officials and the representatives of stakeholder institutions note that the criteria of the EU projects were influential in the selection of stakeholder institutions during the process, and add the EU projects

empowered the capacity of the MoNE for working with NGOs. The interview quote below presents the views of B3 in this sense.

B3: To speak honestly, for the MoNE, particularly one of the major contributions of this EU project to our national education system is its support for our functionality to work with the NGOs, our motivation. Each of our projects has a steering committee. These steering committees, let's say, the administrative body consist of 30 people. The steering committee is, let's say, 20. In this steering committee, let's say, 10-12 of the members are the MoNE units; the rest 8-9 are from NGOs. So, in this HBGÖGP, all these unions that we know are active. And in the steering committee, we talk about everything together. So, from the beginning to the end of the project, the MoNE really included a participatory method and added in the studies both the Ministry of Labor and the Ministry of the EU, both the NGOs and the unions. (Appendix N.64)

Besides, NGIS3 indicates that the NGOs started to participate in the processes related to public works with the AKP government. Similar to B3, NGIS3 also notes that the EU is very clear on the participation of respective parties in the processes in the projects. The interview quote below presents the views of NGIS3.

NGIS3: Let me explain openly the thing. I am not interested in your political view; after 2011, the EU process sped up and with the AK party government NGOs started to be included in the public, in the public services, in the public works ... Before 2000, they didn't used to allow us to enter the MoNE. We couldn't enter the MoNE. We didn't use to have work already, that's quite another story, how the MoNE was, it was a place like the MGK... Now friends, leftist, rightist, this and that, there is no differences between the DİSK, Hak-İş, Türk-İş; everyone seeks to do work together. The government is ready for this, the unions are also ready, and so are we in vocational education. Even when they buy a fly spray, they call us, asking how we should buy this, for instance. This is a good thing... To begin with, the EU made the thing very clear, the related actors of the issue, related sides and you will include all of the institutions to the process. Its name is steering committee, I know not what committee, whatever you call it, it is written in the ToR. If you won't include them, the ToR wouldn't be accepted already. The EU has clear criteria for participation. (Appendix N.65)

The representatives of stakeholder institutions, similar to the MoNE officials, also indicate that the stakeholders that were necessary to be included took part in the process. The interview quote below presents the views of GIS4 in this sense.

GIS4: Through evaluating the support of the various establishments and institutions, the institutions that carry out vocational education activities were selected... According to me, the establishments and institutions that participated in the process are quite appropriate. The actors of the work participated in this process. (Appendix N.66)

On the other hand, the interviewee NGIS4, who is the representative of a labor union confederation, criticizes the fact that they were not included while the project's terms of reference (ToR) was being written; they were called later on.

NGIS4: The projects were constituted, but while constituting the projects, while the ToR was being written, we were not so influential. After the ToR was written, we were called as social parties. We weren't there in the ToR writing... We only were invited after the ToR was written, with the expression *social parties*, I mean labour unions, TESK, TOBB, TÜSIAD, all of these were included. Public institutions already exist. (Appendix N.67)

In his views about the stakeholder institutions that participated in the process, NGIS1, a representative of an employer establishment stakeholder institution, indicates that, as a stakeholder, universities were not interested in the LLL title. NGIS1 criticizes the universities' being uninterested and their abstaining from participating in the process. The interview quote below presents the views of NGIS1.

NGIS1: In the direction of the LLL studies, along these years, while we were studying more than 10 years, I had a chance to observe that universities did not state their views, they abstained; it is not true to use the word *abstaining*, they did not prefer to spare time for it. Actually, while speaking about such an issue as LLL, I prefer and expect that most of the representatives of universities would want to be present at the table, but it happened not because they were excluded by the MoNE; it

happened because such a demand did not come into existence. Not feeling the need, showing no interest or the inexistence of such interest were some of the reasons, I think. (Appendix N.68)

In this subsection, the findings related to how the stakeholders were selected and the criteria that were taken into account regarding the stakeholder groups that took part in the HBÖKK making process were discussed. The next subsection will present the findings related to the contribution of the stakeholders to the process.

4.3.4 Contributions of the stakeholders

Within the scope of the interviews, the MoNE officials, the project expert and the representatives of stakeholder institutions were asked questions related to their contributions to the HBÖKK making process. According to their indicated views, the contributions of the stakeholder institutions were based on their representation in the study groups and attending several meetings. Also, it was stated that the representatives of stakeholder institutions presented their contribution through attending various foreign visits.

The interview quote below presents the views of an official (B4) in the HBÖGM about the contributions of the stakeholders in the HBÖKK making process.

B4: One of the activities of this project is the preparation of the draft HBÖKK. In this scope, we formed study groups with the experts in our projects, we reflected the qualities of the coordination, justifications and the coordination structures that will be constituted with the law through combining the proposals of the groups... While preparing the HBÖKK draft, we made the best of our capability for employing experts. In every step, the structure of the coordination and duties were reported to the MoNE's decision makers. Then, after the double toured study with the lawyers who work in the MoNE, the draft law was prepared. In order to indicate the views about the draft law and to decrease the delay in sending it the parliament, the last study was conducted for the format and writing of the justification with the threesome committee, which consisted of the law experts. The draft law was generated through the 45

meetings conducted by the representatives of stakeholder institutions and the meeting with the deputy governor. In the three rounds of meetings with the stakeholders, a coordination structure was formed through asking questions about the lifelong learning concept and the required components to carry out the activities, the duties of the state and the opportunities that have to be provided. (Appendix N.69)

The interview quote below presents the views of B2 related to the contributions of the stakeholders in the HBÖKK making process. B2 states they initially started the studies with the definition of LLL and tried to form an agreement among the stakeholders.

B2: We first study with our study groups. We said, “Friends, what will we do? What springs to your minds when we say *LLL*?” We started with the definition of LLL. No one knows. The official from İŞKUR, the official from MYK, everyone defines something different in his or her own way. Let’s first communize our concepts among us. Let’s understand all together the same thing when we say *LLL*... What happened and is this rate increased in this way? Did they make a law, did they change a method? Spain and Portugal are two examples of this. The two countries that show a rapid increase. We looked at them. We performed all of these with them. Then, we took our friends to visits to the EU countries. We chose some of the countries. There are countries that have a good participation rate in LLL and there are countries which are successful. For instance, one of them is Denmark. We took them to Denmark. Portugal and Spain peaked in their LLL participation rates. Let’s say from 5 percent to 15 percent increase, in one-two years. Why did they increase this rate suddenly? (Appendix N.70)

An interviewee (PE) who is a project expert in the HBÖGP indicates that after the meetings conducted with stakeholders, everyone started to talk in the same language about LLL.

The interviewee NGIS3 states that as a participating institution, they conveyed their LLL activities in the HBÖKK making process. NGIS3 also points out high salaries of the foreign project experts and criticizes the fact that despite these high salaries, they had to explain to the foreign experts how the LLL activities should

be.

NGIS3: We made presentations; we brought our field practices about the LLL concept to the project technical support team. The monthly salary of the project technical support team is 10,000 Euros during the project. We thought with them what LLL is, where Turkey is presents in the LLL process, what the field practices of Turkey are. I underline this twice. What else might they take from us? The project learned from us how the measurement and evaluation of LLL might be, how the ideal measurement and evaluation might be. (Appendix N.71)

Some of the representatives of governmental institutions indicate that they participated in the meetings mostly as observers and add they had limited contribution. The interview quote below presents the views of GIS3.

GIS3: As the ones who participated from our General Directorates, from our institutions and establishments, we go to the meetings with the status of an observer... In some of the regulations or in the framework, of course a high level confirmation have to be taken from here, we participate there with this attribution. We are not the determinant there, mostly as observers... We listen to them, take our notes and report to our high-level administrators. Mostly as the Ministry, we go there for monitoring, for being a roof. (Appendix N.72)

A representative of a stakeholder institution (NGIS4) criticizes the fact that in the meetings conducted in the HBÖKK making process, a real participation was not performed each time, as some of the representatives of stakeholder institutions left the meeting after signing the attendance sheet, and in this meaning sufficient participation was not ensured.

In this subsection, the findings about the contributions of the institutions that were invited to the HBÖKK making process were presented. In the next subsection the findings related to how the stakeholders handle the participatory aspect of the law making process will be indicated.

4.3.5 Was the management of the process participatory?

In the interviews, the MoNE officials, the project expert and the representatives of stakeholder institutions were asked questions related to the participatory dimension of the HBÖKK making process.

According to the findings, the MoNE officials and the project expert said the HBÖKK making process was participatory. B1, the senior official in the HBÖGM, indicates that they managed a participatory HBÖKK making process from bottom up. The interview quote below presents the views of B1:

B1: The truth is, in this issue, the HBÖGP provided us with a good opportunity; in this framework, I don't have the exact number but about 40 meetings were conducted. These actors participated; they were continuously asked for their opinion. And a draft law has come in sight. Well, after coming to a certain point, maybe again the relevant sides will be asked through saying there was something like this. So, this shouldn't come to mind that three people sit in Ankara. I wish we did it in that way, maybe we would move forward more quickly. But if it is needed to say in English, we implement the "from bottom up" system. (Appendix N.73)

While describing the process, B2, another senior official in the HBÖGM, also notes that if they wanted, they might have managed the process by excluding the stakeholders, but they wanted a good work with the inclusion of the stakeholders and they constituted the draft law on the basis of a participatory study. The interview quote below presents the views of B2:

B2: I don't want to say that we are the actor in the process, because we are also one of the stakeholders of this work. In here, we provide coordination; through conducting meetings with the institutions, we generated 15 study groups. I speak as a General Directorate. We included the TOBB, TESK, TİSK, TÜSİAD, Türk İş, Hak İş, education unions. Then, related to these, we invited İŞKUR, MYK and YÖK, all of these. We invited each of them. How did you determine these? Friends, our ultimate goal is enacting the HBÖKK. The policy document that you have is a product of 15 study groups. In the backside, there are the names of the participants, look at this. We took this policy document; according to this policy document we enact a draft coordination law, I said we

enacted to mean we have this now... When we have a lot of stakeholders in this field, this time, we think a lot about the law we enacted. We revised each word many times. Maybe we are in the 50th revision. Version, version, again, we are going to the 51st, 52nd. While enacting the law, off the cuff we can sit and write the names of three persons at this table. We can write, what will happen, we can write, nothing, it takes one month. We enact the law, present it; there might be some objections, but consequently, more or less, we write and enact a law. We didn't want to do it in this way; we should have a system that works from bottom up. Let's establish our study groups. Let's study, let's make an effort, and let's make something become evident, which is our creation; no one will object to this in the future. That is to say, we manage a participatory process. We created this policy document with the stakeholders. (Appendix N.74)

Another official in the MoNE (B3) states that in the HBÖKK making process, anyone who had a word to say was attempted to be included in the process and thereby a participatory process was generated.

B3: ...within the scope of the project, any man, any academician, any kind of chamber, any union who has a word to say, who has an idea were called; they talked and worked either in the education component or in the policy component. The coordination draft that we currently call the draft in the Ministry was formed. (Appendix N.75)

The HBÖGP expert (PE) states that generally a participatory process was managed; the participating stakeholders can see their representation in the produced documents.

The interview quote below presents the views of the PE:

PE: When a stakeholder reads that policy document, he finds himself there, can see his representation. It is not easy to consolidate the view of every institution of course, but everything was listened to... Lastly, in the final meeting, they talked about it; they said the project was successful. They said they were listened to. (Appendix N.76)

On the other hand, the representatives of stakeholder institutions who participated in the HBÖKK making process have some criticisms related to the participatory aspect of the process and note that some problems affected the participatory dimension.

According to the representatives of stakeholder institutions, these problems were mainly originating from the problematic relation between the civil society and the state in Turkey and also from the shortcomings in the information.

The representatives of some of the stakeholder institutions point out some problems related to the traditions of the relations between the civil society and the state and consider this as an obstacle for managing a participatory process.

The representative of an employer organization stakeholder institution (NGIS1) points out the reciprocal problems between the civil society and the state; he adds these problems also emerged in the HBÖKK making process, but despite this situation, a participatory process was achieved.

NGIS1: In Turkey, traditionally in the policy making or legislative processes, the civil society has a very limited role. It has two dimensions; one of the dimensions is that the politician might act with suspicion towards civil society, thus it is usually like this from time to time. On the other hand, the civil society doesn't have a structure to come to the fore, because in Turkey, a powerful civil society structure has not been constituted. Cyclically, it might be very transparent and participatory. Cyclically, there might be troubles and problems. As I see, the important thing is in general terms; there is always a tendency for taking the views of the civil society by the private sector. This is also a positive development. Through making a more institutional mechanism, the continuity of this would be provided, I think. Then, sometimes it has limited power to give target-driven contributions qualitatively. This might be one of the reasons for the bureaucracy's, public's skepticism... Due to this, stating, "It is completely transparent and always participatory or it is not transparent, it is not participatory" would be unfair and wrong. (Appendix N.77)

The interviewee GIS1 also points out the reciprocal problems between the civil society and the state. GIS1 indicates that a participatory process was attempted to be managed, but the stakeholder institutions were not adequately effective in this process. According to GIS1, this situation originated sometimes directly from the fact that the relevant people did not participate in the process, and sometimes from the fact that the participating representative did not take adequate initiative.

GIS1: I think it was conducted within a participatory framework but I think the participants were not effective enough. That is to say, in this meaning I say it, when we call a representative from institutions, we design lots of projects, the representatives are continuously changed or particularly the “social stakeholders,” I use it in quotation, particularly they don’t want to state their views without taking the opinions of their administrative bodies. I observed the experiences of our friends in the MoNE in this process; most of the received opinions are unqualified and maturation cannot be provided. Or most of the people think, for instance, from the perspective of a financier, “Mmm, this is unconstitutional, inconsistent with this.” But it is a new law, some changes might be done or it might be changed at the same time, that is to say, it is not a holy book, it can be changed. Most of the people in the public don’t have this perspective. In general, it is something related to our civil society tradition. But there is a similar problem also in the governmental institutions, from most of the governmental institutions, the directly related person doesn’t come to the meetings, or, what can I say, the law draft doesn’t arrive to related persons, etc. They send their opinions indicating, “There is nothing related to our Ministry.” In every meeting they say this; they participate as an observer and say that we will deliver our written opinion later. The opinions of the social stakeholders focus only on one idea and they don’t say anything apart from it, for instance, concerning the general situation. You see, for example, their opinions are like let’s add something for workers or the things. Not concerning the general or for maturing the whole law, unfortunately, from their own perspective, sometimes it might have a benefit, or for preventing things that are in contrast with their benefits. (Appendix N.78)

On the other hand, another participant (NGIS2) states that the project coordinators in the HBÖKK making process tried to manage the process in a participatory way, but since the beginning of the project, the representatives of stakeholder institutions had a perception that the result would be unrelated to their own discussions.

NGIS2: Now, since the beginning, there used to a perception like this. That is to say, not only among the friends that represent our institutions but also among the other friends from other institutions: “This study would be efficient, would be good, we all learn something from this, consequently something will be come out of it, but let’s say, if the law comes to the stage of going to the TBMM, the draft, all these studies might lose their importance there, a new thing will come.” But, the project coordinators really made an effort to take opinions, take contributions of everyone. It was a participatory process in this meaning. It was also participatory at the local level; not only in Ankara, but also at the rural level as well, education and studies were conducted in the scope of the project. With this aspect, in appearance it is participatory, but is it substantially participatory? ... Everyone says, everyone proposes something. But in the end, the opinion “I say this, but eventually, as a

consequence it won't be taken into account" used to be stated. But the opinions of the all the institutions were reflected in the reports. (Appendix N.79)

A labor union confederation representative (NGIS4) makes various criticisms about the participation process. NGIS4 indicates the participatory process was carried out only in appearance.

NGIS4: The situation with the country bureaucracy is like that: the instruction comes from the center; there isn't something like using initiative. Now, if you attempt to change this structure, ultimately there are still a number of things that are expected from the center... They don't need us at all in the current parliamentary system; it is possible to pass the regulations they want... The EU has an impact, then what is going on? Something for the show goes on, I met with the social partners, but again it happened as I said. We do not want it; at least I'm against it, on my own behalf. (Appendix N.80)

Some of the representatives of stakeholder institutions indicate that both at the beginning and throughout the process, they were not sufficiently informed, were not kept informed about the last version of the draft law. The interviewees state frequently that the studies' being on the agenda for a long period of time, the slow progress and insufficient informing of the participating stakeholder institutions affected the participation process negatively.

A representative of a stakeholder organization (NGIS2) indicates they were not adequately informed at the beginning of the process; on the other hand, although he participated in the studies during the whole process, he did not know whether it is compatible with the designated purpose or not.

NGIS2: When we were invited, we did not know a lot about what we would come across. We did not know what they would want. They made a number of studies. I participated in almost all of the work. So what was the purpose, what was the conclusion, does it overlap with one another? These, of course, I cannot know, but in the consequence, it is something, the draft coordination law was prepared. There is such a document, but I do not know if it is offered to TBMM or not. (Appendix N.81)

A labor union confederation representative (NGIS4) states that in the projects, the setting up of different working groups causes problems such as being unable to follow the whole process. On the other hand, he adds adequate preparation could not be made for the meetings and this led to constitute a process that is open to the direction of the EU representatives.

NGIS4: Projects have problems like this. In projects, outside of the project team, when working groups are created, everyone continues to work in his working groups and does not know what is happening on the other side. The ones in the policy group are expected to do it. I'm not so sure the ones who work in the policy group know what the current education system is, what the education policy is, what its connection with the employment policy is, what its connection with the country's economy with plans, with the target is... If you do not dominate the whole process, you become a part of the process. The second problem can be this: your task here covers very much less of your daily work; this is not your continuous work. In most of time, on the way to the meeting, one day before the meeting, you run your eyes [the relevant documents] over to remember the discussion there. That's it. The right for specification of the components of this basic policy isn't given to you... When you take part in it, your taking part creates troubles. Because you throw cold water over a cooked meal. (*Translation note: trying to ruin a work that is about to be completed.*) (Appendix N.82)

On the other hand, representatives of both governmental institutions as well as non-governmental organizations (NGO) participating in the study criticize the fact that they did not see the final version of the draft. The interview quote below presents the views of GIS1 in this regard. NGIS 2 and NGIS 4 also have made similar views.

GIS1: As I said, the draft has been so long on the agenda, perhaps most of the things I already forgot; you know, what it included, which of the different models were adopted. Because I think there is a problem with transparency in the MoNE, in general, in relation to developments in the drafting process, I observed that many parties were not informed. As I said, although it finally will come to us, we are not even informed about most of the developments. This is a problem in itself, because a subject comes to agenda, we worked hard on it, and then the administrator says, it should wait for a while. For instance, if you go to Hak-İş, they would say, "O! There was something like this but we don't know what happened, no one has been asking for a long time." Because it was over, on the one hand, something else came to the agenda. There is a continuity problem... I do not know the last stage that it has reached now; frankly, I do not know at what level it contains the views of the stakeholders. (Appendix N.83)

The interviewee GIS2 points out the elapsed time as well as insufficient information in the process. GIS2 also notes that in the project, although he was both in the steering committee and a member of the study groups, the flow of information did not proceed sufficiently.

GIS2: It's been a long time, was it maybe 6-7 months? Probably it was. I didn't participate in the closing conference, but was any kind of document produced either in there? I remember it was not produced... One of the criticisms that we made in the beginning was this. That is to say, a work is done; a contribution is given to this study, how they are combined, lots of opinions come from various institutions, they are combined. Then, the institutions don't know of that document or enough time to get the opinions was not given. In what way the contribution that we gave was reflected, there is a question mark in the point whether it was reflected completely... We have participated in all of the working groups ... I do not say specifically it sourced from my lack. I'm saying in terms of this, I'm a member of the steering committee, at the same time I am a member of the working groups, there might be problem in the flow of information, they might not have need for it as well. I am a member of the policy group, we produced this consequently, if they said let's send it to the institution; I say it again as a question mark. Otherwise, I don't mean it came and I didn't see. Or a draft is constituted; there isn't enough time to examine it. Such kind of problems happened. This affects the quality of the opinion and as the consequence, ultimately, it affects its contribution to the document. In this respect, including us, the social partners used to have a duration compression; there were problems in the informing about the content of the studies; you know, there were problems in the work flow... Besides, for example, currently what the final stage in the law draft is, I do not know obviously the last point. (Appendix N.84)

Under this subsection, the findings regarding the participative dimension of the HBÖKK making process has been revealed. The findings related to the problems that arose in the HBÖKK making process will be discussed in the next subsection.

4.3.6 Problems raised in the HBÖKK making process

In the interviews, the MoNE officials, the project expert and the representatives of stakeholder institutions point out some problems in the scope of the HBÖKK making

process. They indicate that these problems affected the HBÖKK making process in a negative way. These problems will be presented under the subheadings “Alternations in the MoNE and Project Management”, “Financing Problems”, “Conflicts among the Stakeholders” and “Problems Concerning the Constituted Councils”.

4.3.6.1 Alternations in the MoNE and Project management

In the interviews, the MoNE officials, the project expert and some of the representatives of stakeholder institutions state that the administrative alternation problems in both the MoNE and the HBÖGP reflected on the HBÖKK making process and this had a negative impact particularly on stringing out the process, as well as the entire process.

The interview quote below presents the views of B1, who is a senior official in the HBÖGM, in relation to these alternations. He states the change of the MONE unit in which the HBÖGP studies were carried out and then the changes in the project team naturally caused the extension of the project duration.

B1: Honestly, Mr. Onur, lots of misfortunes befell the project. There have been so many changes. It was in the Project Coordination Center previously; it was transferred from there to here. In the restructuring, the General Directorate was closed, was reunited with the Ministry. The Minister changed twice, blah blah blah. After coming here, I changed the team leader and part of the team. I didn't find them sufficient. Despite this, the project arrived at the conclusion successfully. Normally, I was worried that this number of changes might affect the success. So, the extension of the project duration is quite normal. (Appendix N.85)

In the interview, the HBÖGP project expert (PE) stated that the HBÖGP has experienced many changes throughout the process, which has brought changes both to the structure and to the target of the project. On the other hand, accordingly, this caused the prolongation of the process, and he was not sure whether the HBÖKK

would become a law due to the many changes that were experienced.

PE: Of course, these are details, but the initial project leader has changed in the middle of the project. When the foreigners changed, the project's structure has changed. The ToR, "terms of reference", has completely changed. The targets in there deviated, that is to say, trainings, training hours reduced... So the project was going to start in May, we started in October, in 2011. A year later there was restlessness, it's their internal affairs, one of the foreigner was ill already, another group leader left the group. Instead another group leader came and instead of English Lewis, the sick one, Ron Tucker and Rose came. They somehow, in a very short period of time, have dominated the project, and then work began to go well toward to the end... The studies on the coordination law carried on for a long time. It carries within the MoNE HBÖGM. Then it came to a certain level, but the minister changed in the government, undersecretary changed. I don't know about the current situation. I don't go there for couple of months, I sometimes want to stop by, but, in my last visit, there was nothing about this issue, also next year is the election year. We used to say that this coordination law might be enacted in October, there is a situation like this would come out now. (Appendix N.86)

These problems have been reflected also in the views of the numerous stakeholder interviewees. The interview quote below presents the views of GIS4.

GIS4: The Ministry has performed the process well. However, according to my point of view, the changes of the administrators and the Minister caused reductions in the course of the project. The project team has changed; it progressed slowly for a specified period... The process progressed slowly. Better things might have been done. I think the changing process of the MoNE, I think, was influential in this. (Appendix N.87)

GIS1 denotes that the process was prolonged due to the administrative changes in the MoNE and these problems revealed gaps in the embracement of the process. The views of GIS1 are presented below:

GIS1: Now while the law was being prepared as a draft, there were a lot of administrative changes in the MoNE; due to this, sometimes we were in need to embrace the process.... If you ask how the MoNE carried out the process, lots of administrative changes were made in the process; this coordination law is a matter of three or four years. It is not too new. There were a lot of administrative changes within the three-four years, with the administrative changes, the same things were also encountered

there. So they said things like “we cannot do it now, if we do, it contradicts with something, there is a discrepancy with the item count of the primary law”, in the same way as it was in the institution. (Appendix N.88)

In his views about this issue, NGIS2 indicates that there had been various problems in the maintenance of the HBÖGP in relation to the restructuring in the MoNE. NGIS2 also states the project initially started in the PKMB and its transfer to the HBÖGM after the restructuring caused confusions among the stakeholders of the project.

In the interviews, B1 and PE personally indicate that similar problems would continue in the new term. The interview quote below presents the views of B1 on this issue.

B1: If God permits, we will improve this. There is the project for the promotion of LLL 2; its ToR is being written. It will start in a couple of years. We won't be there, but the General Directorate, I hope, will maintain this system... That is to say, two years for a bureaucrat is a long time. So, we cannot say that we will do this in two years. You know, in the human sense, there is not a guarantee for us not to die tomorrow, but in the sense of bureaucracy, two years is also a long time. We might stay; that is to say, there are some people who stay as a General Directorate somewhere also. But I have such a feeling. During my directorate, we try to do something. (Appendix N.89)

The HBÖGP expert (PE) indicates that he thought that the experienced staff should not have been changed in the process. He also states that he had a prediction that the target steps might be postponed due to the election period.

PE: Now, by means of this project, the staff there, substantially, progressed. But, the actual problem is that the ones who worked in the project for two years had to go somewhere else due to these new appointments, reassignments, due to spouse-related issues. That is to say, the current General Director got the hang of this work... But it might change next year, it might change tomorrow, I cannot know. He indicates this personally. So, disregarding the political view, the persons in such positions should not be changed. The undersecretary related to this should not be changed frequently. It was talked that undersecretary

round, a lot of briefings were given. On the heels of it, in the moment of change, you mention everything to the newcomer, you know, the situation of the coordination law...etc. New Ministry of Education, that is to say in the election year, this kind of things might push the process into the background, as it did, probably. Otherwise, in October, in the new legislative year, this might have been enacted. Turkey Qualifications Framework, this might also have been enacted. It was not enacted either. That is to say, everything is standing as a draft. (Appendix N.90)

In this subsection, the findings related to the problems in the MoNE and in the HBÖGP posed by the administrative changes during the HBÖKK making process were presented. The next subsection will present the findings about the problems that emerged in relation to the financing of LLL activities in Turkey.

4.3.6.2 Financing problem

The MoNE officials, the project expert and the representatives of stakeholder institutions indicate that during the HBÖKK making process, one of the discussions was the financing of LLL activities. According to their views, financing is a controversial issue between the MoNE and the stakeholder institutions.

B2, who is a senior official in the MoNE, indicates that a clear framework for financing LLL has not been exposed yet. B2 adds they analyzed various financing models abroad, attempted to adopt those models in Turkey but they still were working on the financing issue. The interview quote below presents the views of B2 on this issue.

B2: The financing system tired out us a little. That is to say, it still tires us. There is no financing model still that satisfies us. How will the financing of LLL be? Thus, what should we do? ...Now, what is it, for example? It is free of charge in Public Education Centers; it is still free of charge. But, when we look at the world, there are lots of practices related to this. There is the Voucher system; there is the coupon system. There are education funds; there are education funds created in the stakeholder organizations; then there is the distribution of the funds. One gets bored, get depressed, LLL, he says, "I will go and participate in a course."

Everyone is not poor, everyone is not unemployed or non-worker. OK, the state will finance the unemployed person, but why would I finance the person who takes courses as a hobby? Or if a person, who works in a workplace, takes a course for using efficiently the product that is present in his factory or using a new product, according to my point of view, the factory has to be included to this work. We think that we should construct the state-individual-management dimensions efficiently. We worked with our own local academicians, but consequently, it might be like this, like that, we couldn't go beyond of this. Currently, we are still working on the financing system... The most difficult, the most niggling area is financing... That is to say, it is like a heart, it has same meaning with the blood in the veins. It is the same. When we don't send the money, when we don't distribute the money efficiently, education would not be organized, and neither the courses. According to me, its whole financing by the state is not appropriate. Everything is financed by the state, the state will give everything, not everything actually; people sometimes go to courses as a hobby. People sometimes go there for rehabilitation. That is to say, there are taximeter systems related to this, thus different than each other; each country has its own different systems. There are advantages and disadvantages of these countries' methods. There is a problem for adaptation to Turkey. It made us tired. We worked with foreign experts. Actually, we couldn't gain anything from them... (Appendix N.91)

B4, who works in the HBÖGM, points out the conflicts between the MoNE and some of the stakeholder institutions and adds that particularly the ones who are from the trade unions inhibited some of the offers related to the financing of LLL activities.

B4: ... our stakeholders, especially those involved in union activities, with protectionist attitudes towards their employees, inhibited the adequate assessment of the offers. For example, without working on it, the proposal to create a fund for financing lifelong learning was removed from the draft law because of the objections of the worker and employers' confederations. (Appendix N.92)

On the other hand, the interviewees point out that establishing a fund for the financing of LLL was a controversial issue during the HBÖKK making process. The interview quote below presents the views of the HBÖGP expert (PE) on this issue:

PE: The launch of a fund came to the agenda; of course such a fund is something very attractive. There is unemployment fund, housing fund and so on. The Ministry of Finance did not lean to this, that is to say, the

funds are not working, the only one that works is the unemployment fund. If the funds are not working, then the state has to pay it back to the public... From the Ministry of Finance, it was said that we didn't lean to this, so this fund fell down... The friends that come from the EU, the foreigners used to tell us to launch a fund. Now, there is no fund, from which the financing will be provided; when you constitute the units in the cities, what will the staff do there? ... Actually, there are some funds that were transferred to the MoNE, with respect to the law; they will spend them for the LLL. I guess unions make some contributions there, some contributions from the courses. There are some contributions, but this financing problem has to be solved. (Appendix N.93)

One of the representatives of a stakeholder institution (NGIS2) indicates that in the financing issue, the state has to take more responsibility, at least in the beginning, and in relation to the financing, he adds he had concerns about the use of the launched fund out of purpose, as is the case with the unemployment fund.

NGIS2: There are some approaches about the financing issue of course. There is the approach of "Whoever benefits, he will pay" present. It is so difficult in practice. Because the participant doesn't know about what he will benefit from and what kind of acquisition he will gain. Making such participants responsible for financing initially doesn't stand to reason. At least, in the beginning. The state has to finance a part of it or maybe completely in the beginning, my personal point of view. Except this, there are some institutions that will really benefit from this work. They might benefit from the qualified labour force you see, TÜSIAD; TOBB might contribute to financing... But the main responsible actor must be the state of course; at least initially, it should be the public. Of course there were other proposals, funds should be launched, like the unemployment fund, but it was not accepted. There are always concerns that there might be some people who will want to use the accumulated money for different fields as the unemployment fund's usage out of purpose. This time, of course, the establishment of the unemployment fund and this are completely different, everyone set their sights on it already, that place was not considered appropriate. (Appendix N.94)

The representative of a labor union confederation (NGIS4) states that it was told to them to allocate a certain amount of the source that they allocate for education to the financing of LLL, and with an employer union, which was involved in the process, they opposed this idea.

NGIS4: The problem is its financing. They give the example of Europe to us; they said you will transfer 10 percent of the fund that you use for education to here. The experts in our MoNE proscribed like this... We said such a thing is not possible, not only did we say it, we said it together. According to the unions' law, we cannot spend money anywhere except for our members, it is forbidden. You write here in that way but it is an item that cannot be applied. (Appendix N.95)

The representative of an employer organization (NGIS1) also mentions that for the financing model, the financial structure was important and it would be an inconvenient practice to tax them as if taxing the private sector.

In this subsection, the findings in relation to the financing problem that emerged in the HBÖKK making process were presented. The next subsection will present the findings related to the conflict among stakeholder institutions in the HBÖKK making process.

4.3.6.3 Conflicts among the stakeholders

In the interviews it is revealed that there were conflicts between the MoNE and the stakeholder institutions and among the stakeholders themselves about the defined councils within the scope of the content of the HBÖKK. There were also some conflicts among the stakeholder institutions and it was seen that these conflicts were reflected in the views of the participants in the interviews.

The project expert (PE) states that in the HBÖKK making process, in relation to the authority issue, discussions arose among the institutions. PE also notes that those institutions develop arguments to protect their authorities.

PE: Among the stakeholders, there are the ones who are prominent and of course critical ones. Because some institutions say that the laws give me this right, and say it is none of your business. One of the institutions says, "I already do these, it is my natural task." Another one also says, "I have some certain opportunities, 10 percent of the unemployment fund money

comes to me,” whatever 5-10 percent come. Another one says, “I am already carrying on these activities,” so and so forth. They come to every meeting; they made contributions, but mostly they tried to put forward and impose their own ideas...Of course, every institution has to protect its own law. The authority that presented in there, what would he say, he cannot say that we say like this, but they said like that, I accepted it. (Appendix N.96)

An interviewee (GIS1) who is the representative of a governmental institution mentions that the institutions that will have responsibilities in the structures that would be formed with the law demanded more power. GIS1 also notes that there are various opinions in the MoNE about this issue.

GIS1: Currently, the most controversial issue related to the HBÖKK is when you give a lot of responsibility to the MoNE; especially the private sector does not lean towards it so much. That is to say, an institution does not consider this as its own activities in this scope, or doesn't take any responsibility. ... One of the institutions used to object to something; it was about transferring the money, which was taken from our members, to the LLL. They said if we won't be the maximum beneficiaries, our members would not pay for it. From the income of our institution some money used to be allocated to this and that. According to my point view, there must be certainly an increase both in the responsibilities and the contributions of the social stakeholders. The state cannot do this alone. When it cannot do, it is considered as if it is the MoNE's work only. In fact, although as it is in the Strategy Paper, the coordination is on the MoNE, but the MoNE is frustrated, they say we do completely the thing, due to being the main responsible party, you know, when someone owns a work, that work was on that person's shoulders, reporting is its task; also organizing is its task. On the other hand, within the MoNE, there are some people who want to do the tasks, who don't want to lose the control; on the other hand the HBÖGM generally doesn't internalize this approach. (Appendix N.97)

On the other hand, it was revealed that there have also been conflicts between the MoNE and the foreign experts in the HBÖKK making process. The HBÖGP expert (PE) expresses his views on this issue below:

PE: The HBÖGM laid claims to this. Of course, we don't know about the content so much, there are some points when they came into conflict with the foreigners. The foreigner comes there for a certain project, has certain targets. He has to write a report at the end of the day. Of course foreigners' learning of our system took time. Actually, we used to hear

that occasionally there had been some frictions. He doesn't like it, doesn't like this, as it happens in every project. (Appendix N.98)

GIS1 refers to the conflicts between the foreign experts and the MoNE in the quote below.

GIS1: In most of the projects, due to there being an obligation for hiring foreign experts, the foreign experts thought they know their things best, their countries are the best... Well, for this law, I suppose, one of the foreign experts, he was from Iceland, I don't remember accurately, here, he presented his own country as a model. But the MoNE has a lot of project experience in the past, they might be exceedingly skeptical... They even sometimes said, "Let's not talk about these near the foreign experts." This is purely a matter of debate. No such thing is present like too much direction or too much domination. As I said, the MoNE is exceedingly skeptical about it. (Appendix N.99)

In this subsection, the findings related to the conflicts that emerged among the stakeholder institutions were presented. The next subsection will present the problems during the HBÖKK process concerning the councils that were thought to be constituted within the scope of the HBÖKK.

4.3.6.4 Problems concerning the proposed councils

According to the views of the interviewees, it was indicated that one of the problems that were revealed in the HBÖKK making process was related to the councils that were planned to be constituted.

The project expert (PE) notes that many councils were planned to be created in the HBÖKK and he has concerns that this might lead to some confusions. On the other hand, it was reflected in the interviews that giving the responsibility for the councils, which were planned to be created at the province level, to the governor of a province had caused various debates. The interview quote below presents the views of the PE on this issue.

PE: Actually, it was a complex for me. He reports to him, he reports to Ankara. Ankara does that. There is another Provincial Employment Council in the provinces. For example, a combination of these two. That is to say, I think so. Some say that, some say something different. Because in the provinces, in such committees, the governor of the provinces does this, some of the provinces send the deputy governor. And the governor of the provinces might be changed or appointed two years later, and so on. Maybe he transfers his information to there after two years, but explaining the activities here to a newcomer governor is the same thing again. But, such a structure was adopted in this project; they say it has four feet. (Appendix N.100)

In the discussion related to the HBÖKK making process, it was thought that giving the responsibility for LLL activities to the provincial governor might deactivate this task due to other councils in the responsibility of the governor as well. The interview quote below presents the views of the representative of a labor union (NGIS3) on this issue. NGIS3 indicates that the local administrative structure in Turkey was so central that this would deactivate the function of the councils.

NGIS3: Two-thirds of the group stated that there was no need for such centers, because there were employment and vocational education institutions in the provinces, we could integrate the coordination of the LLL within the task of these. We mostly keep our minds on the provinces. I do not want to give a wrong answer to this question. The tasks of LLL coordination councils in the provinces, in that province, might be integrated into the main tasks of the Provincial Employment and Vocational Training Councils. It is the right approach. Now, look. Each province has installed 25 councils connected to the governor. Poverty council, earthquake council, disaster council, provincial employment council. The governor is the head of each of them. He forgets. Our local administrative structure is crippled. Very central, that is to say. The subject of decentralization is ohhhoo; we cannot talk about it due the fear of losing the country. So, the man, the Belgian one, the Danish one, doesn't even think that the governor and the mayor would be poles apart, he thinks they are already together and writes a law for us, prepares the draft... He says, "There are Provincial Employment and Vocational Education Councils", he says, "they gather together once a month." They work or even don't work. Now, put LLL to the agenda of this... He says, "Why do you establish a separate council?" It is both time and money waste. The secretariat work might be carried out by the İŞKUR or the centers in the HBÖGM; consequently the governor is the one who has the complete administrative and civil authority in the province. That is to say, will we give LLL to the governor? What does the governor understand? This objection was not accepted. Their

technical consultants did not understand this. Ours of course understood. The foreign experts thought Voyvoda and Marshal work together. Voyvoda is our governor; Marshal is Melih Gökçek. They don't greet each other; they come side by side just while meeting with the president. Is it OK? Selected and appointed, is it possible? I reviewed the related EU countries for many years. (Appendix N.101)

GIS5 criticizes the fact that in the process they mentioned the need for the inclusion of universities to the provincial councils to be created but their opinion was not accepted. GIS5 adds that LLL activities cannot be carried out only through the PECs.

GIS5: We mentioned the need for the inclusion of universities in the provincial councils to be created. But the MoNE declared that the Governorate, the Municipalities and the İŞKUR would be the main participants of the council; with the inclusion of universities, the social partners would demand to take part in the council, and due to this they declared that they would include university if they find it necessary. Universities are important because, according to my point of view, both their capacities and academic staff would ensure the acquisition of related skills of high quality. The realization of lifelong learning policy, I think, could happen by working collaboratively. Recognition of prior learning subject is a system that works in the collaboration of the MYK, the YÖK and the MoNE, I think, due to this; it is beyond being a study that is carried out by the PECs. (Appendix N.102)

In the “Making Process of the HBÖKK” subheading, the findings related to the various dimensions of the HBÖKK making process were summarized. The purpose and the scope of the HBÖKK, international effects on the structure and content of the HBÖKK, determination of the stakeholders in the HBÖKK making process and contributions of the stakeholders in this process, the participatory dimension of the process and the problems that emerged during the process were discussed in this part.

According to the results that emerged, among the purposes of the HBÖKK, gathering LLL activities provided by different institutions under the same roof is particularly emphasized. Besides, it is revealed that RPL is aimed to be legislated with this law. On the other hand, in their views, the participants noted that the HBÖKK would particularly focus on out-of-formal education, and with the aim of

providing coordination generally, through the establishment of various councils on both the national and the provincial scale, LLL activities will be gathered under a common roof.

On the other hand, it is seen that the laws related to LLL that are currently applied in various EU countries were effective samples while shaping both the structure and format and also the content of the HBÖKK. The findings show that study visits to the EU countries, studies conducted in these visits and analysis of the laws in the visited countries significantly affected the HBÖKK making process in Turkey.

According to the findings in this part, the MoNE officials indicate that in the HBÖKK making process, while determining the participants, they tried to provide the representation of every related stakeholder. On the other hand, it was seen that various institutions did not take part in the process because the MoNE did not invite them or they did not want to participate in the HBÖKK making process.

The interviewed MoNE officials express that in the HBÖKK making process, the meetings conducted with the study groups were carried out within a participatory management style. The project expert, who points out various problems, also indicates that the HBÖKK making process was participatory in general. On the other hand, most of the representatives of stakeholder institutions who participated in the HBÖKK making process indicate that the MoNE tried to manage a participatory process but problems in the civil society and the state's relations and information shortcomings in the process caused problems and limitations in terms of the participative dimension of the process. Besides, it was pointed out that the

administrative changes both in the MoNE and in the HBÖGP, in which the law making studies were carried out, affected the HBÖKK making process negatively.

Apart from this, the discussions related to the financing of the LLL activities also caused problems among the MoNE and stakeholder institutions and among the stakeholder institutions themselves. It is seen that on some of the issues, particularly such as the authorization of the institutions, there have been conflicts between the MoNE and stakeholder institutions and among the stakeholder institutions themselves. Besides, the findings in this part show that there have been differences of opinions and various discussions among the national and provincial councils to be created with the HBÖKK.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter, first, the summary of the findings will be presented and discussed.

After that, the conclusion of the study will be introduced. Thereafter, the delimitations and limitations of the study will be given and the recommendations of the researcher for further studies will be made.

5.1 Summary and discussion

In this section, the summary of the findings will be presented under related headings and the findings will be discussed on the basis of the aim and research questions of the study. Besides the presentation of the summary of the findings, some recent major policy documents in the field of LLL in Turkey will be mentioned to consider the relationship of these documents with the findings of the study.

The findings of the study emerged as a result of a content analysis of elite interviews, which were presented in the Findings chapter under the three main headings: “Bringing the Concept of LLL to the Policy Agenda and Its Conceptualization”, “Bringing the HBÖKK to the Policy Agenda” and the “Making Process of the HBÖKK.” The summary of the findings will be presented here in the same order within the subheadings.

5.1.1 Bringing the concept of LLL to the policy agenda and its conceptualization

The views of the interviewees on bringing the LLL concept into the policy agenda of Turkey and the conceptualization of LLL by the interviewees were presented in the

“Bringing the Concept of LLL to Policy Agenda and its Conceptualization” part in the Findings.

First, the idea that the LLL concept has its roots in the history of Turkey was often mentioned by the stakeholders who participated in the HBÖKK making process. Besides, one can witness this idea in some recent major policy papers, such as the first LLL Strategy Paper (MoNE, 2009) and the second LLL Strategy Paper (MoNE, 2014) as well. The second LLL Strategy Paper refers to the metaphor of “from cradle to grave” to tell the long history of the concept in Turkey. Similar with the findings of this study, the first LLL Strategy Paper mentions this issue in the following lines:

Lifelong learning in Turkey has a very long past. The arguments that no limitation may be brought for learning with respect to time and place, that learning may take place at any moment of human life, at any place where the human being lives or communicates, that a never-ending respect should be shown even to one who teaches a single letter, that what has been learned is the most important guide has existed, been accepted as valuable and applied in some manner in Turkish culture for many years and even centuries. (MoNE, 2009, p. 7)

Despite the fact that historical roots were referred to in terms of bringing the LLL concept to the policy agenda, both the findings of the study and recent policy documents indicate that the concept of LLL has gained wide currency recently. The findings denote that the current globalization process, the transformation and changes in the labor market and employability issues within the global era, the necessity of acquiring new skills to accommodate these changes, rapid developments in technology and the harmonization process of Turkey with the EU are some critical issues in bringing LLL to the Turkish policy agenda widely.

The MoNE officials who have played a critical role in the HBÖKK making process state that rapid developments in technology and the necessities of the globalization era have required updating the knowledge and skills that people have. The MoNE officials often linked globalization with changes in the labor market and employability issues, and emphasized a growing insecurity in the labor market in the global era. Accordingly, employability for people in the current global era is only possible through getting new skills, which are coherent with the requirements of the labor market, and updating them regularly. The MoNE officials often emphasized that formal education cannot meet these necessities alone and people need to learn and so update themselves, which popularized LLL accordingly.

The ideas that the MoNE officials stated are in line with the ideas in the two LLL Strategy Papers. In the first LLL Strategy Paper (MoNE, 2009), it is affirmed:

Many changes are emerging in connection with the employment problem along with the changes and developments in the world. Due to instability experienced at the labour market, concentration of labour mobility at national and international levels and most important of all, in order to benefit from and to cope with the problems caused by developments and changes from technological revolution stirred up by new computer technologies, lifelong learning approach is gaining more importance day by day for establishing economical and social policies. (p. 4)

Besides, it is stated in the first LLL Strategy Paper (MoNE, 2009) that the notions, standards and beliefs connected with education, which was formed in harmony with the values of the industrial society, requires a re-definition of the scope of the LLL approach and the necessities of information society. In the same way, it is stated in the second LLL Strategy Paper (MoNE, 2014) that studies for the development of the LLL system in Turkey were accelerated since the 2000s, since the LLL concept emerged as a result of changes in the social and cultural life in terms of the

necessities of the era that we currently live in and LLL has been a significant indicator in terms of the educational level and employment conditions in this era.

In terms of bringing the LLL issue into the Turkish policy agenda, both the findings of the study and the statements in the major policy documents show that the accession process of Turkey to the EU has placed the LLL issue at the top of the educational policy agenda. Specifically, after the starting of negotiations on full membership of Turkey to the EU in 2005, the relations between Turkey and the EU have been accelerated, and a widespread use of the LLL concept in the policy agenda of Turkey has occurred in line with this process.

The findings indicate the role of the EU as a regional and supranational actor in bringing the LLL concept into the policy agenda of Turkey. The considerable influence of the EU on wide usage of the LLL concept in the Turkish policy agenda has been mainly carried out through the harmonization process with the EU. The findings of the study show that jointly funded Turkey-EU projects, reports that were published by the EU and its institutions and the EU indicators that are used for benchmarking in the field of LLL have accelerated the putting of LLL in the policy agenda of Turkey.

Recent major public policy documents in the field of LLL refer to the relations between Turkey and the EU and emphasize role of the EU in the success in LLL policies and in developing the LLL system in Turkey. Besides, these documents point out the developments in the field of LLL in Turkey and the relationship of these developments with the EU harmonization process. Another important issue in terms of the effects of the EU on the widespread usage of LLL in the policy agenda

of Turkey is the issue that the making process of all policy papers related to LLL was maintained in the scope of the works done in the EU-funded projects.

The “Driving Force for the Success of Turkey: LLL Policy Paper” (SVET, 2006) was prepared within the scope of the SVET project that was jointly funded by Turkey and the EU. It was the first comprehensive policy paper in the field of LLL in Turkey after the 2000s. Furthermore, the first LLL Strategy Paper (MoNE, 2009) was mainly derived from the suggestions that emerged in the SVET project. Along the same line, the second LLL Strategy Paper (MoNE, 2014) was prepared within the scope of the works done within the scope of the HBÖGP, which likewise was maintained as a joint project of Turkey and the EU. In a similar way, the HBÖKK making process was sustained under the HBÖGP, and another important policy paper was published as a result of this project.

The LLL concept was taken into hand as the concept that Lisbon Strategy emphasizes in the first LLL Strategy Paper (MoNE, 2009). Accordingly, the EU gave importance to the LLL concept and focused on it. This evidence is important in terms of the roles of the EU in the scope of bringing the LLL issues to the Turkish policy agenda. In the first LLL Strategy Paper, the LLL concept is seen as an “extension of instruments and frameworks developed for the purpose of efficiently implementing the European Employment Strategy” (p. 4). Furthermore, the key skills of the EU were referenced in the second LLL Strategy Paper (MoNE, 2014) and it is stated that to compete with other economies in a globalizing world, the Turkish society should get these key skills as well. Accordingly, these skills are important for individual development, social participation and employment.

The findings indicate that another reason in bringing LLL to the Turkish policy agenda is associated with recent changes in the labor market in Turkey. The interviewees considered LLL especially in terms of vocational education and the necessity of renewing individual skills and competences to adapt themselves to the changes in the labor market. The interviewees pointed out the effects of global changes in this process and emphasized that the concentration on LLL is inevitable when these changes are considered. According to the interviewees, especially job security becoming questionable in labor market and the increase in unemployment rates have made LLL inevitable in order for individuals to remain employed.

In terms of the effects of changes in the labor market on bringing LLL to the Turkish policy agenda, the findings are in line with the most decisive documents that drew the LLL policy framework in Turkey, which are the two LLL Strategy Papers. In this sense, the first LLL Strategy Paper states the following:

Many changes emerge with relation to employment problem along with changes and developments in the world. For instance, in today's world, the frequency of changing jobs is increasing, short term jobs instead of continuous employment are becoming widespread, some occupations are losing their importance, new professions are emerging and job continuity is decreasing. For such reasons, due to instability experienced at labour market, concentration of labour mobility at national and international levels and most important of all, in order to benefit from and to cope with the problems caused by developments and changes from technological revolution being stirred up by new computer technologies, lifelong learning approach is gaining more importance day by day for establishing economical and social policies. (p. 8)

Besides, the first LLL Strategy Paper refers to the words in the 9th Development Plan and states "a lifelong education strategy will be developed towards increasing the employment skills of individuals in line with the requirements of a changing and developing economy and labour market" (p. 5). In a similar way, the second LLL

Strategy Paper (MoNE, 2014) emphasizes the effects of changes in the labor market on LLL as well.

In the study, the conceptualization of LLL by the stakeholders in the HBÖKK making process was explored as well. The findings show that all stakeholders frame the LLL concept mainly on the basis of employability and getting new skills for employability in general, i.e., in terms of vocational education and training. On the other hand, one of the senior officials from the MoNE stated that the EU countries consider LLL just on the basis of necessities for employability but the MoNE considers several dimensions of LLL, such as cultural and social development, besides its vocational dimensions. But this official justified this view with the idea that Turkey is not in the same line now with the EU countries due to the low levels of income and education, and so currently Turkey cannot follow the EU in the same way. According to him, Turkey will act like the EU countries as well when the income and education levels get close to those of the EU countries.

The stakeholders conceptualize LLL in terms of its contribution to getting skills for the labor market in general. In the study, some stakeholders vigorously defended that publicly provided LLL activities should be limited only to those that correspond to labor market skills, which are measurable and certifiable. During the interviews just one of the stakeholders stated that employability would be preferential but LLL could not be tackled just on the basis of this. According to my observations as a researcher, which were reflected in the findings as well, the stakeholders approach the LLL issue as if it were equivalent to vocational education and training and so they exclude its other dimensions.

In terms of the conceptualization of LLL through its vocational and market-oriented dimensions by the stakeholders, another issue that shows parallelism with this is the appointment of the Director of the İŞKUR to the HBÖGM in 2011 whose expertise is in the field of labor economics. This appointment could be thought of as a result of the approach of the MoNE to the LLL issue on the basis of the necessities of the labor market and employability, and so mainly its vocational dimensions.

The LLL Strategy Papers describe LLL in a broad framework but it is seen that relationship between LLL and the necessity of getting labor-market-based skills comes to the forefront in both Strategy Papers.

5.1.2 Bringing the HBÖKK to the policy agenda

In this study, the making process of LLL policies in Turkey is analyzed through a case of the HBÖKK making process. The HBÖKK will be the most important policy document in the field of LLL in the coming years if it becomes a law. In the scope of the study, various questions were asked to the interviewees to understand the making process of the HBÖKK in detail. In this section, a summary and discussion of the findings related to the reasons for bringing the HBÖKK to the policy agenda will be presented.

The findings show that, according to the MoNE officials, one of the main reasons in bringing the HBÖKK into the Turkish policy agenda was the defined task in the first LLL Strategy Paper (MoNE, 2009). The MoNE officials stated that the Action Plan that was published as an attachment of the first LLL Strategy Paper defined a task of making the legal arrangement as a first priority. This priority in the Action Plan was stated exactly as “Making a Legal Arrangement within the Scope of

which Tasks and Responsibilities of Parties are Clearly Indicated for Coordination of Lifelong Learning” (MoNE, 2009). The MoNE officials emphasized that they had to fulfill this task first and so they initiated the HBÖKK making process.

Nearly all stakeholders pointed out that the necessity of providing coordination in the supply of LLL activities by various institutions and so increasing the rates of participation in LLL in Turkey, as parallel with the aim of the accession process to the EU. The majority of the participants considered making legal regulations concerning LLL in Turkey as a part of the EU harmonization process. The course of development of LLL policies in Turkey supports this assessment. All of the major policy documents related to LLL since the 2000s were made in the scope of the works done under the EU-funded projects.

The findings show that a lack of coordination among institutions that ensure activities in the field of LLL is the main reason behind bringing the HBÖKK into the Turkish policy agenda. There are various institutions that provide activities in the field of LLL and there is a lack of coordination among these institutions that causes disorganization and inefficiency in the access to LLL services. According to the participants, this situation results in unreliable data regarding actual participation rates in LLL in Turkey as well. The findings show that, in line with the same reason, the distribution of certificates by numerous institutions is concluded with certificate garbage, which is stated as a waste of resources since majority of these certificates are not recognized in the labor market. Accordingly, determining the actual participation rates in LLL in Turkey is one of the main reasons for the necessity of ensuring coordination in the field.

The findings show that the necessities of the harmonization process of Turkey with the EU and negative statements about a lack of coordination in LLL in the EU reports are some of the main reasons behind bringing the HBÖKK to the Turkish policy agenda as well. The participants often associated the issue of increasing participation rates in LLL activities in Turkey with the LLL participation rates in the EU countries and stated the importance of achieving similar rates in Turkey. On the basis of the findings, it can be said that achieving the average rates of participation in LLL in the EU countries, which are around 8-9 percent, is a benchmarking tool for Turkey, and the aim of attaining this rate is one of the main motivations of Turkey to make the HBÖKK. According to one of the interviewees, participation in religious activities is also discussed to be accepted as a part of LLL activities during the making process of the HBÖKK in the scope of raising participation rates in LLL.

The views of the participants on increasing LLL participation rates indicate that international benchmarking tools and attaining the EU average participation rates in LLL hold a lot of concern in the HBÖKK making process. On the other hand, the participants pointed out that one of the main reasons behind the low participation rates in LLL activities stems from the methodology and survey questions that the TÜİK used to measure the rates in Turkey. Many participants stated that the TÜİK survey has some differences with the survey that is implemented in the EU countries.

5.1.3 The making process of the HBÖKK

In the study, I inquired about the views of the participants on the HBÖKK making process, in terms of the goals and scope of the law, international effects on the HBÖKK making process, selection of the stakeholders and contributions of the

participants in the process, the participative aspect of the process and the problems raised in the process. In this subheading, the findings related to these issues will be summarized and discussed.

The findings show that the purpose and extent of the HBÖKK emerged on the basis of the necessity of filling the deficiency in coordination among institutions that provide LLL activities and to establish an efficient organizational structure in providing LLL activities and so increasing participation rates in LLL. Furthermore, the findings indicate that the HBÖKK aims to create a legal framework in terms of recognition and certification of prior learning as well. The participants often stated that the new legal structure would mainly focus on learning experiences of individuals that are obtained in the scope of non-formal education and learning, and not through formal education.

It is seen that the global and international relations of Turkey in terms of the EU-Turkey relationship have had major effects in bringing the HBÖKK into the Turkish policy agenda. Moreover, the findings indicate that the EU played a major role in framing the structure, goals and scope of the HBÖKK. Policy makers accept the EU countries as fair samples in terms of their success in LLL participation rates and try to establish the LLL system in Turkey by imitating the EU countries. The participants stated that many study visits were made to various EU countries in the scope of the HBÖGP, and legal regulations and LLL models of these countries were analyzed to determine the content and scope of the HBÖKK.

In the scope of the study, criteria for the selection of the stakeholders in the HBÖKK making process were inquired about as well. The findings indicate that the HBÖGM determined ensuring LLL activities and operations especially in terms of non-formal education and specifically vocational and technical education as the

criteria for the selection of stakeholders in the HBÖKK making process. According to the views of the MoNE officials, the selection of the stakeholders in the HBÖKK process was made on the basis of necessities of the HBÖGP and the expertise needs of the HBÖKK, without excluding any related and interested actor. One of the points that needs attention is the operational areas of the stakeholder institutions since they provide activities mainly related to vocational and technical education and learning. This situation is compatible with the conceptualization of LLL by the stakeholders that is mainly on the basis of its vocational dimensions and its functions in the labor market. On the other hand, some other institutions that provide LLL activities in such areas as adult literacy, parent education or health education were not included as stakeholders in the HBÖKK making process.

Another major point is the absence of some worker and teacher trade unions in the HBÖKK making process, while some others were included. This situation could be explained on the basis of a conflictive relationship of the ruling AKP party with the non-participant trade unions. The absence of some trade unions in the process could be due to their unwillingness because of their conflicts with the ruling party and their critical approach to the EU projects or due to the unwillingness of the MoNE in terms of including these trade unions in the process as stakeholders. One of the project experts I interviewed pointed out that both options are plausible. Yet, one of the MoNE officials stated that the absence of these trade unions stemmed from the decisions of the latter.

In terms of the selection criteria of stakeholders, the influences of the EU should be considered as well. Different participants outside the officials from the MoNE stated that the criteria of the EU are influential in the selection process of the stakeholders since there are defined rules for the selection of participants in the EU-

funded projects. According to these participants, the EU stipulates participation of relevant stakeholders in the EU-funded projects and since the HBÖKK making process was maintained in the scope of the works under the HBÖGP, the EU had an influence on this process as well. Some participants stated that the EU-funded projects support the working capacity of the governmental institutions with the non-governmental organizations by taking this situation into consideration.

On the basis of the findings, it can be said that some of the stakeholder institutions played a more active role in the HBÖKK making process but some of the governmental institutions acted as observer agencies. Stakeholder institutions were part of various working groups of the HBÖGP through their representatives and presented their views during the meetings of these working groups. Besides the working groups' meetings, representatives of stakeholder institutions participated in study visits to the EU countries in the scope of the HBGÖP. The project expert and a representative of one of the stakeholder institutions stated that the study visits were popular among the works done in the scope of the HBÖGP and many participants eagerly wanted to participate in these visits. On the other hand, another participant stated that some participants were not so willing about participating in the meetings and after signing the attendance sheet they would usually leave the meetings. Furthermore, another participant affirmed that participants in meetings were not always the relevant person from related institutions and the effectiveness of the contributions was questionable in this sense.

In the study, the participative aspect of the making process of the HBÖKK was examined as well. Among the interviewees, officials from the MoNE and the project expert stated that the HBÖKK making process was maintained in a participatory framework. Accordingly, participation of the stakeholders in the

process was encouraged. Officials from the MoNE supported their views with the claim that they tried to include all institutions to the process that have operations in the field of LLL. Furthermore, they stated that they organized more than 40 meetings in various working groups with the representatives of stakeholder institutions and they considered their contributions in the HBÖKK making process, and so they maintained the process as bottom-up in a participatory framework.

On the other hand, unlike the MoNE officials, some participants pointed out some problems in terms of the participatory aspect of the HBÖKK making process. Various participants affirmed that problems related to the process especially aroused from difficulties in the tradition of civil society and government relations in Turkey, problems related to changes in the management of the HBÖGP and of the HBÖGM in the MoNE, and a lack of informing the participants by the MoNE in the process.

Apart from officials from the MoNE, some participants pointed out that a lack of institutionalized relationship among governmental institutions and non-governmental organizations caused a skeptical approach of both sides in collaboration practices. They stated that this situation affects the participatory aspect of the process, which accordingly occurred in the HBÖKK making process as well. On the other hand, one of the participants stated that the MoNE encouraged maintaining the process in a participatory way, but the stakeholders did not participate in the process effectively. This participant stated that mostly relevant people from related institutions did not participate in meetings in the process and this situation induced the bringing of unqualified views or lack of delivering opinions in the meetings. Likewise, another participant stated that non-governmental organizations sometimes provided low-quality and target-driven contributions, which supports the abovementioned views.

As an important point, one of the participants mentioned that many participants in the process thought that the policy makers would not take their contributions into account during the framing of the last version of the HBÖKK and so the law would be enacted as the policy makers desire. Such a perception could be thought of as a skeptical approach of NGOs to the government in policy making processes. Furthermore, another participant stated that the ruling party does not need contributions of nongovernmental organizations and they can do whatever they want. This view also points to the lack of confidence of some NGOs to the government.

Additionally, administrative changes in both the HBÖGM and the HBÖGP affected the participatory aspect of the HBÖKK making process negatively. After the restructuring in the MoNE by the Decree Law numbered 652 in 2011, responsibilities for LLL operations in the MoNE were transferred to the newly established HBÖGM and a new director was appointed. Subsequently, the HBÖGP, which was operating under the PKMB before, was transferred to the HBÖGM as well. After the restructuring in the MoNE in 2011, the Minister of the MoNE was changed, and in 2013 the current Minister was appointed. Besides the changes in administrative staff of the MoNE, there had been changes of the team members and leader of the HBÖGP in this process as well. Almost all participants stated that these wide-scale administrative changes affected the HBÖKK making process negatively. Especially the participants outside the MoNE affirmed that these changes interrupted the flow of information among the participants, caused discontinuities in the process, and so the administrative changes weakened the quality of participation in the process.

Various participants stated that another reason that affected the participatory aspect of the HBÖKK making process negatively was a lack of regular informing of stakeholders by the MoNE. Some of the participants stated that both at the beginning

and later on, the participants were not informed adequately and they did not know whether their contributions were reflected in the draft of the HBÖKK. Therefore, these participants expressed their critical views about the participatory aspect of the HBÖKK making process. Some of the participants affirmed that they were not aware of the last version of the HBÖKK draft. One of the participants stated that in spite of the fact that he was a member of both the steering committee and the policy group of the HBÖGP, he had no idea about the last version of the HBÖKK.

On the other hand, another participant stated that in such projects as the HBÖGP, participating in the process through working groups does not allow an inclusive approach to the process. Accordingly, they, as stakeholders, have many responsibilities due to their workload in their institutions and so they can spare limited time for such working groups in the projects. This participant stated that this situation consequently exposed the process to the domination of foreign experts from the EU. This participant raised another criticism in terms of the participative aspect of the HBÖKK making process. Accordingly, as stakeholders they were invited to the process after the drafting of the ToR, this situation restricted their participation in the process from the beginning, since such a situation limits changes to the determined content that is written in the ToR.

The findings indicate that there are problems and conflicts in the HBÖKK making process between the MoNE and the stakeholders and among the stakeholders themselves as well. According to the views of the interviewees, these problems affected the HBÖKK making process negatively.

The findings show that one of the most controversial issues between the MoNE and the stakeholders in the HBÖKK making process was about the financing

of LLL activities. The officials from the MoNE stated that it was the major unresolvable disagreement in the process and stated that they still could not resolve the problem about the finance model of LLL for Turkey.

The findings indicate that the officials from the MoNE and foreign experts suggested a pool-of-funds approach to finance LLL with the financial participation of stakeholder institutions. But stakeholders outside the MoNE did not support this option. The findings show that the stakeholders have negative views about the current funding pools such as the unemployment fund and they think that present funds are abused. Since the participants had adverse ideas about such funds, they opposed the pool-of-funds approach in the HBÖKK making process.

Furthermore, there were another conflicts among the stakeholder institutions in the HBÖKK making process. The findings indicate that especially the planned redistribution of authority on the basis of the new legislation caused some conflicts. Some participants opposed the new type of authorization since they currently have power and authority in terms of influencing policies in the field of LLL and they have some worries of losing their existing power. The findings show that this situation put these institutions in defensive position in the HBÖKK making process to keep the authority of their institution.

The project expert participant of the study stated that sometimes there were conflicts between the MoNE and foreign experts of the HBÖGP as well, because both sides had different approaches related to some issues. At the same time, another participant stated that the MoNE was sometimes doubtful about the approaches of foreign experts due to some previous negative experiences in internationally funded projects.

The findings indicate that another controversial issue in the HBÖKK making process was about the plans of establishing LLL councils at the provincial level in the scope of the Law. Some participants stated that there are Provincial Employment Councils currently and these councils can be responsible for LLL operations in provinces as well and so new councils would be useless.

As a result, it can be said that the findings of this studies are in line with the results of some other studies. Sayılan (2015) states that the two LLL Strategy Papers are framed accurately in line with the hegemonic neoliberal trends and announced “new actors to the extended certificate and diploma market by focusing on vocational education and training”. (p. 165) According to Sayılan (2015), “The most striking problem in this entire picture is that the government lost its sense of reality as a result of looking at the Turkish reality through globalization and the EU lens” (p. 166).

About the first LLL Strategy Paper (2009), Okçabol (2012) states that this document is not prepared on the basis of the needs of Turkey but it emerged considering the aims of the EU. He states the LLL understanding of the MoNE is constrained with the vocational training of adults and bringing skills for adults that are valuable for the free market economy. Accordingly, there are no activities in the field of adult education such as for raising awareness of adults, for bringing scientific and contemporary views and attitudes in them and for making them participative democratic citizens.

Okçabol (2015) evaluates the second LLL Strategy Paper (2014) and states the LLL understanding of the MoNE started with the EU relations and still continues in this way. Okçabol (2015) indicates that LLL is only associated with the market in

the second LLL Strategy Paper (2014), and similar to the first LLL Strategy Paper (2009), the second one also is in the mainstream of the EU discourses.

Some recent studies about LLL policies of the EU and reflections of these policies on the Turkish case present results that are in line with the findings of this study as well. In her dissertation, Kaya (2010) explored LLL and adult education policy framework of the EU through an analysis of the official documents and reports of the EU since 2000. Kaya (2010) specifically inquired about the effects of knowledge society and globalization on LLL and the LLL understanding of the international economic and political organizations. According to Kaya (2010), LLL policies of the EU are based on economy and these policies have been developed to maintain the growth and employment policies of the EU. Kaya (2010) states that the making of competitive labor in the global economy comes to the forefront in the LLL documents of the EU. Accordingly, neoliberal reflections of LLL policies of the EU are seen in official documents with such concepts as the individual, competence, market, sector, investment, enterprise and stakeholder at the discourse level.

In his master's thesis, Şimşek (2008) explored the context in which LLL policies are developed in Turkey with the beginning of the accession process of Turkey to the EU. Şimşek (2008) analyzes the “Driving force for Turkey's Success: Lifelong Learning Policy Paper” in his thesis and asks about the conceptualization of LLL in Turkey. According to Şimşek (2008), LLL is conceptualized in terms of answering the needs of the global knowledge economy and society on the basis of debates in the European context and neoliberalism. What is more, getting new skills and competencies to meet the demands of the labor market and to be employed in the labor market mainly framed LLL concept in Turkey. Accordingly, the EU, the EC and the OECD are mostly referred to as the international organizations in the

conceptualization of LLL and new governance strategies are addressed in building up the LLL space in Turkey.

In her master's thesis, Özcan (2008) explored the EU understanding of LLL through an analysis of official documents of the EU. According to Özcan (2008), LLL policies of the EU are in line with the globalization process and LLL is seen as a tool for raising people with regards to the needs of the market economy. According to her, LLL is a concept that was brought into the policy agenda within the context of necessities of the international capital and aims to increase efficiency of labor for the market.

After the summary of the findings and discussion, the conclusion of the study will be presented in the next section.

5.2 Conclusion

This study inquired regarding the LLL policy making processes in Turkey in the case of the HBÖKK making process with taking global effects into consideration.

Public policy making processes in national settings have changed in the global era with the participation of new regional and supranational actors in those processes. Beside the range of actors in public policy making processes, globalization has changed the scales and meaning of policies as well. In the global era, nation-states lost some of their capability to make their national policies independently to some degree, which is valid for Turkey as well. Globalization, as a political, economic, social and cultural issue, and the EU, as a regional and

supranational actor that Turkey wants to be part of it, have been framing the Turkish national public policy area more and more in recent decades.

Turkey met with LLL, as a major policy area within education, in a widespread manner especially after the 2000s through the accession process to the EU. Turkey has experienced enormous changes and transformation in the field of LLL especially by the acceleration of the works done in the scope of the accession process to the EU. The “Driving Force for the Success of Turkey: LLL Policy Paper” in 2006, the first LLL Strategy Paper in 2009 and the second LLL Strategy Paper in 2014, as well as the establishment of the Directorate General for Lifelong Learning in 2011, the EU-funded projects for the promotion of LLL in Turkey and lastly legislative efforts in the field of LLL have been major cornerstones in the recent period. The HBÖKK making process that this study explored is an important case to understand the dynamics of the recent changes in the field of LLL under the global effects.

The EU, as a regional actor and a supranational body, has been a major carrier of global effects on LLL policies in Turkey, and it had significant effects in determining the policy goals of the HBÖKK. Both the voluntary decisions of Turkey and the binding rules of the harmonization process put forward the EU as a very influential actor in the making process of LLL policies in Turkey. The effects of the EU extend beyond the policy processes and the EU plays a major role in terms of determining policy goals of LLL and organizational structures of the LLL system in Turkey as well. This does not mean Turkey is entirely copying the EU countries but is emulating and imitating EU-based LLL policies and tailoring these in line with its own conditions. The effects of the EU mainly come through the works done in the scope of EU-funded projects. Turkish policy makers and stakeholders actively

analyze the LLL systems of the EU countries by the way of visiting these countries and analyzing policy papers that are published by the EU and its institutions.

Besides, foreign experts actively participate in the policy making processes and try to shape the process and determine policy goals that are compatible with the EU indicators.

The findings show that both the widespread use of LLL as a concept and the bringing of the HBÖKK into the policy agenda of Turkey are mainly related to the globalization process and the accession process of Turkey to the EU. Global effects on LLL policies in Turkey occur particularly through the mechanisms of harmonization, dissemination and standardization. The EU disseminates the ideas of LLL, sets agenda and standards for LLL, provides financial tools and incentives and technical assistance especially through the EU-funded projects and so affects policy making processes and policy goals in the field of LLL in Turkey. Requirements for adaptation to the global world and technological developments, changes in the labor market in the global era, the aim of meeting all these necessities and changes and the discourse of insufficiency of formal education to accommodate this aim are the major reasons for the widespread usage of the LLL concept in the policy field in Turkey. While global effects are clear on LLL policies and these effects frame the spirit of the HBÖKK, policy makers try to tailor this globally structured frame to LLL that is compatible with the Turkish case.

Since the viability and source of initiation in LLL policies is external for Turkey, LLL policies have been shaped on the basis of global necessities rather than national necessities of Turkey. This situation has given priority to harmonization with the global world and with the EU in terms of LLL, which means that the main aim is increasing competitiveness of the country in the global world rather than

addressing specific problems of the country. Competitiveness is an increasingly dominant trend around the world and making the economic dimension a priority in all its policies is the main characteristic of states in the global era. In this sense, being a competitive economy and promoting LLL in terms of its relationship with getting skills and competences that provide employment in the market are the main motivations to expand the LLL space in Turkey. The discourse of necessities of the global era and of being a global competitive economy and practices that are compatible with this discourse are the major reasons for popularity of LLL in Turkey since LLL is seen as a means to reaching these targets.

Increasing the LLL participation rate and coming close to the average rates in LLL in the EU countries mainly motivated Turkish policy makers to make the HBÖKK. Turkey aims to increase LLL rates through providing coordination among the stakeholders in the field of LLL and bringing together the providers under the same roof and so meeting with the requirements of the EU accession process and adapting to the global world.

Having operations in the field of vocational education and training to bring new skills for the labor market is the main selection criteria for being a stakeholder in the HBÖKK making process. Usually organizations that have operations out of the areas of vocational education or training in terms of LLL are not influential in the process. This situation is closely associated with the common understanding of LLL by stakeholders in that participate in LLL policy making processes.

The understanding and conceptualization of LLL by the stakeholders in Turkey has been shaped by the globally structured agenda, which has a marketplace orientation and is based on getting skills to be competitive and productive in the

labor market. In spite of the fact that there are various conflicts among the stakeholders that participated in the HBÖKK making process, there is a common understanding of LLL. In this context, the stakeholders handle LLL mainly on the basis of its vocational dimensions and its functions in the labor market. There were various types of stakeholders ranging from employer unions to worker unions in the HBÖKK making process, but nearly all interviewees understand LLL in terms of vocational and technical education or training and its services for the labor market.

This understanding of LLL mainly comes from managerial theories and essentially it has vocational and utilitarian roots and excludes educational, societal and cultural roots of LLL. This mainstream understanding of LLL in Turkey is shaped in accordance with the aim of increasing the competitive power of Turkey in the global world. Policy makers and stakeholders take the LLL issue into hand fundamentally in terms of its contributions to developing and renewing skills of individuals for the labor market. This understanding excludes the contributions of LLL to individuals in terms of their social and cultural necessities and so functions of LLL in the social and cultural development of the country.

One of the main implications that the study presents is about the conflicts among stakeholders in the HBÖKK making process. A shared understanding of LLL among stakeholders does not mean there are no conflicts among them in the process. The LLL policy field is contested and there are various conflicts between the MoNE and other stakeholders and among the stakeholders themselves especially in terms of their authorities and responsibilities in the sense of LLL operations. It can be said that the stakeholders approach these debated issues in terms of not delegating their current authorities but getting new ones. It is seen that controversial topics among the

stakeholders had the effect of some issues remaining inconclusive during the HBÖKK making process.

Another important issue that the findings present is about the participative dimension of the HBÖKK making process. While as a responsible institution the HBÖGM, the MoNE thought that the management of the process was participative, representatives of other stakeholder institutions thought that the process seemed participative formally but in essence it was not exactly participatory. It is seen that the HBÖKK making process had various problems especially in terms of a lack of informing of stakeholders by the MoNE and lengthening out of the process. It is clear that administrative changes both in the MoNE and in the HBÖGP affected the participative dimension of the HBÖKK making process negatively.

All things considered, the obvious conclusion to be drawn is that recent changes and developments in the field of LLL in Turkey have been closely related with the global agenda for LLL. The aim of increasing competitiveness for individuals and so for the country through developing skills and competences of individuals is attributed as the aim of LLL activities in Turkey. The accession process of Turkey to the EU has accelerated changes and developments in the field of LLL and major changes occurred for the sake of the EU harmonization process. The LLL concept and LLL policies are taken into hand in Turkey mainly within the scope of the vocational education, and meeting the EU indicators and reaching the EU average LLL participation rates are the core mandates of the recent changes in the LLL field in Turkey. The HBÖKK making process, with its contested character, should be considered in this context, where this study aimed to reveal the dynamics of this process and so shed light on recent LLL policies under global effects in Turkey.

5.2 Delimitations and limitations of the study

This study, which aims to explore the lifelong learning policy making process in the case of the making process of the HBÖKK, has some delimitations and limitations.

First, in terms of delimitations, the participants of the study were restricted to the four officials from the HBÖGM in the MoNE, nine representatives of stakeholders in the Policy Group of the HBÖGP and the project expert of the HBÖGP. Other officials from the MoNE who were in the Policy Group were not included as the participants of the study due to reasons such as access and financial restrictions since the interviews had to be conducted in Ankara and as a researcher I was in İstanbul. Besides, the participants from the MoNE had enough ability to represent the views of the MoNE since they were active in the process and two of them were senior administrators in the HBÖGM. In the same way, there was another local policy expert in the HBÖGP but only one of the experts was included as a participant of the study.

Secondly, the participants of the study were restricted to the people who participated in the works of making the HBÖKK in Ankara, which was the headquarters for LLL policy making process in the scope of the HBÖGP. But there were people in various provinces who worked for the HBÖGP on the local scale. Views of these people are important to understand the policy making process of the HBÖKK as well, but they could not be included in the study for such reasons as access and financial restrictions.

As another delimitation, the data collection of the study is restricted to semi-structured interviews that were conducted with the participants who had actively participated the making process of the HBÖKK. On the other hand, some important

public policy papers have been published related to LLL policies in Turkey especially since the early 2000s. In this sense, document analysis of these policy documents related to LLL policies in Turkey would contribute to the understanding of the making processes of LLL policies under the global effect. These documents were just briefly taken into account in the literature part of this study. Besides semi-structured interviews, an analysis of these documents would extend the scope of this study much, which could cause difficulties in managing this study due to a dense workload.

Besides the delimitations, there were some limitations of this study. First, some of the stakeholder representatives in the Policy Group could not be included as participants in the study, since they had valid reasons for their non-participation and one of them could not be reached through their communication channels. For this reason, some of the stakeholder institutions could not be represented as participants in the study.

Another limitation for this study was related to the legislative process of the HBÖKK. This study focused on the making process of the draft HBÖKK especially in the dimensions of agenda-setting and formulation of policies in the scope of the works done in the HBÖGP before the legislative process. Since the works for the legislation process of the HBÖKK in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey have not started yet, this study does not include an analysis of this process. There was another limitation for this study, which is related to the previous one as well. The study is limited to the policy making process of the draft HBÖKK before the legislation process, and so neither the implementation, nor the evaluation of policies is included in the study.

Finally, the data of the study are limited due to the issue of the trustworthiness of the participants. Since the study is based on a policy making process and elite interviews that were conducted with people who are in bureaucracy or who work closely with bureaucracy, the nature of the interviews was political. So it might have caused a biased participation of some participants.

5.3 Recommendations for further research

The findings of this study indicate some implications for further studies in terms of expanding our understanding of the making process of LLL policies under the global effect in Turkey.

Firstly, one of the important points that the findings indicate is the conflict among different stakeholders such as the MoNE, other governmental institutions, non-governmental institutions and foreigner experts. The findings show that different stakeholders have various expectations from LLL and so from the HBÖKK. Especially in terms of the new responsibilities of stakeholders and expectations from them that will emerge when the HBÖKK is legalized, it would cause some conflicts among them. Other case studies that focus on the perceptions of various stakeholders in the field of LLL and conflicts among stakeholders and reflections of these conflicts on LLL policy making processes would contribute to LLL policy studies.

Another implication of the study for future studies is about the necessity of including views of local actors about the making processes of LLL policies in Turkey. The findings indicate that, with the new coordination law, there will be new arrangements at the provincial level in terms of the organizational structure of LLL. On the other hand, it is seemed that LLL policies are shaped mainly by Ankara as the

headquarters for policy making and in this sense, studies that explore the perceptions and participation of local actors in LLL policy making processes would expand our understanding of these processes and would increase the effectiveness of policy making processes for the future as well.

This study focused on the making process of the HBÖKK especially in terms of agenda-setting and formulation of policies before its legislation. Exploring the legislation process of the HBÖKK and the implementation of the law would contribute to the understanding of LLL policy processes especially in the sense of changes from the draft text to the legislated text, and how it will be implemented, i.e., the evaluation of it.

Lastly, the Promotion of Lifelong Learning in Turkey Project II started while this study was in the process. This second project, which is jointly funded by the EU and Turkey like the HBÖGP was, will be an important basis for policies in the field of LLL in Turkey in coming years. Exploring this project as a case would expand our understanding in terms of the effects of global mechanisms on LLL policies in Turkey as well.

APPENDIX A
INTERVIEW FORM FOR OFFICIALS
OF THE MINISTRY OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (TURKISH)

Sayın

İsmim Onur Seçkin. Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Bölümü, Yetişkin Eğitimi Doktora Programı öğrencisiyim. Aynı zamanda, aynı bölümde araştırma görevlisi olarak çalışıyorum. Doktora tezimin amacı Türkiye’de hayat boyu öğrenme (HBÖ) politikalarının oluşturulma süreçlerini ve küreselleşmenin bu süreçlerle etkileşimini analiz etmektir. Bu analizi yaparken hazırlık çalışmaları süren HBÖ Koordinasyon Kanunu’nu esas alıyorum.

Öncelikle bana zaman ayırdığınız için çok teşekkür ediyorum. Yapacağınız katkıların Türkiye’de HBÖ politikalarının oluşturulması süreçlerinin ve küreselleşmenin bu süreçlerle etkileşiminin anlaşılması açısından çok önemli olduğunu düşünüyorum. Diğer taraftan sizinde katkılarınızla bu araştırma, akademik olarak eğitim bilimleri alanında eğitim politikalarının oluşturulma süreçlerinin araştırılmasına yönelik ilgiyi de artırabilir.

İzninizle size yukarıda ifade ettiğim amaç doğrultusunda görüşme boyunca çeşitli sorular yönelteceğim. Görüşmeye ve görüşmenin gizliliğine ilişkin olarak, görüşmenin kaydedileceğini ve kayıtlarının tamamı bende gizli tutulacağını, kayıtların çözümlemelerine sadece doktora tez komite üyelerimin erişebileceğini ve görüşmeyi sürdürmek istemezseniz istediğiniz anda görüşmeyi sonlandırabileceğinizi hatırlatmak isterim.

Yaptığım araştırmaya ve yapacağımız görüşmeye ilişkin herhangi bir sorunuz yoksa görüşmeye başlayabiliriz.

Onur Seçkin

Tarih: _____ Başlangıç Zamanı: _____

1. Şu anda HBÖ Koordinasyon Kanunu çalışmalarının sürdüğünü biliyoruz. Bu kanuna yönelik çalışmalar bu araştırmanın da odağını oluşturuyor. Daha önce bir HBÖ strateji belgesinin yayımlandığını, MEB’de HBÖ Genel Müdürlüğü oluşturulduğunu, çok kapsamlı AB projelerinin yürüdüğünü ve Türkiye’de hayat boyu öğrenmeye ilişkin çeşitli politika adımlarının atıldığını biliyoruz. Şimdi de bu kanun gündemde. HBÖ Koordinasyon kanununun temel amacı nedir? Neden ihtiyaç duyuluyor bu kanuna?
2. HBÖ’yü bu kadar gündeme getiren ve bunu bir kanun oluşturma sürecine götüren nedenlerden bahsedebilir miyiz? Uluslararası boyutu, ekonomik, politik, sosyal ve kültürel boyutları nedir size göre bu gelişmelerin?
3. Siz bu kanunu oluşturulması sürecinde ne tür görevler üstleniyorsunuz?
4. Bu kanunun oluşturulması sürecindeki ulusal paydaşlardan bahsedebilir miyiz? Sürece nasıl dahil oldular? Bu süreçte özellikle öne çıkan, Bakanlığa daha fazla yardımcı olan paydaşlar var mı bunlar arasında? Bu süreçte sizin dahil olmasını istediğiniz ama dışarıda kalan ulusal paydaşlar oldu mu?
5. Bu kanunun oluşturulması sürecindeki uluslararası paydaşlar hangileridir? Sürece nasıl dahil oldular? AB sürecin neresinde, ne tür etkilerde bulunuyor?
6. Bu kanunda HBÖ kavramı nasıl bir çerçevede ele alınıyor?
7. Sizce küreselleşme sürecinin, HBÖ’nün bugünkü anlamını kazanmasında ne tür etkileri var? Kanun hazırlanırken, yurtdışındaki uygulamalar dikkate alınıyor mu?
8. Merak ettiğim bir başlık da kanun taslağının nasıl hazırlandığı. Ne zaman kamuoyuna açıklanacak? Sonraki süreç nasıl işleyecek?
9. Benim size sormak istediğim soruları tamamladım. Sizin bu kanunun hazırlanması süreci ile ilişkili gördüğünüz ve eklemek istediğiniz bir şey var mı?

Bitiş Zamanı: _____

Sorularıma verdiğiniz yanıtlar ve katkılarınız için teşekkür ederim.

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW FORM FOR OFFICIALS

OF THE MINISTRY OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (ENGLISH)

Mr/ Mrs.

My name is Onur Seçkin. I am a Ph.D. student in the Boğaziçi University, Department of Educational Sciences in Adult Education Programme. Also, I work as a research assistant in the same department. The purpose of my doctoral dissertation is to analyze the making process of lifelong learning (LLL) policies in Turkey and the interaction of globalization to these processes. While doing this analysis, I take the LLL Coordination Law as a case, whose preparatory works are continuing.

First of all, I appreciate your sparing time for me. Your contributions are very important for the understanding the LLL policy making processes and the interaction of globalization with these processes. On the other hand, with your contributions, this study might academically increase the interest in the research of the education policy making processes in the field of educational sciences.

With your permission, I will pose several questions to you related to the purpose that is indicated in above. Concerning the interview and the confidentiality of the interview, I would like to remind you that the interview will be recorded and the records will be kept confidential with me, the transcriptions of the interviews will be only accessed by the members of the doctoral thesis committee. If you don't want to continue with the interview, you can terminate the interview at any moment that you want.

If you don't have any further questions about the interview and my research, we can start the interview.

Onur Seçkin

Date:

Time Started:

1. Currently, we know that the studies for the LLL Coordination Law are continuing. The studies related to this law constitute the focus of this study. We know that previously the LLL Strategy Paper was published, the Directorate General for LLL was established in the MoNE, the EU projects that have a wide range were carried out and various policy steps were taken related to LLL in Turkey. Now, this law is on the agenda. What is fundamental purpose of the LLL Coordination Law? Why is this law needed?
2. Would you please speak about the reasons that bring LLL to the policy agenda this much and that take this to the law making process? According to you, what are the international, economic, political, social and cultural dimensions of these developments?
3. What kind of tasks did you take on during the making of this law?
4. Would you please speak about the national stakeholders in the making of this law? How were they included to the process? In this process, were there any stakeholders that became prominent, that were more helpful to the Ministry? In this process, were there any national stakeholders that you wanted to be included but that were excluded from the process?
5. What are the international stakeholders in the making process of this law? How were they included in the process? Where was the EU in the process, what kind of effect does it have?
6. Within this law, in what framework is the concept of LLL handled?
7. According to your point of view, what kind of effects does the globalization process have on the current meaning of LLL? During the making process of the law, were the practices abroad taken into consideration?
8. Another issue that I want to ask is the how the law draft is prepared. When will it be announced to public? How will the next process run?

These were the questions that I wanted to address you. Do you want to add any further information about the law making process?

End Time:

Thank you for your responses to my questions and for your contributions.

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW FORM FOR A PROJECT EXPERT (TURKISH)

Sayın

İsmim Onur Seçkin. Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Bölümü, Yetişkin Eğitimi Doktora Programı öğrencisiyim. Aynı zamanda, aynı bölümde araştırma görevlisi olarak çalışıyorum. Doktora tezimin amacı Türkiye’de HBÖ (HBÖ) politikalarının oluşturulma süreçlerini ve küreselleşmenin bu süreçlerle etkileşimini analiz etmektir. Bu analizi yaparken hazırlık çalışmaları süren HBÖ Koordinasyon Kanunu’nu esas alıyorum.

Öncelikle bana zaman ayırdığınız için çok teşekkür ediyorum. Yapacağınız katkıların Türkiye’de HBÖ politikalarının oluşturulması süreçlerinin ve küreselleşmenin bu süreçlerle etkileşiminin anlaşılması açısından çok önemli olduğunu düşünüyorum. Diğer taraftan sizinde katkılarınızla bu araştırma, akademik olarak eğitim bilimleri alanında eğitim politikalarının oluşturulma süreçlerinin akademik olarak araştırılmasına yönelik ilgiyi de artırabilir.

İzninizle size yukarıda ifade ettiğim amaç doğrultusunda görüşme boyunca çeşitli sorular yönelteceğim. Görüşmeye ve görüşmenin gizliliğine ilişkin olarak, görüşmenin kaydedileceğini ve kayıtlarının tamamen bende gizli tutulacağını, kayıtların çözümlemelerine sadece doktora tez komite üyelerimin erişebileceğini ve görüşmeyi sürdürmek istemezseniz istediğiniz anda görüşmeyi sonlandırabileceğinizi hatırlatmak isterim.

Yaptığım araştırmaya ve yapacağımız görüşmeye ilişkin herhangi bir sorunuz yoksa görüşmeye başlayabiliriz.

Onur Seçkin

Tarih: _____ Başlangıç Zamanı: _____

1. Şu anda HBÖ Koordinasyon Kanunu çalışmalarının sürdüğünü biliyoruz. Bu kanuna yönelik çalışmalar bu araştırmanın da odağını oluşturuyor. Daha önce bir HBÖ strateji belgesinin yayımlandığını, MEB’de HBÖ Genel Müdürlüğü oluşturulduğunu, çok kapsamlı AB projelerinin yürüdüğünü ve Türkiye’de hayat boyu öğrenmeye ilişkin çeşitli politika adımlarının atıldığını biliyoruz. Şimdi de bu kanun gündemde. HBÖ Koordinasyon kanununun temel amacı nedir? Neden ihtiyaç duyuluyor bu kanuna?
2. HBÖ’yü bu kadar gündeme getiren ve bunu bir kanun oluşturma sürecine götüren nedenlerden bahsedebilir miyiz? Uluslararası boyutu, ekonomik, politik, sosyal ve kültürel boyutları nedir size göre bu gelişmelerin?
3. Siz bu kanunu oluşturulması sürecinde ne tür görevler üstleniyorsunuz?
4. Bu kanunun oluşturulması sürecindeki ulusal paydaşlardan bahsedebilir miyiz? Sürece nasıl dahil oldular? Gözlemlediğiniz kadarıyla bu süreçte özellikle öne çıkan, Bakanlığa daha fazla yardımcı olan paydaşlar var mı bunlar arasında?
5. Bu kanunun oluşturulması sürecindeki uluslararası paydaşlar hangileridir? Sürece nasıl dahil oldular? AB sürecin neresinde, ne tür etkilerde bulunuyor?
6. Bu kanunda HBÖ kavramı nasıl bir çerçevede ele alınıyor? MEB’in ve paydaş kurumların yaklaşımlarını nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?
7. Sizce küreselleşme sürecinin, HBÖ’nün bugünkü anlamını kazanmasında ne tür etkileri var? Kanun hazırlanırken, yurtdışındaki uygulamalar dikkate alınıyor mu?
8. Kanun taslağının hazırlanması sürecinde, MEB tarafından süreç nasıl yürütüldü? Paydaş kurumların düşüncelerinin, önerilerinin nasıl değerlendirmeye alındığına ve sürecin katılımcılığına yönelik düşünceleriniz nelerdir?
9. Genel olarak HBÖ politikaları açısından sizce kanunun içeriğinde olmazsa olmazlarınız nelerdir?
10. Bundan sonraki sürece ilişkin görüşleriniz nelerdir?
11. Benim size sormak istediğim soruları tamamladım. Sizin bu kanunun hazırlanması süreci ile ilişkili gördüğünüz ve eklemek istediğiniz bir şey var mı?

Bitiş Zamanı: _____

Sorularıma verdiğiniz yanıtlar ve katkılarınız için teşekkür ederim.

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW FORM FOR A PROJECT EXPERT (ENGLISH)

Mr/ Mrs.

My name is Onur Seçkin. I am a Ph.D. student in the Boğaziçi University, Department of Educational Sciences in Adult Education Programme. Also, I work as a research assistant in the same department. The purpose of my doctoral dissertation is to analyze the making process of lifelong learning (LLL) policies in Turkey and the interaction of globalization to these processes. While doing this analysis, I take the LLL Coordination Law as a case, whose preparatory works are continuing.

First of all, I appreciate your sparing time for me. Your contributions are very important for the understanding the LLL policy making processes and the interaction of globalization with these processes. On the other hand, with your contributions, this study might academically increase the interest in the research of the education policy making processes in the field of educational sciences.

With your permission, I will pose several questions to you related to the purpose that is indicated in above. Concerning the interview and the confidentiality of the interview, I would like to remind you that the interview will be recorded and the records will be kept confidential with me, the transcriptions of the interviews will be only accessed by the members of the doctoral thesis committee. If you don't want to continue with the interview, you can terminate the interview at any moment that you want.

If you don't have any further questions about the interview and my research, we can start the interview.

Onur Seçkin

Date:

Time Started:

1. Currently, we know that the studies for the LLL Coordination Law are continuing. The studies related to this law constitute the focus of this study. We know that previously the LLL Strategy Paper was published, the Directorate General of LLL was established in the MoNE, the EU projects that have a wide range were carried out and various policy steps were taken related to the lifelong learning in Turkey. Now, this law is on the agenda. What is fundamental purpose of the LLL Coordination Law? Why is this law needed?
2. Would you please speak about the reasons that bring LLL to the policy agenda this much and that take this to the law making process? According to you, what are the international, economic, political, social and cultural dimensions of these developments?
3. What kind of tasks did you take on during the making of this law?
4. Would you please speak about the national stakeholders in the making of this law? How were they included to the process? In this process, were there any stakeholders that became prominent, that were more helpful to the Ministry? In this process, were there any national stakeholders that you wanted to be included but that were excluded from the process?
5. What are the international stakeholders in the making process of this law? How were they included in the process? Where was the EU in the process, what kind of effect does it have?
6. What are your views about the approaches of the MoNE and stakeholder institutions if you consider their framework in the conceptualization of LLL in the scope of the works done during the making process of the law?
7. According to your point of view, what kind of effects does the globalization process have on the current meaning of LLL? During the making process of the law, were the practices abroad taken into consideration?
8. During the making process of the law, how was the process carried out by the MoNE? What are your opinions about how the ideas and suggestions of the stakeholder institutions were put into perspective and the participative dimension of the process?
9. According to your point of view, what are indispensable aspects of the law in terms of the LLL policies in general?
10. What your views about the next process?
11. These were the questions that I wanted to address you. Do you want to add any further information about the law making process?

End Time:

Thank you for your responses to my questions and for your contributions.

APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW FORM FOR STAKEHOLDERS (TURKISH)

Sayın

İsmim Onur Seçkin. Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Bölümü, Yetişkin Eğitimi Doktora Programı öğrencisiyim. Aynı zamanda, aynı bölümde araştırma görevlisi olarak çalışıyorum. Doktora tezimin amacı Türkiye’de hayat boyu öğrenme (HBÖ) politikalarının oluşturulma süreçlerini ve küreselleşmenin bu süreçlerle etkileşimini analiz etmektir. Bu analizi yaparken hazırlık çalışmaları süren HBÖ Koordinasyon Kanunu’nu esas alıyorum.

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İzninizle size yukarıda ifade ettiğim amaç doğrultusunda görüşme boyunca çeşitli sorular yönelteceğim. Görüşmeye ve görüşmenin gizliliğine ilişkin olarak, görüşmenin kaydedileceğini ve kayıtlarının tamamen bende gizli tutulacağını, kayıtların çözümlemelerine sadece doktora tez komite üyelerimin erişebileceğini ve görüşmeyi sürdürmek istemezseniz istediğiniz anda görüşmeyi sonlandırabileceğinizi hatırlatmak isterim.

Yaptığım araştırmaya ve yapacağımız görüşmeye ilişkin herhangi bir sorunuz yoksa görüşmeye başlayabiliriz.

Onur Seçkin

Tarih: _____ Başlangıç Zamanı: _____

1. Şu anda HBÖ Koordinasyon Kanunu çalışmalarının sürdüğünü biliyoruz. Bu kanuna yönelik çalışmalar bu araştırmanın da odağını oluşturuyor. Daha önce bir HBÖ strateji belgesinin yayımlandığını, MEB’de HBÖ Genel Müdürlüğü oluşturulduğunu, çok kapsamlı AB projelerinin yürüdüğünü ve Türkiye’de HBÖ’ye ilişkin çeşitli politika adımlarının atıldığını biliyoruz. Şimdi de bu kanun gündemde. HBÖ Koordinasyon kanununun temel amacı nedir? Neden ihtiyaç duyuluyor bu kanuna?
2. HBÖ’yü bu kadar gündeme getiren ve bunu bir kanun oluşturma sürecine götüren nedenlerden bahsedebilir miyiz? Uluslararası boyutu, ekonomik, politik, sosyal ve kültürel boyutları nedir size göre bu gelişmelerin?
3. Kurumunuz da bir paydaş olarak bu kanun oluşturma sürecinin içerisinde yer alıyor. Kurumunuzun bu sürece nasıl dahil olduğundan biraz bahsedebilir misiniz?
4. Bu kanunun oluşturulması sürecinde kurumunuz paydaş olarak ne tür katkılarda bulundu? Ne tür çalışmalara katıldınız?
5. Kanun taslağının hazırlanması sürecinde sizce en etkili olan paydaşlar hangileriydi? Biraz bahsedebilir misiniz?
6. Kurumunuz için HBÖ kavramı ne ifade ediyor? Kurumunuz kanun oluşturma sürecinde görüşlerini sunarken, HBÖ kavramını nasıl bir çerçevede ele aldı ve sundu? Sizin bu yaklaşımınız kabul edildi mi MEB ve diğer paydaşlar tarafından?
7. Sizce küreselleşme sürecinin, HBÖ’nün bugünkü anlamını kazanmasında ne tür etkileri var? Kanun hazırlanırken, yurtdışındaki uygulamalar dikkate alınıyor mu?
8. Kanun taslağının hazırlanması sürecinde, MEB tarafından süreç nasıl yürütüldü? Düşünceleriniz, önerileriniz nasıl değerlendirmeye alındı?
9. Genel olarak HBÖ politikaları açısından sizin kanunun içeriğinde olmazsa olmazlarınız nelerdir?
10. Sizce Türkiye’de HBÖ uygulanmasında aktörler kimler olmalı? Biraz bahsedebilir misiniz?
11. MEB yetkilileri şu anda bir taslak kanunun oluşturulduğunu ifade ediyor. Bu taslak sizinle paylaşıldı mı? Bu taslağın yasalaşması sürecinde, yani bundan sonra sürecin nasıl devam etmesi gerektiğini düşünüyorsunuz?
12. Benim size sormak istediğim soruları tamamladım. Sizin bu kanunun hazırlanması süreci ile ilişkili gördüğünüz ve eklemek istediğiniz bir şey var mı?

Bitiş Zamanı: _____

Sorularıma verdiğiniz yanıtlar ve katkılarınız için teşekkür ederim.

APPENDIX F

INTERVIEW FORM FOR STAKEHOLDERS (ENGLISH)

Mrtt/ Mrs.

My name is Onur Seçkin. I am a Ph.D. student in the Boğaziçi University, Department of Educational Sciences in Adult Education Programme. Also, I work as a research assistant in the same department. The purpose of my doctoral dissertation is to analyze the making process of lifelong learning (LLL) policies in Turkey and the interaction of globalization to these processes. While doing this analysis, I take the LLL Coordination Law as a case, whose preparatory works are continuing.

First of all, I appreciate your sparing time for me. Your contributions are very important for the understanding the LLL policy making processes and the interaction of globalization with these processes. On the other hand, with your contributions, this study might academically increase the interest in the research of the education policy making processes in the field of educational sciences.

With your permission, I will pose several questions to you related to the purpose that is indicated in above. Concerning the interview and the confidentiality of the interview, I would like to remind you that the interview will be recorded and the records will be kept confidential with me, the transcriptions of the interviews will be only accessed by the members of the doctoral thesis committee. If you don't want to continue with the interview, you can terminate the interview at any moment that you want.

If you don't have any further questions about the interview and my research, we can start the interview.

Onur Seçkin

Date:

Time Started:

1. Currently, we know that the studies for the LLL Coordination Law are continuing. The studies related to this law constitute the focus of this study. We know that previously the LLL Strategy Paper was published, the Directorate General for LLL was established in the MoNE, the EU projects that have a wide range were carried out and various policy steps were taken related to the lifelong learning in Turkey. Now, this law is in the agenda. What is fundamental purpose of the LLL coordination law? Why is this law needed?
2. Would you please speak about the reasons that bring LLL to the policy agenda this much and that take this to the law making process? According to you, what are the international, economic, political, social and cultural dimensions of these developments?
3. Your institution is included in the law making process as a stakeholder. Would you please speak about how your institution was involved to the process?
4. During the making of this law, as a stakeholder, what kind of contributions does your institution have? What kind of studies did you participate?
5. What were the most influential stakeholders during the preparation of the law draft? Would you please mention slightly?
6. What is the meaning of the LLL for your institution? While presenting your views during the law making process, in what framework did your institution handle the LLL concept and present? Was your approach accepted by the MoNE and other stakeholders?
7. According to your point of view, what kind of effects does globalization process have on the current meaning of LLL? During the making process of the law, were the practices in abroad taken into consideration?
8. During the preparation process of the law, how was the process carried out by the MoNE? How were your opinions about how the ideas and suggestions of the stakeholder institutions were put into perspective?
9. According to your point of view what are indispensable aspects of the law in terms of the LLL policies in general?
10. According to your point of view, who should be the actors in the LLL practices? Would you please mention them briefly?
11. The MoNE officials state that currently a draft law was made. Was this draft shared with you? According to your point of view, during this draft's passing into law, I mean the process after this, how should the process be carried out?
12. These were the questions that I wanted to address you. Do you want to add any further information about the law making process?

End Time:

Thank you for your responses to my questions and for your contributions.

APPENDIX G

VIEWS OF STAKEHOLDERS IN THE HBÖGP POLICY PAPER

1. A National Centre for Co-ordination of Lifelong Learning should be established.
 2. There should be a National Lifelong Learning Council that includes representatives of all the key actors in the provision of lifelong learning opportunities.
 3. One centre should be established in each province which will work in coordination with organisations/institutions from the provinces that will contribute to the lifelong learning system.
 4. There should be devolution of programme planning to the provincial level to reflect provincial needs better. Authority for the approval of curricula and qualifications which meet local needs and take account of the individual needs of learners should be devolved to competent bodies at the provincial and municipality levels.
 5. There is a need to strengthen capacity of local structures to plan and manage the implementation of lifelong learning policy at provincial level.
 6. There is a need for uniform data collection and analysis relating to labour market needs, societal needs and the needs and aspirations of employees, the unemployed and individual learners.
 7. There is a need for reliable, consistent and comprehensive data on lifelong learning.
 8. There was agreement on the need for national certification of learning outcomes whether achieved in formal or non-formal environments.
 9. An accreditation and quality assurance system should be developed to standardise and strengthen quality and support institutions issuing certificates.
 10. The qualifications system should be extended as a matter of urgency, and as a strategy to strengthen opportunities for RPL and horizontal and vertical mobility.
 11. There is a need for greater permeability between learning pathways, e.g. from non- formal to formal and vice-versa.
 12. The development of the lifelong learning system should accommodate the recognition of prior learning acquired in formal, non-formal and informal settings.
 13. There was agreement on the importance of private sector involvement in the system of lifelong learning.
 14. A national system of lifelong learning must be funded from a range of sources.
 15. The right to access lifelong learning for employees should be established through legislation.
 16. Career guidance and counselling services need to be strengthened within the system of lifelong learning.
 17. Awareness raising of lifelong learning must be increased and coordinated.
- (MoNE, 2013, p.8-9)

APPENDIX H

LESSONS LEARNED FROM STUDY VISITS TO EU MEMBER STATES GIVEN IN THE HBÖGP POLICY PAPER

1. The part of the system responsible for adult learning is often called adult education and training, rather than lifelong learning.
 2. The adult learning system usually includes many different types of education and training provider, e.g. private and public providers, workplaces, NGOs etc.
 3. Legislation is often simple and establishes key principles, structures and processes. The implementation details are provided in regulations and guidelines that can be changed more easily.
 4. The co-ordination of lifelong learning has been strengthened through new structures that are established by legislation.
 5. Strategy and development plans are often used to drive national approaches to lifelong learning.
 6. Social partners are important partners in the lifelong learning system and the importance of working in partnership with them is acknowledged.
 7. Social partners are represented on national councils responsible for lifelong learning/adult education and training.
 8. The private sector is acknowledged as a very important provider of adult learning and is included in the national system.
 9. Co-ordination structures with operational responsibility have their own budgets.
 10. Funding mechanisms have been established to steer the lifelong learning system towards national priorities for lifelong learning, and several countries use Education or Training Funds to do this.
 11. Decisions about funding to adult learning are often decentralised to local levels.
 12. Workers often have a legal right to paid education and leave.
 3. Some countries set legal requirements for specific groups of adults to participate in learning.
 14. The importance of SMEs is often recognised and specific steps are taken to include them in the lifelong learning system.
 15. Co-ordination structures often play a key role in monitoring and evaluation and are responsible for collecting data.
 16. Monitoring and evaluation systems are linked to quality assurance systems.
 17. Quality assurance agencies play important roles in strengthening lifelong learning by standardising quality across different education and training providers.
 18. Career guidance services are a vital part of lifelong learning systems.
 19. Education and training institutions may be used by different groups of learners making more efficient use of existing resources.
 20. National Qualification Frameworks (NQFs) have been introduced to improve articulation between qualifications and to create pathways of learning.
 21. The implementation of RPL has been gradual, it has taken time to establish and its introduction is often supported by bodies responsible for coordinating RPL.
- (MoNE, 2013, p.10-11)

APPENDIX I

DUTIES OF THE NATIONAL LIFELONG LEARNING COUNCIL IN THE HBÖGP POLICY PAPER

- a. Stating opinions to the Ministry regarding policies on lifelong learning
- b. Initiating and approving a National Strategy and Action Plan for lifelong learning and undertaking revisions as required under regulation
- c. Monitoring and evaluating the implementation of the National Strategy and Action Plan for lifelong learning
- d. Evaluating the implementation of the Lifelong Learning Coordination Law and regulations
- e. Evaluating the Provincial Lifelong Learning Action Plans and annual activity reports of the Provincial Lifelong Learning Councils
- f. Monitoring the National Lifelong Learning Coordination Centre and Provincial Lifelong Learning Coordination Units
- g. Determining procedures and criteria for approval of qualifications and for quality assurance of assessment of achievement of learners leading to lifelong learning qualifications awarded by the Ministry
- h. Determining regulations on appointment and professional development of trainers and on resource requirements for delivery of lifelong learning courses
- i. Giving direction on strategic priorities for funding and receiving reports from the NLLLCC on disbursement of funds
- j. Setting up commissions of experts with the purpose of investigating subjects concerned with lifelong learning when deemed necessary. (MEB, 2013, p. 54)

APPENDIX J

DUTIES OF THE PROVINCIAL LIFELONG LEARNING COUNCILS IN THE HBÖGP POLICY PAPER

- a. Monitoring the implementation at provincial level of the provisions of the Lifelong Learning Co-ordination Law as well as any regulations enacted in accordance with the Law, and reporting to the National Lifelong Learning Council
- b. Contributing to the preparation of the National Lifelong Learning Strategy and Action Plan
- c. Ensuring that planning and practice for lifelong learning in the province respond to local needs and are adapted to changing social and economic needs
- d. Initiating, finalising and approving a Provincial Action Plan for lifelong learning in line with the National Lifelong Learning Strategy and Action Plan
- e. Monitoring, evaluating and ensuring the implementation of the Provincial Action Plan
- f. Receiving reports on the implementation of the quality assurance system for lifelong learning qualifications and providers
- g. Giving direction on strategic priorities for funding and receiving reports from the PLLLCU on disbursement of funds
- h. Setting up commissions of experts with the purpose of investigating subjects concerned with lifelong learning when deemed necessary.
- i. Stating opinions to the National Lifelong Learning Council for changes and improvements to the national lifelong learning system
- j. Giving opinions in the settlement of disputes that arise in relation to lifelong learning in the province
- k. Examining and finalising issues in lifelong learning submitted by the Governor's office regarding lifelong learning in the province (MEB, 2013, p. 55-56)

APPENDIX K

DUTIES OF THE NATIONAL LIFELONG LEARNING COORDINATION CENTRE IN THE HBÖGP POLICY PAPER

- a. Preparing proposals for changes to national lifelong learning policies when required
- b. Developing a draft National Lifelong Learning Strategy and Action Plan in consultation with stakeholders and submitting these to the National Lifelong Learning Council for approval and submission to relevant Ministries
- c. Ensuring the implementation of all decisions of the National Lifelong Learning Council
- d. Monitoring the implementation of the National Lifelong Learning Action Plan and preparing bi-annual reports and recommendations for the National Lifelong Learning Council for information and carrying out required activities as appropriate
- e. Working with PLLLCUs and stakeholders to ensure that draft Provincial Lifelong Learning Action Plans are coherent and aligned with the National Lifelong Learning Strategy and Action Plan
- f. Receiving periodic reports on the implementation of the Provincial Lifelong Learning Action Plans from PLLLCUs.
- g. Collecting and publishing data on lifelong learning measured against national and international indicators and benchmarks
- h. Developing the quality assurance system for lifelong learning providers and trainers and supporting its implementation by PLLLCUs
- i. Developing the quality assurance system for lifelong learning qualifications awarded by MoNE and supporting its implementation by PLLLCUs
- j. Carrying out research and evaluation activities in lifelong learning
- k. Building awareness and disseminating information about lifelong learning
- l. Monitoring the performance of PLLLCUs in their key functions against performance indicators
- m. Reporting to the National Lifelong Learning Council on lifelong learning and the work of the PLLLCUs for information and action if required. Taking action to strengthen provision. (MEB, 2013, p. 57)

APPENDIX L

DUTIES OF THE PROVINCIAL LIFELONG LEARNING CO-ORDINATION UNITS IN THE HBÖGP POLICY PAPER

- a. Co-ordinating information-gathering by stakeholders in the province and the analysis of results and preparing reports about provincial lifelong learning needs
- b. Contributing to the processes of preparing the National Lifelong Learning Strategy and Action Plan
- c. Ensuring the implementation of all decisions of the Provincial Lifelong Learning Council and NLLLCC
- d. Developing draft Provincial Lifelong Learning Action Plans and protocols in collaboration with stakeholders and submitting these to the Provincial Lifelong Learning Council for approval
- e. Monitoring the implementation of the Provincial Action Plan and preparing reports and recommendations for the Provincial Lifelong Learning Council. Taking action to improve performance where this is needed
- f. Collecting and publishing data on lifelong learning measured against national and international indicators and benchmarks
- g. Carrying out research and evaluation activities in lifelong learning
- h. Building awareness and disseminating information about lifelong learning
- i. Preparing reports on activities:
 - j. to the Provincial Lifelong Learning Council for information and action as required
 - k. to the NLLLCC for information
- l. Taking action to support lifelong learning providers and strengthening the quality of lifelong learning courses, trainers and services by implementing the lifelong learning quality assurance systems
- m. Managing processes of curriculum development
- n. Supplying information on lifelong learning courses and services to learners and other stakeholders
- o. Ensuring the implementation of funding decisions of the Provincial Lifelong Learning Council. (MEB, 2013, p. 58-59)

APPENDIX M

A TYPOLOGY OF MECHANISMS OF EXTERNAL EFFECTS ON NATIONAL POLICIES (DALE, 1999, P. 6, FIGURE 4.1)

CHARACTERISTICS OF EFFECT MECHANISMS		MECHANISMS OF EXTERNAL EFFECTS							
		BORROWING	LEARNING		HARMONISATION	DISSEMINATION	STANDARDISATION	INSTALLING INTERDEPENDENCE	IMPOSITION
'NORMAL'	'PARADIGMATIC'								
NATURE OF RELATIONSHIP	VOLUNTARY	VOLUNTARY	FORMALLY VOLUNTARY	FORMALLY VOLUNTARY	FORMALLY VOLUNTARY	FORMALLY VOLUNTARY	VOLUNTARY	COMPULSORY	
	EXPLICIT	VARIES	VARIES	EXPLICIT	EXPLICIT	QUITE IMPLICIT	EXPLICIT	EXPLICIT	
	PARTICULAR POLICY PROCESS	RECOGNISED PARAMETERS/ POLICY PROCESS	POLICY PROCESS AND POLICY GOALS	MULTIPLE POLICIES	MULTIPLE POLICIES	MULTIPLE POLICIES	POLICY GOALS	PARTICULAR POLICY GOALS	
LOCUS OF VIABILITY	NATIONAL	NATIONAL	EXTERNAL	REGIONAL ORGANISATION	EXTERNAL/ NATIONAL	INTERNATIONAL FORA	COMMON HERITAGE OF HUMANKIND	INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION	
PROCESS	BORROWING/ IMITATION	'LEARNING'	'TEACHING'	COLLECTIVE AGREEMENT	PERSUASION/ AGENDA SETTING	CONDITION OF MEMBERSHIP	PERSUASION	LEVERAGE	
PARTIES INVOLVED	BILATERAL	BILATERAL/ INTERNATIONAL	INTERNATIONAL	MULTI-NATIONAL	INTERNATIONAL	MULTI-NATIONAL	GLOBAL - 'BOTTOM UP'	MULTI-NATIONAL	
SOURCE OF INITIATION	RECIPIENT	NATIONAL 'POLICY COMMUNITY'	INTERNATIONAL MODEL	COLLECTIVELY BY MEMBERS	SUPRANATIONAL BODY	'INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'	NGOs ('GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY')	SUPRANATIONAL BODY	
DIMENSION OF POWER	CONSCIOUS DECISION	CONSCIOUS DECISION	AGENDA SETTING/ RULES OF GAME	CONSCIOUS DECISION	AGENDA SETTING	RULES OF GAME	AGENDA SETTING	ALL THREE DIMENSIONS	
NATURE OF EFFECT ON EDUCATION	DIRECT (ON SECTOR OR ORGANISATION)	VARIES	VARIES	IMPLIED - REGIME AND SECTOR	DIRECT - SECTOR	DIRECT - REGIME - SECTOR RELATION	INDIRECT - REGIME DIRECT - ORG.	INDIRECT - REGIME	
EXAMPLE FROM EDUCATION	SCOTVEC IN NEW ZEALAND	HUMAN CAPITAL THEORY IN 1960S	INCREASING USER CHARGES FOR EDUCATION	MAASTRICHT TREATY	OECD/CERI ACTIVITY (SEE PAPADOPOULOS, 1992)	UNESCO SCIENCE POLICY UN DECLARATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS	'GREEN' CURRICULUM MATERIALS	WORLD BANK EDUCATION LOANS	

APPENDIX N

THE ORIGINAL OF INTERVIEW QUOTES

1. B1: HBÖ biliyorsunuz, yeni bir kavram değil aslında. Eski, yabancıların tabiriyle söylersek, “old wine in new bottles”, eski şarabın yeni şişeye sokulması ile ilgili... Bizim de aslında kadim geçmişimizde, medeniyet köklerimizde olan bir kavram. İşte Peygamber efendimiz, iki günü eşit olan ziyadadır buyuruyor. Bu bir hadisi şerif. Bunu incellerseniz tek başına HBÖ’yü zaten açıklıyor. Bir günün bir önceki günden daha iyi olması, sürekli gelişim. Tabii bu kavram gerek biz de gerek Batı medeniyetinin köklerinde olmasına karşılık bu isimle çok fazla bilinen, işlenen bir kavram değildi. 1
2. B2: Eskiden bu beyaz belge olması lazım, Jack Delors olması lazım. İlk HBÖ yılı filan ilan edilmiş, 1996’da, bununla alakalı beyaz belge var. Delors ilk başlatıyor fakat, Delors bahsederken bizim kültürümüz de zaten HBÖ’den bahsediyor. 1400 yıl öncesine gittiğimizde de, bizim Mevlana’ya da bakın, Yunus Emre’ye de bakın, dinimize de bakın. Sonuçta HBÖ bizim köklerimizde var olan bir şey. Belki biraz şu anda tekrar iman tazeleme anlamında gündeme geliyor. HBÖ şu an bizim kaçınılmaz bir gerçek.2
3. B1: Küreselleşme ve hızlı teknolojik gelişmelerle birlikte dünya farklı bir moda girdi. Şöyle söyleyeyim. Sanayi devrimine kadar dünya teknolojisinin ikiye katlanma hızı 1750 sene aldı. Sanayi devrimi ile birlikte ikiye katlandı. Sonra her 50 senede bir dünya teknolojisi ikiye katlanır hale geldi. Şu sıralarda dünya teknolojisi dört yılda bir ikiye katlanıyor. Yani 2013’deyiz, şunu demek doğru olur, bugünkü dünya teknolojisi, 2008 dünya teknolojisinin iki misli. Bunun 2020’lerde 73 güne filan düşmesi bekleniyor. Teknolojide devasa adımlar atılıyor, bir de geçmişten farklı yanı eskiden bir teknolojik buluşun bulunması birşey değil, dünya genelinde yaygınlık kazanması yıllara sarıh olabiliyor idi. Şimdi bu günlerle sınırlı. Amerika’da bir şey bulunuyor bakıyorsunuz bir ay sonra Türkiye’de. Şimdi bu tabii, çalışma ilişkilerini, öğrendiğimiz, bildiğimiz, amel ettiğimiz şeylerin hepsini değiştiriyor. Yani bildiğiniz pek çok şey kısa süre sonra yok olabiliyor. Böyle bir durumda, Avrupa’da iş değiştirme, meslek değiştirme hızları da çok arttı. 50 sene evvel bir kişi, babasından öğrendiği bir sistemde bir zanaatla, 70-80 yıl, kaç yıl yaşıyorsa, bütün ömrünü idame ettirebiliyordu, üstüne bir şey ekleme zarureti duymaksızın. Ama şimdi böyle bir durum ortada değil. Dolayısıyla insanlarda sürekli gelişim, sürekli mesleki manada ilerleme ihtiyacı ve hatta ölen kapanan, ucu ölü mesleklere doğru gidiyorsa o iş, yan mesleklere, alternatif branşlara geçme ihtiyacı doğdu. Batı HBÖ’yü bu kapsamda kullanıyor. Onlar için HBO eşittir “employability”. 3

4. B2: Ben biraz ormandan ağaca doğru geleyim. Bir küreselleşme süreci var, kaçınılmaz bir sürecimiz var. Yaşadığımız, dümeninin kimsenin elinde olmadığı bir sürecimiz var... Küreselleşme bize neyi getiriyor. Bir, küresel rekabeti getiriyor. Küresel rekabet deyince, ülkelerin birbiri ile rekabetini getiriyor. Ülkenin birbirileri ile rekabeti de neyle oluyor, artık nitelikli insan gücü ile oluyor. Nitelikli insan gücünü yetiştirmekte sadece ve sadece eğitimle oluyor... Yoksa başka elimizde hiçbir güç, hiçbir silah yok yani nitelikli insan gücü yetiştirebilmek için. Bunu da örgün eğitim süreleriyle yapamıyoruz ne yazık ki. Örgün eğitim süreleri şu anda diyelim ki, daha önceden 5 yıldır, sonra yetmedi 8 yıl yaptık. 8 yıl yetmedi 12 yıl yaptık. 12 yıl yetmeyecek yakında. Ülkenin bir tanesi 20 yıla, 25 yıla çıkardı, 30 yıla çıkardı, bunun sonu yok yani. Örgün eğitim süresini artırmanın sonu yok. Bir gün aciz kalacağız örgün eğitimin süresinin artırılması ile alakalı. Bunun yolu HBÖ. Örgün eğitim sadece hayata hazırlayacak, minimum gereksinimleri verecek, bunun ötesi HBÖ ile alakalı, devamlı bireyleri güncel olarak da eğitmemiz lazım, istihdam edilebilirliğini artırmamız lazım. İstihdam etmek ve o insanı istihdamda tutmak için istihdam edilebilirliğini sağlamak için de HBÖ bizim için gerekli. HBÖ artık kaçınılmaz bir gerçek.4
5. GIS 1: Türkiye şimdi burada ciddi bir aktör olmayı umuyor. Onun için de küreselleşmenin getirdiği bir takım şeyler işte, nasıl nereden baktığınıza bağlı olarak tabii şey yapıyor. Bilgi toplumu işte diyor ki, bilgi toplumunun ve küreselleşmenin getirdiği imkanlara, bilgiye erişimin imkanları. İşte artık bilgi çok çabuk değişen bir şey, işte onun yerine, bilgiye nasıl erişebildiğini, bilgiyi nasıl sentezleyebildiğini, bilgiyi günlük hayatta nasıl kullanabildiğini bilme becerisi önemli diyor. Biz de aslında eğitimde yaptığımız politikaları buna yönelik olarak yapmaya çalışıyoruz. Gerçekten artık bilgiyi ölçen değil, beceriyi ölçen testler, beceriyi ölçen değerlendirmeler yapılması gerektiğini düşünüyoruz. 5
6. B2: Tabii Avrupa, dünya HBÖ diyor, artık HBÖ anahtar bir kelime oldu her kelimeye başlarken...Şimdi biz AB belgeleri, AB politikaları ile birbirine bağlantılıyız. Yani kopuk yaşamıyoruz bundan. Şimdi AB projeleri yürütüyoruz1, AB belgeleri ile uyumlu hareket ediyoruz çoğu alanda. Yani o yüzden bunlar hepsi bağlantılı. Yani dünyayla kopuk kalamayız. Küreselleşme zaten bunu gerektiriyor. Kopuk, izole bir hayat yaşamıyoruz yani. Bununla ilgili AB indikatörleri var. Eurostatın yayınladıkları var, OECD belgeleri var, oradaki indikatörler var, bizde uyum sağlayalım diyoruz bunlara mesela. PIAAC araştırması var mesela, PISA'nın yetişkin eğitimi için olanı. PIAAC araştırmasına bakın hocam mesela. Bütün bunlar bizim dünya ile bağlantımız. Türkiye'de yaşadığımız bazı problemler oluyor mesela. Diyoruz ki, Avrupalılar bu problemi yaşıyorlar mı, veya nasıl çözüm bulmuşlar yaşıyorlarsa. Bazen gezilerimiz filan da oluyor.

Bazen dış raporları filan okuduğumuz da oluyor. Best pratikleri, en iyi örnekleri Türkiye’de yaygınlaştırmak adına yaptığımız faaliyetler oluyor. Bu işin genel çerçevesi. 6

7. GIS 2: Evet bizim bu kavrama, biz kavram olarak son yıllarda özellikle Avrupa’da da belgelere girmiş olması, bizde de kavram olarak tartışılmasına ve gerçekten tartışılmasına neden olmuştur. 7
8. B2: Türkiye’de biz dedik ki, eğitimi 12 yıla çıkardık ama bunun sonu yok, çünkü işyerinde çalışan insanlar meslekleri ile alakalı kendilerini devamlı güncellemek zorundalar. Güncelleyemezlerse işten kovulurlar, ömür boyu istihdam garantisi artık tartışılıyor. Bu Japonya’da bile tartışılır hale geldi. Ömür boyu istihdam garantisi yok, özel sektörde zaten hiç yok. Kamuda da insanlar kendilerini bir üst görevlere çıkabilmek için yetiştirmek zorundalar. Hayat boyu öğrenmek zorundalar, çünkü her şey değişiyor. Çevre değişiyor, toplum değişiyor. Öğretmenler kendilerini yenilemek zorunda, okul değişiyor, öğrenci değişiyor, her şey değişiyor. Yani ben bunu öğrendim artık ömür boyu, kullanayım devri bitti.8
9. NGIS2: Burada esas amaç yine istihdama yönelik, kayıt dışı istihdamın önlenmesi, nitelikli işgücünün oluşturulması, böyle bir ihtiyaç var. Bu sadece Türkiye’nin değil, Batı merkezlerinin de, nitelikli işgücüne ihtiyacı var. Bu nitelikli işgücü, böyle bir projeye, bizim ülkemizde de geliştirmek isteniyor. 9
10. NGIS1: HBÖ, MEGEP’le birlikte daha fazla gündeme gelmeye başladı Türkiye’de. Aslında konu MEGEP’ten çok daha önce de akademide çok yaygın olarak tartışılıyordu. Aslında en çok vizyonda dikkat çeken konulardan bir tanesi AB modeli içerisinde, sosyal politika uygulamalarının altında yapısal uyum fonları, işsizliğin giderilmesi konusunda kişilerin mesleki değişimi, zaman içerisinde farklı alanlara geçebilmesi, yükselmesini destekleyen, aslında bunlar tamamen, iş piyasasındaki dönüşümlerle, katılımlarla mücadele ederken daha verimli çalışma temelinde atılan adımlar... zaten bu konuda birinci derecede farkında olduğu ve kendi iş piyasasını geliştirmek için uygulamalar geliştirdiği için Türkiye’ye önerilen ve Türkiye ile ortaklığı kurulan projelerden biri de MEGEP olmuştur...Mesleki Yeterlilikler Kurumu konusu, mesleki yeterlilikler konusu, bunun bir belgeye dönüştürülmesi ve sertifikasyonu, akreditasyon vasıtasıyla AB çapında geçerli olması, bunlar HBÖ’nün hayati düzlemidir... Tabii Türkiye’de neden bu kadar çok gündeme geldi bu konu dersek, sebepler açık. İşsizlik Türkiye’nin her zaman önemli problemlerinden birisi oldu ve olmaya devam edecek. Çünkü ciddi bir nüfus artışı var. Yeni istihdam dönüşümü gerekiyor. Bunu yaparken bir taraftan tarım sektöründen hizmetler ve sanayi sektörüne ciddi bir atılım, aynı zamanda kırsaldan kente ciddi bir göç söz konusu. Bu da tabii iş piyasalarında uyum sorununu ortaya çıkarır hale getiriyor. Siz bir çok kişiye gençlik yıllarında veya çocukluk

yıllarında veremediğiniz eğitimi sonraki yıllarda vermek zorundasınız. Aslında siz en iyi eğitimi gençlik ve çocukluk yıllarında ve öncesinde vermiş olsanız bile, bir uyumsuzluk yine yaşanabilir. Yenilemesi ve hatta değiştirmesi. Kişi şehri değiştirmek isteyebilir, hatta gelir durumunu değiştirmek isteyebilir, yaptığı işten memnun olmayabilir. İş bulamayabilir, o dönemde piyasada katılıklar oluşmuştur, istihdam açığı yoktur. Dolayısıyla kişilerin, hem kendi alanındaki eğitimi yenilemesi, hem kendi uzmanlaşması, işte AB normunda 7 tane teknisyen belgesinden bahsedebiliriz. İzdüşümü var. 10

11. GIS1: HBÖ'nün birçok alanda işgücüyle bağlantısı kuruluyor Türkiye'de. Çünkü işgücü bir problem ve gelecekte problemlerimizin en büyüğü haline gelecek, genç nüfusumuz işsizlik problemiyle daha fazla karşılaşır diye. Onun için işsizlikle ve iş piyasasıyla çok daha fazla bağlantısı kuruluyor HBÖ'nün. Yani doğrudan verdiğimiz her eğitimin sanki işgücü piyasasında bir karşılığı olması gerekiyormuş gibi düşünülüyor...Bu çerçevede, HBÖ'nün temel şeyi, insanlara hayat boyu ihtiyaçları olacak temel becerileri ve bilgileri birlikte kazandırabilmek, bunları da bir etkinliğe çevirebilmek. 11
12. B1: Batı HBÖ'yü bu kapsamda kullanıyor. Onlar için HBÖ eşittir employability. Böyle bir bakış açısından bakıyorlar. Hâlbuki bizim açımızdan baktığımızda biz daha o noktada değiliz. Yani batıda ortalama tahsil seviyesi yüksek, bizde 6.1 yıl, 6.2, 6.5 yıl diyorlar. Yani biz daha ortaokulu bitiremedik ülke olarak. Dolayısıyla bizim hem, evet meslek değişimi ile alakalı, mesleki formasyonu geliştirici eğitimlere kurslara ihtiyacımız var ve fakat buna ilaveten, hem de kişisel gelişimi destekleyici kurslara ihtiyacımız var... Türkiye'de şu anda kişi başı milli gelirimiz 10 bin küsur, 11 bin dolar civarında, per capita. Bu bizde de işte 20-25 bin civarında olunca, zorunlu eğitim 12 yıla çıktı, 8-10 sene sonra bu 6.5 yıllık ortalama eğitim, birden 11-12 yıla yükselecek. Türkiye'de ise bu da var, hem biz bir yönü itibarıyla birkaç adım geriden de olsa Batı'yı takip ediyoruz iktisadi kalkınma açısından ama, bizim insanımızın baz kabul edilecek temel yeterlilikler ve kültürel eğitimlere de ihtiyacı var. Onun için biz Batı sistemindeki biçilen elbiseyi olduğu gibi kendi sistemimize giydiremiyoruz. Sıkıntı var. Yani sistem ister istemez, Batı da bir gelişim başladıysa da, burada da o noktaya doğru gider... HBÖ Batı'da kendine özgü gelişen şartlar çerçevesinde meslek değişimi sırasında insanların işsiz kalmasını önleyecek bir alternatif reçete olarak ortaya çıktı. Daha da insanlar üniversiteye sürekli gidiyorlar, üniversite sayısı 180'i buldu, belki aştı. Türkiye 10 yıl öncesinden çok farklı, 20 yıl öncesinden çok farklı. 10-20 yıl sonra da insanlar belki bizden resim kursu, ebru kursu, dikiş nakış kursu, zaten talep etmeyecek. Yani "müşterisiz mal zayıdır" prensibinden hareketle de biz de o kursları açmayacağız. O vakit ne talep ediliyorsa onlar açılacak. Yani sistem ister istemez, Batı da bir gelişim başladıysa da, burada da o noktaya doğru gider... HBÖ Batı'da kendine özgü gelişen

şartlar çerçevesinde meslek değişimi sırasında insanların işsiz kalmasını önleyecek bir alternatif reçete olarak ortaya çıktı. Türkiye’de ise bu da var, hem biz bir yönü itibariyle birkaç adım geriden de olsa Batı’yı takip ediyoruz iktisadi kalkınma açısından ama, bizim insanımızın baz kabul edilecek temel yeterlilikler ve kültürel eğitime de ihtiyacı var. Onun için biz Batı sistemindeki biçilen elbiseyi olduğu gibi kendi sistemimize giydiremiyoruz. Sıkıntı var.12

13. B3: Dolayısıyla bizde HBÖ dediğimiz şeyden aslında ilk olarak anlaşılan şey, mesleki eğitimidir. Fakat buna MEB böyle bakmıyor, biz böyle bakmıyoruz...Dolayısıyla bizde HBÖ bizim toplum olarak anladığımız şey mesleki eğitim, fakat bunun çok önemli sosyal ve kültürel tarafları var. İnsanların bizim memleketimizde çok genç yaşta emekli olduğunu, belli bir yaştan sonra mesleğini bıraktığını ve atıl duruma düştüğü bir zamanı yaşıyoruz. 13
14. PE: Bu proje biraz oraya yönlendi ama, değil öyle olmaması lazım. Bu projenin amacı yazılırken istihdamı ön plana çıkaran cümleler var. Ama o doğru değil bence. HBÖ’yü biz sadece iş bulmaya, istihdam yaratmaya bağlarsak olmaz. Yani... İstihdam tamam, çünkü işsizlik yüksek. 14
15. GIS 3: Bir kere HBÖ Genel Müdürlüğü olduktan sonra ve Kemal Bey oraya geldikten sonra, tabi Kemal Bey daha önce İŞKUR genel müdürü olmasının, istihdam ile ilgili sorunları bilmesi, onun döneminde, istihdam rakamlarında, katılımında biliyorsunuz çok güzel işler yaptılar, projeler yürüttüler. Kemal hoca gerçekten İŞKUR Genel Müdürü iken unutulmayacak şeyler yaptı, orada birtakım yapılar oluşturdu. Oradaki backgroundu ile HBÖ’ye gittiği zaman, eğitim ve istihdam, bence sebep-sonuç ilişkisi açısından baktığımız zaman birbirine bağlı ve bunu oradaki HBÖ sistemine yerleştirdi. 15
16. NGIS2: Biz aslında baştan katılımcılar, HBÖ’nün hem tanımını yapmaya, hem öğrenmeye çağrıldık. Yani HBÖ deyince ne anlayacağız? Yani “7’den 70’e bütün öğrenmeler HBÖ’nün içindedir” denildi. O kadar geniş çizildi ki, her bir öğrenmenin sertifikalandırılabilmesi, sertifikalandırılması gerektiği... bunlar ifade edildi ilk başta. Ama çalışmanın sonuna doğru bu biraz değişti. Biraz daraldı. Çünkü “annesinden öğrendiği bir şeyi, el işini nasıl sertifikalandırıcaksın, ya da buna ne ihtiyaç var?” ve “bunu böyle çok kurumsal bir şey haline getirmenin ne faydası var?” haline geldi. Kaynakların daha ekonomik kullanılabilmesi için, istihdama yönelik bilgi ve becerilerin sertifikalandırılması, bu kapsamda onların değerlendirilmesi, böyle çok açık da zikredilmedi ama... Kurulması düşünülen kurumlar buna vurgu yaptı. Yani istihdam öncelikli diyebileceğimiz bir düşünce ortaya çıktı. 16
17. NGIS2: Bilgi ve belgenin bir sertifikaya bağlanması ve devlet tarafından, otorite tarafından bunun bilinip, belki bir planlama yapma

olanağının sunulması bunlar önemli olgular, kavramlar. Ama tek tek insanlara bir faydası olacak mı, ondan emin değilim. İstihdam alanı yaratılmazsa, yeni fabrikalar açılmazsa, yeni iş alanları oluşturulmazsa, herkes belgeli olur...AB sürecinde herkes üniversite diploması sahibi oldu, herkes ehliyet sahibi oldu, çok hızlı şekilde bunlar yapıldı. Ama öncesinde üniversite diplomasının bir değeri, ağırlığı vardı. 17

18. NGIS3: Milli eğitimin tarifini beğenmiyorum. Sadece tarifi ile ilgili üç günlük bir swot analizi yapıldı. Çok geyik bir tarif çıktı. İşte 7'den 70'e kadar bütün öğrenmelerin şöyle böyle diye. Buna bile karşıyım. Biz sendika olarak endüstriyel ilişkilerin içinde olarak sistemin bir tarafıyız. HBÖ her türlü öğrenmenin ölçülmesi, belgelendirilmesi olarak tarif ediliyor. Ama ben kişisel olarak kurumsal görüş değil, 7 yaşındaki bir kız çocuğumuzun bir bale eğitimini bu koca istihdam piyasasının en önemli kavramı olan HBÖ'nün içerisine sokmak istemiyorum. Benim sorunum başka, bu öğrenmeyi reddetmiyorum. Veya işte, belediyelerin BELMEK ya da bir şey mek, adı altındaki ebru, patchwork edinme becerilerini reddetmemekle birlikte, istihdam piyasasında bir karşılıkları olmadıkları için bunun dışında tutulması gerektiğini düşünüyorum. Benim çatışmam bu. Biz bunu işgücü istihdam piyasası ile ilişkilendirebilirsek bir kurum olarak oluşturabiliriz.18

19. NGIS1: HBÖ evet, beşikten mezara bir yaklaşımdır, evet ama beşikten mezara dediğimizde az önce söylediğim gibi hamile bir hanımefendinin beslenmesi konusu değildir bu, istihdam piyasasının bir konusudur bu. Kendisinin de bu yeteneklerini geliştirmesi, yaşam boyu geliştirilmesini hedeflemektedir. Bu anlamda, her şeyi doğru kalemde çalışırsak verimli olur, o anlamda faydası olur.19

20. NGIS3: Özellikle risk grubu dediğimiz kadın ve gençlere beceri kazandırarak bize bağlı işyerlerinde istihdam sağlıyoruz yaygın eğitimle. Sizin HBÖ yoluyla. Bizim buradaki sırrımız şu: eğitim müfredatı, program ve modelleri biz işyerlerinin eğitim müdürleriyle, hatta CEO'larla birlikte hazırlıyoruz. Bana, işveren ihtiyacı olan işgücünün niteliğini alt alta yazıyor. Bende bu reçeteye göre eğitim modeli hazırlayıp, en kısa sürede direk işbaşı eğitimini sağlıyorum. Yani slogan eğitimden işe...HBÖ'nün tarifi, işgücü piyasasının tarifi olmazsa, olmaz. Yani bu nedir, HBÖ'nün birinci maddesini, amacını düzgünü oturtmamız gerekiyor. İşgücü piyasasının istediği HBÖ'yü yapmamız gerekiyor. Yoksa 7'den 70'e kadar her türlü bilgi, beceri, bilmem ne, Allah aşkınıza yapmayın ya. 20

21. NGIS4: Öncelikle yapılması gereken olay şuydu: Biz işgücü piyasanın ihtiyaç duyduğu niteliklere uygun insan yetiştirelim, eğitim verelim. Bunun için de önce işgücü piyasasının analiz edilmesi gerekir. Bunu analiz edelim, mesleğin niteliklerini belirleyelim, bu bizi meslek standartlarına götürsün. Meslek standartları eğitim standartlarını getirsin, eğitim standartları müfredatı geliştirsün,

müfredata bağlı olarak yapılsın eğitim, bunu belgelendirelim. İşte mesleki yeterlilik kavramı o çerçevede alınsın, bu Avrupa yeterlilik çerçevesiyle bağlantı kurulsun ve insanların okul dışında elde ettiği bilgileri belgelendirelim ve bu belgelerin tanınırlığını da mekanizmayla sağlayalım ve bu ilerde AB sürecine girildiği zaman emeğin serbest dolaşımını da beraberinde getirsin, mobilitayı artırsın. Bu aynı zamanda istihdam edilebilirliği de artıracaktır. Bunu bir sistem olarak kurguladığınız zaman, HBÖ bütün bu sistemin şemsiye örgütü olur. 21

22. NGIS2: Esas çerçeveyi istihdam oluşturuyor artık. Bence çok yanlış bir yaklaşım değil bu; pratik hayatın gereği budur. Örgü öğrenmeyi öğrenmek istiyorsa öğrensin, kimse onun önünde engel de olmaz. Ama birisi evde mutlu olmak için, vakit geçirmek için örgü örmeyi öğrenmek istiyor diye buna bir kaynak ayırmaya çalışmak, bununla ilgili bir örgütlenmeye girişmek bence çok pratik değil. Ya da örgü örmeyi bilenlerin istatistiğini tutmanın, ne tür bir pratik yararı olabilir? Ama bunun ekonomik bir getirisi var ise, istihdama katkısı var ise, o zaman bunun tabii istatistiğini tutmanın da bir faydası olabilir. Ama mutlu oluyorsa onu yaparken, olsun. Yani, hobi olarak onu yapıyorsa yapsın. Bunu örgütlemeye çalışmanın pratik bir faydası olmaz. Ama istihdama yönelik, meslek edindirmeye yönelik, becerilerini güçlendirmeye yönelik, becerilerini sertifikalandırmaya yönelik çalışmaların mutlaka faydası olacaktır. Bu haliyle çok yanlış değil. O çok geniş HBÖ tanımı, işi biraz da sulandırıyor gibi.22
23. GIS 3: Ülkedeki ekonomik ve istihdam çarkının dışına itilmiş ve ne yaparsa yapsın bir türlü, o çarkın dişlilerinden biri olamayan ve o istihdam çarkındaki sistemde kendine yer bulamayan toplumdaki o kesimlerin tespit edilip, onlara yönelik, ne diyoruz HBÖ programı diyoruz değil mi? Onların kapsanarak bence bu programların geliştirilmesi gerekir. Yoksa adam, yani mesela bana gelip de HBÖ programı uygulamasın.23
24. GIS1: Ben mesela şahsi olarak doğru bulmuyorum, doğru değil kesinlikle. Sosyal devlet olmanın gerekliliği sen ondan doğrudan şey bekleyemezsin, hani bir işgücü piyasasına bir katılım, bireylerin kişisel sermayelerine yatırım da olabilir bu. Ama kamuda çalışan, özellikle planlamada çalışan bir insan olarak da böyle olması gerekli gibi bir şey oluyor, çünkü biz işgücüne adam yetiştirecek diye bakıyoruz, okullara da o şekilde bakıyoruz. Bir işgücüne adam yetiştirir, iki toplumdaki disiplinle ilgili problemleri, toplum kültürünü ortadan kaldırır filan. Kamu yaklaşımında bu şekilde değerlendiriliyor, ama dediğim gibi bireylerin kişisel sermayelerine bir yatırımda olabilir bu. O da tabii, birazcık, tartışmalı bir konu. 24
25. NGIS4: ...evet bizim için yine istihdam öncelikli olarak, yine biz istihdam boyutundan bakıyoruz olaya, ama olay sadece istihdam boyutu değil, çünkü bizim konfederasyon olarak, bağlı sendikalar olarak, verdiğimiz eğitimlerde istihdam boyutu olmadan, işçi eşlerine

ev ekonomisi konusunda dersler verdiriyoruz. İşçi çocuklarına üniversiteye hazırlık kursları veriyoruz, bunların meslekle ilgisi yoktu. O da o eğitimin bir parçası, onun için mesleki eğitimle sınırlandırmak taraftarı değiliz. Bunu işte HBÖ çerçevesinde değerlendirmek mümkün. Sistemin açık olması gerekir. 25

26. B1: Birincisi şunu söyleyeyim, bu yasanın hazırlanması bize HBÖ Strateji Belgesi'nin yüklediği bir görev. Eylem planı içerisinde var. Yani akşamdan sabaha, durup da, ya böyle bir yasa hazırlayalım fikri oluşmadı, orada bize yüklendiği için biz de böyle bir yasa taslağı hazırladık...Projeye biz bunu sadece yaptırдық. Proje geldi burada bir şeyler yapıyor. Ne yapsaydık ki, gerekli, gereksiz bir şey yapacağına, bizim de böyle bir eylem planımız hazırlığımız var, oturun bunu hazırlayın dedik, sonuçta bizim Genel Müdürlüğümüzün bir işidir, projenin bir çıktısı da olsa, o çıktıyı da oraya yazdıran biziz. O bir vasıta, bunu proje vasıtasıyla da yaparsın, kendi 5-10 tane çalıştay düzenleyip de yaparsın değişmiyor.26
27. B2: Bir de HBÖ strateji belgemiz var bizim. 2009'da yayınlandı, halen yürürlükte. O belgede diyor ki HBÖ koordinasyonu ile alakalı, yasal alt yapıyı hazırlayın, taslak koordinasyon kanunu çıkarın diyor. 27
28. B3: HBÖ bizim AB ile ilgili uyum çalışmalarındaki çok kritik eşiklerden birisidir. Bununla ilgili Türkiye'de yapılan çokça iş var. Çokça yapılan çalışma var, HBÖ kapsamına giriyor, fakat sisteme girmiyor. Bizim temel sıkıntımız aslında budur. Hem Mesleki Yeterlilik Kurumu hem HBÖKK Taslağı ile beraber ben bunun bütünleştirileceğini düşünüyorum... Şimdi HBÖ'nün sadece MEB olarak bizi ilgilendiren bir boyutu yok. Hükümet arkasında duruyor. Aslında projenin temel esprisi AB'ye uyum çalışmalarından kaynaklanıyor. HBÖKK taslağı, HBÖ ile ilgili çalışmaların hepsi, bizim 1960'da AB ile başlayan uyum süreci, 2005 yılında başlayan müzakere süreçleri, buna paralel olarak AB'ye uyum süreciyle ilgili çalışmaların getirdiği önemli çalışmalardan birisi... Biz bunu AB'ye uyum çalışmalarıyla yapmakla beraber, ülkemizdeki HBÖ ile ilgili yapılan bütün çalışmaların tek bir birim tarafından, Bakanlık tarafından koordine edilmesi, bu alandaki eksiklerin belirlenmesi, hem daha stratejik adımlar atılması açısından hem de AB'ye uyum açısından önemli bir basamaktır. 28
29. B2: AB aday ve üye ülkelerle alakalı her ülkenin yetişkin eğitimi koordinatörü var. Yetişkin eğitimi koordinatörlerinden birisi de benim, Türkiye ile alakalı. Yani Türkiye'yi temsilen işte, yetişkin eğitimi koordinatörüyük. AB ajandasını, gündemini, kendi ülkemizde bunu yaygınlaştırmak, buradaki uygulamaları orada anlatmak, bilgi paylaşımı yapmak adına, işte biz görevlendirildik. Eeee, şimdi bizim bununla alakalı çalışmalarımız var. Birlikte uyum halinde hareket ediyoruz, orada ki bu uyum demek şu demek değil. AB'nin

“subsidiarity” ilkesi var, isterseniz yazın, ona bakın. Ona bakarsanız, AB kesinlikle, genel olarak, genel felsefeyi, politikayı verirler, fakat bunun ötesinde siz şöyle kanun çıkaracaksınız, bunu yapacaksınız, böyle bir yapınız olmak zorunda falan, filan tarzı şeyler yok yani. O yüzden, biz şu anda uyum tamam güzel. Genel politikalarla uyum, ama kendi ülkemize ait, kendi sistemimiz, kendi ihtiyaçlarımıza uygun sistemi kurmak zorundayız. Bunun ürünü olarak bu çıktı. 29

30. PE: Bunu gündem eden galiba Avrupa’daki çalışmalar. AB’de de buna benzer çalışmalar ve sıkıntılar var. Mesela çoğu arkadaşlar, MEB’den ve sendikalardan, STK’lardan, ülke ziyaretleri yaptılar, oradaki modelleri incelediler...AB projeleri, Avrupa baskısı, uyum, bunların hepsi birleşince böyle bir şeye ihtiyaç olduğu ortaya çıkmış.30
31. GIS 1: İkinci belgede de projede yer alan, HBÖKK oluşturulması aslında tamamen, HBÖ projesinin de bir çıktısı. Projede yatırım programında yer alan bir proje. AB finansmanlı bir kısmı, ama yatırım programında yer alıyor... HBÖ projesinin çıktılarından bir tanesi HBÖKK, bir tanesi de Strateji Belgesi.31
32. NGIS1: Şunu söylemek gerekir belki. HBÖ dediğinizde uluslararası boyutu dediğimizde, AB üyelik süreci bunun kritik başlıklarından birisi... Şöyle AB kendisi dahil olarak değil de, güzel örnek olarak mutlaka etkiledi. Hem gündem oluşturma, hem de AB’de çok iyi giden ve gitmeyen örnekler var ve bunlar ortada. Bunların nasıl yapıldığı da ortada...Dolayısıyla AB’nin münhasıran bir paydaş gibi masaya oturarak bu böyle olsun baskısından ziyade, bir gündemi oluşturmak, iki AB belgeleri ve yapıları da var, bunları da gözden geçirmeyi unutmayın... Biliyorsunuz AB ülkelerini yerinde izleme imkanı da doğdu bugüne kadar. Onlardan da... Böyle bir esin kaynağı olma gücü her zaman oldu ve olacaktır diye düşünüyorum. Ama bunun lobisini yapan buradaki işçi ve işveren kuruluşları ve bizler olmuştur. 32
33. GIS 2: İşin bir taraftan moda haline gelmesi de diyebiliriz. Bunun bir tanımının artık Türkiye’de olmayışı ya da daha az önemli oluşu demeyeyim ama belki tanım anlamında girmemiş olması, bizim sektörümüze, bir eksiklik olarak bunu tanımlanması ve bu konuda, bütünleştirici bir çerçevenin çıkarılması ihtiyacını ortaya çıkarmıştır muhtemelen. Ama diğer taraftan da, bize dünyadan da, AB’den de gelen birtakım hedeflerle gelen şeyler vardı. Bir taraftan da öyle bir baskı belki vardı. Yani o tarafını açıkçası çok şey yapmayacağım, ben moda tarafı diye şey yapıyorum. Böyle bir ihtiyaç zaten kendini göstermişti yani.33
34. NGIS4: Şimdi HBÖ ile çalışmalara başladığımız zaman bir defa bu, tamamıyla demesem de, dışsal bir etken. AB dışsal etkinliğiyle faaliyete giren bir uygulama. Ben öyle görüyorum en azından, kurum olarak da öyle görüyorum. Çünkü ilk MEGEP çalışmaları

başladığında ilk sorumuz şuydu: Sektörleri neye göre belirlediniz, bunun parametreleri neler, neleri kullandınız? Bu soru hep yanıtsız kaldı, ama seçilen sektörler baktığınız zaman, bu sektörler, Türkiye'nin ihtiyacı olan sektörlerden ziyade, AB'nin Türkiye'yi nerede görmek istediğinin bir yansıması olarak, benim değerlendirmem öyleydi. Çünkü baktım işte, bakım hizmetleri, eğitim, turizm, gibi olaylar, mesela bir kimya sektörü, Petro kimya sektörü ağır şeyler filan yok. Olabilir, bu bir projedir, ben kendi şartlarımı koyarım... MEGEP projesi yapıldı AB ile. Onların çizdiği çerçevede bir reform uygulaması başlatıldı burada.³⁴

35. B1: Bu strateji belgesi ve eylem planında bize verilen bir yükümlülük olduğu için ve Türkiye'de gerçek manada HBÖ'nün aktörleri arasında bir bağlantı olmadığı için böyle bir yasa taslağı hazırladık...Türkiye de HBÖ sistemi adı konulmamış olsa da var bir sistem. Ve bu alanda da farklı aktörler var. Çeşitli dernekler, vakıflar, kurum, kuruluşlar, bir takım yetişkinlere yönelik kurslar, seminerler, eğitimler veriyorlar. Ama bu düzenli bir sistem halinde değil, herkes körün karanlıkta istikamet bulması gibi bir hadise. Aynı alanda çok sayıda mesela kurs açılabilir. İlin, bölgenin önceliği çok fazla gözetilemiyor. Tabiatıyla kaynak israfı veya işte, kalite düşüklüğü gibi bir takım sebep-sonuçlar da ortaya çıkabiliyor. Biz bu HBÖKK taslağını hazırlarken, buradaki koordinasyonsuzluğu evveliyatla baz aldık.³⁵

36. B2: Bu alanda işbirliği yapmak, daha etkin olmak gerekiyor. Çok odaklılık odaksızlıktır. Şimdi odak biraz daha dağılmış durumda, herkes eğitim veriyor. İki tane ayrı dernek aynı eğitimi verebiliyor. Güç birliği yapsınlar, enerji birliği yapsınlar. Boşuna kaynaklar israf olmasın dedik. Daha etkin olsun, o güçlerini daha farklı alanlarda kullansınlar diyerekten... Bir de baktık piyasada herkes sertifika dağıtıyor, herkes kafasına göre veriyor, saatleri farklı, içeriği farklı, ama herkes onlarla, sertifikalarla bir yerden iş talep ediyor. Kamuya başvuruyor, özel sektöre başvuruyor, sertifikaların, birbirine tanınırlığı sorunu başladı, birbirine geçişte sorun başladı. Ben sertifika aldım, ama ben üzerine şunu ekleyim demek istese onun bir alt yapısı yok, tanınırlığı yok, böyle de bir sorun var. Her tarafta sertifika veren kurumlar olmaya başladı. Belediyeden tutun derneklere, üniversitelere kadar, SEM'lere kadar var. Biz dedik bunlar arasında bir koordinasyon sağlayalım HBÖ alanında.³⁶

37. B3: HBÖ çerçevesinde ülkemizde yapılan çok çeşitli ve kapsamda işler var. Mesela Belediyelerin meslek edindirme işleri var. Çocuğun çıraklık eğitim zamanında gittiği çalıştığı yerler var, efendim başka ne denebilir, piyasada STK'ların yaptığı çalışmalar var, kurslar var, sertifikalar var. Dolayısıyla insanların CV'lerinde diploma veya sertifika çöplüğü oluşturmak gibi bir durumla karşı karşıyayız. İnsanlara sorduğunuzda ben şu belediyede şu kadar sertifika aldım, şu şirketten şu kadar sertifika aldım, fakat bunun bir tanınırlılığının karşılığı yok bizde. MYK dediğimiz kurumun bir anlamda stratejik

önemi de buradan kaynaklanıyor. Dolayısıyla bizim memlekette, ülkemizde veya Türkiye’de diyelim, insanların resmi organların dışında yaptığı bütün çalışmaların sisteme kazandırılması demektir aslında HBÖ.37

38. B2: ...bir baktık bizim 900 küsur tane HEM, 338 tane MEM var dedik, 1300 tane bizim kurumumuz var. HBÖ’ye katılma oranını biz yüzde 8 yapalım dedik. Hedefimizi öyle koyduk. HBÖ’ye katılma oranında baya hesap kitap yaptık, elimizde hesap makinesi alıp hesap yaptık bu konuda. HBÖ’ye katılım oranı diyelim ki yüzde 10, hani hesap kolay olsun diye söylüyorum. Yüzde 10 yapabilmek için, 75 milyon vatandaşın şimdi bizim Türkiye’de 25-64 yaş grubunda 37 milyon diyelim, hadi 40 milyon diyelim hesaplar düzgün olsun. 37 milyon 25-64 yaş arasında insan var. HBÖ’ye katılım oranını bizim yüzde 10 yapmamız için her ay 3 milyon 700 bin insana bizim eğitim vermemiz gerekiyor. Eğitim sağlamamız gerekiyor. 3 milyon 700 bin. Bizim kaç kurumumuz var, 1300 kurumumuz var. Kurum başına düşen insan sayısına baktık, çok çok fazla. Dedik biz bu kadar kurumla biz bunun hakkından gelemeyiz. Bu MEB’in sadece görev ve yetkisi olması haricinde, tüm sosyal ortakların, tüm bakanlıkların bu işin içinde olması gereken bir alan. Belediyelerin, sivil toplumun, artık sanayi ticaret odalarının, üniversitelerin, sürekli eğitim merkezleri kanalıyla olması gerekir ki biz bu işin hakkından gelelim. HBÖ katılım oranını artırabilelim. Tüm bireylere HBÖ fırsatları sunabilelim. Yoksa sadece MEB, HEM, MEM veya okulları, kurumları ile yapabileceği tek başına bir şey değil. Çok çok ötesinde, 1000 kurumumuzu biz 10 bin yapsak, gene bunun hakkından gelemeyiz.38
39. B3: Şimdi HBÖ ile ilgili kıstaslara baktığımızda AB’nin bununla ilgili 2020 hedeflerini revize ettiğini görüyoruz. HBÖ’ye katılma oranını AB’nin 2020 de yüzde 10, hatta 15 bandına çektiğini biliyoruz. Bizim Türkiye’deki HBÖ kapsamına giren işlerimizin şu anda yüzde 3’ü zorlayan bir tarafı var... Fakat AB ile temel belgelere baktığımızda, her fırsatta HBÖ kıstaslarının, HBÖ ile ilgili uygulamaların AB ile uyumlarında sıkıntı çektiğimizi, bu konuda bize yönelik eleştiriler olduğunu hep görmekteyiz. Eeee, MEB bu konuda önemli bir adım attı. 652 sayılı KHK ile MEB’in yeniden yapılandırılması sırasında, HBÖ adı altında bir Genel Müdürlük kurdu. Dolayısıyla hem hükümetimizin hem bakanlığımızın bu işe verdiği önemi, AB ilerleme raporlarına konu olan bir konunun, Bakanlık nezdinde bu şekilde çözüldüğünü görüyoruz.39
40. B1: Esas dikkat etmenizi tavsiye edeceğim şey, bu proje çerçevesinde birkaç önemli şey yaptık. Bunlardan bir tanesi HBÖ web portalıdır. Bu web portalı önemli, niye önemli. Türkiye’de HBÖ’ye katılma oranı, 3,2. Bu geçen yıl 2,9’du daha evvel, 2,1’di. Bir yükselme trendine girdi, ama yetersiz bu rakam. Çünkü AB ülkelerinde 8,9-9 civarlarında. Yüzde 11-12 idi. Krizle birlikte biraz geriledi. Biraz yetersiz. Ha bizde niye yetersiz, birkaç sebepten dolayı yetersiz.

Birincisi yetişkin nüfus, ki HBÖ'ye katılma oranı bildiğiniz gibi 25-64 yaş grubunu kapsar, yetişkin nüfusta ilave eğitim alma noktasında isteksizlik var Türkiye'de. İkincisi yetişkin nüfus eee, HBÖ fırsatlarının nerede olduğunu bilmiyor. Yani erişim noktasında bir sıkıntı var. Rasgele 10 tane çarşıdan kişi çevirip sorun. Halk eğitim merkezleri, kurslar bu konularda ne bilgileriniz var diye, hiç bir bilginiz yok diyecekler. Giden merak eden bilecek. Veya işte zorlarına gidecek, halbuki bu portalla, biz hem eğitim, hem istihdam fırsatlarını birleştirdik. İŞKUR'la da entegre bir şekilde gidiyor. Dolayısıyla Avrupa'nın Platous ağıyla da mütenasip, uyumlu bir portal haline geldi. Bu portal çok önemli. Oturduğunuz yerden örneğin, Ankara'daki bütün açılan, açılması muhtemel kursları görüyorsunuz. Çankaya HEM bana yakın, ha ne açılıyor orada, tekzip açılıyor, bu uyar ben buna bir yazılayım, anında oradan ön kayıt yaptırabiliyorsunuz. Hatta yurtdışı kurslarına da erişebiliyorsunuz, yurt dışı istihdam fırsatlarına da erişebiliyorsunuz. Bu o açıdan önemli.40

41. PE: ...tabii AB ölçümler yaptığı zaman Türkiye'yi düşük gösteriyor. O ölçümler belki o tabloyu görmüşsünüzdür, 2.8 gibi bir şey çıkıyor. O da TÜİK'in yaptığı bir çalışma ama, Avrupa'da da benzeri yapılıyor. Ama Avrupa'daki insanlar daha bilinçli olduğu için, herhangi bir folklor kursuna da gitse, bir briç kursuna da gitse evet cevabını veriyor. Bizde de soru şu: TÜİK diyor ki, son zannediyorum 6 ay içerisinde HBÖ ile ilgili bir eğitim faaliyetine katıldınız mı? Şimdi bana sorsa ben doğru cevap veririm ama, sokaktaki vatandaş sorduğunda ya bir okul bitirdin mi şeklinde düşünüyor. Bu böyle açıklandı. Çünkü genelde insanların kafasındaki oran daha yüksek. 5, 6'dır diyorlar. Ama bu sorunun soruluş şekli, bu anketin yapılış şekli Türkiye'yi düşük çıkartıyor diyorlar. Ama hedefleri de var 8, 9 gibi.41

42. GIS1: Bizim için bunu belgelemek, yani HBÖ ile ilgili yaptığımız faaliyetleri belgelemek zaten uluslararası karşılaştırmalarla gelen bir şey. Yani uluslararası karşılaştırılabilir araştırmalar ne zaman ki gündeme girdi, biz de Türkiye'nin böyle bir verisini oluşturma ihtiyacı hissettik, yani birçok alanda yaptığımız karşılaştırmalı çalışmalar tamamen uluslararası camiada konumumuzu belirlemek için... Bizim özellikle de bu katılım oranlarını tespit etmek ya da hangi alanlarda nasıl faaliyetlerde bulunuluyor tespit etme şeyimiz bu zaman ortaya çıktı... Biz neyi biliyoruz, bizim yetişkinlerimiz, gençlerimiz neyi biliyor, onu çok bilmiyoruz. Hani bu AB standartları çerçevesinde bu HBÖ'ye katılım oranları hesaplanmaya başladığı günden beri, biz bunun sıkıntısını çekiyoruz, önce yüzde 2'lerde 3'lerde filan... TÜİK'in hesaplama şeyi farklı, tamamen bir koordinasyonsuzluk olduğunu düşünerek, böyle bir koordinasyon sağlayan bir birim, biz neyi biliyoruz tespit eden, bir şey olursa bu problem çözülebilir diye düşünüyoruz... Mesela TÜİK şey diye hesaplıyor, son bir ay içerisinde katıldığınız, HBÖ'ye katılma oranı, o şekilde hesaplıyor. "Katıldığınız eğitim var mı?" diye hesaplıyor. O

farklı bir şey, ne bileyim dersane bunun dışında. HEM kursları bunun dışında. Vatandaş da neyi, nasıl bildiğini bilmiyor.⁴²

43. GIS 4: HBÖ Kanunu'nun bence çıkışı için en önemli nedenlerinden biri AB'deki, "son bir ay içinde eğitime katıldınız mı?" sorusudur. AB'de bu oranlar çok yüksek. Türkiye için de amaç bunu Avrupa düzeyine yaklaştırmak. Oranların düşük çıkmasının nedeni bence halkımız tarafından benimsenmemesi. "Eğitime katıldınız mı?" sorusunun cevabı bizde genel olarak dersane, okul gibi anlaşılıyor, bunun için çoğu hayır cevabı veriyor.⁴³
44. NGIS2: Bunların içine girince, bunlar çok açık konuşulmadı ama bu dini hizmetler de bu kapsamın içine sokulmaya çalışıldı. Mesela camide imamın verdiği vaaz, HBÖ faaliyeti içinde değerlendirilir mi? Biliyorsunuz işgücü anketinde, bunu soralım mı, bunu işin içine katalım mı diye şey yapıldı. Çünkü Avrupa ülkelerinde HBÖ'ye katılım anketleri yapılırken, benzer şeyler "yani, kiliseye gittin mi?" sorusu sorulduğu zaman birdenbire katılım oranı çok artıyor. İstatistikle ilgili iki kaygı var orada. Birincisi gerçek HBÖ'ye katılımı tespit edemiyoruz, ikincisi bir de hedef var, o hedefe ulaşmanın bir yolunun bulunması gerekiyor. %2.9 oranı ölçülen oran. AB ortalaması %8'miş biz %5'i bulursak çok iyi. Ama nasıl bulunacak? Bir soru değişikliği ile bunu yapalım. "Cuma'ya gidenleri HBÖ kapsamına alalım". Cuma namazına gitmek HBÖ faaliyetine katılım demek midir? Öyle midir, benim anlayışıma göre, değildir. Ama çok geniş tutarsak tanımı, evet Cuma'ya giden de bir vaaz dinlemiştir, bir sosyal etkinliğe katılmıştır, başka insanlarla bir araya gelmiştir, mutlaka bir şey öğrenmiştir...⁴⁴
45. B4: HBÖKK'nın taslak metninde amacı şu şekilde yazılmıştır; "Bu Kanunun amacı; Hayat Boyu Öğrenme hizmetlerinin planlanması, sunumu, geliştirilmesi, izleme ve değerlendirilmesi, kalite güvencesinin sağlanması, finansmanı, önceki öğrenmelerin tanınması ve belgelendirilmesi ile ilgili esas ve usulleri düzenlemek ve koordinasyonu sağlamaktır." Amaç cümlesinde geçen her bir hedef kelime bu alanda yapılamayan koordinasyon alanlarını göstermektedir. Yapılan tüm toplantılar, üretilen raporlar sonrasında anlaşıldı ki hayat boyu öğrenme kapsamı beşikten-mezara kadar olmasına rağmen ülkemizde düzenlenmesi gerek faaliyetler daha çok örgün eğitim sonrasındaki hayat boyu öğrenme faaliyetleridir. İngiltere'de olduğu gibi yetişkin eğitimi alanında bir kanuni düzenlemeye ihtiyaç bulunmaktadır. Bu nedenle kanun taslağının çerçevesi, hayat boyu öğrenme faaliyetlerinin örgün eğitim dışında kalan alanlardaki faaliyetleri kapsayacak şekilde oluşturulmuştur.⁴⁵
46. B1: Kanunda bir HBÖ çerçeve stratejisi çiziyoruz. Bir ilde HBÖ öğrenme ile ilgili kararları, ne tür eğitimlerin verileceğine kimler karar verir. Bir "board" buna karar verir. Bu board da kimler yer almalı, eylem planları nasıl hazırlanır. Bu board'un kurulu işleyişi ne olacak? Görev ve yetkileri ne olacak? Bunun masraflarını kim finanse

edecek, bu.Yani inceden inceye bu tür kanunlarda, işte x ilinde ve ya x bölgesinde, şu tür eğitimler alınacak verilecek, y bölgesinde daha ziyade mesleki kurslara gidilecek gibi bir şey zaten yazamazsınız, bunlar sistem içerisinde zamanla gelişecek olgular. Çerçeve yapıyı kurarsınız, nasıl işleyecek, aktörler kimler, yetkileri, sorumlulukları, görevleri, bunları belirlersiniz sistem işler... Buradaki amaç HBÖ'ye derli toplu bir hal verilecek, aktörlerin pozisyonlarını belirleyecek illerde HBÖ koordinasyon birimleri ve merkezde de HBÖ Koordinasyon Merkezi oluşturulacak, bunun içerisine mümkün mertebe HBÖ ile alakalı girmesi gereken bütün paydaşları almaya çalıştık.46

47. PE: Bu kanun zaten bu yapılanmada, il koordinasyon kurullarına, ulusal kurula görevler veriyor, bu görevler tanımlı yasada ve bu görevlerden biri mesela, demin de bahsettiğimiz Önceki Öğrenmelerin Tanınması. Bu sistem, bu yasa sayesinde oturacak. Yani bir vatandaş anneden babadan öğrendiği bir ustalığı ya da çırak olarak bir yerde çalışmış, araba tamiri öğrenmiş, nereye gideceğini bilecek, adımları çok iyi tanımlanmış olarak, tarif edilmiş olarak kendisini ilerletebilecek.47
48. B1: ...projenin önemli çıktısı bana göre, RPL'dir. Recognition of Prior Learning. O sistem Türkiye'de ilk kez bu projeyle hayat buldu. Yani, atalet prensibini bilirsiniz. Duran bir cisme, ilk hareketi vermek çok zordur, ama tekerlek bir kez dönmeye başladığı zaman, ittirince rahat gider. Buradan hareketle aslında bu proje büyük bir iş yaptı. Türkiye'de üç alanda, elektrik pano montajcılığı, aşçılık ve otel rezervasyon görevliliği ilk RPL şeyini verdik. Burada işte, RPL nasıl yapılıyorsa Batıda, bu study visitlerle, bunları da çok iyi inceleyerek, portfolyo yaklaşımı, teorik ve uygulamalı sınavlar çerçevesinde tam olması gerektiği gibi, yaptığımıza inanıyorum. Bu da bana göre tarihi önemli bir başlangıç. Bunu geliştireceğiz inşallah.48
49. B4: Kanun hazırlanırken yurtdışı uygulamalar dikkate alınmıştır. Diğer projelerin aksine bu projede çalışma ziyaretleri sadece kurum ziyaretleri ve sunumları dinleme şeklinde gerçekleşmemiştir. Bir karar verici olarak Politikalar ve Eğitim Programları Grup Başkanı ve bir uzman iki haftalık inceleme çalışması yaparak, gidilen ülkenin uygulamalarını ve kanuni dayanaklarını inceleme-anlama imkanı bulmuştur. Kanun çalışmalarında paydaş kurumların temsilcilerinin de katıldığı çalışma ziyaretlerinde kanun hazırlanmasına ilişkin çalışmalar da değerlendirilmiştir. Bence yurtdışındaki uygulamalardan elde edilebilecek çok büyük katkılar kanun çalışmalarını etkilemiş ve yönlendirmiştir...Çünkü yaptığımız çalışmalarda referansımız AB ülkeleridir. AB yaklaşımı tüm faaliyetlere, raporlamalara etki etmiştir...Projenin resmi paydaşı olarak hiçbir uluslararası kurum bulunmamaktadır. Ancak AB üyesi ülkelere yapılan çalışma ziyaretlerinde birçok kurum ve kuruluşla temasa geçilmiştir. Benim kanaatime göre, kanun taslağının

oluşturulmasına en büyük katkıyı Danimarka Eğitim Bakanlığı yapmıştır.49

50. B1: Tabii özellikle AB çerçevesinde yaptığımız için, AB uzmanlarından AB ülkelerine yaptığımız study visitlerle, oradaki gelişmelerden yerel uzmanlarımızın da süzdüğü bilgi ve deneyimlerden hareketle bunu yaptık...Bu çerçevede uluslararası hangi alanda, hangi aktörler yardımcı oldu dersiniz, bir, projenin ekibi zaten uluslararası bir ekip, işte Cambridge Education ana yürütücü idi. Team liderimiz yabancı, key expertlerimizin mühim bir kısmı yabancı, yerel key expertler de vardı, ve biz belli sayıda da yurtdışında study visit yaptık. Birkaçına ben de katıldım... Almanya gibi, İspanya'ya, Portekiz'e gittik, bunlar hakikaten study, "visit" kısmı hemen hemen hiç yoktu. Canımıza okudular, onu söyleyim. Nefes almamacasına, düşünün İspanya'da, 2-3 gün kaldık, 17 tane farklı briefing aldık. O kurumdan o kuruma, bu uluslararası ekibimiz, ilgili bütün kurumlarla önce görüştü, randevular alındı, gittik, adamlar bize sürekli sistemlerini anlattılar, biz de sorduk. Niye seçtik buraları? Mesela Portekiz, HBÖ'ye katılım oranını yüzde 2-3'lerden yüzde 11'lere çıkarmış. Bunların hepsi raporlaştırıldı...Dolayısıyla biz bütün bu her türlü çalışma, bunun içerisinde HBÖKK taslağı da dahil, tıpkı parfüm yapımı gibi. Parfüm yapımında da işte, bir ton yasemin atarsınız kazana, suyla kaynatır, ilmiklerden geçire geçire şu kadarlık yasemin özü çıkar. İbrikten geçire geçire bi dünya çalışmanın sonucunda ortaya çıktı. Ama muhakkak eksiği gediği, eleştirilecek yönü çıkacaktır. Ama gerçekten ciddi bir çalışma ve uluslararası aktörler de var. Nasıl olmuş, özellikle ben dedim, aman Portekiz'i yazın, gidelim diye. Ama ilginçtir, kimse nasıl olduğunun cevabını veremedi. Kendileri de bilmiyorlar nasıl yaptıklarını. İspanya'da fena bir ülke değil. Danimarka'ya study visit yaptı arkadaşlar, Danimarka, biliyorsunuz İskandinav ülkelerinde oranlar, Avrupa'nın çok üzerinde. Yüzde 30'lar civarında. Avrupa'da yüzde 9 HBÖ katılma oranı. Danimarka, İsveç gibi ülkelerde yüzde 30'lar civarında. İngiltere'ye defeatle, İskoçya'ya ziyaretlerde bulunuldu. Bunların hepsi raporlaştırıldı...Dolayısıyla biz bütün bu her türlü çalışma, bunun içerisinde HBÖKK taslağı da dahil, tıpkı parfüm yapımı gibi. Parfüm yapımında da işte, bir ton yasemin atarsınız kazana, suyla kaynatır, ilmiklerden geçire geçire şu kadarlık yasemin özü çıkar. İbrikten geçire geçire bi dünya çalışmanın sonucunda ortaya çıktı. Ama muhakkak eksiği gediği, eleştirilecek yönü çıkacaktır. Ama gerçekten ciddi bir çalışma ve uluslararası aktörler de var. 50

51. B2: AB ülkelerini ziyarete götürdük arkadaşları...Onlara baktık. Bütün bunları onlarla birlikte gerçekleştirdik. Ya karma bişey oldu yani. Sonuçta tümüyle oradan alıp buraya getirme değil, zaten genelde de böyledir. Bir ülke için çalışan bir şey başka bir ülke için çalışmayabilir. 51

52. B3: AB Türkiye'nin stratejik hedeflerinden birisi olduğu için bunun

temel esprisi bizim AB'ye dayanıyor... Bu küreselleşme dediğimiz dönemde, bizim ülkemizde geçerli olan cari olan kanunların tıpatıp aynı olmasa bile, stratejik olarak bizim ortağımız da olduğu için AB ile uyumlulaştırılmasından ibaret. 52

53. GIS 2: HBÖKK'nın ilk taslağını biz aldığımızda tamamen çeviri idi. Çeviri olduğunu çok net görebiliyorduk, ya da bazı kavramlar vardı, MEB onları düzeltti zamanla...Baştaki durum, yabancı uzmanların hazırladığı ve daha çok çeviri kokan ve biraz daha yurtdışındaki yapılardan esinlenilmiş diye ben öyle hatırlıyorum. Daha sonradan, MEB üzerine daha çok çalışmıştır. Uzmanlardan ziyade, kendi uzmanları... Biraz daha makro düzeyde, delegasyonun buradaki temsilcileri de, yani sadece burada oturup, kendi uzmanlıklarıyla değil ama AB ile iletişim içerisinde oldukları için, oradaki uzmanlar vasıtasıyla da, ya da oradaki dernek, vakıfları da kullanarak bir takım görüşlerini veriyorlardır zaten. Yani dolayısıyla AB uzmanları ya da yapıları da bu sürecin içerisinde yer alıyordur diye biliyorum etkin şekilde. AB ile ilgili görüştüğümüz, ya da MEB'in görüştüğü, delegasyon temsilcileri de, neticede bunlarla ilgili kendi görüşlerini, kanunlara da, ufak belgelere de, strateji belgelerine de zaten görüşlerini veriyorlar, zaten müdahil oluyorlar diye biliyorum. Yani oradaki katkıları, evet bir, uzman düzeyinde katkı alınıyor, yani proje kapsamında istihdam edilen uzmanlar, ama onun dışında. AB'de de hedefler var. Dolayısıyla onların burada hayata geçirilmesi ile ilgili yapılan çalışmalar var. Ama, yani burada çalışan uzmanlarda AB uzmanları, orada edindikleri tecrübeleri ya da kendi ülkelerindeki deneyimleri ya da benzer kanunlarla ilgili görüşlerini buraya yansıtıyorlar. Yani aslında, evet Türkiye analiz ediliyor, Türkiye ile ilgili başlangıçta süreçleri oluyor, anlamaya çalışıyorlar. Toplantılar yapıyor vs. Ama nihai olarak da kendi görüşlerini yansıtıyorlar bu belgelere. Hani çeviri kokan kısmı dediğimizde ondan kaynaklı şeyler. Fakat bizim aslında daha yukarıdan bakmamız gerekiyor...53

54. NGIS4: Gelenler kendi alanlarında uzman olan kişiler. Kendi alanıyla sınırlı olarak olaya bakıyor. O zaman ne oluyor, bu olayların farkında olanların yönlendirmesi çok daha kolay oluyor. Burada da AB temsilcilerinin yönlendirmesi söz konusu. Çünkü şöyle bir tartışma oldu. Bir yönlendirme kurulu toplantısında AB temsilcisi, bu yasa taslağını önce biz göreceğiz dedi. Hiç kimse ile daha paylaşılmamış, önce biz göreceğiz dedi. Önce biz göreceğiz, onay vereceğiz, ondan sonra tartışmaya açacaksınız dedi. Rahatsız oldum ben bu yaklaşımdan, söz istedim. Dedim ki, Türkiye'de bir tasarının, ya da bir taslağın nasıl kanunlaşacağı belli dedim. Yani ilgili bakanlık hazırlar, ki bu bakanlık şu anda MEB'dir. Önce kamuya açar, kamudan görüşleri toplar, sosyal taraflardan ister. Meclis'e sunulur, Milli Eğitim komisyonunda görüşülür, ondan sonra Genel Kurul'a iner ve biter. Burada AB diye bir kavram yok, AB'nin onayı, öngörüsü, ön kabulü gibi bir şey, müstemleke ülkelerde olur. Böyle bir anlayışı biz reddederiz dedim.54

55. B1: Projeye biz bunu sadece yaptırдық. Proje geldi burada bir şeyler

yapıyor. Ne yapsaydık ki, gerekli, gereksiz bir şey yapacağına, bizim de böyle bir eylem planımız hazırlığımız var, oturun bunu hazırlayın dedik, sonuçta bizim HBÖGM'nin bir işidir projenin bir çıktısı da olsa, o çıktıyı da oraya yazdıran biziz. O bir vasıta, bunu proje vasıtasıyla da yaparsın, kendi 5-10 tane çalıştay düzenleyip de yaparsın değişmiyor. 55

56. B3: Başta söylediğim gibi proje, AB projelerinin görünen yönünden başka, bir artısı da, Bakanlığın Ar-Ge ihtiyacına cevap vermesi. Mesela diyelim ki HBÖ ile iki yıl boyunca, çalışmalar yapıldı. Buna nereden kaynak... Bizim devletimizin yani kaynağı olmadığından değil. Ama bir şekilde, bir kaynak bulunması gerekiyor bunun için. Dolayısıyla hem üniversitelerden, AB'nin marifetiyle, yabancı, AB'li uzmanlarla Türkiye'deki uzmanlar, iki yıl boyunca bu projede beraber çalışmış, finansmanını Türkiye ve AB beraber yapmış, dolayısıyla bu proje akademik ve bürokratik bir çerçeveye büründürülmüş oluyor. Bunun temel esprisi bu... Dolayısıyla proje, bizim yapmak istediğimiz, gelmek istediğimiz noktaya götüren bir araç haline gelmiş oluyor.56
57. B2: Bir okulda siz bir sorunla, problemle çözüm geliştirirsiniz. Yan taraftaki, karşı caddedeki aynı okulda çalışmaz. Bu böyledir. Onun için biz kendimize ait, kendi bedenimize uygun elbise dikmeye çalıştık. Tabii elbiseyi dikerken, belki de yakasına, şusuna, bununa veya rengine bakarken, başka ülkelerdeki elbiselere baktık, ama sonuçta kendi bedenimize göre elbise dikmeye çalıştık. Kendi bedenimize göre olan bir elbisenin taslağını, provalarını onlarla yaptık...AB kesinlikle, genel olarak, genel felsefeyi, politikayı verir, fakat bunun ötesinde siz şöyle kanun çıkaracaksınız, bunu yapacaksınız, böyle bir yapınız olmak zorunda falan, filan tarzı şeyler yok yani. O yüzden, biz şu anda uyum tamam güzel. Genel politikalarla uyum, ama kendi ülkemize ait, kendi sistemimiz, kendi ihtiyaçlarımıza uygun sistemi kurmak zorundayız. Bunun ürünü olarak bu çıktı. 57
58. B1: Bir de tabii, Tailor'ing çok önemli burada. Bir sistemi alıp tümüyle copy-paste yapamıyorsunuz. İngiltere Türkiye değil, Türkiye bir Danimarka değil. Orada işleyen bir şey, burada işlemeyebilir. İşte Türk akli ve uzmanlığının da orada rolü var. Onlar nihayetinde bize önümüze yelpazeyi sunuyorlar, bakın İspanya'da şu var, Portekiz'de şu var, biz oturup düşünüyoruz. Bir de Türkiye'nin sosyolojik gerçeği var. Ekonomik gerçeği var. Bize özgü bir sistem haline getirmeye çalıştık. 58
59. GIS2: Yani dolayısıyla AB uzmanları ya da yapıları da bu sürecin içerisinde yer alıyordur diye biliyorum etkin şekilde. Ama kanun neticede bu, ulusal bir çerçeveye oturtuluyor, hani Türkiye'nin gereksinimleri, beklentileri ve ihtiyaçlarını yansıtıyor. O anlamda da hani, iki tarafın hemfikir olduğu bir şey ortaya çıkıyordur diye düşünüyorum.59

60. GIS3: AB'nin bir aktör olarak bence yeri, onlar sadece kendi ülkelerindeki iyi örnekleri burada bize sunuyorlar. Tabii her AB projesinde olduğu gibi uzmanlar geldiler anlattılar. İşte bizim ülkemizde şöyle oluyor, bizim ülkemizde böyle oluyor diye. Bir bağlayıcılığı, dayatma yok. Atıyorum bugün bana bir seminer yapıp, yurtdışından dört tane uzman geliyor, kendi ülkesindeki uygulamayı anlatıyor ben gene ülkemin şartları ve ekonomik durumu neyse ben burada ona göre planımı, programımı yapıyorum. 60
61. B4: Projemizde Türkiye'de HBÖ'ye katılan, faaliyetleri olan kurum/kuruluşlar tespit edildi. 15 paydaş kurum seçildi. MEB içinde özellikle örgün eğitim sonrasında eğitim-öğretim faaliyeti yürüten Genel Müdürlükler seçildi. Sosyal paydaşlardan ise kendi eğitim faaliyetleri olan veya eğitim-öğretimi destekleme potansiyeli olanlar paydaş olarak seçildi. Bana kalırsa projemizde paydaşlar konusunda oldukça isabetli bir seçim yapılmıştır. Çünkü illerde yapılanması olmayan, hatta faaliyetlere katılacak eleman bulamayan ya da katılımcı ismi vermekte zorlanan kurumlar ile bir kanun taslağı hazırlamak oldukça anlamsız olacaktı.61
62. B1: Ama ben çok genel birşey söyleyebilirsem, eskilerin bir tabiri var, Osmanlıca bir tabir: "Ayarını mani efradını cami" bir yaklaşım sergiledik. Yani orada olması gereken her şeyi ve her kesimi dahil edip, olmaması gereken, her kesimi ve her şeyi de onun dışında bırakmaya çalıştık. Ne derece becerdik bunu bilemiyorum... HBÖ'nin aktörleri belli. Belli bir kriter, sendikalar var bu şeyin içerisinde, YÖK var, efendim eğitim sendikaları dahil, bunlar var, onun dışında işçi-işveren konfederasyonlarının, TOBB'un, TİSK'in temsilcileri, TUSİAD'ın temsilcileri var. Dolayısıyla aklınıza gelebilecek eğitimin hem aktörü hem de müşterisi konumunda olabilecek herkesi işin içerisine katmaya çalıştık. 62
63. PE: Daha çok tabii belli bir kanadın katılmış...Mesela bazı sendikalar yok. Ben onlar niye yok diye sordum çünkü her görüşün olması lazım, istemedi dediler. Bilemiyorsunuz tabii, çağırıldılar mı? İstemediler mi? Oradan birisine sorarsın. orada da bazen böyle şey, aşırı görüşlüler, şey diyebiliyor. Biz Avrupa ile iş yapmayız, AB projesi çünkü. Öyle görüşte olan insanlar da var. Hala eski düşüncelerde. O dediyse bir daha gidin çağırın yani bu, o zaman çıkan projenin sonuçları hep tek bir tarafın düşüncelerini yansıtacak. Belki onlarda da çok güzel görüşler vardır. Her görüşün olması lazım filan dedik ama, onlar gelmedi dendi. Mesela KOSGEB yok. Muhakkak çağırılmıştır. Onlar da bir sürü hem eğitim hem de araştırma destekleri veriyorlar. 63
64. B3: Yani dürüstçe söylemek gerekirse, MEB için, özellikle bu AB projelerinin bizim milli eğitim sistemine en büyük katkılarından biri, bizim STK'larla çalışma işlevselliğimizi, motivasyonumuzu çok önemli derece desteklemiştir. Bizim bütün projelerimizin bir yürütme

kurulu vardır. Bu yürütme kurulları, diyelim ki yönetim kurulu 30 kişiden oluşuyor. Yürütme kurulu da 20 tane olsun. Bu yürütme kurulu da diyelim ki 10-12 tanesi MEB birimleridir, geri kalan 8-9 tanesini STK'lar oluşturuyor. Dolayısıyla HBÖ projesinde de bizim bildiğimiz bu sendikaların hepsi burada etkindir. Ve biz yürütme kurulunda her şeyi beraber konuşuyoruz. Dolayısıyla MEB gerçekten hem Çalışma Bakanlığı'nı, hem AB Bakanlığı'nı, hem STK'ları, sendikaları bu projenin başından sonuna kadar katılımcı bir yöntemle dahil etti ve çalışmalara kattı.64

65. NGIS3: Hocam şeyden sonra, açıkça anlatıyım. Siyasi görüşünüzle hiç ilgilenmiyorum, 2011'den sonra AB süreci hızlandı ve bu AK Parti hükümetinden sonra kamuda, kamu hizmetlerinde, kamu çalışmalarında STÖ'ler dahil olmaya başladı... 2000 öncesinde bizi Milli Eğitim'e almazlardı hocam. MEB'e giremezdik. Zaten işimizde olmazdı ayrı da, MEB nasıl, MGK filan gibi bir yerdi orası yani... Şimdi arkadaşlar, sağcı, solcu, şucu, bucu DİSK'i, Hak İş'i, Türk İş'i hiçbir farkı kalmadı, herkes bir arada iş yapma peşinde. Hükümet de buna hazır, sendikalar da hazır, dolayısıyla mesleki eğitiminde içindeyiz. Sinek ilacı alsalar bizi çağırırlar, bunu nasıl alalım gibi atıyorum. Bu iyi bir şey... Bir kere AB şeyi çok net koyar, konunun ilgili aktörleri, ilgili taraf ve kurumların tamamını sürece dahil edeceksin. Adı steering comittee, adı bilmem ne komite, adına ne dersin de, ToR'da yazar. Koymazsan ToR geçmez zaten. AB'nin net kriteri vardır katılım için. 65
66. GIS 4: Çeşitli kurum ve kuruluşlardan destek alacağını değerlendirerek, mesleki eğitim faaliyeti yürüten kurumlardan seçildi...Sürece katılan kurum ve kuruluşlarında çok yerinde olduğunu düşünüyorum. İşin aktörleri bu sürece katıldı.66
67. NGIS4: Projeler oluşturuldu, ancak projeler oluşturulurken, ToR yazılırken, biz çok etkili değildik. ToR yazıldıktan sonra sosyal taraflar olarak çağırıldık. ToR yazımında biz yoktuk... Sadece ToR yazıldıktan sonra davet edildik, sosyal taraflar derken, işçi, işveren sendikaları, TESK, TOBB, TÜSİAD hepsi var. Kamu zaten var. 67
68. NGIS1: HBÖ çalışmaları doğrultusunda, bunca yıl, 10 yılı aşkındır çalışırken, birçok üniversitenin görüş beyan etmekten çekindiğini, çekimser kaldığını, çekinmek demeyim de çekimser kaldığını veya zaman ayırmayı tercih etmediğini gözlemleme şansım oldu. Aslında HBÖ gibi bir konuyu konuşurken birçok üniversite temsilcisinin masada olmak istemesini ve olmasını bekler ve tahmin ederdim, ama bu MEB dışladığı için değil, böyle bir talep de oluşmadığı için oluyor. Gerek duymamak, ilgi göstermemek veya o ilginin oluşmaması sebeplerden biriydi diye düşünüyorum. 68
69. B4: Bu projenin faaliyetlerinden birisi de Taslak HBÖKK'yı hazırlamaktır. Bu kapsamda projemizde çalışan uzmanlarla birlikte çalışma grupları oluşturduk, koordinasyonun niteliklerini,

gerekçelerini ve kanunla oluşturulacak koordinasyon yapılarını grupların tekliflerini birleştirerek kanuna yansıttık...HBÖKK taslağı hazırlanırken, projenin uzman çalıştırabilme kabiliyetinden azami derecede yararlanılmıştır. MEB'in karar vericilerine her adımda koordinasyon yapısı ve görevleri aktarılmıştır. Daha sonra MEB'de çalışan hukukçular ile yapılan iki türlü çalışma sonrasında kanun metni hazırlanmıştır. Kanun metni hakkında görüş bildirmesi için ve meclise gönderilme sürecinde gecikmeyi azaltmak için şekil ve gerekçe yazımı için hukuk uzmanlarından üç kişilik bir heyet ile son çalışma yapılmıştır. Paydaş kurumların temsilcileri ile yapılan toplamda 45 toplantı ve Vali yardımcıları ile yapılan toplantı sonrasında kanun metni oluşturulmuştur. Paydaşlara üç turdan oluşan toplantılarda hayat boyu öğrenme kavramı ve faaliyetleri yürütürken gerekli olan bileşenler, devletin görevleri ve sağlaması gereken imkanlar konusunda sorular sorarak, bir koordinasyon yapısı oluşturulmuştur.69

70. B2: Biz çalışma gruplarımızla önce çalıştık. Dedik arkadaşlar ne yapalım. HBÖ deyince ne aklınıza geliyor? HBÖ'nün tanımından başladık. Hiç kimse bilmiyor. İŞKUR'dan gelen yetkili, MYK'dan gelen yetkili herkes kendisine göre farklı bir şey tarif ediyor. Önce kendi aramızda kavram birliği yapalım. HBÖ denince arkadaşlar hep beraber bunu anlayalım dedik... Ne oldu da böyle olmuş yani? Bir kanun mı çıkarmışlar, bir yöntem mi değiştirmişler. İspanya, Portekiz bunun iki örneği. Aniden hızlı bir artış gösteren iki ülke. Onlara baktık. Bütün bunları onlarla birlikte gerçekleştirdik. Sonra AB ülkelerini ziyarete götürdük arkadaşları. Bazı ülkeleri seçtik. HBÖ de katılım oranları iyi olan ülkeler, başarılı olan ülkeler var. Mesela bir tanesi Danimarka, Danimarka'ya götürdük. Portekiz, İspanya HBÖ katılım oranlarında hızlı bir pik yapmışlar. Diyelim ki 5'den 15'e çıkarmış, 1-2 yıl içerisinde. Niye birden artırdılar? 70

71. NGIS3: Hocam sunumlar yaptık, biraz HBÖ kavramı ile ilgili alan pratiklerimizi, proje teknik destek ekibine öğrettik. Ayda 10 bin Euro maaşla gelir, proje teknik destek ekibi, proje boyunca. Bu arkadaşta HBÖ nedir, Türkiye HBÖ'nün neresindedir, Türkiye'deki alan pratikleri nedir bunları öğrettik. Altını iki kere çiziyorum. Başka bizden neler almış olabilirler. HBÖ, ölçme ve değerlendirmenin nasıl olabileceğini, ideal ölçme ve değerlendirmenin nasıl olabileceğini bu proje bizden öğrenmiş olabilir. 71

72. GIS 3: Bize bağlı Genel Müdürlüklerimizden, kurum ve kuruluşlarımızdan katılanlar olarak gözlemci statüsünde gidiyoruz toplantılara... Orada onların söylediği şeylerde bir takım kanun düzenlemesi ya da çerçevesinde tabii buradan üst düzey bir onay alınması gerekiyor, biz oraya o sıfatla katılıyoruz. Daha gözlemci sıfatıyla, biz belirleyici değiliz orada...biz onları dinliyoruz, notumuzu alıyoruz, üst düzey yöneticilerimize aktarım yapıyoruz. Daha çok Bakanlık olarak bir çatı, monitörlük yapmaya gidiyoruz.72

73. B1: Doğrusu bu HBÖGP de bu konuda bize iyi bir imkan sundu, bu çerçevede de, tam net değil sayı aklımda toplantı yapıldı 40 küsur tane. Bu aktörler katıldı, bunların fikri sürekli soruldu. Ve ortaya bir yasa taslağı çıktı. Ha bu taslak, belli bir noktaya geldikten sonra yine belki dönülüp, ilgili taraflara bir daha sorulacak böyle bir şey var diye. Dolayısıyla şu akla gelmesin, Ankara’da üç kişi oturdu. Keşke öyle yapsak belki daha çabuk da mesafe kaydedilebilir. Ama İngilizce tabirle söylemek gerekirse, “from bottom to up” sistemini uyguladık. 73
74. B2: Biz bu sürecin aktörüyüz demek istemiyorum, çünkü biz de bu işin paydaşlarından biriyiz. Biz burada koordinasyonu sağlıyoruz, kurumlarla toplantı yapıp. 15 tane çalışma grubu kurduk. Genel Müdürlük olarak konuşuyorum. TOBB, TESK, TİSK, TUSİAD, Türk İş, Hak İş, eğitim sendikalarını aldık. Sonra bunlarla alakalı İŞKUR MYK’sına, YÖK bunların hepsine. Bunların hepsini davet ettik. Neye göre belirlediniz? Arkadaşlar bizim nihai hedefimiz HBÖ Koordinasyon Kanunu çıkarmak istiyoruz. Bu elinizdeki politika belgesi, bu 15 çalışma grubunun bir ürünüdür. Arkalarında katılımcılar filan da vardır, buna bir bakın. Bu politika belgesini aldık biz, bu politika belgesine göre taslak bir koordinasyon kanunu çıkardık, çıkardık dediğimiz yani şu an elimizde var...Bu alanda çok fazla paydaş olunca o zaman çıkardığımız kanunda da çok düşünüyoruz. Her bir kelimesini kaçınıcı kez revize ettik. Belki 50. versiyondayız. Versiyon versiyon, tekrar 51. 52. gidiyor. Bu kanunu çıkarırken, biz kafamıza göre oturur üç kişi yazarız şurada, masada. Yazarız, ne olacak ki, yazarız, hiç, bir ayımızı alır en fazla yazarız. O çıkartır sunarız, biraz itirazlar olur, ama sonuçta iyi kötü bir kanun yazar, çıkartırız. Bunu böyle yapmayalım, tabandan tavana doğru işleyen bir sistem olsun. Çalışma gruplarımızı kuralım. Çalışalım, çabalayalım, ortaya bir şey çıksın. Bizim eserimiz olsun, ileride de kimse buna itiraz etmesin. Yani katılımcı bir süreç yaptık. Paydaşlarla beraber, bu politika belgesini çıkardık. 74
75. B3: ...bu konu ile ilgili sözü olan, fikri olan ne kadar adam varsa, ne kadar akademisyen varsa, ne kadar oda varsa, ne kadar sendika varsa bu proje kapsamında politika bileşeninde, gerekse eğitim bileşeninde çağrılmışlar, konuşulmuş, çalışılmış, Bakanlığın şu anda taslak dediğimiz, koordinasyon taslağı çıkmış durumdadır. 75
76. PE: Bir paydaş okuduğu zaman o politika belgesini kendisini buluyor orada, yansıtıldığını buluyor. Her kurumun görüşünü konsolide etmek kolay değil elbette, ama her şey dinlendi...En son bitirme toplantısında da konuştular, projenin başarılı olduğunu söylediler. Kendilerinin dinlendiğini söylediler. 76
77. NGIS1: Türkiye’de yasama sürecine veya politika oluşturma sürecine katılım konusunda sivil toplumun rolü geleneksel olarak çok sınırlı olmuştur. İki boyutu var, boyutlardan bir tanesi, siyasetçi sivil

topluma şüpheli yaklaşmış olabilir, ki böyledir zaman zaman. Bir taraftan da sivil toplumun, temayüz etme yapısı olmadığı için, çünkü Türkiye’de bir taraftan güçlü bir sivil toplum yapısı da oluşturulamadı. Dönemsel olarak çok şeffaf ve katılımcı olabilir. Dönemsel olarak biraz daha kapalı veya aksaklıklı olabiliyor. Önemli olan genel yaklaşımın, gördüğüm kadarıyla özel sektörün, sivil toplumun görüşlerini alma eğiliminin genel hatlarıyla hep bulunduğu yönünde. Bu da olumlu bir gelişmedir. Bir iki daha kurumsal mekanizma oluşturarak, bunun sürekliliğinin sağlanması önemli olur diye düşünüyorum. O zaman da kaliteli, hedefe yönelik katkı verebilme gücü bazen sınırlı olmuştur. Bu da belki kamunun, bürokrasinin daha şüpheli bakmasının sebeplerinden biridir... O yüzden, “tamamen şeffaftır ve her zaman katılımcıdır veya şeffaf değildir, katılımcı değildir” demek haksızlık olur ve doğru olmaz...77

78. GIS 1: Katılımcı bir çerçevede yapıldığını düşünüyorum ama katılımcıların yeterince etkin olmadığını düşünüyorum. Yani şu anlamda, kurum kuruluşlardan temsilci çağırdığınız zaman, biz de birçok proje yapıyoruz, kurum ve kuruluşlar temsilcileri sürekli bir değişkenlik gösteriyor ya da bazısı mesela, özellikle sosyal paydaşlar, tırnak içinde kullanıyorum, özellikle yönetim kurullarının görüşlerini almadan vs. kesinlikle görüş söylemek istemiyorlar. Ben MEB’deki arkadaşların bu yaşadığı süreçte biraz da gözlemledim, çoğunda çok vasıfsız görüşler geliyor, olgunlaşmasını sağlayamıyor. Ya da, insanların çoğu şey diye düşünüyor, maliyeci perspektifi mesela, aaa bu işte anayasaya aykırı, şuna aykırı. Ama bu yeni bir kanun, üzerinde bir değişiklik yapabilir ya da bu değiştirilebilir aynı zamanda, yani kutsal kitap şeyi değil, bu değiştirilebilir. Bu perspektifte kamudaki çoğu kişi bakmıyor. O da bizim sivil toplum geleneğimizle ilgili bir problem zaten genel olarak. Ama kamu kuruluşlarında da benzer bir problem var, çoğu kamu kuruluşundan doğrudan ilgili kişi gelmiyor toplantılara, ya da ne bileyim doğrudan ilgili kişilere ulaşmıyor kanun taslağı vs. Orada işte, bizim bakanlığı ilgilendiren bir şey yoktur diye görüş gönderiyorlar. Tüm toplantılarda şeyi söylüyorlar, gözlemci gibi katılıyorlar, biz sonra size yazılı görüşümüzü iletelim diyorlar. Sosyal paydaşların yazılı görüşleri de sadece bir fikre odaklanmış ve onun dışında hiçbir şey söylemiyorlar, geneline ilişkin mesela. İşte, atıyorum, oraya bilmem işçi ve şeyler için bir şey ekleyelim şeklinde oluyor görüşleri. Orada, geneline ilişkin ya da kanunun tümünü olgunlaştırmaya yönelik değil de, kendi perspektifinden, ya bazen bir çıkarı olabiliyor, ya bazen çıkarlarına ters bir şey olmaması için olabiliyor maalesef.78

79. NGIS2: Şimdi baştan itibaren şöyle bir algı vardı. Yani, sadece bizim kurumumuzu temsil eden arkadaşlarda değil, diğer kurumlardaki arkadaşlarda da. “Bu çalışma verimli, iyi olur, hepimiz bundan bir şeyler öğreniriz, sonuçta ortaya bir şey de çıkar ama, diyelim ki kanun TBMM’ye gitme aşamasına gelirse, tasarı, orada bütün bu çalışmalar önemini yitirebilir, yepyeni bambaşka bir şey gelir.” Ama

proje yürütücüleri, herkesin görüşünü almak için, katkısını almak için hakikaten çaba gösterdiler. Bu anlamda katılımcı bir süreç oldu. Yerelde de katılımcı bir süreç oldu, sadece Ankara’da değil, taşrada da, proje kapsamında eğitimler ve çalışmalar yapıldı. Bu yönüyle şekil olarak bir defa kesin katılımcı ama, öz olarak katılımcı mı? ...herkes söylüyor, herkes bir şey öneriyor. Ama sonunda da, “ben bunu söylüyorum ama bu nasıl olsa, en sonunda nihai olarak dikkate alınmayacak” görüşü dile getiriliyordu. Ama raporlara, bir defa bütün kurumların görüşleri yansıtıldı. 79

80. NGIS4: Ülke bürokrasinin içinde bulunduğu durum, merkezden talimat geliyor, inisiyatif kullanma olayı yok. Şimdi bu yapıyı değiştirmeye yönelik ne kadar girişimde bulunursanız bulunun, sonuçta yine merkezden bekleniyor bir takım şeyler...Bu mevcut parlamento düzeninde bize hiç ihtiyaçları yok, istedikleri düzenlemeyi yerine getirmeleri mümkün...AB’nin etkisi var, o zaman ne oluyor, göstermelik bir şey oluyor, sosyal taraflarla görüştüm ama yine benim dediğim oldu. Biz bunu istemiyoruz, en azından ben kendi payıma buna karşı çıkıyorum. 80
81. NGIS2: Bizler davet edildiğimiz zaman neyle karşılaşacağımızı çok da bilmiyorduk. Ne isteneceğini de bilmiyorduk. Bir takım çalışmalar yaptırıldılar. Ben hemen hemen çalışmaların tamamına katıldım. Yani amaç neydi, varılan sonuç ne oldu, birbiriyle örtüşüyor mu? Bunlar tabii bilemiyorum ama, sonuçta bir şey, taslak olarak koordinasyon kanunu hazırlandı. Öyle bir belge var ama, TBMM’ye sunuldu mu sunulmadı mı bilmiyorum. 81
82. NGIS4: Projelerin şöyle bir sıkıntısı oluyor. Projelerde, proje ekibinin dışında, çalışma grupları oluşturulduğu zaman, herkes görev yaptığı çalışma gruplarındaki çalışmaları sürdürüyor. Diğer tarafta ne olup bittiğini bilmiyor. Onu politika grubundakilerin yapması bekleniyor. Politika grubunda görev yapanlar da, mevcut eğitim sistemi nedir, eğitim politikası nedir, bunun istihdam politikası ile bağlantısı nedir? Ülke ekonomisi ile planla, hedeflerle bağlantısı nedir, ben onu biliyorlar mı noktasında çok emin değilim... Eğer tüm süreçlere hakim değilseniz, sürecin bir parçası oluyorsunuz. İkinci bir olumsuzluk da şu olabiliyor, buradaki görev alanınız sizin günlük çalışmanızın çok azını kapsıyor, sürekli sizin işiniz bu değil. çoğu zaman toplantıya giderken, toplantıya gitmeden bir gün önce göz atıyorsunuz, oradaki tartışmaları hatırlayıp. O kadar. Bu temel politika bileşenlerinin belirlenmesinde size söz hakkını fiili olarak vermiyor...Müdahil olduğunuz zaman da müdahilliğiniz sıkıntı yaratıyor. Çünkü pişmiş aşı su katmış oluyorsunuz. Makas değiştirmek durumunda kalıyorsunuz.82
83. GIS 1: Dediğim gibi taslak o kadar uzun süredir gündemde ki çoğu şeyi belki de, hani unuttum zaten, neler vardı, farklı modellerin hangisi benimsendi. Ben genel olarak MEB’de şeffaflık ile ilgili bir

problem olduğunu düşündüğüm için, bu taslak sürecinde de gelişmelerle ilgili, birçok tarafın haberdar edilmediğini gözlemledim. Dediğim gibi her ne kadar nihayetinde bize gelecekte bile çok fazla gelişmelerden haberdar değiliz. Bu kendi içinde de bir problem çünkü bir konu gündeme geliyor çok üzerinde çalışılıyor, sonra yönetici diyor ki, biraz bir dursun, dursun dediği zaman bütün bunu sağlayanlar. Şimdi atıyorum Hak İş'e gitseniz, ya vardı böyle bir şey ama ne oldu bilmiyoruz, ya da uzun zamandır arayan soran yok filan derler. Çünkü o bitti bir taraftan başka bir şey gündeme geldi. Orada bir süreklilik problemi var... Şu anda geldiği son aşamayı bilemediğim için, ne düzeyde paydaşların görüşlerini içeriyor bilemiyorum açıkçası. 83

84. GIS 2: Üzerinden çok uzun süre geçti, belki 6-7 ay olmuş mudur? Olmuştur herhalde. Kapanış konferansına ben katılmadım ama orada da herhangi bir belge üretilmiş midir? Ben üretilmediğini hatırlıyorum...Bizim başta yaptığımız eleştirilerden biri de buydu. Yani bir çalışma yapılıyor, bu çalışmaya bir katkı veriliyor, onlar şimdi nasıl birleştiriliyor, birçok kurumdan görüş geliyor, bunlar birleştiriliyor. Sonra ya o belgeden kuruluşların haberi olmuyor ya da yeteri kadar süre verilmiyor bunlarla görüş almakla ilgili. Verdiğimiz katkı ne şekilde yansıtıldı, tamamen yansıtıldı mı noktasında soru işareti var...Biz çalışma gruplarının tamamına katıldık...Benim eksikliğimden kaynaklı diye özellikle söylemiyorum. Şey açısından da söylüyorum, ben yönlendirme komitesi üyesiyim, aynı zamanda çalışma gruplarının da üyesiyim, orada bilgi akışı da işlememiş olabilir, gerek de duymamış olabilirler. Politika grubunun üyesiyim ben, nihai olarak bunu ürettik, kuruma gönderelim demişlerse diye bir soru işareti olarak söylüyorum. Yoksa, hani geldi de ben görmedim diye söylemiyorum yani. Ya da bir taslak oluşturuluyor hani yeteri kadar süre olmuyor bunu incelemek için. Bu tür sıkıntılar oldu. Bu da verilen görüşün kalitesini ve sonucunu nihai olarak, belgeye olan katkısını da etkilemiş oluyor. O açıdan sosyal tarafların biz de dahil, bu süre sıkıntısı vardı, çalışmaların içeriği ile ilgili bilgilendirme, işte akışta problem vardı...Bunun dışında, kanunun taslağında mesela şu anda en son aşama nedir, ben açıkçası çok son noktayı bilmiyorum...84

85. B1: Valla aslında Onur Bey, projenin başına gelen pişmiş tavuğun başına gelmedi. O kadar çok değişiklik oldu ki. Projeler Koordinasyon Merkezi'nde idi evvel, oradan buraya aktarıldı. Bakanlık'ta Genel Müdürlükler kapatıldı, birleştirildi, yeniden yapılandırmada. Bakan değişimi oldu, bir daha Bakan değişimi oldu, falan filan. Buraya geldikten sonra ben "team lideri" ve takımın bir kısmını değiştirdim. Onları yeterli görmedim. Proje buna rağmen çok başarılı bir sonuçla bitti. Normalde bu kadar sık değişiklik, başarıyı da etkiler diye endişe etmiyor değildim. Dolayısıyla sarkma çok doğal. 85

86. PE: Projenin, tabii bunlar çok detay ama, başlayan proje lideri,

projenin ortasında deđiřti. Yabancılar deđiřince projenin yapısı deđiřti. Projedeki ToR’da, “term of reference”, yazılanlar tamamen deđiřti. Oradaki hedefler saptı, iřte eđitimler, eđitim saatleri azaldı...Yani Mayıs’ta başlayacaktı proje, Ekim’de başladık, 2011’de. Bir yıl sonra bir huzursuzluk oldu, kendi iç iřleri, yabancılardan birisi rahatsızlandı zaten, bir diđer grup lideri o bıraktı. Onun yerine bařka bir grup lideri ve o hasta olan İngiliz Lewis yerine, Ron Tuck ile Rose geldi. Onlar bir řekilde çok kısa bir sürede hakim oldular projeye ondan sonra dođru yoluna girdi...Bir koordinasyon kanunu üzerinde alıřmalar epeydir sürüyor. MEB HBÖGM ierisinde sürüyor. Daha sonra bu belli seviyelere çıktı, hükümetteki bakan deđiřikliđi, müsteřar deđiřikliđi bu kaldı. Ben řu anki durumu bilmiyorum. Birkaç aydır gitmiyorum, arada bir uğramak istiyorum ama, en son uğradıđımda bu konuda bir řey yoktu, bir de önümüzde seçim yılı. Belki bu koordinasyon yasasını biz Ekim’de filan çıkar diyorduk, bunu çıkıp çıkmayacađı gibi bir durum var řu anda.86

87. GIS 4: Bakanlık güzel yürüttü süreci. Ancak Bakan ve yönetici deđiřikliklerin projenin gidiřatında düşüklükler yařanmasına neden olduđunu düşünüyorum. Proje ekibi deđiřti, belli bir süre yavař iřledi...Süre yavař iřliyor. Daha güzel řeyler çıkabilirdi. MEB’in yařadıđı deđiřiklikler sürecinin bunda etkili olduđunu düşünüyorum. 87

88. GIS1: řimdi kanun taslak olarak hazırlanırken, orada, MEB ierisinde çok fazla yönetim deđiřiklikleri olduđu için, süreci bazen bizim sahiplenmemiz gerekti... MEB süreci nasıl götüřdü dersenez, çok fazla yönetim deđiřikliđi oldu süreçte, bu koordinasyon kanunu üç dört senelik bir mesele. Çok çok yeni deđil. 3-4 sene ierisinde çok fazla yönetim deđiřikliđi oldu, yönetim deđiřiklikleri ile birlikte orada da aynı řeyle karřılařıldı. Yani biz bunu řimdi yapamayız, yaparsak řeyle eliřiyor, ilköđretim kanununun bilmem kaçınıcı maddesi ile uyumsuzluk var filan diye, kurum ierisinde de oldu aynı řekilde.88

89. B1: Bunu geliřtireceđiz inřallah hem HBÖ’nün geliřtirilmesi 2 projesi var, bunun ToR’u yazılıyor. Birkaç yıl ierisinde o başlayacak. Biz burada olmayız ama, Genel Müdürler inřallah bu sistemi devam edecektir...Yani iki yıl bir bürokrat için, uzun bir süre. Yani iki yıl sonrası için řöyle yaparız yok. İnsani manada tabii yarına çıkacađımızın hiçbir garantisi yok ama bürokratik manada da 2 yıl çok uzun bir süre. Kaladabiliriz yani, 5-6 yıl bir yerde Genel Müdürlük yapanlarda var. Ama iimde öyle bir his var. Olduđumuz müddete bir řeyler yapıyoruz.89

90. PE: řimdi bu proje sayesinde epey ileri gitti oradaki kadro. Ama sıkıntı iki sene projede alıřan bu kiřiler, iřte bu yine atamalardan, tayinlerden, eř durumundan ve bařka yerlere gitmek durumunda kaldılar. Yani řimdiki genel müdür bu iři kavradı...Ama gelecek sene deđiřebilir, yarın deđiřebilir bilemiyorum. Kendisi de bunu zaten dile

getiriyor. Dolayısıyla onun için bu gibi yerlerdeki kişilerin hangi görüşten olursa olsun değişmemesi lazım. Bununla ilgili müsteşarın sık sık değişmemesi lazım. O müsteşara epey dil döküldü, brifingler verildi, anlatıldı. Arkasından değiştiği anda yeni gelene her şeyi anlatıyorsunuz, işte şu andaki koordinasyon yasasının durumu o. Yeni Milli Eğitim Bakanı, yani seçim yılı, bu gibi şeyleri ikinci plana atabilir, ki attı herhalde. Yoksa şimdi Ekim’de yeni yasama yılında bunun geçmesi lazımdı. Türkiye Yeterlilikler Çerçevesi onun da kanunla geçmesi lazım. O da geçmedi. Yani her şey taslak olarak duruyor. 90

91. B2: Finansman sistemi bizi biraz yordu. Yani hala da yoruyor. İçimize sinen halen bir finansman modeli yok. HBÖ’nün finansmanı nasıl olacak? Yani ne yapalım?... Şimdi nedir mesela. Halk eğitimlerde, ücretsizdir diyoruz, halen ücretsiz gidiyor. Fakat dünyaya baktığınız zaman bununla alakalı bir sürü uygulama var. Voucher sistemi var, kupon sistemi var. Eğitim fonları var, paydaşlardan oluşan eğitim fonu var, daha sonra fonların dağıtımı var. Sıkılıyor, bunalıyor, adam depresyona giriyor, HBÖ, “ben gideyim kursa katılayım” diyor. Herkes fakir değil, herkes işsiz güçsüz olan insanlar değil. Tamam işsiz olan insana, maddi durumu iyi olmayan insana devlet karşılansın ama, hobi olarak kursa giden insanı ben niye karşılayım ki? Veya herhangi bir işyerinde çalışan bir insan, fabrikasına gelen bir malzemeyi ve ya yeni bir ürünü daha iyi kullanmak adına kursa gidiyorsa, orada da fabrika bu işe katılmalı diye düşünüyorum. Devlet birey işletme ayağını iyi kuralım diye düşünüyoruz yani. Kendi yerli üniversite hocalarımızla çalıştık, ama sonuçta, ya işte şöyle olabilir, böyle olabilir, bunun ötesine fazla geçemedik. Yani şu an halen finansman sistemini ne yapalım onu daha çalışıyoruz...En zor olan, bizi en çok uğraştıran alan finansman...Yani kalp gibi, damardaki kan neyse, finansman, para da o. Aynı şekilde. Bizim parayı göndermediğimiz halde, parayı düzgün dağıtmadığımız halde, eğitimler de olmaz, kurslar da olmaz. Tümüyle devlet tarafından gitmesi de uygun değil bana göre finansmanın. Her şeyi devlet versin, her şeyi devlet versin, her şeyi değil yani, insanlar bazen hobi olarak kursa gidiyor. Bazen insanlar rehabilitasyon amaçlı gidiyor. Yani bunla alakalı, taksimetre sistemleri var, böyle farklı farklı, her ülkenin kendine göre farklı farklı yöntemleri var. Bu ülkelerin yöntemlerinin avantajları ve dezavantajları var. Türkiye’ye uyarlanıp, uyarlanamaması sorunu var. Bu bizi baya yordu. Yabancı uzmanlarla çalıştık. Onlardan bişey elde edemedik işin aslı....91

92. B4: ...paydaşlarımızdan özellikle sendikal faaliyet yürütenlerin çalışanlarına karşı takındıkları korumacı tavır tekliflerin yeterince değerlendirilmesini engelledi. Örneğin hayat boyu öğrenme finansmanı için oluşturulacak bir fon teklifi işçi ve işveren konfederasyonlarının itirazları nedeniyle üzerinde çalışılmadan kanun taslağından çıkarıldı.92

93. PE: Fon kurulması gündeme geldi, çok cazip birşey tabi böyle bir

fon, işsizlik fonu var, konut edinme fonu filan. Maliye Bakanlığı buna sıcak bakmamış, yani fonlar çalışmıyor, işsizlik fonu bir tek çalışan. Fonlar çalışmıyor, sonrasında devlet onu halka geri ödemek zorunda kalıyor...Biz buna sıcak bakmıyoruz denmiş Maliye Bakanlığı'ndan, dolayısıyla bu fon çöktü...AB'den gelen arkadaşlar, yabancılar, bir fon kurulmasını söylüyorlardı. Şimdi fon yok, peki finans nasıl sağlanacak, illerde bu birimleri kurdunuz, orada bu kadrolar ne olacak... Zaten MEB'e aktarılan bazı fonlar var, HBÖ'ye yasa gereği, onu büyütecekler. Zannediyorum, sendikalar oraya bir takım katkılar yapıyor, kurslardan bir takım katkılar var. Bir takım katkılar var, ama bu finans kısmının da çözülmesi lazım. 93

94. NGIS2: Finansman konusunda çeşitli yaklaşımlar var tabii. "Kim yararlanıyorsa o ödesin" yaklaşımı var. O pratikte çok zor. Çünkü neden yararlanacağını ve o yararlandığı şeyin sonucunda ne tür bir kazanç elde edeceğini katılımcı bilmiyor. Baştan öyle bir katılımcıya bunun finanse ettirilmesi çok makul görünmüyor. En azından başlangıçta. Bir defa devlet bunun bir kısmını belki de tamamını başlangıçta finanse etmeli, şahsi kanaatim. Onun dışında bu işten gerçekten yararlanacak bazı kurumlar var. Nitelikli işgücünden yararlanacak işte, TÜSİAD, TOBB, bunlar bunun finansmanına katkı yapabilirler... Ama esas finansmanı yüklenecek olan, en azından başlangıçta, kamu olmalıdır. Başka şeyler önerildi tabii, fon kurulsun, işsizlik fonu gibi, ama kabul görmedi bu. Hep şu kaygı var, nasıl ki işsizlik fonu amacı dışında kullanılıyorsa burada da bir para birikirse onu farklı alanlarda kullanmak isteyecekler olur. İşsizlik fonundan finanse edilsin diyenler oldu. Bu sefer tabii, işsizlik fonu kuruluş amacıyla bu tamamen farklı, herkes de oraya gözünü diyor zaten, orası da çok uygun görülmedi. 94

95. NGIS4: Mesela finanse edilmesi. Avrupa'yı şey yaptılar bize, kalktılar dediler ki, eğitim için harcadığınız fonun yüzde 10'unu buraya aktaracaksınız. Öyle öngörmüşler bizim MEB'deki uzmanlar...Böyle birşey mümkün değil dedik, sadece biz değil birlikte söyledik. Sendikalar yasasına göre biz, kendi üyelerimiz dışında bizim bir yere para harcamamız söz konusu değil, bu yasaktır. Siz buraya yazıyorsunuz bu uygulanmayacak bir maddedir. 95

96. PE: Paydaşlar arasında öne çıkan, tabii bir eleştiren paydaşlar var. Çünkü yasa ile bunlar bana verilmiş bu haklar, o zaman size ne düşer diyor bazı kurumlar. Bir kurum ben zaten bunları yapıyorum, bu benim doğal görevim. Belli imkanlarım da var, işsizlik fonundan bana yüzde 10 para geliyor, neyse yüzde 5-10 geliyor. Ben zaten bu faaliyetleri yürütüyorum gibi, her toplantıya geldiler, katkı verdiler, ama daha çok kendi görüşlerini ön plana çıkartıp, empoze etmeye çalıştılar...Tabii her kuruluş, kendi yasasını savunmak durumunda. Oraya gelen yetkili de ne diyecek, biz bunu diyoruz, ama böyle dediler, kabul ettim diyemez. 96

97. GIS1: Şu anda en çok tartışılan şey HBÖKK ile ilgili problem de o orada, MEB'e çok sorumluluk verdiğiniz zaman, özellikle özel sektör çok fazla yanaşmıyor. Yani bir kurum kendi eğitim faaliyetlerini bunun çapında değerlendirmiyor, ya da bir sorumluluk üstlenmiyor... Bir kurum şeye itiraz ediyordu. Bizim üyelerimizden aidatların kesilecek paraların HBÖ'ye aktarılması gibi bir şey vardı. Biz maksimum faydalanıcı olmazsak bizim üyelerimiz buna para vermezler. Bizim kurumun gelirlerinden işte ona para, buna para şey yapıyordu. Ben kesinlikle sosyal paydaşların, hem yetki hem sorumluluklarında, hem de katılımlarında bir artış olması gerektiğini düşünüyorum. Devlet bunu tek başına yapamıyor. Yapamadığı zaman, sadece MEB'in işiymiş gibi oluyor. Bu kanunda aslında, Strateji Belgesinde olduğu gibi aslında koordinasyon MEB'de ama öyle olunca MEB de artık bıkmış durumda, tamamen biz şey yapıyoruz diyorlar, ana sorumlu olunca, bir iş sahiplenenin üstüne kalır ya hani, raporlamakta onun işi, organizasyonu yapmakta onun işi. Bir taraftan MEB'in içinde, biz yapalım, kontrol bizden gitmesin diyenler de var, bir taraftan da HBÖGM genel olarak bu yaklaşımı benimsemiyor.⁹⁷
98. PE: HBÖGM bunu sahiplendi. Tabii içeriği fazla bilmiyoruz, yabancılarla ters düştükleri durumlar da var. Yabancı bir proje için geliyor oraya belli hedefleri var. O günün sonunda bir rapor yazmak durumunda. Tabii yabancıların bizim sistemi öğrenmesi zaman aldı. Bazı sürtüşmelerin olduğunu da açıkçası biz zaman zaman duyuyorduk. O onu sevmez, bunu sevmez, her projede olduğu gibi.⁹⁸
99. GIS1: Birçok yapılan projede yabancı uzman istihdam etme zorunluluğu olduğu için, yabancı uzmanlar da en iyi kendi şeylerini biliyorlar, en iyi kendi ülkelerini olduğunu düşünüyorlar... Ha bu kanun içerisinde sanırım yabancı uzmanlardan bir tanesi, İzlandalı mıydı neydi tam hatırlamıyorum, işte o da kendi ülkesindeki örneği model olarak sunmuştu. Ama MEB çok şey bu konuda, çok fazla proje tecrübesi var geçmişte, belki fazlasıyla da şüpheli yaklaşıyorlar... Bu yabancı uzmanların yanında konuşmayalım filan dedikleri bile oluyor. Bu da tamamen bir tartışma konusu. Çok fazla yönlendirme ya da çok fazla domine etme gibi bir şey yok. Dediğim gibi MEB fazla şüpheli bu konuda.⁹⁹
100. PE: Bana aslında çok karmaşık geldi. O ona rapor ediyor, o Ankara'ya rapor ediyor. Ankara onu yapıyor. İllerde de başka bir İl İstihdam Kurulu var. Mesela bu ikisinin birleştirilmesi. Ben öyle düşünüyordum yani. Bazıları böyle diyor, bazıları ayrı diyor. Çünkü illerde bu tip komisyonlarda vali başında. Bana söyleneni aktarıyorum, bazı illerde valiler bu işi yapıyorlar, bazı illerde de yardımcısını yolluyor. Ve vali değişiyor, atanıyor iki yıl sonra filan. Belki oradaki bilgisini iki yıl sonra oraya taşır ama yeni gelen valiye buradaki faaliyetleri anlatmak yine aynı şeyler. Ama böyle bir yapı benimsendi aslında bu projede, dört ayaklı diyorlar.¹⁰⁰

101. NGIS3: Grubun üçte ikisi böyle merkezlere ihtiyaç yoktur, çünkü il istihdam ve mesleki eğitim kurumları vardır, bunların görevleri içerisinde HBÖ'yü koordine etmeyi koyabiliriz dedi. Biz daha çok illere taktık. Bu sorunuza yanlış cevap vermek istemiyorum. İl HBÖ koordinasyon kurullarının görevleri, o ilde, tüm tarafların katılımcı olduğu İl İstihdam ve Mesleki Eğitim Kurullarının esas görevlerine update edilebilir. Doğru bir yaklaşım. Şimdi bakın. Her ilde valiye bağlı 25 tane kurul var hocam. Yoksulluk kurulu, deprem kurulu, afet kurulu, il istihdam kurulu. Hocam, vali hepsinin başkanı. Unutuyor...Bizim yerel yönetim yapımız sakat. Çok central yani. Desentralizasyon konusu bizde daha ohoo, ülke elden gider diye konuşamıyoruz. Dolayısıyla adamın, Belçikalı, Danimarkalı, öğretmeninde vali ile belediye başkanının ayrı kutuplar olacağı aklına bile gelmiyor, onlar zaten beraberler diye düşünüp, bize kanun yazıyorlar, taslağı yazıyorlar... Kardeşim illerde İl İstihdam ve Mesleki Eğitim Kurulları var diyor. Bunlar ayda bir toplanıyorlar diyor. İş yapıyorlar ya da yapmıyorlar. Şimdi bunun gündemine HBÖ'yü de koy... Ne bir daha ayrı bir kurul kuruyorsun yani diyor. Hem zaman, hem para israfı.Bu işin sekretaryasını İŞKUR ya da HBÖ genel müdürlüğü merkezler yapabilir, sonuçta ildeki en yetkili idari, mülki amir vali. Yani HBÖ'yü valiye mi vereceğiz abi. Vali ne anlar abi ya. Bu itiraz kabul görmedi. Bunu bizim teknik danışmanlık ekibi anlamadı. Bizimkiler anladı tabii. Onlar, yabancı uzmanlar, şey zannediyor. Voyvoda ile marshal yan yana çalışır. Bizim voyvoda Vali, marshal Melih Gökçek. Bunlar birbirine selam vermezler, sadece cumhurbaşkanının karşılarken yan yana gelirler. Tamam mı? Atanmış ile seçilmiş, mümkün mü? Ben bunlarla ilgili senelerce AB ülkelerini inceledim. 101

102. GIS5: Oluşturulması planlanan yapıda il düzeyinde üniversitelerin yer alması gerektiğini belirttik. Fakat MEB, Valilik, Belediyeler ve İŞKUR kurulun temel katılımcıları olacağı, üniversitelerin eklenmesi ile sosyal taraflarında kurulda olma talebi olacağı için üniversiteleri gerek gördüklerinde ekleyeceklerini açıkladılar. Üniversiteler, hem kapasiteleri ile hem de akademik kadroları ile ilgili becerilerin kaliteli şekilde kazanılmasını sağlamak açısından önemli bir yeri olduğunu düşünüyorum. Hayat boyu öğrenme politikasının gerçekleştirilmesinin ancak işbirliği içinde çalışarak gerçekleşebileceğini düşünüyorum. Önceki öğrenmelerin değerlendirilmesi konusunu ise MYK, YÖK ve MEB işbirliğinde işleyecek bir sistem olduğu için HEM'ler aracılığıyla yapılacak bir çalışma olmaktan daha fazlası olması gerektiğini düşünüyorum. 102

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