RECONTEXTUALISATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN TURKEY: A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF HIGHER EDUCATION STRATEGY REPORT FOR TURKEY

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Thesis Abstract

Sezen Bayhan, "Recontextualisation of Higher Education in Turkey:

a Discourse Analysis of Higher Education Strategy Report for Turkey"

This study analyzes higher education strategies recommended to shape the future of higher education in Turkey. The report "Higher Education Strategy of Turkey" drafted by a committee within the Council of Higher Education and published in 2007 constitutes the locus of the study.

Using Critical Discourse Analysis, the study aims to gain insights into the representation of higher education in policy discourses, assumptions about the meaning and functions of higher education and representations of problem areas on which recontextualisation discourses are based. Shedding a light on these points, this research aims to find out what type of higher education space is imagined, what this space offers to its participants, and what types of subjects it promotes. By doing these, this thesis uncovers what is underrepresented or unsaid.

Findings of the analysis show that higher education in Turkey is to be structured around global paradigms and the European Union higher education policies. Higher education is particularly represented as a space carrying instrumental utility for national economic survival. Within this representation, there is focus on globalization and knowledge economy, but these phenomena are portrayed as agentless and abstract realities. Related to the rhetoric of globalization and knowledge economy, new governance strategies, cooperation between the industry and the university, active participation of students to the financing of higher education, and the need for academic staff to adapt to the changing global conditions are emphasized. All these, coupled with intense focus on change, innovation, flexibility, and production of knowledge that can constantly be adapted according to the conditions of the day, signify attempts to adapt higher education to flexible accumulation.

A large scale restructuring process of higher education institutions, cultures, and identities can be observed in policy discourses. Performativity is the language that draws the borders, and it is the main determinant of what is to be included in and excluded from higher education area. There is a different relationship structured between knowledge, learners, and the process of learning itself than the traditional notion of higher education implies. That learners and academicians in higher education are supposed to constantly renew their knowledge according to the task in question signifies a radical break with the enlightenment notions of eternal and immutable truth.

This study aims to bring a critical approach for rethinking higher education in Turkey and open up an alternative dimension for higher education discussions.

Tez Özeti

Sezen Bayhan, "Türkiye'de Yükseköğretimin yeniden bağlama oturtulması:

Türkiye'nin Yükseköğretim Stratejisi'nin söylem analizi"

Bu tez Türkiye yükseköğretiminin geleceğinin şekillendirilmesi için önerilen yükseköğretim stratejilerini incelemektedir. Yükseköğretim Kurulu içinde oluşturulan bir kurul tarafından kaleme alınan ve 2007 yılında yayınlanan "Türkiye'nin Yükseköğretim Stratejisi" adlı rapor bu çalışmanın odağını oluşturmaktadır.

Bu çalışma Türkiye'de yükseköğretimin yeniden düşünülmesine eleştirel bir bakış getirmeyi ve yükseköğretim tartışmalarına alternatif bir boyut getirmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Eleştirel Söylem Analizi metodu kullanan çalışma, yükseköğretimin yeniden bağlama oturtulması söylemlerinin beslendiği politika söylemlerindeki yükseköğretim temsiliyetine, yükseköğretimin anlamı ve işlevine dair varsayımlara, ve problem alanlarının temsiliyetine dair içgörü kazanma amacındadır. Bu noktalara açıklık kavuşturarak bu çalışma nasıl bir yükseköğretim alanı tahayyül edildiğini, bu alanın katılımcılarına neler vadettiğini, ve ne tür özneleri teşvik ettiğini anlamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Çalışmanın sonuçları göstermektedir ki Türkiye'de yükseköğretim küresel paradigmalar ve Avrupa Birliği yükseköğretim politikaları çerçevesinde yapılandırılmaktadır. Yükseköğretim ağırlıklı olarak ulusal ekonomik kalkınma için enstrümental fayda taşıyan bir alan olarak temsil etmektedir. Bu temsiliyette küreselleşme ve bilgi ekonomisine vurgu yapılmaktadır, fakat bu olgular failsiz ve soyut gerçeklikler olarak yansıtılmaktadır. Yine küreselleşme ve bilgi ekonomisi retorikleri ile yakından ilgili olarak yeni yönetişim stratejileri, yeni finansman modelleri, üniversite-sanayi işbirliği, öğrencilerin yükseköğretimin finansmanına daha aktif katılımı, ve akademik personelin yeni dönemin koşullarına uyum sağlaması gerekliliği üzerinde durulan noktalar arasındadır. Tüm bunlar değişim, yenilik, esneklik, ve günün koşullarına göre uyarlanabilen bilgi üretimi üzerine yapılan yoğun vurgu ile birleştirilince yükseköğretimi esnek sermaye birikimi modeline uyarlama çabalarına işaret edilmektedir.

Yükseköğretim kurumlarının, kültürlerinin ve kimliklerinin geniş çaplı bir yeniden yapılanma süreci içinde olduğu politika söylemlerinde gözlemlenmektedir. Performativite, sınırları çizen ve yükseköğretim alanında içerileceklerin ve dışarıda tutulacakların ana belirleyisi bir dildir. Bilgi, öğrenen, ve öğrenme sürecinin kendisi arasında alışılagelmiş yükseköğretim nosyonunun yaptığından daha farklı bir ilişki kurulmaktadır. Yükseköğretimdeki öğrencilerin ve akademisyenlerin bilgilerini işlerine göre devamlı yenilemeleri gerekliliği aydınlanmacı düşüncenin ebedi ve değişmez gerçek nosyonlarından radikal bir kopuşa işaret etmektedir.

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The situation of higher education in Turkey has become an issue of great interest in the Turkish political sphere. Spurred on in large part by the EU process and the industry, public and policy discourses on Turkish higher education focus on new dimensions and offer a new higher education area. Certainly, no new system can rapidly sweep away the features of the old one; however it would not be inaccurate to say that Turkish Universities are being transformed by profound long-term changes. Accordingly, new terms are entering our lexicon when we are exposed to reflections on the present nature and near or far future of higher education in Turkey and in the world at large. This restructuring encompasses fundamental changes not only at the level of funding and governance, but also in terms of the logic guiding academic and non-academic activities (Torres&Schugurensky, 2002). It would be difficult, almost impossible, to see an educational policy paper about Turkey that does not mention the urgency of changes and reforms due to the increasing needs brought about by our modern world that is swept by changes. Hence, it would be difficult to talk about any type of educational institution in Turkey that is untouched or unaffected by the dominant policy discourses reshaping the existing spaces within which these institutions operate.

Undoubtedly, the emergence of new technologies and accelerated circulation of capital have led to changing relationships between institutions that reflexively

transform, recreate and reproduce themselves. As part of this global transformation, higher education has become one of the most influenced and potentially influential areas because it plays a key role in legitimized knowledge and labor force production. This is not a one-way relationship. Higher education institutions are themselves also becoming influential actors, extending their influence all over the world (Marginson&Rhoades 2002). University in its traditional form is regarded as obsolete and has to be transformed to meet the needs of the 'society' and the economy, because there has been a radical reconfiguration of the state apparatus and its roles. In order to gain insights into the nature of this transformation, one needs to have an extensive understanding of the wider socio-political space, as well as the ways in which this space is being constructed and contested . Using Critical Discourse Analysis, this thesis aims to gain insights into how and in which ways this restructuring manifests itself in different realms of higher education, and what the guiding principles of this restructuring are. Both the methodology used and the changes taking place in higher education institutions require elaborating on certain concepts, since it is no accident that in our sociopolitical world certain discourses and ways of representing emerge while others lose their salience.

In this context, the terms globalization and knowledge based economy and society are unarguably the most commonly used ones in higher education policy making discourse. Therefore, it is crucial to understand the way these terms are being handled in the context of higher education as well as in wider sociopolitical structure which governs the nature of higher education. Deem (2001) argues that, with a few exceptions, in much of current educational research social theories about globalization are not considered as closely related to educational policy analysis, which reflects the idea that educational research is something distinct from social

sciences (Deem, 1998a) and prevents the researcher from involving themselves in a comprehensive analysis of educational policy and educational organizations. In this thesis, different interpretations of globalization, knowledge-based economy, and knowledge society will be discussed in the next sections, because I will argue it is apparent that the restructuring of Turkish higher education system is highly affected by these discourses. In conventional accunts of globalisation, the term is usually considered as an answer to all questions arising from manifest changes experienced in contemporary Western societies (Dale 2000). Contrary to this general tendency, this thesis finds it problematic when our agenda is severely occupied by terms with clear cut definitions rather than the historicity of the terms and the institutions whose restructuring is at stake with reference to these terms.

There is a new form of govermentality brought into higher education with the advent of neoliberalism, and there have been significant changes in the organisation of state public sectors. Halsey (2006) argues that the turning point was not until the 1980s, which witnessed manifold difficulties in Western economies, increasing public expenditure and revival of economic-liberal doctrines of state management. Then, the path to the current mode needs to be understood through a comprehensive analysis of political and economic theories related to education. Transition from Fordist production patterns to Neo-fordist and Post-Fordist models changed the state's role in providing public services, and higher education was directly influenced by this change. In this respect, what we observe from higher educational practices is a refashioning of the role of the state. Related to this changing trend in production patterns, political developments entailed radical changes in the nature of knowledge. Postwar governments in the world, particularly post-1960 governments, developed universities as primary sites of nation building (Marginson, 1997). Now that this

postwar condition does not exist any more, policy setting is governed by different mechanisms and aim to produce different kinds of knowledge. Lyotard (1984) argues that scientific knowledge is now subordinated to prevailing powers more than it has ever been, and it is an area of conflict where tensions between these powers manifest. The veracity of Lyotard's statement can be observed in Turkey given the recent interest in higher education of civil society organizations such as TUSIAD and YÖK/CoHE's (Council of Higher Education) accelerated attempts to implement new policies, and the government's dedication to pass new laws on higher education.

CoHE published a higher education strategy report in January 2007 with the intention of defining the new pathways to be followed by Turkish higher education institutions. This report occupies an important place in the reconstruction of higher education space in Turkey, because in its 26 years of history YOK issued a development plan only once, in the year 1991, which was later removed from the agenda. Hence, as the report suggests, this document is thought to define the new socio-political space within the borders of which higher education institutions can operate. Also, in October 2008 TUSIAD (Turkish Association of Businessmen and Commerce) wanted university reform, publishing a report called "Türkiyede Yükseköğretim: Eğilimler, Sorunlar ve Fırsatlar" (Higher Education in Turkey: Tendencies, Problems, and Opportunities). This report was written by European University Association upon the request of TUSIAD. TUSIAD's interest in higher education is obvious given the previous reports of the association on higher education. Some of the other reports include "Financing of Higher Education: recommendations for legal regulations" in 2000, "Reconstruction of Higher Education: basic principles" in 2003, and "Education and Sustainable Growth: Turkish experience, risks, and opportunities" in 2006. It is not only TUSIAD who

shows keen interests in the reformation of higher education in Turkey, but also certain NGOs and interests groups are involved in the issue.

So, why are such institutions very much interested in higher education? Who do these institutions speak for? What types of voices are represented? Are we represented in these texts, if so what are our roles? If not, what type of conceptual tools do we need to express our views on the issue of higher education? The role of CDA is crucial here. CDA highlights the importance of agency in a discourse analysis. Higher education discussions in Turkey revolve around the concepts of global economy, EU standards, and the role of Turkish universities in the country's economy. All these discussions are generated from top-down, which suppresses and ignores the ideas from below. CDA provides space for alternative and 'scientific' voices and inspires us to ask many enlightening questions that would help the issue to be seen from multifarious aspects.

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study is, through textual analysis, to analyze the present nature of the new higher education strategies recommended in CoHE report for Turkish universities within a multifaceted approach, and understand the nature of the highly recommended path, what it suggests in various domains of higher education institutions, and what it means for the current and prospective beneficiaries of it as well as the society as a whole. By doing these, this study will provide clues to what type of higher educations are being imagined by the policy makers, what they include in and what they exclude from their imagined realms.

Significance of the Study

In its twenty-five years of history, the Higher Education Council (CoHE) issued a development plan only once, in the year 1991, which was later removed fom the agenda. Thus, Higher Education Strategy Report 2007 is very important in Turkey's history of higher education. Hence, a thorough study of this report and the related ones may help form a comprehensive explanation for the current transformation taking place in Turkish higher education domain, and predict the future of higher education and the meaning of these transformations for larger populations of Turkish society in the long run.

Moreover, at a time when the higher education agenda is overwhelmed by the ideas of policy makers and civil society groups demanding changes in higher education, through a multifaceted approach, this study aims to develop a thorough analysis of the implications of mainstream discourses on higher education in Turkey. "The role of what is called the dominant ideology is fulfilled nowadays by a certain use of mathematics" and this ideology has to be analyzed critically through arguments, reasons, refutations; "and this implies scientific work" (Bourdieu, 1998:54).

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Political Economy of Education

In contemporary societies, legitimate power to take decisions and implement them in the name of economic freedom, welfare and security of the society is bestowed upon liberal form of governments and education has a key role here since its disciplinary power is of strategic importance (Simons, 2007). Disciplinary power governs by drawing limits to thought and practice through an intricate network of processes such as sanctioning, normalising, legitimising and delegitimising. In this process education plays a key role by normalising the judgement of subjects (Foucault, 1995). The role of education as an institution is central, and it is indissociably related to other disciplining bodies such as economy, politics, and so on. Foucault (1997) points out to the centrality of economy politics link as a disciplinary mechanism and argues that "the word economy is in the process of acquiring a modern meaning, and it is at this moment becoming apparent that the very essence of government – that is the art of exercising power in the form of economy – is to have as its main objective that which we are today accustomed to call "the economy" " (p.208). Drawing mainly on Foucauldian accounts, Hardt and Negri (2001) argue that contemporary society can be characterised by an intensification and generalisation of the normalising disciplinary apparatuses, penetrating into the very depth of social terrains, even into those that are located outside structured sites of

social institutions. Now, all spheres of life become subject to the rule of several regulatory apparatuses. This complex web has given rise to a new reality. Hardt and Negri (2001) argue that this picture becomes most evident when presented from the monetary perspective from where "we can see a horizon of values and a machine of distribution, a mechanism of accumulation and a means of circulation, a power, and a language" (p.32) . Supranational juridical constitutions and great industrial and financial institutions are now vested with the power to structure territories and populations and create subjectivities. It becomes the case that "in the biopolitical sphere life is made to work for production and production is made to work for life" (Hardt and Negri, 2001, p.32). In the light of these ideas, to gain insights into our new reality and the complex ways it is being shaped through education, it would be meaningful to historicize it in the light of production patterns.

The postwar boom, from 1945 to 1973 was configured around "certain set of labor control practices, technological mixes, consumption habits and configurations of political-economic power", and this pattern can be named Fordist-Keynesian (Harvey, 1990, p.124). The break of this system since 1973 has introduced a period of rapid transformation, flux, and uncertainty (Ibid). This breakdown of Fordist rules of engagement initiated by capitalism's desire to expand in the global market place (Brown&Lauder, 1997) meant a different phase for education. Fordism was based on mass production patterns, and was heavily inspired by scientific management theories of Frederick Taylor. Fundamental principles of scientific managament, also called Taylorism, were developing scientific methods for each element of a man's work and supplanting the "rule-of-thumb" method by scientific ones; scientific selection and training of workers, work according to the principles of science, and an apposite and "almost equal" division of work between management and the workmen

(Taylor, 1947, p. 36). Taylor (Ibid) believed that the efficiency of workplace would be maximised by these scientific techniques rather than the conventional rule of thumb methods. However, according to the new principles of wealth creation, economic prosperity relies on the abilities of nations and companies to exploit skills, knowledge, and insights of workers, which can no longer be achieved through Fordist principles (Brown&Lauder, 1997). Exploiting these assets of workers requires organising labor power in a large scale. The role of education and training is crucial here as Harvey (1990:123) indicates "the socialization of the worker to conditions of capitalist production entails the social control of physical and mental power on a very broad basis". Then, as a result of this need for a different socialisation of the worker according to new modes of economic regulation and creation of wealth, education system has to be reformed. Jessop (2000) defines this new tendency in workfare as Schumpeterian because it encourages innovation, competitiveness, and entrepreneurship tied to long waves of growth and to the more recent pressures for continuous innovation. This new competitive and entrepreneurial self implies sweeping changes in the way learning and living are connected and the way individuals position themselves in time and space (Simons, 2007). There are strong associations built between learning and investment, and accordingly, individuals are required to adopt new approaches towards life and the space they occupy in it. Bauman (2001) argues that under such conditions, where change in habits is desired, tertiary learning "acquires a supreme adaptational value and fast becomes central to what is 'indispensable equipment for life'" since it involves "learning how to break the regularity, how to get free from habits" and "how to rearrange fragmentary experiences into heretofore unfamiliar patterns while treating all patterns as acceptable solely until further notice" (p.125).

The shift from Fordist mode of production to Neo-Fordist and Post-Fordist modes meant the breakdown of rigid division of labour and mass production of standardized goods and services, which naturally implied a change in the massification of education. Mass production is still important for Neo-Fordism, but production follows a flexible pattern. This flexibility is a result of the capital's desire to expand and to find new markets and the means to generate new products. What was expected from education now was to raise the flexibility, quality and productivity of human capital in order to gain a competitive advantage in the market place, rather than merely equipping workers with the necessary skills to effectively work in the assembly line. Brown&Lauder (1997) state that following Fordism, certain states followed a Neo-Fordist pattern, whereas others pursued a Post-Fordist line. Neo-Fordism is characterised by "low skill, low wage flexible production, fragmentation of labour force, emphasis on manager's right to manage, and demand led training policies", whereas Post-Fordism requires high skilled, multi skilled workers with high wages, collective participation, and sees training as an investment (Brown&Lauder, 1997: p.175). Although they are differentiated and their implications seem clear in theory, in practice I believe there is hybridity and different features of both models can be seen in many countries. Hence, unless necessary, I will only use Harvey's (1990) term "flexible accumulation" to refer to the period after Fordism (p.141).

Educational Governance and Higher Education

Leslie and Slaughter (1999) argue that 1980s were a turning point in the history of universities in terms of manifest market intervention in higher education and the breaking of the contract between the academia and the public with regard to the ethos

of serving public good in any case. 1980s witnessed significant changes in terms of regulating the relationships between the state, society, and market. Guy Neave and Frans Van Vught (1991 in Vidovich 2000) assert that there was a neo-Keynesian consensus in higher education operating from the end of the Second World War to the late seventies. According to this consensus, educational system was seen as public-funded investment, and had a key role in raising the overall level of education which in turn would return as economic gains and in providing access and opportunity. Neave and Van Vught think that this consensus is no longer valid due to the growing need for higher education to respond to the industry and support national economic survival (Ibid). By this way, the political and civic nature of higher education was replaced by the dominance of global economic paradigms. Public-good functions of education started to be withdrawn and state's role in education was diminished by moving some activities 'upwards' to supranational bodies and others 'downwards' to sub-national or non-state bodies (Jessop, 1993). Harvey (2006) attributes such changes to the desire of the neoliberal project for privatization and financialization of public assets in seeking to create new spaces for capital to circulate. What becomes marked in public institutions, then, is a treatment of them like private institutions. This is obvious in recent higher education reform discourses which assiduously advocate funding and governance reforms that offer private sector practices and cultures. Also, given that the 1990s became an era of managerial restructuring and closure for some departments, and faculties and institutions are forced to compete with each other in the market for funds and student places (Peters, 2007), higher education can be said to be following a different trajectory. However, the process is not simply a turn from institutional practices and trends of public nature to a private one. The way transformation is taking place is complex, and there

are not definite and consensual explanations on the exact nature of this transformation. For instance, in terms of university management, researchers focus on the concept of new governance and there are different approaches to understand the nature of emerging governance patterns and the role of state vis-à-vis market.

The origin of the anglophone term 'governance' dates back to the classical Latin and Greek terms for the 'steering' of boats (Jessop, 1998: 30). Insel (2004) states that the term 'governance' was translated into English in the 14th century from the French word 'gouvernance' used in the 13th century to refer to the way and art of governing. Theoretically *governance* means "new interactive relations between the state and the society" (Aygul, 1997). The restructuring of the relationships between the society and the state is a result of the increasing complexity and variety of dynamics we are undergoing. Instead of one-way traffic between the governor and the governed, governance requires "two-way traffic" between them (Kooiman, 1993b in Aygul, 1997). This is, as Rose (1993 in Olssen 1996) puts it, what seems to be a process of "governing without governing" (p.340). Jessop (1998) argues that the term has been revived in many contexts over the past decades most seemingly due to the need to draw a distinction between 'governance' and 'government'. It implies the notion that there can be modes of governing without government, and government is only responsible for governing the institutions. According to Fairclough (2003) this popularity of the term 'governance' can be attributed to "a search for ways of managing social life (often referred to as 'networks', 'partnerships' etc.) which avoid both the chaotic effects of markets and the top-down hierarchies of states" (p. 32). What is significant here is the aesthetisation of policy discourse. Indeed, there can be complex networks of governing "characterized by loose coupling of agents, complex forms of reciprocal interdependence, and complex spatio-temporal horizons" (Jessop,

1998:32). There is now market presence and civil society organisations in state institutions, which gives rise to new ways of organizational patterns and relationships alien to people. A new term to connote the emerging patterns and ways of being would alleviate the problems and confusion created by the complexities. Sometimes, the term might be overused and this is probably why Jessop (1998:30) dubs it "a ubiquitous buzzword which can mean anything or nothing". Another explanation to the popularity of the term can be the need to avoid clear-cut categorizations, such as market vs. hierarchy in economics, public vs. private in politics (Scharpf, 1997). Whatever the reasons for the popularity of the term might be, both at the discoursal level and at the level of institutional practices, there is an obvious shift in policy making from government to governance, and science as an institution is no exception to this tendency.

Contemporary governance can be seen as combining markets, hierarchies, and networks (Jessop, 1998). While educational activity takes place within the boundaries of the state, different scales are linked. State bureaucracy is linked to private enterprises, non-government organizations, supranational/national /regional /local bodies and so on. Jessop (1998) points out that a fundamental shift is taking place in state-market-society relations and this shift shows us the greater societal complexity that results from increasing functional differentiation of institutional orders in a global society. This shift gives way to increasing systemic interdependencies and intricate relationships between different spatial, temporal, and social dimensions. In other words, in an attempt to achieve more effective policy-making, governance promotes state-society relations as a mode of co-ordination between multifarious and fragmented social actors, such as public administrations, private institutions, semi-public organizations, and NGOs. Neoliberalism's eagerness

for privatization of assets, as a way of opening up new fields for capital accumulation, is one of the driving factors for these emergent new interaction patterns. Sectors formerly run or regulated by the state are turned over to the private sphere or deregulated (Harvey, 2006). The nature of educational governance can be explained by these developments. Market and civil society presence becomes prevalent in education, and educational activities formerly carried out at national scale start to be carried out in various scales.

Economics and the politics of the welfare state list three forms of state intervention that relate to three different types of activities involved in welfare policy: how it is funded, how it is provided, and how it is regulated (Dale, 1997). Governance activities of a state then can be analysed using these three distinct categories. Funding is one of the issues that is highly contested in higher education governance. In the neoliberal globalisation process all over the world, state funding has started to become outdated with the excuses such as increasing demand for higher education, decreasing public funds, competitive economy, and the like. Universities are now encouraged to raise money through student fees, stakeholders, research activities, and others. Globalisation can be given as one of the explanations for the decreasing state contribution to higher education. Robertson et. al. (2002) argue that pressure for the increased commodification of education and changing patterns within educational sphere are the consequences of a globalizing competitive economy in which states cannot act independent of the cross-national bodies. Moreover, the claim that education brings individual gains as well as social ones, hence the one who benefits from it should bear the costs, poses a cause for state retrenchment on public education. This statement is commonly used in OECD documents and higher education reform documents written both in Turkey and by the

EU bodies. Torres and Schugurensky (2002) state such a quasi-suprahistorical proposition that investment in higher education is a subsidy to the elites, is a legitimising strategy. In addition to legitimizing the notion of self-subsidized higher education, this approach introduces consumerist notions into educational sphere and leads to significant transformations in the relationships between education and individuals. It should be noted that most OECD systems are now quasi-markets with varying mixes of market and non-market aspects (Marginson, 1997). The restructuring of funding does not only mean a decrease in public funds for education and search for alternative sources of funding, but it also assumes greater efficiency in the allocation of educational funds (Dale, 1997). In many countries there is debate about possible reforms, such as full cost fees and opening state systems to contest from private providers, that would shift higher education from quasi-market towards an economic market proper (Marginson, 1997).

Current tendencies in the regulation of education also combine with funding in creating a different space for educational policy (Dale, 1997). The new regulation pattern is towards deregulation of the existing public-based and state controlled nature of education (Harvey 2006; Apple 2001; Dale 1997). In contemporary governance while education remains a public issue, coordination of educational activities is no longer governed only by the state or government; instead a range of forms of *governance*, some of which are decentralization and privatization, is utilized (Dale 1997: p.274). It should be mentioned that state is not seen as an alternative, but as a partner to private methods of creating value (Considine&Lewis 2003, Robertson 2007) and it continues to be an important actor. In addition to the state, other actors such as market appear on stage as new disciplinary powers. Current tendency in educational policy making is a shift away from a focus on administration and policy

to an emphasis on management (Peters et.al, 2000). This is a new type of management which is also called "new managerialism". Deem (1998b) explains the concept from a transaction cost analysis perspective, defining new managerialism as a concept that claims to elucidate new discourses of management borrowed from the private sector that is encouraged by governments wishing to decrease public spendings. Jessop (1998) agrees that transaction cost theory is one of the aspects of governance model and results in heterarchy in the state apparatus. According to Peters et. al. (2000) new managerialism draws on theories of "corporate managerialism and private sector management styles, as well as public choice theory and new institutional economies (NIE), most notably agency theory and transaction cost analysis" (p.109). At the level of discourse, public choice theory and New Public Management comprise the new managerialism (Ibid: 111).

One particular form of new managerialism is New Public Management (NPM). It represents a way of trying to understand and categorize attempts to apply managerial techniques, more usually associated with medium and large 'for profit' businesses onto public sector and voluntary organizations (Clarke et. al. 2000). Boston (1996 in Peters et. al. 2000) lists the key features of NPM as "an extensive use of written contracts and performance agreements; a reliance on short-term employment contracts; an emphasis on economic rewards and sanctions; a reduction in multiple accountability relationships, the institutional separation of the funding agency from the provider; the separation of advisory, delivery, and regulatory functions; capital charging; a distinction between state's ownership and purchasers' interests; a distinction between outcomes and outputs; and an emphasis on contestable provision and contracting out for service" (p.116).

New managerialism can be considered as a neoliberal politicization of management. In neo-liberal global economic systems "hybridization", blurring of boundaries (Fairclough, 2003) which some theorists associate with 'postmodernity' (Harvey, 1990) is a significant phenomenon. Given the blurring boundaries between public and private with growing state financing and control of private institutions (Torres&Schugurensky, 2002), it can be said that New Public Management involves considerable degree of hybridization, drawing on a number of different ideas and organisational types and forms (Deem 1998b; Newman 2005). For instance, governments create 'interacting' markets by 'design' even while controlling those markets from the back (Niklasson, 1996) and merge with economic life. Binding rules of supranational bodies are also towards encouraging and pressuring the governments to regulate educational activities according to the rules of the New Public Management. To illustrate, GATS member countries experience decreasing priorities and support to the national or public bodies or granting priorities given to national institutions to the private markets. Otherwise, different treatment of public institutions and the private market institutions would be recognized as unfair treatment, which would violate the GATS rules (Robertson et. al, 2002). Similarly OECD, with its educational indicators and rankings, uses the technique of 'naming and shaming' to control educational activities. Then, it can be said that organizations such as GATS and OECD set the conditions for disembedding education activity from its fixed location, pressing it into motion and global market place.

Jessop (1998) claims that the new governance pattern is characterized by 'heterarchy' rather than hierarchy. Discipline is ensured through heterarchy which takes place at three tangled levels: "interpersonal networking", "self-organisation of inter-organisational relations" and "inter-systemic steering" (Jessop, 1998:33). What

is implied is not diminishing disciplinary practices but a change in the nature of discipline that is exercised. In higher education there is less direct central regulation, but the centre decides what the rules are, what the outcomes should be, and the limits to it, so that the institution is steered by remote control (Marginson, 1997). Similarly, Neave and Van Vught (1991 in Torres and Schugurensky, 2001) define this new pattern in higher education as 'distance evaluation'. The outcomes are strictly defined but the university is free to decide upon the means to achieve the predetermined goals. Hence, "Freedom becomes freedom to act according to the requirements of government" (Marginson, 1997, p.66).

Provision and delivery patterns of education are undergoing remarkable changes with new governance modes. In the neoliberal-era, systems of government are merging with economic life, and the neoliberal imagines services such as in higher education as a devolved market or quasi-market in which people operate as consumer-investors, making private choices within a game-structure controlled by the government (Marginson, 1997). The state is no longer considered to be the sole body providing and delivering education, and the customers have to be convinced to bear some of the burden of the delivery in order to make it easier for the markets to deliver the service (Apple, 2001). In the global world, NGOs and private bodies are responsible for delivering the services that were formerly run and delivered by the state institutions. Again we see the hybridity in that the distinctions between the citizen and consumer, public and private, private and NGO become blurred.

Higher Education and the Changing Nature of Knowledge

Rooted firmly in the Enlightenment, the modern university was characterised by the principles of scientific humanism, institutional celebration of logical

reasoning, and pursing the truth (Cowen, 1996). Confirming that its history goes back to the middle ages, Bauman (2001) argues that "our perceived idea of university" and its mission today is a modern phenemenon (p.128). Modern university was initially the outcome of the efforts to create space for knowledge production free from the intervention of the church. According the enlightenment thought, human being could reach the truth, dominate nature, and understand oneself through scientific efforts, and some thinkers even extended this expectation to claim that science could even lead to the happiness of human being (Harvey, 1990). However, these utopic expectations from the enlightenment resulted in disappointment partly due to the successive wars (Harvey, 1990). Kazancıgil (1998) also agrees that scientific expertise is suffering from dwindling credit due to the disappointment created by the growing complexities and uncertainties instigated by social, economic and technological transformations. Lyotard (1984) also explains this situation as legitimation crisis and attributes the crisis of scientific knowledge not to the inherent nature of science itself, but to technological development and expansion of capitalism. Scientific knowledge also suffers from the disappointment of decision makers by the incompetency of science to address the challenges and uncertainties, "as well as by the public realization that scientific expertise does not simply consist in enlightening and guiding policy making through scientific truth, but that it is intimately linked to policy-makers by previously acknowledged relations (Ibid:74). Also, Foucault (1991) argues that the creation, distribution, and application of knowledge demonstrates a central problem and that knowledge is inextricably linked to power relations. He states that "we live in a social universe in which the formation, circulation, and utilization of knowledge presents a fundamental problem. If the accumulation of capital has been an essential feature of our society, the

accumulation of knowledge has not been less so. Now, the exercise, production, and accumulation of this knowledge cannot be dissociated from the mechanisms of power; complex relations exist which must be analyzed" (p. 165). Lyotard (1984) puts this knowledge-power link more concretely, claiming that "the games of scientific knowledge becomes the games of the rich, in which whoever is wealthiest has the best chance of being right; and an equation between wealth, efficiency, and truth is thus established" (p.45).

For post-war governments, the university was a key instrument for nation building, and therefore the universities were remarkably involved in ideological conversion and mobilisation. However, contemporary nation states have lost their interest in the university as the site for ideological conversion and have abandoned the fashioning of cultural formation to market forces, which means the priority to distribute legitimate knowledge granted to the university by the state now has been challenged by other agencies (Bauman, 2001). Nevertheless, from this statement it should not be inferred that the nationalistic discourses disappear in higher education policy making. While new modes of thoughts, behaviours and actions are recommended for a desirable higher education area, the discourses of collective good and a nation's well being are widely used. According to Liesner (2007) such discourses are not incompatible with the new modes of university restructuring because they are the results of a technique of leadership and aim to convince people of more economic forms of government.

Economic developments also required a refashioning of the role of knowledge. With the change in production patterns, certain types of knowledge became obsolete while other types earned value. Transition from Fordism to flexible accumulation changed the type of knowledge the labour force had to gain. We often

hear the complaints from the industry that university cannot meet the demands of the society/industry and it is quite an unwieldy structure. The primary reason for this is that university education is not fully compatible with the principles of flexible accumulation. Torres and Schugurensky (2002) indicate that "a great deal of contemporary university restructuring is largely the result of the conscious effort of specific interest groups to adapt the university to the new era of flexible accumulation" (p.434). In an era in which competitiveness and entrepreneurship are of paramount importance, basic research has lost its significance to the research areas that responded to the demands of the rapidly changing era (Bayhan, 2009). Applied research generates knowledge that provides more direct results and economic gains, and knowledge it generates carries market value. In an age of flexible accumulation, knowledge itself becomes a key commodity, to be produced and sold to the one who offers the highest amount, under conditions increasingly relying on a competitive basis, and that is why today universities and research instituties compete fiercely for personnel as well as for being top in the list in patenting new scientific discoveries. (Harvey 1990).

Globalisation also put pressure on science to be more innovative (Slaughter&Leslie, 1999), and more cooperative with the market which allegedly represented and cared for the welfare of the nation in the global platform. Universities have been criticized for their inability to cooperate with the industry, which curtailed the development of the industry and society. Blame on university even went further to claim that it was a space far from defending the well-being of the society merely favoring the privileges of a limited number of technocrats.

Liesner (2007) states that criticisms directed at the university is not a new phenemenon, and despite having different points, they were prevalent even in the

19th century. Here, comes the role of the interplay between knowledge and power. It is no secret that legitimation of knowledge is strictly controlled by power mechanisms. Whether a given knowledge meets the conditions of an axiomatic depends on its acceptance and legitimisation by power mechanisms (Lyotard, 1984). The conditions of the enlightenment required different types of knowledge, the term enlightenment connotates that the previous knowledge system governed by the church does not have the validity and impact it had once, and now it is time for science and logical reasoning to speak. Therefore, production of proof and reaching the truth through science were the characterising the tenets of enlightenment thought. Since this power struggle does not exist any more, and the post-industrial society has different characteristics and power relationships, the notion of proof has quite a different place. Modernist enlightenment thinking accepted the existence of "homo economicus" in all spheres of life from seeking the sources which provided the utmost benefit, to constructing the social behaviour according to certain principles and even to the way one lives her/his private life (Ergur, 2003). However, flexible accumulation is dependent on flexible labour processes, markets, and consumption patterns, and as a result "entirely new sectors of production, new ways of providing financial services, new markets, and above all, greatly intensified rates of commercial, technological, and organizational innovation" emerge (Harvey 1990, p.147). These new production patterns, markets, and organisational innovations necessitate skills and knowledge different from the Fordist regime's skill and knowledge modes. Hence, the way the notion of proof is handled has changed. Then, it is no wonder that university is now asked to produce different kinds of proofs, and rated as incompetent by powerholders when it fails to do so.

Although Lyotard (1984) is critical of the notion of proof, he argues that the production of proof in contemporary research is controlled by a different language in which the aim is no longer truth but performativity. To legitimate the practice of pursuing performativity at the expense of other governing dynamics, the State and companies now abandon the Enlightenment discourse, "the idealist and humanist narratives of legitimation" and seek ways of augmenting power (Lyotard 1984, p.46). In an age of rapid transformation with new technologies and the so called fierce global competition, good workers for the economy have to prove their skills with their performance in adapting to the new conditions, working flexibly and efficiently, and reskilling themselves according to the ever changing conditions. This process of proving does not necessarily manifests itself in the form of activities and directly observable ways. Convincing assessors, and even peers, of one's high performance might become a key concern, which requires one to engage in a constant labour of self-representation. This entails a large scale restructuring of the institutions, cultures, and identities.

As a result of a set of historical and economic developments, higher education institutions are now faced with requirements to renew the type of knowledge and skills they produce. As Lyotard (1984) asserts "in the computer age, the question of knowledge is now more than ever a question of government" (p.9). Changing patterns of the industry cause political leadership to perceive universities as sources of innovation that feed the industry (Torres&Schugurensky, 2002). "As industries shift to high-tech production techniques in order to increase international competitiveness, educational policy is increasingly designed for an increasingly segmented labor market, which apparently requires a small cadre of supervisory,

system-oriented, managerial personnel with flexible skills and comprehensive knowledge" (Ibid, p. 432).

Cowen (1996) explains the rationale and process of university transformation as follows:

> The university will and does change but it needs to be attacked and criticized publicly – the ideological case for change needs to be publicly constructed, the university's role has to be respecified and supervisory procedures have to be created to ensure that its working practices change. All three processes in extreme form were developed by Nazi Germany, Stalin's Russia and in the Cultural Revolution period in China (when members of the People's Liberation Army sat in on the inner councils of the universities after they reopened). All three processes in the less extreme form can be seen currently, for example in Australia, the UK, and the USA. The critiques have been generated, the role redefined and new techniques of surveillance, which lack the crudity of the Soviet and Chinese practices, are nevertheless are having a considerable impact on the university cultures (p. 246).

Just like stated above, the ideological case for change in today's university has been constructed according to the conditions prevailing today: through discourses of globalization and knowledge economy that are accompanied by 'sweeping world-wide changes'. Peters (2007) calls the university of today as the 'post-historical university' (p.14) which is characterized by its global character. Knowledge production, transmission and acquisition is still the core function, but what is different is that the value and legitimacy of knowledge is legitimized increasingly in terms of its appeal to and service to global corporations (Ibid).

Higher Education Culture and Reconstruction of Identities

Transformations in the organisation of knowledge and the nature of intellectual practice within higher education result in changes in the way subjects situate themselves in this field. This entails redefinition of identities positioned in

this field. University in its current form is subject to criticism from both the public agencies and the postmodernists in terms of the type of the knowledge it produces (Cowen, 1996). This is important not in itself, but because this transformation is more than a different evaluation of knowledge. What is also significant is as Ball (2004) indicates that different approaches and ways in which knowledge is being handled at universities imply radical changes in the interplay between knowledge, learners, and the process of learning itself. "New social identities are created – what it means to be educated, what it means to be a teacher or a researcher" (Ball, 2004: 148). The chief aim is to infuse certain set of beliefs into the subjects whereby the way universities, teachers, and students conceive themselves change constantly with a new mode of governmentality (Liesner, 2007). This new form of governmentality requires an increased control of academic labor through the implementation of certain set of organisational practices associated with new managerialism. This process of how the governed is made a subject that controls and how human subjectivity is constituted as a result of recent higher education policy discourses and practices needs attention.

One of the prominent features of new managerialism in higher education is an extensive use of written contracts and performance agreements which serve as the main disciplinary means in contemporary higher education governance, just like in any other business sector. Contract based employment and the use of contracts as research steerage mechanisms transforms researcher identity in significant ways. People adopt a new language, the language of performativity. Lyotard (1984) argues that performativity is the legitimate language in business, an appropriate way of saying things and defining limits to it, just as prayer in church, question in philosophy, and rules in the army. As a result of this tendency, Ball (2004) indicates

that people at higher education institutions tend to aestheticise themselves in their attempts to depict a successful picture of their performance, involving in individual fabrications and manipulations. What becomes central is not the scholar work only, but representation, promotion, and publicity of that work and the person producing it. In addition to changing language defining academic success and criteria for it, target audience which one had to appeal to has changed. Now, judgement of peers is not as crucial as it used to be, and one has to appeal to a larger audience. Bauman (2001) states "it is the media value of news, rather than the orthodox university standards of scholarly significance, which determines the hierarchy of authority – as unstable and short-lived as the news value of the messages" (p.130). Fairclough (2003) also states that aesthetization of identities is a prominent phenomenon of our time when subjects are engaged in a constant labour of aestheticising themselves through semiosis.

Olssen and Peters (2005) state that the new mode of authority brought into higher education carries the effect of *de-professionalisation* involving "a shift from collegial and democratic governance in flat structures, to hierarchical models based on dictated management specifications of job performance in principal-agent chains of command" and increased job specification of academic work and its content (p.325). It can be said that academic staff tends to be turned into technical workers whose duty is to generate the knowledge serving to the production of prespecified products. Another dimension to the shift from collegiality to performativity is that collegiality is risky and difficult to control whereas performativity is not since it enables managers to create a work culture that allows measuring and assessing the outcomes of research, student learning, and instructior quality (Deem, 1998b). As systems grow and become complex, supervision becomes more necessary and more

difficult (Foucault, 1995), and performativity serves as a means of surveillance and disciplinary power in an age in which higher education becomes global and more complex. Now, higher education institutions across the world have to meet manifold criteria to achieve a certain set of shared characteristics. Performativity is a language that defines these charateristics and dictates academic staff what to do and what not to do. In his study on intellectuals in the knowledge society, stating that the role of intellectuals has been organised in the sense of being performative, Osborne (2004) theorizes four types of intellectual style: intellectual as a legislator, an expert, an interpreter, and a mediator. He argues that there is a shift from "the predictive and normative frameworks" of intellectual "to the more provisional and diagnostic" style of the mediator (p.443). A mediator is one who produces "local, strategic, sagittal and fleeting" ideas and who gets things going rather than producing grand ideas (Ibid:436).

Because of the recent focus in higher education on governance, there arises a tension between academic and managerial values (Curie&Vidovich 1998; Berman 1998; Tight 2003) and what becomes the paramount activity in research is not the purposeful and wide-ranging intellectual enquiry but research management (Ozga, 1998). Moreover, the problem to be analysed does not arise out of independent curiosity of the resarcher, or does not depend on the significance of an issue; rather, a pre-specified problem is accepted by a research team or by management (Ozga 1998; Olssen&Peters 2005). This transforms university into an institution which is not responsible for research in its traditional sense, but one that is expected to transmit knowledge considered to be established, which results in replication of teachers than production of researchers (Lyotard, 1984).

Liesner (2007) describes the emerging mode of socialisation within education as one with "the subject transformed into an entrepreneural self" and "a self-understanding comprised of future university customers and service providers" (p.70). Part of willingness from the university to adapt to the new conditions and turn into entrepreneural selves is the reason that researchers and professionals at the university are aware that they will not be included as players in the game if they do not cooperate (Slaughter&Leslie, 1999). This is true given the fact that in today's university, researchers and professionals who reject or fail to comply with the new conducts in higher education are likely to be excluded from decision taking and reward mechanisms. This mechanism shows us how the politicisation of life is linked to economisation of life. In this relationship what is central is self-governing networks (Ball, 2007) that are responsible for their own inclusion in and adaptation to the system and what they can obtain within it. According to Simons (2007) neoliberal form develops biopolitics in education which is closely related to "capitalisation of life" (p.117). An entrepreneural attitude towards the self imbues the idea that our current situation is the direct result of informed choices we made, that leads one to build a picture of how "learning, living and investment are connected within the figure of entrepreneural-self" (Ibid: p.117&118). This places the burden of responsibility for one's inclusion in or exclusion from the system on the individual. Emanating from the extension of neo-liberal ideas to educational sphere (Robertson, 2005), this is a typical characteristic of contemporary educational discourses which insist that individuals should be responsible for emancipating themselves by way of which they become the entrepreneurs of themselves (Berman 1998; Olssen 2006).

Another dimension to performance-based contract and rewards is that the researcher, as an individual, is transformed into an unfinished project who continuously has to reskill herself/himself according to the desires and requirements of the institution. Harvey (2000) states that the skilling, deskilling, and reskilling of a person is inextricably linked to the technological, social, and economic environment in which that person has its being. He describes the typical reskilling process as a selective one that promotes the development of certain skills while abhorring others, whereby the body is turned into an accumulation strategy to which people take on new identities. Subjects failing to follow the recommended trajectory tend to face the risk of being treated as disposable and redundant identities. The researcher then should be ready to face the challenges brought about by an uncertain world full of risks, challenges, and opportunities.

Identity crisis in higher education brings about tensions within the university. Pusey (1991 in Ozga 1998) argues that liberal liberal intellectuals prevent the market mechanisms from being fully implemented in the academia since they do not accept the economic rationalist principles for institutional design. Because of this resistance, job-security in the academia is seen as one of the major challenges in front of the new reforms in higher education governance. Also, Olssen and Peters (2005) indicate that professionalism and neoliberalism contradict each other in that the latter regards professionals as self-interested individuals who involve in 'rent-seeking' (p.325) behavior, whereas professionalism is based on the idea of subject's autonomy defined within liberal ethos of rights, freedom, and autonomy.

The Concept of Globalisation and Knowledge Economy

Unarguably the term 'globalisation' is one of the most widely used ones in higher education policy making discourse. Therefore, it is crucial to understand the way this term is being handled in the context of higher education as well as in wider sociopolitical structure which governs the nature of higher education. Globalisation is subject to several different interpretations, depending on the diverse ways in which one interprets the world. Morrow and Torres (2000) see globalisation as a longstanding process initiated by capitalism, which affects educational policy in complex and multifarious ways with regard to "evaluation, financing, assessment, teacher training, curriculum, instruction, and testing" (p.15). Globalisation is also seen as "the widening, deepening, and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life" (Held et al., 1999: 2), bringing about an extension in the reach of power relations across the world (Held&McGrew, 2002). Although globalisation is an old concept dating back to the works of nineteenth century intellectuals, its gaining academic and wider popularity is with the 1960s, and with 1990s public awareness of globalisation intensified (Held&McGrew, 2002). According to some, globalisation is a new era of human history with disappearing state borders in which communication has a key role (Ohmae, 1995), and global citizens have more access to information since knowledge is no more under the monopoly of governments (Ohmae, 1990). It is also interpreted as an economic phenomenon working colloboratively with integrated global markets (Hirst&Thompson, 1999), and a type of power triggering the rapid social, political, and economic changes that are transforming the modern societies and world order (Giddens, 2004; Castells, 2000).

Appadurai (2000) argues that globalisation is not simply a new era in the history of capital or the nation state, but it is marked by a new role in the imagination of social life. Viewed as an individual capacity, imagination enables the posessor to relate the larger scene of history to one's own experiences, constitute self-consciousness and create alternatives (Rizvi, 2006). This is important given that by mainstream policy makers globalisation is usually referred to as an inexorable process that needs to be dealt with through a set of pertinent measures and structural changes in the bodies of organizations that are alleged to be affected by the phenomena of globalisation. In this sense, what Bourdieu (1998) says about globalisation is worth mentioning: "it is a myth in the strong sense of the word, a powerful discourse, *an idee force*, an idea which has social force, which obtains belief. It is the main weapon in the battles against the gains of the welfare state." (p.34). Taking globalisation as an imagination has major implications for thinking about research (Appadurai 2000; Rizvi 2006, Bourdieu 1998) because it enables the researcher to focus on the historicity of the term and causal relationships. While cursory applications of the term and its promiscuous use as a label for all sorts of phenomena (Dale 2000; Marginson 2000) and the use of economy and quasi-market terms in much of the globalisation and higher education discourse are apparent, it is less common to see the attempts to come to terms theoretically with the effects of the changing structure and results of supranational forces, which do not forecast the end of the nation state, predict the world as a totaly homogenous body, or a space heavily governed by technological powers. In the discourses of educational research, also, globalisation is used in a "determinist way" (Robertson, 2006: 305). Avoiding the reductionist approach Robertson (Ibid) warns against, in the process of analysing globalisation and higher education in this thesis, globalisation is considered as a

multifaceted process involving "real actors-economic and political- with real interests" (Robertson et al., 2002, p.1).

David Held (in Torres and Burbules, 2000), in considering globalization notes that the decisive shift finds its base much more related to economic terms. "[G]lobalization is the product of the emergence of global economy" (ibid 29) which is very distinctive in terms of its strategies of flexible production which is organized around principles of knowledge-based economy in which knowledge is seen as "the main engine of economic growth." Hence one can argue that without discussing knowledge-driven economy any consideration of globalization in any term would remain deficient. In addition to its cultural and social implications, the idea of globalization is an economic signification which finds its operational base in the discourse of knowledge economy. Presuming a prominent role to knowledge, the new economy encourages the productivity, competitiveness and services, which seems legitimate in any neo-liberal agenda that implies the transition from Fordism to post-Fordism. As it has been discussed in many different contexts and many times, Fordism is basically a post-war production culture which had its primes in 1950s and 1960s. By the mid-1960s signs of serious problems within the rigidities of Fordist mode of production became apparent (Harvey, 1990), and it was only till the mid 1970s that Fordist culture could dominate the US and World macro economy when it suffered a massive economic crisis that ended with a paradigm shift we call post-Fordism. It was mainly through spatial and temporal displacement that Fordism could overcome the problem of overaccumulation. When it was no longer possible to contain the crises through displacement, some other and superior regime of capitalist production which allowed further accumulation on a global scale had to be created

(Harvey, 1990). Stuart Hall (1988) provides a detailed description of post-Fordist times:

> [There has been a] shift to the new 'information technologies'; more flexible, decentralised forms of labour process and work organisation; decline of the old manufacturing base and the growth of the 'sunrise', computer-based industries; the hiving off or contracting out of functions and services; a greater emphasis on choice and product differentiation, on marketing, packaging and design, on the 'targetting' of consumers by lifestyle, taste, and culture rather than by categories of social class; a decline in the proportion of the skilled, male, manual working class, the rise of the service and white-collar classes and the 'feminization' of the work force; an economy dominated by multinationals, with their new international division of labour and their greater autonomy from nation state control; and the 'globalisation' of the new financial markets, linked by the communications revolution (24).

It can be easily stated that post-Fordism has now grounded its meaning in the knowledge economy which is characterized by the globally networked computerization. The new economy is a digitized economy which is very different from the older economy models in the sense that it is much more associated with the new technologies which is seen as knowledge-based economy. Jessop (2004) states that in transition from Fordist production modes, knowledge based economy was selected from among many discourses about post-Fordist futures, and it became a master economic narrative and mode of regulation through the 1990s. In this imagination, knowledge economy is explained as one in which the generation and the exploitation of knowledge has come to play the predominant part in the creation of wealth.

Susan Robertson (2005, 152) clearly explains the locus of the knowledge economy and the changing role of education as: "(i) the balance between knowledge and resources (labor and capital) has shifted toward knowledge; (ii) securing long term economic growth will be much more dependent on knowledge and (iii) education will play a critical role in economic growth; however (iv) in order to play

this critical role, education systems will need to respond in new ways to the demands of knowledge economy". "Clearly, the economic importance of education has been rediscovered as fundamental to understanding the global economy (Papadopoulos, 1994 in Peters 2007) and its expression in its latest phase as the knowledge economy. Since long ago, multi-cultural organizations like the OECD and World Bank, have emphasized the "significance of education and training for the development of 'human resources', for upskilling and increasing the competencies of workers, and for the production of research and scientific knowledge, as keys to participation in the new global economy" (Peters, 2007, 16). Similar to Peters, Lester Thurow (1996) in Peters (2007) suggests that a technological shift which requires new rules for the new game has taken place. "Today knowledge and skills now stand alone as the only source of comparative advantage. They have become the key ingredient in the late twentieth century's location of economic activity" (p.68). Dressed with this understanding and developed by neo-liberal theories of human capital and new public management, governments have started to re-organize their higher education institutions and re-define the idea of university, "obliterating the distinction between education and training in the development of a massified system of higher education designed for the twenty-first century" (Peters, 2007, 17).

Once accepted as the master narrative, knowledge based economy could be deployed to direct economic and political processes at all levels "from the labor process through the accumulation regime and its mode of regulation to an all-embracing mode of societalization" (Jessop 2004, 170). This master narrative meant a different approach to the way higher education is handled as a producer of knowledge. Massive extension of intellectual property rights, the link built between technology, innovation and knowledge, and new focus on human capital and lifelong

learning meant a direction for higher education in which it had to be assimilated more fully into the new modes of production. The overall trend of declining government commitment to higher education, and emergent actors in the provision, regulation, and funding of higher education, are also part of this new mode of production regulated through knowledge economy narratives. Higher education has to be a site where knowledge that can be adapted to the rapidly changing global conditions and human capital that is ready to face the risks and meet the demands instigated by global knowledge economy are produced.

In educational terms, it can be said that neoliberal versions of globalisation and knowledge based economy pervade the educational agenda privileging certain policies while subordinating others. Robertson et. al. (2002) argue that pressure for the increased commodification of education is one of the consequences of a globalizing competitive economy in which states cannot act independent of the cross-national bodies. University, once seen as the primary site of nation building by the postwar governments (Marginson, 1998), is now regarded as a burden in its current, public funded form. Hence, major transformations are to take place in the overall nature and structure of the university as a public space and the ways in which this space is governed, participated in, and recontextualised. Recontextualisation is initiated through discourse, and it is a condition for the constitution of any practice in discourse (Fairclough, 2001). Seeing the social field as a system of relations of selection and combination (Bourdieu, 1991), one should move from the explanation of "what it is about a practice that leads to a problem to evaluation of the practice in terms of its problematic results" (Wodak&Meyer, 2001, p.65). It is assumed that such a conceptual tool will help the author move from "is" to "should" of the practice that is explored.

Higher Education in Turkey

Following the collapse of the Keynesian consensus in higher education that had lasted from the postwar years until the late seventies, the creation of a new higher education space began, because higher education had to respond to the demands of the industry and national economic survival (Neave&Van Vught, 1991 in Vidovich 2000). In this way, the political and civic nature of higher education was replaced by the dominance of global economic paradigms. It is no surprise that higher education has come to the agenda of world governments and NGOs as an area to be reconstructed accordingly. Turkish higher education is no exception to this. Recently, higher education institutions in Turkey are blamed for their incompetency and inability to respond to the demands of the global era. Indeed, the criticism that higher education system cannot function properly is not a recent phenomenon, but the issues brought into consideration vary considerably depending on the historical period. The argument that higher education cannot respond to the demands of the era dates back to the early years of higher education in Turkey. Even in the late 1920s Darülfünun, the first permanent higher education institution or university, was severely criticized for not providing assiduous support for the purified national language reforms and the reforms towards a new interpretation of Turkish history (Özen, 1999).

The path higher education reforms followed in Turkey, and indeed in the entire world, cannot be seperated from the socioeconomic transformations and prevalent power relations. The emergence and development of the university can itself be considered as the object of historical memory. Both Kant's notion of Reason and Humboldt's Notion of Culture find their meaning when dealt within a

framework of multifarious sociopolitical developments (Ciğdem, 2003). While it might be true that the conditions governing the nature and functions of higher education have changed dramatically in the last few decades, this cannot justify ignoring the manifest changes between the past and the present (Ibid), and accepting current recontextualisation as merely natural and free from intervention.

Rather than being governed by the institutions themselves, the history of higher education in Turkey has been a history whose boundaries were drawn by the state (Ercan, 1998). As with many other institutions, higher education institutions in the Republic of Turkey were inherited from the Ottoman Empire and Darülfünun was the only university in 1923, the year the Republic was established (Özen, 1999). Getting the name Istanbul Darülfününu (Darülfünun of Istanbul) in 1924, the only university of the Republic was subject to several reform attempts of the government (Ibid) and as is the case today, experts from Europe were called upon to give advice. Although Darülfünun was granted academic autonomy ("ilmi muhtariyet") in 1919 (Özen, 1999, p. 264), the institution was severely criticized by the politicians and the press for not providing enough support for the reforms implemented to create a contemporary and civilised nation. An article in the newspaper *Cumhuriyet,* by Falih Rıfkı Atay (cited in Tunçay&Özen, 1984) includes the following statements:

> ... Darülfünun has not published even a single page to contribute to Turkish revolution. How should we interpret this attitude of Darülfünun towards the reforms which create a new order and which relate to both the material and spiritual institutions of the country. We can tolerate neither impartiality nor incompetence. Although Darülfünun might be a science institution, in exceptional revolutionary times, it is obliged to assume the duty of serving the revolution and and infusing it into the minds and bodies, sacrificing its character as a scientific institution (p.227).

> Fakat Darülfünun dahi, Türk inkılabına dair son on seneden beri henüz bir tek sayfa telif etmemiştir. Darülfünun'un memleketin maddi manevi müesseselerinin hepsine dokunan, yepyeni maddi, manevi, bir nizam yaratan Türk inkılabına karşı bu vaziyeti acaba nasıl tahlil olunabilir? Biz ne bitaraflığı ne de kifayetsizliği kabul edebiliriz.

> Darülfünun yalnız ilim müessesesi bile olsa, müstesna inkılap zamanlarında ilim müesseseliğinden fedakarlık ederek inkılaba hizmet etmekle, inkılabı kafalarda ve ruhlarda yerleştirmek vazifesini en başa almakla mükelleftir (p.233).

In 1932 the budget of Darülfünun is ratified by the parliement on condition that the institution is reformised, and with the recommendations of Prof. Albert Malche, invited from the University of Geneva to write a report on Darülfünun reform, Darülfünun receives the name Istanbul Universitesi (Istanbul University) in 1933 (Hirch, 1985). According to Özen (1998) "the new university now does not have a juristic character and autonomy" (p.266). Dr. Resit Galip, the minister of education of the time officially declares that the new university does not have any ties with Darülfünun, it is an institution that will create its own culture, and the name "Üniversite" (university) will be used until a pure Turkish equivalent of the word is found (Hirsch, 1985).

Tekeli (2003) states that because the institution of university emerged relatively later in Turkey, its historical development does not go in tandem with that of the universities in the West. The 4936 Law of Higher Education issued in 1946 foresees the Humboldt University type (Ibid). Özen (1999) claims that this law initiated the democratization and autonomization process of the university. In the new world conditions brought about by the aftermath of the Second World War, to some extent (Marginson, 1997) the number of universities increased, but because of the discomfort of political authorities, the new universities did not have autonomy for quite a long time (Özen, 1999). Between the years 1955-1957, higher education institutions outside the borders of Istanbul were established (Aktay, 2003). A few decades later, the universities located in cities other than a couple of urban centers come to be known as "provincal universities" (taşra üniversitesi) and there have been

hot debates on the cultural and management patterns of these universities. Compared to urban universities, it is no secret that rural universities have relatively much less autonomy and the university culture experienced is quite different. Okçabol and Gök (1995) state that the emergence of these universities is a result of populist urban policies, and they lack adept planning and consistent and democratic policies.

Military takeovers that took place in about every decade have had tremendous impacts on higher education policies (Cangızbay 2003, Ercan 1998; Gök 2002; Insel, 2003; Okcabol, 1995). According to Özen (1999) between the years 1950-1960, during Demokrat Parti (Democrat Pary) government, the military and the university became the groups in the society that were losing their priorities and this had an influence in the breakout of the 1960 military takeover. Savran (1987) contradicts this view regarding it redutionist and providing a comprehensive analysis of the class structure, and socioeconomic and sociopolitic dynamics of the time. He points out that the military takeover was initiated by the industrial bourgeoisie whose interests were subordinated to the agricultural interests of the rural bourgeoisie (Ibid). Hence, there emerged a coalition in the city, which included the workers and the university (Ibid) and the seemingly democratic character of the ensuing constitution can be explained by this coalition. The Constitution of 1961 was the one that defined university autonomy in its broadest sense so far (Okçabol&Gök, 1995; Özen, 1999) and the notion of science it implied was compatible with the principles of a democratic and secular welfare state (Gök, 1999). Also with the Constitution the state assumed responsibility for "providing the education and training needs of the society" (Ünal&Özsoy, 1999, p. 51). However, these should not be misleading because the creators of this constitution turned their back against it soon, when the society, especially workers and university students, began to mobilise deriving their

courage to some extent from the rights granted to them in the constitution (Savran, 1987). Therefore, the most significant accomplishments of 1971 coup d'etat was to make certain changes in the 1961 Constitution to limit the rights it granted. The 1750 Law of Universities and 1765 Law of University Staff in 1973 were drafted in the light of hostile attitudes towards the university (Özen, 1999). The article allowing the academic staff to be a member of a political party was changed. Also, the Council of Ministers was now vested with the legal authority to impound the managerial process in case of an incapability of the university bodies in preventing incidents that threatened the smooth flow of education (Ibid).

It was during the 1970s that universities in rural centers proliferated. This coincides with the economic patterns beginning to switch from the Fordist mode of production to flexible modes. Capital started to be more mobile and this brought about certain tensions. The central paradox of diminishing spatial barriers is that capital becomes more sensitive to the variations of place within space, and places try to stand out in certain ways to be attractive to capital (Harvey, 1990). The crisis of capitalism in 1970s brought about intense competition and required companies to be innovative in terms of research and development (Ercan, 1998). The solution of capital was using the facilities and experience of university (Ibid), and in this way research and development (R&D), which was risky and costly, could be provided at a much cheaper price. This tendency is still obvious in the ideas of capital groups in Turkey. TUSIAD report (2006) entitled "Education and Sustainable Growth" (Eğitim ve Sürdürülebilir Büyüme) states the following ideas: "In attaining sustainable growth preformance, reducing the alternative costs of knowledge is as important as increasing the resources towards knowledge. Macroeconomic stability, fair competition atmosphere, effective judicial system and good governance are the chief

measures that would decrease the cost of investment in knowledge" (p. 23). Although reducing R&D costs by outsorcing research to higher education institutions is not included among these measures to be taken to decrease the cost of knowledge, in the next parapraph the report says "the heart of knowledge lies in R&D and investments in technological innovation" (p.23).

The military coup of 1980 took place under the above mentioned circumstances, and the era of neoliberalism in Turkey also began during this military dictatorship of the 1980s (Kutan, 2006). In January 24 1980, structural adjusment policies were initiated by Özal government, and were also welcome and implementd by the military government seizing power in September 1980. Gök (2002) notes these policies have had tremendous impacts on education in Turkey, and adds that the educational quality of state schools decreased dramatically after the implementation of these policies. While the power of central executive bodies were decreased, public institutions were eliminated or made to function improperly. What was desired by this is exactly what Apple (2001) says about neoliberal government: the state institutions are consigned to decay and the idea that global neoliberal changes are inevitable and inexorable is imposed on the public. Strong government created by the military government fit very well into the neoliberal project, which continued in the following Ozal government periods when neoliberal reforms continued to be implemented assiduously (Aygul, 1997).

Military goverment passes the Law of Higher Education, code 2547, and with this law the Council of Higher Education (CoHE/YÖK) is established in 1981. Under the control of the Ministry of Education and Board of Universities heretofore, higher education institutions now are bound by CoHE. According to Insel (2003) The Law of Higher Education, 2547, issued in 6 November 1981, initiated a new era. Insel

(Ibid) draws similarities between the military structure and the academic structure brought about by CoHE. Higher educations institutions were no more autonomous, the staff was appointed from the centre, and university boards operated only as consulting bodies (Özen, 1999). Some other specific practices implemented by the military government include "prohibiting the academic staff from working after work hours, dictating national anthem ceremonies in the universities" (Okçabol 2007), "burning the books of the academic staff sacked by the coup government and other books that are considered unfavourable; dictating research topics to professors, and giving compulsory national security (milli güvenlik) lectures to professors" (Özen, 1999, p. 277). Market reforms were diligently impelemented by the military government, and higher education area was not an exception to this. Universities were now more prone to be, as Harvey (1998) defines, markets for production, exchange, and consumption of knowledge, knowledge that corporations, governments, and other customers required.

Although the Law of Higher Education, code 2547 guarantees equality of opportunity in higher education (Ünal&Özsoy, 1999), students had to pay tuition beginning in 1984 (Okçabol&Gök, 1995) and by 1990 tuitions were no longer symbolic and included in the Law in article 46 as "current service pay" (Ünal&Özsoy 1999). In 1991, the code 3798 was ratified, which suggested giving the control of five universities in Turkey to the leading figures, local notables, and the businessmen in the region where each university was located (Okçabol 2007). By means of this code, state universities could be transformed into 'state universities with special status' and universities which were deemed suitable by the Ministry of Education would be granted special status with the decree of the Council of Ministers (Ibid:127). Although the Supreme Court abolished this code in 1992, right after this

verdict, CoHE issued the by-law 20919, which is still in effect today (Ibid). Also, during this period revolving fund practices were encouraged, and incentives granted to foundation universities were increased (Özen, 1999). As a result of such policies, state universities now face severe funding problems, and the state encourages the universities to create their own budgets. Certainly, this means producing knowledge for the ones who bid the highest amount and brings about serious problems on the notion of science and scientific knowledge to be produced by the university. As Lyotard (1984) succintly puts it, research areas that fail to contribute to the efficiency of the system are ignored by the flow of capital and consigned to oblivion (Lyotard, 1984).

Lyotard's (1984) analyses for the changing nature of research and teaching in Turkish higher education are noteworthy given the fact that the word "performance" has come to dominate higher education discourses. In their recent reports on higher education CoHE (2007) and TUSIAD (2000, 2003, 2008) frequently refer to the significance of the concept of performance, highly recommending following a path in which performance based-budgeting, performance-based staff appraisal and research development are central. Lyotard (1984) argued that performativity is a tendency in business, an appropriate way of saying things and defining limits to it, just as prayer in church and rules in the army, the outer limit of which is bureaucratization (Lyotard, 1984). Given the centrality of the term today in higher education reform discourses, Lyotard's ideas are worthy and these discourses need to be scrutinized to gain insights into the complex ways in which higher education reconstruction is to take place.

The transformation that the Higher Education sector is recently going through in Turkey is intertwined with multifarious historical developments, and this historical

background of higher education is the chief reason why university as a democratic institution today is questioned by many scholars. While some strongly oppose the ongoing attempts of the government to reform the university 'according to the needs of the era', others remain aloof on the grounds that the university is already an undemocratic institution. In addition to this scholarly debate, higher education has become a core issue with TUSIAD's demand for university reform, with its report "Higher Education in Turkey: Tendencies, Problems, and Opportunities", which attracted considerable media attention and was publicized at a meeting attended by the President of Turkey[1]. Although the issue is a highly contentious one, as Apple (2001) articulates, opposing the new policies does not mean affirming current policies. Hence, what needs to be done, as Bourdieu (1998) suggests, is defending oneself by analysing and trying to undertand the mechanisms through which hegemonizing discourses and practices are produced and imposed.

Language, Knowledge, and Discourse

According to Harvey (1990) to achieve Enlightenment aims there was a radical shift from a rationalist and instrumental view of thinking to an aesthetic strategy. Modernism became heavily preoccupied with language because of the need to represent the eternal and immutable in the middle of all this chaos created by capitalism's history of creative destruction (Ibid). According to this view, individual's success depended on "innovation in language and in modes of representation" (Ibid, p. 20). Hardt and Negri (2001) explain the power of language

[1] http://www.radikal.com.tr/Default.aspx?aType=HaberDetay&ArticleID=905554&Date=28.10.2008&CategoryID=98

in the modern world as follows: “language, as it communicates, produces commodities but moreover creates subjectivities, puts them in relation, and orders them” (p.33).

“The realms of law, of the academy, of science and bureaucratic government, of military and political control, of electoral politics, and corporate power all circumscribe what can be said and how it can be said in important ways” (Harvey, 1990, p.47). Rather than reifying the institutions, then, we should be aware of how “differentiated performance of language games creates institutional powers in the first place” (Ibid). We can see in observable ways how institutional power is created in the discourses of knowledge economy and knowledge society, the discourses that permeate all levels of society and educational area. For instance, in his discussions on cultural political economy, Jessop (2004) states that knowledge-based economy narratives are economic imaginaries that rely heavily on discourse to constitute objects of intervention. In this sense, discourse takes on material qualities.

Discourse has a material base (Harvey 1990; Bernstein 1990; Bourdieu 1998; Jessop, 2004) but it might be “less obvious and its relation to its materiality may be more opaque” (Bernstein 1990: 21). The way we transfer knowledge and represent reality through language reveals the importance of discourse. Robertson (2005) states that policy discourses emerge as a result of certain interests rather than coming into being as derivates of underlying interests. This is an important point when we remember the crucial place language and semiosis occupy in the restructuring and rescaling of capitalism. We often hear the statement “we are living in a knowledge society”. Here comes the cruciality of discourse, because knowledge is transferred through discourse and it is possible to create changes in our conceptual apparatus through knowledge. Fairclough (2001:127) notes the entire “idea of knowledge-

based economy in which knowledge and information take on a decisive new significance, entails discourse-based economy: knowledge is produced, circulates, and is consumed as discourses – discourses which are operationalised as new ways of acting and interacting (including new genres), and inculcated as new ways of being, new identities (including new styles)". Also, language and communication play a major role in the biopolitical production of order (Hardt and Negri 2001). Communication networks we have today have an organic relationship to the birth of the new world order (Ibid).

Economic and cultural tendencies of late modernity influence language in noticeable ways. Commodification and commercialization of cultural products (Harvey, 1996) have their effects in linguistic realm. This is a reflexive process. "As commodities become increasingly cultural in nature they correspondingly become increasingly semiotic and linguistic, and language becomes commodified, subject to economically motivated processes of intervention and design (Chouliaraki&Fairclough, 1999, p. 83).

Although he does not reduce ideologies to discourse, Van Dijk (1998) points to the critical role of discourse in the production of ideologies, stressing while specific actions permit less clear and definite inferences about the underlying ideas of actors, text and talk make it possible for "social members to actually express or formulate abstract ideological beliefs or any other opinion related to such ideologies" (p.192). Our conceptual system underlying our interpretations of the social world and meaning-making regarding that world owes its existence to its being without alternatives (Habermas, 1990). Influencing our meaning making processes and interpretation of the social world, discourse has the function of producing and inculcating ideologies, and representing them having no alternatives.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Language is not a tool that is inherently powerful, but its power depends on the social structures that use it. Bourdieu (1991) expresses this idea as follows: "The power of words is nothing other than the delegated power of the spokesperson, and his speech – that is the substance of his discourse and, inseparably, his way of speaking- is no more than a testimony.... of the guarantee of delegation which is vested in him" (p.107). Bourdieu (Ibid) strictly opposes the separation between the external linguistics and internal linguistics, and he disagrees with the idea that power of a word can be found in the word itself, highlighting the importance of the social structure that empowers the words. However, not all the branches of linguistics would completely agree with this statement and insist on a vision of language as a relatively autonomous system. Critical linguists criticize such tendencies in some of the research in pragmatics and traditional sociolinguistics for naively taking the context for granted and regarding language as an autonomous system (Wodak, 2001). Critical Linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) are concerned with exploring opaque and transparent relationships of power embodied in language. The terms CL and CDA are often interchangeably used and recently CDA is the more preferred one to refer to the theory that was formerly called as CL (Ibid).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a multidisciplinary approach that includes diverse theories varying from the microsociological perspectives of Ron Scollon, to theories on society and power, of Siegfried Jager, Norman Fairclough, and Ruth Wodak influenced by Foucauldian tradition, Teun van Dijk's "theories of social cognition and grammar as well as individual concepts that are borrowed from larger theoretical traditions" (Meyer, 2001, p.18). It can be said what is common to

all theories is that they take a particular interest in the relation between language and power and they situate a given discourse in a historical context. CDA is characterized by its assumption that discourses emerge from historical contexts and therefore can be understood through an analysis of their contexts (Chouliaraki&Fairclough 1999; Blommeart&Bulcaen 2000; Scollon 2001, Wodak&Weiss 2007). For this reason, extralinguistic factors such as culture, society, and ideology are important considerations in CDA.

Text analysis theory of Fairclough (2003) is significantly influenced by Michael Halliday's (1978) work in Systemic Functional Linguistics, developed as an alternative to formalism associated particularly with the Chomskian tradition (Fairclough, 2003). According to Halliday (2004) a text can be analyzed from multiple aspects, but two main ones would be to regard a text "as an object in its own right" and focus on it "as an instrument for finding about someone else" (p.4). Hence, both the linguistic system of the language in which a text is produced and why a text means what it does and why it means so should be of importance (Ibid).

Fairclough (2003) defines three types of text meaning. These are "Action, Representation, and Identification" (Fairclough 2003, p. 27). Action implies a social relation between participants in an interaction such as between the ones who know and who do not know, who order and who takes orders, who is vested with the power to advise and who is supposed to take advice. For example, if a teacher says to the students "A student who gets an A differs from the one who gets a B in terms of his studying habits", this sentence is an action, because it implies a social relation. The teacher is informing the students on how an A student differs from a B student. Also, there is the knower (the teacher) and the ones who do not know, and therefore are informed. Representation is a relation between two entities (Fairclough, 2003). In the

above sentence, the relationship set up between the two types of students is in terms of their difference. As in X is different from Y. Identification shows the speaker's commitment to or judgment about what s/he expresses. The speaker might be certain about what s/he says, might have reservations about it, or might feel other ways. Here, moral evaluation is part of the picture. To illustrate, the statement "introducing performance indications into higher education will bring uniformity to the whole system" differs from the statement when "will" is changed into "might". Here, the speaker has less commitment to what s/he utters. Fairclough (2003) states that categorization of Action, Representation, and Identification is similar to Foucault's distinction of "relations of control over things, relations of action upon others, and relations within oneself" (p.28). Action is similar to Foucault's 'relations with others' because there is the distinction of knower and the one who does not know, informer and the informed. Representation is similar to 'control over things' because it is to do with knowledge and creating representation of reality (Fairclough, 2003). Having the right to represent in a discourse means being vested with the power to control the projection of reality. Identification has a moral aspect, and therefore it is similar to Foucault's 'relations with oneself' (Ibid).

Discourses have the functioning of building relationships between different spaces and times, and recontextualising and decontextualising them (Chouliaraki&Fairclough, 1999). Drawing mainly on Harvey's theories of space and time, representation of space in discourse is important in CDA. Harvey (1990) theorizes that "history of social change is in part captured by the history of conceptions of space and time, and the ideological uses to which these conceptions might be put" (p.218). Any project to transform society must firmly deal with how conceptions and practices regarding spatiality and temporality are transformed (Ibid).

Hence, it is important for a research using CDA as a methodology to trace how space and time are represented, what type of conceptions and practices these representations derive from, and what type of experiences of space and time are included or excluded. Just like Harvey, Foucault (1997; 1986, in Gulson, 2007:45) sees the concept of space as central and thinks that "the present epoch will perhaps above all be the epoch of space". Lefebvre (1991) asserts that space is both an abstract and a real notion and "it serves as a tool of thought and action; in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power; and yet it escapes in part from those who would make use of it" (p.26). Space produces and is produced by social relations, and it requires that the relations between people are shaped in some way by the spatial environment and that social interactions may shape spatial environment (Ibid; Massey 1994). "Space, time, and space-times are routinely constructed in texts" (Fairclough 2003, p. 151) and CDA takes special interest in how space theories such as Harvey's can be operationalised in text analysis. Construction of space and time are closely related and it is difficult to separate them. But what is significant is to focus on the points they intersect (Fairclough, 2003). Bourdieu (1991) sees social world as a multi-dimensional space comprising related but autonomous fields. According to this view of space, the position of individuals vested with power depends on different types of capitals they posses (Ibid). For instance, it would be wrong to assume that individuals who occupy dominant positions in the field of politics are the same with the ones having dominant standings in the field of economic production.

An important tenet of CDA is that it regards all practices as practices of production through which social life is produced (Fairclough, 2001). Fairclough (2001) says that every practice includes the following elements:

- Productive activity
- Means of production
- Social relations
- Social identities
- Cultural values
- Consciousness
- Semiosis (p.122)

These elements are dialectically related (Harvey 1996, cited in Fairclough 2001). Each of them "internalizes others without being reducible to them" (Fairclough 2001, p. 122).

Meyer (2001) argues that "discourse-historical approach finds its focal point in the field of politics, where it tries to develop conceptual frameworks for political discourse" (p.22). The political field imposes censorship by controlling the universe of political discourse, which means it controls what is politically thinkable and unthinkable (Bourdieu 1991; Rosamond 1999). Bourdieu (1991) says "the market of politics is doubtless one of the least free markets that exist" (p.173). The critical role for CDA here is to reveal the limits of such fields in terms of bordering the space of discourses capable of being produced. To formulate broadly, it can be said that here, Bourdieu uses the term market to refer to a field. "A field or market may be seen as a structured space of positions in which the positions and their interrelations are determined by the distribution of different kinds of resources or capital" (Thompson 1991,p. 14). Similarly, Foucault (1987) thinks that discourse is not a free realm, it can be like a jail, and politics and sexuality are the areas where "bars become denser and black spaces proliferate" (p. 24).

Omnipresence of power and power-knowledge link is theorized in CDA, and how hegemony is embodied in a text is a major concern. In this sense Foucauldian accounts and Gramsci's notion of hegemony are important. Gramsci (1971) notes that political hegemony is exercised through different bodies in a state and it is a key concept to understand the existence of social unity in a given community. It entails successful mobilization of the active consent of dominated groups by the ruling class who deploy intellectual, moral, and political leadership (Ibid). Hegemony in this sense can be constituted through discourse (Althusser, 1989; Foucault 1987). Williams (1976 in Apple 1990) argues that hegemony is achieved through a selective tradition whereby certain meanings and practices are highlighted while others are neglected or disregarded. Educational institutions for example are the main means of this process by way of which transmission of an effective dominant culture is realized and subjectivities on the nature of legitimate knowledge are formed (Ibid). According to Jager (2001), to explicate "the problem of power/knowledge it is necessary first to deal with the relationship between discourse and societal reality and second, to ask more precisely how power is anchored in this societal reality, who exercises it, over whom and by what means it is exercised, and so on" (p.36). Achieving hegemony for a certain discourse leads to misperception of its arbitrariness and seeing this discourse as transparent reality rather than a constructed phenomenon through a set of actions and policies (Chouliaraki&Fairclough, 1999). Texts have the function of privileging certain discourses and voices over others and representing certain aspects of the world and building relationships between social spaces and the participants (Fairclough, 2003). A policy text is no exception to this. Thompson (1991) states that the political field is one in which words are actions and the symbolic character of power manisfests itself in this field. Agents in the political

field are “continuously engaged in a labour of representation by which they seek to construct and impose a particular vision of the social world” (Ibid: 26). Therefore Thompson (1991) finds it superficial to analyse policy discourses without referring to the field of politics and the link “between this field and the broader space of social positions and processes” (p.28). Likewise, Fairclough (1989) stresses that those who hold power assiduously strive to impose an ideological common sense that applies to all people, and which cannot be completely achieved since ideological diversity exists in every community to a certain extent. The aim of this type of inculcation is representing a set of assumptions as self-evident that in the end they come to be taken-for-granted concepts. For instance, as Bourdieu (1998) points out, in our contemporary society “it is taken for granted that maximum growth, and therefore productivity and competitiveness, are the ultimate and sole goal of human actions; or that economic forces cannot be resisted” (p.30-31). When it comes to education, in educational organisations power is exercised through attributing meaning and value to certain concepts at the sake of others (Peters et. al., 2000). Hence the space to contest certain concepts are limited through the exercise of power.

It is important to look into how the legitimation of social actors and social orders is achieved through discourse and how ideas are articulated to constitue legitimate discourses. Semantics is a rich field in this sense because it is a fertile field of ideological work in discourse (Van Dijk 1998; Ball 2007). What type of semantic relations are foregrounded gives the reader clues about the nature of legitimation work in discourse (Fairclough, 2003). Weber (1958) states that every authority system needs to build and maintain legitimacy in itself to invigorate its rule. Building legitimacy does not necessitate obedience through discipline; rather it is possible through influence and agreement (Ibid). In the world of politics legitimation becomes

imperative when challenges to institutional power are imminent, and the institution claims certain legitimation strategies, such as claiming to respect laws, instutional norms; remaining within the established moral values and appropriate behavioral norms, and serving the requirements of instrumental rationality (Van Dijk, 1998; Burns&Carson 2007). Van Leeuwen and Wodak (undated, cited in Fairclough 2003) distinguish four main legitimation strategies. These are legitimation through Authorisation, Rationalisation, Moral Evalution, and Mythopoesis (Ibid, p. 98). Authorisation is legitimation by reference to law, traditions, and authorities or people vested with institutional power (Ibid). Rationalisation takes place by reference to the efficacy and utility of institutionalised action (Ibid). Also reference to knowledge society and the rise of knowledge economy as a master rhetoric is a rationalisation strategy in that actions taking place with reference to knowledge society and knowledge economy are endowed with cognitive validity (Fairclough, 2003; Jessop, 2004). The factual recognition of norms is not solely based on belief in their legitimacy by those affected; it also depends on fear of implicitly threatened sanctions and on compliance caused by one's perception of own powerlessness and the lack of alternatives available to him and his imagination (Habermas, 1976). In this sense, knowledge based economy as a master narrative "can be read as a distinctive semiotic order that (re-)articulates various genres, discourses and styles around a novel economic strategy, state project, and hegemonic vision and that affects diverse institutional orders and the lifeworld" (Jessop, 2004, p. 166). 'Technologization of discourse' (Fairclough 1993a) is a result of such institutional practices that aim to rationalise certain institutional tendencies (p. 141,158). Discursive practices are reflexive and they are a domain of expertise (Fairclough, 1993a). Drawing on Gidden's (1991a, 1991b) work on reflexivity of modernity and

constitutions of expert systems, Fairclough (1993a, 1993b 2003) states that discourse is technologized through combination of research into existing practices, and recontextualisation of those practices according to criteria of institutional effectivity and training in the new practices. Yeatman (1996) argues that in today's governance discourse legitimation is more often achieved through Rationalisation, for instance by reference to market efficiency, rather than using Authorisation. The third legitimation strategy defined by Van Leeuwen and Wodak (undated, cited in Fairclough, 2003) is Moral Evaluation. "Legitimating discourses presuppose norms and values" and they have a claim to be in good terms with the existing societal norms and values (Van Dijk, 1998). Discourses of social cohesion, care for disadvantaged groups, and such, originate from reference to value systems. Also, actions in a situation of inequality in which one group is challenged by another are legitimised on the grounds that these actions are within universal values and they are not partisan and self-serving actions (Ibid). Mythopoesis is "legitimation conveyed through narrative" (Van Leeuwen&Wodak, undated, cited in Fairclough 2003). Fairclough states that Rationalisation and Moral Evaluation overlap since when an action is recommended in order to reach certain desired ends, these ends are construed as inherently good and self-evidently justified (Fairclough, 2003). Rationalisation, as a legitimation strategy, connects with Fairclough's (2003) distinction of "explanatory logic versus logic of appearance" (p.94). Policy documents tend to follow a logic of appearance pattern simply by showing what the case is and recommending certain policies as solutions to current problems defined. CDA puts special emphasis on why these documents do so. Explanatory logic entails time depth analysis of events, causality, and how they happen and change over a period of time. Policy texts produced without an explanatory logic would "limit

policy options by portraying the socioeconomic order simply as given, an unquestionable and inevitable horizon which is itself untouchable by policy and narrowly constrains options, essential" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 95) and self-evident (Bourdieu, 1998) rather than contingent.

The notion of legitimation inherently implies delegitimation. If certain groups, ideas, or actions are legitimised, the ones situated on the opposite end have to be delegitimised. Strategies of delegitimation presume norms, values, and ideologies alleged to be universal or largely accepted in society (Van Dijk, 1998). For instance, in a policy text advocating commodification of education will not refer to cuts in public funding on public education or the privileges of the people who have the resources to pay for education, but will focus on the consequences of public education being a 'free' service, problems and violations within the system, and will also delegitimise opposing discourses by framing them in specific ways using negative labels. Delegitimation strategies may take a a variety of forms, such as controlling the production, access, and use of discourse; citing out-of-context or framing, and presenting discourse itself as illegitimate or unreliable (Van Dijk, 1998).

What is 'said' in a text always rests upon 'unsaid' assumptions, so part of the analysis of texts is trying to identify what is assumed (Fairclough 2003). Assumptions and propositional relations such as "implication, entailment, and presupposition" are ideologically relevant properties of meaning making (Van Dijk, 1998, p. 207). Fairclough (1998, 2003) approaches this issue by drawing a distinction between significances and absences in a text. Significances in a text indicates what type of information the text considers to be important while absences in a text signify the information the text considers less relevant or irrelevant. This

certainly entails values and assumptions, and it is an ideological work. “The well known ideological function of concealing ‘real’ social or political facts or conditions may be semantically managed by various ways of leaving information implicit. This also shows the importance of distinguishing between mental models (beliefs) and discourse meanings” (Van Dijk 1998, p. 207). A piece of information can be called implicit when it is not explicitly stated by the text but inferred from the meaning provided by the text (Van Dijk, 2001). Any interaction that has communicative value assumes a common ground. What type of common ground is assumed is important since the capacity to exercise power and hegemony inherently subsumes the capacity to shape to a significant extent the substance and the nature of this common ground. Fairclough (2003) defines different types of assumptions such as existential assumptions, propositional assumptions, and value assumptions (p.55). Existential assumptions are assumptions about what exists, while propositional assumptions are the ones about what is, can be or will be the case (Ibid). Value assumptions are assumptions about what is good and desirable.

Social practices networked in a particular way generate a social order, and the semiotic aspect of a social order is called an order of discourse (Fairclough 2001, 2003). Through this ordering, certain particular ways of meaning making are privileged, while others are suppressed, remaining marginal or of less consideration. This is how significances and absences are produced, hegemony is exerted, and particular visions are legitimized. Discursive practices are characterized by delimitations and the fixing of norms; hence each discursive practice involves prescriptions that designate exclusions and choices (Foucault, 1977). Production of absences or non-existencies in a text might take various forms and can take place at different levels. Leeuwen (1996: 38-41) distinguishes between two different forms of

linguistic exclusion. While ‘suppression’ means the radical, total exclusion that leaves no traces in the representation of specific social actors involved in a matter with which a text is dealing, as there is no reference to the social actors in question anywhere in the text, ‘backgrounding’ refers to a less radical, deemphasizing exclusion, for the excluded social actors can be inferred with partial or total certainty from elsewhere in the text. Backgrounding can, among other strategies, be realized syntactically through ‘passivation’.

CDA also takes particular interest in the relationships between different texts, and the presence of actual elements of other texts within a text, which is called intertextuality. Interdiscursivity of a text is an element of its intertextuality, a matter of which genres, discourses, and styles are drawn upon in the text and how these are worked into particular articulations (Fairclough, 2001). According to Fairclough (2003) intertextuality in a text incorporates other voices, bringing dialogicality to the text whereas assumptions close dialogicality by assuming common ground. However, intertextuality is not the only criterion for dialogicality. What is also important is orientation to difference.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

In the study Critical Discourse Analysis will be deployed to examine the present nature of the new higher education strategies recommended in CoHE report for Turkish universities, and understand the nature of the highly recommended path, what it suggests in various domains of higher education institutions, and what it means for the current and prospective beneficiaries of it as well as the society as a whole.

A completely critical account of discourse has to have a theoretical and descriptive analysis of the social processes and structures that give rise to the production of a text, and of social structures and processes whereby people as historical subjects constitute meanings in their interactions with texts (Fairclough and Kress 1993, cited in Wodak 2001). CDA is not a method that can simply be applied in the study of social problems. "Discourse studies is a cross discipline with many subdisciplines and areas, each with its own theories, descriptive instruments or methods of inquiry. CDA does not provide a ready made, how to do approach to social analysis, but emphasizes that for each study a thorough theoretical analysis of a social issue must be made, so as to able to select which discourse and social structures to analyze and to relate" (Dijk 2001, p.98). Hence, to define broadly, theoretically analyzing higher education and situating it in a historically produced spatio-temporality, I will deploy the features of CDA relevant for policy text analysis

and relate certain features of higher education texts selected for this thesis to CDA theories.

Also, Fairclough's distinction between the 'external' relations of texts and 'internal' relations of texts (2003: 36) will be taken into consideration. Analysis of the external relations of texts is analysis of their relations with other elements of social events and, more abstractly, social practices and social structures. In this sense the analysis of relations of texts to other elements of social events (Fairclough, 2003) requires an analysis of how they figure in three major aspects of text meaning – Actions, Identifications, and Representations. Another aspect to 'external' relations is the relations between the texts, how elements of other texts are intertextually incorporated and, since these texts may belong to others, how the voices of others are incorporated; how 'other people's' texts are alluded to, assumed, dialogued with, and so forth (Fairclough, 2003). Hence, analyzing the CoHE report involves an analysis of the related texts of 'others' who are influential in the decision making process of the educational policies governing higher educational practices in Turkey. Moreover, paradigmatic relations are relations of choice, and they draw attention to relations between what is actually present and what might have been present but is not – 'significant absences' (Fairclough, 2003)

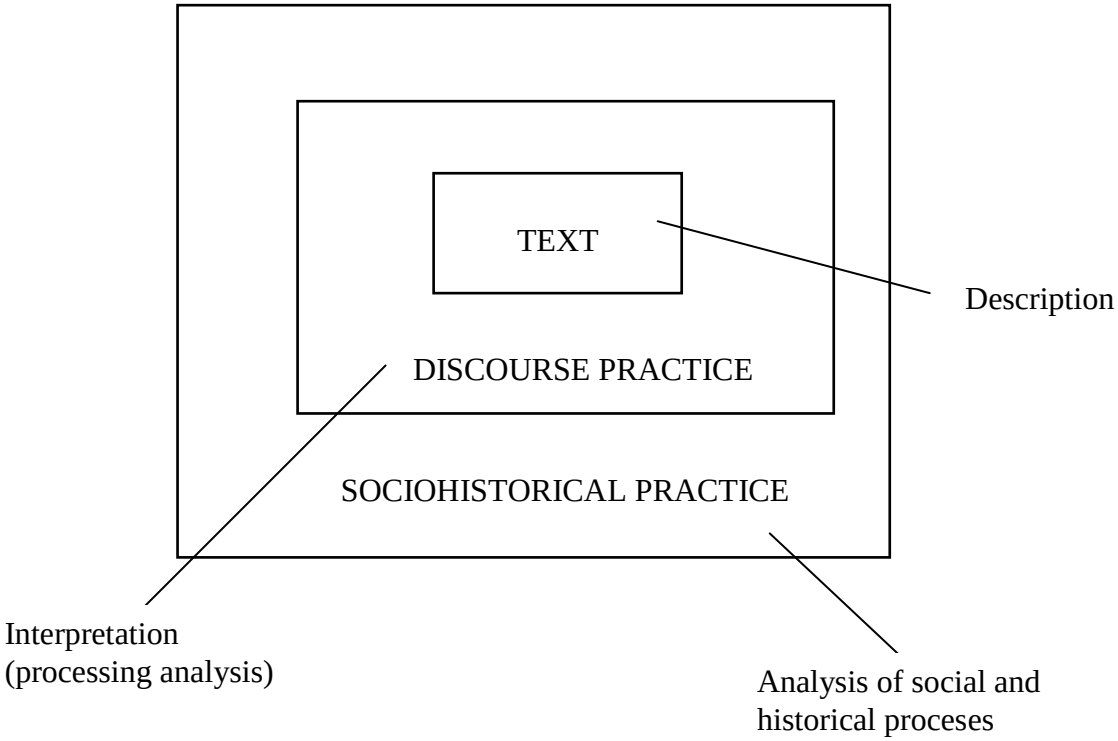
There is not a definitive pool of linguistic devices to use in CDA, because their selection is determined by questions asked in a research (Meyer, 2001). Since a complete discourse analysis of a large text is out of the question as it might take thousands of pages to analyse all linguistic categories and structures, in CDA, it is important to make choices (Van Dijk, 2001). Therefore, in a research one has to make a selection of structures that are relevant for the study of a social issue, and this

selection depends on the research questions (Van Dijk, 2001, Wodak&Weiss 2008, Robertson 2008a).

Following steps borrowed from Wodak and Weiss (2007) for developing an integrated theoretical framework capable of mediating different (social and linguistic) perspectives will be utilized.

1. Clarifying the basic theoretical assumptions regarding text, discourse, language, action, social structure, institution, society. This step constitutes the framework for developing conceptual tools, for establishing categories and for analytical operationalization.
2. Developing conceptual tools capable of connecting the level of text or discourse analysis with sociological positions or institutions, actions and social structures. Conceptual tools are elements of theory allowing a connection in both directions (linguistics and sociology).
3. After clarifying the theoretical assumptions and identifying the conceptual tools, categories that are analytical concepts to denote the content of specific phenomena will be defined. Categories are based on disciplinary or methodological borders only to a minor extent; they depend primarily on the object of investigation. Categories of this kind are for example public space, legitimacy, identity, power, etc. (p.125-126).

The following box would be helpful to describe my analysis (Fairclough, 2003, Robertson 2008b).



For instance, if we take the following paragraph from CoHE text to analyse, connecting it to the theoretical descriptions of social and historical processes in the literature review, it can be said that the social world constructed in this paragraph lacks historicality. What was discussed in the previous sections was that the knowledge economy, knowledge society, and globalization have a history: they are selected patterns for new modes of wealth, phases that are compatible with flexible accumulation rather than being random or accidental phenomena. Because discourses are different ways of representing, what is observed in the paragraph is a representation lacking causality. In the literature review, it was also discussed that social and economic processes have agents, and they entail creation of different identities. The following paragraph has the representation of the individual who is affected by economic processes, but the information as to who expects these

individuals to be the way they are expected to be is not given. Hence, it would not be difficult to say that the processes represented are agentless. As I have already clarified my theoretical assumptions about the social world and identified conceptual tools related to discourse, I have the categories of 'identity' and 'agency'.

> In the process of transition to knowledge society it is essential that everyone in the society gain full and equal access to education; because in the globalised world of knowledge society, economy depends on knowledge and knowledgeable human power. To be a successful individual in knowledge society, it is not any more sufficient to have vocational and technical knowledge at a certain level. This individual is expected to master a capacity to attain knowledge, analyze it, and constantly renew it according to her/his work. Competition in global knowledge society has increased the need for workforce that has multiple skills and capacity for lifelong learning. Individual in a global knowledge society is expected to use discretion, not to avoid taking responsibility, be open to teamwork, respect pluralistic and free thought and human rights, have artistic and cultural consciousness at individual and societal levels (p.39).

> Bilgi toplumuna geçiş süreci içinde, toplumda herkesin eğitime tam ve eşit erişimi gereklidir. Çünkü, bilgi toplumunun küreselleşmiş dünyasında ekonomi bilgiye ve bilgili insan gücüne dayanmaktadır. Bilgi toplumunda, başarılı bir birey olabilmek için, salt belli bir düzeyde mesleki ve teknik bilgilere sahip olmak artık yeterli olmamaktadır. Bu bireyden bilgiye ulaşma, bilgiyi çözümleme ve sürekli olarak işine uygun olarak bilgisini yenileyebilme kapasitesine ulaşmış olması beklenmektedir. Küresel bilgi toplumu içindeki yarışma, çoklu beceriye ve yaşam boyu öğrenme kapasitesine sahip olan işgücüne gereksinmeyi artırmıştır. Küreselleşmiş bilgi toplumundaki bir kişiden insiyatif alması, sorumluluk üstlenmekten çekinmemesi, takım çalışmasına açık olması, çoğulcu ve özgür düşünceye ve insan haklarına saygılı olması, toplumsal ve bireysel düzeyde sanat ve kültür bilincine sahip olması beklenmektedir (s.39).

Another important thing about CDA as a methodology is that data collection is not a step that must be completed before the beginning of analysis but might be a permanently continuing procedure (Meyer, 2001).

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This section of dissertation will focus on analyzing the recent higher education policy discourses to gain insights into the nature of the conceptualization of higher education in these discourses and imaginations that are supposed to influence the transformation of higher education space.

YÖK (CoHE) report was published in 2007, and was aimed at giving a picture of the present situation of higher education in Turkey, in the industrialized countries, and then defining the new pathways to be followed in higher education area in Turkey. The introduction part (1-40) briefly summarizes the new tendencies in higher education in the world, mostly in the West; the first section of the report consists of information about the present nature of Turkish higher education system (43-128) and the dimensions to be considered before defining a strategy (131-139); and the second part defines the higher education strategy to be followed by Turkey (141-205). In this sense, CoHE discourses consist of two dimensions: making meaning of higher education in the world and in Turkey which Wodak and Weiss (2007:130) term as 'ideational dimension' and organizing higher education, also called 'organizational dimension'.

Policy documents include specific strategies that rescale, reorganize, and recontextualize the social life. They need to be understood within a broader picture of social relations and institutions. In other words, as stated elsewhere by critical discourse analysts, while analyzing a text, it is important to have a broad sense of the

overall frame of the social world in which the discourse to be analyzed is located. It should be noted that the report analyzed in this dissertation was produced in a time of European Union membership process and neoliberal changes accelerated by the efforts of the current government, certain NGOs, and other state and non-state institutions. The issue of Europeanization was (and still is) the core foreign policy issue for the government; and massive reforms in education, health, and energy had/have been taking place.

Assumptions about the Social World and Higher Education

Assumptions held by the text regarding the social world have direct implications for its conceptualization of higher education. The text has the existential assumptions that there is such a thing, 'a phenomenon' called globalization (133); there is a globalised world (39,132,144), global economy (13,19,24), knowledge economy (13) and society (39,144), global network society (138), globalised knowledge society (41) and global competition (186). Propositional assumptions include the assumptions that we are in a globalising world (15,27,145,188) and the economy is globalizing (22), and higher education is globalizing (15). Higher education is located within such a conception of the world, and there is built such a link between globalization, knowledge, economy and society that terms become intertwined:

> In the process of transition to knowledge society it is essential that everyone in the society gain full and equal access to education; because in the globalised world of knowledge society, economy depends on knowledge and knowledgeable human power. To be a successful individual in knowledge society, it is not any more sufficient to have vocational and technical knowledge at a certain level. This individual is expected to master a capacity to attain knowledge, analyze it, and constantly renew it according to her/his work. Competition in global knowledge society has increased the need for workforce that has multiple skills and capacity for lifelong learning. Individual in a global knowledge society is expected to use discretion, not to avoid taking

> responsibility, be open to teamwork, respect pluralistic and free thought and human rights, have artistic and cultural consciousness at individual and societal levels (p.39).

> Bilgi toplumuna geçiş süreci içinde, toplumda herkesin eğitime tam ve eşit erişimi gereklidir. Çünkü, bilgi toplumunun küreselleşmiş dünyasında ekonomi bilgiye ve bilgili insan gücüne dayanmaktadır. Bilgi toplumunda, başarılı bir birey olabilmek için, salt belli bir düzeyde mesleki ve teknik bilgilere sahip olmak artık yeterli olmamaktadır. Bu bireyden bilgiye ulaşma, bilgiyi çözümleme ve sürekli olarak işine uygun olarak bilgisini yenileyebilme kapasitesine ulaşmış olması beklenmektedir. Küresel bilgi toplumu içindeki yarışma, çoklu beceriye ve yaşam boyu öğrenme kapasitesine sahip olan işgücüne gereksinmeyi artırmıştır. Küreselleşmiş bilgi toplumundaki bir kişiden insiyatif alması, sorumluluk üstlenmekten çekinmemesi, takım çalışmasına açık olması, çoğulcu ve özgür düşünceye ve insan haklarına saygılı olması, toplumsal ve bireysel düzeyde sanat ve kültür bilincine sahip olması beklenmektedir (s.39).

We can see how the constant narration of ideas like ‘global knowledge society’ come to be viewed as common sense ideas. In this sense, the text involves ideological work, since as Fairclough (2003) argues that texts can be regarded as doing ideological work in assuming the factuality of a global economy and taking it as an inevitable reality. As can be seen in the above statements, value assumptions are triggered in the text by the terms ‘equal’, ‘respect’ and ‘human rights’. There is an assumption that teamwork, free thought, and artistic and cultural consciousness are desirable. More importantly, when we apply Fairclough’s term “logical implication” (p.59) and Van Leeuwen’s (1993 cited in Fairclough 2003) rearrangement of elements (p.140), it can be said that the concepts of globalization and knowledge society are connected to values such as equality, respect and human rights in a way that they gain desirable qualities. Also, globalization and Europeanisation processes are implicitly valued as desirable because they are represented as having no alternatives. However, there is more neutral attitude towards global competition in that it brings about the necessity to compete with cheap labor (p. 186). Yet, it is still seen as a process that needs to be undergone.

Higher education is frequently represented as a subcategory of global economic tendencies as in the following example:

> It can be said that, in the next years, increase in the number of students to be provided with higher education will be affected by the demands of economic development rather than demographic considerations (p.37).

> Denilebilir ki, önümüzdeki yıllarda yükseköğretim verilmesi gereken öğrenci sayısındaki artışta, demorafik nedenlerden çok, ekonomik gelişmenin talepleri etkili olacaktır (s.37).

As in the above statement, higher education is relativised in much of the text whereas the universality of global economic paradigms is accentuated. Higher education as an institution is framed by global economic tendencies that are represented as broader and universal categories.

Higher education is assumed to carry mainly an instrumental function. Limiting the function of higher education to instrumental rationality is portrayed as undesirable, but unavoidable due to increasing demand for higher education and its being an expensive service. Hence, instrumental rationality comes to be, though implicitly, represented desirable since it is seen to have no alternatives. There is a strong link between services provided by higher education and the industry is accentuated throughout the text (30,38,39,40,101,174,186). There is reference to higher education as a human right and as an institution that facilitates personal development. University is considered to be a fundamental component of higher education, an institution with unique characteristics; a site where rationalism, elegance, generosity, and tolerance prevail, characteristics which, the text believes, should not be ignored in the planning phase of the transformation process of higher education (137). Such ideas seem to have been influenced by the narratives of Enlightenment perspective which depict university as site for cultural formation.

However, this Enlightenment tone is softened and subordinated to instrumental rationality. Using statements that are assertions, non-instrumental educational demands are conceptualized within a perspective of property rights, for which there is a price. For instance, it is highlighted that meeting the demand for non-instrumental higher education without any charge cannot be accepted:

> …..Higher education is an expensive service. It cannot be supplied enough to meet the demand in the country. In this case, it becomes very difficult to avoid the limiting logic of instrumental rationality.
>
> However, seen in another perspective, it can easily be understood that understanding higher education solely in terms of labor force demand of the market does not suffice; and a rationale very different from the above one can be proposed. People can demand higher education to participate in the society with a richer cultural repertoire and attain dignity. People can have educational demands not solely to get a job, but they may demand education to realize their own life projects. It can be asserted that right to education defined in the Declaration of Human Rights legitimizes such an educational demand. The only thing to object here would be meeting such a demand without charge. If people who utilize a service that is produced as a response to a demand pay for it, it would be difficult to find a reason for not producing that service. Not producing this would be a limitation to the right of human to an honorable life (p.40).

> …..Yükseköğretim pahalı bir hizmettir, ülkedeki talebi karşılayacak bollukta arz edilememektedir. Bu durumda araçsal rasyonelliğin sınırlayıcı mantığından kurtulmak çok zor olmaktadır.
>
> Oysa, başka bir açısından yükseköğretime talebi salt piyasanın işgücü talebi açısından kavramanın yetersiz kaldığı kolayca kavranabilir ve yukarıdakinden çok daha farklı bir mantık ileri sürülebilir. İnsanlar, toplumda daha zengin bir kültürel birikimle yer almak ve saygınlık kazanmak için de yükseköğetim talep edebilirler. İnsanların mutlaka bir meslek sahibi olmak için değil, kendi yaşam projelerini gerçekleştirmek için de bir öğrenme talebi olabilir. İnsan Hakları Bildirgesi içinde tanınmlanan eğitim hakkının, böyle bir eğitim talebini meşru kıldığı kolayca ileri sürülebilir. Burada itiraz edilebilecek tek konu, bu tür bir talebin ücretsiz karşılanması olacaktır. Eğer bu talebe yanıt olarak üretilen hizmetlerden yararlananlar bunun karşılığını ödüyorsa bunun üretilmemesi için bir neden bulmak güçleşecektir. Bunun üretilmemesi insanların onurlu yaşam hakkına getirilen bir sınırlama olacaktır (s.40).

As can be seen in the above paragraph, higher education is defined as a human right within the market democracy logic of 'every human being has the right to own a property'. There can be no reason to be deprived of it as long as the price for it is paid. Ideas referring to non-instrumental functions of higher education are expressed through modality and verbal process, which reduces commitment to truth in a standardly cautious academic way, whereas ideas about the necessity of a pricing mechanism for non-instrumental higher education are expressed using assertions. Paradoxically, the text makes some reference to problems that are caused by market mechanisms (19,127) and erosion of ethical standards by market values (133,175). Domination of market values within university is seen as a threat that might cause the university to lose some of its unique characteristics - its ethos - that differentiate it from the other institutions of the society. However, it is stated that these can be overcome through new regulations despite providing few details as to how this could be achieved.

Another widely held assumption throughout the CoHE text is that there is one good for all in the society. The term "society" is frequently referred in the text and it is mainly assumed that society is a homogenous unit; and therefore the terms 'dynamics of the society' (145), 'advancement of the society', 'development of the society' (177), 'needs of the society' (187), 'expectations of the society' (241) are assumed to be applicable to all or the majority of the population in Turkey. This way of usage serves in an implicit way the production and reproduction of a set of visions of higher education which Krzyzanowski (2007) defines as 'mainstream voice'. In the context of Turkish higher education as Delanty (2003) suggests the "mainstream voice" is to be understood as a particular form of a collective voice, which stems from a way of self-understanding (cited in Krzyzanowski 2007) of the political

groups of those directly involved in higher education policy making. In CoHE text, the way the word ‘society’ is used shows little perspectivation while it serves as an element of the strategy of group-construction. The only paradox in the Text about its assumptions regarding the notion of ‘society’ is that it indicates that “there is a widespread resistance in the society to the idea of increasing financial contribution of the students to higher education” (204). However, as stated elsewhere in this study, this idea is delegitimized on the grounds that publicly funded higher education is a subsidy to high income groups in the country.

The text presupposes a vast amount of common ground about the provision of basic education of adequate amount and quality being a public service. The rationale for it being a public service is explained by its crucial role for the society. In this sense, provision of education as a public service becomes a means of reinforcing social capital in response to capital’s demand for qualified and skillful individuals who can engage in productive activities. Recent private sector participation in education all over the world, which is attributed to welfare state crisis, is represented as private provision of public goods rather than indicating a tendency towards privatization of education. On the other hand, it is stated that higher education can be seen as an investment area the returns of which can be increased through wise interventions.

Re-organizing Higher Education

Forming a promising future for higher education and developing far-sighted plans for higher education reconstruction are associated to a large extent with university

autonomy (21, 47,162,185). Eight criteria for university autonomy borrowed from the document "OECD: Education Policy Analysis 2003" are as folows:

1. Own their own buildings
2. Borrow funds
3. Spend budgets to achieve their objectives
4. Set academic structure and course content
5. Employ and dismiss academic staff
6. Set salaries
7. Decide the size of student enrollment
8. Decide the amount of tuition fees (p.21)

As the Report indicates five of the criteria are related to financial issues while two of them are academic and one of the criteria is related to management issues. University autonomy is connected to academic freedom (159). Turkey's autonomy is considered quite low according to OECD criteria, and the key to increasing this is thought to depend on the refashioning of the relationships betwen the state and the university. State's decreasing its financial support to the universities is equalized with increasing autonomy (p.21). To achieve autonomy, there is particular emphasis on the participation of stakeholders; private provision of education as public service; performance measures and output-based funding; relations with funding agencies and managers based on corporate-like forms such as contracts, accountability, and audit, and rolling back of the interventionary role of the state in managerial issues. These practises heavily rely on organisational practices and techniques associated with new managerialism. The greatest barriers in front of the university autonomy, according to the Text, are Higher Education Law no: 2547, budgetary legislation, and dominant organisational cultures and habits (p.162). Located in a chain of genres, CoHE report shows many features of genres of governance that are characterised by, as Fairclough (2003) indicates, governing the way things are done. In recommending strategies for a desirable higher education system, different structural relations between the academy and business, and between the local, the national and the global are built.

This linking practice is a typical feature of genres of governance. Educational practices are recontextualised within this policy document with a high degree of abstraction from and generalisation across concrete events; and causal and temporal relations are specified between these abstractions. This is important in generalising over many cases to make claims which hold and have policy implications. For instance, in the recontextualising case in CoHE document, causal relations are built between autonomy and academic freedom (22), quality assurance (21), creativity (47), efficient use of resources (160) through a highly abstract and general representations to construct a desirable and legitimate image of autonomy criteria adopted by the Report.

From the perspective of discursive practice, vocabularies used in the Text belong to a variety of discourses. While discourse of higher education is used in many instances, especially in which higher education is defined as a human right, as a site for personal development and acquisition for basic values, governance discourse is articulated with education discourses. Fairclough (1993) identifies this kind of discourses as belonging to the interdiscursive mix. New managerialism discourse is realised most notably in nominalisations. Terms such as 'accountability' (160), competition (39, 132, 138, 161, 205), competitiveness (37, 38, 112, 191, 196, 188, 196) lack agents. For this reason, agents are not present in the surface grammar, and the process and its implications for the social world remain more abstract and mysterious.

Spatial Imaginings in YÖK (CoHE) Report

Analyzing policy documents helps understand how actors imagine spatial changes and through this imagination how they materially reconstruct the space of which they are a part. Spatial imaginings include specific strategies that rescale, reorganize, and recontextualize the social life.

Representation of 'space-times'

Drawing on Fairclough's (2003) argument that genres of governance have the property of linking different aspects of social life, the local, national, regional, and global, which in essence means linking different 'space-times', it can be said that in CoHE report Turkish higher education space is linked to different spatio-temporalities in multifarious ways . The text accentuates the spatial universality of globalization and Europeanization and the consequences brought by globalization and EU membership requirements. The relationship between the 'global' space-time and the Turkish higher education space-time is that the latter is framed by the former. The global space time is constructed as real and factual (globalising world, globalised world, global economy, global competitiveness, global knowledge society, global context) while 'Turkish' space-time is represented as envisioned space-time within the domain of policy. Similarly, Turkish space-time is relativised, and European space-time is constructed as the ideal. It is seen essential that Turkey become "an influential actor in European education and research area" (p. 112, 132, 152, 163,172, 191). The statement that "higher education has been internationalized at an unprecedented degree; especially, the construction of European Higher

Education Area and European Research Area has introduced a new of thinking and a new approach to Turkey" (161) informs us about the new ways of thinking brought in by new spatial imaginings which include all levels of higher education area in Turkey.

Space and hegemony

Texts have the functioning of privileging certain discourses and voices over others and representing certain aspects of the world and building relationships between social spaces and the participants (Fairclough, 2003). In terms of beneficiaries of education, the CoHE Report sees higher education space as a 'preconstructed space': "the social composition of the group of participants is determined in advance" (Bourdieu&Wacquant 1992, p.257). The CoHE Report (p.17) includes the personal return percentage of education in some developed countries, showing OECD 2005 Indicators as a reference, and states that this personal return is told to be higher in developing countries. It is then argued that free higher education is an indirect transfer of resources from the low income groups to middle and higher income groups, giving a study by one of the NGOs (ACEV) as a reference. The modality used in the report shows that the report does not commit itself fully to the idea, and following this statement the report gives the opposing idea that some believe charging students for higher education violates the principle of equality of opportunity. For the opposing idea, there is no reference given despite the widespread literature in Turkey (Ercan 1998, 1999; Gök 2004; Okçabol 2005, 2007; Ünal&Özsoy 1999) criticizing the policies supporting the increasing commodification of higher education through raising the financial burden on the

students. Thus, we can see that text is controlled and regulated through framing. When we look at the ways in which the voices of the parties supporting increasing student fees and the opposing group, the hierarchical relations between them can be observed. The voice of the group opposing the increased student fees are subordinated to the voice of the other group. This idea is reiterated in almost all recent policy reports published on higher education (TUSIAD 2000, 2003, 2008). It is very similar to, almost the same with the statements included in an earlier report on Turkish Higher Education, produced in 2003 by the Association of Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen (TUSIAD). TUSIAD report (p.26) is more direct in this issue:

> the symbolic student fees paid equally by all students seem suitable for social justice only from a populist perspective. Actually, this regulation is a transfer of resources from the poor students to the students who can easily afford 'student costs'.

It is clear that higher education space is regarded as a 'preconstructed space' (Bourdieu&Wacquant 1992), because there is no explanation or question regarding why certain income groups cannot attend university at all. Higher education space in Turkey is seen as an area that cannot be changed in terms of class composition of students benefitting from this service, and no attempts to change this composition are mentioned in the texts. The fact that certain groups cannot gain access to higher education is left untouched and legitimised while public funding of education is delegitimised on the grounds that it is not in favor of these groups whose absence from the higher education space is not questioned. Here hegemony over imagination of higher education space is built by legitimizing particular visions through using moral evaluation. One of the reasons of using such a discourse is that policy makers or professionals involved in policy making have to convince the represented that they serve the interests of them, those who vest them with power. The discourse that

seems to make tuition-taking more appealing is because, in Bourdieuan (1991) terms, "the political discourses produced by professionals are always doubly determined, and affected by a duplicity which is not in the least intentional since it results from the duality of fields of reference and from the necessity of serving at one and the same time the esoteric aims of internal struggles and the exoteric aims of external struggles" (p.183).

It can be seen that the idea of European higher education and research area and global space come to be viewed as a commonsense idea at a scale that sits beyond the national and local, as Robertson (2007) states, "where it is likely that these ideas and political projects will be hotly contested if not institutionally impossible" (p.224). Robertson (Ibid) thinks that such strategies privilege particular kinds of institutional arrangements and entrenches particular set of ideas for action. This is a co-constitutive process whereby not people's actions in any mechanical sense but "context of habits, pressures, expectations, and constraints within which action takes place" are constituted (Cox 1996: 97 in Robertson 2007:225). "That is, the construction of space as a particular type of territory, shaped by particular types of ideas, is both the object of and outcome of struggles between agents that operate at different scales" (Robertson 2007:9).

'Time-space compression' and transcendence of spatial boundaries

Global transformation that the world is undergoing involves an acceleration of the processes of time-space compression and transcendence of spatial boundaries (Harvey, 1990). Investors are more interested in relative locational advantages during heightened competition under certain circumstances such as crises since diminution

of spatial barriers give “the power to exploit minute spatial differentiations to good effect” (Ibid: p.294). The representation of the ideal university set up in the CoHE report is one with transitional boundaries. The text focuses on removing the boundaries between the university and the market, increasing the transcendency of the degree programs, decentralisation of management, flexibility of the budget while barriers in front of these are represented as undesirable and obstructive to the efficient functioning of the system. The most obstruent practices to the decentralisation of the system are related to the Constitution, the Higher Education Law of 2547, and budgetary legislation. Although the situation and quality of open-university in Turkey is an issue of concern in the text, e-learning is encouraged to enlarge the capacity of higher education in Turkey, and e-learning potential of programs is recommended to be about 10 to 30 percent. This is a matter of “annihilation of space through time” (Harvey, 1990). Cowen (1996) calls this ‘attenuation of the university’, which is manifested in increasing pressure to use the internet for teaching, with teachers functioning as instructional designers of pre-prepared modules that have long-distance feedback loops. Turkish higher education discourses suggest that the desired university is not only pedagogically attenuated, but it is also spatially and financially attenuated since new clients are to be acquired in response to financial instabilities and new sources of funding from research agencies and foundations as well as a new research area such as European research area are encouraged. Cowen (1996) states that this is a universal phenomenon, and “in research, university is extending itself in space, through its international contracts and developing horizontal (and diagonal) relations with industries and universities in other countries” by means of which “the university is spatially attenuated” (p.256).

Action at a distance

On the one hand, the text insists on the importance of decentralisation in decision making, regulation, funding and so on; on the other hand definition of strict criteria for performance assessment and quality standards is seen as essential. Given that the report emphasizes the role of Bologna Process in achieving the desired quality standards, it can be assumed the reports imagines a space where some of the activities are moved upwards to supranational bodies such as the EU, while some are moved downwards to subnational bodies. This is a globalising tendency of late modernity, which can be characterized as 'action at a distance' (Giddens, 2004), an extension in the spatio-temporal reach of power. While the system is decentralized, the necessity to produce the predefined outcomes vests particular institutions with the power to control structures in far off locales. Marginson (1997) explains this situation is one in which there is less direct central regulation, but the centre decides the rules, what the outcomes should be, and the limits to it, so that the institution is steered by remote control (Marginson, 1997). "Freedom becomes freedom to act according to the requirements of government." (Marginson 1997, p.66). Another instance of 'action at a distance' in the text is that OECD indicators and criteria are articulated as highly important, and it is assumed that meeting OECD criteria will help create a desirable higher education area. Despite not being a binding power, using the mechanisms of 'peer pressure' and 'consensus building' (p. 248) the OECD is highly influential in the policy making process of the states. State's role in education is changed by moving some activities 'upwards' to supranational bodies and others 'downwards' to sub-national or non-state bodies (Jessop 1991; 1993).

Tensions brought by diminishing spatial barriers

The central paradox of diminishing spatial barriers is that capital becomes more sensitive to the variations of place within space, and places try to stand out in certain ways to be attractive to capital. This results in fragmentation, insecurity, and uneven development within an increasingly unified global space economy (Harvey, 1990). Due to this sense of insecurity investors want clear-cut definitions of rules to invest in a certain area to secure themselves. In CoHE report, this tension, brought in by changing and diminishing spatial barriers, is expected to be overcome through a set of standards and rules. The CoHE report accentuates the challenges brought about by the global competitive economy, and it recommends that well-established Turkish universities should have an assertive place to flourish in international higher education area. What is as crucial is bringing certain standards required by the EU. As spatial boundaries decrease, mobility and interaction increases among higher education institutions. However, political, cultural, and language differences between these institutions are seen as problems in higher education in terms of quality assurance. These problems are planned to be overcome by a set of policies initiated in 2007, that require the inspection of national agencies of 45 EU countries, aiming at meta accreditation and register of quality assurance agencies of these agencies by 2010 (p. 24). The text heavily highlights the importance of quality assurance and accreditation, which is supposed to bring uniformity to the system composed of variations.

Fixity and motion

The controversies of current economic system in terms of space can be observed in the text. While removing all the barriers hindering the accumulation and mobility of capital is sought, fixity is required to quarantee its existence, and it needs to be embedded in institutions that can provide the social configurations that is supportive of its expansion (Robertson et. al, 2002). The role of education is to render this relationship. Harvey (1990) argues that the power who defines the material practices, meanings of time, or space fixes certain rules of the game. The paradox between the fixity and motion is observed in the text. Despite the heavy focus on decentralisation, removing barriers, flexibility, and mobility, the report highlights the importance of setting up standards and regulations and making the rules clear so that the system could operate in a just way (p.162).

Building Legitimacy

Legitimization strategies in policy documents touch essential problems of political representation (Weiss 2002, Fairclough 2003, Wodak &Weiss 2007). While much of the legitimizing strategies in CoHE text show the characteristics of Rationalisation, there is ample proof to suggest that Moral Evaluation is also a widely used strategy throughout the report. Moving from assumptions regarding what the current case in higher education is, what the main problems are, and what are exemplary practices in this domain, CoHE text identifies a set of objectives in building up the desired higher education area. In presenting the ideas about this area, discourses of global knowledge economy and society, efficiency (8, 14, 17, 19, 26, 38, 53, 93, 106, 117, 160, 161, 162, 171, 183, 189, 190, 201),

competition/competitiveness (pp.13, 19, 27, 28, 39, 163, 186, 203), and performance (102, 110, 113, 114, 119, 120, 121, 131, 138, 146, 139, 147, 148, 159, 160, 163, 168, 173, 186, 187, 188, 195, 198, 199, 202, 205, 206) appear to be accentuated and given importance throughout the text. These discourses can be related to the logic of instrumental rationality. Instrumental rationality presupposes certain agreed ends, and legitimizes actions or procedures or structures on the basis of their utility in attaining these ends (Fairclogh, 2003). Recommended changes in secondary education, vocational education, undergraduate and graduate degree programs at universities and other higher education institutions, R&D activities, and research areas can all be attributed to the logic that they will help attaining instrumental goals serving to the better functioning of higher education. When certain policy options conflict with values, Rationalisation is again used to explain the rationale for the choices made at the expense of alternatives. For instance, higher education is seen as a human right and a very desirable service for all but due to particular factors, choices must be made with instrumental rationality. That is why higher education cannot be provided as a free service for all and why beneficiaries should be charged for the services they get. Habermas (1984) in his analysis of discourses of modernity explains such tendencies as colonization of the 'lifeworld' by the economy and the state involving a displacement of communicative practices by strategic practices that display a purely instrumental rationality. The text continuously constructs the view that higher education has to be transformed because of the needs of the (global) knowledge society/economy. Such frequent reference to knowledge society and the rise of knowledge economy as a master rhetoric is a rationalisation strategy in that concepts come to be taken for granted rather than discursively constructed. It becomes the case that as Lyotard (1984) put it "knowledge is no longer the subject,

but in the service of the subject: its only legitimacy is the fact that it allows morality to become reality" (p.36). Performativiy discourse is a legitimizing through Rationalisation, because now that the production of proof in science is controlled by the language of performativity, it increases the ability to produce proof, which in turn increases the ability to be right (Lyotard, 1984).

In addition to Rationalisation strategies Moral Evaluation is used through discourses that have long been associated with human rights, democracy, and equality. In the text free higher education is claimed to victimize lower income groups, who cannot pursue higher education, by transferring the funds from them to higher income groups who can, unlike the former, attend higher education institutions. Torres&Schugurensky (2002) point out to this frequent phenomenon in higher education documents as a legitimizing strategy, stating that "the quasi-suprahistorical proposition that investment in higher education in developing countries is always, by definition, a subsidy to the elites, or that the social rates of return for higher education are always invariably lower than those for elementary education" is a legitimizing strategy (p.439). This is legitimation through Moral Evaluation. This emphasis on the rights of lower income groups has several functions such as associating one's position with something good and legitimate and thus preparing the negative evaluation of the opposing groups (labeling them as populists) who claim that charging for higher education is a violation of equal opportunity. Also, in this representation we see the "logic of appearances" (Fairclough, 2003) rather than "explanatory logic" (Ibid). Indicating that universities are not given complete control over the intellectual properties they possess, it is stated that universities cannot implement programs that give them the opportunity "to create their own histories" (204). Relating to this argument, the text recommends that

universities should be given by the Council of Ministers the authority to by triple or quadruple tuition fees. In this argument too there is legitimation through moral evaluation. What also deserves attention is that within the definition of 'creating their own histories' a highly abstract metaphor is evoked. On the other hand, it is highlighted that no student should be left out of educational sphere because of tuition fees. However, there is no explanation to how this will be achieved.

New Subjectivities

Recontextualization of higher education process involves the creation and construction of new subjects, new social relations, and new attitudes to learning, what it means to be a learner, a teacher or a researcher. Discourse creates the conditions for the formation of subjects and the structuring of societies by functioning as the flow of knowledge (Jager, 2001). The text highlights that subjects in the globalised knowledge society should attain knowledge, analyze it and constantly renew it according to their work, have multiple skills, take responsibility, be open to teamwork, respect human rights, have artistic and cultural consciousness. Individual learning is represented as a process with no foreseen vision of its finality and the individual is envisaged as an unfinished project. The report states that education vision of Turkey is directing individual to be active citizens who are given equal opportunity, equipped with the knowledge, skills, and capacities that will enable one to realize one's individual and collective life projects better. The second point highlighted in the education vision of Turkey is that education should be seen not as an activity directed at conditioning people but as one building capacities that the individual will utilize in realizing her/his own life project better. According to the

Text, these capacities are not clearly defined in the vision, and they proliferate because of the recent worldwide developments. Accordingly, the skills that learners have to acquire proliferate. The report points out to two important skills: foreign language knowledge and

> developing the ability to learn by oneself. Having vocational and technical skills at a certain level is no longer sufficient to be a successful individual in knowledge society This individual is expected to gain access to knowledge, analyze it, and have the capacity to continuously renew knowledge according to her/his task. Such a learner can be trained through a constructivist approach rather than behaviorist approach (p. 144).
>
> ..öğrencinin kendi başına öğrenme becerisinin geliştirilmesidir. Bilgi toplumunda başarılı bir birey olabilmek için salt belli bir düzeyde mesleki ve teknik bilgiye sahip olmak artık yeterli olmamaktadır. Bu bireyden bilgiye ulaşma, bilgiyi çözümleme ve sürekli olarak işine uygun olarak bilgisini yenileyebilme ve geliştirebilme kapasitesine sahip olması beklenmektedir. Böyle bir öğrenci davranışsalcı eğitimle değil, ancak yapılanmacı bir anlayışla eğitilebilir (s.144).

We can see that there is departure from national identity building process mission of the university and the Enlightenment narratives that point out to the immutable truth. Constructivist approach recommended in the text for building skills advocates that the learner is supposed to arrive at his or her version of the truth, influenced by his or her background, culture or embedded worldview. The learner is transformed into the producer of knowledge through assimilating and adapting it rather than pursuing the knowledge that represents the eternal truth. This imagining of subjects fits with the assumptions in the text regarding the world, one that is constantly changing and full of new ideas, risks and uncertainties. Ball (2004) argues that such discourses of continuous change involve modifications of self understanding of identities, "new ways of organizing time and space and their relationships in and to education" (p.135-136).

Learner identity imagination in the text privileges human capital formation rather than development of social citizenship. Changing skills that learners are expected to acquire are defined by the changing demands of the global knowledge economy, and it is stressed that the outputs of higher education should match with the demands of the industry. Construction of subjects within a rationale of human capital formation is very similar to the OECD's approach of learning for the knowledge economy. Within this perspective, "learning activities are embedded in some kind of institutional arrangement" and institutional frameworks are crucial for macroeconomic performance (Robertson, 2005: 157). Also, there is focus on active citizenship and learners who are given the opportunity to realize their life projects. This view of citizenship is constructed within an approach of neoliberal economic logic that views individuals as free agents. This view constructs the assumption that every individual is provided with opportunities, and it is up to the individual to take chance of these opportunities. This construction of learning site replete with individuals represents an extension of neoliberal ideas about how to increase efficiencies in public services (Robertson 2005). Such a representation of the learner given the opportunity to realise his/her life project might seem to contradict with the recommendation of the text for orienting the students towards specialised subjects from the early years of secondary schooling. However, according to the text, this orienting process is to take place by providing the learners with the opportunities to discover their skills and interests. This discursive presentation of individual might serve as a legitimation strategy since it constructs the learner as an individual given the opportunities for self-discovery, but it is all up to him/her to seize the opportunities for discovering his/her interests and abilities and realising his/her plans. In such a view orienting learners towards certain learning paths is naturalised and the

burden of the failure is attributed to the individual. This discursive representation ignores the socioeconomic context that governs learner's prefences on what to study in higher education and assumes all learners on a level ground before entering higher education track.

The individual in the text is also one that lives the future in the present. There is, in Bourdieuan (1991) terms, retrospective reconstruction of the present adjusted to the needs of the future and the future is incessantly invoked in order to redefine, limit, and control the ever-open meaning of the present (p. 235). Increasing population of the working age group is referred to as a great opportunity since production per person will increase and this means, according to the text, more money invested in increasing the quality of education:

> because of demographic reasons, production per person will increase, and as a result of this investment of Turkey in increasing the quality of education of each student will be increased. This is what can be called a window of opportunity. There is widespread consensus that rapid development Ireland achieved in the EU is because of its investment in education in a period of such a demographic transition (p.36).
>
> …. demografik nedenlerle Türkiye'nin nüfus başına düşen üretimi artacak ve bunun sonucu olarak Türkiye her öğrencinin eğitiminin kalitesini geliştirmek için yapabileceği yatırım sürekli olarak artırılabilecektir. Fırsat penceresi denilen de işte budur. İrlanda'nın, Ab içinde gerçekleştirdiği hızlı gelişmenin, demografik geçiş sırasında karşılaştığı böyle bir demografik fırsat penceresi döneminde, eğitime yaptığı yatırımlar dolayısıyla gerçekleştiği konusunda geniş bir oydaşma bulunmaktadır (s.36).

Increasing the quality of education is directly linked to revenues from business. This discourse signifies a shift in the nature of the way education is funded and the way learners are viewed. A public service order of discourse is colonized by economic discourses, whereby the learner is constructed as investment and financing of education is directly connected to business gains rather than public funding system. This is also a legitimizing strategy in that reducing the learners and working

age population is aestheticized by linking the idea to a desirable end: increase in the quality of education. This implicity is disclosed in the next pages by reiterating the demographic advantage (p. 38, 40, 153) and referring to its strategic importance in terms of Turkey's development and economic growth.

Discourses of performativity and benchmarking are salient in CoHE text. Such discourses give way to aestheticization of identities and individual fabrications. Within the framework of performativity, academics and researchers are represented and individuals who are supposed to increase their value, improve their efficiency, and live an existence of calculation. Performativity draws the boundaries of subjectivities, becoming a determinant of one's inclusion or exclusion in the system. It is, in a way, an attempt to draw a distinction between the ones who remain within the boundaries of the entrepreneur university and those that fail or reject to do so. By rewarding the performance, and punishing the low performers, also, a distinction that reminds the performer what s/he is and has to be is made. The tension between ethical standards and performativity can clearly be observed in the text (177). Deteriorating ethical values within academic staff are seem as an important problem and attributed to the publication criteria required to be employed and promoted in the university. There is an awareness of fraud, manipulation of data and indicators, and plagiarism; however, these are not attributed to performance criteria the staff need to meet.

Peer judgment is considered a significant impediment to the productivity of higher education and impartiality of performance evaluation. Inefficiency of peer judgement is considered as a worldwide problem, but it is highlighted that cultural habits in Turkey make it difficult to be objective. The ideal researcher set up in the text is a more technical; one who can measure and evaluate performances. Heavy

emphasis on the researcher's role in the innovation processes of the society and contribution to the developmet of local knowledges signifies the salience of a vision of intellectual acting as a broker or a 'mediator'. What is expected from the academics is to come up with vehicular ideas, that is small scale innovations directed at enhancing particular kinds of outcomes (Osborne, 2004) rather than producing big ideas.

A discourse of flexibility (8, 39 ,40 ,45 ,52 ,59 ,60 ,109 ,132 ,144 ,160 ,166 ,167, 174, 201, 205, 206) is used to emphasize the characteristics of the new subjectivities where individual has to be able to adapt to the changing conditions and be ready to face the risks brought by the uncertainties of the rapidly changing conditions. Pollert (1988) states that the organization of workforce according to the idea of flexibility celebrates casualization, and makes it seem ineluctable. The discourse of flexibility is just one discourse among many other economic discourses; "achieving hegemony for this discourse means achieving a misperception of its arbitrariness so that it comes to be seen as transparently reflecting economic realities rather than constructing them in a particular way, which is a mystifying effect of unequal relations of power on language." (Chouliaraki&Fairclough 1999: p.5).

Significances and Absences

In conceptualizing higher education in Turkey, conventional accounts tend to apply frameworks in which educational recontextualisation is seen to be governed by top down diffusion of knowledge models. As well as producing common conceptions and a common ground as to what higher education is, what it is for, these top-down approaches produce significances and absences. CoHE text's interpretation of

globalization and knowledge society particularly in economic terms and as a current flowing from the west represents the local realities and specific contexts as non-existent. This tendency is what Santos (2004 cited in Robertson 2006) calls "the monoculture of the universal and of the global" (p310). While there is strong emphasis on the need to comply with the global restructuring, the report does not include adequate details on the nature and demands of the local educational context, its participants and how compatible the demands of the local and global contexts are. In addition, references to knowledge economy and knowledge society lack a discussion of local knowledges while privileging a limited vision of knowledge. Legitimating and prioritizing knowledge that contributes to technological innovation, advantageous position in competitive economy and industrial development naturalizes hierarchical relations between the knowledge generated within the logic of global capitalist economies and alternative knowledge and economy models. This consideration is important because as Robertson (2006) argues "any socially-just form of globalization can only emerge as a result of making present the absences in the knowledge that we have of the world". In similar vein, intense focus on achieving equilibrium between the outputs of higher education and labor market, and emphasis on labor that can be deployed for economic efficiency to achieve positional advantage in the competitive global economy leave less space for different logics of subjectivities in educational realm. Labor that cannot be converted into economic gains is represented as non-existent by being portrayed as unproductive and therefore non-existent.

The Report recognizes socioeconomic inequalities in Turkish society which are reflected in differing performances and backgrounds of students in higher education and in the disparity between the budgets they allocate for higher education.

Despite this awareness, its insistence on increasing student participation in financing higher education leads to the production of non-existence on the part of the groups who have little to spend for education. The Text discloses the great disparity between low income groups and higher income groups in terms of their spending in education and higher education. While higher education spending of the highest income group in Turkey in 2002 is 71,36%, this is 0,24% for the lowest income group (p.125). Disposable income of these groups is 48,30% and 6% respectively. The Text provides details about the loan granting Higher Education Credit and Dormitory Authority (YURTKUR) as the institution responsible for supporting the students from lower income groups, whereas previous statements in the text about publicly-funded higher education being a subsidy to higher income groups at the expense of lower income groups show that YURTKUR cannot achieve including lower income groups in higher education. The text itself accepts that lower income groups cannot attend higher education. The gravity of this inequality can be realized better given that according to the data of the year 2000, highest income group makes up only 1% of the population while its income equals to the income of 45% in Turkey (Sönmez 2001). The lowest income group consists of 30% of Turkey's population, and this group receives 9,2% of total income of the country (Ibid). Given this data coupled with the lack of an efficient loan granting system in Turkey, it would not be surprising to learn that the lowest income group is excluded from higher education system. In similar vein, this group is represented as non-existent in CoHE report. Despite the mention of YURTKUR and insistence on the necessity of a loan granting system to support the disadvantaged groups, there are no details as to how this will be achieved. Hence, such advice does not go beyond being a legitimation strategy. Moreover, such a representation does not match with the claims of the report to

restructure higher education to “meet the expectations of the society” (121), “contribute to societal development” (124,179), “regulate the relationships between the society and the university” (133), “enable the social and economic functioning of the society” (135), “build solidarity in the society” (136), “be responsive to the problems in the society” (137), “advocate the rights of the deprived in the society” (147), “be responsible to the society” (148,159).

Significances and absences are also embodied in the intertextuality of CoHE document. OECD, UNDP and World Bank documents, EU policy texts, and research that bolster the arguments for certain policy options are frequently referred to in the text, while opposing ideas are backgrounded or suppressed. In this sense, CoHE document is remarkable for its dialogicality with the OECD and the EU reports since it has direct and indirect reportings from those documents. Then it is possible to say that the Text is highly selective in terms of intertextuality, which also means that it lacks dialogicality. Although intertextuality is assumed to increase dialogicality (Fairclough 2003), it can result in selectiveness for choices regarding what to include and what not to in a text are governed through intertextuality, which means that the right to represent a certain phenomenon in certain ways belongs to the agents making use of intertextuality. However, compared to TUSIAD documents on higher education, which totally subordinate human element to economic utility, CoHE text has a much softer tone in terms of its interdiscursivity with narratives of freedom, self-realization and equality. On the other hand, there are not definitive strategies suggested to give a material base to such narratives.

Hybridity

The CoHE text is an example of an integration of economic, managerial, and educational discourse domains. Different genres and discourses flow across the boundaries of each other, which is called discoursal hybridity. Pervasive hybridity (Fairclough and Chouliaraki, 1999) within CoHE text: of different genres and discourses is also a feature of most texts produced in our age. Late modernity involves dispersal of the boundaries of social life - between economy and culture, global and local- which means dispersal of boundaries between different domains of social use of language (Chouliaraki&Fairclough, 1999). This tendency is reflected in the text, given the predominance of economic and market discourse (competitiveness, stakeholders, market, profit, capital), which is also called 'marketisation of language'. "The globalization of discursive practices is one dimension of hybridity, though it is a global-local dialectic wherein disembedded language practices increasingly flow across linguistic and cultural boundaries, but are assembled in distinctive hybridizations which contribute to the reconstitutions of separate identities of place (Fairclough 1999, p.83).

Higher education as a space is also a hybrid one in terms of the composition of learners, providers, management practices, and scales. The imagined individual, as the outcome of higher education, is a national one with the knowledge and experience of the international. It is the one who is supposed to serve the country's well-being, but at the same time this individual is supposed to realize his/her own life project. The individual is a hybrid one existing in a hybrid space. While education is textured as a public service, private stakeholders and private provision of public education is highly desired. Higher education has a public nature with a private spirit.

Managerial practices are hybridized in that private sector practices are incorporated into public sector practices existing in higher education. Local, national, and global scales are connected to each other in the text, in that higher education should produce local knowledge, and it is for national prosperity, but it necessarily has to take its place in European Higher Education area and global higher education market.

Mystification of agency and abstraction

The linguistic form nominalization is heavily used in the text. 'Globalization' (13, 15, 133), 'changing' conditions of the world (144), changing world (176), changing needs of labour market (39), 'needs' of the society (185, 187), need for human capital (147), and the need for labour (144) are used in the text to advocate the urgency of certain policy options. However, social actors, the ones who do things and make things happen, or the affected or beneficiary, are not in the Text. Globalisation is referred as an abstract, agentless and ever-existing reality. Similarly, knowledge society and economy are represented as agentless processes as in the following:

> Since the last quarter of the twentieth century, in developed countries, the process of transition to knowledge society began, and a new global economic structure called knowledge economy has come into existence. In this new structure, financial power of individuals has come to depend on their knowledge and educational level while the ability of the states to compete has come to depend on their human and social capital (p.13).
>
> Yirminci yüzyılın son çeyreğinden itibaren gelişmiş ülkelerde bilgi toplumuna (knowledge society) geçiş süreci başlamış ve bilgi ekonomisi (knowledge economy) adı verilen yeni bir küresel ekonomik yapı oluşmuştur. Bu yeni yapıda bireylerin ekonomik gücü bilgi ve öğrenim düzeyleri ile, ülkelerin rekabet gücü ise beşeri ve sosyal sermayeleri ile ölçülür hale gelmiştir (s.13).

As can be seen in the above statements, knowledge society and economy are represented as natural processes that come into being by themselves. The new demands of these new processes are also textured as agentless. There is no explanation to why knowledge has taken on such a decisive role in determining the power of the individuals and states.

Passive voice is also pervasive in the text. Certain things are needed and need to be done, but "who" needs these is not mentioned. Fairclough (2003) states that nominalization is a means of generalizing, for abstracting from particular events and series or sets of events, and that such generalization or abstraction obfuscates agency, and therefore responsibility, and social divisions.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

Reflecting on the findings of this study, it becomes clear that higher education policy making in Turkey will be increasingly involved in approximating higher education with the needs of certain groups and higher education will continue to be a contested terrain in terms of recontextualisation discourses despite the texturing of consensus in CoHE text.

What is 'said' in a text always rests upon 'unsaid' assumptions, so part of the analysis of texts is trying to identify what is assumed (Fairclough 2003). This study aimed to adopt a critical stance by adopting the aforementioned principle of looking at the avoided realm. To begin with, the assumptions about higher education, Higher education in CoHE text is textured as a space of transformation through which the whole society is to benefit. Certain policies are represented as vital for a promising higher education space. Policies recommended are represented as inevitable through a representation of the world as-it-is and hegemonising discourses of globalisation and knowledge economy, which are depicted as inexorable and ineluctable processes. In this sense, we are presented with economic imaginaries that serve as means of constituting objects of intervention. As Bourdieu suggests (1998) "in the mode of consensus", there is a tendency to "utter a fatalistic discourse which consists of transforming economic tendencies into destiny" (p. 55). To reveal the nature of such discourses and their unsaid assumptions, Bourdieu

thinks one has to involve in critical and scientific work. This study has attempted to achieve a bit of what Bourdieu thinks is needed, looking at the uncovered realm and refraining from cursory applications and reductionist explanations of the terms used in higher education discourses.

As a result of the analysis of the nature of meaning making in CoHE text, it can be said that the representation of reality in policy making discourse is subtended by positions of power. Realities pertaining to social world are represented through the eyes of the dominant groups in Turkey, although there is strong opposition within and outside the university to the new policies dictated by policy makers. Teacher's unions, student groups, academics, and civil society organisations have always directed their criticisms to neoliberal educational restructuring attempts, but as can be observed in the Text, these alternative voices seem to be represented as non-existencies, and a universal picture is sketched. Those non-existencies might not be surprising given the statements of Ankara University Initiative of Academicians (Ankara Üniversitesi Akademisyenler Girişimi) that in the preparation process of the Report, universities were excluded from the process, which the Initiative finds anti-democratic (2007). In this sense, the Text involves idealogical work. "Unlike myth, which is a collective and collectively appropriated product, ideologies serve particular interests which they tend to present as universal interests, shared by the group as a whole" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 167). And this process is usually shaped by legitimizing the visions of the dominant class and the order established by them (Bourdieu, 1991). The media attention and importance given to the Report and TUSIAD's seeing itself as one of the main authorities to have a say on the issue of higher education, as well as the representation that TUSIAD promotes the rights of the common people rather than the privileged dominant classes, are indications of

how symbolic power is instrumental in imposing certain representations of the world and reproducing the existing social structures. In this sense, development of education system is a good example of how symbolic power is exercised in industrial societies, for such a system makes it unnecessary to resort to overt violence by the ones who define the nature of the system whereby they sustain inequalities and their own privileged status.

Embedding Turkish higher education in a European space is considered to be a key policy concern, and educational tendencies in Europe and in the West are taken as pre-existing categories. There is a common ground that should these strategies be realised, Turkey will have achieved a great success in meeting the EU criteria in terms of higher education. A set of governance strategies is recommended to be a successful member of European Higher Education Area and a competitive actor in a globalising world. The implications of these strategies are particularly discussed with reference to instrumental utility. Decentralisation, rolling back of state intervention, and public-private partnership are among the main governance strategies suggested. State intervention is seen as a great barrier in front of attaining the desired higher education area. According to the Report, the problem does not lie with neoliberal policies but lies with too much state intervention, lack of transparency and accountability, decreasing state funds, and bad management.

Intense focus on change and innovation, and knowledge that can be adapted according to the conditions of the day, suggests that the attempts to reconfigure higher education according to the requirements of flexible accumulation are gaining momentum. The university, as an institution, learners and academicians, are supposed to be innovative and renew their knowledge constantly according to the conditions of the day and be ready to face risks. This fits very well with the

neoliberal individual imaginary that can function properly in an economic system based on flexible accumulation.

There is a 'crisis discourse' in the Text. Massification of higher education, the financial bottleneck it has been experiencing, research-related problems, and problems experienced by academicians, are interpreted as problem areas that need to be addressed. Crisis discourses display conventional neoliberal restructuring policy discourses. Current crisis in the economy and in higher education area are interpreted as crisis in the existing order, not as the crisis of the existing order. Hence, there is no discursive space opened in the Text to explore more radical changes. The vision of crisis is one with a presupposition as Jessop (2004) argues "crises are potentially path-shaping moments" (p.167). The titles of TUSIAD reports are much more enlightening in this sense: 2006 and 2008 reports include the words 'risks and opportunities' and 'problems and opportunities' respectively in their titles. Jessop (2004:167) luminously explains this discoursal tendency as follows:

> Such path-shaping is mediated semiotically as well as materially. Crises encourage semiotic as well as strategic innovation. They often prompt a remarkable proliferation of alternative visions rooted in old and new semiotic systems and semiotic orders. Many of these will invoke, repeat, or re-articulate established genres, discourses, and styles; others may develop, if only partially, a "poetry for the future" that resonates with new potentialities (Marx, 1852/1996, pp.32-34).

Among the governing strategies performance based-budget and performance-based award and employment system are significant. There are new boundaries imagined around higher education space, and performativity is a main determinant of borders signifying these new boundaries. Performativity is in a way an attempt to draw a distinction between the ones who remain within the boundaries of the entrepreneur university and those fail to do so. Those that come closer to the border are reminded that they are closer to the wrong side of the line. Bourdieu (1991)

thinks that “become what you are is the principle behind the performative magic of all acts of institution” (p.122). Surrounded by boundaries around or consecrated while passing into a new stage one is reminded of what s/he is and the duties expected from her/him. All the function of magical boundaries is to “stop those who are inside, on the right side of the line, from leaving or demeaning themselves” (Ibid), which means, in addition to being a mechanism for getting the desired outcomes and increasing efficiency, performativity is a rigid disciplinary tool in higher education. As Lattimore (in Bourdieu 1991) states, the Great Wall of China was built not only to prevent others from entering but also to prevent Chinese leaving it.

According to the Report, in the globalizing process whereby the world is transforming into knowledge society, education vision of Turkey should be developing human resources of all ages and educating the children and youth of the country in a way that enables them to be successful. In the discourses of higher education as an institution to serve human resource needs of the country, the individual is reduced to the state of an instrument, expected to treat herself / himself as tools and care about their instrumental utility. Also, researchers with regard to their work are encouraged to perform within instrumental utility. This is technologization of individuals, who become tools and forget themselves in the fulfillment of their function, fulfilling a function which others could fulfill just as well; thereby becoming interchangeable and disposable components in a set (Bourdieu, 1991, p.151).

Although higher education is predominantly perceived within instrumental utility, there is hybridization in some parts of the Report. In addition to being a legitimising strategy, the implication for higher education’s being a place for

self-discovery and a site for self-development can be attributed to the personal ideas of Enlightenment-thinking-inspired writers of the report as well as their imaginaries of neoliberal individual. It would be accurate to say in this case, Enlightenment notions of university have been hybridised with neoliberal visions in some parts of the Text. Some critics of the Report argue that liberal discourses in the Text that call for freedom and objection to individual's reification are not sincere because they do not offer concrete solutions or actions towards realizing these goals (Ankara University Initiative of Academicians, 2007).

Intense focus on strengthening the role of the university in the society by way of addressing to the so called needs of the society and the economy is expressed using a highly abstract language. The economy is knowledge-based economy and it is characterized by relying on innovation, creativity, and flexibility. However, economic 'realities' we live in and the changing mode of knowledge and how they shape higher education policies are discussed without reference to agency and structure. There is no overt answer in the text when we ask the questions "whose economy?", "whose globalisation?", and "whose development?".

Regarding the provision of higher education, the Text does not accept a tendency towards privatization, although the number of private and foundation universities is increasing day by day; nor does it see the existing inequalities in access to higher education as a serious problem. The differences between private and foundation universities and public universities are suppressed in the text. According to Insel (2004) state universities are being weakened due to the competition between the state and private/foundation universities and the latter ones deploy the staff trained by the state universities and in this way they limit their human training spendings (Ibid). This is clearly a state-private cooperation, and a characteristic of

neoliberal governance pattern that services that are costly and avoided by the private should be provided by the state.

To sum up, CoHE report "Higher Education Strategy of Turkey" privileges some social entities while disqualifying others. What are seen as problem areas and solutions offered to solve them show that the social context of Turkey is not taken into consideration. What is textured as an ideal higher education space is particularly constructed through the eyes of the dominant groups, such as the industry and the business, which does not offer much to the overwhelming majority of subjects in higher education area and in Turkey at large. On the contrary, critical function of the university, which still provides some space for alternative ideas and ways of thinking is to become more susceptible to political interference.

Limitations of the Study

Although the document analyzed in the study is a preliminary policy paper that aims to define the new policies to be adopted by Turkish higher education institutions, analyzing one text is a constraint for discovering complex social, economical and political structures. This attempt may not be enough to delineate all the dynamics of conceptualization and transformation of higher education space in Turkey.

Textual analysis by itself is limited because how texts practically figure in particular areas of social life is also important, which means textual analysis would be best framed within ethnography (Fairclough, 2003). The relations between sociopolitical structure and sociopolitical action in Turkish higher education would

be better conceptualised through ethnography, and micro and macro sociopolitical phenomena would be linked.

Recommendations for Further Research

To overcome the constraints posed by the limited research material of the study and to provide a clearer picture of how higher education sphere in Turkey is to be reconstructed and reshaped and how it shapes subjectivities in turn, it would be fruitful to analyze more policy papers and to locate them in the historicity of higher education in Turkey. Moreover, an ethnographic study would be beneficial to see how higher education discourses are received and conceptualized by multiple participants in the area.

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