

VITALIZING KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY: THE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF
LIFELONG LEARNING IN TURKEY AFTER THE BEGINNING OF THE PROCESS
OF THE EUROPEAN UNION MEMBERSHIP

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Thesis Abstract

Soner Şimşek, Vitalizing Knowledge Economy: the Conceptualization of Lifelong Learning in Turkey After the Beginning of the Process of the European Union Membership

This thesis has examined in which context and outline lifelong learning policies are formed with the beginning of Turkey's EU candidacy process. "Driving force for Turkey's Success: Lifelong Learning Policy Paper" (Labour Market Team SVET, et al., 2006), drafted within the project of Strengthening the Vocational Education and Training System in Turkey (SVET) forms the focus of the study.

The thesis uses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) while seeking the answers for how lifelong learning conceptualized in Turkey and which themes come into prominence, which references are consulted, how the roles of community and private sector institutions, organizations and non-governmental organizations are defined and what an type of an individual is imagined through this conceptualization. The answers for the questions, looking at the related policy document, are sought via CDA categories such as "hybridity", "space-time", "globalization", "hegemonic ideas", "legitimation", "societal informalization", "major types of text meaning", "intertextuality", "assumptions", "equivalences and differences", "absences and significances", "genres of governance" and are discussed under these.

The results of the analysis carried out are that lifelong learning concept is conceptualized in a way meeting the needs of global knowledge economy and global knowledge society in a Europe centered context and neo-liberal discourse; that economy based themes such as obtaining new skills and competencies, meeting the demands of the business market, gaining the ability to be employed, ensuring social integration for economic sustainability come into prominence; and in conceptualization of lifelong learning that documents produced by international organizations such as European Union, European Commission and OECD are referred; that new governance strategies are addressed in the process of building up lifelong learning space in Turkey; that the significance of government delegating or sharing the authority is emphasized through the regulation, provision and funding of lifelong learning policies; and that an imagination of the individual meeting the needs of the global knowledge economy and society, continuously improving and re-skilling herself/himself in such ways and responsible for self-learning come into prominence.

The study targets to open up a critical and alternative dimension for education and lifelong learning policy discussions.

Tez Özeti

Soner Şimşek, “Bilgi Ekonomisine Can Vermek: Avrupa Birliği’ne Üyelik Sürecinin

Başlamasından Sonra Türkiye’de Yaşam boyu Öğrenmenin Kavramsallaştırılması

Bu tez, Türkiye’de yaşam boyu öğrenme politikalarının, Türkiye’nin Avrupa Birliği’ne adaylık sürecinin başlamasıyla birlikte hangi bağlam ve çerçevede oluşturulmaya çalışıldığını irdelemektedir. Çalışmanın odağını, Mesleki Eğitim ve Öğretim Sisteminin Güçlendirilmesi Projesi (MEGEP) kapsamında, 2006 yılında üretilen “Türkiye Başarısı için İtici Güç: Hayat Boyu Öğrenme Politika Belgesi” oluşturmaktadır.

Tez, Türkiye’de yaşam boyu öğrenmenin nasıl kavramsallaştırıldığı, bu kavramsallaştırmada; hangi temaların öne çıktığı, hangi referanslara başvurulduğu, devletin, kamu ve özel sektör kuruluş ve örgütlenmelerinin ve sivil toplum örgütlerinin rollerinin nasıl tanımlandığı ve nasıl bir birey tahayyül edildiği gibi sorulara yanıt ararken Eleştirel Söylem Analizi’ni (ESA) kullanmaktadır. Soruların yanıtları, belirtilen politika belgesine bakarak, “melezlik”, “mekan-zaman”, “küreselleşme”, “hegemonik görüşler”, “meşrulaştırma”, “toplumsal enformelleşme”, “metin anlamın majör örnekleri”, “metinler arasılık”, “varsayımlar”, “eşdeğerlilikler ve farklılıklar” “yokluklar ve öne çıkanlar”, “yönetişim türleri” gibi ESA kavramları aracılığıyla aranmakta ve bu kavramlar altında tartışılmaktadır.

Yapılan analizle, Türkiye’de yaşam boyu öğrenme kavramının küresel bilgi ekonomisi ve bilgi toplumunun gereksinimlerine yanıt veren bir biçimde Avrupa merkezli bir bağlamda ve küresel neo-liberal söylem dahilinde kavramsallaştırılmaya çalışıldığı; yaşam boyu öğrenmenin kavramsallaştırılmasında iş piyasasına yanıt veren yeni beceri ve yeteneklerin kazanılması, iş bulabilirlik, emeğin esnekliği ve küresel dolanımı, ekonomik istikrar için sosyal bütünleşme gibi ekonomik temelli temaların öne çıktığı; kavramsallaştırmada Avrupa Birliği, Avrupa Komisyonu ve OECD gibi uluslararası örgütlerin ürettikleri belge ve dokümanların sıklıkla kaynak gösterildiği; Türkiye’de yaşam boyu öğrenme alanının oluşturulmasında yeni yönetim stratejilerine başvurulduğu, devletin yaşam boyu öğrenme politikalarını düzenlemede, yaşam boyu öğrenmenin sağlanması ve finansmanında özel sektör ve sivil toplum örgütleriyle yetki devri ve paylaşımı yapması gereğinin vurgulandığı; ve küresel bilgi ekonomisi ve toplumunun ihtiyaçlarına her an yanıt verebilen, sürekli ve durmadan bilgi ve becerilerini bu yönde yenileyen, kendi öğrenmesinden sorumlu olan bir birey tahayyülünün öne çıktığı sonuçlarına ulaşılmıştır.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Education has become an issue of great interest around the whole globe in the 1980s and with the rise of global neo-liberal ideology. The effect of neo-liberalism is significant in raising the interest in education in that it has enabled the acknowledgement of learning beyond formal education. As a turning point it should be noted that, with the rise of neo-liberalism, the concept of lifelong learning has been in circulation around globe, not any other adult education definitive concepts as “recurrent education, continuing education, lifelong education, permanent education” (Okçabol, 2006, p. 20-23). Thus it is needed to separate the concept of lifelong learning from any other adult education concepts. Benefiting from the other concepts of adult education definitive concepts, lifelong learning set its agenda by a wide range ideological interest. In this sense, the questions of “where the idea of lifelong learning has come from, what signifies and why it has become such an important aspect of international and national policy discourse?” became significant. Jim Crowther (2004) notes that “the popularity of *lifelong learning* in Europe was stimulated by the activities of the European Union (EU), before it the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), through a series of policy papers during the 1990s” (128). Similar to Crowther, Murphy (1997) notes that the roots of lifelong learning can be traced back to the end of 1980s.

Thus, it would not be wrong to assert that lifelong learning has dominated educational policy arenas in recent years in many countries around the world. It remains high on the agendas of United Nations Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), OECD, the World Bank (WB), the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the EU. Lifelong learning has been used to describe all learning activities in both formal and informal settings ‘from the cradle to the grave’.

Policy discourses over the past decade in most OECD nations have mobilized notions about lifelong learning as a new way of thinking about the relationship between work, education, training, family, and leisure (Karmel, 2004). The concept of lifelong learning, as utilized in policy, rhetorically captures formal and informal, non-formal, abstract and experiential learning in schools, universities, technical and further education institutions, communities, workplaces and homes. Lifelong learning is portrayed as the future way of living and learning for children, young people and adults, a ‘wonder drug’ (Coffield, 1999). The implicit assumption is that we can learn something from any aspect of our daily lives that can inform how we do paid work more productively (Field, 2000). Besides, these conceptualizations of lifelong learning stimulated the interest of human capital as well as the growth of knowledge economy which its essence can be put as “(i) the balance between knowledge and resources (labour 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” (Robertson, 2005, p. 152). The idea of knowledge economy has been very prominent in all around the world. In one of its reports the WB, in *The Knowledge Economy, the KAM Methodology and World*

Bank Operations (Chen & Dahlman, 2005), explicitly defines the knowledge economy and the role of education. “With sustained use and creation of knowledge at the centre of the economic development process, an economy essentially becomes a Knowledge Economy. A Knowledge Economy is one that utilizes knowledge as the key engine of economic growth. It is an economy where knowledge is acquired, created, disseminated and used effectively to enhance economic development” (Chen & Dahlman, 2005, p.4). The WB sets four pillars for the successful transition to the knowledge economy that contains elements as “long-term investments education, developing innovation capability, modernizing the information infrastructure, and having an economic environment that is conducive to market transactions” (Chen & Dahlman, 2005, p. 4). This definition denotes that, the changing role of education is to create a new type of economy, knowledge economy, as being one of the major areas in which knowledge produced. Therefore, education has been becoming more desirable area which can be transformed.

The reflections of this transformation attempt can be clearly seen from the following speech of Turkish Minister of National Education, Hüseyin Çelik:

In our knowledge society based on advanced technology, the processes of education and lifelong education are the most important tools for improving competitiveness and protecting employment. Under the new economic circumstances, there is no lifelong employment guarantee in any country; while the concepts of “lifelong learning” and “recruitability” have gained validity. The most important job security in our age is to possess the qualities demanded by the labour markets (cited in Şimşek & Ay, 2007, p. 1).

The desire of transforming the context of education can be traced from the Minister’s speech. The terms, “Knowledge Society”, “Knowledge Economy”, “improving

competitiveness”, and “protecting employment with regard to new economic circumstances” are some of the indicators of the changing agenda of education. Parallel to this inclination, the Ninth Development Plan of Turkey¹ was prepared with the vision of “Turkey, a country of information society, growing in stability, sharing more equitably, globally competitive and fully completed her coherence with the European Union” (State Planning Organization, 2006, p. 11). Another important document, “Driving force for Turkey’s Success: Lifelong Learning Policy Paper” (Labour Market Team SVET, et al., 2006), drafted within the project of Strengthening the Vocational Education and Training System in Turkey (SVET), makes similar conceptualization of changing agenda of education; “all the learning activities carried out all through one’s life within a perspective devoted to personal, societal, social and/or employment means, which is aimed at improving knowledge, skills and capabilities” (Labour Market Team SVET, et al., 2006, p.2). Thus, it is of vital to determine the conceptualization of this undeniable change of agenda within which lifelong learning has had a significant effect in the organization and conceptualization of education, training for adults and national adult educational policies. In the literature, concepts attached to lifelong learning are performativity, flexibility, productivity, trainability, employability, skill, quality, competence and competitiveness. It is seen that with process of European Union membership, lifelong learning has been discussed and practiced in terms of the above mentioned concepts in Turkey.

¹ Development Plans which have been prepared by the State Planning Organization and approved by Turkish Grand National Assembly is the fundamental policy document that sets forth the transformations Turkey will realize in economic, social, and cultural areas in an integrated approach. The Ninth Development Plan covers the 2007-2013 period (State Planning Organization, 2006).

Statement of the Problem

The study aims to reveal how lifelong learning is conceptualized in Turkey with the changing political and economical context in European Union Membership Process.

Research Questions

In order to understand the expected transformation of the field of education with regard to the new conceptualization of lifelong learning, this study attempts to answer the following questions:

1. How is lifelong learning conceptualized in the context of Turkey?
2. What are the main themes used in conceptualization of lifelong learning in Turkey?
3. What kind of individual type is imagined through this conceptualization?
4. What sources are referred in the conceptualization of lifelong learning?
5. What kinds of roles are attributed to the State?
6. What kinds of roles are attributed to the public and private sector institutions and organizations and non-governmental organizations offering lifelong learning?

Significance of the Study

This study is the first attempt as a thesis that critically deals with the transformation of the concept of lifelong learning by exploring the policy documents in Turkey. The study will contribute to the discussions of lifelong learning from a different point of view since it focuses on the dynamic relationships between micro-politics of everyday life and the macro-political landscape of ideological forces.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review includes five main parts, namely the global knowledge economy, historicizing lifelong learning, global knowledge economy and the transformations of politics of lifelong learning, neo-liberal transformation of education and adult education in Turkey and the epistemological background. First main part goes on with brief discussion about globalization, setting of knowledge economy as a neo-liberal imagination, a shift from Fordism to Post-Fordism, investigates the definition of knowledge , disclosing knowledge economy discourses, acquaintance of hegemonic conceptions of knowledge economy, and ascertainment of way of building knowledge economy. In the second main part, the history of lifelong learning and contention on adult education related to lifelong long learning are presented. Thirdly, a close relation between global knowledge economy and lifelong learning and transformation of its politics is divulged. The fourth main part discusses neo-liberal transformation of education in general, and adult education in particular in Turkey where it is difficult to state that there is no implicitly lifelong learning experience as compared with European countries. Finally, the epistemological background of methodology of the study, critical discourse analysis, is introduced.

The Global Knowledge Economy

The idea of a knowledge economy is one of the major determining factor in the constitution of global policies. Susan Robertson (2005, p. 152) sets the essence of the knowledge economy 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.” David Held (in Torres and Burbules, 2000), suggests that decisive shift is much more related to economic terms. “[G]lobalization is the product of the emergence of global economy” (ibid 29). The new global economy 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.” This section deals with the issue of knowledge economy as a global neo-liberal tool. However before examining the issue in depth, the section will continue with a note on globalization.

A Preliminary Note on Globalization

Scholars who discuss lifelong learning, maintain that the change occurred in the world order has global aspects, especially after the 1980s. Held and McGrew (1993) claim that there are two related dimensions of globalization: scope and intensity. In relation to this, they define globalization as “a universal process or set of processes which generate a

multiplicity of linkages which transcend the states and societies which make up the modern world system. . . Social, political and economic activities are becoming 'stretched' across the globe such that events, decisions, and activities in one part of the world can come to have immediate significance for individuals and communities in quite distant parts of the global system” (Held and McGrew, 1993, p. 262).

Dale and Robertson (2002) argue that it is difficult to define clearly and concisely the term globalization since it is very complex and the meanings attached to it vary. Yet, its influence has been felt in all domains of societies throughout the world; it first refers to economic sphere in which economy refers to free trade and market as neo-liberal imaginary. Bradford DeLong (1999) claims that globalization has three major economy-oriented benefits stemming from neo-liberal arguments. These three orientations are; first, the economic might of the developed nations and developing nations benefit disproportionately from global capital in respect of those poor countries, second, with the expansion of market, both consumers and producers increase their profits via benefiting from reducing transport costs and tariffs for the former, and via increased sales rates for the latter, and third producers are able to reach the good and production processes anywhere in the world. For DeLong, globalization thus leads to a more active and richer understanding of the world. Gibson-Graham (1996, cited in Stromquist and Monkman, 2000, p. 4) offers a more formal definition as the processes in which the world is seen as a space of economy. In this sense, globalization represents the intensification of global market based on economic competition, technological change and multinational corporations. According to this economic view of globalization as a neo-liberal imagination, globalization brings about prosperity and development. As Francis Fukuyama (1992) famously calls, it is inevitable and “the end of history”.

However, the present writer claims that as Derrida (2001) brilliantly showed in the “Specters of Marx”, it is not either the end of history or inevitable.

Knowledge Economy as a Neo-Liberal Imagination

As noted earlier in this section, knowledge is considered to be a key driving force of the new global economy and seen as key component of success. The new economy presumes a prominent role to knowledge in that it enhances the productivity, competitiveness and services. It is seen as a leading source of increasing the value of new products and services.

The New Economy: From Fordism to Post-Fordism

The idea of new economy is mostly originated in the 1990s when there was a considerable economic prosperity under the leadership of the USA. It is possible to distinguish this decade (the 1990s) from the Industrial Period since it is characterized with the globalization and globally networked computerization. However, the idea of new economy is not a single notion; on the contrary inversely it entails a wide range of ideas.

Kevin Stiroh (2000) offers three different but related arguments on the new type of economy: “the long-run growth view, the business-cycle view, and the sources of-growth view” (p. 4). The long-run view forecasts that economy can increase without increased inflation with the support of high productivity growth rate. Stiroh (2000)

states, that “productivity in the US can grow 3 – 4% annually, compared to the 2 – 2.5% growth witnessed over the last 25 years. This faster long-run growth clearly indicates (in contrast to the business cycle view) “an increase in the trend growth rate of labor productivity and not cyclical adjustments” (p.4). Since the labor force growth is unlikely to change, the increase will be provided through the improved productivity growth and efficient utilizing of resources. Similar to Stiroh, Lester (1998) argues that globalization, deregulation and innovation are the major forces that can sustain productivity. Besides, Information Technology (IT) can ensure a permanent long-run growth.

In contrast to the long-run growth view, the business-cycle view ‘favors a short-run’ balance between inflation and unemployment. They claim that globalization can stabilize the prices and meanwhile, companies may enhance their productivity and reduce costs by utilizing IT. Lastly, the view of sources-of-growth, postulates a totally different explanation of how economies grows. The proponents of this accounts honor the Information Age in that it changes the way an economy grow. According to the ‘promoters of the sources-of-growth theory’, the slow residual is of great significance as a factor which radically improves the terms of such traditional trade-offs. This concept represents an increased economic value as a result of technological progress, spillovers, improved efficiency and scale economies, etc. (Stiroh, 2000, p. 9). What is common among all of three views is that the IT plays a very significant role in economic growth. The new economy is a digitized economy which is very different from the older economy models.

The new economy is much associated with the new technologies that made possible for it to distinguish itself from the old economy of the Industrial Period. It is seen as knowledge-based economy. As Charles Leadbeater (2000) states, “in the new

economy more of the value of manufactured products will come from the software and intelligence that they embody, and more of what we consume will be in the form of services. Across all sectors the knowledge, content of products and processes is rising. Everything is getting smarter from computers and photocopiers to cars and corn.” (p. 43). In contrast, as Leadbeater argues “[t]he old economy was organized around physical, material, and tangible and products. The old economy had a large service sector, but it was organized to service physical products: processing paper, taking orders, managing production, selling, servicing, and repairing” (p. 43). The old one is characterized by the mass production through the techniques of the assembly line called as Fordism having its prime in the 1950s-60s. Fordism encapsulates “the age of ‘intensive accumulation’ with ‘monopolistic regulation’ of the economy” (Amin, 1994, p. 9). In the following quotation Jessop (1991) luminously analyzes the dynamics of Fordism on four levels:

As a distinctive type of labour process [or industrial paradigm], it involves mass production based on moving assembly-line techniques operated with the semi-skilled labour of the mass worker. ... As a stable mode of macroeconomic growth [regime of accumulation], Fordism involves a virtuous circle of growth based on mass production, rising productivity based on economies of scale, rising incomes linked to productivity, increased profits based on full utilisation of capacity, and increased investment in improved mass production equipment and techniques. As a mode of social and economic regulation [mode of regulation], Fordism involves the separation of ownership and control in large corporations with a distinctive multi-divisional, decentralized organisation subject to central controls [Taylorist division of labour]; monopoly pricing; union recognition and collective bargaining; wages indexed to productivity growth and retail price inflation; and monetary emission and credit policies orientated to securing effective aggregate demand. ... And, fourthly, Fordism can be seen as a general pattern of social organisation (‘societalisation’). In this context it involves the consumption of standardised, mass commodities in nuclear family households and provision of standardised, collective goods and services by the bureaucratic state (p. 136-137).

This is the ideal type of Fordism that dominated US macro economy after 1950.

However, in the mid of 1970s it suffered from a crisis originated from “oil shocks on account of “the slow-down of growth and recurrent” (Amin, 1994, p. 10). The crisis resulted in the problematization of whole mass production procedures and it remained incapable to meet the new demands.

This was due to its social and technical limits, which reduced productivity profits; an intensified “globalization of economic flows” caused by the growth in mass production; increased social expenses; and consumption becoming oriented towards various “use values”, which made standardization and mass-production procedures problematic (Nielsen, 1991, p. 24). It was a state of crisis for capitalism. Thus, a new regime of accumulation has emerged in the mid 1970s, commonly called as post-Fordist.

Stuart Hall (1988a) 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 ‘targeting’ 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 (p. 24).

Hall argues that these transformations can also be seen in the appearance of new cultural patterns. Post-Fordism led to a “greater fragmentation and pluralism, the weakening of older collective solidarities and block identities and the emergence of new identities associated with greater work flexibility, the maximization of individual choices through

personal consumption” (Hall, 1988a, p. 24). For example, the increase in mass consumption impacted on “the life-patterns, the social experience and expectations and the lived universe of the majority of ordinary people” (Hall, 1988b, p. 213). As a result people aimed to utilize what seemed to be the opportunities “opened up to widen their area of experience and choice” (Hall, 1988b, p. 215). In turn, this led to the development of new products, maximizing choices and profits, as well.

In short, it can be proposed that knowledge is the key to the new economy and it is embedded in any field of economy sectors, including services. Giddens (1998) is right in saying “[k]nowledge and competitive capability count for more than natural resources” (p. 140). Therefore, knowledge is seen as the most valuable asset for human beings. But above all; what is knowledge? The next section explores responses to that question.

Knowledge and Its Meaning

Knowledge is a very complicated term and hard to define. In the words of Wittgenstein (1958), it is “often in the eye of the beholder, and you give meaning to the concept through the way you use it” (cited in Von Krogh, et al., 2000, 6). Knowledge in this thesis is conceptualized to fulfill three conditions: belief, truth and justification. In this sense, it involves deep understanding and reasonable judgment. By contrast, this thesis deals with it as neo-liberal imagination, with its commodity value in the knowledge economy. Discussion of the knowledge is maintained in the next section through discourses of knowledge economy.

The world as a neo-liberal imaginary is “in essence a vast supermarket” (Apple, 2001, p. 39). In this rapidly changing supermarket, everything is assessed by its market value, even though it has attributes of public good. Knowledge too, has become a commodity. As Lyotard argues “knowledge is and will be produced in order to be sold; it is and will be consumed in order to be valorized in a new production: in both cases, the goal is exchange” (1989, p. 4-5). Lyotard (1989) implies that knowledge has turned to be active and valuable for being used and sold. It is now beyond the knowledge that the value of it is quantified in the marketplace.

Apparently, it would be helpful to use categorizations in making sense of knowledge more concisely. Although, the concept has many implications in it, and is extremely complex, one particular classification, including six categories, would be helpful: know-what, know-why, know-how, know-who, know-where and know-when (ITAG 1999, p. 5; Lundvall & Johnson, 1994; OECD, 1996a, p. 19; Johnson & Lundvall, 2002).

Know-what refers to knowing simple facts such as to know when the Republic is declared in Turkey. Clearly, such conceptualization of knowledge makes it similar to information. Know-why means the knowledge of knowing about the development of natural environment, society and human mind. Know-how refers how something is performed and conducted that are basically related to practical skills and abilities. Know-who entails knowing who poses certain knowledge whereas know-where and know-when refers to knowing the source of knowledge.

Knowledge can also be divided into an alternative typology: codified and tacit knowledge (David, 1993; Polanyi, 1967; Busch & Richards, 2000). Codified knowledge

often refers to knowledge that can be easily written and transferred to others whereas, tacit knowledge refers to knowledge that is difficult to acquire and transfer.

Discourses of Knowledge Economy

Foucault (1991) asserts that the creation, distribution, and application of knowledge pose an essential problem and knowledge cannot be separated from power relations. He says 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). Just as Foucault, John Fiske (1989) makes a similar point:

“Knowledge is never neutral; it never exists in an empiricist, objective relationship to the real. Knowledge is power, and the circulation of knowledge is part of the social distribution of power. The discursive power to construct a commonsense reality that can be inserted into cultural and political life is central in the social relationship of power” (p. 149-150).

Ignoring knowledge-power relations, neo-liberal policy makers successfully spread the notion of knowledge economy that prescribes the best interests of privileged classes that are mostly concentrated in most developed first world countries.

Publications on the concept are numerous and rapidly increasing promoted by

institutions such as; the WB (see e.g., Stiglitz, 1998; 1999a; 1999b) and the OECD (1996a; 1996b; 1997).

Peters (2000) indicates that the discourses of knowledge economy can be traced back to the late-1950s. What makes him to think this is Peter Drucker's (1959) *Landmarks of Tomorrow* in which he mentions the topic. As Peters (2000) reminds Fritz Machlup is one of the first economist to "theorize the importance of knowledge and education to the modern economy" (p. 91). Perhaps, it is not anyone but Hayek and Chicago School under the leadership of Hayek, who evaluated the modern forms of American neo-liberalism. Backer, as a strong defender of market economy claims "Chicago always stands for markets, rationality and [the belief] that markets do things more efficiently than governments do" (cited in Peters, 2002, p. 2).

In contrast to Chicago School of economics, there have been tendencies in American sociology and French philosophy that criticize the neo-liberal market economics. They are much more concerned with sociology of knowledge and education. Daniel Bell (1973) and Alain Touraine (1974) are among the contributors of this critique. Both Bell and Touraine realized the importance of knowledge for the evolution of post-industrial societies. In *The Coming of Post Industrial Society* (1973) Bell, for instance, predicts that the coming of Information Age would change the social structure and would evolve the economics of goods to the economics of information.

In this literature, the conceptions have gone back and forth between information, knowledge, society and economy. Stehr (1994) and Robert Lane (1966) are how uses the conception knowledge society. Stehr (1994) argues that "the constitutive mechanism or the identity of modern society is increasingly driven by 'knowledge' " and "knowledge' ... challenges as well as transforms property and labor as the constitutive mechanisms of

society” (p. 7). He insists that knowledge is the new factor of production to increase. He observes that “... as labor and property (capital) gradually give way to a new constitutive factor, namely knowledge, older struggles and contests, centered for instance on ownership of the means of production, also make room for rising sentiments of disaffection with beliefs and values once firmly associated with labor and property and ultimately result in very different moral, political and economic debates and conflicts” (Stehr, 1994), p. viii). Peters (2000), on the other hand prefers to distinguish the knowledge society from the knowledge economy since society is different from the economy. He denotes that the concept of society entails “certain traditional notions of welfare, rights, and State responsibilities” (p. 91) and economy does not. With the coming of 1980s, scholars tried to conceptualize the relation between knowledge, information, education, and economy. Lyotard (1989), for example, focuses on the problematic of knowledge and education, the position of science and technology, and the management of knowledge and information. Besides, he notes that knowledge and power should be approached as “two sides of the same question” (p. 9).

Despite the critiques of knowledge economy provided by scholars as Foucault, Lyotard and Peters, it should be noted that the concept of knowledge economy have been welcomed especially by policy makers, governments and world institutions such as the WB, the OECD and the IMF. The next section deals with characteristics of welcomed knowledge economy.

Hegemonic Conceptions of Knowledge Economy

Hegemonic conceptions of knowledge economy are mostly provided by governments like UK and New Zealand and global actors like WB and OECD. For example, in the UK's 1998 white paper called *Our Competitive Future: A Knowledge-Driven Economy*, 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. It is not simply about pushing back the frontiers of knowledge; it is also about the more effective use and exploitation of *all types of knowledge in all manner of economic activity*" (Great Britain, Dept of Trade and Industry, 1998, 2, italics in original).

In this definition, the conceptualization of knowledge, going beyond the information, implies that the knowledge is the core of economic welfare and development. Another similar conceptualization is made by the New Zealand's Ministry of Research, Science and Technology (MoRST) that interprets knowledge economy as: "... those [economies] which are directly based on the production, distribution and use of knowledge and information. This is reflected in the trend towards growth in high-technology investments, high technology industries, more highly-skilled labor and associated productivity gains. Knowledge, as embodied in people (as 'human capital') and in technology, has always been central to economic development." (New Zealand's MoRST, cited in Peters, 2001, p. 7).

This definition clearly makes a distinction between two types of economy, namely economies based on production and knowledge economies. On the other hand, it

also creates a close link between knowledge economy and human capital seen as pivotal to raise the nation's common wealth. As cited in Peters (2000), the Ministry indicates the features of knowledge economy as “the economics of abundance”, ‘the annihilation of distance’, ‘the de-territorialization of the state’, ‘the importance of local knowledge’ and ‘investment in human capital’ as explained below:

- “Economics of abundance” – The more knowledge is applied, the more it multiplies and expands (Peters, 2000, p. 93).
- “Annihilation of distance” – through new information and communications technologies such as virtual marketplaces (Peters, 2000, p. 93);
- “The De-territorialization of the state” – difficult to implement laws, barriers and taxes on an exclusively national basis (Peters, 2000, p. 93);
- “The importance of local knowledge” – the same information or knowledge can possess different values for different people at different times” (Peters, 2000, p. 93);
- “Investment in human capital” – “knowledge-based companies seek knowledge locked into systems or processes rather than in workers, because of its higher inherent value” (Peters, 2000, p. 93).

Rendering distance through communication technologies, minimizing state affairs, investing the human capital and constantly referring to the significance of knowledge for expansion of economies, the idea of knowledge economy is distinguished from the old economy and it makes policy makers and chief executive officers to rethink and reformulate their approaches and thus to build a knowledge based economy.

Building the Knowledge Economy

The process of building the knowledge economy is constructed and guided by those very so called neo-liberal institutions and governments. In this sense global institutions like WB and OECD are major actors in the process of the construction of knowledge economy. A report called, *World Development Report: Knowledge for Development* (WB, 1999) takes knowledge as the most significant part in development. The report concentrates on two type of knowledge; “knowledge about technology” and “knowledge about attributes”. It argues that developing countries have two problems; “knowledge gaps” and “information problems”. In overcoming these problems, the developing countries should obtain knowledge through an open trade system, foreign investment and agreements.

In a similar manner, OECD has focused on raising the value of knowledge, suggesting that knowledge economies have important implications for policy makers to raise the productivity. In this sense, The OECD’s (1996) *Knowledge-Based Economy Report* is significant. It states that “OECD analysis is increasingly directed to understanding the dynamics of the knowledge-based economy and its relationship to traditional economics, as reflected in the “*new growth theory*”. The growing codification of knowledge and its transmission through communications and computer networks has led to the emerging “*information society*”. The need for workers to acquire a range of skills and to continuously adapt these skills underlies the “*learning economy*”. The importance of knowledge and technology diffusion requires better understanding of

knowledge networks and “*national innovation systems*” (OECD, 1996c, 3; italics in original).

Knowledge Based Economy Report focuses on the trends of knowledge economy and the role of the science system in creation of knowledge. Moreover, it argues that knowledge based service sectors, like education, communication and information, have turned out to have a notable importance in Western economies. In fact, this report alongside with other reports mentioned above, UK’s white paper and WB’ report, have set the patterns for government policies, particularly education policy (see Peters 2001 and 2003). Nowadays, the hegemonic conception of knowledge economy is widely accepted among the many countries around the globe. Yet despite this warm welcoming, it is highly argumentative whether the knowledge economy is a real response to the crisis of capitalism.

Historicizing Lifelong Learning

A recent phenomenon, lifelong learning has had a significant effect in the organization and conceptualization of education, training for adults and national adult educational policies. Concepts, like lifelong education, permanent education, and recurrent education have been used to identify the same field that lifelong learning now began to occupy. In 1970s lifelong education became a policy of UNESCO whereas, the Council of Europe lead to term permanent education. On the other hand, the concept of recurrent education has been more fashionable among educators and policy makers. Van der Zee (1996) defines recurrent education as “an overall strategy aimed at the restructuring of the educational system, so as to distribute periods of study over the total lifespan of the individual

in a recurring way, i.e., alternating with extended periods of other sorts of activity such as work, leisure and retirement” (p. 164).

UNESCO’s (1972) report *Learning to Be*, according to Kallen (1979) was a leading policy document on lifelong education. Knapper and Cropley (1985) summarize the core of UNESCO’s lifelong education as;

- “expansion of educational services outside the conventional school age;
- greater interest in education as an instrument for improving the quality of life;
- concern for the development of forms of education that are more closely linked with the needs of everyday life;
- participation in decisions about education by workers, parents and members of the public;
- greater openness in goal setting; planning and administration” (p. 16).

What these guidelines lead is that UNESCO’s philosophy of lifelong education stood out from other educational activities popular in its time. Kallen (1979) outlines the significance this philosophy:

In *Learning to Be* for the first time a coherent philosophy was developed about man, education and society to which the idea of lifelong learning was related. *Learning to be* adopts an optimistic view about human nature and about the power of education to change society. Eagerness to learn, libido sciaenid, is deeply rooted in human nature and once external obstacles are removed, it will provide the necessary motivation for lifelong learning. The society of the future will be a 'learning society', the culture of future society will be 'scientific humanism'. The report argues that lifelong education, if properly organized, is capable of making every citizen participate fully in the future scientific-technological revolution. Lifelong education is to be democratic education. It is a condition for democratic society (p. 52).

Wain argues that (1993) this philosophy gives rise to the “new humanism” which is said to be the background of lifelong learning. Similarly, Gustavsson (1997) argues that “lifelong learning has, from the very beginning, related to a humanistic tradition, where all human beings are considered capable of learning and developing their potential abilities” (p. 232). What is common among these concepts (lifelong/recurrent/permanent education/learning) is that they are all concern with rapid social changes in 1970s. According to these global actors, great transformations in technology caused the transformation in work life, culture, family, and society. This provided the background for the underlying philosophy of UNESCO’s lifelong education concept. Skager (1978) states principles of lifelong education:

The principles of lifelong education reflect contemporary social forces. In the more highly developed countries rapid changes in technology are generating new patterns of productive activity. At the same time, less developed countries are struggling to catch up educationally and technologically.... Major adaptations in work-skills, attitudes and responsibilities must be made within the productive lifetimes of individual citizens in both types of societies (p. 3).

Similar to UNESCO, the Council of Europe was concerned about the social change in the 1970s. “Scientific and technical knowledge is increasing and undergoing renewal so speedily that the ‘foundation’ supplied by the school (including the university) soon becomes insufficient and imperfect for everyone. It is immediately on leaving school that the need for new knowledge arises. Man will therefore have to go begin studying a new on many occasions throughout life if he wishes to ‘keep abreast’ and ‘in step’ with progress” (Council of Europe, 1970, p. 22-23).

This concern was also reflected in OECD’s reports through the concept of recurrent education. In one of their relatively recent reports on the same issue, Learning Beyond

Schooling (1995), OECD refers to Lifelong Learning as “the desire to extend learning beyond schooling on an unprecedented scale arises from a combination of new pressures and new opportunities. The most important development is the central role now played by knowledge and information in every aspect of social and economic life, under the influence of new computer and communications technologies” (OECD, 1995, p. 7).

Similarly, in 2000, the European Commission (EC) published the Lifelong Learning Memorandum. This memorandum has six basic messages. These six basic messages are as follows:

- guarantee universal and continuing access to learning for gaining and renewing the skills needed for sustained participation in the knowledge society;
- visibly raise levels of investment in human resources in order to place priority on Europe’s most important asset – its people;
- develop effective teaching and learning methods and contexts for the continuum of lifelong and life wide learning;
- significantly improve the ways in which learning participation and outcomes are understood and appreciated, particularly non-formal and informal learning;
- ensure that everyone can easily access good quality information and advice about learning opportunities throughout Europe and throughout their lives;
- provide lifelong learning opportunities as close to learners as possible, in their own communities and supported through ICT-based facilities wherever appropriate. (EC, 2000, p. 4)

The belief that current education systems are inadequate in meeting the needs of global change, is shared by all the global actors. The terms lifelong education, permanent education, recurrent education and now lifelong learning are conceptualized in a manner

to be an answer to global transformations taking place since the 1960s. Besides, many writers use the “lifelong” as a philosophy of education. Wain (1987) puts as “lifelong education was intended to stand for a complete overhaul of our way of thinking about education, for a new philosophy of education and, most especially, for a program of action, not a mere tinkering with the engine of current systems. The writers of the movement proposed it as the 'master concept' for all educational planning, policymaking, and practice; in short, they advocated its institutionalization. Their ambition was that the word education itself would eventually become synonymous with lifelong education in people's minds” (p. 9). However, this conceptualization of lifelong education remained as a weak reflection in the use of lifelong learning which nowadays is used in a more utilitarian way, which will be covered in the following section.

Adult Education and Lifelong Learning

While all of these were taking place on side of global governors, adult education scholars provided responses to this interest in lifelong learning. As Raggat et al. (1996) indicates there are several views regarding the importance of lifelong learning:

Technological and economic changes are important touchstones for proponents of lifelong learning but cultural changes are also important. Of particular consequence are changes in lifestyles manifested in the growth of a range of recreational activities, personal development pursuits (such as assertiveness training and consciousness raising), health and personal services ranging through aerobics and step classes to advice on aromatherapy, color and fashion.... To these can be added new learning opportunities which have developed around environmental, feminist, conservation and self-help groups, forms of social activism aimed at shaping change in particular ways (p. 3-4).

What is distinct is that these responses stem from different ideological standings. Every ideological position, from conservative to radical, associates different conceptualizations with the idea of lifelong learning. The next section deals with these ideological positions.

Conservative Approaches to Lifelong Learning

With the rise of neo-liberal ideology, corporations began to set their own education and training and they developed the department called Human Resources Development (HRD). They adopted the concept of lifelong learning as a way of adapting the skills of peoples to new technologies. Thus individuals began to invest in themselves as if they are capital.

Human capital' is increasingly seen as being of the same importance as physical capital as they are essential to the full realization of the expected benefits of the technology. . . . In response to this demand, institutions for adult education and training must develop appropriate programs and courses that provide participants with broadly based polyvalent and flexible qualifications. Government and the private sector must initiate policies and strategies with a view to creating mechanisms and incentives that enable and induce adults to effectively participate in such programs. The use of new educational technologies will help to overcome some of the existing barriers to adult participation in recurrent training programs (Schutze, 1992, p. 46).

HRD, thus, became a central issue in efforts aiming to create flexible and adaptable workers. Lifelong learning, in this sense, with its humanistic focus on empowerment of the learner became a necessity in the modern technological age.

The only constant in the emerging world is change - and the accelerating rate of that change. Hierarchical corporate structures under the old economic order are being replaced by a spider web of activity whose strands reach all over the world. A technology induced redefinition and reorganization of work, coupled with the need to manage change will inevitably break up the present boxes of school, work and retirement. The coming interweaving of work, learning and

life call for a new flexibility and a re-thinking of our industrial-aged institutions - political, economic and social (Burton, 1992, p. xv).

The driving force of world change, technology, has new forms that make old work practices out-fashioned and redundant. So as it's conceptualized in the HRD idea, lifelong learning must meet these newly emerged needs. This is the understanding of those working in HRD. It is also true for liberal adult educators. However, it should be noted that in the world of HRD, lifelong learning is removed from its emancipatory potential leaving a space for lifelong learning in which power-knowledge relations remain invisible.

Liberal Approaches to Lifelong Learning

The point that liberal scholars differ from their conservative parts is their concern in adult learner and their personal development as it is exemplified by Evans (1985).

Arguing that we live now in a post-industrial society, he asserts that we need a post-education society:

Twice as many people work in providing services as in manufacturing and productive industry, which was and is the hallmark of an industrial society. Those employed in mining and quarrying number only a quarter of those in banking, insurance and finance. One consequence is that more people have more scope in their employment for thinking of themselves as persons; fewer have the daily experience of being subordinated to the dictates of industrial production in factories. And those who do have that experience have heard the message and their voices are raised, for they too need recognition as persons. Whatever the post-industrial society describes, in part it refers to the shift from process to persons as a characteristic of paid work and employment (Evans, 1985, p. 13).

Evans notes that society should become a learning society, and lifelong learning being its core philosophy of education. At first sight, his argument seems to be a conservative one but; his premier focus is on the learner rather than the workforce, nation, economy or the state. In this sense, he proposes a classical liberal approach for education and learning- a purely personal activity.

Ove Korsgaard (1997) is another adult educator who believes that we live in a post-industrial era and that lifelong learning is a valid response to the needs of time we live in. He argues that what needed is “brain power” rather than muscles. “During the last 25 years a new system for creating prosperity has developed. This system is totally dependent on communication and the exchange of data. In an advanced economic system the work is no longer connected to things but to symbols. Hard manual work has been exchanged for knowledge and information. Prosperity is no longer based on muscle-power but on brain-power” (Korsgaard, 199, p. 266).

What is distinctive in liberal view of lifelong learning is that knowledge society is the basic characteristic of Western societies. This view assumes an explicit relation between knowledge and learning and leaving the power outside of this relation.

Radical Approaches to Lifelong Learning

Radicals, who presume a different role to lifelong learning within the global agenda, are concerned with challenging the new world order rather than adapting to it. Above outlined views of lifelong learning aim to adopt it in an uncritical manner to the new world order. As Collins points it is an attempt to capture a center in educational debates. “The problems associated with marginal status persist for adult education practitioners

(teachers, program developers, and administrators alike) even now that mounting public rhetoric is proclaiming the virtues and necessity of continuing education of adults under the rubric of lifelong learning. However, widespread enthusiasm for the notion of lifelong learning in recent years seems to have presented the opportunity for adult education to move from its marginal role in society towards center stage and, understandably, adult educators have wanted to seize upon the opportunity” (Collins, 1991, p. 1-2).

It should be noted that Collins is right in claiming that most of adult educators perceived the lifelong learning as manifestation of colonization of life by technical interests. He criticizes the views that make power-knowledge relations invisible. Collins understanding of lifelong learning is more than an ethical commitment to progressive social change. Similar to Collins, Jane Thompson, (1996) notes that “disclaiming theory in the pursuit of practicalities and 'rolling up the sleeves' to 'get things done' is a form of action without reflection. It sustains systems of oppression rather than acknowledging the complexities of how power and ideologies operate” (p. 25).

In a more recent work, Collins (1998) tries to use the concept of lifelong learning in a more radical way while arguing that lifelong learning has lost its liberating potential. He asserts that “during the past 20 years or so, the growing frequency with which these terms have been deployed in conventional education discourse, usually to convey a sense of optimism about the future, has rendered the lifelong concept into little more than a catchphrase. Yet, though often bandied about without much forethought, the terms lifelong learning and lifelong education in referring us to an expansive and hopeful vision are significant for critical pedagogy in this age of cutbacks” (1998, p. 109). Thus, in this age of

cutbacks, the rhetoric of lifelong learning can allow us to speak on education as a field of openness, boundary-less, equality of opportunity, and accessibility.

An End Note on Lifelong Learning

The concept of lifelong learning becomes a complex issue when thinking about meaning attached to it, implications and practices organized around it. But in this study, the necessitated discussion of the complicated structure of lifelong learning will not be elaborated; instead the context in which it will be argued will be shown.

Barry Hake (2005, p. 16) lists the elements that create the agenda as legal political strategies, the determination of specific political policies and the choice of specific political means. Thus, when arguing lifelong learning conceptually and its implications, policy papers that contain these elements should be carefully examined. The critical emphasis on lifelong learning crystallizes in the frame of the needs of the new world order and the global knowledge economy. The close interests of WB, UNESCO, OECD and EU to lifelong learning is quite meaningful in its own context. Hake (2005, p. 17) recognizes lifelong learning as a reaction of international corporations, national governments and educational institutions to globalization and states that lifelong learning is the basic argument of policy papers about globalization and secure economic competition. Nevertheless, according to Hake globalization is the propelling impetus behind the knowledge society and the knowledge economy needs improvement in lifelong learning in broad scale (ibid, 17). Besides, the dominant agenda of knowledge economy is "learning for earning". From this perspective, the discourse of

earning and strategies brings about individualistic competition based on learning and aggrandizement. Social support is replaced with self-aggrandizement, and social cure based around class deprivation is replaced with self-deification. Today, individual minds and muscles are used simply to survive and in the daily struggle for aggrandizement (Bauman 2000, p. 58 – see also Bauman 2003, 2005). In other words, the learning principle of lifelong learning is based on the earning economically. As Deleuze (2006, p. 200) states, we are constantly presenting ‘the brashest rivalry as a healthy form of emulation, an excellent motivational force that opposes individuals against one another and runs through each, dividing each within.’”

Global Knowledge Economy and the Transformation of Politics of Lifelong Learning

Noted earlier, globalization is a complex term defined and described in different ways. Marshall McLuhan (1964) coined the phrase "global village" to emphasize that the world was being so rapidly integrated. The phenomenon is "globalization," which has made the world a village by affecting numerous countries' culture, politics, and economics for decades (Friedman, 1994; Held, et al., 2000; Pieterse, 2004). These global changes have had a deep effect on educational policies, instructions, and practices throughout the world (Burbules & Torres, 2000; Harrison & Kachur, 1999; Suarez-Orozco & Qin-Hillard, 2004). The main tenets of this effect are the emphasis on the need for highly skilled labor.

The huge economic growth caused by globalization has created the high need for a higher educated labor force for internationally competitive business and integrated trade (Taylor et al., 1997). More specifically, Lingard (2000) describes this as:

...[T]he rapidity of change, the move to post-Fordist production approaches, niche rather than mass production, service rather than manufacturing orientation, along with tighter budgets have waged a sustained attack on the state bureaucratic form that accompanied the Keynesian policy regime of demand management, evident in waves of educational restructuring (p. 84).

As a result education gained a prominent role in preparing this labor force for new skills, changing job demands, and a highly competitive business world (Burbules & Torres, 2000; Harrison & Kachur, 1999; Taylor, et al., 1997; Rizvi, 2000), as well as educating citizens to live peacefully in multicultural (pluralistic) societies (Friedman, 1994). As the discourses of global knowledge economy cause to transform the organization, distribution, and exercise of power and stretches social, political, and economic activities (Held & McGrew, 2002), it also changes the political structure and practices resulting from its impact on education. Thus, governments began to shape their national policies under the effects of the discourse of global knowledge economy. As Pieterse (2004) and Popkewitz and Lindblad (2004) denotes the EU is a proper example of how the consequences of political change and hybridity (the mix of global, national, and local policies) influence global outcomes, especially in education. With the advent of globalization, education came to be seen as the potential problem solver of questions arising from the economic sphere of a society experiencing late modernity. Therefore, education has been readjusting on the basis of values as efficiency and competitiveness.

In this sense, to ensure competitive advantage in global knowledge economy highly skilled labor is required and “these must then be constantly updated through

lifelong learning” (Kennedy, 2004, p. 593). The following quotations from various reports indicates the significance of global market ideals -competitiveness, competencies, widening participation, and the need for workers to keep on learning so that countries can maintain their place in the economic world, and their people their standard of living- on the conceptualization of lifelong learning.

“In the introduction to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) report (1996) the following comments are made:

Success in realizing lifelong learning—from early childhood education to active learning retirement—will be an important factor in promoting employment, economic development, democracy and social cohesion in the years ahead. (p. 13)

In the European Union White Paper (European Union, 1995) a similar claim is made:

The crucial problem of employment in a permanently changing economy compels the education and training system to change. The design of appropriate education and training strategies to address work and employment issues is, therefore, a crucial preoccupation. (p. 18)

In the European perspectives (Collomb & Seidel, 1998), we read the following:

For Europe to be competitive, working adults need Lifelong Learning: a continual replenishment of their education. Adult Education and Lifelong Learning are essential ingredients in today’s integrated Europe. (p. 8)” (cited in Jarvis, 2000, p. 347)

Consequently, lifelong learning is seen to lead the vocational qualifications. It turns to be the mechanism of producing and disseminating knowledge seen as a driver of productivity and economic growth. The OECD (1996c) report notes that “OECD countries continue to evidence a shift from industrial to post-industrial knowledge-based

economies. Here productivity and growth are largely determined by the rate of technical progress and the accumulation of knowledge. Of key importance are networks or systems which can efficiently distribute knowledge and information... Learning on the part of individuals and firms is crucial for realizing the productivity potential of new technologies and longer-term economic growth” (p. 18). It is quite meaningful in the sense that the report also encourages governments to develop policies that “promote the capacity to learn, to use tacit (know-how) knowledge to transform codified knowledge” (OECD, 1996c, p. 13). All of this that is believed to success the economic growth is to be achieved by mechanisms provided through the concept of lifelong learning.

History of Adult Education in Turkey and Neoliberal Transformation of Education

Okçabol (2006) divides the history of adult education in two wide study periods. These periods are (i) Pre-Republican period and (ii) Post-Republican period. Before 1923, several institutions like mosques, sects, are some of those that gave non-formal education. Okçabol (2006) notes that medreses, janissaries, akhi organizations, guilds, and palace schools were institutions that gave adult education.

In the functionalization of adult education the declaration of republic is a turning point. After the Republic, adult education gained a significant role in educating the masses. In the very first of the Republic, the focus of adult education was on literacy. Public Schools (Halk Mektepleri) and Night Classes (Gece Dersleri) opened in 1925, taught more than seven thousand people who turned to be literate. This trend continued until the 1980s, raised the literacy rate from 11% in 1928 to 67,5% in 1980 (Okçabol,

2006). Alongside with the above stated institutions, Public Houses (Halk Evleri) were established in 1923. The number of the public houses in 1936 was 210 and in 1945 it was 395 (Okçabol, 2006). During the time interval from 1936 to 1947, the public houses conducted 1800 literacy courses and educated over 60,000 people (Okçabol, 2006). They, also organized activities in a wide range of areas including literature, fine arts, sports, and history. The number of the public houses was 478 when they had been closed in 1951 due to their consubstantiation with Republican People's Party (CHP) (Okçabol, 2006). Another important movement in Turkish education history was "The Village Institutes established by the legislation # 3803, on April 17, 1940 in order to train the teachers who worked in the villages. Only the children who used to live in villages were accepted to those institutes." (Okçabol. 2005, p. 51).

From then on, in 1960 adult education became more institutionalized. Public Education Office was promoted to the general directorate, which itself transformed into General Directorate of Apprenticeship and Non-formal Education (Çıraklık ve Yaygın Eğitim Genel Müdürlüğü) in 1983. Basic Laws of National Education that passed in 1973 required that Turkish education system is composed of formal and non formal education subsystems, and that Ministry of National Education be responsible for the coordination of adult education. Recently, adult education activities are organized not only by National Education but also by some other institutions and ministries. (Okçabol, 2006; Kabahasanoğlu, 2002). Besides the Ministry of National Education, some institutions supervised by the Prime Minister, such as Turkish Armed Forces, and Institute of Turkish Standards; other ministries, such as Ministries of Justice, Health, and Defense universities and academic institutions, voluntary associations and foundations, vocational institutions like unions and vocational chambers, local administrations, and

many private organizations (Okçabol, 2006; Kabahasanoğlu, 2002). However, it should be noted that, after the 1980, Turkey has undergone very serious transformations in many fields including adult education. Even though the concept of lifelong learning is relatively a new phenomena for Turkish society, the conditions that caused the emergence of this concept is quite related to very conditions that were resulted by the transformations began in 1980.

In this sense, it is quite important to make sense of this transformation. Sungur and Balkan (2002) note that the 1980 was itself a decisive move in economic policy. They state that “1980 was the year when the Turkish bourgeoisie, after some hard fought struggles, managed to impose a new orientation on the economy, popularly known as export-led growth. This new turn meant a wholesale restricting of economic policy itself” (2002, p. xv). This turn was based on the neo-liberal ideals. As Sungur and Balkan (2002) note “neo-liberalism became the order of the day, with the usual paraphernalia of foreign trade and interest rate liberalization, deregulation, privatization, cuts in state expenditure on social services and a liberal foreign exchange regime taking the place of the state interventionarism of the earlier period” (p. xv).

Similar to Sungur and Balkan, Ercan (2002) argues that the Turkish economy has been undergoing a series of important structural changes. However, it should be noted that these structural changes were not undergoing only in the field of economics, but also in the fields like agriculture, service, education etc.

Fatma Gök (2002) discusses the impacts of this transformation in the field of education. She begins with the note that the educational quality of state schools in Turkey decreased dramatically after the implementation of structural adjustment policies after January 24, 1980. She proposes that the impact of neoliberal transformation in

Turkish educational system policies can be followed from the three headings; “private schools, monetary contribution of education by parents, and private courses”. In the context of private schools, she states that “while the public education system is receiving extremely insufficient financial resources from the federal budget, private schools are being subsidized in a variety of ways of by the state. Subsidies include credits, exemption from income and corporate taxes and direct provision of public funds.” (Gök, 2002, p. 100). She notes that the number of private schools and enrolled students has been rapidly increasing since 1987. Another indicator of direct impact of neo-liberalism on the education is gathering money from the parents. “The 1990s witnessed another operation tending towards the privatization of education. The ministry of National Education, having deprived schools of the fundamental educational and physical environment, began to demand a payment from parents under the name of monetary contribution.” (Gök, 2002, p. 101). The last indicator, that Gök observes, as the effect of neoliberal transition in the field of education is the private courses. “The most tragicomical educational institutions created are the özel dershaneler which are privately organized courses” (2002, p. 102). These private courses have turned to be of fundamental importance for the success at the university entrance examinations. These commercial institutions are “clear indicators of how education has been reduced to commercial service/commodity that is subject to commercial transactions” (2002, p. 102). Alongside with the observations of Gök (2002), Şimsek & Ay (2007) indicate the neo-liberal transformations occurred in the field of adult education in Turkey by looking at the concept of lifelong learning. They state that “a recent phenomenon, lifelong learning has had a significant effect on the organization and conceptualization of education, training for adults and national adult educational policies” (Şimsek & Ay,

2007, p. 1). Indication that all learning activities are undertaken throughout life with the aim of improving knowledge, skills and competencies, within a personal, civic, social and/or employment-related perspective they argue that “the conceptualization of lifelong learning and functionalization of its practices in education and social planning are determined only in an economically-based context, and the paper concludes that this conceptualization and functionalization are lacking in critical concern, social vision and any commitment to social justice and equity” (Şimsek & Ay (2007, p. 1).

Epistemological Background

It is important for critical policy analysis to reveal the politics of discourse in an area of policy and to search the relationship between policy documents and their historical, political, social and cultural contexts. Critical discourse analysis is one of the appropriate methods for critical policy analysis since it primarily deals with relationships between language and other social practices in the course of policy analysis. Therefore the next step goes on with the presentation of critical discourse analysis.

Critical Discourse Analysis

In this part of the study, it is intended to clarify the concept of discourse, draw the lines of discourse analysis and show how critical discourse analysis is conducted. The

definition of discourse is abundant in the literature. Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary (1997) explains some of these definitions that differ with respect to the way in which scope of analysis is applied.

The first definition of Merriam Webster (1997), for the concept discourse states that it is a "linguistic unit (as a conversation or a story) larger than a sentence" (p. 331). As Schiffrin (1994) indicates this view is a structuralist approach as "a particular unit of language above the sentence" (2). The second definition gives the discourse as "a verbal interchange of ideas, esp.: CONVERSATION" (capitals in original) (Merriam, 1997, 331). The third definition is that of "a formal and orderly and usually extended expression of thought on a subject" (Merriam, 1997, p. 331). Resembling Saussure's conception of *langue* that conceptualizes the language as to be invariant across a community, this definition suggests that language, being a formal and predictable code, can be studied structurally. It should be noted that a code is "transmitted and acquired in interactions" (Bernstein, 1990, p. 113).

The final definition of discourse is "connected speech or writing" (Merriam, 1997, p. 331). This definition, in a sense goes beyond a structuralist conceptualization of discourse but in another sense, it remains structuralist. The sense in which this definition goes beyond structuralism includes theoretical basis of for analysis in terms of coherence. In sense that it remains structuralist is that it does not provide perspective that how social relations influence the discourse. As seen discourse is mainly defined on the basis of structuralist views, however it should be noted that not all literature conceptualizes discourse analysis in this way.

In his book, *Methods in Structural Linguistics*, Z. Harris (1951) was the first linguist to use the phrase *discourse analysis* (cited in Schiffrin, 1994, p. 24). Van Dijk

(1985) discourse analysis has remained in the form of classical rhetoric. However, with the rise of the idea of post-structuralism, a cross-disciplinary approach of discourse analysis has evolved. The conceptualization of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is among these cross disciplinary approaches.

The leading figure of CDA Norman Fairclough (1989) believes that discourse analysis can produce more effective and greater tools of analysis by approaching cross-disciplinary. Fairclough's use of the term as critical suggests to "showing connections and causes which are hidden" (cited in Piper, 2000, p. 13). His use of term is more widely defined as "the use of language as a social practice that is determined by social structures" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 17). CDA, in this sense, is much more concerned with tension between language and society. It aims to "provide a new perspective for theorizing and analyzing through the use of various types of systematic analyses" (Van Dijk, 2001, p. 352). Fairclough and Wodak (cited in Van Dijk, 2001) have set the main tenets of CDA as:

- CDA addresses social problems.
- Power relations are discursive.
- Discourse constitutes society and cultures.
- Discourse does ideological work.
- Discourse is historical.
- The link between text and society is mediated.
- Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory.
- Discourse is a form of social action (p. 353).

In this sense, discourse refers to text's interpretations and implications of the social contexts in which they are produced and disseminated. It aims to reveal the tenets of the symbolic power. Bourdieu (1991) states the symbolic power as:

... power of constituting the given through utterances, of making people see and believe, of confirming or transforming the vision of the world and, thereby, action on the world and thus the world itself, an almost magical power which enables one to obtain the equivalent of what is obtained through force (whether physical or economic), by virtue of the specific effect of mobilization - is a power that can be exercised only if it is *recognized*, that is, misrecognized as arbitrary (p. 170).

The symbolic power as a tool of analysis reveals the representations and perspectives presented in a text. Representations alongside with the *habitus* make the social divisions as natural. Habitus, in this sense is "a set of embodied cultural dispositions that social agents bring to bear in social practice" (Stillar, 1998, p. 95). These embodied cultural dispositions are learned and legitimated through social contexts within which individuals interact. Habitus, thus implies much more of individuals habits: It "generates classificatory schemes, ways of perceiving, and systems of classification through which it structures our representations of, our orientation toward, and our judgment of the social world" (Stillar, 1998, p. 98). In this sense it has particular interest in discourse analysis.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a field of cross-disciplinary teaching and research which is widely used in the social sciences and humanities with varying degree of interpretation. This thesis draws on studies of CDA approach developed by Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, Michael Meyer, Teun Van Dijk, Ron Scollon, Siegfried Jager, and Lilie Choularaki. They try to combine a method of linguistic text analysis with a social theory of the functioning of language in political and ideological processes,

drawing upon the functionalist linguistic theory associated with Michael Halliday (1985) and known as ‘systemic linguistics’. CDA is seen as both theory and method: theory for its own sake is avoided while theory-free methodologism that takes the researcher to the desired results is refrained from. A variety of social and linguistic theories from various disciplines are brought into dialogue, which means a “mediation between the social and the linguistic” (Wodak & Meyer, 2001a, p.16). Texts are created in social contexts and their elements are not solely linguistic categories but categories that are the results of linguistic and non-linguistic structures, which means that texts are the results of other social structures, and of social practices that it becomes increasingly difficult to separate out of the factors shaping texts (Fairclough, 2003). Hence, CDA accentuates that while analyzing a text it is important to look at the social structure in which the text to be analyzed takes place. A critical theoretical practice aims to disentangle the constituents of social practices in order to discover the mechanisms “which produce antagonisms and struggles, also making explicit its own position” (Wodak & Meyer, 2001b, p.26). Critical linguistics rejects the mainstream linguistic theories’ treatment of language systems as independent of the use of language and their distinctions between the content and form as they are independent from each other (Fairclough, 1993). Halliday (1974) indicates that ‘language is as it is because of its function in social structure’ (Halliday, 1973, p. 65) and contends that people’s control over language is closely related to their position in the social system and that use of language is a matter of selection by people depending on their social circumstances so that meaningful choices are made.

The term ‘discourse’ is used to refer to semiotic elements of social practices (Jager, 2001). The relationship between different elements of social practices is dialectical in the sense that discursal aspects of a social practice contains or internalizes

social relations (Harvey, 1996). Fairclough explains this as follows: “social relations are partly discursive in nature, discourse is partly social relations (Fairclough, 2003, p. 25). Drawing on Halliday’s Systemic Functional Linguistics, Fairclough analyzes this dialectical relationship between the social and linguistic using the three major types of text meaning: “action, representation, and identification” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 27). Action, representation, and identification can be observed in a text simultaneously. “Action” implies a social relation (Fairclough, 2003). For instance, a text builds social relationships between the participants, such as between the agents who know and who do not know, who have the right to implement a policy and who are to be influenced by it, and so on. Texts have the functioning of representation, by saying to illustrate X is different than Y or similar to it, X is a certain thing while Y is another; which means texts have the functioning of representing certain aspects of the world (Fairclough, 2003). Hence there might be divergent accounts of the same reality within different texts on the same phenomenon (Van Dijk, 2001). Identification is seen in a text in forms of the judgement included in the text regarding the relationship between the social reality that is observed and the judgment. The producers of the text might be fully committed to the judgment, or it could be in the form of less commitment, or other undertakings. It would certainly mean different things for example when one says a certain set of policies ‘will bring stability’ rather than saying they “might bring”, or “should bring” stability’. When specific texts are analyzed as part of specific events, this Action, Representation, and Identification set is connected to social events and more abstract social practices by questioning the genres, discourses, and styles drawn upon, and by analyzing how these are articulated together in the text (Fairclough, 2003). Fairclough also draws analogies between Foucault’s categories of ‘relations of action upon others’,

‘control over things’, and ‘relations within oneself’ and ‘Representation’, ‘Action’, and ‘Identification’ respectively (Fairclough, 2003). Critical linguistics makes much reference the aspect of language that is related to the ‘ideational meaning’ of Halliday (1985) which refers to Representation category of CDA.

Harvey (1996) sees the transformations in late modernity partly but substantially made up in language and point of reference to language is regarded as critical in his theorization. CDA makes use of Harvey by operationalizing Harvey’s perspectives in textual analysis (Van Dijk, 2001; Fairclough, 2003, Wodak, 1999). Harvey bases on his analysis of contemporary society in economic changes within capitalism: in the shift towards the penetration of economic tenets of late modernity into all aspects of daily life (Harvey, 2006) and “colonization of lifeworld systems” (Habermas, 2005). “If it is invidious to view daily life and the lifeworld as something “outside of” circulation of capital, then we have to concede that everything that takes place in the workplace and in the production-consumption process is somehow caught up within capital circulation and accumulation..... It is only when daily life has been rendered totally open to the circulation of capital and when political subjects have their vision almost entirely circumscribed by embeddedness in that circulation that capitalism can function with affective meanings and legitimacy as its support” (Harvey, 2006, p. 82). Through such values human body is transformed into an “accumulation strategy” (Harvey, 2006, p.82) and populations are exposed to the views according to which they are seen as “disposable and redundant” (Harvey, 2006, p. 82) unless they re-skill themselves.

Harvey’s analyses on time-space are also relevant to textual analysis. “Space, time, and space-times are routinely constructed in texts (Fairclough, 2003). Harvey argues that economic transformations lead to overwhelming cultural consequences

(Harvey, 2005). Societies in late modernity can be characterized as having “volatile, ephemeral, and disposable” in terms of their “values, lifestyles, attachment to things, and received ways of doing and being (Harvey, 1990, in Van Dijk, 2001, p. 77). The way they experience time and space is highly influenced by the contemporary characteristics of space-time constructions. While discussing genres of governance Fairclough explains how they contribute to linking different scales of social life such as the local, national, and global (Fairclough, 2003). It would be difficult to disagree that policy texts build relationships between different space-times, represent certain spatio-temporalities as desirable, universal, and unavoidable while representing others undesirable, relative, and unnecessary. The movement between different space-times and the way they are constructed is of significance for CDA since spatio-temporality is highly interlinked with particular social relations and social identities. The so called globalization discourse in policy texts constitutes an example of this phenomenon in that such discourses lead to precepts that are applied across different spheres of social organizations and different aspects of social life.

Genres of governance, genres that manage the way things are done rather than doing things, are important in maintaining the institutional structures of contemporary societies (Fairclough, 2003). As mentioned in the previous paragraph, genres of governance have the property of building relationships between different scales, connecting them in particular ways, and enforcing recontextualizations in different spheres of social relations of power. These genres include promotional genres that can be characterized as genres that are aimed at selling commodities rather than being interested in noncommercial practices (Fairclough, 2003). In many texts produced in new capitalism, it would be usual to see attempts to promote certain items included in

the text. To illustrate, in our age, in our country and in many, or almost all others, it is highly probable that an information booklet about a city would be one written with the intention of promoting this city to attract tourists or investment rather than build different types of relationships between the city and its outer world.

The issue of difference and dialogicality is an important concern for CDA. According to Fairclough (2003) while intertextuality opens up possibilities for difference and dialogue by including different voices in a text, assumptions suppress difference by assuming common ground. Intertextuality can be defined as the incorporation of other texts and voices into a text (Fairclough, 2003). Through an analysis of intertextuality, it is possible to detect the exclusions, absences, and voices that are prioritized as opposed to the ones that are subordinated. One of the ways intertextuality takes place is through reporting. Leech and Short (1981, in Fairclough 2003) differentiate four ways of reporting, which are: “direct reporting, indirect reporting, free indirect reporting, and narrative report of speech act” (p.49). While analyzing a text it is important to recognize the differences between the way reporting used because it provides valuable information on discovering the nature of power relations in discourse. Another issue in intertextuality is ‘framing’. Texts entail choices about how to frame a certain piece of information and how to conceptualize it (Fairclough, 2003). Framing also involves questioning about the ordering of voices with regard to each other (Wodak&Meyer, 2001, Fairclough 2003). Although intertextuality is generally said to increase dialogicality, Fairclough (2003) accentuates that intertextuality is highly selective in that choices regarding what to include and what to exclude are governed through intertextuality, which means that the right to represent the “supposed reality” (Lefevbre, 1991) in certain ways belongs to the agents making use of

intertextuality. Although it might seem the case that different ideas are included, it might turn out to be ostensibly setting up of antagonistic views, as long as these ideas and their owners are not explicitly made clear. This would be a matter of obfuscating the differences or concealing them rather than specifying them.

Texts are produced on a common ground as are all forms of social relationships. “The capacity to exercise social power, domination, and hegemony includes the capacity to shape to some significant degree the nature and content of this common ground, which makes implicitness and assumptions an important issue with respect to ideology” (Fairclough, 2003, p.55). Fairclough (2003) distinguishes three main types of assumptions.

1. Existential assumptions: assumptions about what exists
2. Propositional assumptions: assumptions about what is or what will be the case
3. Value assumptions: assumptions about what is good or desirable

Particular discourses originate from particular value systems (Fairclough, 2001). For instance a new governance discourse tends to assume that regulations that enhance efficiency, adaptability, and flexibility are desirable. Similarly, policy texts are usually produced on the assumption that globalization is an inexorable actuality, and Fairclough (2003) argues that such assumptions as well as the assumption that globalization is economic progress can be regarded as doing ideological work. In terms of speech functions, sometimes the statements used carry importance to gain insights into the type of assumptions built in the text. ‘Statements of facts’ are the statements about what is/was/has been/etc. the case; ‘irrealis statements’ are usually predictions or hypothetical statements, while ‘evaluations’ are exclamations and such (Fairclough, 2003).

The repression of difference through the imposition of discourses is one of the central issues in CDA agenda. Every society and practice is characterized by tension between the creation of differences and suppression of differences through ‘equivalence’ (Scollon, 2001). Discourses have the functioning of setting up differences and similarities, representing them in certain ways, hence building hegemony. The concept of hegemony helps conceptualize power struggles within societies. Laclau and Mouffe (1985) move from Gramsci’s concept of hegemony and relate it to postmodern theories of discourse, especially to discourses of Derrida and Foucault. Derrida has a view of discourse as a ‘system of differences’ whose elements are in constantly shifting relations (Derrida, 1978). Laclau and Mouffe (1985) assert that political hegemony entails at the same time ‘logic of difference’ and ‘logic of equivalence’. ‘Logic of difference’ is the tendency towards creating and increasing differences between entities by representing them as distinct while ‘logic of equivalence’ is suppressing differences by representing entities as similar or equivalent to each other. In the debates regarding the recent transformations taking place in social sphere, ‘social difference’ (Fairclough, 2003), the salience of certain social identities has become more enunciated (Benhabib 1996, Butler 1998, Fraser 1998, in Fairclough, 2003). A connected issue to this is the ‘universal and the particular’ (Butler, Laclau and Zizek 2000), which deals with how specifics come to be represented as universals and how circumstances that are of concern to a limited population are represented or claimed as universal (Fairclough, 2003). To illustrate, contemporary texts represent recent global economic processes and changes as agentless through nominalization – as a universal process in ‘a general and ill-defined present and without a past’ (Fairclough, 2003, p.45).

Hybridity is one of the points raised in CDA, an issue derived from the implications of the theories of Harvey (1990, 2005, 2006) and Giddens (2004) with respect to language. 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 (Van Dijk, 2001). Hybridity is an irreducible feature of complex modern discourse (Wodak & Meyer, 2001), and ‘discoursal hybridity’ (Van Dijk, 2001, p.83) in interactions and in the text is a result of this pervasive hybridity in various realms of social sphere. Different genres and discourses might flow across the boundaries of one another (Van Dijk, 2001); such as the proliferation of promotional genres in modern policy texts (Fairclough, 2003). Legal, political, economical, literature texts and so on are separated or connected to each other in certain ways so that they gain certain permanence (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). The emergence of the prominence of different pedagogic modalities is linked to the changes in the relationship between different the field of pedagogy and the economic field (Fairclough, 2001). With regard to visible pedagogy, the salient discourse is based upon claims for the autonomous value of knowledge, “which mystifies its effects, unevenly distributing forms of social and cultural capital which are convertible into economic capital” (Fairclough, 2001, p. 111).

Policy texts usually tend to be in the form of ‘hortatory reports’, descriptions aimed at having people act in certain ways on the basis of representations of what is (Fairclough, 2003, p.96). In this point, it would be useful to refer to Fairclough’s contrast between the ‘logic of appearances’ and ‘explanatory logic’ (Fairclough, 2003, p. 95). A text produced on the basis of ‘logic of appearances’ moves from what the present situation is without any reference to the causal relations regarding the process leading to

the current situation, and recommends of the basis of this ‘traceless’ appearance.

‘Explanatory logic’ develops analysis on the basis of the assumption that social change might be a detailed tracing of causal relations between other kinds of change, such as economic, educational, and social psychological (Fairclough, 2003). Using ‘hortatory reports’ or ‘logic of appearances’ in texts is a strategy by which certain policies can be legitimized through discourse. Van Leeuwen (1999) distinguishes four main strategies for legitimation (cited in Fairclough, 2003). These are:

1. Authorization: Legitimation achieved through referring to the authority of tradition, law, and of persons who are given institutional authority.
2. Rationalization: Legitimation by referring “to the utility of institutional action, and to the knowledges society has constructed to endow them with cognitive validity” (Fairclough, 2003).
3. Moral Evaluation: Legitimation achieved through referring to values.
4. Mythopoesis: Legitimation put across through narrative.

Habermas (1984, cited in Fairclough 2003) describes “modernization as a process in which specialized systems based upon ‘instrumental’ or ‘means-ends’ rationality separate themselves out from the rest of social life”. For instance, modern states see in themselves the right of agreeing on certain ends and acting on the basis of these ends, thereby legitimizing their actions. Instrumental rationality presupposes certain concurred ends, and legitimizes actions or procedures or structures on the basis of their utility in attaining these ends (Fairclough, 2003). Rationalization overlaps with Moral Evaluation because reasons used to justify certain procedures induce certain value systems which make up ‘universal’ motives that enhance the loyalty of populations (Fairclough, 2003).

Therefore, Fairclough, distinguishes a category as Moral Evaluation if it does not entail Rationalization.

‘Societal informalization’ is a feature of late modernity, in particular of post-second World War social life in industrialized societies that is characterized by implicit relations of power and authority, covert hierarchies where relations become more informal (Fairclough, 2003). For instance, our age has been witnessing the proliferation of more flat organizational patterns, which actually does not mean the abolishment or decline of hierarchy; or more egalitarian or equal relationships. This trajectory is rather an indication of changing power relations, hierarchical patterns becoming less prominent.

There are also silences and absences in CDA as an approach which need to be addressed (Robertson, 2008). Luke (2000) argues this approach is steeped in rationality systematicity and logical coherence – of coherent and organized ideas tied to the logic of capital and a systematicity of intent (cited in Robertson, 2008). Although Fairclough indicates that as important as what is said in a text is what is unsaid and avoided (Fairclough, 2003), Robertson points out that Fairclough’s CDA is linked to linguistic analysis – of what is there – and therefore there are difficulties in dealing with the unsaid and the unspeakable. However, by looking at both the textual representation and social conditions in which the text is produced and other texts or discourses on the issue at stake, it should be possible to detect absences in a text. To illustrate, there are various texts and reflections and knowledge produced on the present nature and future of lifelong learning policy in Turkey, and these might help find out absences in, for instance, in the policy text “Strengthening the Vocational Education and Training System in Turkey”.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The aim of this study is to gain insights into how lifelong learning is conceptualized in Turkey and to understand how the current and prospective lifelong learning space in Turkey is imagined by the policy makers producing the text “Driving Force for Turkey’s Success: Lifelong Learning Policy Paper” drafted within the project of Strengthening the Vocational Education and Training System in Turkey (Labour Market Team SVET, 2006). The six questions which the thesis will try to answer are as follows:

1. How is lifelong learning conceptualized in the context of Turkey?
2. What are the main themes used in conceptualization of lifelong learning in Turkey?
3. What kind of individual type is imagined through this conceptualization?
4. What sources are referred in conceptualization of lifelong learning?
5. What kinds of roles are attributed to the State?
6. What kinds of roles are attributed to public and private sector institutions and organizations and non-governmental organizations offering lifelong learning?

Data Analysis

To understand the ongoing process of lifelong learning policy setting in Turkey Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is deployed, since policies are initially embodied as policy texts and through these texts they come into practice in social settings. Therefore gaining insights into meaning making in a policy text requires an understanding of the social setting and the relationship between the social and the linguistic processes going on within a policy paper.

The categories that will be utilized in this research are social research themes and text analysis issues defined by Fairclough (2001, 2003). Although these categories tend to overlap in certain cases because “language is an irreducible part of social life, dialectically interconnected with other elements of social life” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 2), this classification is utilized since it provides the researcher with effective conceptual and analytical tools that help set up a methodological framework. Fairclough’s approach is considered a “useful methodological approach to education policy analysis though the balance between text and context in any one piece of analysis is generally driven by the questions” (Robertson, 2008, p. 3) that are asked in the research and what the research wants to reveal. Social research themes delineated by Fairclough (2003) and addressed in the research are:

- 1) Hybridity
- 2) Space-time
- 3) Globalization
- 4) Hegemonic ideas (Setting up universality)
- 5) Legitimation

6) Societal 'informalization'

Some of the text analysis issues outlined by Fairclough and relevant to the scope of this research are:

The document "Driving Force for Turkey's Success: Lifelong Learning Policy Paper" will be analyzed within the above outlined framework drawing on the work of a number of social theorists particularly those who regard point of reference to language as critical in their theorization.

Research questions will be addressed in the related themes and issues: the first question under the CDA categories of globalization, hybridity, space-time, hegemonic ideas, legitimation, major types of text meaning, assumptions, equivalences and differences, societal 'informalization'; the second question under the CDA categories of assumptions, genres of governance; the third question under the CDA categories of genres of governance, assumptions; the fourth question under the CDA categories of space-time, intertextuality; the fifth question under the CDA categories of genres of legitimation, governance; equivalences and differences; the sixth question under the CDA categories of absences and significances, assumptions.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This part of the dissertation will focus in detail on how lifelong learning is conceptualized in Turkey and how the current and future lifelong learning space in Turkey is imagined through the document: “Driving Force for Turkey’s Success: Lifelong Learning Policy Paper” (Labour Market Team SVET, 2006) (henceforth 3L2P). In doing the analysis, the researcher will problematize the kind of the discourses, strategies, policies, and techniques through which current lifelong learning policies in Turkey are put forward and promoted. Findings of the study will be presented and discussed under certain categories, social research themes derived from critical discourse analysis (CDA) methodology and theory. However, these themes overlap in certain cases, although they are not inclusive of one another. This categorization is utilized since it provides a guiding conceptual and analytical framework for the study.

Social Research Themes

Fairclough (2003) addresses social research themes in CDA that include governance “of new capitalist societies”, hybridity “or the blurring of social boundaries”, “shifts in”

space-time “associated with” globalization, hegemonic ideas that “give a universal status to particular discourses and representations”, ideologies such as “citizenship and public space, social change and change in communication technologies”, legitimation “of social action and social orders”, character types that are “dominant in contemporary societies”, and societal ‘informalization’ which means “the shift away from overt hierarchies” (p. 7). In this study, themes of hybridity, globalization, space-time, hegemonic ideas, legitimation and societal ‘informalization’ are selected to inform the approach to text analysis.

Hybridity

In 3L2P different genres and discourses flow across the boundaries of each other. Mainly, political and economic discourses are intertwined in the text in that economic domain is heavily incorporated into educational domain. Educational, political and economical discourses are connected to each other in certain ways so that they gain certain permanence. “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 (Van Dijk, 2001, p.83). While European Union policies and entering the European area are accentuated, nationalist identity discourse is also included in 3L2P. Retaining Turkish culture, national identity, and religious heritage are underlined and “distinctive Turkish identity” (p. 67) is depicted as richness for Europe:

Changes and challenges may come so fast in the next decade that many individuals and even the majority of Turkish society may find it impossible to follow and cope with them. This may even provoke a crisis in identity. This risk can be significantly reduced through strengthening the solidarity and action of smaller communities, confirming cultural identity and a sense of belonging. The aim is modernisation and the development of knowledge, skills and behaviour according to the requirements of the knowledge society. This does not imply the loss of national or local identity, or of religious heritage. Problems arise where there is a lack of higher level cultural identity. Turkish cultural identity is well able to cope with both global and European challenges and EU requirements. The global world and Europe will be poorer if these distinctive Turkish features are lost. Turkey must be confident that its distinctive identity does not imply under-development (p. 67).

Space and Time

Spatial imaginings in 3L2P are constructed according to the global and European space-time tendencies. The movement between different space-times is from top-down: from global and international to the national and local. The text represents global space-time as real and ever existing while space-time in Turkish policy making sphere is represented as subordinating to the global and European space-times. 3L2P begins with explaining the lifelong learning system in Europe setting it as a model to be followed for Turkey case and throughout the whole text there is frequent reference to the EU texts – EU Memorandum on Lifelong Learning, Lisbon Strategy Report, 96 European Year of Lifelong Learning Report, Maastricht Communication - and the texts produced by the international and supranational bodies such as the UNESCO, World Bank and the OECD. Furthermore, what is meant by ‘international’ in the text is limited to Europe as can be seen in Chapter I of 3L2P:

International Co-operation

Turkey should take advantage of the experience acquired in European programmes such as Structural Funds, Education and Training Programmes. It should also make extensive use of the international mobility opportunities such as are provided by Socrates, Leonardo and Youth for Europe, and of the experience of organizations getting involved in co-operation projects at national, regional and local levels. Other European initiatives that can be introduced are Adult Learning Week, Corporate Social Responsibility, Learning Organizations, Learning Regions and Learning Cities (p. 9).

By the same token, in Chapter 4 of 3L2P, this idea is repeated in a more detailed way, but this section carries the same content with the first. What is meant by ‘international’ is again solely Europe. This way of constructing the term ‘international’ prioritizes the European spacio-temporality over most of the other parts of the world by setting up Europe as subsuming the whole world that carries the necessary characteristics to define the term ‘international’. In Turkey, the discourse of Europeanisation in almost all aspects of sociopolitical life has become a highly significant one through which several institutions are being reconstructed. The discourse of Europe in SVET text as well is used to justify the restructuring of space and legitimize the political practices and events and reconstruct structures. In this reconstruction process, there is a move from national level to the European level in that co-operation projects through Socrates, Grundtvig, and Leonardo are highly promoted for the well being of the future of lifelong learning in Turkey.

Globalization

Reference to globalization is a prevailing tendency of policy texts produced in recent years and 3L2P text is not different from these mainstream texts. 3L2P makes use of the

globalization discourse as exchangeable with discourses like ‘economic change’ discourse. While the adjective ‘global’ is not defined in 3L2P, the use of collocations ‘fierce global competition’ (p. 7, 49)², ‘competitive global society’ (p. 13), ‘global strategies’ (p. 17), ‘globally competitive VET [Vocational Education and Training]’ (p. 21), ‘global economy’ (p. 41) show that globalization is interpreted as purely economic phenomenon. The root ‘global’ is used 12 times in the text. Also, globalization is depicted as a natural-like phenomenon that has to be dealt with, that is impossible to escape. The text includes the following paragraph:

More recently, over the past ten years, LLL [Lifelong Learning] has become more central and important than ever before. Now it is in the context not just of late industrial society or post-industrialism but also of the new information (ICT) [Information and Communication Technologies] revolution, and especially globalization and what we now call the knowledge society. It is because of this new context and the new imperatives of ‘globalism’ that LLL has come back to the very centre of the policy stage, not just in Education but across many Ministries and portfolios including such most senior portfolios as the Prime Minister’s, and the Treasury or Finance Ministry (p. 14).

Through such a discourse globalization is portrayed as a phenomenon that is embodied naturally just like other ‘inescapable’ epochs such as the late industrialism and post-industrialism. Both through the discourse of inevitability and by giving reference to strong historical and economic periods globalization perspective represented in 3L2P is legitimized, which is a means of legitimizing the policies that 3L2P supports. Because of the ‘new imperatives of globalism’ (p. 14) lifelong learning should be prioritized and certain policies should be undertaken in lifelong learning sphere in Turkey.

² All references like (p. xx) are from the document, “Driving Force for Turkey’s Success: Lifelong Learning Policy Paper” (Labour Market Team SVET, 2006)

Although globalization is seen as a challenge, adopting the policies required by the global forces and striving to catch up with others who follow the neoliberal global agenda is seen highly significant. Global restructuring accordingly is seen highly desirable and beneficial whereas failure to move accordingly is regarded as highly destructive for the country. This way of portraying globalization refrains from addressing the unequal consequences brought by the global agenda for larger population groups. Also, such globalization discourse in 3L2P constitutes an example of legitimation strategy leading to precepts that are applied across different spheres of social organizations and different aspects of social life.

Hegemonic Ideas (Setting up Universality)

As agents of knowledge, discourses exercise power. They are themselves a power dynamic by being apt to trigger behavior and other discourses (Jager, 1999). Hence, they have a say in the structuring of the power relations in a society. The text gives universal status to knowledge economy and society (in the context of globalization), new governance, and Europeanization discourses. It is claimed that lifelong learning is in the core agenda of not only the MONE, but also in the agenda of “the Treasury or Finance Ministry” (p. 14). 3L2P has several points in its attempts to build hegemony and consensus on the issue of shaping the future of lifelong learning in Turkey. 3L2P does not deal with different and alternative approaches and views to lifelong learning, but prefers to draw ideas from mainstream globalization approaches and European Union policy texts that see neo-liberal progressivist development as the path to democracy and social development. 3L2P sets up a world of uncertainties in which individuals as well

as the governments have to comply with the requirements of neo-liberal policies in order to sustain and reach a better future.

In referring to civic and social life and to democracy we enter a third vital and difficult area of Lifelong Learning [LLL]. LLL means life-wide as well as all through life. It also means life-wide in the sense of social as well as economic goals. The language of social capital and social inclusion, and of equity and equal opportunity according to gender, social classes, different regions, is part of the subject. Skills for work are often the main focus of LLL policies, but the concept is about more than narrow and short-term economic success. It is about whether the society is strong and sustainable into an unknown future (p. 16).

Turkey is a mixture of the old and the new. Lifelong learning is a key to its development in both dimensions and in all settings... Although LLL is centrally about modernisation it is also about more than this – it is also about self-renewing capacity-building and sustainability (p. 16).

By bridging such a connection between the concepts of lifelong learning, social values, sustainability, and democracy universal claims are made for one view of economy-politics amongst many others. Although new policies aimed at redefining the labor identity and creating a new space for workers have met with resistance from several oppositional groups, particularly the trade unions on the grounds that these policies favor capital holders rather than workers who are subordinated to the fierce rules of neo-liberal economy, 3L2P excludes and assimilates such voices that would pose threats and challenges to its hegemony. On the contrary, unions are blamed for working in isolation, benefiting only their members and not building enough cooperation with public authorities. What is meant by the phrase ‘public authorities’ is not made clear in the text and there is no definition of it. In the section explaining the other providers of lifelong learning, while all other providers such as The Vocational Education and Small Scale Industries Foundation (MEKSA), The Association in Support of Contemporary Living,

The Quality Association of Turkey (Kal-Der), The Educational Volunteers Foundation of Turkey (TEGV), The Turkish Psychological Counselling and Guidance Association (PDRDER), Foundation for Introducing Guidance and Training Guidance Practitioners in Higher Education (The YÖRET Foundation), the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (TOBB), the Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations (TİSK), The Training Foundation of Construction and Installation Workers (İNİŞEV), , the Turkish Confederation of Trades and Craftsmen (TESK), and the Turkish Industrialists' and businessmen's association (TÜSİAD), are described by using only 'realis' statements (statements of fact), trade unions DİSK (Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey) and TÜRK-İŞ (Confederation of Trade Unions of Turkey) are additionally described through evaluations and 'irrealis' statements:

DISK, Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey, provides different types of training and information seminars to their members. HAK-IS [Confederation of Right Trade Unions] and DISK have recently increased their training activities through EU funded projects. Individual training activities undertaken by trade union confederations such as DISK which is not involved in a close working relationship with public authorities, are implemented in an isolated manner (p. 36).

Turk-Is, Confederation of Trade Unions of Turkey, is the largest central organization of trade unions. According to the latest statistics of the Ministry of Labour, the Confederation represents more than 1,9 million individual members from the public and the private sector (p. 36).

TURK-IS has more resources for training and more collaboration with MoNE than other confederations. Despite limited co-operation with employers' associations, Turk-Is appears to undertake more training activities with employers than do other trade union confederations. They have no interaction with other trade union confederations in organising training. Their training targets mainly their own member workers in a wide range of subjects and issues (p. 36).

Legitimation

3L2P mainly makes use of Rationalization as Legitimation strategy. There is frequent reference to the utility of institutionalized action and to the knowledge economies and knowledge societies. According to the text the needs of the labor market, is mentioned 65 times, must be met and the way to it is to renovate the education and training through lifelong learning policies. 3L2P sets up certain persisting problems of lifelong learning in Turkey, provides explanations to the challenges in front of overcoming these problems and recommends on agreed ends to ensure a modern lifelong learning system. These end results that 3L2P sets up are establishing a lifelong learning system that is similar to European Union countries, that meets the demands of a global economy, and that will help Turkey build a more sustainable development route. The actions and procedures that are depicted as useful to reach these ends are to modernize the Vocational Education and Training (VET) schools, building closer partnership between the government and social partners, develop an effective occupational guidance and counseling system, establish a national qualification system for Turkey, decentralize the system and so on so forth. By the same token, the 3L2P sets outcomes such as “improving education attainment, improving student learning for all students, narrowing disparities in equity, or responding to the changing labour market” (p. 50) and rationalizes that all these can “take longer in a centralised education system than in a decentralised system” (p. 50). The instrumental rationality for some of the other advocated policies are as follows:

We³ faced a problem in deciding how to order the issues to be addressed here. Because this project is part of the major EU-supported SVET [Strengthening the Vocational Education and Training System in Turkey] we have decided to begin with the obvious focus of both SVET and many modern governments – the shape and quality of the labour market and its preparedness for work in the global economy. In doing this we do not imply that the broader, deeper and ‘softer’ issues about culture and society are less important. We look to Turkey becoming a stronger, more prosperous and happy knowledge society as well as at economic growth prospects. To put this another way, we are looking for long-term and sustainable progress, not a superficial quick fix (p. 41).

... [Lifelong learning] is also life-wide. It means learning in the workplace, and finding out more about how to do this successfully – combining the resources and responsibilities of Ministries of Education and Employment. It means looking at the needs of the society in its community, civic and political, cultural and recreational life. It means enabling people to learn in these arenas and in new ways, so that we have a vigorous working and sustainable democracy (p. 15).

Changes already intended to increase participation at all levels of the formal education system will contribute to building a stronger system of lifelong learning, helping Turkey along the road to becoming a learning society. In particular, the increased length of secondary education from three to four years, and efforts to modernise the general as well as the vocational secondary curriculum, to develop the curriculum connection between upper secondary and higher education, to enhance quality, to introduce modern ICT throughout all schools, and to improve retention rates, will all provide essential underpinnings for lifelong learning (p. 45).

If they are successful, the different efforts to build closer partnership between the government and the main social partners, and between different Ministries, especially Education and Labour, and within the key Ministries themselves, notably the different Directorates within Education, should enable senior administrators and their partners to understand better, and better to develop, the VET system, both for young people and for older learners (p.45).

As can be seen above, moral evaluation is part of the picture, but claims to a stronger

Vocational Education system and Lifelong Learning system that are considered as

³ The pronoun “we” indicates the authors of the document, “Driving Force for Turkey’s Success: Lifelong Learning Policy Paper”.

necessary for the country to become a learning society are mainly utilized as justifying and legitimizing activities and promoting objectives. In addition to deploying certain set of actions to reach the desired outcomes, in its attempts to achieve these ends, 3L2P utilizes ‘logic of appearances’ rather than “explanatory logic”. 3L2P is a ‘hortatory report’ in that it represents the world as what it is, avoiding causal relations between the dynamics of economy, sociopolitical world, and education. 3L2P t presumes a world of a ferocious global competition, an era of rapid change in which Turkey is delayed and should catch up with the others who are in the forefront in the competition and innovation process. These ideas are presented as such:

It will be important to break a pattern of central control over all the details that causes long delays and is really not feasible in a country of 80 million people at a time of fierce global competition. It is urgent to move to a more vigorous ‘client-oriented’ service (or: citizen-oriented) public administration, in order to enable LLL to grow successfully in a reasonably short while. If this is successful it will open the way for other important developments, possibly at an increasingly rapid rate. In this context, the gradual approach towards a date of EU accession, and the connection of Turkish framework qualifications to common qualifications frameworks across the Community, will add weight to the process. It is important to remain clear about the purposes and long-term direction, and to make sure that reforms are well grounded and genuine, not just superficial gestures (p .49).

According to Fairclough (2003) such hortatory reports can be seen to limit policy options by depicting the socioeconomic order as simply given, an unquestionable and unavoidable horizon which is itself untouchable by policy and narrowly limits alternatives. As opposed to the above establishment of globalization, an analysis of a world of ‘fierce global competition’ could include explanation, causality, and expository arguments to elaborate on the nature of it. Such an analysis could also include

historicity, how changes over a certain period of time can yield effects subsequently.

3L2P lacks these features.

Societal Informalization

That 3L2P includes workers as social partners⁴ in the construction of new lifelong learning space might seem as an attempt to change the existing hierarchical patterns and move to one that favors delegation of power. The text carries the communication patterns of the late modern societies in that its power relations and hierarchical relations become implicit and covert. There is uneasiness about the hierarchical nature of the cultural and political realms as in the following:

A proper concern is whether – even because of the long tradition of hierarchical control and passive compliance without taking responsibility – local administrations at municipal and institution level are capable of undertaking good administration and planning of integrity... (p.48)

Trust and confidence in the social partners by government departments do not appear to be very high in this strong culture of rather authoritarian hierarchy. Public expenditures and government employment areas traditionally suffer from suspicions of favouritism, so the authorities should ensure that the highest possible degree of transparency is provided during the implementation process... (P. 50)

It cannot be said that hierarchical relations in discursive ways are neither diminished nor eradicated since 3L2P recreates. On the contrary 3L2P sets up new hierarchical relations in covert ways. Furthermore it contrasts with itself, as can be seen in the above

⁴ Workers are mentioned as social partners only once throughout the entire text although the term ‘social partners’ is used 51 times.

excerpt, in that ‘authorities’ are called upon to reduce ‘authoritarian’ hierarchy. Certainly, the authorities who are called for duty and the ones who exert authoritarian are not the same, but there is overt paradox in the above statement despite the covert power relations represented in 3L2P.

Text Analysis Issues

Text analysis is an essential part of CDA. Fairclough (2003) sees text analysis as including interdiscursive analysis in which the text is drawn upon and articulated together with different discourses, genres and styles, not only linguistic analysis. In the study, the text analysis issues of major types of text meaning, intertextuality, assumptions, equivalences and differences, absences and significances and genres of governance are employed to analysis of the text.

Major Types of Text Meaning

In terms of Action, firstly 3L2P sets itself as the interpreter and transmitter of knowledge regarding the global tendencies in terms of economic and educational developments around the world, general lifelong learning trends in the world particularly in Europe, the situation of education and lifelong learning in Turkey. 3L2P is the main informer: knower, while the ones to read it are assumed to be the ones informed. Overall, the intended audience is the policy makers, stakeholders, social partners, and others who are

supposed to be actively involved in influencing the formation of lifelong learning space in Turkey. In terms of Foucault's category of 'relations with others' it can be said that 3L2P constructs a relation of distinction between the one "who knows" and "the one who does not", "the informer and the informed", "the decision maker" and "the ones to be controlled through the decisions made". Representation the text makes is peculiar to a policy document that sets up its own world, representing certain aspects of a phenomenon. 3L2P has its own representations regarding the current situation of the social world, the situation of education inside and outside the country, and the 'urgent' actions need to be implemented whereas divergent accounts of the same phenomenon might be (actually is) quite different than what the text represents. There are several bodies in Turkey that represent the socioeconomic world, the situation of education and lifelong learning in ways that quite much contradict with the representations of 3L2P. It is clear here why Fairclough draws parallels between the category of Representation and Foucault's category "control over things" in that the text controls the knowledge regarding the social world through representations peculiar to it, and recommends policies on the basis of these representations. Although the world might be quite different, since the knowledge about it is controlled and conveyed through this controlled text 'control over policy' is in turn achieved in discursive ways. In terms of Identification, the embodied disposition to see and act in certain ways based upon institutional socialization and experience is clear. In many instances 3L2P commits itself to the truthfulness of its representations and what needs to be done based upon these representations. According to 3L2P "it is urgent to move to a more vigorous 'client-oriented' service (or: citizen-oriented) public administration, in order to enable LLL to grow successfully in a reasonably short while" (p. 7, p. 49); "Turkey urgently needs to

nurture a culture of lifelong learning where learning of all kinds of people is a normal lifestyle, right and practice” (p. 9, p. 62); “an information provision and awareness campaign is urgently needed to make known the concept and objectives of lifelong learning in Turkey” (p. 63), “there is an urgent need to start working out a rural development programme” (p. 10, p. 70); and there are other ‘urgents’, the term ‘urgent’ is used 11 times in the text, that make up 3L2P’s identity as moral subject.

Intertextuality

3L2P makes direct reporting from “European Commission Memorandum on Lifelong Learning”, “Maastricht Communication of 2004”, “European Commission Human Resources Development Recommendation, 2004”, “European Training Foundation, 2004”. The most frequent indirect reportings are from OECD reports on financing of education, investment in education, and policy development (p. 42, 44, 52, 53, 56, 59,); European Training Foundation and European Commission reports on funding and good governance (p. 55, 60, 61); “some in authority” who “assert that people can fully afford” the costs of their education (p. 52). 3L2P has narrative report of speech act from EU and OECD in that they contradict with ‘some in authority’. The document is remarkable for its dialogicality with certain reports since it has direct and indirect reportings only from the EU and OECD reports, but not even framing of other voices, especially the alternative ones. Then it would be possible to say that 3L2P is highly selective in terms of intertextuality, which also means that it lacks dialogicality. Although intertextuality is generally said to increase dialogicality, it can result in

selectiveness as choices regarding what to include and what to exclude 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.

Assumptions

3L2P has the existential assumptions that there are such things as globalization, EU community, competitive global economy, knowledge society, certain learning patterns, and socioeconomic realities embodied in certain directions. Propositional assumptions in 3L2P include the assumptions that these are self-evident socioeconomic periods and circumstances are constantly changing sometimes even in destructive ways. 3L2P also assumes that life conditions and learning patterns are changing in commensurate with these socioeconomic realities in certain directions which are again inexorable directions. In terms of propositional assumptions about the future of lifelong learning the text has a neo-fordist and post-fordist (Brown & Lauder, 1996) approach. The belief is that “a strengthened VET system will bring more jobs to the unemployed (as they acquire new skills) and better jobs to the under-employed, resulting in an optimistic spiral of growth.” (p. 6 & p. 42). Financing of lifelong learning “can and will not” be undertaken by the governments only (p. 8), and much of the “necessary learning opportunities as many people as possible” will come from local initiatives (p. 16). There is also the assumption that “future social change and progress will bring further contradictions to the surface” such as the situation of rural society and its outmoded employment and

training, the shortage of efficient employment, “social and political institutional systems at regional level, and the lack of an effective, operating, de-centralized educational and training institution system” (p. 58). Also there is the assumption that “deep in the history of Turkey, there is a tradition for tight bureaucratic control from the centre” (p. 49), although this is not actually the case when six hundred years of decentralized Ottoman Empire experience is taken into account. In terms of value assumptions about the conceptualization of lifelong learning 3L2P has the assumptions that lifelong learning is chiefly a matter of human resources and that the principal aim of lifelong learning should be to serve labor market interests and economy. 3L2P advocates that “coordination between stakeholders should be better” (p. 50) and “all parties and stakeholders should take responsibility in lifelong learning society” (p. 47), and “citizens should be equipped to produce and consume more efficiently” (p. 14).

Entrepreneurship” (p. 6, 9, 11, 38, 62, 70, 71), “knowledge about the labour market” (p. 42), “systematic social partnership in the field of CVET [Continuing Vocational Education And Training]” (p. 44), “learning society” (p. 7, 45, 47), “independent learning and reshaping the society” (p. 46), “a strong civil society sector with NGOs not afraid of local or central government” (p. 47), “foreign language capacity-building” (p. 10, 68) are assumed to be good and therefore desirable. Furthermore, “realisation of a European area of lifelong learning” (p. 19), “creation of a genuine European labour market” (p. 22), “strengthening of vocational training” (p. 34), “quality assurance in education system” (p. 64), “population increase” (p. 5, 23, 38) are considered desirable. By 2020 what is expected is “almost 70% of working age population” (p. 5, 23, 38,) and this is considered as a “unique opportunity for Turkey both its economic and social developments (p. 5, 23, 38)”. “Being unemployed and long

term unemployment” (p. 43), “exclusion from the education system” (p. 46), “crisis identity” (p. 67), “insufficient participation of women in training and employment” (p. 58), “central management” (p.7, 50) are seen undesirable. As opposed to centralization, decentralization is retreated in the text as a very influential phenomenon (p. 7, 9, 14, 16, 42, 43, 44, 47, 48, 49, 50, 59, 61, 62, 64) that would greatly enhance lifelong learning in Turkey.⁵

The major benefits of a less centralised system include redefinition of structures, procedures and practices of governance; provision of more relevant responses to locally expressed needs; increase in efficiency and effectiveness as well as quality and flexibility of services; and ensured accountability and transparency of local governance. Yet, when decentralising control and resources, it is important to provide proper training on good administration and planning to local administrations at municipal and institution level (p. 7).

In 3L2P, ‘decentralization’ is also considered as one of the key areas for the development of a lifelong learning policy in Turkey under the Chapter 4, “Recommendations and Suggestions for the Future” (p.59). Addition to this, ‘decentralization’ is seen as one of the main objective directly taking action in the development of educational and training infrastructure.

Planning for the regional and local labour market and for expanding employment, along with local socio-political planning, then become possible. This has to be started and harmonised with plans for lifelong learning. Preparatory training of regional and local institution staff is required. The development of regional and local educational and training infrastructure has to be connected to the reform of regional and local administration and especially to decentralisation (p.61).

⁵ While the terms ‘centralisation’ and ‘centralised’ are mentioned 19 times, the terms ‘decentralisation’ and ‘decentralised’ are mentioned 33 times in 3L2P.

Since assumptions suppress difference by assuming common ground, in several respects 3L2P blocks dialogically, because it includes mostly assumptions peculiar to neo-liberal policy texts rather than presenting alternative assumptions about what exists, can/will happen, and should be. The ground set up through such assumptions limit the capacity of policies and solutions developed for lifelong learning policy. Particular discourses originate from particular value systems (Fairclough, 2001). Since 3L2P assumes that certain things exist (which would be regarded quite contrary by alternative approaches); and that certain processes are inevitable, desirable, undesirable and so on, 3L2P then can be regarded as doing ideological work.

Equivalences and Differences

Throughout 3L2P the ‘social’ is associated and equalized with the ‘economic’ one. According to 3L2P “social economic initiatives” and infrastructure should be introduced (p. 10, 11), social dialogue is an essential parameter for successful economic and social reform (p. 9), “the occupational and broader social success of individuals” are supported (p. 13), the large concept that includes “social as well as economic development” is important (p. 15), lifelong learning means “social as well as economic goals” (p. 16), “better jobs, and greater social cohesion” (p. 18) and “social inclusion and employability/adaptability” (p. 17) are desired, “social cohesion and increasing labour market participation” needs to be achieved (p. 21), Turkey’s population will be “a unique opportunity in terms of social cohesion and increasing labour market

participation” (p. 23, 38), “Social and economic challenges” face Turkey (p. 59). The text includes the following definition of lifelong learning:

In this policy paper lifelong learning (LLL) is defined as “all learning activities undertaken throughout life with the aim of improving knowledge, skills and competencies, within a personal, civic, social and/or employment-related perspective.” (p. 5, 13, 18)

Also, “two main aspects of lifelong learning” are defined as “economic competitiveness and social cohesion” while it is noted that “other aspects” should be concerned (p. 60). By involving the development of rehabilitation initiatives in adult education basic skills “the aim is to prevent and fight social exclusion and to boost the employability of the groups targeted” (p.63). By using such discourses, 3L2P conveys the social and economic as interchangeable and uses this as a legitimation strategy by using the term social with economy related terms. As discussed before, this is called ‘moral evaluation’ strategy of legitimation.

3L2P suppresses the difference between the interests of the individual and the interests of labor market and economy. What is good for the labor market is equalized with what is good for the individual. 3L2P has the following statements:

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

Relation of equivalence is textured between ‘changing life conditions’ ‘fast-changing and competitive global society’. Hence, change is linked to competitiveness, and life

conditions are linked to economy. Also ‘changing life conditions’ is equalized with job related affairs. It would not be contentious to claim that life includes more than work, but the text subsumes ‘job’ under ‘change’ as an equivalent aspect of it. Differences between ‘personal abilities’ and ‘job related skills’; and between ‘personal objectives and ‘labour market requirements’” are destroyed by texturing relations of equivalence between them. On the other hand, the text contradicts with itself by texturing the economic and social realms as different as in the following part:

Learning for economic competitiveness should not be given absolute priority while social inclusion, democracy and citizenship are neglected (p.58).

However, despite the above statement that economy related matters and social realm are not reducible to one another, 3L2P uses a prevalent discourse interpreting the world and recommending policy on the basis of the reverse assumption, the assumption that the economic gains (no explanation of whose gains these are) will mean social gains is prevalent in 3L2P. The relationship between economic and social is seen as interrelated and mutual, but the subjects and objects of these realms are not mentioned at all. This idea is also depicted in the following way that represents social gains as desirable because they will mean economic gains:

We have established above that education and earnings are positively linked in all socio-economic systems at all levels of economic development. Data from surveys show a strong positive relationship between educational attainment and earnings. High rates of return exist for individuals who obtain education early and reap the benefits of education across the life cycle. The benefits to society of additional education can be assessed in economic terms on the basis of a social internal rate of return. Indirect benefits also have economic repercussions: lower crime, better health, lower social welfare benefit costs, more social cohesion, and more informed and effective citizens (p. 52).

3L2P represses the differences between public universities and private or foundation universities. It recommends that universities should be supported by the state in the establishment process, but does not specify what types of universities are at stake.

However, in Turkey state universities are already established and financed by the state, hence what is meant in the text is private or foundation universities.

Government incentives for corporations to invest in training are urgently needed. Strong proactive financial regulations should pay attention to lifelong learning and raising the motivation to participate in non-formal and informal learning. In order to encourage the private sector to invest more and lessen the public burden, new arrangements are needed for tax exemption, tax refunds, low interest credit, investment allowances, cheap land allocation, and state support to universities during their establishment phase (European Commission, 2003a) (p. 60).

Also, in the above extract, increase in state sector investment in education is equalized with declining public burden, avoiding the logical deduction that the above mentioned state support for private investment (investment allowances, cheap land allocation, support for university establishment) means burden on public since it would be the public who would pay for these costs. Another remarkable point in the above extract, the suggestions, implementation, regulation, and administration of EC are tried to be shown as equal with the Turkish Government and State.

Absences and Significances

What is striking in 3L2P is that workers, who will be directly influenced by the decisions taken in lifelong learning sphere, and their opinions, are represented as 'absences' in 3L2P. Although the whole report is on restructuring the lifelong learning,

and mainly what is meant by lifelong learning is preparing workforce for labour market, workers are represented as abstract subject-like objects as having no voices ready to undertake what is recommended for them. Furthermore, universities are represented as absent as if they are not the core institutions preparing the students for work-life.

Universities are undergoing several changes to adapt to the requirements of neo-liberal economy and the labour market desired by this economy. There is no reference to these developments in the production of workforce and constructions of new identities in today's universities. Unions who have their objections, solutions and suggestions for the production of new labour force and transformation of the existing one are silenced through being represented as parties who do not have things to say on the issue. What is more, trade union confederations included in the text are not represented in the same manner. While the confederation HAK-İŞ, who has close relationships with the government, has been introduced with its brief history and its work done so far, the confederation DİSK is blamed for not cooperating with public authorities, and its history and its work is not included at all. DİSK is the first trade union confederation in Turkey, has an important role in the history of the country, and is known for severely criticizing the policies and implementations of the governments.

What is represented as significant in 3L2P are EU bodies, employer's associations, NGOs, and labor market. By representing these actors as significant and suppressing and silencing others, 3L2P portrays its imagination for the future of lifelong learning in Turkey as an important step for the common good. There is the implicit discourse that what is good for business means what is good for everyone. On the other hand, it has been indicated by many scholars in the literature of both globalization and education that neo-liberal policies, EU regulations, and global restructuring agenda in

line with the demands of the market produce destructive outcomes for many population groups throughout the world, particularly for low-income groups (Apple, 2001; Gök, 2002; Harvey, 2006; Robertson et al, 2002; Dale, 2006).

Genres of Governance

When located in a chain of genres, 3L2P can be seen a typical case of “genres of governance”. 3L2P shows the characteristics of which include the transformation of national systems into the form of economic markets; promoting entrepreneurial behavior; and relations with funding agencies and managers based on corporate-like forms. ‘Decentralisation’, one of the key components of new governance strategy, is represented as a solution to many existing problems within lifelong learning area in Turkey while central nature of education is seen as a major obstacle to be overcome urgently as follows:

Most policies are determined in Ankara and transmitted to the provincial MoNE [Ministry of National Education System] structure, and then on to individual schools. The Turkish educational system is centralised, bureaucratic, and fragmented, possibly lacking basic capacity for long-term, systemic education reform. Improving education attainment, improving student learning for all students, narrowing disparities in equity, or responding to the changing labour market can all take longer in a centralised education system than in a decentralised system (p. 50).

3L2P heavily focuses on privatization, which also figures prominently in new governance discourse. That “citizens now expect everything from the state” is considered as an “obstacle” (p. 70), and there is a strong commitment to the belief that

“faster and more efficient development can be achieved if the government hands over a number of training services to the private sector or to market-oriented providers, within the framework of unified and differentiated accreditation and quality assurance” (p. 70). New system for the financing of lifelong learning is recommended to be shared between the government, individuals, and employers (p. 60).

3L2P focuses on the abundance of labor power of Turkey due to “almost 70% of working-age population” (p. 5, 23, 38) which is considered as a “unique opportunity for Turkey both its economic and social developments (p. 5, 23, 38)”. To narrow it down, it is an example of promotional genre in many aspects in that it promotes the working age population of Turkey. The genre followed in these parts of 3L2P in this case is a mixture of a policy text and corporate advertising. Political discourse and economic discourse are connected and mixed in that equivalence is built between the terms ‘social’ and ‘economic’. The promotional genre and ideas advocated within it are legitimized through the reference given to the social one. Although it is clear what is meant by economic development of Turkey and how the 40 million working age population by 2020 (p. 23) will contribute to it, there is not enough clarification on how and in which ways this age group will contribute to social development. Here, the word ‘social’ is reconstructed through economic discourse, there is similarity drawn between the social and economic one. Genres are important in building and sustaining structural relations across institutions and scales, for example between the academy and business, which means that genres are related to both the structuring and the rescaling of social life in new capitalism (Fairclough, 2003). 3L2P builds structural relations between the education or lifelong learning institution and market. The focus of lifelong learning is actually narrowed down to market oriented discourse and 3L2P indicates this as follows:

At the same time its (lifelong learning) focus is often greatly narrowed: from total social and human development to the attainment of workplace skills. The transformation of the workplace, the short life expectation and disappearance of many kinds of jobs and the creation of others, the uncertainty and labor market instability that this causes, the migration of both jobs and workers all over the world, above all the endless technological revolution fuelled by new computing technologies: these are imperatives that keep the idea of learning throughout life at the centre of policy, but also give most attention to the economic and often the short-term (p. 14).

Focusing on this aspect of lifelong learning is an example of “colonization of lifeworld systems” (Habermas, 2005), colonization of new areas of social life by markets (Fairclough, 2003).

3L2P also entails the identity formation of the new worker, which is compatible with the new governance ideal. Discourses have the property of recontextualising identities as well. Discourse of ‘flexibility’, in 3L2P is used to highlight the nature of new subjectivities, where individual or groups are expected to take risks. This stems from the assumption that market gives opportunities for everyone; therefore it is up to individuals to make use of the opportunities. Moreover, individuality of the subject in 3L2P is reduced to its place in the labor market. The ‘flexible’ subject should adapt to the desires of the labor market. 3L2P recommends “career flexibility” (p. 105), “more flexible working arrangements” (p. 61, 121), “more flexible transitions to retirement” (p. 129), “flexible labor market” (p. 132).

The terms “skill” and “competency” are hold on the epicenter of 3L2P and these terms are vital for above stated ‘flexible new worker’. The concept of “skill” is used in various meanings and forms: “basic skills”, “job entry level skills”, “communication skills”, “management skills”, “elementary skills”, “work planning skills”, “ICT skills”

(p.39); “job-related skills” (p. 16); “vocational skill” (p. 29); “skills to manage their own learning” , “career management skills” (p. 33). It is also the most common concept in 3L2P, it is used 137 times in the four main chapter of 3L2P, and it used 240 times when the appendices of 3L2P are regarded. Beside its commonness in the text, “skill” has also key roles in building lifelong learning sphere in general and in Turkey with the concept of “competence”. These concepts are tied up with the needs of new labour market, modern information society, workforce, and knowledge economy.(p. 7, 11, 39). They are also must be continuously (p. 11, 13, 16, 39), “renewed” (p. 13 and 52), “replaced” (p. 13), “converted” to forms that “accepted in working life” (p. 11). The modern conceptualization of lifelong learning mentioned in 3L2P comprises improving skills and competence:

The modern concept of lifelong learning is relatively new in Turkey, although the basic idea is ancient, predating the formal education system. Nevertheless, all parties agree that people need to acquire, extend, renew or replace their skills continuously in order to compete in the labour market, and to cope well and learn fully in different fields of their lives. Lifelong learning, as an important learning activity undertaken on an ongoing basis with the aim of improving knowledge, skills and competence, however, does not yet serve as an integrating part of the changing patterns of learning, living and working in Turkey. The concept is not yet understood as a common guiding principle in current Turkish educational and labour market policy (p.13).

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The study aims to analyze the conceptualization of lifelong learning in Turkey after the beginning of European Union membership process, and to explore the imagination of policy makers regarding lifelong learning space in Turkey through the text “Driving Force for Turkey’s Success: Lifelong Learning Policy Paper” (Labour Market Team SVET, 2006) drafted within the project of Strengthening the Vocational Education and Training System in Turkey (SVET).

The study focuses on finding out how lifelong learning is conceptualized in the context of Turkey, what the main themes used in conceptualization of lifelong learning in Turkey are, what kind of individual type is imagined through this conceptualization, what sources are referred in conceptualization of lifelong learning, who the object and subject of this discourse are, what kinds of roles are attributed to the State, what kinds of roles are attributed to public and private sector institutions and organizations and non-governmental organizations offering lifelong learning. This was carried out through deploying Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), because policies come into being first as texts and then they are implemented in social world through these texts. Hence, the relationship between the text and social context in Turkey and world at large was taken into account.

Fairclough's (2001, 2003) two main categories, that tend to overlap in certain instances, of social research themes and text analysis issues were utilized in CDA. This overlap is inevitable since language and social realm are closely interrelated and they are integral components of each other although they cannot be reduced to one another. The main reason for this classification was that it offered an effective and practical methodological framework for the study. Findings have been presented under the main themes of **governance**, hybridity, space-time, globalisation, hegemonic ideas, legitimation, societal 'informalization', major types of text meaning, intertextuality, assumptions, equivalences and differences, absences and significances, framing, genres of governance.

Lifelong learning is a common and well-known discourse within the attempts to transform and connect the educational frameworks in Europe (Tuschling & Engemann, 2006). The text is the outcome of such attempts of Turkey who wants to change its institutional structures compatible with the EU structures and its requirements. Lifelong learning conceptualized in the text is highly Eurocentric. There is frequent reference to EU and OECD texts and indicators. In the attempts of Turkey to become a full member to the EU, this document occupies an important place as the EU has declared that lifelong learning is one of its most important projects. EU aims to create a new population and reshape itself. Thus, EU prioritizes transition to knowledge economy and therefore sees the role of education and training central to create dynamic and competitive European workforce (Dale, Robertson and Shortis, 2004). Through creating a knowledge economy and society in line with the EU objectives the text aims to define the space for lifelong learning area and the type of desired population to meet the demands of this knowledge economy and society. Low skilled workers, unemployed,

underemployed, the disabled, and others defined in the risk group are included in the concept of knowledge society in that they exist between the borders of inclusion and exclusion. Brine's analysis of the lifelong learning policy of the EU outlines two categories of lifelong learner: learners of the knowledge economy who are high "knowledge-skilled" learners and learners of the knowledge society, "the classed, gendered, raced learner needing basic and social skill training" (cited in Hughes et al, 2006, p. 643). The participation of the latter group in lifelong learning is crucial in terms of maintaining and strengthening social cohesion, giving these groups the chance to take their first steps in a knowledge society, and preparing appurtenances for "a possible future place in a high skilled knowledge economy" (Appleby & Bathmaker, 2006, p. 715). The text aims to define a sustainable knowledge society for Turkey that is supposed to constitute the building block of a knowledge economy. Taking Lisbon Strategy objectives as one of its main goals to reach, the text wishes lifelong learning strategy of Turkey to be a part of the "most competitive global economy", The European Union.

The most frequent references in the text are global competitiveness, a shifting labor market, and the requirement to adapt continuously to the changing knowledge-based economy and society. Flexibility, adaptability, decentralization and constant movement are portrayed as the solution to the inevitable ramifications of globalization, as well as to the changing terms of employment and the national prosperity. In the neo-liberal world government structures are merging with economic life (Marginson, 1997). Education in neo-liberal systems is treated as a devolved market or quasi market in which people have consumer-investor roles, making private preferences within a framework controlled by the government (Marginson, 1997).

In the EU process the meanings attributed to the concept of lifelong learning are explained in economic terms as stated above, whereas social and cultural spheres are ignored. The text explains social and cultural spheres within the criteria of individual performance and the discourse of job security; the macro structural problems are never discussed. National and international documents ideas of which the text utilizes are on the most part EU and OECD texts. OECD is an organization that is concerned primarily with economic policy, and in so far as it is interested in educational work, this must clearly be related to its “overall economic objectives” (Rizvi & Lingard, 2006, p. 249). EU aims to become the “most competitive economy in the world” and education is seen as a means particularly serving to this end as well other social ends. Hence, prioritizing the documents of these international and supranational bodies signifies the predominance of neoliberal and global economy systems’ discourse over other discourses, such as the discourses of alternative economy and social systems.

It aims to not only to recontextualize the space of lifelong learning in Turkey, but it also recontextualizes the notion of lifelong learning as a pedagogical device. The discourse of lifelong learning in the text does not cover only adult education related issues but it covers the whole life with its formal and informal aspects permeating even to uninhabited parts of life. By this way it is aimed that the learner shapes herself/himself in an educational process that hazes the borders between work and education, and between private and public. As Deleuze (2006) argues, in the society of control the role of education, borders of which are finite and set in advance, is school is replaced by continuous learning. The text foresees a type of education that extends much beyond the borders of school, which is makes it possible to extend the scope of control. That the text recommends increasing social cohesion through lifelong learning can be

interpreted as an evidence of this technology of control in that unemployed, underemployed, disadvantaged groups and risk groups are thought to be included in the society as economically functioning individuals.

The text sets up the ideal citizen as one who is ready to adapt to the constantly changing conditions in a world of ‘fierce global competition’ and who is ready to face the challenges set by this fierceness. It claims that lifelong learning will and should prepare the individual to learn to overcome these challenges and renew herself/himself continuously to survive in this world of uncertainties and challenges. As Popkewitz et al assert (2006) adult of the 19th century as a subject was depicted within the collective social narratives of the nation, contemporary individuality is a lifelong learner who is flexible, constantly moving, and works collaboratively for the future in a decentralized world. In this sense, learners in lifelong learning track should place themselves in a position where they are held responsible for updating and promoting themselves, whereby they become the entrepreneurs of themselves (Olssen, 2006). The focus of lifelong learning shifts the responsibility from the system to the individual. It is the duty of individual to emancipate and recreate himself/herself (Olssen, 2006). Similarly, individuals have to share the financial costs of their education. The definitions of lifelong learning in the document are directed towards creating competitive individuals who attune to the requirements of continually changing knowledge. The creation of competitive individuals will affect interactions in society: people will have to act according to the principle of competitiveness. In this respect, a competitive discourse will lay the ground for the individual to feel an incessant desire to renew herself/himself and to set up the self-identity with a sense of inadequacy. The process of individualization does not mean endowing the person with the space s/he needs for

creating self-identity. On the contrary, the continuity of the learning process which is based on the perpetually changing notion of competitiveness will keep confronting the individual as a dynamic process building identity. In this respect, both the international strategic documents of lifelong learning and the new practices on a national scale see these processes as indispensable, and individual processes to construct the self are made the objects of the economical sphere. In other words, the transformation processes of financial needs and the alteration processes of the characteristics of knowledge are defined by building such a parallel relationship that the identity building processes of the individual are constructed outside the individual's autonomy, making it merely as an object of this parallelism. When the notion of the "knowledge society" is considered in this respect, it can be said that knowledge takes only economic transformation into account, and reifies and ignores all the experiences of daily life. In his work entitled "The Corrosion of Character" Sennet (1999) builds a relationship between the processes of affection and economical transformation; explains the terms competitiveness, flexibility, becoming an individual in the knowledge society within the framework of economical transformation; and claims that the person goes through character corrosion as a result. The discourse that technological advancements have brought about unprecedented changes sets a benchmark in which different types of knowledge are ranked according to the criteria of competitiveness and employability; and thereby the structural failures of the system are rendered invisible by being imputed to individuals. When the content of the national and international texts about lifelong learning are analyzed, the most striking thing is that as individual processes the criteria for achievement and performance determine the quality of teaching. In this sense, since

macro-structural problems provide the individual with job security within performance criteria, administrative deficiencies emerge as the deficiencies of the individual.

The role of the state represented in the text is still a significant but more covert one. Increasing the role of the NGOs, including the social partners and stakeholders actively in the process, tremendously decentralizing the existing structure does not mean weakening of the state, but it means changing the conditions under which the state operates. 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 the freedom to act according to the requirements of government” (Marginson, 1997). This is a typical tenet of new governance strategy. Governance means the control of an activity in ways that desired ends are achieved, but not through the state only (Dale, 2006) but it is an activity that involves public and private, state and non-state, national and international scales. This feature is obvious in the text given the chief focus in the text on the EU, private sector, social partners, NGOs, and other stakeholders. Cultivating an NGO tradition and creating both long term and short term funding sources are seen crucial and focused frequently throughout the text. Also, private sector is put across as a main actor of funding, provision, and delivery of lifelong learning in Turkey. However, financial support and encouragement of private sector to participate in lifelong learning is highly articulated in the text. These endeavors are parallel to the current neo-liberal policies in an area of education in Turkey (Gök, 2002).

This study has tried to focus on the problems associated with efforts to engage economic terms, such as employability, flexibility, quality, performance measuring, competitiveness and productivity in discussions about education. When adoption to the

changing circumstances of the world is interpreted in terms of economical phenomenon, all societal learning processes are subordinated to the economical sphere. In this respect, the concept of lifelong learning should be emancipated from a context that places economical competitiveness at its centre, but it should be discussed more within philosophical, historical, cultural, and sociological actualities.

To summarize, the document “Driving Force for Turkey’s Success: Lifelong Learning Policy Paper” is one of the primary text to build and realize lifelong learning policies in Turkey. Unsurprisingly, the text produced under EU project in Turkey, is an outcome of the attempts to create a Eurocentric lifelong learning sphere. The OECD and EU texts in particular are referred to create an exemplary lifelong learning sphere. In the sphere desired to be created, themes of flexibility, competitiveness, labor market oriented educational practices, decentralization, devolution, and employability make up the central focus. The employable individual is held responsible for her/his employability rather than the state thinking of it for the individual. This individual is one who continuously re-skills herself/himself according to the demands of knowledge economy and society, and who is ready to take up the challenges of this economic and societal structure. The state is no more supposed to be the only provider and regulator of education, sharing the responsibilities with the individual, private sector, and social partners. Especially financing of education is seen necessary to be shared between these parties. Individuals are held responsible for contributing to their own education. On the other hand, private sector is supposed to be supported financially. The state, in this sense, devolves some of its duties as provider and financer of education to other bodies. In such a conceptualization of lifelong learning, alternative voices are avoided and

suppressed, and the social context and realities of Turkey are not taken into account or ignored.

Limitations of the Study

The study attempts to reveal how lifelong learning is conceptualized through analyzing a single policy paper. Even though the document which is examined in the study is a preliminary policy paper that aims to evaluate the existing function of lifelong learning in Turkey and to offer recommendations for policy-makers in stakeholder organizations on how to advance lifelong learning policies, analyzing one text is a constraint for discovering complex social, economical and political structure. This attempt may not be enough to delineate the whole dynamics of conceptualization of lifelong learning and re/creating of lifelong learning sphere in Turkey.

The methodology that is deployed in the study can be another limitation of this thesis. Dealing with only text and its linguistic and social context can lead to overlooking and ignoring the practices circulating in daily life.

Recommendations for Further Research

To overcome the constraints set by the limited research material of the study and to obtain a clearer picture of how lifelong learning sphere is set up and reshaped in Turkey, it should be beneficial to analyze more policy papers and to compare such documents related to lifelong learning policies.

It would also be valuable to carry out a study including organizations and institutions which are defined as stakeholders on improving lifelong learning policies in Turkey through in-depth interviews with people at the high level on decision making process in stakeholders.

Another considerable issue is seeking the public response to lifelong learning policies and its practices and effluxes of lifelong learning discourse in deep interstitials between macro scale of governance and micro scale of daily life.

To grasp the whole or at least more of the picture, the contributions of studies which look into the responses and reflections of other various actors such as workers, unions, learners, and educators involved in lifelong learning sphere in Turkey would be invaluable.

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