MARMARA UNIVERSITY
EUROPEAN UNION INSTITUTE
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

LIFELONG LEARNING IN THE EUROPEAN UNION AND TURKEY

Master's Thesis

ORİTA BEBASA PAPO

Istanbul, 2019

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Thesis Advisor: ASSOC. PROF. ARMAĞAN EMRE ÇAKIR

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TEZ ONAY SAYFASI

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ÖZET

Bu çalışmanın temel amacı, AB'nin ve Türkiye'nin yaşam boyu öğrenme politikalarını ve programlarını şekillendiren temel etkenlerin ne olduğunu ortaya çıkarmaktır. Çalışma sonucunda, AB ölçeğinde neoliberal ekonomik politikaların, Türkiye ölçeğinde ise Avrupalılaşma kavramının yaşam boyu öğrenme mekanizmalarını ve politikalarını ortaya çıkaran ve değiştiren en önemli etkenlerden olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır. Günümüzde küresel istihdam piyasası iki faktörden büyük ölçüde etkilenmektedir: Neoliberal ekonomik politikalar ve hızla değişen teknoloji ve bilgi sistemleri. Bu iki faktör, devletlere, işletmelere ve bireylere, daha önce görülmemiş bir şekilde, farklı düzeylerde meydan okumaktadır. Şirketler, bilgi teknolojileri ve yeni ekonominin rekabet dinamikleri karşısında hayatta kalmaya uğraşmaktadır. Bu çerçevede, çağdaş rekabetin doğası, şirketlerin başarısını, istihdam edebilecekleri ve elde tutabilecekleri işgücünün kalitesine daha fazla bağımlı kılmaktadır. Öte yandan, insanlar hızla değişen çalışma ortamının getirdiği belirsizlikler karşısında giderek daha endişeli hissetmektedirler. Kariyer planlaması doğrusal ve istikrarlı bir süreç olmaktan çıkarken, sadece mevcut işlevler ve pozisyonlar değil, aynı zamanda bütünüyle mesleklerin risk altında olduğu söylenebilir. Devletler, hakim neoliberal yaklaşımların etkilerinin iyice ağırlaştırdığı ve karmaşık hale getirdiği yeni küresel bilgi ekonomisi karşısında, ekonomilerinin rekabet gücünü ve ülkenin refahını koruyabilmenin baskısı altında bulunmaktalar. Bu ortamda Avrupa Birliği'nin yaşamboyu öğrenme politika ve uygulamalarının, neoliberal politikaların sonuçlarını, ve bireylerin hissettikleri teknolojik değişimin olumsuz etkisini azaltmak için ortaya çıktığı söylenebilir. Benzer şekilde, Türkiye de neoliberal ekonomik politikaların ve bilgi teknolojilerinin getirdiği zorluklar karşısında, Avrupa örneğini temel almış ve Avrupalılaşmanın etkisiyle yaşam boyu öğrenme politikaları oluşturmuştur.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Avrupa Birliği, Türkiye, yaşamboyu öğrenim, yetişkin eğitimi, neoliberalizm, bilgi ekonomisi, Avrupalılaşma

ABSTRACT

This study explores the main drivers of the EU's and Turkey's lifelong learning policies and programmes. On the EU's front, it analyzes how neoliberal economic policies induce lifelong learning policy and mechanisms; on Turkey's front, it examines how Europeanization influences Turkey's lifelong learning agenda. The market of employment is heavily influenced by two converging factors: Neoliberalism and the neoliberal economic policies and the rapidly changing technology and information systems. These two factors are challenging the states, businesses and individuals, unprecedentedly, at different levels. Companies are facing the challenge and trying to strive in a knowledge economy. The very nature of the contemporary competition makes the success of companies more reliant on the quality of the work force they are able to employ and retain. The people, on the other hand are feeling increasingly anxious under the uncertainties introduced by a rapidly changing work environment. Careers are no more linear and steady. Not only existing functions and positions but entire professions may be said to be at risk. States, on the other hand, are pressurized in the sense that they are left between the necessity of cutting a fine balance between preserving the competitive edge of their economies in the knowledge economy, a job complicated by neoliberal forces and the need to preserve prosperity and trust of their people. It might be argued that lifelong learning policies and practices of the European Union emerge in order to alleviate the consequences of the neoliberal policies and the impact of the negative externalities of the technological change felt by their citizens; similarly, within the neoliberal context, Turkey bases its lifelong learning policies and infrastructure on the EU and introduces lifelong learning policies aligned with those of the European example.

Key Words: European Union, Turkey, lifelong learning, adult education, neoliberalism, knowledge economy, Europeanization

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page No.

CHAPTER II

THE LIFELONG LEARNING POLICY AND PRACTICES OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND OF THE LIFELONG LEARNING POLICY AND PRACTICES OF TURKEY

CHAPTER IV

THE LIFELONG LEARNING POLICY AND PRACTICES OF TURKEY

LIST OF TABLES

Page No.

ABBREVIATIONS

AES	**:**	Adult Education Survey
EACEA	**:**	Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency
EAEA	**:**	European Association for the Education of Adults
ECTS	**:**	European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System
ECVET	**:**	European Credit System for Vocational Education and Training
EEA	**:**	European Economic Area
EEC	**:**	European Economic Community
EFL	**:**	English as a Foreign Language
EQAVET	**:**	European Quality Assurance Reference Framework
EQF	**:**	European Qualification Framework
ETF	**:**	European Training Foundation
EU	**:**	European Union
ICT	**:**	Information and Communication Technology
ISMEK	**:**	Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality of Art and Vocational Training Courses
IT	**:**	Information Technology
LLL	**:**	Lifelong Learning
LLP	**:**	Lifelong Learning Programme
MoNE	**:**	Ministry of National Education
MOOC	**:**	Massive Open Online Courses
NGO	**:**	Non-governmental Organization
NQF	**:**	National Qualifications Framework
OECD	**:**	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
SVET	**:**	Strengthening the Vocational Education and Training

TQF	**:**	Turkish Qualification Framework
UN	**:**	United Nations
UNDP	**:**	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	**:**	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFPA	**:**	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	**:**	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	**:**	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
USA	**:**	United Nations of America
USA	**:**	United States of America
VET	**:**	Vocational Education and Training

INTRODUCTION

A basic definition of lifelong learning (LLL) stands as; “the provision or use of both formal and informal learning opportunities through people’s lives in order to foster the continuous development and improvement of the knowledge and skills needed for employment and personal fulfilment” (Collins Dictionary, 2019). When it comes to the practice of LLL there could be said to be two levels of practice; the individual and the political/sociological. The individual level lies at the core of the concept as LLL, in essence, is a self-motivated, personal pursuit. Therefore, it “occurs all of the time as individuals think and act.” (Billet, 2018, p. 2) At the individual level, the practice of learning through time belongs neither to a period in history nor to a culture of a country: It belongs to world history and therefore it is universal. In childhood, it is with the greatest motivation that we learn: Our native language, the games that our parents teach us, the songs and stories that are told to us , and in the current conjuncture, little kids learn how to use the apps on smart phones so it is not school that precedes education, but it is education that precedes school. Our primary form of learning is characterized by being an isolated formation: It is called ‘cumulative’ or ‘mechanical learning’. Then comes what is called ‘assimilative learning’, when the newly learned element is linked as an addition to an existent scheme that is already established. However, as we grow up, it becomes more and more difficult to learn in the primary form. This is because, not only the levels of our cognitive abilities on consuming and internalizing new information change, but also our ability to adapt and process new information transforms. We tend to perceive as if we hardly encounter newness anymore. As a result, we often have to break down parts of an existing scheme to replace them with new information. That is called accommodative or transcendent learning. And finally, some learning processes in later life operate in the form of personality changes or reflect themselves upon the changes in the organisation of ‘self’. That is called ‘expansive’ or ‘transformative learning’ (Illeris, 2009).

The political/sociological level requires an assessment of the current information environment of the ‘age’. The 21st century is described as the ‘age of

technology' or the 'digital age' or 'the age of information' to emphasize its peculiar features and requirements due to globalization and internationalization. Within the current knowledge-based economy, the fundamental economic restructuring requires 'human capital' to dramatically differentiate from the previous industrial ages. During the industrial ages, manufacturing was the main economic activity and practical training was fair enough for industrial production lines (Lee, 2014, p. 464). However, post-modern societies are extremely dynamic knowledge societies where knowledge is a vital issue (Sanséau and Ansart, 2013, p. 318). The most competitive economies in the globalized 21st century world are considered as knowledge economies, and investing in human capital is crucial for growth and competitiveness. These economies are characterized by development of high skills and their implementation in the job market. Thus, learning opportunity throughout life has become especially important for developed countries and their citizens (Popescu, 2012, p. 58). In other words, it is important to keep individuals "employed and employable" (Billet, 2018, p.1) up until the end of their productive lives became a priority for sustaining the competitive edge of the countries' economies and the affluence of the society. Hence, LLL is by definition a continuous activity.

In the context of rapid technological changes, the globalization of economic market, increasing competition among countries and the emergence of knowledge economy entail LLL to be considered as a vital path to follow (Sanséau and Ansart, 2013, p. 318). The concept of LLL has developed considerably since the 1990s among Western countries, in response to a rapidly changing environment. LLL has been presented as a critical education policy for economic innovation and access to global market by intergovernmental organizations, such as United National Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the European Union (EU). These international bodies had a significant influence on transformation of international understanding on LLL in general and also on implementation of LLL systems in particular (Lee, Thayer, and Madyun 2008, p. 445). Especially in the EU and its member states, LLL is argued to be a critical feature for European citizens to remain

competitive in the global context (Nicoll and Fejes 2011, p. 404), especially when it comes to competitiveness in global employment markets.

LLL is currently one of the mostly used concepts in the EU's attempt to achieve the objective of becoming the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world (Popescu, 2012, p. 49). The rise of knowledge economy underlined the fact that LLL, continuously building knowledge and skills throughout life, is vital. Therefore, the way of employing knowledge in practice and also the way of producing, investing or working determine who has more power in the knowledge economy (Popescu, 2012, p. 50).

The notion that education should be understood as "universal and lifelong", and that states should position lifelong education as the "master concept" in their policies had been first argued in the seminal *Faure Report* of the UNESCO (UNESCO, 2016, p.3).

This report, which will be addressed in the coming chapters, does not utilize the concept of LLL and rather uses the concept of lifelong education. This study, on the other hand, will be using LLL to represent and refer to all activities that fall under continuous education, adult education, as well as lifelong education. It should be noted that this approach is not idiosyncratic to this study. Even though there is an ongoing debate in relevant literature, especially on LLL and lifelong education being, albeit related, distinct concepts, the established practice used in the literature is consistent with the approach of this research, and this approach is coherent with the line taken by international organizations that are of interest to this study, such as EU, UNESCO and OECD (Billett, 2017). In that regard, the working definition of this study for activities that are held under LLL are defined as activities that include, "people of all ages learning in a variety of contexts - in educational institutions, at work, at home and through leisure activities", and that focus, "mainly on adults returning to organized learning rather than on the initial period of education or on incidental learning" (Schuller and Watson, 2009, p. vi). On the one hand, LLL is to be regarded as part of the human right to actualize his/her full potential (right of universal education). On the other, it is a policy area that, if managed successfully, alleviates poverty, creates a

conducive environment for sustainable development, increases economic competitiveness and enhances social cohesion (UNESCO, 2016; Power and Mclean, 2013). In this context, UNESCO led the effort participated also by UNDP, the World Bank, UN Women, UNFPA, UNICEF, and UNHCR and organized the World Education Forum 2015 in Incheon. The resulting Incheon Declaration stated ensuring "inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all' (World Education Forum, 2015) as the keystone of its approach for the realization of the Sustainable Development Goal 4 of the 17 item agenda set forth in UN General Assembly's Resolution number 70/1 titled *Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* (2017).

On the other hand, for Turkey, as a candidate country for the EU since 1999, 'adult education' has been an important aspect of Turkey's educational goals since the foundation of the Republic. Institutions such as public houses, public schools, night schools and evening art and trade schools were opened to teach the masses how to read and write and give them vocational and technical education. However, LLL has been adopted as a national education and national development strategy within the EU harmonization policy structure (Kayman, İlbars, and Artuner 2012, p. 5858). When the National Education Basic Act came into effect in June 1973, the Act divided education in two components as formal and non-formal. All LLL activities, adult education and continuing education were included within the scope of non-formal education (EAEA, 2011). Continuing with the 2000s, Turkey has been continuously adding LLL as an ingredient to its education policies. The SVET policy paper developed in 2006, the Ninth Development Plan of Turkey covering the period between 2007 and 2013, the National LLL Strategy 2009 - 2013 and the National LLL Strategy 2014 - 2018 are all exemplary documents that demonstrate how Turkish authorities have taken relevant EU frameworks and best case practices as a model and utilized them. This process can be explained by norm diffusion, a mechanism of Europeanization. Through norm diffusion, Turkey has adopted the LLL norm by emulating the EU LLL model. Within the neoliberal context, Turkey drew lessons to adapt itself to the rapidly changing technological environment and the globalized economic market. Turkey also made adjustments in its LLL policy by learning from best practice to strengthen education

infrastructure and imitated the European example within the EU harmonization policy structure to be a 'member' of the related community. The Turkish Qualifications Framework, designed in harmony with the European Qualifications Framework enabled LLL to be supported 'systematically' and aimed to improve the quality of education and the training systems along with the employment-education relationship (MoNE, 2014). The General Directorate for LLL, having EU Member States as partners, except Iceland, disseminated education and training to support LLL and to involve in exchange of good practices. ISMEK, ISKUR, general and vocational training institutions, private education institutions, employer organizations, NGOs and Continuing Education Centers of private and state universities are the institutions that provide education and training opportunities for adults.

The primary objective of this study is to critically analyze the EU's and Turkey's LLL policies and programmes from a theoretical perspective. It also aims to evaluate the influence of neoliberalism on the EU's LLL policy agenda and the influence of EU's policy on Turkey's LLL environment. The study hypothesizes that while the main driver shaping the EU's LLL agenda is the influence of neoliberalism, Turkey's LLL agenda is mainly shaped by the influence of Turkey's relations with the EU taking place in a global neoliberal context. This influence materializes through norm diffusion, a mechanism of Europeanization. In order to test this hypothesis, the thesis first examines under which influences and how EU's LLL agenda, policies and programmes took shape. At this point, the influence of neoliberal economic policies forming the EU's LLL practices have been examined. In the second chapter, the EU's LLL policy encompassing multiple definitions, history, policy framework, policy actors, instruments, programme, partners and statistics are explored. In the third chapter, the theoretical framework of Turkey's LLL policy is established. The concepts of sociological institutionalism, Europeanization, diffusion, norms, global norms, norm entrepreneurs, norm life cycle, LLL as an EU norm, and mechanisms of norm diffusion are investigated. In the fourth chapter, the Turkish LLL landscape, the history of adult education, and the emergence of LLL policy in Turkey are detailed. In this context, LLL institutions in Turkey, both the institutional and regulatory infrastructure of

Turkey's LLL system, the National LLL Strategies, and the Turkish Qualifications Framework are critically analyzed.

The main research question of this thesis is as follows: What is the main driving force behind EU's and Turkey's LLL agendas? The research methodology is based upon a qualitative model that aims to provide an objective and thorough analysis of the development of LLL in the EU and Turkey. In order to understand the fundamental dynamics of their policy frameworks, a critical analysis of the development of LLL in the EU and Turkey is implemented. The theoretical background of LLL policies and instruments in the EU and Turkey have been examined. Along with the review of relevant literature, descriptive and comparative statistics about the EU's and Turkey's LLL actions are used. Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA) and Eurostat sources are also used to derive statistical information about the EU's LLP. Descriptive data such as LLP grants received by countries (2007-2013) and LLP participants by country (2007-2013), and the percentage of adult population aged 25-64 participating in LLL (2007-2015) are presented in the following sections. The influence of neoliberalism on the EU's LLL agenda and the influence of Europeanization on Turkey's LLL agenda in a neoliberal context are established as the main driving forces behind the EU's and Turkey's LLL policy agendas.

CHAPTER I
THEORETICAL BACKGROUND OF THE LIFELONG LEARNING POLICY AND PRACTICES OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

This chapter primarily aims to explore the theoretical background of the EU's LLL agenda, policy and programmes. The influence of neoliberal economic policies forming the EU's LLL policy has been investigated. In the first section, the methodology of the thesis is briefly introduced.

1.1. Methodology

In this section , the methodology is discussed with respect to the past literature. The past research on the EU's LLL policies (Anagnostopoulou and Athanasiou, 2013; Beaudry and Green, 2003; Elken, 2015; Eve et al., 2007; Hake, 1999; Hyslop-Margison and Naseem, 2007, Koksal et al., 2013; Reghenzani-Kearns and Kearns, 2012) is mainly based on quantitative perspective and they mainly aim to analyse numeric figures of LLL investments along with the returns from these investments in question. Therefore, past research lacks a more in-depth approach in identifying the real drivers of the Union's and Turkey's LLL policies. In this thesis, a qualitative approach is chosen to introduce an in-depth perspective to the EU's and Turkey's LLL policies and their main drivers.

Since the past research is mainly based on quantitative approach, it is heavily based on the Union's LLL investments or the number of participants in the LLL projects. In this thesis, an inductive approach based on primary sources of the development of neoliberal thought in Europe, the historical development of the EU as well as the development of its LLL policies, the Turkish LLL environment and the development of its LLL policies has been used to be able to thoroughly identify the real drivers of the concepts in question.

Additionally, in this thesis, a realist and interpretive philosophy is chosen to critically evaluate the development of the EU's and Turkey's LLL policies. Under the scope of this research, theoretical papers and books by leading thinkers in Europe during almost century long post-World War II era were critically evaluated. Data from the EU and Turkish institutions on LLL policies were also examined along with policy documents and reports. Data gathering process was conducted through theoretical works, policy documents, official data releases, reports and law articles.

The time frame of the theoretical work starts in the 1950s, just after the end of the World War II and comes through the current times. The analysis of Turkey's LLL journey starts from the 1920s, the foundation of Republic of Turkey and, again, comes through the current times. As for the analysis of the EU's LLL policies, it starts in the 1990s when the EU sets LLL as a target policy field. The rise of the EU is also evaluated starting from the post-World War II times of the 1950s.

1.2. Neoliberalism and Its Impact on Markets and Education

As the primary environment of all work and employment related activities is economics, and since most educational activities are closely related to the employment opportunities, it is crucial to understand the structure of the neoliberal economy. In this subsection, neoliberal economy perspective will be introduced in order to provide the required ground for the discussion of the EU's policy developments.

1.2.1. Fundamentals of Neoliberal Economy Perspective

Neoliberalism, a term that has been commonly used since the 1930s, is an economic model and an ideology that is based on free market competition. Free trade and capital mobility without any restrictions are the two fundamentals for the existence of a neoliberal economic system. On the governments' economic policies front, a neoliberal approach imposes tight monetary and fiscal regulations. Privatization of state-owned enterprises and public services are also sine qua non for neoliberal government policies. On the side of regular citizens, a flexible labour force and a repression of labours' demands are also additional aspects of the neoliberal economy

approach. In fact, neoliberalism openly aims to transform welfare state structure to a restricted regulatory body of free market capitalism defining people by the market (Monbiot, 2016a).

Transformation of the welfare state to a productivity-oriented governance is mainly crystallized in the transformation of workforce into individual units. The responsibility of creating employment was shifted from the state to individuals. The idea of continuous education has gained popularity over the shift of the employment responsibility to individuals (Peck, 2001).

Neoliberalism first emerged between thinkers and economists in the interwar period, mainly in Austria, Germany, France and the United Kingdom, who saw the need to reform liberalism. These mainly European neoliberals sought a reformulation that would restore the classical liberal focus on individual freedom. Therefore, neo-liberalism was an attempt to find a new middle way between what the neoliberals saw as a failed laissez-faire, on the one hand and a new form of liberalism dominated by economic planning on the other, which would form the basis for a counterattack against totalitarian left and right impulses (Harvey, 2005). Famously, Hayek, in his book, *The Road to Serfdom* (1944) became the chief proponent of this early neoliberal movement. The movement's defining features were a focus on antitrust and the promotion of conditions for a competitive economy and a conjoined acceptance of the need for a network of social security. In the 1940s, Hayek also developed an intellectual political influence strategy that he outlined in a seminal article entitled 'The Intellectuals and Socialism' (1949).The central idea in this work was that in the early 20th century, the neoliberals needed to learn from the success of the liberal left in Britain and the US.

The word 'neoliberalism' is said to be easily lost in translation from the European to the American context. The reason for this is the different meanings attributed to liberalism in Europe and the United States. The development of neoliberal thought in Europe along with the EU has diverged in time from the 'American' or the 'classical' type of neoliberalism. This also highlights a gap in historical understanding (Jones, 2015): As a particular model of power, neoliberalism emerged as a revision of classical economic liberalism in the 1970's in the USA and Britain (Olssen, 2006). In

Europe and much of the wider world though, it is seen as an American model of 'unrestrained market capitalism' that caused not only problems in the 3rd world countries through its structural adjustment policies of the 'Washington Consensus' but also the financial crisis of 2008. In the States, free markets are viewed by advocates as being "as American as apple pie" (Jones, 2015) and little attention is paid to the trans-Atlantic influences that have led to the conception of free enterprise taking hold among American policymakers.

As clarified above, American type of neoliberalism is mainly market capitalism oriented, which crystalizes in laissez-faire approach. It has had a more radical character than its European precursors as Hayek's intellectual strategy was accomplished. European neoliberalism, however, is seen as containing protectionist and interventionist perspective for the establishment of democratic system-based humanistic values.

The mutual interaction between the development of neoliberal thought in Europe and the development of the EU is also visible in the development and defining of the European values in the main treaties of the Union. The Treaty of Rome, the basis of the formation of the EU, signed back in 1957, clearly highlights the European perspective and the Union's perspective on neoliberalism that underlines humanistic values such as being against all kinds of discrimination, free movement, the EU citizenship to protect individuals against arbitrary practices of local governments, free elections, guaranteeing social and political rights as well as free access to justice.

1.2.2. The Rise of Neoliberalism and the EU's Market Modelling

The idea of a united Europe based on humanitarian values and development takes its root from the post-World War II schools of thoughts. In the post-World War II era, transformation of traditional economy to information economy has brought the emergence of post-industrial society. Daniel Bell proposed his argument regarding the end of ideology in 1955 for the first time. The end of ideologies was a need for the establishment of a mixed economy, a welfare state and liberal democracy (Waters, 1996).

The emergence of the institutional existence of the EU coincides with the rise of neoliberal thought in the continent as a reaction to the destruction of nationalism experienced during the World War II. A series of international congresses held during the second half of 1940s resulted in the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community in 1952 and triggered further developments, such as the creation of the European Economic Community. Throughout the second half of the 20th century, the development and mounting dominance of liberal thought in the continent was accompanied by the development of the EU.

The concept of 'information' emerged from the combination of the development of modern military intelligence (breaking codes, deciphering messages, encoding information, resolving conflict of sources, etc.) and the development of new communication technologies (Peters, Besley and Araya, 2013, p. 13). It shouldn't be a surprise that 'computer literacy' has become synonymous with the new definition of 'multiliteracies' (Peet and Hartwick, 1999) as the knowledge of how to interact in a variety of electronic media in a world where technological change dictates the users to establish modes of interaction to communicate in an efficient and acceptable manner (Blattner, 2012).

Webster (1995) states that Information Economy or Information Society are not radically new concepts, but the continuation of a corporate capitalism and laissez-faire capitalism. Webster (1995) names the Information Economy as 'Informational Capitalism'. To him, informational capitalism shares the same fundamental assumptions with traditional capitalism. According to Webster (1995), the only difference between traditional and informational capitalism is the rising importance of information in the new form of the capitalism, but the core system of exploitation and destruction exist in both types.

Transformation of traditional economy to Information Economy has brought the emergence of post-industrial society. Neoliberalism gained dominance in the Western world during the 1970s. Bell later in 1975 developed his post-industrial-society thesis, arguing that socio-economic structures were on the edge of a major historical shift from manufacturing goods to the production of services. Transformation into an

information economy was a result of intellectualization of technology, the rapid rise of a scientific knowledge class and a renewed communalism in politics (Waters, 1996).

Peet and Hartwick (1999) state that the three themes of technology, innovation and participatory networks help to define development education with regard to our digital futures: “the future of education is digital and the digital environment is also pervasively educational”.

1.2.3. Criticism to Neoliberalism

As neoliberalism has been dominating the global world order at an escalating pace and an expanding scale, reactions to neoliberal transformation has also been mounting. According to Kumar (1978), critics to neoliberalism raised the idea that neoliberalism shared the same perspective with its predecessor, capitalism, especially in its approach to working classes.

In practice, neoliberalism has made the biggest damage on labour unions and labour market regulations. Negative effects in labour market were relatively higher in Third World countries (Gray, 2002).

Practices of neoliberalism have shown that its implementation is flexible and can be interpreted in many different ways across countries. Nevertheless, even in Europe where we talk about an ‘orthodox neoliberalism’, neoliberal policies have attracted mass public reactions (Jones, 2015).

Writers such as Friedrich Hayek, Ludwig von Mises, Walter Eucken, Wilhelm Röpke, Raymond Aron and Jacques Rueff believed that laissez faire's ‘nightwatchman state,’ exemplified by Britain in the nineteenth century had proved inadequate for the early twentieth-century problems. They saw the totalitarianism of fascism and communism threatening individual freedom in the defeat of liberal politics. Neoliberals also saw activist and interventionist liberalism in Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, along with that of Herbert Henry Asquith and David Lloyd George's British Liberal Governments, as an alteration of liberalism (Jones, 2015).

It might be argued that digital transformation in the 1990s was also seen as a tool used by the neoliberals to put additional pressure on labour classes. Especially after 2008 global financial crisis, rising reactions to worsening economic conditions pushed global political powers for alternative approaches in neoliberal employment policies. This might be seen as an extension of the kind of preferential social-Darwinism that is inherent in neoliberalism. Social Darwinism of neoliberalism might be argued to be 'preferential' to the degree that it cares for the society's 'haves' than 'have-nots'. Indeed, as a theory social Darwinism understands social progress as an outcome of the conflicts in which the fittest or best adapted individuals, and/or societies, would prevail. However, the kind of preferential treatment of the wealthier segments of the society, and their siblings relative to children of the rest, most importantly in terms of educational opportunities, as suggested here is somehow paradoxical with the credo of the theory. Nevertheless, this is a phenomenon that is getting more frequent and much encountered in contemporary societies.

As Hayek famously preferred a "liberal dictatorship rather than… a democratic government devoid of liberalism" (Lind, 2011). In this regard, a universalist, holistic and humane approach to education that guarantees people from all walks of life access to opportunities of quality education throughout their lives becomes all the more critical to sustainability of the social contract. This is a goal that might be reached by prioritizing and excelling in LLL as the keystone of LLL is to enable individuals to adapt to the challenges and requirements brought about by technological change to society and to the workplace. In this context, LLL becomes a formidable shield for the sustainability of the societies.

1.2.4. Effects of Neoliberalism on Education

Neoliberals perceive labour in terms of a model of human capital. The role and importance of labor is theorized in a way that it starts with the human individual and the classification of their skills, knowledge and ability. Labour as capital cannot be separated from the individual who owns the resources, but it still constitutes a resource which can be sold in a market. Gary Becker distinguishes two central aspects to such

human capital (Olssen, 2006): a) Inborn, physical and genetic dispositions and, b) Education, nutrition, training and emotional health.

In this model, each person is an autonomous entrepreneur responsible ontologically for their own selves, their own progress and position. Individuals have full responsibility over their investment decisions -including their educational capital- and must aim to produce a surplus value. As Michel Foucault puts it in his 14 March 1979 lecture, they are 'entrepreneurs of themselves'.

To understand the dangers and possibilities associated with recent models of learning and the sense in which theories of learning and power interact, we must first understand Foucault's analysis of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism pertains to the way that practices of economics and discursive patterns of knowledge and learning interact (Olssen, 2006). This will further be discussed in the second chapter.

1.3. The Emergence of Knowledge Economy

The knowledge economy, which necessarily relies on the information economy, emphasizes the value and rarity specifically associated with knowledge. Its transfer and learning are more complex, more expensive and takes longer time (Bouchez, 2012). It not only requires the process of explanation and codification, but also of transfers and learning, which makes continuous education indispensable in today's world. In this subsection, the meaning, the impact and the requirements of knowledge economy are examined.

1.3.1. Definition of Knowledge Economy

According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the knowledge economy era is one in which countries' economic performance is increasingly dependent on knowledge, education, information, and technology. The general idea is that expenditure on knowledge, science and new technologies can stimulate growth, in particular information technologies (Martin, 2012).

Eric Martin (2012) states that an information society is set up to develop and disseminate knowledge that can serve as 'lubricant' for the economy. As the needs of industries and markets are constantly changing, it is becoming urgent to train versatile and flexible workers with cross-cutting skills to adapt to all new situations and send them back to school to ensure that these skills are continuously renewed. It becomes important to disseminate new technologies and organize businesses more effectively to maximize productivity gains. A real 'learning economy' is then established where the education system is seen as a reservoir of ideas for the development of human capital for 'high added value' industries and intellectual properties to support businesses and boost growth.

"The OECD (1995) identified a learning deficit as a result of the inadequacy of the education system to meet the learners' needs. But it is now well established that an economy will not develop unless all are learning" (Fleming, 2010, p.2). For this network to run smoothly, information must flow as smoothly as possible and must be within the reach of every citizen.

1.3.1.1. The Impact of Information Technology

Technology has emerged as the 'infostructure' -the information technology infrastructure, comprised of hardware, networks, applications, etc. as the Oxford dictionary defines it- for enterprises competing on a global scale, and information technology (IT) has provided the platform on top of which knowledge-driven organizations create value (Tapscott, 1997). Technology has enabled businesses and governments to avoid direct responsibility and the adaptability of workers in terms of their mobility within the workforce between businesses and countries. It thus has enabled the ability of workers to move from one job to another within a given overall production process (Olssen, 2006).

The emergence of the technology enables the individualisation of responsibility for education or learning along with the abolition of welfare obligations of states. In this sense, it is deplored for having a downgrading impact on social rights (Olssen, 2006). That is to be regarded as another paradox of neoliberalism. Competition in the work

place becomes more universal and harsher, monitoring performance through "universal quantification and comparison". A direct outcome of this, "is that workers, job-seekers and public services of every kind are subject to a pettifogging, stifling regime of assessment and monitoring, designed to identify the winners and punish the losers" (Monbiot, 2016b). In that sense, the lack of multiliteracy skills becomes critical. The impact of this on LLL is reflected in the discussions on LLL as a matter of individual and societal survival (Cann, 1995). As a matter of fact, as artificial intelligence and automation increasingly penetrates to the job market rendering many positions and professions extinct and redefining others. This trend is not limited to positions and professions that mostly absorb low-skilled work force (Frey and Osborne, 2013).

1.3.1.2. Internal Mobility between Jobs

There is also a need for flexibility -internal mobility- within or in between the jobs. "Internal mobility refers to the change of role that a worker may choose to engage in within the organization, shifting from one organizational unit to a different one, performing different activities." (https://hr.fbk.eu) Research has shown that those with early vocational experience are more likely to resign and quit the labour market when they cannot adapt to either developing technologies or different conditions for new businesses. These adaptation issues are not there only because of the threats brought about by the artificial intelligence and modes of automation replacing the traditional work force. "Careers were traditionally articulated as a set or series of work experiences with a linear, steady, upward trajectory often within a fixed organisational setting. Advancement, security and stability were key features of an organisational career" (Tomlinson et al., 2018, p. 7). However, the advent of technology has brought about an important degree of uncertainty stemming out of the fact that not only the existing functions and positions but entire professions are at risk under the changes it brings about in the domain of businesses and economic activity. In this regard, "A flexible career is one that meets the individual's needs and preferences for flexibility and sustainability as life circumstances change, and is influenced by the institutional environment, organisational factors as well as individual career decisions," (Tomlinson et al., 2018, p.5).

As the business transforms, internal mobility becomes one key effort that helps companies save considerable amount of time and money as hiring new personnel is time consuming and the results are not guaranteed. On the other hand, according to Fulton and Crawley, companies "that hire internally are 32% more likely to be satisfied with the quality of their new hires." (Erickson, Moulton and Cleary, 2018, p. 41) Promoting internal mobility improves worker satisfaction, and improve companies' productivity and capabilities. Promoting opportunities for internal mobility increases employee engagement by up to 49% and improve employee productivity by 39% (Meister and Mulcay, 2017). What is more 94% of employees would stay at a company longer if it invested in their careers (LinkedIn, 2018, p. 8).

There are also challenges faced by businesses that are stemming directly out of the nature of the structure, characteristics and complexities of the contemporary business problems. In order to cope with these issues, businesses need a work force that has the right competencies. One key concept here is versatility. It might be said that the challenges posed by the new competitive environment are ontological to the disposition of the knowledge economy. These challenges are seldom one-dimensional and they do increasingly require a multi-disciplinary, creative, integrative, holistic and adaptive mindset that is able to tap into the intellectual tool-boxes of more than one discipline. In other words, in the contemporary business environment no challenge is just about engineering, human resources or finance etc. It is multi-faceted and compels the companies to work with people who are highly adaptable.

Even though contemporary university curriculums are increasingly designed to meet these needs, through double degree programs and like, the transformation is not complete. What is more, by and large university programmes are institutionally and primarily designed for certain age groups within the structure of formal education. The need for companies to have their existing work force to adopt the aforementioned challenges constitute a gap that, to some degree, should still be filled in by the companies themselves. This is a challenge that can effectively be met by assuming a framework with LLL as its keystone.

1.3.1.3. Vocational Training in the Digital Age

The rapidity of the developments in the technological field requires a continuous learning and adaptation ability during work life following the graduation. Virilio (2000) stresses the rising speed of the transformation of societies through technological developments. Virilio (1977) proposed a term called 'dromology' which refers to science of speed with the aim of defining the fast transformation period of the world. In the current transformation speed, the fast is more likely to dominate the slow, and hence most people feel obliged to adapt themselves to new technologies via fast-applied updates to the unprecedentedly changing conditions.

While certain European countries like Britain are considering whether to involve more vocational training in their education systems, while the schools of law and medicine provide a rather functioning pathway from education to employment through vocational education, the demand on smoothing pathways for transitions still remains to be satisfied in other countries or in other sectors. In this case, the General Assembly's model plays a significant role. The content of the training is determined mostly by inputs from the employers and the vocational training itself (Fiori, Bollmann, and Rossier, 2015).

1.3.2. Effects of Knowledge Economy on Education

Although it was once true that school systems effectively provided the necessary skills (numeracy, literacy, symbol manipulation) for the age of industry, it is equally now true that these same institutions are not sufficiently equipped to support the skills and capacities for the Age of Innovation (Araya, 2010). Since the knowledge economy emerged and IT increased the responsibility on the individuals, workers have had the task of educating themselves and constantly renewing their know-how according to the changing demands of the market. This no doubt enlarges the field of adult education, which is reflected in the increasing need for LLL. Though Tuschling and Engemann state that "the purpose is not to de-institutionalize but rather to inter-institutionalize learning" (Tuschling and Engelmann, 2006, p.456), we cannot ignore the fact that the main objective of the study of education for neoliberal thought is to

ensure political and economic gain. There is a political and economic interest in training adults for the global economy. As Manuel Castells points out, in the "The Information Age", the changes in the society are based on the changes in the Information Technology. Under 'informationalism', as Castells calls it, the generation of wealth, the exercise of power, and the creation of cultural codes come to depend on the technological capacity of societies and individuals. In addition, in developed countries, knowledge economy holds a large place in the entire economic structure. Those who work in the development or the designing part of the Information Technology sector are assets in knowledge economies. Thus, both the economic system and 'informationalism' require the employees and experts to be continuously innovative to keep up with the changing society and even aim at going beyond it. In this case, Castells supports the idea that LLL is crucial and that it is a natural part of the process. Elements of the labour process have been enhanced as routine tasks become automated, as information technologies call for greater freedom for better-informed workers to deliver the full promise of its productivity potential. The two key features for the labour process become the ability to generate flexible strategic decision-making; and the capacity to achieve organizational integration between all elements of the production process (Castells, 1998).

LLL is the link between economy and adult education (Fleming, 2010). From this point of view, LLL can be presented as a particular technology of power. It is the global production of infinitely knowledgeable subjects that the technology of LLL enables. For Foucault, LLL would constitute a new technology of power and mechanisms of control operating in our society (Olssen, 2006).

In these terms, LLL meets the need for flexibility and adaptability of the workforce between businesses. It acts, as Foucault would put it, as an instrument of flexible 'governmentality'. The term 'governmentality' defines an attitude to thinking about the state and governmental differentialities (Fimyar, 2008).

1.3.2.1. Criticism to Knowledge Economy and Lifelong Learning Ideologies

Both 'knowledge economy' and 'LLL' concepts have been the subject of numerous social, economic and educational policy discussions over almost the past three decades. There have been a few but significant critical analyses such as Livingstone's and Guile's, who stated that knowledge economy became a new global reality and LLL an effective strategy to cope with it (Fleming, 2010).

The idea that the increasing speed of innovation is necessary for economic prosperity in new knowledge-intensive commodities remains an open question. It may have exaggerated and simplified the claims to a general transfer to a knowledge economy. While there is a significant downturn in manufacturing industries and simultaneous growth in the service, financial, and information-processing sectors, today private enterprise continues to dominate the capitalist modes of production. While some workers have expanded access to knowledge and increased entrepreneurial or cognitive activity, they still have little say in decisions about their workload, financial issues, job design, or the types of products or services they provide. Furthermore, the presumption that knowledge-based economies require an increasingly more formally skilled labour force has been shown to be false. Indeed, many workers are becoming increasingly over-qualified for the jobs they do in industrialized countries. In some ways, the equation of formal qualifications with job skills and knowledge may encourage employees to engage in and unnecessary race for qualifications that may improve their job prospects and earnings (Nesbit, 2013).

Therefore, the workers need to engage in more LLL to respond to the imperative that the new reality is knowledge economy. Livingstone and Guile argue that knowledge and learning cannot be reduced to commodities or reduced through use, and that informal workplace learning is far more important than credit from most employers or policy makers (Nesbit, 2013).

Nesbit, on the other hand, reminds that both knowledge economy and LLL concepts have featured prominently in the mass media and numerous social, economic, and educational policy discussions over the past two decades, yet each suffers from a

lack of consistency and clarity. There are two important questions to be answered: Is the notion of a knowledge economy truly becoming a new global reality? And then, the question is whether LLL is an effective strategy to cope with it (Nesbit, 2013).

We will remember that Kumar has criticized Bell's perception of information economy as 'evolution' along with the accuracy of his predictions, stating that he lacks a historical perspective. He proposes that the concept of Information Society is nothing but "the latest ideology of the capitalist state" (Kumar, 1995, p. 31 as cited in Brenner, 1996, p. 597). His criticism also includes post-Fordism and postmodernism along with information society concept (Brenner, 1996, pp. 597-598).

Another negative feature of the training's exposure to the neoliberal economy is that the content is simplified in order to improve the merchantability of educational content. Of course, making the subject accessible, understandable and learnable seems to be the right approach to facilitate learning. However, the simplification of subjects with many depths may lead the real experts to disappear and blur the difference between real experts and short-way certifications (Olssen, 2006). The drawbacks of this issue will be discussed in the following pages.

Still, however, thinking about the individuals who do not have the financial opportunities to enroll in education programmes as well as Third World countries, talking about the evolution and/or the pros and cons of lifelong education might sound as an inconclusive discourse, as formal education is permanently accessible only to a part of the planet.

1.3.2.2. Education: Rather Pedagogy or an Economic/Political Weapon?

Pedagogy is one aspect of education, according to Gelpi. The evolution of education is closely linked to issues such as peace and war, protection of the environment, cultural, social and human heritage, demographic dynamics, scientific and technological development, employment and unemployment (Gelpi, 1994).

Gelpi states that it would be interesting to assess to what extent education can respect or violate culture and language. The reconstruction of individuals, populations

and countries' historical and cultural identity are important aspects to evaluate the success of the educational policies. The extent to which education contributes to the process of inclusion or exclusion of our societies -which is an important aspect for the LLL policies in order to maintain the principal EU values -remains to be answered.

1.4. Emergence of the European Union and Its Values

The rise of neoliberal thought in Europe following the mass destruction of World War II coincides with the emergence of the idea of a united Europe based on redefined European values and neoliberal economic modelling. The development of neoliberal thought and the EU follow a parallel path during the second half of the 20th century. This section discusses the emergence and development of neoliberal thought from a historical perspective within the context of transformation of the European institutions through European values.

1.4.1. The Orthodox Neoliberalism

In his book entitled *The End of Ideology: On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties* (1960), Daniel Bell argues that past ideologies of Marxism, liberalism or conservatism that dominated human life through 19th century and early 20th century have come to an end with the mass destruction of World War II. The traditional humanistic approach couldn't prevent the destruction brought by the war. As a result, the pre-war ideologies had turned irrelevant for many people who had experienced the fall of humanism during that period. The mass transformation of the human thought also triggered an economic transformation that the world was about to witness as well as the rise of new ideologies. That was a new era for human history (Bell, 2000). Here, Bell specifically emphasizes that the rapid transformation of the world economy initiated the transformation in human thought. The acceleration in the technological innovations has also precipitated people into adopting the new economic system. The change of ideologies was decisive for the establishment of a mixed economy, a welfare state and a liberal democracy. To Bell, the future would be shaped by technocrats who possess

information rather than ideologies. People would lean on ideas that can be practically useful rather than bold ideological theories (Bell, 2000).

Bell (2000) highlights the removal of traditional ideologies during the 1950s. These are the times when attempts to transform classical liberalism are made with the aim of making it consistent with the changing thoughts of the time. He explains that economic philosophers of the time like Milton Friedman began in early 1950s to pronounce the idea of neoliberalism, which was initially attempted by the European liberal scholars of the 1930s. The initial development of neoliberal thought was mainly based on market economy which was derived from classical liberalism's laissez-faire approach. However, neoliberalism's main divergence from classical liberalism was its proposal for the necessity of guidance of rules guaranteed by a strong state. After the dismissal of classical ideologies, Europe attempted to remove the ruins of the pre-war political system by shaping human thought with the adoption of a fresh vision. Nationalism was considered to be the main driver of the mass destruction brought by World War II.

Hence, the idea of a united Europe emerged as an antidote to eliminate the risk of new destruction waves in the continent. The Hague Congress, the Congress of Europe in 1948, and the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community, which have resulted in the signing of the Treaty of Rome in 1957, are the products of those initial attempts.

With the Treaty of Rome, the European Economic Community and the Customs Union have been established. The Customs Union has brought the idea of creating a single European market for goods, services and, more importantly, labour. It also included the creation of the European Social Fund along with common agricultural and transportation policies. The European citizen has been accepted to possess more common humanistic values than a national identity and in order to feel the progress related to labour, Europeans needed free movement across the continent. At this stage, Europe's main economic perspective was basically focused on establishing and sustaining a single market across the member states. The idea of the EU came into existence on the idea of a single market. This idea was further developed, when the EU

also established a single monetary union on January 1st, 1991 (Pinder and Usherwood, 2018). While EU promotes economic competition in a single market, single monetary governance and a single economy, the EU also strives to provide equal rights to labour force mobility. "Equal opportunities on the labour market" is part of the European pillar of social rights and there are six policy domains under this title: securing professional transition; cutting a fine balance between flexible and secure labour contracts; providing active support for employment; ensuring gender equality and work - life balance; providing equal opportunities for all. The last title is directly related to the subject matter of this thesis and it is, skills, education and lifelong learning.

American neoliberalism has a more sectarian idea of the free market capitalism. During the 1960s, American neoliberalism began dominating the political area in the United States. It promoted the idea of the development of market capitalism subject to the regulatory bodies of a strong state. The European liberalism, on the other hand, carries commonalities with American liberalism in the concepts of free trade and freedom of movement, both crystallized in the development of the EU. It also eliminates the ideas of protectionism and subsidized economies. However, as evidenced by the way the policy domains of the "Equal opportunities on the labour market" pillar of social rights, the main difference between the European liberalism and the American liberalism is that European liberalism is more positive to welfare state policies, which is also highlighted in the EU's social policies. This is observable in one study carried out by PEW Research Centre that has founded that fundamentally Europeans tend to agree more that success in life is determined by factors outside of one's control - with the not so curious exception of the British. What is more American's find "freedom to pursue life's goals without state interference" considerably more important than states' intervention to guarantee that nobody would be left in need. Lastly, American's think of "freedom to pursue life's goals" more important than leaving nobody in the society in need. These differences in perspective lead to an understandably considerable gap in the perceptions of the structure, organization, and functions of education and employment markets and policies (PEW, 2011).

1.4.2. The Emergence of European Values

The EU kept its value-based approach throughout its development since 1950's together with its perspective to spread European values across the continent and its peripheries. The Treaty of Rome (1957) delineated the economic and structural basis of the EU. It set out Europe's social principles and it specifically guaranteed the public access to policy documents as well as political meetings. The Treaty also guaranteed the status of religious, philosophical and non-confessional organizations against the national laws. It emphasizes that the Union will combat discrimination based on sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation. It promoted the European citizenship and guarantees individuals rights. All in all, the Treaty set out the fundamentals of the European values of respect for human dignity and human rights, freedom, democracy, equality and the rule of law (ec.europa.eu).

The mobilization of the European values was especially crystallized in the Copenhagen Criteria (1993), which outlined the benchmark for being a member of the EU. Copenhagen Criteria requires a member state to firstly preserve democracy and human rights along with establishing a market economy and also to accept the Union's role of higher justice and governance functions in the context of the possible conflicts with its sovereign practices.

Along with the Copenhagen Criteria, Article 2 of the EU Treaty covers the fundamental values of the EU as a legal and political union. They are enumerated as the following: Human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law, respect for the minority's rights and all human rights.

1.4.2.1. The Ecosystem the European Union's Values Produce

The EU, which has emerged as an economic integration model, is transformed into a political organization with the expansion of the fields in which it operates. As a political organization, the Union has inevitably adopted a number of political, legal and philosophical values. As cited above, Article 2 of the EU Treaty states that the association is based on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy,

equality, rule of law, rights of minorities and respect for human rights. These values feature the basic elements of the constitutional order of the EU and form the basis of the European integration process. They guide the EU as well as its member states in their activities and provide a common ground for all. This makes a significant contribution to shaping the EU's common identity and homogeneity. Furthermore, if the values set out in this article were legally binding for the EU and the Member States, Member States might be the addressee of certain sanctions, including termination of membership of the EU in the event of a breach (Güneş, 2016).

1.4.2.2. Criticism to the Orthodox Neoliberalism

Many Europeans have a popular belief that Europe is an exception. And it is often said that the exceptional character is most evident in the stronger European commitment to social rights and equality. Despite all the rhetoric by the EU authorities to differentiate the EU's neoliberalism perspective from the US-type wild capitalism, critics such as Herman argue that any difference between the EU-type and the US-type neoliberalism perspectives is overstated. He claims that the EU integration process was just an implementation of orthodox neoliberalism aiming to erode welfare state traditions in member countries. To him, the process of European integration was used to adopt neoliberal mainstream policies, circumventing and eroding those state traditions and national compromises that in the past gave Europe its distinctive character compared to other countries, particularly the United States. As a result, the EU integration erased the past distinctions between the European states and the US (Herman, 2007).

1.4.2.3. Neoliberalism and Europe's Social State

It is important to note that neoliberalism was from the outset a transnational project as opposed to post-war Keynesian nationally oriented projects, or Delor's vision of a social democratic Europe. While it is primarily an ideological and theoretical agenda for a restructured capitalist economy and social system, the project depends on material forces and institutions to shape expectations and standards in order to be more

responsive to market incentives. The driving force at global level is the promotion of ‘free trade’ and unrestricted mobility of capital, codified in a series of international conventions and treaties following the abolition of capital controls by the United States and the United Kingdom in 1974 and 1979 respectively. This creates a set of specific pressures and constraints for formally independent countries and demand-oriented Keynesian macroeconomic policies, combined with dramatically reduced transport costs and the information revolution (Herman, 2007).

Hermann rejects the idea that the EU's policies differentiate in any way from the neoliberal mainstream. Major policy issues, such as the Single Market Strategy, European competition policy, Economic and Monetary Integration, and even the European Employment Strategy, have enhanced ‘free’ trade and ‘free’ capital mobility, monetary restraint and budgetary austerity, the labour markets’ flexibility and the erosion of employment security (Herman, 2007) .

1.4.3. Lifelong Learning as a European Union Value

With the emergence of knowledge economy, information has kept flowing at an exponential rate while the skills needed to do business or anything else in life has shifted along with the data flow. Since the new economic system is information-oriented, the information moves and changes very quickly. Learning can no longer be limited to the classical educational system and end with graduation from a university. People are required to adapt to technological movements. Toffler (1970) proposed that ‘the illiterate people of the future would not be those who cannot read but those who don’t know how to learn’. It is under those circumstances that the early ideas on ‘lifelong leaning’ had begun to emerge.

The EU has been at the forefront of developing LLL policies since 1990s together with its rising focus on spreading European values across the European citizens as well as the citizens of candidate and peripheral states. Since the Union adopted LLL as one of its major policy goals over the last three decades, it has influenced the EU member states’, candidates’, and potential candidates’ LLL strategies and practices. The Lisbon Agenda launched in 2000 marked a considerable intensification in the interest of

the EU concerning education and training. The cradle-to-grave perspective that has been promoted in policy documents has also become an integral aspect of the EU's harmonization policy both for member states and candidate countries. As will be discussed further in Chapter 2.3.1.2, the Lisbon Agenda has been an important milestone for the EU's LLL policy by giving LLL a higher priority as a basic component of the European social model (Patecka, 2011, p. 5). The Lisbon Strategy highlighted the EU's motive to "become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion" (Lisbon European Council, 2000).

Within the neoliberal context, it is safe to assume that nations which do not update their knowledge systematically and preserve the competitive edge of their economy will be left behind in competition and face the challenge in the knowledge economy. The integration ensured by the EU harmonization laws in politics can also be ensured in the economy by keeping the human resources constantly fit through LLL. What's more, adopting the LLL policies also means adopting the EU's values and norms and eventually becoming part of it in the future. Many countries including Turkey are dedicated to adopt this operating system. As this thesis hypothesizes, the main driver shaping the LLL agenda is the influence of Turkey's relations with the EU, taking place in a neoliberal context. This context, combined with the negative externalities of the knowledge economy, necessitates a comprehensive LLL strategy that will improve people's competence and enrich the affluence of its people.

1.5. The Issue of Adult Education

This part explores how adult education became important and the correlation between education level and employment rate.

The Lisbon agenda which highlighted the EU's motive to "become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion" (Lisbon European Council, 2000) initiated the process of developing a knowledge society, which is capable to deal with the challenges and uncertainties caused by the

neoliberal economic policies and rapidly changing technology. Adults with or without a qualified educational background need more information and competence in order to face challenges. Adult education has been defined by many institutions in different ways.

The OECD defines adult education as:

> *"Adult education encompasses activities and programs organized for this purpose to meet the learning needs and interests of those who have been out of compulsory schooling and whose main occupation is no longer to go to school at any stage of their lives." (Yılmaz, 2018)*

The problems with adult education become apparent when low-skilled employees with neither a qualified educational background nor an enthusiasm to learn within the vocational experience are taken into consideration. The case of truck drivers, for instance, presents an example for a group of low-skilled workers who face the possibility of future redundancy through improvement in technologies (Acemoglu and Restrepo, 2018a) within the shipping industry, which they are not trained for yet or developments in automation, which will leave them with little or no alternative but quit.

Employers in the new labour market, along with its demand of interdisciplinary and creative hybrid skills, have started to consider the education of already employed workers a lot. Although certain business operators abstain from high-cost employee training processes due to the possibility of the employee's future work that might take place in a rival firm, most contemporary employers have grasped the importance of catching up with the advancing technology and business strategies. They prefer having updated employees for a short time period than having them stay in the company for a considerable amount of time but with no practical improvement in their job activity. The US-based telecom and media firm, AT&T, for instance, has developed a database of within-company job offers accessible by the employees along with the information on their current set of skills, the skills required for the new post and the demand for that post. In order to overcome the problem of rapidly changing technology and the set of skills required to be able to operate in the business, many companies are putting a great deal of emphasis on the at-work education of their own workers (Dweck, 2016).

The ability of developing cognitive skills and maintaining the rhythm for the acquired skills declines with aging, starting from the 20s (Salthouse, 2007). Although that seems to draw a pessimistic picture for the efficiency of sectoral training and the costly programmes required for it, research shows that different types of cognitive processes, therefore different educational strategies to be followed are present to compensate the decline caused by biological factors (Salthouse, 2007).

Fluid intelligence and crystallized intelligence, the former referring to the solution of novel problems, while the latter meaning a person's collection of amassed knowledge, continue to enhance despite aging. Therefore, the increase in vocabulary, speech skills, and the accumulated experience substitute for the loss caused by cognitive skills. Hence, a continuous learning spread throughout lifetime including the individuals' employment periods are rendered possible, efficient and necessary (Salthouse, 2007).

Furthermore, the differentiation of methodology required for the educational training of employees due to the differences in age, personal backgrounds or else is done through personalized strategies of effective learning. This is backed up with the essential ambition of the employers shifting from imposing a significant type of learning to more of creating the intellectual curiosity along with the training which will lead to a more effective experience of education where the employee is much more included (Salthouse, 2007).

1.5.1. Disengagement between Education and Employment

Developed countries have the assumption that there is a positive correlation between education level and employment rate. A higher degree of educational training would naturally cause a person to be employed in a more demanding and a better-paid job. There is an additional ingredient to this argument, which is technology. Jobs, which usually require lower cognitive skills and which can easily be automated are not preferred by people with adequate formal education hence encouraging them to appeal to more demanding jobs.

But what actually is taking place proves the assumption of the correlation between higher education and higher employment partly wrong. According to the research by Beaudry et al. (2003), the demand for high-skilled employees of better formal education before the 2000s was due to the need for constructing the IT infrastructure that the modern age of business required. Now, although it can still be stated that certain jobs still differ as for which people with more educational skills are preferred, the analysis of the fall in the wages of this group reveals that the educated and the non-skilled can be in a similar trouble, especially when technology is concerned (Beaudry and Green, 2003).

When it comes to automation, certain economists are pessimistic about the current situation: Nearly half of the existing jobs are suitable for automation via technology (Frey and Osborne, 2017). On the other hand, more optimistic accounts of the effect of technology argue that the advance in technology and automation through it only reduced costs but did not wipe out an entire profession; although each day there are more Automatic Teller Machines and barcode-operated supermarkets, there is no significant decline in the number of tellers or cashiers - in fact, there is even an increase since then (Bessen, 2015).

Nevertheless, the correspondence between employment and high-skilled education is further complicated by the invention of ‘hybrid jobs’ that demand the combination of certain separate skills. For instance, the demand for coding skills has significantly increased but not as mere computer programmers but as advertisers, data analysts or data visualization experts. The extreme variety of working conditions simultaneously implies an extreme variety of demands that cannot be answered in most educational systems. On the one hand, there is a type of education for those who are chosen to be as profitable as possible, on the other hand, a type of education either of low quality or practically non-existent, for the rest of the population (Gelpi, 1994).

1.5.2. Lifelong Learning as an Instrument of Flexible Governmentality

Michel Foucault stated that LLL would constitute a new technology of power and part of the mechanisms of control operating in our society (Olssen, 2006). In this context, LLL can be represented as a particular technology of power.

The technology of LLL empowers the global production of infinitely knowledgeable subjects. The emergence of technology also permits the individualization of responsibility for education or learning, along with the abolition of welfare obligations of states. In this sense, the technology of LLL enables a downgrading of social rights. Technology accredits businesses and governments to avoid direct responsibility and the adaptability of workers in terms of their mobility within the workforce between businesses and countries. It thus makes possible for workers to move from one job to another within a given overall production process. This kind of flexibility requires skill and competence of a potentially short-term nature. As stated before, workforce versatility requires a ready ability to add new skills in order to make change possible (Olssen, 2006). And as Tuschling and Engemann (2006) state: "The purpose is not to de-institutionalize but rather to inter-institionalize learning".

For the change of skills to be possible, education has to become a fast-consuming product. In order to enable education to be sold, it is important to make the 'customer' believe that the content is accessible/understandable/learnable enough for him/her. For this reason, the contents have to be simplified. But the drawbacks of the simplifications need to be considered (Olssen, 2006).

In Foucault's sense, LLL represents a model of governing individuals in their relation to the collective. More specifically it constitutes a technology of control. Its specific governmental significance can be seen in the EU, which has declared LLL as a central educational project in its quest to integrate 25 populations into a new European identity (Olssen, 2006).

CHAPTER II
THE LIFELONG LEARNING POLICY AND PRACTICES OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

This chapter aims to explore how the EU LLL emerged. The various definitions, history and contemporary practices of LLL are analyzed. The chapter also demonstrates how LLL is considered both as a European project and an economic and humanistic tool. EU LLL statistics are provided, including beneficiaries, partners, grants and adult participation in LLL programmes.

2.1. The Concept of Lifelong Learning

In this section, the role, the uses and various definitions of LLL are presented. LLL model is compared to traditional learning in Table 1.

LLL is not a new concept; it is the recent development of an old idea. Although the origin has no sociological relevance because it is indemonstrable, we can still identify the steps that built it. It draws its resources from the well-known maxim of wisdom picked up by Comenius to whom one learns 'from the cradle to the grave' (Unesco Courier, 1953). Getting closer to the didactic or political preoccupations of our times, we find that it is strongly present in the Enlightenment thought, and more recently, in the conception of science as a permanent education or permanent pedagogy. But there is also a real history: "The history of a set of devices, institutions and practices that can be gathered under the name of LLL" (Forquin, 2004).

LLL is a concept but it is also a policy, an objective and a method. It can be presented in formal and non-formal, self-training and institutional, residential and remote forms. Its definition seems destined to be relentlessly redefined since the radical transformations of the world of production, the internationalization of contemporary society and the information revolution provoking new educational demands, innovative learning models, new integrations as well as new social exclusions (Gelpi, 1994).

The main idea of LLL is that education should not be limited to schools or academic life in general, but learning should continue during the entire life of a person in order to increase knowledge and skills in any area. It basically means that the knowledge and abilities of an individual should be expanding during her/his lifetime. This type of continuous learning can be preferred for both personal and professional development. In terms of personal development, LLL can be in use for purposes as diverse as hobbies, academic studies, social skills or mental health. When it comes to professional development, people are required to improve themselves continuously in order to be employed. Modern economies introduce new competitions and targets to individuals. People are either required to improve their skills when compared to their former levels or compete with automation and the industrialized world. Therefore, LLL plays an important role for professional development, and this thesis discusses this argument with references to neoliberalism and the post-industrialized society.

2.1.1. Definitions of Lifelong Learning

LLL is considered to be different from the concepts like 'continuous education' or 'adult education'; it has a more unique and comprehensive meaning than these other terms (Lee, 2014, p. 471).

The most prevalent definition of LLL is linked to equipping individuals with new skills that would help them deal with the demands of rapidly changing information technologies required at the workplace (Lee, 2014, p. 472). Lee's (2014) definition highlights the main difference between LLL and traditional education; the former referring to teaching individuals how to learn and the latter providing them with literal information on a specific subject.

The formal decision in the distinction between LLL and adult education was made during the 15th General Conference of UNESCO, organized in 1968. Since then, LLL openly describes the educational process spread to all dimensions of life and existence (Forquin, 2004, p.34).

As a further step on Lee (2014), Rauhala's (2011, p.85) definition of LLL, as development of individual human potential adds that the concept of LLL also has educational, social, political and personal dimensions. Likewise, according to Jakobi (2012, p. 32), there are three dimensions of LLL: educational, biographical and political. Educational dimension focuses on learning continuously and acquiring new skills, ideas, and competences. Biographical dimension brings cradle-to-grave approach, considering LLL as an ongoing experience throughout one's entire lifespan. Finally, political dimension makes LLL an important subject of education policy Eventually, LLL encompasses formal education that is provided by schools, training institutions, universities as well as non-formal education such as on-the-job training, and also informal education which is knowledge and skills learned from family or community (Popescu, 2012, p. 52). Formal learning is defined as the education provided by a training institution and leads to certification. In terms of learning time and learning objectives, formal education is structured, and it is considered to be intentional from the learner's perspective. Non-formal learning, on the other hand, is not provided by a formal education or training institution. However, learning process is still intentional and structured even though it typically does not lead to certification. Informal learning is also not provided by education and training institutions, and it is usually considered incidental and random, resulting from daily activities (Patecka, 2011, p. 5). In this regard, informal learning approach could be considered as an antecedent of current LLL perspective. However, it should also be noted that LLL requires a more conscious and deliberate perspective instead of incidental and random learning.

As Kaya (2014a, p.1185) describes, LLL is about "acquiring and updating all kinds of abilities, interests, knowledge and qualifications from the pre-school years to the post-retirement". According to Jakobi (2012, p.33), LLL is "the systematic expansion of education over the individual life-course, more specifically as educational phases beyond schooling". Jakobi (2012) also claims that although the schooling times are longer nowadays, formal schooling is still perceived as a traditional way of educating people. LLL, on the other hand, is encouraged through policies to implement additional educational and learning phases across the life of individuals. In other words,

LLL framework includes learning throughout the lifecycle, from early childhood to retirement, and in different learning environments for various skills and knowledge.

The EU's own definitions for LLL also carry some similarities with those of the academics' idealistic perspective, but they also reflect the Union's political and pragmatic point of view. Eurostat (2007) more mechanically defines informal learning from its statistical data categorization perspective as

"self-learning which is not part of either formal nor non-formal education and training, by using one of the following ways: making use of printed material (i.e. professional books, magazines); computer-based learning/training; online Internet-based web education; making use of educational broadcasting or offline computer-based (audio or videotapes); visiting facilities aimed at transmitting educational content (library, learning centers)."

In *A Memorandum on LLL*, European Commission (2000, p.3) defines LLL as the process of "encompassing all purposeful learning activity, whether formal or informal, undertaken on an ongoing basis with the aim of improving knowledge, skills and competence". In another report, LLL is defined as: "All learning activities undertaken throughout life, with the aim of providing knowledge, skills and competencies with a personal, civil, social and/or employment-related perspective" (European Commission, 2002, p.7). The analysis of European Commission's policy documents over the years presents an obvious change for the description of LLL. "It can be seen that 'LLL' now has a broader perspective and can be interpreted as a more comprehensive and inclusive concept" (Helemae and Saar, 2008, pp.7-8).

2.1.2. The Cradle-to-Grave Perspective

In the post-industrialization era, an unfair competition between human beings and machines emerged. The rivalry in the free market created an imbalance between supply, demand and price. This can be considered as one of the results of the neo-liberal economic model. This rivalry made the need of innovation and improvement urgent. In addition, industrialization and automation were elements of rivalry in the labour market. For instance, if a worker's main task in a factory is to pack boxes, and a machine starts to do the worker's job, the machine will eventually do it faster and better. This leads to

a more productive and efficient process -which is one of the main necessities of capitalism- in which the worker no longer has an active place. In this case, even through LLL, there is no possibility of enough improvement in the worker's skills and efficiency to replace it with the machine. In this race with automation, experts are obliged to improve their skills to be innovative and creative about the designing and building processes of the machines and that is where LLL becomes useful once again. As Daniel Bell sums up in *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society:* An industrial society is based on a labour theory of value and the development of industry proceeds by labour-saving devices, substituting capital for labour. Knowledge is the source of invention and innovation. It creates value i.e. 'increasing returns to scale' and saves capital. Besides, the increase of professional and technical employment, and the decrease of skilled workers is what Bell refers to as 'occupational changes' in the post-industrialized society (1999, pp. xv – xvi). It can be concluded that to keep up with the changes of this society, one has to improve knowledge, experience and skills about being innovative. That would be the only way to maintain a high-ranking position and increase the level of efficiency at the same time. LLL would be the key factor in achieving that as technical knowledge builds up cumulatively through one's professional career and experience increases the skills during an entire lifetime.

The 'lifelong' dimension is the main characteristic that has to be stressed out because it is the one that defines learning practice within the knowledge economy (Popescu, 2012, p. 56). The 1996 UNESCO report entitled *Learning: The Treasure within* states that "Education is a human right and an essential tool for achieving the goals of equality, development and peace" (UNESCO, 1996, p.118).

Learning occurs in various environments including family, schools, workplaces and communities (Popescu, 2012, p. 54). The main characteristics of the traditional learning process as opposed to the process of LLL are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1
Characteristics of Traditional Learning vs. LLL Models

Traditional Learning	**LLL**
Study for a finite period of time	Learning throughout lifetime
Targets students of defined age-groups	Targets every age group
The teacher is the source of knowledge	Educators are guides to sources of knowledge
Learners receive knowledge from the teacher	People learn by doing
Learners work by themselves	People learn in groups and from each other
Tests are given to prevent progress until students have completely mastered a set of skills and to ration access to further learning	Assessment is used to guide learning strategies and identify pathways for future learning
All learners do the same thing	Educators develop individualized learning plans
Teachers receive initial training plus ad hoc in-service training	Educators are lifelong learners. Initial training and ongoing professional development are linked
'Good' learners are identified and permitted to continue their education	People have access to learning opportunities over a lifetime

Source: Popescu, 2012, p. 56 (adapted from World Bank, 2003,)

According to Militaru et al. (2011, p. 74) LLL is a fundamental requirement. In its *LLL for all* report, "OECD (1996) has adopted a comprehensive view, which covers all purposeful learning activities, from the cradle to the grave, whose goal is to improve knowledge and competencies for all individuals who wish to participate in curricular activities" (Milic 2013, p. 155). "The fast pace of technological advancements and changes made both formal and informal learning very critical for the career progress of the individual" (Wilson et al. 2007, p. 91). "Individuals should be aware of the fact that by necessity or by choice, they constantly have to learn new practices and have to gain new skills to upgrade their knowledge and redefine their professional roles" (Sanséau and Ansart, 2013, p. 318).

The rapid change in the field of technology and economy has caused the accumulated knowledge to be out of date in a couple of years" (Sahin, Akbasli, and Yelken 2010, p.545). LLL promotes the development of knowledge and competences that enables each citizen to adapt to the knowledge-based society and actively participate in all spheres of social and economic life, taking more control of his or her future (European Commission, 2010, pp.10-13).

"LLL puts more emphasis on the learner; with this recent education and training concept individuals should own responsibility over their self-improvement" (Lee, 2014, p. 472). "The cradle-to-grave LLL process cannot be passive; it requires active participation from the learners" (Popescu, 2012, pp.57-58). As Milic (2013, p.153) puts forward "LLL is a prerequisite for individual's development as well as the economic, social, and cultural development of the society as a whole".

As it is presented above from different perspectives, the-cradle-to-grave approach currently stands as the peak point of human thought on LLL concept, as it not only puts human in the core of the perspective but also aims to respond to the requirements of the transformation age and post-modern economy. In addition to the current perspective in LLL concept, understanding the development of LLL perspectives throughout history would serve to develop the required viewpoint for further evolution of the concept. Therefore, the following section will provide a discussion of the historical development of the LLL concept in Europe.

2.2. European History of Lifelong Learning

In this part of the thesis, in relation to the international organizations, the European history of LLL is discussed.

In the international literature on LLL, the concepts 'lifelong education' or 'LLL' are generally accompanied by another notion, presented as a necessary correlation: That of 'learning society'. It refers to the polarization between an approach that would rather focus on the implementation of highly institutionalized educational programs and schemes (expressed as 'education') and the other approach that focuses more on the individual demand and responsibility of learners (expressed as 'learning'). Should we then say, as illustrated by the work of Hutchins (1968), that the contemporary LLL is inspired by an ideal vision of the future, seen as the anticipation of a kind of 'new Athens' in which the technology would have replaced slaves? And what about its evolution within contemporary Europe led by a neoliberal policy? (Forquin, 2004)

"Adult education or adult training has been part of the human reality for ages and centuries" (Hake, 1999, p. 53). As Hyslop-Margison and Naseem (2007, p. 347) state "learning as a lifelong experience that leads to continuous intellectual, social, and emotional development has been a dominant idea within the history of education". The first discussions on 'LLL' started back in 1960s. "The emergence of the concept can be traced back to United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) gatherings. These intergovernmental bodies were the main agencies to promote the idea of continuous education" (Popescu, 2012, p. 51).

Especially UNESCO was highlighting the fact that education and learning should be accessible to all and should occur universally across one's life span. On the other hand, OECD was highlighting the importance of LLL for developing the human capital of workers (Popescu, 2012).

In 1965, UNESCO International Committee for the Advancement of Adult Education started using the term 'lifelong education' to describe continuous education during one person's life span. The concept of learning throughout life was defined as 'LLL'. "In 1991, the UNESCO General Conference established a commission assigned to reflect the future of education systems" (Jakobi, 2012, p. 41). The 'International Commission on Education for the 21st Century' published a major report in 1996. The report was highlighting the role and the importance of LLL for future education systems (UNESCO, 1996, p. 111).

The report, titled *Learning to Be: The World of Education Today and Tomorrow* argued that (Faure *et al.*, 1972, p vi):

> *"an over-all, lifelong education can produce the kind of complete man the need for whom is increasing with the continually more stringent constraints tearing the individual asunder. We should no longer assiduously acquire knowledge once and for all, but learn how to build up a continually evolving body of knowledge all through life—'learn to be."*

The *Faure Report* refers to "learning society": A societal organization that is; i) organized around the recognition of knowledge taking the center stage of human existence; ii) inhibits education as a process that is interwoven with social, political and

economic activities; iii) transcends the distinctions of the past between formal and informal education and roles and hierarchical structures attached therein; iv) where means of learning, training and cultivation are freely available so as to allow the individual to position himself fundamentally differently regarding his education; and v) where practice of learning becomes a responsibility rather than an obligation (Faure *et al.*, 1972, p. 163).

The 1994 'OECD Jobs Study' underlined the necessity for the qualification of the labour force (OECD 1995, p. 15) and the 'Adult Literacy Survey' results showed that there is a serious lack of competencies among adults (OECD 1996, p. 237). "LLL attracted impressive range of supporters among the G7 communiqué of 1995 too. The top seven industrial nations called for the 'development of human potential through LLL'" (Hake, 1999, p. 54).

"Within the EU, education has always been perceived as an important tool to meet the socio-economic, demographic, environmental and technological challenges that Europe and its citizens are facing nowadays" (Patecka, 2011, p.7). In the Treaty of Rome in 1957, vocational training was identified as an area of Community action, but education was formally recognized as an area of competency only in the Maastricht Treaty, establishing the European Community, in 1992 (Patecka, 2011, p.3). The Maastricht Treaty says: "The Community shall contribute to the development of quality education by encouraging co-operation between Member States and, if necessary, by supporting and supplementing their action, while fully respecting the responsibility of the Member States for the content of teaching and the organization of education systems and their cultural and linguistic diversity" (Patecka, 2011, p.3).

The first official use of the term by the European Commission was in 1993 White Paper entitled *Growth, Competitiveness, and Employment* (European Commission, 1993). The terminology used by the European Commission before 1993 White Paper was not 'LLL', but 'continuing education', 'recurrent education' or 'education throughout working life or beyond' (Davies, 2003, p. 100). As Jones (2005, p. 247) highlights the importance "a new collective sense of urgency was needed at the

highest level to drive an across-the-board agenda of systemic change and help create the conditions for a more competitive and cohesive Europe on the global stage".

In the 1995 White Paper *Teaching and Learning: Towards the Learning Society*, the European Commission underlined the importance of LLL in terms of its potential contribution to employability and a competitive European economy (European Commission, 1995, p. 54). "The White Paper of 1995, *Towards the Learning Society,* also presented a shift towards supporting informal ways of learning" (Eve, de Groot and Schmidt 2007, p. 394).

European Commission later established the 'European Year of Education' and in 1996 declared that it was the 'European Year of LLL'. The main aim of The European Year of LLL (1996) was to educate people about the importance of LLL and to create better cooperation between learning systems and the business community. They especially addressed small and medium-sized enterprises to promote the idea of vocational training and equal opportunity within the EU (Popescu 2012, p. 52). European Commission's main reason to dedicate a year for LLL was to focus on action to be carried out at local and national level; action to be carried out at the European level; and cooperation and support between the EU and its Member States (European Commission, 1995, p. 31).

In the 1996 European Year of LLL, there were two other policy documents published that affected the evolution and the impact of LLL concept (Popescu 2012, p. 54). One of the documents was published by OECD. It was a policy report called *LLL for All* (Regmi, 2015, p. 135). The other one was a UNESCO report *Learning: The Treasure Within.* OECD report emphasized how LLL is very critical for competitiveness and employability; UNESCO report on the other hand, focused more "active citizenship, social inclusion, and personal fulfilment through LLL" (Popescu 2012, p. 54). United Nations set their post-2015 global development goals which are called 'Sustainable Development Goals' to 'ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote LLL opportunities for all' (UNESCO, 2015, p. 284).

The concept of LLL has come into the world stage in the the post-World War II era and lifelong practices were mainly carried out by the international bodies of the new world order. Starting from the 1970s, neoliberal ideology has begun to dominate the intergovernmental bodies of the new world order, and as a result, LLL practices. The significant transformation of the world economy following the digital transformation has turned into an ongoing transformation cycle after the 1990's and the importance of LLL was fueled by the need for a new form of workforce with abilities to continuously improve or 'upgrade' themselves for the ongoing changes.

2.3. Lifelong Learning as a European Union Project

This section explores how LLL became an EU project. The chronological cycle of LLL is detailed. LLL policy actors, policy instruments and LLP are introduced.

According to Field, since the 1990s, LLL has been promoted by increasing investments in human resources (Popescu, 2012, p.53). Intergovernmental organizations, such as UNESCO and OECD promoted LLL or continuous education for years (Reghenzani-Kearns and Kearns 2012, p.337). With the rise of globalization and a competitive economic environment, LLL has also become a crucial education policy for the European Commission.

The European Commission presents 'LLL' as one of the major priorities in order to address the Europe-wide unemployment issue. The Commission (2000, p. 3) stated that "LLL is no longer just one aspect of education and training; it must become the guiding principle for provision and participation across the full continuum of learning contexts". However, within the EU the importance of LLL is an issue that is recognized in a thoroughly multi-dimensional and multi-level framework (European Parliamentary Research Services, 2019).

LLL has naturally become part of the labour process in most areas, such as craftsmanship and information technologies. Apart from competing with automatization in the post-industrialized society, improving skills is the key to be employed, to maintain a position and to get promoted. The same situation applies for the neo-liberal

economic systems. For continuous improvement, continuous learning is necessary and LLL plays an important role while considering the conditions of employment in different societies.

2.3.1. The First Cycle: 1999-2010

The first cycle of European Commission's LLL action starts with the 1999 Bologna Declaration, and continues with the Lisbon Agenda (2000), Education and Training 2010 (2002), and the Copenhagen process (2002).

2.3.1.1. The Bologna Declaration

A joint declaration known as 'Bologna Declaration' was released with the title 'Joint declaration of the European Ministers of Education' on June 19, 1999, at the University of Bologna (Sahin, Akbasli, and Yelken 2010, p. 547). The Bologna process carries the goal of making European universities and colleges more competitive and attractive for the rest of the world (European Commission, 2016b). It is an intergovernmental and voluntary process, in which each signing country reforms its own education system (European Commission, 2015).

2.3.1.2. The Lisbon Agenda

The Lisbon Agenda, also known as the Lisbon Strategy was launched in March 2000 by the EU heads of state and government. This strategy has been an important milestone for the EU's LLL policy by giving LLL a higher priority as a basic component of the European social model (Patecka, 2011, p. 5). The Lisbon Strategy highlighted the EU's motive to "become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion" (Lisbon European Council, 2000).

This new approach should have three main components: the development of local learning centers, the promotion of new basic skills, in particular in the area of

information technologies, and an increased transparency of qualifications (Lisbon European Council, 2000).

As Anagnostopoulou and Athanasiou (2013, p.208) claim, "the Lisbon Strategy has provided a significant momentum to EU's LLL policies. Its conclusions affirm that Europe has indisputably moved into the Knowledge Age" (European Commission, 2000, p. 3).

EU's assessment in 2006 showed that social and economic alienation is still a major problem and the Lisbon Agenda was not able to successfully fulfil all the goals (Rauhala, 2011, p. 85). The 2006 report of European Commission, *Adult Learning*: *It is never too late to learn* proposed an Action Plan to overcome the challenges of adult learning (European Commission, 2006b).

2.3.1.3. Education and Training 2010

EU established a work program called 'Education and Training 2010' in 2002 at their meeting in Barcelona. In this work program on education and training, European Commission again highlighted the importance of LLL and set a target: "By 2010, for the benefit of citizens and the Union as a whole, Europeans at all ages should have access to LLL" (European Commission, 2002a, p. 3). In the same year, 'the cradle-to-grave' principle has been adopted to promote the idea of learning through the entire life-span (European Commission, 2002b, p.2). 'Education and Training 2010' has been on the future objectives of education and training systems and highlighted the areas of action (Patecka, 2011, p. 6).

2.3.1.4. The Copenhagen Process

The Copenhagen Process was launched by the Copenhagen Ministerial Declaration, approved on November 30, 2002, by ministers responsible for vocational education and training in the Member States, candidate countries, the European Social Partners and the European Commission. The aim of the declaration has been to set priorities and strategies for LLL (Copenhagen Declaration, 2002).

The main point of the Copenhagen Ministerial Declaration has been to "strengthen European cooperation in the area of vocational training since vocational training and LLL are essential elements of the educational policy" (Militaru, Pavel and Zanfir, 2011, p.74).

2.3.2. The Second Cycle: 2010-2020

Based on the results of the first cycle of EU's LLL policies, the Commission presented the second cycle of actions in order to achieve their LLL objectives. The second cycle starts in 2010 and it is expected to last in 2020. The second cycle of LLL covers Europe 2020 Strategy and the Bruges Communiqué.

2.3.2.1. Europe 2020 Strategy

In May 2009, the EU Heads of State and Government adopted a strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training, called 'Education and Training 2020' (Patecka, 2011, p.5). The main goal of the Education and Training 2020 is to support EU Member States in order to develop their own education and systems that will incorporate into LLL.

2.3.2.2. Bruges Communiqué

The Copenhagen Process was revised in December 2010, when the European Ministers for Vocational Training, European social partners and the European Commission met in Bruges, to set priorities for the Copenhagen Process for 2011-2020. They defined the long-term strategic objectives for the next decade (2011-2020) while taking the past achievements, the future challenges, and the underlying principles and ideas of the Copenhagen process into account (Bruges Communiqué, 2010, p. 1).

2.3.3. Lifelong Learning Policy Actors

In the context of EU's policy-making, a number of actors are involved in identifying policy objectives and actions about the policy instruments. The key actor in

the LLL process is the European Commission and the scope of the Commission's proposal is linked to formal, legal competencies outlined in the Treaties (Elken, 2015, pp. 713-714).

After the Lisbon European Council meeting, EU's implementation of LLL system started to take place through several complementary processes. The European Employment Strategy, the European Social Agenda, the Skills and Mobility Action Plan, the eEurope Action Plan, the White Paper on Youth can be listed as some of these action plans implemented after the Lisbon Council (EACEA, 2010, p. 3).

2.3.4. Lifelong Learning Policy Instruments

"Due to the growing significance of information technologies and the increasing workforce competition within Europe, the EU has been preparing to face the economic, social and technological challenges via a successful LLL policy" (Anagnostopoulou and Athanasiou 2013, p. 207)."Since LLL became a major education policy issue in Europe, the EU has encouraged this concept with several instruments and institutions in different policy contexts" (Jakobi, 2012, p. 43). Over the last two decades, the number of LLL institutions has increased and they have developed in order to bridge the gap between the traditional formal education system and contemporary knowledge-based learning (Lee, 2014, p. 463).

The instruments are being developed on behalf of the Ministries, responsible for vocational education and training in 34 European countries and social partners at the European level. The participating countries are the EU Member States, The European Economic Area (EEA/EFTA countries including Iceland, Norway, and Liechtenstein) and the candidate countries such as Serbia, The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Albania and Turkey. This cooperation has, among others, resulted in agreements on quality, guidance, and validation, on founding an European Qualification Framework (EQF), The European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS), the development of the European Credit System for Vocational Education and Training (ECVET), the European Quality Assurance Reference Framework (EQAVET), Europass, Euroguidance, and Eurydice (EACEA, 2013).

2.3.5. The European Union Lifelong Learning Programme

In 1995, EU's existing education programs were integrated into two major programs known as 'Socrates' and 'Leonardo' (Hake, 1999, p. 57). Later, these programs have been combined under the LLL Programme (LLP). Since then, the LLP has been a single umbrella for education and training programs in the EU (Anagnostopoulou and Athanasiou, 2013, p. 211).

With a budget of nearly 7 billion Euros, the LLP, which ran from 2007-2013, funded a range of exchanges, study visits, and networking activities. The activities of LLP now continue under the new Erasmus+ programme. The LLP offered a variety of projects to students and adult learners under four main sub-programs, including Erasmus, Comenius, Leonardo da Vinci, Grundtvig, and Jean Monnet (European Commission, 2016b).

The Erasmus Programme is a European funding programme established in 1987, offering university students a possibility of studying or doing an internship abroad for a period of 3 months to a maximum of 12 months per cycle of studies. The programme was designed for higher education and it has been a successful student exchange arena within the EU. Since its inception in 1987 approximately 6 million students found the opportunity to receive education in another university through Erasmus. In addition to students, who benefitted on an annual basis, Erasmus also provided opportunities for teachers and staff in higher education, with 5,000 institutions and 37 countries participating (Erasmus Programme).

The Comenius sub-programme focused on all levels of school education and supported the attendance of teachers, local authorities, and other education institutions. The main goal of the programme has been to improve and increase the mobility of students and school staff across the EU by increasing school partnerships. The programme encouraged not only new language learning but advanced teaching techniques as well. In addition, new information technologies were adopted to increase the quality of teaching and school management. Comenius is conceived as part of Erasmus + 2014 - 2020 programme and under the Comenius programme "11,000

schools, 100,000 teachers and 750,000 students" are connected on a yearly basis (Agence Erasmus).

Between 2007 and 2013, the European Commission has launched the LLL programme with a budget of 7 billion Euros to fund "a range of actions including exchanges, study visits and networking activities. Projects are intended not only for individual students and learners, but also for teachers, trainers and all others involved in education and training." (web.archive.org). The Leonardo da Vinci sub-programme was a programme run between 2008 and 2013 that provided funding for vocational education and training (VET) programmes. The scope of the projects ranged from providing work-related training to individuals to establishing larger cooperation efforts. It also aimed to establish a competitive European labour market by helping individuals to gain new skills and qualifications. The other main objective of the Leonardo da Vinci program was to increase the quality of vocational education and training in Europe. The Gruntvig programme was launched in 2000 as part of the LLP. The Grundtvig focuses on the teaching and study needs of adult learners, as well as developing the adult learning sector in general. The program aimed to increase the number of people in adult education by improving mobility conditions in adult learning. "The Grundtvig Action focuses on adult education and aims to provide knowledge, skills and abilities for adult learners in order to increase their chances of employability" (Anagnostopoulou and Athanasiou 2013, p. 210). Ensuring social inclusion, improving quality of adult education techniques, supporting information-technology based education can be listed as the other objectives of the Grundtvig programme (Avrupa Birliği Eğitim ve Gençlik Programları Merkezi Başkanlığı).

This program does not only cover learners in adult education, but also other vital participants such as the teachers, trainers, education staff and facilities that provide these services. These are comprised of relevant associations, counselling organizations, information services, policy-making bodies and other agents involved in LLL and adult education at local, regional and national levels, such as NGOs, enterprises, voluntary groups and research centers. "Grundtvig has been designed to contribute to the development and implementation of the EU's LLL initiative for a better economy and

integrated society" (Anagnostopoulou and Athanasiou 2013, p. 210). As European Commission (2008b, p.5) puts forward "it provides the vital bridge between policy and practice".

"The Grundtvig Action also involves a programme called 'the Grundtvig Learning Partnerships', where trainers and trainees from at least three participating countries work together" (Anagnostopoulou and Athanasiou 2013, p. 210). These partnerships allow them to exchange experiences, methods, and practices and focus more on the process with the aim of increasing the participation of more organizations in the educational activities (European Commission, 2009, p. 3).

LLP also included 'Jean Monnet' actions that focused on European integration studies. European integration studies are defined as the analysis of the origins and the evolution of the European Community and the EU in all aspects. They cover both the internal and external dimension of European integration, including the EU's role in the dialogue between peoples and cultures and the EU's role and perception in the world.

2.3.6. European Qualifications Framework

The Lisbon European Council (March 23-24, 2000) concluded that a European framework should define the new basic skills as a key measure to be the most successful knowledge-based economy. 'The Framework of Actions for the Lifelong Development of Competences and Qualifications' has been adopted by the European social partners in March 2002 and focused on the need for businesses to adapt their structures more and more quickly in order to remain competitive and become learning organizations. The Commission recommended that Member States should develop the terms for key competences as part of their LLL strategy and use the 'Key Competences for LLL - A European Reference Framework' as their main reference (European Commission, 2006a).

In April 2008, the European Qualifications Framework (EQF) was introduced with a joint European Parliament and European Council recommendation, "as a 'reference tool' to promote transparency, mobility and LLL" (Elken, 2015, p. 710). The

introduction of the qualifications framework was followed by the development of national qualifications frameworks (NQFs) across Europe. “By 2014, 33 countries were working on developing an NQF, 28 of which had already been formally adopted” (Elken, 2015, p. 711).

2.3.7. Goals of the European Union’s Lifelong Learning Policy

The emergence of LLL has been an end product of rapid technological, economic, and social changes that took place after the globalization movement (Popescu 2012, p.61). “The changes in technological advancement and the growth of internet technologies (ICT) transformed the demands of the job market” (Sanseau and Ansart, 2013, p.318).

European Commission (2001, p. 9) tried to promote the idea that all levels and forms of learning is important from pre-school to post-retirement. Militaru et al. (2011, p. 73) argue that the role of education for social cohesion is more critical than it was before. “Thus, LLL is especially important for disadvantaged groups and individuals who failed to acquire basic competencies through formal learning steps, such as schooling” (Hanemann, 2015, p. 295).

“LLL efforts help to systemize various learning experiences into knowledge formation, knowledge creation and knowledge building” (Lee, 2014, p. 463).

2.4. The European Union Lifelong Learning Statistics

In this part, EU LLP statistics including LLP beneficiaries, LLP partners, LLP grants and the adult participation rates is detailed.

LLL is one of the central features of educational policy in the EU, and the range of areas it covers is wide. It includes general education, vocational training, literacy and family education, civil rights and many other areas that different countries prioritize differently (Milic 2013, pp. 154-156). The EU’s Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA) provides statistical data on the EU’s LLL Programme.

These statistics are divided by action and contain information about participating countries, including Turkey. The first sub-section focuses on the countries' participation in the LLP by analyzing the number of beneficiaries and the number of partners involved in the programme between 2007 and 2013. This subsection also presents comparative figures regarding the LLP grants acquired by countries during the years 2007 and 2013. The second section, by utilizing data from Eurostat database, looks into the labour force data and the percentage of adult population aged 25-64 participating in LLL between the years 2007 and 2015 among member and candidate states.

2.4.1. The Lifelong Learning Programme Data

The LLP has been designed by European Commission to encourage the EU Member States and candidate countries to focus on the data on LLL as an education policy.

2.4.1.1. The Number of Lifelong Programme Beneficiaries (2007-2013)

The LLP has been the main education and training policy for the EU and the EU have allocated approximately 7 billion Euros for the program. LLP continued between the years 2007 and 2013 to fund multiple programs, such as student exchanges, networking events, educational conferences, and a number of projects for students and adult learners under four main programs including Erasmus, Comenius, Leonardo da Vinci, Grundtvig, and Jean Monnet have been granted (European Commission, 2016).

At the start of the LLP in 2007, 31 countries were eligible to participate in the LLP`s general call for proposals (EACEA, 2016). Those were the 27 Member States of the EU, 3 EFTA/EEA countries (Norway, Lichtenstein and Iceland), and Turkey as a candidate country.

In 2007, the total number of beneficiaries was 383, and in 2013, by the end of the program, the total number of the beneficiaries were almost doubled and reached 667. Over the years, beneficiaries from the countries like Belgium, Spain, Germany,

Italia and United Kingdom have shown active participation into the program (EACEA 2016).

Turkey's participation in the LLP can be considered limited when compared with other countries. The average number of beneficiaries of LLP was around 9 between 2007-2013. This figure shows that Turkey has not really benefited from the EU's LLP but managed to increase the number of participants up to 13 people in 2011, up to 17 people in 2013 (EACEA, 2016).

2.4.1.2. The Number of Lifelong Learning Programme Partners (2007-2013)

Partners involved in EU's LLL Programme (LLP) can be listed as the universities, national agencies, development centres, or any type of educational institutions or programs. Belgium, Italia, Germany, Greece and Iceland have the highest numbers of LLP partners, while the lowest number of partnership is of Luxembourg and Romania.

Turkey's number of LLP partners has shown drastic changes in the years between 2007 and 2013. There is a fluctuation in the number of LLP partners. In 2007, Turkey had a total of 57 partners and 8 beneficiaries, and in 2013 it had 45 partners and 17 beneficiaries (EACEA, 2016).

2.4.1.3. Lifelong Learning Programme Grants

The LLP as the main education and training policy for the EU has a budget of 7 billion Euros. Belgium, France, Finland, Estonia, and the Czech Republic have been granted more than 10 million Euros for their LLL activities and initiatives in 2013. Turkey has been granted 1,383,556 Euros in 2007, and in 2013 Turkey's grants have increased to 1,841,195 Euros (EACEA, 2016). Even though Turkey's grants can be considered low when compared with other countries, the increase shows that Turkey applied for more grants to increase LLL opportunities.

2.4.1.4. Adult Participation in Lifelong Learning Programme

Eurostat provides an overview of LLL statistics by using the data from the labour force survey (LFS), and the adult education survey (AES). The strategic framework that has been adopted by the European Commission in May 2009, states that the ratio of lifelong learners aged between 25 and 64 years old has to be at least 15 percent (Eurostat 2016). This benchmark was set by the European Commission as a 2020 goal for education and training. In 2007, the proportion of people between 25 and 64, who participated in LLL activities in the EU was 9.4 percent, and in 2015 the proportion for the same age group, who participated in LLL activities in the EU was 10.7 percent.

In 2015, countries like Finland (29.1%), Switzerland (31.4%), Iceland (32.7%), Sweden (36.7%), and Denmark (37.3%) had the highest participation ratios in LLL programs when compared with other European countries like France, the Netherlands, the UK and Luxembourg, which had 21.1 percent, 19.4 percent, 17.5 percent and 17.8 percent participation rates respectively. The above mentioned countries were all able to exceed the 15 percent benchmark (Eurostat, 2016).

Turkey, Bulgaria, Romania, Greece, Slovakia, and Poland had an LLL participation rate of less than 6 percent. With 1.3 percent Romania has the lowest participation in LLL. Turkey's proportion for people between 25 and 64, who participated in LLL activities increased from 1.8 percent to 5.5 percent in 9 years (Eurostat, 2016).

Even though the percentages are less than the 2020 education and training goals, the gradual increase in Turkey's rate means more adults for the given age group participated in LLL activities.

2.5. Lifelong Learning as an Economic and Political Tool

In the course of time, the concept of LLL has started to integrate into our lives using mainly two channels, one of which is a more market-oriented, economic-political channel. This section focuses on LLL as an economic and political tool. It also presents

LLL's correlation to the labour market, along with a critical perspective on the marketization of education and the inequality issue.

The best contribution the LLL has made to the world of education is, as the literature of the 1960's and 1970's indicates, the contribution of a new, coherent and integrated organizing system encompassing all the institutions and the education and training practices (Council of Europe, 1970). Some fundamental characteristics were attributed to this new organizing principle. Among these principles was, first and foremost, the open, polymorphous and omnipresent character of the education, and all its dimensions would complement each other as a single global project. From this continuing education system, it was also expected that school - as we know it - would be preserved. But it was also expected that school would lose its first place along with its protective barriers, its central or hegemonic position. Additionally, it was hoped that this system would help individuals to create a stronger, more 'organic' link between education and life, including the multi-dimensionality of their needs and roles (as opposed to academic or scholastic abstraction). Finally, lifelong education was meant to be 'propaedeutic', which means "designed to create in individuals the conditions of receptivity, educability and adaptability that make learning possible throughout life" (Forquin, 2004).

Ettore Gelpi (1994) states that interdisciplinary research in the field of education shows that the concept of LLL encounters some obvious difficulties in its implementation. Among them are the enforced structural mechanisms, the unjust division of labour, aggressive technology transfer procedures and the widespread existence of exploitation in the social systems.

The issues of employment, social cohesion and competitiveness under the effect of new constraints and new turbulences characterize the international socio-economic context as well as the absorption process of training activities within the service of the economic world. This might be one of the reasons as to why we are using LLL more than 'permanent education' today. It is clear that the understanding of the social and humanistic vision of LLL has switched to an economic vision of the production of skills.

The gap between the original utopia and the recent models of LLL has become more perceptible today in the context of a neoliberal approach in a 'globalized' economy. New equilibriums have been established between institutional education and learning as individual responsibility and private activity (Forquin, 2004).

Some criticize the essentially utopic nature of LLL and the idealism of its sociological and anthropological postulations. They criticize the idea that learning today has become an activity that is both functionally necessary and intrinsically desirable for everyone at every moment of life. Others, on the contrary, deplore that the utopia has been lost or even perverted in the current figures of continuing vocational training and LLL in the neoliberal economic context (Forquin, 2004).

2.5.1. Lifelong Learning and the Labour Market

The developments in global capitalism and technology, namely the rapid exchange of ideas, people and materials across borders, necessitate a continuous increase in human ability to cope up with these developments. The global economy is now defined as post-industrial, service-oriented and knowledge-based, and the workers have to be flexible and aware of the need of learning continuously (Rizvi, 2007). Neoliberal ideology underlines not only the importance of individual, but also the effectiveness of competition. In this new environment, competition has become dominant in every aspect of life. Everyone has to develop his/her personal skills, in order to meet the necessities of the labour market and not to lose his/her job. The increase in unemployment rates all over the world and the mechanization of industrial processes give rise to the pressure on people.

Another concept introduced by the neoliberal ideology is uncertainty. People are forced to get used to the idea of uncertainty, and to the idea that there is no job guaranteed for longer periods of time. The decreasing role of state and the changing definition of citizenship resulted in a larger area of uncertainty in everyone's life. Increasing risks and uncertainty in labour market is a reality of neoliberal world. In such an environment, LLL became a necessity to survive, rather than a source of pleasure (Ingram et al. 2009). This pinned a transformation of the meaning of LLL, from a

human right to a response to the new market system (Elbert, 2018). It is rather designed to meet the needs of the new knowledge economy, and this idea gains acceptance even by the international organizations (Rizvi, 2007).

2.5.2. Marketization of Education

As Fleming (2010) puts "Citizens are defined as consumers, customers, clients. There is no future outside the market". Any type of education that is not obligatory has to adapt itself to the economy (Fleming, 2010). In order to implement the necessary tools to realize that, one solution for the economic sector was to influence the government to make alterations and modifications in the already existing educational systems so that it would fit the new imperatives of the marketplace. Instead of supporting a broad-based educational system, the OECD, for instance promoted the development of more focused and more accountable educational systems that met the specific and rapidly shifting needs of the economy. As Joel Spring (1998) observes, "OECD experts want knowledge to be measured according to its contribution to economic growth".

It would be interesting to add a contrastive view at this point: "Confucius and Plato were interested in determining the ability of individuals to create moral and just societies" (Spring, 1998, p.168). These two divergent perspectives form the basis of the tension in modern society as to whether it wants to allow the needs of the economy or of the society to dictate the education and learning agenda.

Danger occurs when the purpose of education is reduced to the purpose of serving economic growth only. With the widespread use of the internet and the new media, information processing and knowledge acquisition have become major economic development challenges. This evolution jeopardizes the preeminent mission of permanent education and emancipation.

The neoliberal approach of putting the burden on the individual manifests itself in this field with the privatization of education. According to Ranaivoson (2016) even education is gradually becoming an element that strengthens the knowledge economy.

Since the turn of the 2000s, which is mainly characterized by the revolution of information and communication technologies (ICT), information and consequently knowledge have become commodities that can be capitalized in the same way as raw materials. In the World Bank Report (2003), it is also observed that the subject of education is dealt excessively within the context of economic development and insufficiently of cognitive development. Therefore, LLL is a crucial instrument to prepare workers to compete in the global economy. In the report, the word 'development' connotes economic growth, while 'developing countries' connotes low-income and transitional economies.

2.5.3. The Inequality Issue

Education has become one of the major aspects of competition. It has even become the center of what is known as the knowledge economy. Starting by the end of the 20th century, this moment in the history of humanity is when innovation and technology began serving the economic growth more than all material goods (OECD, 2008), and when the individual on labour market was pushed into building a unique, attractive and well-trained personal profile. Despite the fact that ideally, the world is a place where solidarity and equality must prevail, in reality, it is a place where all the arrangements are done in a such a way that the survival of the economic market is enabled (Ranaivoson, 2016). As Fleming (2010, p.5) states in his paper,

> *"We ought to be skeptical of the neoliberal claim that free competition and the market will result in global economic well-being. Despite thirty years of rhetoric stressing that 'a rising tide raises all boats,' global development, now more than ever, is generating conditions of increasing inequality and environmental problems. Over the past 30 years, the gap between the 'have's and the 'havenot's has grown dramatically. While levels of absolute poverty have not deepened to any great extent, there has been a vast increase in the level of relative poverty. People who once enjoyed the security of the middle class now find themselves, or their children, slipping into a lower, less secure income level."*

In addition to supporting the development of a formal educational system, which is also more focused on the economy (and far less focused on personal, social, cultural, or aesthetic development), the OECD has also begun to advocate expanding non-formal structures for recurrent education. As part of this effort, they have begun to

promote notions like ‘the learning society’ and ‘LLL’ as ways of meeting the changing labour market needs beyond what could be provided by traditional educational structures.

Neoliberalism transferred the cost of LLL from state to the individuals or to the private sector. In an environment of uncertainty and competition, as mentioned before, the majority of the people constitute a large market for LLL products: Books, certificate programs, training courses etc. These are all costly services. This ‘market’ for education is not only relevant for the LLL, but for all types of education. In neoliberal ideology, education is not defined as a citizen right. Therefore, the responsibility of state decreases and privatization of educational services take place both in developed and developing countries. The output of educational programs is measured according to the material profit, not according to the social gains. Elfert (2018) defines this process as ‘marketization and commodification of education’.

Rizvi (2007) states that education became a form of capital in this environment and LLL is assumed to be an investment, increasing the productivity of the worker and hence, the firms.

The cost of LLL is thus transmitted to the individuals, as they are now considered as the primary beneficiaries of the process. Inequality between people and social groups increases in this environment, contrary to the original aim of the LLL. As the people or groups who are already disadvantageous have limited access to the opportunities for LLL, they become even more disadvantageous under these conditions. LLL planned and directed by states may support these people and groups. States can help decrease the social inequality and to increase social cohesion, as intended primarily. However, the concept of LLL has lost its ability to sustain it, as the responsibility to develop skills and knowledge is ascribed to individuals within the neoliberal context (Riddell and Weedon, 2012).

2.5.4. Reliability of Information and Biased Information

The current neoliberalism is criticized for attempting to colonize the education system for its own economic agenda and succeeding in part in destroying all the 'public spheres' necessary for the defense of a genuine democracy" (Giroux, 2004). Governments are also criticized for becoming the enemy of liberty and not considering themselves guardians of the public interest (Fleming, 2010).

The proof that a form of political polarization can manifest itself in the educational system can be seen in an example as early as the Annual Congress of the Education League in 1957, held in Caen, France from July 18 to 21. The theme of the congress was 'Lifelong education and its adaptation to different environments'. In his report to the Congress, R. Dader mentioned the complementing roles between the state and secular associations in the process of lifelong education. According to the report, the state must provide the necessary equipment and the managerial staff to the country; it must control the use of funds and the quality of achievements. But it is a large secular cooperative movement of users that must animate lifelong education through the use of leisure (Forquin, 2004). After that, the journal of Catholic inspiration 'Éducateurs' had published a special issue in which several authors (editor-in-chief of the magazine Louis Raillon, Rémy Montagne, Bernadette Aumont) were worried about the danger of the statehood of youth. This implied the idea of a permanent education organized by the state in partnership with secular associations that would be progressively become mandatory. A text cited by Louis Raillon (1957) on post-school education and lifelong education, distributed within the National Union of Youth and Sports, proved this intention (Forquin, 2004).

Because the transmission of knowledge represents a significant cost, due to the human resources and time devoted, it is necessary to hire teachers and trainers for the transmission of knowledge as well as 'popularisers', such as journalists but also lifelong education operators, who write simplified versions of the knowledge. Meanwhile, an LLL educational program can become dangerous if the information is oversimplified (Ranaivoson, 2016). The fact that lifelong education becomes target-oriented and short-term can make the link between learning and the common good disappear (Bowl, 2017).

Apart from the cost reduction and efficiency provided by the Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs), another issue to be dealt with is to effectively create a functioning and reliable system for the credentials. Most well-known universities may rely on their hundreds of years of experience, symbolized in the graduation document of a student; yet this does not create a great deal of confidence for employers since most of the training required for businesses does not come from academic excellence and success in courses. On the other hand, online platforms have various methods of verification for the acquired education, such as peer-to-peer evolution and little packages of testing for less formal skills, yet these do not satisfy the actual element of trust demanded by the labour market.

Various solutions to the credentials issue have been made but a standardized, widely-accepted model is yet to be developed. Certain universities tried to employ online-badges together with other platforms to verify a student's set of skills other than academic ones. This idea of dividing knowledge into small currencies represented by badges had its own problems together with the 'nano-degrees' provided by MOOCs. Together with the schools' test results and the badges, the system evolved into a proliferation of certificates which resulted in an inefficient analysis of credentials. Another approach is trying to come up with a universally applicable method, to create a standardized set of measures for different set of skills and to centralize their assessment through a single institution. This proved inefficient in some other ways like the credibility of certain measures that to what extent they correspond to the actual skills of the employee (Hamori, Bonet, and Cappelli, 2011).

In the digital world, several solutions have also been adopted by our social media and search engines to simplify the task of the consumer. For example, the simple 'like' or 'follow' system on social media allows us to decide and simplify our information preferences. The 'filter bubble', the name given to the state in which a user is when the information he accesses on the Internet, is the result of a personalization set up without his knowledge. From the various data collected on the user, algorithms will silently select the contents that will be visible or not by him. The term 'filter bubble' refers to the isolation produced by this mechanism: each user accesses a different

version of the web; it remains in a ‘bubble’ unique and optimized for him (Curcio, 2016-2017).

Thus, the information on news about quantum physics will be quickly removed from the flows of a Spanish teacher. At first glance, this is no risk, except perhaps the insistence of some singing penguins, if we had one day the misfortune to ‘like’ a performance of this style. However, applied to the sharing of more ideological information, this practice can quickly lead to radicalization and reinforcement of the belief that the world is shaped in the image of our preferences. This is a form of ‘silage’ of information that diminishes the intellectual openness of its users and potentially tends to radicalize them (Curcio, 2016-2017).

As the market for LLL becomes a misleading area for the ‘consumers’, the efficiency of LLL also decreases. As LLL replaces the adult education and undertakes the responsibility of preparing adults to the rapid changes in the labour market, it necessitates more than being a kind of training. The short-term, unplanned, not well-designed programs of lifelong education, certificate programs etc. can be a waste of time and money for people, and for companies (Grace, 2013).

LLL in neoliberal era is often criticized as having lost its focus on social benefit and became market-oriented; increasing the inequality between people and increasing the burden on the disadvantaged groups of the economy. The debates on LLL in the neoliberal era suggest a change in the tendency in this process, reconstructing the link between the individual and the society. This new education should be inclusive and go beyond the borders of adult education.

Neither the simplification nor the silage of information is sufficient for the appropriation of knowledge because the information can lend itself to misinterpretation. That's why the most effective way to convey knowledge is seen as ‘live learning’. It is then necessary to arrange space and time for the transformation of information into active knowledge.

2.6. Lifelong Learning as a Humanistic Tool

The other channel that the concept of LLL has integrated into our lives is a purely humanistic, social and developmental channel and this section explores the humanistic channel.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), which was founded after World War II, aims to support development and peace in the whole world by improving lifelong education programs across the globe. The EU and other international institutions are still developing plans for LLL. In this process, the classical idea of the education in its rigid form -the one which starts in early childhood and ends when the young person is assumed to have learned the necessary basic skills for the labour market- has been transformed into several types of informal education. These mainly include the education of workers, community education and long-distance education. Not only in European countries and USA, but also in the Third World countries, LLL was considered as a solution to expand the area of education and provide unity. It is used to somehow eliminate gender and ethnic inequalities. LLL is also utilized for reaching out the remote parts of the countries, which are usually left outside the scope and the boundaries of the formal education web. With this utilization, LLL is present to decrease the regional inequality as well (Rizvi, 2007).

LLL is assumed to have three principal benefits. First, it helps improve the human capital while increasing competitiveness and the economic power of a country. Second, it is assumed to generate social capital by creating a sense of unity and common benefit in a particular nation. And third, from the Western perspective, it expands the area of knowledge (Riddell and Weedon, 2012).

The humanistic vision that prevailed in the first years following the introduction of the LLL concept began to change in the neoliberal era. This change was partly because of the transforming relationship between the individuals and the state. In neoliberal era, the contract between the state and the individual changed in such a way that citizens had the primary role of both shaping and evaluating the risks of their own future. Investing in skills and knowledge, constructing plans for the future in terms of

education and improving the human capital became the responsibility of individuals and private businesses, instead of being designed in a nation-wide plan (Ingram et al. 2009).

Debates of change in the era of neoliberalism inevitably include a debate on the definition of citizenship. Indeed, the idea of citizenship has changed (Biesta, 2009). The active citizenship was represented as the development of individual freedom. However, this made people weaker in front of the increasingly different conditions of the market economy. The new active citizen became more active in shaping his/her future, but had less support from the society (Jarvis, 2008).

International organizations responsible for the design and implementation of the LLL evaluated the output of the programs with respect to their contribution to the abilities necessitated by the market economy (Fitzsimons, 2017). Although LLL helps to ease the integration of transnational migrants to the market economy of developed countries (Guo, 2013), to some, the social benefit of it is more a positive side effect than the main goal (Grace, 2013). LLL is said to have replaced adult education, which originally aimed to reach to settle work, education and life altogether (Grace, 2013).

The European Commission states that there are two equally important reasons for the EU's focus on LLL. Firstly, as we argued in the chapters above, Europe has moved towards a knowledge-based society and economy. Access to the latest information and knowledge with the motivation and skills to use resources in a proper way has become vital more than ever before both individually and at the community level in order to strengthen Europe's competitiveness and improve employability. Secondly, Europeans currently live in a complex social and political world. Individuals who want to plan their own lives are expected to contribute actively to society. And thirdly, as the EU is made up of countries with differing cultures, they must learn to interact positively with cultural, ethnic and linguistic diversity (European Commission, 2000) ;

> *"Education, in its broadest sense, is the key to learn and understand how to meet current challenges. Contemporary social and economic changes are interrelated, and they underlie two equally important aims of LLL: promoting active citizenship and promoting employability" (European Commission 2000, p.5).*

2.7. Contemporary Practices of Lifelong Learning

Despite the fact that the scope of LLL encompasses a wide range of practices in schooling as well as adult education, in this part of the thesis some exemplary practices are presented.

2.7.1. Employee Training

As the head of design and research in a business firm, Sanjay Rajagopalan states that the most significant emphasis on employee training - which they appreciate as essential for the improvement of businesses - has now shifted from a mere academic training on mechanical skills to a more comprehensive model which includes creative thinking, problem-solving and being able to grasp the case from the customer's perspective (Gupta and Dzharova, 2014). Apart from multi-tasking and developing creative approaches, the aspect of social skills and cooperation ability both with customers and among colleagues is more and more taken into consideration by business employers in the search of a qualified team of employees (Deming, 2015). In Turkey, especially in big cities like Istanbul, where economic activity is high and fast-paced, LLL practices are in demand. A number of business firms and banks are in search of institutions where their emloyees can receive 'hard skill' courses, such as finance, marketing, project management and 'mini MBAs' on the one hand, and 'soft skill' courses, like leadership, conflict resolution and stress management. These firms and banks usually apply to education and consultancy offices, founded for this purpose and/or the Continuing Education or Lifelong Learning Centers of state and private universities.

2.7.2. Online Courses

In the context of rapid technological changes, the globalization of economic markets, increasing competition between countries, and the emergence of the knowledge economy, LLL is considered as a vital path to follow. The concept of LLL has developed considerably over the last thirty years among Western countries, in response to a fast-changing environment (Sanséau and Ansart, 2013, p. 318).

It is shown that companies' interest in training their workers as apprentices before the actual employment or newly-employed staff has seriously declined. With the increase in self-employment, computer automation and offshoring (Acemoglu and Restrepo, 2017b), there is a certain decrease in investing in on-the-job education and the overall attitude is more towards consuming already developed skills and experience. On the other hand, the present-day situation of career training, online education and business apprenticeship is not that much dark. Initiatives like that of the General Assembly are growing, such as the online courses provided by Udacity and Coursera; the education service of LinkedIn and the library of instructor's videos of Pluralsight.

2.7.3. Different E-Course Models

The United Nations General Assembly's London office resembles to any gathering for a technology start-up while it differentiates to be a school rather than an ordinary profit-seeking company. General assembly, in a broad sense, teaches technology in the very physical world of business, programming, finance and management. With more than 30.000 students enrolled, as the founder of the enterprise says, the purpose of the company is to compensate the gap between theoretical expertise and real-world career through a more practical process of education (Ngai, 2014).

Khan Academy, founded by Salman Khan, who at the beginning was simply teaching his cousin by putting videos on the internet as he was miles away from him, has been a significant example for later-developing MOOCs (Massive Open Online Courses) (Khan, 2008). With the foundation of Udacity by Sebastian Thrun and further developments in the sector, there has been a radical change in the perception of mainstream educational realms; a debate so drastically extended to the appreciation of universities and the future forms of education. Working together with the employers, the MOOC companies are building more effective and less costly ways of providing open-to-public education models as well as turning it into a profitable industry. It should be noted that Khan Academy is a non-profit organization.

While Coursera, another MOOC, offers relatively shorter lessons than that of Udacity, the overall emphasis on employer-learning and employability is common to all

platforms. What differentiates massive open online courses from the education provided by formal schooling is firstly the decline of educational costs; boost in terms of money and time. While an orthodox understanding of higher education requires a certain amount spent physically together with the instructor in an environment together with other students, the form of education anticipated by MOOCs imagines a process of part-time education along with practical employment.

Another significant solution provided by the MOOCs to the existing education system is that formal training together with the work experience required take too long for an applicant to be eligible for a post that requires the both. By dividing degrees into segments, modules, courses and finally to short-videos, MOOCs work on to magnify the efficiency of a course through analysis of the data provided by the users; well-conducted studies of educational methods provide a solid ground for alternative perspectives of schooling, which sometimes manage to develop educational skills that might compete with the existing formal school tradition.

While MOOCs are on a rapid development, the position of universities is also part of the question and hence studied by researchers of the sector (DeRue and Ashford, 2014). The dean of the Ross School of Business at the University of Michigan, Scott DeRue, (2014) states that the coexistence of university education and the newly developing online sector is compatible in the sense that is suggested by an analogy with the music industry. Just like the importance attributed to live concerts that physically meet the artist and the audience with the rise of online promotion and consumption of albums, singles, music videos; the physical arena and tradition of education that is only possible with formal education will always be the upside of college training no matter how enhanced the online sector becomes. On the other hand, it is argued, to be integrated with the changing conditions in both technology and perspective, that universities should pay more attention to sharing their archives and educational material through online platforms and course videos.

CHAPTER III
THEORETICAL BACKGROUND OF THE LIFELONG LEARNING POLICY AND PRACTICES OF TURKEY

This chapter aims to examine the theoretical backdrop on how the EU has successfully established its vision of LLL as a norm and has disseminated it to neighbouring and candidate states. The chapter explores the concepts of social institutionalism, Europeanization, diffusion, norms, norm entrepreneurs and norm life cycle. The mechanisms of norm diffusion and LLL as an EU norm is also critically analyzed.

3.1. From Neoinstitutionalism to Sociological Institutionalism

This section gives an introduction to the emergence and the fundamentals of sociological institutionalism and correlates the concept with Europeanization.

Neoinstitutionalism, which has its roots in the early to mid 1980s, is a methodological approach in the study of political science, economics , organizational behaviour and sociology that explores how institutional structures, rules, norms, and cultures restrain the choices and actions of individuals when they are part of a political community. Regarded as two of the leading founders of neoinstitutionalism, James G. March and Johan P. Olsen published *Rediscovering Institutions: The Organizational Basis of Politics* and *Democratic Governance.* In both pieces, they argue that political scientists, in order to understand the behaviour of political actors, need to rediscover the institutional analysis and add that without exploring institutional restraints on certain behavior, scholars are unable to have a clear vision of political reality. Thus, neoinstitutionalism aims at clarifying the role of institutions while deciding social and political outcomes. This approach comprises an array of complementary, but different methodologies. There are three branches of neoinstitutionalism: rational choice institutionalism, sociological institutionalism, and historical institutionalism (Breuning and Ishiyama, 2014).

Rational choice institutionalism has its roots in economics and organizational theory and explores institutions as systems of rules and incentives. 'Decision making' is explained through 'modeling' presumptions and 'game theory', as challengers and holders of political power. Thus, rational choice scholars often focus on a single institution in a specific time frame (Breuning and Ishiyama, 2014).

Historical institutionalism is based on the assumption that institutional rules, restraints, and the responses to them over the long term guide the behaviour of actors during the policy-making process. Historical institutionalism mixes the quantitative analysis of the rational choice followers with the idea and culture-based thought of the sociological stream. It includes an eclectic group of scholars with a wide variety of research agendas (Breuning and Ishiyama, 2014).

Sociological institutionalism, stemming from sociology, organizational theory and cultural studies stresses the idea of institutional cultures. Scholars of this stream view institutional rules, norms, and structures not as inherently rational but instead as culturally constructed. According to Hall and Taylor (1996), sociological institutionalism originated mainly in the philosophy of organizations, emerged in the late 70s from 'organizational philosophy' toward 'means-end' organizational rationality. When it comes to the concept of institutions, it consists of symbolic structures, mental texts, and ethical models that provide the human action guiding frame of meaning. Sociological institutionalists tend to define structures not only through formal rules and protocols, but through relational processes, mental patterns, and normative models. "Sociological institutionalism basically conceives of world politics as being based on a shared world culture and exposing an organisational structure that causes the dissemination of policy ideas across countries" (Meyer et al. 1997ab as cited in Jakobi, 2012, p.34). Sociological institutionalists' concern is mainly based on two issues; the 'culture' of institutions and the mechanism of dissemination in institutional settings. Hence, they mainly focus on the issue of 'culture' and how this 'culture' is disseminated across countries. What is referred to by culture is norms, ideas, beliefs, methods and policies. Sociological institutionalism argues that organizations frequently adopt a new structural method, not because it increases the organization's performance,

but because it strengthens the organization's or its members' cultural credibility (Hall and Taylor, 1996).

"Sociological institutionalism draws on a normative logic of appropriateness to argue that actors are guided by collectively shared understandings of what constitutes proper, socially accepted behavior" (Börzel, Soyaltın, 2012, p.8). Such collective understandings heavily influence the way actors define their goals and what they identify as rational behavior. Actors pursue to meet social expectations in certain situations. From this perspective, "Europeanization is understood as the emergence of new rules, norms, practices, and structures of meaning to which member states are exposed and which they have to incorporate into their domestic rule structures" (Börzel, Soyaltın, 2012, p.8). Norm entrepreneurs, discussed in 3.4.2, initiate and trigger new norms and through diffusion mechanism, they may succeed in 'norm internalisation', which results in domestic change.

3.2. Europeanization

This part of the thesis discusses the definitions, the types, and the mechanisms of Europeanization.

The concept of Europeanization has become increasingly widespread and popular since the first use of the term within the EU literature. It has been defined by many authors and scholars differently. Europeanization refers to a process of transformation in which EU candidate countries adapt to EU norms, values and standards. In an early definition by Ladrech, Europeanization was characterized as an, "incremental process which reorients the course and shape of politics to the extent that EC political and economic dynamics are part of the organizational logic of national politics and policy making" (Ladrech, 1994, p.9, as cited in Graziano and Vink, 2013, 39).

In his widely used definition Radaelli defines Europeanization as a;

> *"process of (a) construction, (b) diffusion, (c) institutionalization of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, 'ways of doing things', and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the making of EU*

> *public policy and politics and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourse, identities, political structures, and public policies" (2003, p.30).*

As a matter of fact, with this definition, the debate on Europeanization in the sense of whether or not EU has a transformative impact on candidate states is largely over. Therefore, the scholarly debate on the impact of Europeanization on candidate states today, is mostly focused on the degree, direction, and mechanisms of the given impact conceptualized under Europeanization (Yazgan, 2012, pp. 123 - 124).

Olsen provides a broad definition of Europeanization ;

> *"changes in external territorial boundries; the development of institutions of governance at the European level; the penetration of European level institutions into a national and subnational system of governance; the export of European forms of political organization and governance beyond Europe; and as a political project in support of construction of a unified and politically strong Europe" (Olsen, 2002, p.924)*

Olsen identified Europeanization as the sum of institutional changes that occur in Member States and candidate countries with varying degrees. Although at first largely concentrated on the impact and effects of the development of European integration and governance on the member states, the scope of Europeanization research has later expanded to include "quasi-member states," in particular Norway and Switzerland. Today, the latest phase in the study of Europeanization includes the candidate countries for EU membership (Schimmelfennig, 2009, p. 5). From this perspective, the concept of Europeanization should be considered as "a framework concept, which is interrelated with external aspects of European Integration. It is the process of spreading the EU laws, rules, values, legislation and practices, as well as forms of political control not only within the EU but also outside its borders (Lavenex and UçArer, 2004, as cited in Mtchedlishvili, 2018, p. 83).

While at the members level the main driving mechanism is one of legal coercion and incentives, (Börzel and Soyaltın, 2012, pp. 7 - 8) for the candidate countries for whom there is a golden carrot of membership as the main motivator adaptation of the *Acquis Communautaire*, control and verification (which is not limited to candidate countries but is functional on the member states as well) and, most importantly, conditionality become the mechanisms of Europeanization.

We can distinguish two different types of Europeanization: bottom-up Europeanization, top-down Europeanization. The bottom-up perspective or uploading analyzes how states upload their domestic preferences to the EU level and how EU Member States and other domestic actors shape EU policies and politics and the European polity. (Börzel and Panke, 2016). The top-down or downloading perspective focuses on how the EU shapes processes and institutions in both member states and third countries. In other words, how the EU initiates domestic change or modifications. This approach holds the assumption that the EU can cause adaptations of domestic policies, institutions and political processes. The incompatibility of domestic norms can facilitate top-down changes. (Börzel and Panke, 2010, p. 406).

A multitude of mechanisms of Europeanization has been identified depending on their theoretical basis, i.e. rationalist or constructivist. Rationalist mechanisms are based on the notion of 'optimality' that is to say, actors follow a certain policy because it will bring a reward, while constructivist mechanisms are based on the notion of 'appropriateness' (Sepos, 2008, p. 3 - 6). Rational institutionalism argues that the EU promotes domestic change by changing opportunity structures for domestic actors. Domestic adaptation is required as a result of 'misfit' between the EU and domestic norms. The Member States' uploading the EU policies and institutions is shaped by cost and benefit analysis of the strategic actors whose interests may be at stake. Domestic change is facilitated if EU incentives encourage domestic actors to accept adaptations to the EU requirements. If not, domestic actors empower domestic reform coalitions by providing them with additional resources so that the opportunities supplied by Europeanization will be exploited (Börzel and Soyaltın, 2012, p. 8).

The constructivist perspective in the EU, which has much in common with sociological institutionalism, focuses on the ways in which European norms, ideas and beliefs permeates into the various polities within or outside the EU (Rosamond, 2010, p. 117). The notion of 'appropriateness', which is based on constructivist mechanisms argues that actors are guided by collectively shared understandings of what constitutes proper and socially accepted behaviour (Börzel and Soyaltın, 2012, p. 8). In other words, they follow a certain policy as they recognize it to be 'appropriate' in terms of

their own beliefs, ideas and norms. Therefore, "Europeanization is understood as the emergence of new rules, norms, practices, and structures of meaning to which Member States are exposed and which they have to incorporate into their domestic structures" (Börzel and Panke, 2010, p. 406).

According to the logic of appropriateness,

> *"Europeanization may be induced by social learning. Target states are persuaded to adopt EU rules if they consider these rules legitimate and identify with the EU. These mechanisms can be implemented either through intergovernmental interactions (bargaining or persuasion) or through transnational processes via societal actors within the target state (Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier 2005a: 11-12, 18). Finally, according to the lesson-drawing model, states turn to the EU as a result of dissatisfaction with the domestic status quo and adopt EU rules if they perceive them as solutions to their problems, either based on instrumental calculations or the appropriateness of the EU solutions" (Schimmelfennig, 2009, p.7).*

Table 2
Mechanisms of EU impact beyond the member states

	Intergovernmental		**Transnational**	
	Direct	**Indirect**	**Direct**	**Indirect**
Logic of consequences	**(1) Conditionality** Intergovernmental incentives Compulsory impact Compliance	**(2) Externalization** Competition Negative externality	**(3) Transnational incentives** Connective impact	**(4) Transnational externalization** Competition
Logic of appropriateness	**(5) Socialization** Intergovernmental social learning Constructive impact Communication	**(6) Imitation** Lesson-drawing Enabling impact Unilateral emulation	**(7) Transnational socialization** Transnational social learning	**(8) Societal imitation** Enabling impact

Source: Schimmelfenning, 2009, p. 8

Conditionality and socialization (1 and 5) are the two fundamental mechanisms of Europeanization compared and contrasted. Conditionality provides a considerable incentive for accession countries to adapt to the EU. Non-member states are provided by incentives like financial aid and/or market access provided that they implement the EU's demands. Institutions link admission directly to behaviour and states react to incentives and sanctions imposed by international actors. This is a corresponding mechanism to the rationalist assumption that define actors as "cost- benefit- calculating" and "utility maximizing actors" (Kelley, 2004, p.428).

Another mechanism related to Europeanization is socialization. Socialization based methods, according to Schimmelfenning (2009, p.8) "comprises all EU efforts to "teach" EU policies - as well as the ideas and norms behind them - to outsiders, to persuade outsiders that these policies are appropriate and, as a consequence, to motivate them to adopt EU policies. Socialization subsumes intergovernmental "social learning", "constructive impact" and communication." He also adds that these two mechanisms form the underlying rationale of the other mechanisms of Europeanization.

Imitation, as shown in 6 and 8 is a process in which the EU's policies may provide a model or a framework for other regions, states and societal actors. Non-EU states imitate the EU as they recognize certain policies of the EU as 'appropriate' and 'remedial' for their own problems and applicable regarding their own beliefs and norms. So we can say that the logic of 'appropriateness' is functional. "This is in line with "lesson-drawing" (Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier 2005a) or "deliberate emulation" (Lavenex and Uçarer, 2004) by governments as well as non-state actors, and also resembles the "enabling impact" of the EU, which describes the use of EU policies and solutions by governmental and societal actors to add external legitimacy to their own political agenda" (Diez, Stetter, and Albert 2006: 573, as cited in Schimmelfennig, 2009, p.9).

3.3. Diffusion

This section explores the concept of diffusion. The notions of diffusion and dissemination are used interchangeably.

Education policy has been at the core of the international policy discourse over the past decade, which has had a significant impact on how governments have designed and implemented reforms in the related field. Finnemore, in her seminal work, describes norms as "common beliefs about appropriate behaviour held by a group of actors" (1996, p.22). For the EU's LLL strategy, this appropriate behaviour is related to prioritizing learning outcomes, their systematic correlation and categorization as expressed in NQFs and the steering and management of these changes by state institutions. The introduction of the LLL within the EU has proved remarkably adequate

to foster a European field of higher education and vocational training (Ertl, 2006, as cited in Kleibrink, 2011, p.74). Within this context, we can say that LLL provides enhanced cooperation to partner countries that want change and development as economic growth has been inherently linked to lifelong learning policies with respect to the EU education policy.

Jakobi argues that "lifelong learning is not only the subject of international promotion and norm development but is also an important policy linked to current developments in national economies and societies" (2012, p. 36). One argument that relates to this context is that "new needs are linked to new forms of work in a knowledge-based economy" (Hasan 1996: 36, cited in Jakobi, 2012, p. 36). From this perspective, lifelong learning is linked to economic and societal transformation as discussed in detail in Chapter 1, and is caused by the emergence of a knowledge society, first conceptualised in the late 1960s by Ferdinand Drucker and later by Daniel Bell (Drucker, 1969; Bell, 1973/1999 cited in Jakobi, 2012, p. 36; Bell, 2000; Bell 1999) With this conceptualisation, these authors provided an important rationale for education policy making. The idea of a knowledge society and the corresponding need for reforming education are common sense in politics today, as the EU shows as it strives to become 'the most competitive knowledge-based economy of the world' (European Council, 2000). The EU has been a pioneer in the understanding of LLL, which actually stresses the economic role of human resources.

The way states adopt certain policies over others when faced with policy challenges is interactive. There is no doubt that preferences of decision makers vis a vis a specific issue is influenced and shaped by their ideological stance or their interpretation of political expediencies from their subjective point of view at a given moment. However, this does not come to mean that decisionmakers are allowed to make policy in a vacuum. Structural factors such as the nature of the challenge, the domestic political environment and the international context of the era, as well as complex interaction of all of these factors come to have an impact on the policy choices of states. In the face of growing political, economic and social interdependencies and growing impact of international organizations, the policy choices are *diffused*. That is, domestic

policy choices are, to paraphrase Gilardi, increasingly “influenced by the international context, and especially by the ideas, norms, and policies displayed or even promoted by other countries and international organizations” (2013, p. 453). Diffusion is also defined “as a ‘contagious’ or ‘epidemic’ mechanism (the "mimesis" technique concept) through which concepts, inventions or behaviours are transmitted by other actors by prior action” (Borgatti and Foster 2003; Rogers 2003 as cited in Dahmen and Zapp, 2017, p. 501). Jakobi states that “Diffusion is a process of policy dissemination in which structural factors are often made prominent, such as the decision of other governments or the elative position of a national economy” (2012, p. 36).

The reason behind this is complicated. In essence, diffusion is induced by interdependence. Especially, “[w]hen government policy decisions in a given country are systematically conditioned by prior policy choices made in other countries” (Simmons, Dobbin and Garrett, 2006, p. 787) international policy diffusion is more likely to occur. Moreover, as the interconnectedness of global economy and, to a considerable extent, politics rise, similarities of the challenges that states face grow. This is the case not only because, the diffusing policy necessarily represent a best practice (it may or it may not) or because of the nature of the interdependencies, but also because of the fact that these challenges propagate on the very same structural developments impacting all actors, though at different levels, with distinctive degrees, in altering speeds and with varying impact. In this regard, it can be argued that there is also a growing intersubjective element to the process of diffusion as well. In that sense, what Hall called “policy paradigms” take root. As the factors conducive to the spread of diffusion advance, common and shared “frameworks of ideas and standards” on “the goals of policy and the kind of instruments that can be used to attain them” as well as “the very nature of the problems they are meant to be addressing,” (Hall, 1993, p. 279) start to emerge.

It should be kept in mind that diffusion is a process, not an outcome. It is an interdependent process “that is conducive to the spread of policies,” and cannot guarantee the success, extent, overlap and benefits of convergence that can result from it. In addition, diffusion is specific to the international level and it can take place

"within countries, among a wide range of public and private actors, and it can lead to the spread of all kinds of things, from specific instruments, standards, and institutions, both public and private, to broad policy models, ideational frameworks, and institutional settings" (Gilardi, 2013, p. 454).

3.4. Norms

This section critically analyses the concept of norms. It examines global norms, norm entrepreneurs, norm life cycle, LLL as an EU norm, and mechanisms of norm diffusion.

As has been mentioned earlier what is diffused in the international system are values, ideas, standards, norms and policies. Norms are intersubjective. They are "collectively held ideas about behaviour". However, '[U]nlike ideas which may be held privately, norms are shared and social" (Finnemore, 1996, p. 23). Norms inform the states on the context and nature of issues as well as about what constitutes an appropriate behaviour in meeting the challenge brought about by a certain issue. When informed by a norm, states' behaviour might take similar policy objectives as their aim even when the states in question might not be sharing the same interests, explaining an alternative account of "how states' national interests emerge" and as a result "refutes purely materialist accounts of state behaviour within the international system" (Park, 2006, p. 343). As the consensus on the 'appropriateness' of a certain response in a given context expands, a specific kind of behaviour gets to become expected of states. As such, the states' expectations in relation to the norm feed the expectations in relation to the policies and behaviour, and this results in the anticipation of a particular kind of behaviour in response to a given context or situation. This not only leads to norms getting accepted more widely but also creates an environment where the standards on 'bad' and 'good' policies are shaped. It is in this regard that policy decisions in one country gets to be systematically conditioned by prior policy choices made in other countries and the way the nature of the problems becomes a shared perception.

3.4.1. Global Norms

Norms might be global or regional and not every norm could be expected to have the same strength. They fundamentally serve as justifiers of a specific kind of behaviour in the face of a specific assessment of a situation. In this context, norms might be community specific, regional or global (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 891). As Jakobi argues, the subject matter of this study, LLL, "has become a global norm in education policy so that its adoption is not only a functional necessity in the age of a knowledge-based society, but also fostered by reasons of legitimacy" (2012, p. 32). That is why despite the fact that, how many actors sharing a similar assessment of a situation constitutes a "critical mass" remains an issue (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 901), it is important to understand and provide a definition for what is a "global norm". Martinsson points out that, "Global norms are generally announced by states and members of the international community when signing an agreement such as a treaty, a convention, a declaration, or a communiqué. By signing a convention, states are encouraged by fellow members to enforce the norm in their respective countries" (Martinsson, 2011, p.3). "International organizations, professional associations, and epistemic communities, and, critically, transnational advocacy groups are…. leading propagators of globalizing norms" as they author, codify, validate and lend authoritative status to these rules of appropriate behaviour." Expectedly as the states interact more frequently, institutionally and organically with transnational or supranational actors, as the EU, "the more likely they are to incorporate" norms of global status "into their own institutions" (Khagram, 2004, pp. 18 - 19).

However, this is not to say that a state-centrist single actor model is able to account for the complexities of today's globalized international system. Hence, when talking about a norm that is assumed to be accepted globally, we are basically talking about, "the shared expectations or standards of appropriate behaviour accepted by states and intergovernmental organizations that can be applied to states, intergovernmental organizations, and/or nonstate actors of various kinds" (Khagram, Rikker, and Sikkink 2002, p. 14). Another comprehensive definition describes norms as, "intersubjective understandings that constitute actors' interests and identities, and create expectations as

well as prescribe what appropriate behaviour ought to be by expressing values and defining rights and obligations" (Björkdahl, 2002, p. 43). According to Park, that drew the attention of scholars of international relations to the concept of norms and how "they shape states behaviour" within the international system is the "explosion of constructivist literature within International Relations" (Park, 2006, p. 342). The growing interdependence in the international system (Gilardi, 2013, p. 454) as well as the increase in the number of international organizations and their growing impact on international policy making increasingly placed them as norm diffusers within the international environment (Finnemore, 1996, p. 3).

3.4.2. Norm Entrepreneurs and Norm Life Cycle

Actors seeking to create a normative change in a policy area take initiative to further their agenda. These actors are called "norm entrepreneurs". Norm entrepreneurs are critical for norm emergence because they call attention to issues or even "create" issues by using language that names, interprets, and dramatizes them. Social movement theorists refer to this reinterpretation or renaming process as "framing" (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, p. 897). "Grafting" or "incremental norm transplantation" is also a dynamic approach where "norm entrepreneurs employ to institutionalize a new norm by associating it with a pre-existing norm in the same issue area, which makes a similar prohibition or injunction". Both "grafting and framing are largely acts of reinterpretation or representation rather than reconstruction." In this context, another dynamic approach is "localization" where the process might start with "reinterpretation and re-representation of the outside norm, including framing and grafting, but may extend into more complex processes of reconstitution to make an outside norm congruent with a pre-existing local normative order", representing a process "in which the role of local actors is more crucial than that of outside actors" where "local actors fitted [norms] into indigenous traditions and practices" (Acharya, 2004, pp. 243-244).

Norm entrepreneurs do take the initiative during what Finnemore and Sikkink has called the "norm life cycle". According to these authors, norm life cycle consists of three stages, "norm emergence", "norm cascade", and "norm internalization" (1998,

p.895). This stage-based approach enables us "to grasp the causal chain that links norm emergence to norm diffusion" (Kleibrink, 2011, pp. 71-72) A long list of political phenomena could be included in the list of issues that are addressed through a diffusion perspective (Gilardi, 2013, p. 458).

Table 3
Norm Life Cycle According to Finnemore and Sikkink

	Stage 1 **Norm emergence**	**Stage 2** **Norm cascade**	**Stage 3** **Internalization**
Actors	Norm entrepreneurs with organizational platforms	States, international organizations, networks	Law, professions, bureaucracy
Motives	Altruism, empathy, ideational, commitment	Legitimacy, reputation, esteem	Conformity
Dominant mechanisms	Persuasion	Socialization, institutionalization, demonstration	Habit, institutionalization

Source: Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, p. 898

According to the definitions offered by Finnemore and Sikkink the characteristic mechanism of the norm emergence stage is persuasion by "norm entrepreneurs". In this stage, "Norm entrepreneurs attempt to convince a critical mass of states (norm leaders) to embrace new norms". A dynamic phase of imitation characterizes the second stage "as the norm leaders attempt to socialize other states to become norm followers." Although the authors argue that the exact reasons for why the norms "cascades" among the members of the group "may vary" they state that a "combination of pressure for conformity, desire to enhance international legitimation, and the desire of state leaders to enhance their self-esteem facilitate norm cascades." Finally, as this stage matures "norm internalization occurs; norms acquire a taken-for-granted quality and are no longer a matter of broad public debate" (1998, p. 895).

3.4.3. Lifelong Learning as a European Union Norm

In his study treating LLL as a norm and EU as a norm entrepreneur, and in accordance with the approach that understands diffusion as a general "class of processes", as opposed to an outcome (Elkins and Simmons, 2005, pp. 34 - 36), Kleibrink adds a fourth stage "that describes policy diffusion beyond the original community of states that internalised a norm" (2011, p.72). Hence, Kleibrink argues

that in the first stage norm entrepreneurs work to classify the world according to the new norm. In the case of LLL “the European Commission and its agencies, but also the OECD and to a lesser extent the Council of Europe and UNESCO can be seen as norm entrepreneurs” who has “backed the rising demand from multinational firms to facilitate the translation of skills and competences through a common meta-framework” (Kleibrink, 2011, p. 72).

In the EU, the debate of LLL as a norm can be traced back to the Commission's 1993 White Paper on Competitiveness and Employment, resulting in the 'European Year of Lifelong Learning' in 1996. It should also be emphasized that in the case of the EU, the norm has “originated from the business world and not from policy communities or academia.” (Kleibrink, 2011, pp. 75 - 76) After all, adult learning and education has been brought at the forefront of the agenda through a report prepared at the end of 1980s by an influential Brussels-based lobby organization, European Roundtable of Industrialists. In this regard, education activity, in its idealized form, “has the aim to provide education beyond employability”. However, “in the end - it’s about a competent citizen who is educated for being competitive, so that Europe is competitive” (Jakobi, 2009, p. 57) As a result, greater emphasis is “put on training and not merely 'education'” and there was a “shift from the supply side and teaching input to the demand side and learning outcomes” (Kleibrink, 2011, p. 76) This explains why the “discourse in the EU has centred on the economic argument of social efficiency rather than on welfare-oriented social equity” (Rizvi & Lingard, 2006 as cited in Kleibrink, 2011, p. 76).

At the stage of norm emergence, actors “identify a problem, specify a cause, and propose a solution, all with an eye toward producing procedural, substantive, and normative change in their area of concern” (Keck and Sikkink 1998, p. 8). As the EU institutions and agencies came to an understanding of the problem as an “allegedly out-dated understanding of education” (Kleibrink, 2011, p. 72), reforming this policy area in order to increase the competitiveness of the society became a cause. At this point , LLL was proposed as a solution to be promoted within an economic framework hence states started to adopt it. At the second stage where norm “cascade fixes the meaning”, norm entrepreneurs try to socialize the states to the norm. That often happens through what

Finnemore and Sikkink call “dynamic imitation” (1998, p. 895). Increasing international legitimacy, “improve the country’s prestige or attracting foreign investment” might be some of the factors that help norm entrepreneurs to encourage countries to adopt the norm (Kleibrink, 2011, p. 72). In the case of LLL “a shift towards an economic understanding that stressed the building-up of human resources for a knowledge-intensive society” took place and basing “the new education agenda in an economic logic,” made it easier to promote reform proposals” and “difficult to oppose… on rational grounds” (Kleibrink, 2011, p. 76). As this happened, “lifelong 'education' and the vision of 'learning society' based on the universal value of humanity was transformed into lifelong 'learning', thus shifting the responsibility from the state to the learner (Borg & Mayo, 2005, pp. 206-207 as cited in Kleibrink, p. 76).

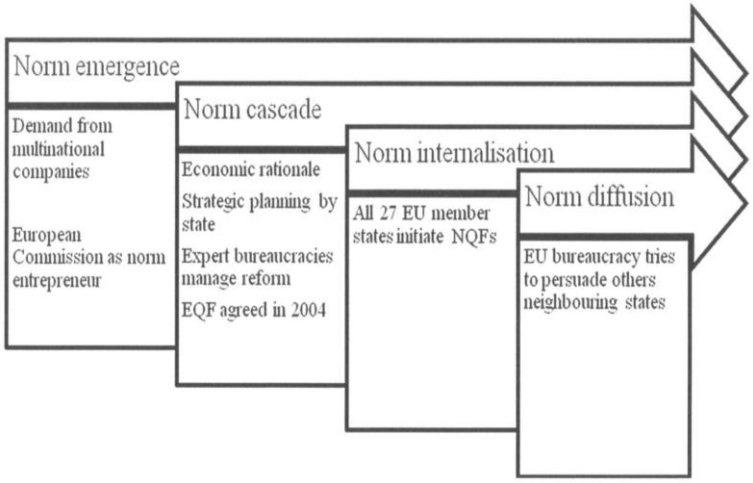
Internalization of the norm is the third stage where countries “start behaving according to its premises by developing and adopting policies that conform to it” (Kleibrink, 2011, p. 73). This is where the concept of “logic of appropriateness”, discussed previously, come into the picture. As March and Olsen describes, “The logic of appropriateness is a perspective on how human action is to be interpreted.” According to this perspective; “Action, policy making included, is seen as driven by rules of appropriate or exemplary behaviour, organized into institutions. The appropriateness of rules includes both cognitive and normative components” (March and Olsen, 2011, p. 478).

Once socialization into the new norm becomes adopted by a critical mass of actors, “internalized and cascading norms may eventually become the prevailing standard of appropriateness against which new norms emerge and compete for support” (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, p. 895). It should be noted that the completion of the norm life cycle is in no way an assured process. In the case of LLL in the EU, the adoption of the Lisbon Strategy “clearly established the future course of lifelong learning policies”, as the “Portugese Presidency launched the EQF in November 2007” and as “it was adopted by the European Parliament and Council in 2008” (Kleibrink, 2011, p. 77). It can be argued that today LLL model is an almost uncontested norm when it comes to structuring an education policy at the global level whose

‘appropriateness’ is beyond questioning. As addressed previously in 3.3, “For the EU's LLL policy, this appropriate behaviour relates to prioritisation of learning outcomes, their systematic comparison and categorization as embodied in NQFs and state institutions” (Kleibrink, 2011, p. 71) and the Commission has played an important role in accompanying the internalization of the norm through its reports and information sharing, and therefore has put LLL on the agenda and clarified it as a norm in policy terms.

As has been mentioned earlier, Kleibrink adds a fourth stage to the norm life cycle as demonstrated in Table 4. Conceptualizing norm diffusion as a process rather than an outcome, he treats *diffusion* as part of the life cycle representing an external dimension. In his argument, the actors that have driven the norm to the stage of internalization “may expand its scope” beyond the original community and this activity represents a fourth stage in the norm life cycle. In this vein and regarding the EU, issues of education policy and economic competitiveness was understood as concurrent to each other and directly linked to LLL policies as framed “by multinational business and the Delors Commission” (Kleibrink, 2011, p. 74) This framing took root in a context characterized within a neoliberal global economic climate. Hence, as once lifelong learning was established as a norm inside the EU and after almost all member states had committed to follow the Lisbon version of LLL, EU bureaucracy perceived it as natural to try to diffuse it beyond Europe. This process started from potential members, then moved on to the European neighborhood, as the EU saw, “stimulating the debate on qualification frameworks in our neighbouring countries is a logical extension of internal EU activity” (ETF, 2006, p. 4). Therefore, “countries with ambitions to join the EU have emulated the norm rather than engaged in true policy learning. Countries that have no EU membership prospect adopted NQFs as a result of bounded learning in which they mostly initiated sectoral or partial NQFs” (Kleibrink, 2011, p. 78).

Table 4
Norm Life Cycle According to Kleibrink



Source: Kleibrink, 2011, p. 78

3.4.4. Mechanisms of Norm Diffusion

As has been mentioned, after the norm has been internalized in a community, the bureaucracy triggering changes in a certain policy widens its scope beyond the bounds of the community. Through capacity building -exchange of expertise and information- norm entrepreneurs then "teaches" the norm and disseminates it to non-members of the original community. This process is interactive, dynamic and mutual. How the bureaucracy, i.e. the norm entrepreneur disseminates the norm is a complex mechanism, some of which run coordinated. Norms as prescriptive standards of behaviour have three qualities: they create regularities and coherence in practices; they involve a feeling of obligation and represent appropriate practices; they correspond to certain expectations of what is and what is not a suitable behaviour facing a certain issue in a given environment (Erol, 2006, p. 9).

Policies diffuse in terms of mechanisms, - i.e. "a systematic set of statements that provide a plausible account of how [two variables] are linked" (Hedström and Swedberg, 1998, p. 7 as cited by Gilardi, 2013, p. 460) which are not easy to distinguish at an empirical level due to their highly complex nature. Although there is an ongoing debate in the literature on a definitive list of diffusion mechanisms there is an

“emerging consensus… that most mechanisms can be grouped in broad categories: coercion, competition, [bounded] learning, and emulation” (Gilardi, 2013, pp. 460 - 461).

Coercion occurs when economically a more powerful country influences a weaker one. The conditionality policy of the EU is the best example as it assumes that in case incentives are strong enough, states will adapt to the more powerful actor. In EU membership process, accession conditionality seems to be effective when the EU determines the conditions to be met clearly. In education policy, however, this is not the case. Therefore, this mechanism cannot be applied to candidate countries with or without EU membership prospect (Kleibrink, 2011, pp. 72 - 73).

Competition explains the method and the reason as to why governments choose certain policies to refer to economic issues and be more competitive. In instances where the economic power exhibits imbalances, competition may coincide with coercion. In this case, economically more powerful country triggers policy change in weaker countries, despite the disagreement whether competition improves the efficiency of public policies significantly or not. It has been argued that competition can also be a key component in initiating educational reforms in order to meet the demands brought by the globalized world order. Hence, the EU can drive the governments to adopt a more efficient LLL policy to enhance a country’s competitiveness and attract foreign investment, which in turn might create a more competitive environment. (Kleibrink, 2011, p. 73 and Gilardi, 2013, pp. 461- 469) The EU encourages competition among countries pursuing closer relations with the EU. Accession and neighborhood countries negotiate agreements based on their performance and adopt certain European policies. Lesson-drawing is a concept that refers, just like competition, cases where actors borrow policies and rules which proved to be effective in solving similar issues. Lesson-drawing starts in cases where actors are in need of an institutional change in order to solve a political and/or economic problem. Actors are in pursuit of a solution which are suitable for their own problem. Both lesson-drawing and competition are based on rationality, as they follow a functional logic where actors are not able to achieve their goals and they turn to best practices (Börzel and Risse, 2012, pp. 9 - 10).

Learning, or bounded learning, is “the process whereby policy makers use the experience of other countries to estimate the likely consequences” (Gilardi, 2013, p. 463) of certain policies. It is based on the assumption that governments cannot possess and alter all the accumulated information to make an informed decision. Therefore, governments are inclined to look at new policies which seemed to be originally successful, usually disseminating from other countries that are geographically close. They may choose to follow and adopt a certain policy that does not actually fit the demands of their country. Bounded learning is suitable for analysing the spread of NQFs, as adequate empirical evidence lacks on their effects on distinct labour markets. Despite the bounded nature of this process, governments may alter their behaviour whenever new information is available (Kleibrink, 2011, p. 74).

Emulation is governments’ mimicking of foreign norms and changing their policies accordingly. It can be defined as “the process whereby policies diffuse because of their normative and socially constructed properties instead of their objective characteristics” (Gilardi 2013, p. 467). In this vein, Simmons, Dobbin and Garrett state that, “countries embrace new norms for symbolic reasons, even when they cannot begin to put them into practice and thus lack effective functionality” (Simmons, Dobbin and Garrett, 2006, p. 800). They identify that these norms are socially more appropriate and increase their legitimacy. Institutions may, especially, become spreadable under conditions of uncertainty, policy failure, and dissatisfaction with the status quo”. This mechanism is also called mimetic because states and/or institutions may imitate other states and/or institutions when they face uncertainty and perceive these norms to be more ‘legitimate’ and not necessarily as more superior functionally or more effective in practice. As such, emulation arises out of normative reasons and emulation or mimicry is based on the logic of appropriateness. If states, e.g. want to be ‘members’ of an international community, then they mimic states ‘in good standing’ and download a certain policy in order to be a ‘member’ of that community. Mimicry is at work especially where the EU is considered particularly legitimate ((Kleibrink, 2011, pp. 73-74 and Börzel and Risse, 2012, p.10).

CHAPTER IV
THE LIFELONG LEARNING POLICY AND PRACTICES OF TURKEY

This chapter examines the emergence of LLL as a national education policy within the context of the EU candidacy process. It first explores the education landscape in Turkey. It then gives an overview on the history of Turkey and the EU, adult education in Turkey and outline the emergence of LLL policy in Turkey. It discusses the main legislations along with the LLL institutions and critically analyzes the reflection of the norm diffusion mechanisms on Turkey's LLL policy and practices. It also relates to some findings on Turkey's LLL and some challenges it faces.

4.1. Education Landscape in Turkey

Based on the latest United Nations estimates, by the end of 2018 the level of population of Turkey is 82.003.882 (TUİK, 2019). Economically, the country has been experiencing a stressful period due to the market volatility according to the World Bank's April 2019 update: Despite its impressive economic and social development since 2000, its challenging external environment has always been a threat to undermine these achievements. Between 2002 and 2015, governmental programmes targeted vulnerable and disadvantaged groups. It helped extreme poverty diminish considerably. Turkey also maintained strong policy frameworks, harmonized many laws and regulations with the EU standards. The country plays a prominent role in hosting approximately 3.6 million Syrian refugees. However, these conditions combined with tightening global financial conditions do not help the economy grow. Since 2017, Turkey's debt has been rising (World Bank, 2019).

School attendance estimates in Turkey between 2008 and 2012 are as follows according to UNICEF (www.unicef.org):

- Pre-primary school enrolment: %26.9 male and %25.8 female
- Primary school attendance: %93.5 male and %91.9 female

- Secondary school attendance: %51.6 male and %43 female

According to OECD 2019 data;

- The number of young adults who have attained a tertiary education has doubled in the last decade in Turkey. Even so, almost half of them did not even complete their upper secondary education.
- The employment rate for tertiary-educated young adults has fallen by 6 percentage points in the past decade, with women particularly hard hit. In contrast, employment rates for those without an upper secondary education have improved.
- While Turkey's expenditure per student on primary to tertiary institutions is still low, public expenditure as a percentage of gross domestic product (GDP) increased by 24% since 2010. Much of this increase was concentrated on tertiary institutions.
- Low salaries and limited progression limit the attractiveness of the teaching profession in Turkey. At the top of the scale, teachers' average statutory salaries are only about 27% higher than their starting salaries compared to 61-67% on average across OECD countries.
- While spending as a share of GDP is above average in Turkey, spending per student is still low. In 2016, Turkey spent USD 5633 per student on primary to tertiary educational institutions, about half the OECD average of USD 10 502.
- Primary and secondary teachers are younger in Turkey than on average across OECD countries. The majority (68%) are aged 30-49 years old and 20% of them are under the age of 30. In contrast, 54% of teachers are aged 30-49 on average across OECD countries, and only 10% are under 30. The teaching profession is also more gender balanced in Turkey, with women making up 56% of teachers at all levels of education compared to 70% on average across OECD countries (OECD, 2019).

4.2. Turkey and the European Union: A Short History

This section gives a brief overview on the history of Turkey's and the European Union's relations.

Turkey is a candidate country for the EU with its large and dynamic economy and its strategic location. The relations between the EU and Turkey started back in the 1960s with the Ankara Treaty. With the aim of reaching the level of contemporary civilizations since its foundation, Turkey applied for association with European Economic Community (EEC) in 1959. The prime minister of the time and the leader of Democratic Party, Adnan Menderes stated that "with this application Turkey took its first step to Europe". After the EEC council of ministers' accepting Turkey's application, the following negotiations resulted in the signature of the Ankara Agreement in 1963. Ankara Agreement constitutes the legal basis of the association between Turkey and the EU.

Due to political and economic reasons, Turkey-EU relations became unstable to till the second half of 1980s. Relations were even formally suspended with the military coup of 12 September 1980. After civil authority was re-established in Turkey in 1983, the process of revitalization of Turkey-EEC relations, which was frozen since the coup was started. Turkey applied for full membership in1987, without waiting the completion of the phases foreseen in the Ankara Agreement.

After two years of negotiations, the Customs Union was established between Turkey and the EU in March 1995. Customs Union is one of the most important stages towards Turkey's goal of integration with the EU, bringing new dimension to the Turkey-EU relations. The Helsinki European Council held on 10-11 December 1999 produced a breakthrough in Turkey-EU relations as Turkey was officially recognised as a candidate state. After the approval of the Accession Partnership by the Council and the adoption of the Framework Regulation, the Turkish Government announced its own National Programme for the Adoption of the EU acquis on March 19th, 2001 (Directorate of EU Affairs, 2019).

As of 1999, since Turkey's candidacy status was approved during the Helsinki Summit, Turkey has been in the process of full membership, which requires complying with the EU norms and standards in the economic, social, and cultural fields. The EU opened membership negotiations with Turkey in October 2005 and since then out of a total of 35 chapters, 16 have been opened, and one chapter, Chapter 25, science and research has been provisionally closed (Köksal, Yildirim and Özdemir, 2013). The political blockages of member states and Cyprus issue have brought the accession process to a deadlock. While 13 chapters were opened between 2006-2010, only one chapter was able to open in the period of 2010-2013 (Directorate of EU Affairs, 2019).

Following the Accession Partnership in 2001, Turkey started to increase its efforts within the education field to cooperate and harmonize with the EU (Köksal et al. 2013, p. 1600). Thus, LLL as an EU harmonization policy has been adopted as a national education and national development strategy in Turkey (Kayman, Ilbars, and Artuner 2012, p. 5858).

Turkey, as a candidate country to the Union, since the Helsinki European Council of December 1999, has focused on various regulatory activities to transform its own LLL system. Education has always been an important goal for the Republic of Turkey, as discussed in 3.3. However, after the 1980s, the importance of education gained a new momentum. Turkey's global competitiveness and post-1999 membership prospect to the EU triggered an environment which necessitated Turkey's education and training policies to sustain economic, social, and cultural growth. LLL has played a vital role in this structure. As this thesis hypothesizes, the main driver shaping Turkey's LLL agenda is the influence of Turkey's relations with the EU taking place in a global neoliberal context. After the 2000s, Turkey started to incorporate relevant legislation into operation and through national strategies and action plans the performance and success of LLL increased.

4.3. Adult Education: A Short History

This part of the thesis discusses the history of adult education in Turkey and demonstrates Turkey's approach to adult education after the Republic was founded.

Adult education has a long history in Turkey. However, the concept of LLL has been recently introduced as a strategy and approach for education and training (MoNE, 2009, p. 7). Adult education has been an important aspect of Turkey's educational goals since the foundation of the Republic in 1923. A report prepared in 1933-1934 by a committee headed by Walter Kemmerer, who was invited to Turkey to make examinations on Turkish economy reveal the educational situation along with economic issues of the time (Keskin, Soylemez and Keskin, 2015). Views and suggestions of the American Committee regarding Primary Education Level are as follows:

> *"There should be concentration on the quality of education rather than the quantity, local needs should be taken into account when programmes are being prepared, a health course should be included in the programmes, skill courses (painting, handcraft etc.) should be featured and the individual differences (interest and skills) should be taken into account."*

Village Oriented suggestions: The village and the villagers have different needs; three classes of schools should be upgraded to five classes, school-community cooperation should be ensured, attending to school should be provided, boarding village schools should be opened and mobile education should be implemented in village.

Views and Suggestions regarding General Secondary Education are as the following:

> *"Programmes should prepare students not only for higher education but also for life, absenteeism of the students should be reduced, programmes should not be academic, should be flexible and associated with life, art and trade courses should be included in secondary and high schools, trade class should be added to the last years of the high schools and the allocation of the last two classes of high school for professional specialization. Vocational Secondary Education should be established in order to emphasize the importance of vocational and technical education, the number and types of vocational high schools should be increased, and evening business schools should be opened." (Keskin, Soylemez, Keskin, 2015).*

As can be understood from the information provided, education of the people had been a powerful symbol for the new Turkey and the main focus was on the literacy. Village institutions were founded around the 1940s and had been successful adult education centres until they were closed due to political reasons. Institutions such as public houses, public schools, and night schools were opened to teach the masses how

to read and write. Public classrooms, evening art and trade schools and rural courses were the other institutions where adult education was in provided Turkey (Şimşek, 2008, pp. 35-36).

With the Primary Education Law and Education Law No. 222 in 1961,

> *"citizens who have passed the age of primary education or who were not able to continue their education for any reason were given the right to get education in the remedial classrooms in order to increase the general knowledge and to get better job and further education opportunities" (EAEA, 2011).*

The National Education Basic Act came into effect in June 1973, and divided education in two major components: formal education and non-formal education. Adult education, continuing education, and all LLL activities are included in the scope of non-formal education. According to this Act formal and non-formal education activities had to be organized in a coordinated way and should utilize available resources (EAEA, 2011).

Article No. 42 of Republic of Turkey's constitution states that "No one shall be deprived of the right to education and training" (Kayman et al. 2012, p. 5860). Education is the fundamental right for all citizens and article No. 9 of Basic Law of National Education "Public and professional education of individuals is essential to continue throughout life. In addition to education of young people, it is an educational duty to take the necessary measures to ensure that adults should have the continuous education which helps them comply with the life and business areas in a positive way" highlights the importance of continuous learning (Kayman et al. 2012, p. 5860). In addition to these, Vocational Education Law No. 3308 and Vocational Qualifications Institution Law No. 5544 provide the framework to bring quality standards to adult vocational education in Turkey (Yayla, 2009, pp.20-23).

As it is seen, 'adult education' has always been an important goal for Turkey since the Republic was founded. Institutions such as public houses, public schools, night schools and evening art and trade schools were opened and these highlighted the importance the Republic attributed to vocational and technical education. However, these attempts were not as structured and adaptive as the ones which were implemented

after the EU's candidacy process was ignited. As it is discussed in 4.4.2, one of the 16 main priorities of National LLL Strategy 2009-2013 is "establishing a lifelong learning culture by increasing social awareness". We can safely conclude that despite the fact that Turkey has prioritized 'adult education' for long, i.e., since the foundation of the Republic, cultural awareness on LLL was not yet established. After the EU institutions and its mechanisms started to diffuse its LLL norm to candidate and neighbouring countries, Turkey, as a candidate country, adopted a national education and national development strategy. Born out of the demands of neoliberal economic policies, within the EU harmonization policy structure Turkey downloaded LLL as a norm from the EU.

4.4. Lifelong Learning in Turkey

This section mainly discusses how LLL policies emerged in Turkey and critically analyses the SVET Policy Paper, 2009-2013 and 2014-2018 National LLL Strategies. The analysis is mainly based on the influence of norm diffusion in the Policy Paper and Strategy Documents.

4.4.1. The Emergence of Lifelong Learning Policy in Turkey

After the 2000s, Turkey has started to add LLL as a priority in its education policies. National education discussions have started to incorporate LLL as an essential concept for a better education system. Strengthening the Vocational Education and Training System in Turkey (SVET) developed the first policy paper in 2006 three years before the National LLL Strategy was implemented. SVET LLL report can be considered as the first well-rounded strategy report to address LLL in Turkey. LLL Policy Paper is one of the first policy reports about LLL in Turkey and it mainly focuses on the policies in the EU. LLL Policy Paper refers to the European Commission texts, such as the Lisbon Strategy and the EU Memorandum of LLL. This report emphasized that Turkey had to make use of EU LLL opportunities and funding (SVET, 2006, p. 9). Programmes like Leonardo, Socrates and Grundtvig were presented as some of the co-operation projects that can help the promotion of LLL in Turkey.

Driving Force for Turkey's Success: LLL Policy Paper depicts a Turkey that aims to define a sustainable knowledge society for Turkey (Şimşek, 2008, p. 84). The paper takes Lisbon goals for the basis of its objectives for LLL to become part of the EU. According to this paper, there were seven areas that needed change and improvements. These seven areas are listed as the following:

1. System, infrastructure and funding of LLL
2. The collection and use of data for monitoring and decision-making
3. Decentralization and devolution, civil society and collaboration
4. Information, advice and guidance to learners, and a culture of learning
5. The development of staff capacity
6. International co-operation
7. Quality assurance and accreditation" (EAEA, 2011, p. 5).

The development of the first LLL Policy Paper in Turkey, based on the LLL policy and practices in the EU, is a reflection of how the LLL norm started to be incorporated into the Turkish LLL education policy. As discussed in 3.4.3., the European Commission and its agencies can be seen as norm entrepreneurs and the Policy Paper's reference to the European Commission texts is an example of how the EU LLL policy have been taken as a model by the Turkish authorities. This clearly shows *imitation*, a mechanism of norm diffusion discussed in 3.4.4. In addition, the Policy Paper's depicting a Turkey that aims to define a sustainable knowledge society is an indication of the Turkish authorities' opting for an LLL policy to refer to the economic issues and therefore become more competitive. This also shows the norm mechanism of *competition* as discussed previously in the thesis.

The Ninth Development Plan of Turkey that covered the 2007-2013 period also emphasized the necessity of LLL for national adult educational policies (Şimşek, 2008). The Ninth Development Plan has been prepared with the vision of "Turkey which grows in stability, shares its income fairly, which has competitive power at global scale, which transforms itself into an information society, which has completed alignment process for the EU membership" (MoNE, 2009, p. 4). The development plans have been prepared as a basic strategy paper to present transformation targets under the EU

harmonization process (MoNE 2009, p. 4). The Plan also focused on the LLL strategy that can develop people's personal skills and competences. It mentioned that formal education in schools and non-formal LLL opportunities can be linked by more collaboration (Kaya, 2014b, p. 96).

As stated above, The Ninth Development Plan's being prepared with a vision of Turkey, which grows in stability, has competitive power globally and which transforms itself into an information society is one of the most illustrative examples of norm diffusion through *competition.* Due to the fact that Turkey can not isolate itself from the supply and demand dynamics of the employment markets, the country showed great enthusiasm to invest in the knowledge economy through the diffusion mechanisms of the EU. Moreover, the plan's mention of a Turkey which has completed the alignment process for the EU membership is an implication of the willingness Turkey shows for the EU membership.

4.4.2. National Lifelong Learning Strategy 2009-2013

Turkey put the National LLL Strategy 2009-2013 into practice in 2009 (Kaya 2014b, p. 96). The strategy focused on action plans and challenges to increase the performance and success of LLL in Turkey. Ministry of National Education (MoNE) published a strategy paper in 2009, mentioned that there is an immediate need to strengthen education infrastructure and increase the quality of education in general (MoNE 2009, p. 11). Turkey addressed 16 main priorities in this strategy:

- Issuing a legal regulation in which the duties and responsibilities of various parties with regard to coordinating lifelong learning are specified
- Establishing a lifelong learning culture by increasing social awareness
- Strengthening data collection systems for efficient monitoring, evaluation and decision-making
- Increasing the literacy rate
- Increasing enrolment at all levels of education, starting with basic education

- Ensuring that education institutions' physical infrastructure, number of teaching personnel and quality meet learners' needs
- Updating training programmes continuously and adapting them to changing needs
- Using information and communication technologies appropriate for learners of different ages
- Encouraging participation of disadvantaged individuals
- Strengthening career guidance services under the scope of lifelong learning
- Establishing a quality assurance system by activating a vocational qualifications system
- Facilitating transitions between training programmes from school to work and from work to school
- Ensuring labour quality reaches an internationally competitive level
- Ensuring that the financing of lifelong learning is shared by the various parties
- Increasing international cooperation and mobility under the scope of lifelong learning
- Supporting lifelong learning activities in order to increase the participation of older people in social and economic life

Overall, the strategy aimed to strengthen formal education, reduce drop-out rates, and increase adult literacy rate along with improving non-formal and vocational education (LLL Hub, 2015). In the preface to the document, the then Minister Nimet Çubukçu, states that:

> *"It is decided by our Council of Ministers with the policies and priorities stated in the 60th Government that the regulations in the EU Acquis Harmonization Programme will be converted to an action plan and the actions, which could be finalized in 2007, will be implemented as short-term action plans. Within this scope, it is foreseen by our Ministry to prepare Lifelong Learning Strategy Document."*

As is observed, this strategy not only explicitly mentions "EU Acquis and Harmonization Programme", but also clearly establishes a connection between Turkey's LLL efforts and the country's European vocation. The 2009 Strategy also clearly

mentions EU, relevant EU institutions, frameworks and processes more than sixty times (MoNE, 2009). In addition, in the strategy, it is stated that

"the European Commission is giving importance to the countries' developing lifelong learning strategies in order to facilitate transition process to information society under the scope of Lisbon Strategy. Within this scope, the Commission defined important components of lifelong learning strategies in its COM (2001) 678 reference numbered communication."

In the 2009-2013 National Strategy Document, the then Minister of National Education Nimet Çubukçu's statement on the EU Acquis Harmonization Programme's being converted to an action plan illustrates the initation of similar policies which are influenced by and modelled after the EU. This again is a reflection of governments' mimicking norms, i.e. *emulation* and structuring their policies accordingly. In this case, Turkey perceived the conversion of the programme to an action plan as the most appropriate and effective solution for its own agenda. Turkey mimicked the EU LLL norm and proposed alterations in accordance with the EU Acquis Harmonization Programme. It is important to note that the underlying reason for Turkey to follow this path may not only be because it was appropriate and Turkey wants to be a member of the EU, but within the neoliberal context it was and is one of the mechanisms to enrich the overall educational competency of its people and strive in a knowledge economy.

> *"Inside the EU, the emergence of the lifelong learning norm has proven to be surprisingly adequate to promote a European area for higher education and vocational education and training (Erti, 2006 as cited in Kleibrink, 2011). It gained momentum with the Lisbon Process and a knowledge-intensive society based on lifelong learning. Though many of these issues centred on higher education and the Bologna Process, recognition of qualifications is also applicable to vocational education and training, a development initiated by the Copenhagen Declaration. (Bologna Secrearіat, 2006 as cited in Kleibrink, 2011).*

It should also be noted that Turkey's initial motive for adult education during the first years of the Republic Era was to transform human resources from 'citizens of an empire' to 'citizens of a republic'. Turkey took initial steps for ideological transformation in question from a 20th century kind nation state mentality to the EU's neoliberal approach during the first decade of the 2000s while it was progressing in membership process. As such, when it comes to LLL, the EU initially ignited a process of adaptation of its norms and practices on LLL in Turkey, in other words the EU

successfully diffused its LLL norm and this can undoubtedly be seen in the 2009 Strategy document as it was structured, dominantly, with a clear membership perspective. It was targeted towards deepening integration of Turkey to the EU, hence reflecting norm diffusion by the EU and fostering Europeanisation.

4.4.3. National Lifelong Learning Strategy 2014-2018

The new National Lifelong Learning Strategy (2014-2018), prepared by the General Directorate of LLL, that was established under the MoNE in accordance with the Executive Order number 652 as foreseen by Articles 6, 12 and 27 (Resmi Gazete, 2011) focuses on establishing an LLL infrastructure that can strengthen Turkey's LLL system (ETF, 2014, p.1). In the introduction chapter the "European Commission's Adult Education Agenda" and "the LLL Strategy documents of certain EU countries" are stated amongst the resources that were benefited from while preparing the Strategy, as well as eight other national document clusters, namely; "the 10th Development Plan, Ministry of National Education Strategic Plan, the Action Plan to Strenghten the Correlation of Employment and Vocational Training, SME Strategy Action Plan, Industrial Strategy Action Plan, National Strategy for Science, Technology and Innovation and National Education Council decisions" (MoNE, 2014a, p. 7).

According to this new Strategy, Turkey addressed six main priorities listed as follows:

- Increasing LLL culture and awareness in the society,
- Increasing LLL opportunities and service
- Increasing access to LLL,
- Developing a lifelong guidance and counselling system,
- Developing the system of evaluation of prior learning,
- Developing an LLL monitoring and evaluation system.

The accompanying Action Plan (MoNE, 2014b) states twenty-nine different measures for the implementation of the strategy. What is to be noted both in this strategy document and the action plan is that the European Union and its relevant

institutions are named and used largely as a comparative reference. A reflection of this is the fact that, in the strategy, the EU was referred to only thirteen times, nine of which is in the comparative context regarding LLL participation rates in Turkey and the EU (MoNE 2014a, pp. 12 - 14). As mentioned before, the 2009 Strategy placed a strong emphasis on the EU, hence its relevant institutions, frameworks and processes were named more than sixty times.

However, it is important to note that National LLL Strategy 2014-2018 of Ministry of National Education implemented a new goal to increase the participation of adult learners (individuals between the ages of 15 and 64) in LLL to 15% by 2020, to be in line with the Europe 2020 targets (ETF 2014, p. 23). This clearly shows that National LLL Strategy 2014-2018 still takes the EU as a benchmark.

As stated in 2.4.1.4. Turkey had an LLL participation rate of less than 6 percent. Turkey's proportion for people between 25 and 64, who participated in LLL activities increased from 1.8 percent to 5.5 percent in 9 years (Eurostat, 2016). Even though the percentages are less than the 2020 education and training goals, the gradual increase in Turkey's rate means more adults for the given age group participated in LLL activities.

As stated in 2.4.1.2. Turkey's number of LLP partners has shown drastic changes in the years between 2007 and 2013. In 2007, Turkey had a total of 57 partners and 8 beneficiaries, and in 2013 it had 45 partners and 17 beneficiaries. This means that despite the fall in the number of LLP partners, these institutions were more efficient to inform and guide LLP applicants towards the EU's LLL activities. The Center for the EU Education and Youth Programmes located in Ankara, has been the main partnering national agency to lead LLL programs for Turkish citizens (EACEA, 2016).

The current state of Turkey's accession negotiations has limited the progress and the prospect for Turkey's EU membership. Since the European Council conclusions of 26 June 2018 stated that, "Turkey has been moving further away from the European Union" (European Council, 2018, p. 13) the relations between Turkey and the EU has been in a practical 'freezing period'. Therefore, since the EU membership perspective

and the impact of EU conditionality has been weakening gradually during the last few years, a suspension in ideological, institutional and normative transformation of Turkey towards Europe became clearly observable. As more fundamental concerns have started to create a rather noxious impact on Turkey and EU's agenda (Association Council, 2019), EU's ability to spread its norms to generate a positive impact for Turkey's Europeanization became more limited. Despite the fact that Turkey's National LLL Strategy 2014 - 2018 became somewhat disattached from its initial European anchor, especially regarding its 'tone', it is safe to assume that the diffusion mechanism still prevails. The emphasis in the strategy document on enhancing LLL opportunities by mobilizing private sector, businesses and the civil society in order to reach the level of the EU LLL expectations (ETF, 2014, p. 15) shows the alignment with the *emulation* mechanism. EU is again taken as a benchmark, and as a reflection of the *competition* brought by neoliberal economic policies.

All these clearly demonstrate that regardless of governments' policies and even with a minimal membership perspective, adult and institutions participation rate in LLL activities is gradually increasing. Even though the extent of the transformative impact of Europeanization on Turkey's LLL policy is subject to discussion, it is safe to assume that it is a significantly contributing factor. Turkey's LLL strategy was at a point where it started its LLL efforts by *emulating* the LLL norm and polices framed by the EU between 2006 and 2013. Additionally, the 2006 LLL Policy Paper depicting a Turkey that aims to define a sustainable knowledge society for Turkey and the Ninth Development Plan's being prepared with the vision of Turkey which grows in stability, shares its income fairly, which has competitive power globally, which transforms itself into an information society and which has completed alignment process for the EU membership) clearly demonstrate how the EU, as a 'norm entrepreneur' disseminated its LLL norm.

Turkey has been implementing adult education policies since the establishment of the current Republic of Turkey. As stated in 4.3. adult education, vocational and professional trainings have been familiar concepts in Turkey. Thanks to available institutional heritage, it was relatively easy for the country to adopt the required

programmes for the new era of lifelong concept. Here it should be pointed that while the basic motive of the Turkish authorities may be to align Turkey's LLL policies for the EU membership and harmonize with the EU through diffusing LLL norm and policies , the context also necessitates the transformation as the neoliberal economic policies and globalization impose the constant change of markets and industries and therefore the training of versatile and flexible workers. Turkey's choices are framed by prior policy choices reflecting diffusion, a vision of EU membership and notions of competition.

4.5. Lifelong Learning Institutions in Turkey

This part of the thesis demonstrates LLL institutions in Turkey and their functions.

In Turkey, education for adults is mainly provided by the Ministry of National Education (MoNE) and other related Ministries such as the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Women and Family, Ministry of Industry and Trade and formal and semi-formal institutions, local administrations, universities, civil societies and Non-Governmental Organization (NGO). General Directorate of Apprenticeship is the main governmental unit. The cooperation and coordination between these national and local levels institutions is managed by the MoNE (EAEA 2011, p. 4). The General Directorate for LLL, which was established in 2011 under the Ministry of National Education in Turkey, aims to participate in international management meetings and dissemination activities. It is also involved in the exchange of materials and good practices. The activities of the General Directorate for LLLinclude;

> *"establishing, implementing, monitoring and evaluating policies in order to disseminate education and training in a way to continue lifelong learning; carrying out non-formal education and open education services. Preparing the programmes, training material and tools for the non-formal education and training are part of the responsibilities of the directorate".* (https://www.projectgoal.eu/index.php/turkey /general-directorate-for-life-long-learning).

LLL Directorate in Turkey has representatives in all 81 cities and 919 districts (Bural, 2014). Universities, general and vocational training institutions, private education institutions, local state and regional institutions, the Turkish Army, trade

unions, employer organizations and NGOs can be listed as the main institutions that have education and training opportunities for adult learners (EAEA, 2011, p. 6).

Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Art and Vocational Training Courses (ISMEK), has been providing art and vocational education to people living in Istanbul free of charge since 1996 (ISMEK, 2014, p. 1). Turkish Employment Organization (ISKUR) also provides LLL activities in the areas of needs analysis for Turkey's labour market, job and career services for unemployed and socially disadvantaged groups, employer counselling, vocational education courses, on the job trainings, and job placements (Ozkan, 2014, p. 7).

The Ministry of National Education also provides distance education services including Open Primary School, Open High School and Open Vocational and Technical High School and Open College (EAEA 2011, p. 8). Anadolu University has been the first higher education institution that provided open and distant learning and certification in higher education (Kayman et al. 2012, p. 5860). Open University Education that is offered by Anadolu University can be considered as a contemporary LLL initiative that provides degrees through open education (Kayman et al. 2012, p. 5858).

Apart from these institutions, universities such as Bogazici University, Yildiz Technical University and Istanbul Technical University opened LLL centres and started to offer certificate programmes for adult learners who would like to pursue their learning careers. These programmes include academic, employment-related, and personal development courses (Kaya, 2014b, p. 98). Continuing Education Centers or Lifelong Learning Centers in universities have grown over time fulfilling an important function to meet adult learners' needs despite the need for further improvements for both in the quality and in the ability to access to the public in general. In addition to Bogazici University, Yildiz Technical University and Istanbul Technical University, many other universities, both state and privately funded in Turkey such as Altinbas University, Bahcesehir University and Marmara University are offering short and/or long term certificate programmes on different fields, such as mediation, conciliation, coaching and on an array of subjects and therefore are contributing to the practice of

LLL throughout Turkey. Due to the demand from the market, some of the universities are also providing consultancy in certain areas apart from the education programmes.

The establishment of the General Directorate of LLL in 2011, the existence of a great many LLL institutions, both private and state and Open Vocational and Technical High School are the embodiment of the LLL norm in Turkey. Turkey is aware of the need of the LLL institutions in order to provide its citizens a platform where they can gain new skills and qualifications and therefore increase their chances of employability. In other words, for Turkey a certain regulatory framework and/or an institutional change is important to educate its citizens, to compete in the knowledge economy and align itself with the EU. Hence, the norm diffusion mechanism is in place. Turkey drew lessons from the EU, *lesson-drawing* to achieve its goals and followed a functional logic, where it turned to best practices. Turkey emulated the structures, established the General Directorate of LLL in order to participate in international meetings and dissemination activities. Here it is interesting to note that on the one hand, as a norm entrepreneur, the EU achieved in making Turkey the norm follower, described as norm cascade in 3.4.2, on the other hand, Turkey established a structure, which Turkey itself undertook the role of disseminating the activity. In other words, Turkey started to behave according to the premises by developing and adopting such a framework. This is the stage described as the norm internalization.

4.6. Turkish Qualifications Framework

This section critically analyses the foundation of the Turkish Qualifications Framework (TQF). It establishes this framework as a reflection of EU's LLL norm dissemination on Turkey.

The TQF has been established to create a qualifications system in Turkey that can be coordinated and compared with other systems. The legal basis of the TQF has been a subject as a priority issue in policy documents such as the 2007-2013 Ninth Development Plan, 2011 National Youth Employment Action Plan, 2008 Turkey National Program, 2007 - 2013 LLL Strategy Document, Action Plan for Strengthening

Employment and Vocational Training Relations, and VQA Law no. 5544 (Borat, 2014, p. 16).

TQF has been designed in harmony with the European Qualifications Framework and displays all qualifications gained through vocational, general and academic programs including primary, secondary and higher education or other learning environments. TQF entered into force by being published in the Official Gazette with the decision no 2015/8213 of November 19th, 2015 of the Cabinet of Ministers. In line with the regulation on the principles and procedures regarding the application of Turkish Qualifications Framework, it is aimed that all existing qualifications in Turkey are brought together, the quality of qualifications is raised, life-long learning is generalized and supported systematically, and education and employment opportunities for all individuals are created (Mesleki Yeterlilik Kurumu, 2019).

The TQF establishes professional standards in order to develop relevant and adaptable qualifications. Its principles and rules create a clearer and more structured framework. The transparency of the TQF enables the monitoring of the quality standards. The main goal of the TQF is to improve the quality of education and the training systems along with perpetuating the employment-education relationship. The availability of a qualifications framework helps developing the skills and competences of the Turkish society so that they can also be valuable for the labour market (MoNE 2014, p.13).

"TQF is based on learning achievements, progress and transfer between qualification types. These eight qualifications are as follows:

- Communication in mother tongue,
- Communication in other languages,
- Mathematics, basic science and technology qualifications,
- Digital (information technologies) competences,
- Learning how to learn,
- Societal and humane competences,
- Assertiveness and entrepreneurship,

- Cultural awareness and expression" (Borat, 2014, p. 18)

As Borat (2014, p. 14) puts forward

> *"TQF defines bases for all qualifications attained in vocational, general and academic education programmes and other learning environments, including primary school, secondary school, higher education. It is a level-based set of rules and regulations defining qualifications,and classifying and comparing them according to certain criteria."*

As discussed in 2.3.6., 'The Framework of Actions for the Lifelong Development of Competences and Qualifications' has been adopted by the European social partners in March 2002, focusing on the businesses to adapt their structures more quickly in order to remain competitive. The Commission recommended that member states should develop the terms for key competences as part of their LLL strategy and use the 'Key Competences for LLL - A European Reference Framework' as their main reference (European Commission, 2006a). In April 2008, the European Qualifications Framework (EQF) was introduced with a joint European Parliament and European Council recommendation, "as a 'reference tool' to promote transparency, mobility and LLL" (Elken, 2015, p. 710). The introduction of the qualifications framework was followed by the development of national qualifications frameworks (NQFs) across Europe. Therefore, EU Member States initiated NQFs promoted by EU institutions and agencies.

As discussed in 3.4.3., once LLL was established as a norm inside the EU, almost all member states started to follow the Lisbon version of LLL and the NQFs became the embodiment of the EU's LLL norm. The EU perceived its dissemination as a natural EU activity and the EU mechanisms rapidly and effectively promoted and diffused LLL. As is seen, Turkey's initiating the TQF promoted by the EU institutions and agencies is a reflection of the EU's norm diffusion on Turkey. Almost all mechanisms of norm diffusion namely, *competition, learning* and *emulation* can be observed in the embodiment of the TQF. The establishment of the TQF in harmony with the EQF is a reflection of how Turkey directly modelled and *emulated* this structure from the EU. As the main goal of the TQF is to improve the quality of education while maintaining the employment - education relationship is an important indicator of

competition as it shows Turkey's eagerness to be a part of the knowledge-based economy. Due to the fact that learning, or bounded learning is a norm diffusion mechanism "for analysing the spread of the NQFs", as discussed in 3.4.4, we can safely conclude that Turkey opted for the establishment of the TQF, which seemed to be a "successful" policy instrument.

4.7. Some Findings on Turkey's Lifelong Learning

This part details some figures in relation to Turkish LLL and feedback on reports.

Turkey's participation to EU's 2007-2013 LLL Programme was finalized with the 'Memorandum of Understanding' signed on May 30, 2007. With the EU's LLP, Turkish beneficiaries started to have access to Comenius (School Education), Erasmus (Higher Education), Leonardo da Vinci (Vocational Education) and Grundtvig (Adult Education) Programmes and the Study Visits (MoNE 2009, p. 40). Socrates and Grundtvig have been implemented in Turkish universities (Köksal et al. 2013, p. 1603). 'LLL and Youth in Action' is another EU programme that Turkey actively participates (European Commission 2013, p. 5). The number of beneficiaries from Turkey reached more than 60,000 people in 2012. On the other hand, the share of Turkey's financial contribution, including the EU subsidies, reached more than 10 percent of the total EU budget for this programme (European Commission 2013, p. 69). According to Yazici and Ayas, (2014, p. 12) the EU projects for promoting LLL in Turkey have had a positive impact on the rates of adult participation.

In 2011, European Association for the Education of Adults (EAEA) published a report on Adult Education and LLL in Turkey. The report claims that in Turkey a rise in LLL programmes can be observed thanks to the EU harmonization program, under the 'Lifelong Education Concept' (EAEA 2011, p. 4). According to the EAEA report,

> *"The EU harmonization process enabled Turkey to focus on personal empowerment and good citizenship. The main goals for personal empowerment programmes have been to enhance social and professional skills such as management and leadership. The good citizenship programmes, on the other hand, focuses on knowledge about social issues, such as human rights, justice, gender equality, and environmental values" (EAEA 2011, p. 7).*

The 2013 EU progress report on Turkey claimed that there has been progress in the area of education and the interest in the EU programmes continued to increase. A 'National LLL Web Portal' was developed and guidelines on the recognition of prior learning were produced; however, there has been little progress in the area of culture (European Commission, 2013, p. 69). The progress report on Turkey stated that applications for the 'LLL and Youth in Action' programme continually increased and Turkey improved its performance for Europe 2020 and Education and Training 2020 targets (European Commission, 2013, p. 69). As described in 4.4.3., the 2009-2013 Strategy placed a strong emphasis on the EU by referring to its relevant institutions, frameworks and processes many times. In addition, the reference to "the transition process to information society under the scope of Lisbon Strategy", the steps taken for the alignment, one of the most important being the establishment of the General Directorate for the LLL, and the increase in the number of the applicants for the LLL and Youth programme can explain the reason why the 2013 EU progress report claimed that there was progress in the area of education. The impact of Europeanization in the area of education is clearly observable from the statements on progress reports.

The findings on Turkey's LLL system underlined that there has been progress especially in the last 10 years and Turkey started to identify LLL as a strategic priority. At this point, it is worth mentioning that the LLL mechanisms and institutions emerged under the EU harmonization process through the alignment policies which have positively influenced the LLL agenda in Turkey. This can be observed in the increase in the number of of LLL participants and adult education institutions. However, according to Köksal et al. (2013, p. 1604), even though Turkey has had improvements in LLL, the EU experts still argue that the achievements in the Turkish education system are not enough for the EU membership. LLL rate of Turkey is still low when compared with other EU member states.

4.8. Challenges Turkey's Lifelong Learning Faces

This section discusess the challenges Turkey's LLL faces and suggests some solutions.

The high unemployment rates among the youth of Turkey and the young labour force required a reform in vocational education and training. According to Bulut (2007, p. 47) Turkey's main motive to reform its Vocational Education and Training (VET) programmes has been to improve the relationships for the EU membership. The EU's focus on modernizing their vocational education systems has been a driving force for Turkey. The VET strategy of 2014-2018 aims to enable easier access to VET, improve VET capacity, and provide relevant employment opportunities for the VET graduates. The Action Plan for an improved VET system focuses on the quality of the VET systems including delivering qualifications in the framework of the Turkish Qualifications Framework (TQF), implementing curricula in compliance to occupational standards, developing information, guidance and counselling and accrediting VET institutions (ETF 2014).

The improvement of LLL in Turkey needs an ongoing and upgraded strategy. The policy papers released over the years and the efforts of governmental agencies and bodies in the area of LLL show that Turkey has a major step to take towards embracing LLL as a critical education strategy. However, there are still significant changes that Turkish LLL system has to go through.

An international workshop called 'Promoting Lifelong Learning in Turkey: Putting the LLL Strategy in Practice 2014 - 2018' was held in Antalya, Turkey in March 2014. The conference was organized by Turkey Ministry of National Education (MoNE) and the European Training Foundation (ETF). The main goal of the conference was to focus on policy reforms on promoting LLL in Turkey (ETF, 2014). LLL Conference revealed the fact that there is a general consensus about the importance of LLL for adult education as an integral means for economic competitiveness and employment opportunities. However, Turkey still has to put a lot of effort for more effective LLL programmes and the personal and professional development aspect of LLL has to be combined with more long-term goals (ETF, 2014).

By the end of the workshop 'Promoting Lifelong Learning in Turkey: Putting the LLL Strategy in Practice 2014 - 2018' held in Antalya, Turkey in March 2014 , it has been argued that Turkey has embraced the idea of LLL and its aspects but there are

still issues that need improvement (ETF, 2014). Turkey's approach to LLL has been defined as 'participative' rather than 'collaborative'. The accomplishment of the LLL strategy requires both participation and collaboration of interested parties in such a way that both institutions and individuals can perform and contribute efficiently. The main areas needing action plans are determined as coordination between institutions and focusing on regional training needs. Participants from the EU Commission underlined that LLL cannot be implemented top-down and Turkey should include provincial and local institutions to determine common objectives for these areas. Another issue that has been addressed during this workshop was the need for a monitoring system that is able to align with Europe's 2020 strategies (ETF, 2014, p. 3).

One of the main reasons for Turkey to lack in adaptation of LLL policies is the centralized and hierarchical structure of the national education system. Another challenge for Turkey's LLL system has been the lack of employment related trainings. The education system focuses too much on the general education and gives less importance to education needs of the labour market. Last but not least, the LLL system in Turkey is so fragmented that there is no consolidated data or organized framework for adult education. In most cases, the only dependable source of data is the database of the respective institution and lacks consistency (Kaya, 2014b).

The National LLL Strategy 2014-2018 highlights some of the challenges that Turkey has to overcome to have a successful LLL system (ETF, 2014, p. 23). These challenges addressed as "weaknesses in the LLL system" are determined as follows:

- Inadequate data on LLL,
- Poor coordination within the LLL system,
- Gaps in the provision of some forms of LLL
- Lack of reliability in the certification system,
- Lack of flexible forms of LLL provision,
- Low recognition of prior learning,
- Lack of awareness of the importance of LLL for personal and career development,
- Low level of participation in LLL programmes,

- Lack of career guidance and counselling,
- Lack of inclusion of disadvantaged groups

Turkey's LLL system of adult education aims to work towards a more successful economic and technical infrastructure. For this reason, there has to be an equalized balance and focus on employability, skills development, and personal development (EAEA, 2011).

The European Association for the Education of Adults (EAEA) states that LLL is not for economic development, but also for helping individuals to participate in civil, democratic, cultural life to build a social cohesion by eliminating the division between the advantaged and the disadvantaged groups:

EAEA's 2001 LLL Policy Statement suggests that a strategy for LLL must have a holistic, comprehensive approach. LLL must not be restricted to an instrument to raise the competence of the workforce and stimulate economic growth in the EU and argues that LLL is just as important to provide a bridge to cross the educational divide; to create active citizenship; and develop an integrated Europe with solid democracies (Lee, 2007, p. 374).

As an addition to the information, it is important to add the comments made on the European Commission's 2013 progress report on Turkey regarding LLL practices:

> *"Children with disabilities faced difficulties in accessing affordable and inclusive education services, from pre-primary level upwards. Inclusive vocational and lifelong learning opportunities were also limited. The monitoring,, evaluation and inspection of private special education and rehabilitation services require particular attention" (European Commission, 2013, p. 58).*

In Turkey, implementation of a successful LLL system is especially important for disadvantaged individuals and groups who have been excluded from or failed to acquire basic competences through formal schooling. Popescu argues that people have diverse learning needs and a successful LLL system should reach to larger segments of the population. Learning process should be connected to the community so that successful participation in LLL can be achieved (Popescu, 2012).

As mentioned in the European Commission report, 2000 on a *Memorandum on Lifelong Learning*, the LLL program entails the combating of social exclusion as well as the fostering of social inclusion by giving all individuals equal opportunities to be part of a local community and to play an active role in making it better (European Commission 2001, p. 6). In other words, LLL strategy in Turkey has to target groups that are underrepresented in the labour market (ETF, 2014, p. 15).

As discussed in detail, Turkey is advocating the idea of LLL and introducing some regulations related to it. The LLL participants and institutions are on the increase. The mechanisms of norm diffusion can be well-observed in the SVET Policy Paper, in the Ninth Development Plan and the National LLL Strategies. The establishment of the General Directorate of LLL and the TQF can be described as the embodiment of the norm dissemination mechanism of the EU. As described in 2.6, LLL also has a humanistic vision that prevailed in the first years following the concept began to change in the neoliberal area. In the neoliberal area, investing in skills and knowledge and improving the human capital became the responsibility of the individual. As a way to strengthen Europe's competitiveness and improve employability, the EU has focused on LLL. However, contributing actively to society in a complex world and learning to interact positively within a cultural, ethnic and linguistic diversity are also important reasons for EU's focus on LLL. As stated above, according to the European Commission report, 2000 on a *Memorandum on Lifelong Learning* and the European Association for the Education of Adults (EAEA) Turkey still lacks the humanistic vision that should be incorporated into the LLL policy. It is true that Turkey resorts to LLL to raise the competence of the workforce as discussed in this chapter; however, a more comprehensive approach, i.e. not only promoting employability but also promoting active citizenship should be pursued in order for LLL to fulfill its role.

LLL in Turkey should embrace the idea of learning for knowledge acquisition, learning for social coexistence, and learning for work. In order to succeed in LLL policies, Turkey has to increase the public awareness of LLL and should improve the relation between education and employment (Yazici and Ayas, 2014, p. 12). Additionally, LLL Institutions in Turkey have to adapt to technological developments

rapidly and practise innovative learning methods that fit adult learners' needs. These adaptations can be mobile learning, the use of computers in classrooms and the internet for research. Means of mass media has to be utilised more and more to create an initiative for further support and participation for LLL. If the LLL systems are sophisticated enough, it could have long term positive impacts on the society (Kayman et al. 2012, p. 5861).

CONCLUSION

This thesis aims to critically analyze the EU's and Turkey's LLL policies and programmes from a theoretical perspective. It also purports to evaluate the influence of neoliberalism on the EU's LLL policy agenda and the influence of the EU's policy as well as the global neoliberal policies on Turkey's LLL policy. The study hypothesizes that while the main driver shaping EU's LLL agenda is the influence of neoliberalism, Turkey's LLL agenda is mainly shaped by the influence of Turkey's relations with the EU taking place in a global neoliberal context. This influence materializes through norm diffusion, a mechanism of Europeanization. The research question aims to find an answer to the main driving forces behind the EU's and Turkey's LLL agendas. The theoretical background of LLL policies and instruments developed by the EU and Turkey is examined in order to understand the fundamental dynamics of the policy framework implemented to achieve educational goals. The research methodology is based upon a qualitative model that aims to provide objective, thorough and critical analysis of the development of LLL in the EU and Turkey. The analysis is done through a discussion of literature review on neoliberalism, social institutionalism, Europeanization, norm, diffusion, the EU's ideological background, LLL policy and programmes in the EU and Turkey.

The social and economic changes are taking place very fast and in an unpredictable manner. Therefore, communities nowadays need to provide more opportunities for people's learning needs. In the current conjuncture, there are many uncertainties in the job market together with frequent and widespread economic crises. Education policies have to ensure that individuals are flexible enough to adapt to the changes. These individuals should be willing to be re-trained and ready to upgrade their social, vocational, and communication skills. LLL implies 'learning for life, learning through life' (European Commission, 2000). Continuous education is the key component to keep up with the constant change of knowledge economy as knowledge economy requires individuals to update and upgrade their knowledge, skills, and competences. Many education and development policies are based on the assumption

that literacy plays a significant role in reducing poverty, while higher education is crucial for economic development in knowledge societies. While both are true, the evidence is also increasing that all levels of education and types of training (formal and nonformal) can contribute to both. Therefore, LLL is the 'master key' to sustainable development and poverty alleviation.

In the current fast-changing and globalized world economy, LLL has become an essential policy agenda for many international organizations, including the EU. However, it was first UNESCO in its *Faure Report* that stated states should position LLL as the 'master concept' in their policies. Along with that, LLL has been one of the core policies of the EU, whose aim is being the most competitive knowledge economy in the world. For this reason, the EU also required its member and candidate states to improve their adult education standards. For most of the countries, LLL has become a slogan in their education policies. In the fast-changing world, LLL becomes an absolute necessity for each individual. As it is argued in this study, LLL has been viewed as a policy strategy to achieve governments' social objectives at the global level. LLL has been firmly established on the policy agenda of many multinational and intergovernmental organizations and it has also become one of the core policy principles of the EU. The economic recession and unemployment that hit Europe in the 1990s created the idea that LLL can be an optimistic policy agenda to follow. The OECD and the EU has promoted LLL as a strategy to boost economic growth and become more competitive. For the World Bank and UNESCO, LLL is also perceived as a model for education policies in developing countries. The introduction of the LLL curriculum within the EU has proved remarkably adequate to foster a European field of higher education and vocational training. Economic growth has been inherently linked to LLL policies with respect to EU education policy. Based on this framing advocated by multinationals and the Delors Commission, "lifelong learning was labelled as a norm, first within and then beyond the EU" (Kleibrink, 2011). It is then safe to state that LLL is recognised both as a policy agenda and a norm within the EU.

The EU Member States agreed on the fact that building an active learning society is the main way forward to master the challenge and the opportunities of the

knowledge economy. Even though the EU's social and economic goals are merging, the member states still have differences in their approaches to the Union's LLL policies. The member states have separate ministerial structures and processes for education and training. Thus, the EU's role is very important for implementing LLL policies as a priority among member states. The policy and financial incentives are discussed with the member and also candidate countries so that the EU can have a solid action on LLL. In addition to the EU Member States, LLL is gaining popularity as an educational reform policy not only in the candidate countries but in the Western European States, the United States, Japan, South Korea, Australia, New Zealand, Singapore, and South Africa as well. Some of these countries adopt the EU's policy development for LLL and actively seek policy lessons. As this work hypothesizes, Turkey's LLL policy is shaped by the influence of Turkey's relations with the EU, materializing through norm diffusion. The candidate country in this context is Turkey and Turkey's actively seeking policy lessons, that is to say, referring to the policies in the EU and the European Commission texts, such as the Lisbon Strategy and the EU Memorandum of LLL while preparing the SVET Policy Paper and taking Lisbon goals for the basis of its objectives for LLL are shown as indicators of Turkey's downloading LLL norm from the EU. Additionally, the introduction of the TQF, after the EQF was launched with a joint European Parliament and European Council recommendation, is also established as a representation of EU's LLL norm dissemination.

It is important to add that Turkey's approach to adult education has always been constructive and the education of people was a powerful symbol for the new Republic. This might explain the reason why public houses, night schools and evening art and trade schools were opened long before the EU was founded. However, these attempts were not as structured and formally regulated as they were after the EU candidacy process was implemented. During the EU harmonization process, LLL was adopted as a national education strategy. The 2006 LLL Policy Paper, the Ninth Development Plan, National LLL Strategy 2009 - 2013, National LLL Strategy 2014 - 2018, despite their slight differences in their 'tone', were all framed and structured 'under the umbrella of EU's LLL policy'. All these documents, in their approach and wording, are representations of norm diffusion depicting a Turkey that aims to strive as

a competitive power in a knowledge economy while implementing the alignment process for the EU membership. The EU, as a normative power and as a 'norm entrepreneur' spreads its LLL norm to Turkey.

According to the 2013 EU progress report, Turkey is at an advanced level for the implementation of the Bologna process even though there are still major differences among Turkey's higher education institutions. In addition, an independent and functioning a "Quality Assurance and Accreditation Agency" conforming to the "European Standards and Guidelines" has not been established yet. The report stresses that taking action on establishment of a fully functional agency to comply with European Guidelines and Standards is integral. Turkey has put forward strategic objectives similar to the European Commission but the developments and improvements have not yet been systematic and lacked in adequate infrastructure and coordination. There has to be certain more comprehensive state policies to ensure the education of adult learners according to personal and labour market needs and LLL should be integrated more deeply into the Turkish education system. The EU is disseminating the LLL norm to Turkey and Turkey is behaving according to the premises of the norm by developing certain policies that conform to it, but the extent of the adoption is worth exploring for future studies.

The findings on Turkey's LLL system illustrates that Turkey also identifies LLL as one of the priorities not only in order to join the EU but also to have the ability to invest in the knowledge economy. Despite the prospect of Turkey becoming a member decreased, Turkey still went on with pursuing an LLL policy as LLL has become a truly global norm of educational policy transcending the impact of the EU as an institution. Also, it should be remembered that the strengthening of the status of LLL as a global norm in educational policy has an important aspect conditioned by the global economy and the neoliberal policies impacting the states. Turkey is not insulated from the said impacts of neoliberal economic policies, technological change and trends in the supply and demand dynamics of employment markets. Hence, when it comes to LLL policy Turkey's choices are also framed by the infrastructural conditions, prior policy choices of other states, competitive forces and global public demand.

This study indicates that LLL can be a highly effective positive value and within the neoliberal context, a tool to meet the socio-economic and technological challenges that people are confronting today. As the speed of the information flow is unprecedented, learning is becoming more and more imperative. States should act as 'facilitators' to promote access to LLL practices to their citizens. The guidance and coordination provided by the state not only enhance the quality and the quantity of the programmes but can also assess and monitor them, one of the main goals of NQFs. LLL practices should become an integral part of the society's education ecosystem, which will create a common good for the nations. Research on learning and practices of LLL in this regard, also needs to focus on ways to deepen democracy, which reflects the humanistic vision of LLL in the EU. It is a daunting task to transform education into a cultural process and sometimes it has very little immediate impact. However, only through a rigorous and well-supported work will Turkey be able to achieve a transition to a more creative and updated education system which encompasses LLL programmes and institutions. This might be the way to truly catch the requirements brought by the Information Age and the EU membership process. From a theoretical point of view, future studies may complement the present study by remaining within the realm of Constructivism but measuring the norm construction and dissemination from within the 'social' field. Interviews, in this context, may prove to be particularly useful. Another option could be conducting discourse analysis in the official texts, strategical documents and declarations of the parties involved.

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