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CONSTRUCTING THE EUROPEAN EDUCATION SPACE: THE CASE OF TURKISH HIGHER EDUCATION

DOKTORA TEZİ

Türkan Özge ONURSAL BEŞGÜL

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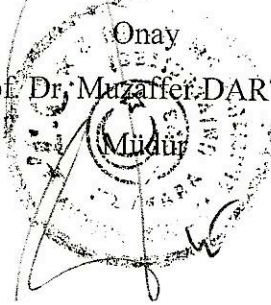
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ÖZET

AVRUPA EĞİTİM ALANI'NIN OLUŞTURULMASI: TÜRK YÜKSEKÖĞRETİMİ ÖRNEĞİ

Bu tezin temel sorunsalı, AB'nin doğrudan bir baskısı bulunmadığı politik alanlarda, ulusal düzeyde politika yayılımının nasıl gerçekleştiğidir. Bu çalışma Avrupa Eğitim Politikası alanına yoğunlaşmakta ve politikanın gelişimi özellikle, 1999 yılından beri yürürlükte olan Bologna Süreci'ne odaklanılarak incelenmektedir. Çalışmanın hedefi Avrupa Eğitim Alanı'nın nasıl oluştuğunu göstermek ve bu alanın ilkelerini tespit etmektir. Çalışma, politika yayılım sürecinin bir kaynağı olarak Avrupa Eğitim Alanı üzerinde durduktan sonra bir vaka çalışması olarak Türkiye'yi ele almakta ve eğitim alanı ilkelerinin bu ülkede nasıl yayıldığını tahlil etmektedir. Bu nedenlerle, çalışmada şu sorulara cevap aranmıştır: Avrupa Eğitim Alanı nasıl inşa edilmektedir? Hangi yollar ve sebeplerle alanın ilkeleri ulusal seviyeye nüfuz etmektedir? Teorik çerçevesi 'sosyal yapısalcılık' üzerine kurulmuş olan bu çalışmanın kavramsal çerçevesi Avrupalılaşma literatüründen yararlanmaktadır. Çalışmada, eğitim politikası alanında Avrupalılaşma'nın yatay bir süreç olduğu; değişim yönünde baskının nispeten daha az doğrudan olduğu savunulmaktadır.

ABSTRACT

CONSTRUCTING THE EUROPEAN EDUCATION SPACE:
THE CASE OF TURKISH HIGHER EDUCATION

The main concern of this dissertation is to explain how policy diffusion occurs in policy areas at the EU level when there is no direct pressure. The study focuses on European educational policy and traces the evolution thereof, specifically focusing on the Bologna Process that was launched in 1999. After focusing on the source of the diffusion process, which is the European educational space, the dissertation takes Turkey as a case study, analysing how the norms of the educational space have diffused in this country. Thus, the study aims at answering the following questions: How is the European educational space constructed? How and why the norms of the space diffuse to the national level? In terms of the theoretical framework, the study bases itself on social constructivism. The conceptual framework is drawn upon the literature on Europeanization. Europeanization in educational policy is argued to be a horizontal process, where pressure for change is less direct.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAQIB	Academic Assessment Quality Improvement Board
BFUG	Bologna Follow-up Group
CoHE	Council of Higher Education
DS	Diploma Supplement
ECTS	European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System
EHEA	European Higher Education Area
ENIC	European Network of Information Centres
ENQA	The European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education
ESU	European Students' Union
EU	European Union
EUA	European University Association
EUC	European University Charter
EURASHE	European Association of Institutions in Higher Education
HEAEQIC	Higher Education Academic Evaluation and Quality Improvement Committee
IUC	Interuniversity Council
LLP	Lifelong Learning Program
NARIC	National Academic Recognition Information Centres
NQF	National Qualifications Framework
OMC	Open Method of Coordination
UNESCO-CEPES	UNESCO's European Centre for Higher Education

1 INTRODUCTION

'Education' plays a crucial role in the integration process on the way towards an 'ever closer union'. Education has become one of the significant instruments of the European Union (EU) in its process of constructing the EU identity and EU citizenship. As Ernest Gellner states: 'Not the guillotine, but the (aptly named) *doctorat d'état* is the main tool and symbol of state power. The monopoly of legitimate education is now more important, more central than is the monopoly of legitimate violence' (1983: 35). Indeed, education is one of the main tools of mobilization that a centralized state uses to 'construct' its citizens. It has also become one of tools the EU employs in its quest for legitimatizing the Union (Bache, 2006).

The education policy contributes to the construction of European citizenship by bringing into contact different cultures, and increasing people's awareness of the common European cultural heritage. As Novoa and Lawn state 'the new education policy space can be treated as more than a regulatory arena − as a space in which new European meanings in education are constructed' (2002: 5). Cooperation in education is a communicative tool that widens the spheres into which the rationale behind integration can be explained. Educational mobility is very much connected to EU citizens' right to freedom of movement. It is a mechanism that enhances the EU citizenship rights and has the potential to make Europe more tangible to the public.

While the EU started its initiatives in higher education with a regional focus − where the aim was to enhance cooperation in this policy area and contribute to identity construction in Europe −, today the policy acquired a global dimension. As Lawn argues 'education has moved from the position of a sensitive area for cooperation, due to the concerns of individual states for their areas of responsibility, through an increasingly symbolic area of identity formation and into a crucial part of the new knowledge economy' (2001: 174; also see Lawn, 2003; Bache, 2006). Europe 'is involved in the construction of the globalisation *and* that globalisation frames economic, political and cultural (etc.) possibilities for Europe' (Dale, 2009a: 25, original emphasis). The changes in the discourse of European education policy since the 1990s came about as a result of globalization. In other countries as well, such as USA and Australia, 'higher education has become regarded as a critical 'motor' for national

and regional competitiveness in the global economy, and a global battle has begun for the minds and markets to support this' (Robertson and Keeling, 2008: 232).

Since the end of the 1990s, the idea of knowledge economy has become 'a major aspect of the new Europeanization' discourse in educational policy (Lawn and Linguard, 2002: 291). In *Agenda 2000*, knowledge-based policies were declared to be the one of the four fundamental pillars of the Union. In March 2000, Lisbon European Council set the achievement of 'knowledge-based economy' as a goal, to be completed by 2010. The Lisbon agenda was declared in the Lisbon Summit, with the goal of making the EU 'the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-driven economy'. The aim of economic growth has been closely linked with the emphasis the EU puts on education. 'Education and Training 2010' and 'Education and Training 2020' programs were formed for the purpose of strengthening education. The 2010 program was reformed with the EU 2020 program, which put forward five targets for the year 2020 [1]. Education also became one of the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) policy areas, introduced by the Lisbon European Council of 2000.

The EU educational policy has only been part of the treaty framework with the Maastricht Treaty, yet its history goes a lot further. Over the years, the cooperation process that started with the vocational education has spilled over to general education. Focusing on the historical evolution of the educational policy, one can see how the relationship between general education and vocational education was constructed and reconstructed in Europe throughout the history of the EU. Most of the initiatives in education are focused on higher education, which is deemed to be less sovereignty sensitive compared to other levels of education. The cooperation evolved into the Bologna Process, which was launched in 1999 with the aim of creating a European Higher Education Area (EHEA). The actions taken in the higher educational policy were broadened to a wider geography. The EHEA currently includes 47 states, one of which is Turkey since 2001. Furthermore, in 2009-2010, 32

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[1] The 5 targets for the EU in 2020 are '1. Employment: 75% of the 20-64 year-olds to be employed; 2. R&D / innovation: 3% of the EU's GDP (public and private combined) to be invested in R&D/innovation; 3. Climate change / energy: greenhouse gas emissions 20% (or even 30%, if the conditions are right) lower than 1990, 20% of energy from renewables, 20% increase in energy efficiency; 4. Education: Reducing school drop-out rates below 10%, at least 40% of 30-34–year-olds completing third level education; 5. Poverty / social exclusion: at least 20 million fewer people in or at risk of poverty and social exclusion' (see Europe 2020 Website).

countries benefitted from the Erasmus Program for Higher Education, which Turkey is a party to since 2002.

1.1   PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

After analysing the progress of the European educational policy in higher education focusing on the Bologna Process and identifying the norms of the policy, the aim of this research is to examine how Turkish Higher Education is Europeanizing within the framework of the European educational space through the agents of change (the Council of Higher Education (CoHE), the Bologna Experts, the National Agency and the International Offices in the universities) in terms of conceptualisation of the process and their perceptions on the impact of the process. The study also intends to base itself on social constructivism as an approach to be applied through the concept of Europeanization in higher education. This study aims to contribute to the literature on Europeanization by concentrating on the education policy of the EU and the European education space.

Thus this dissertation has two purposes. First, it aims to show how the European educational space in higher education is constructed. This space is built around EU's higher educational policy as well as the Bologna Process that was launched in 1999. The study historically traces the development of the European educational policy in higher education and focuses on the policy narrative around which the policy is constructed on, namely the concept of 'European dimension'. Secondly, the dissertation focuses on how these norms are diffused to the national level. The research analyses the structural changes taking place in Turkey in higher education and how the agents of change in Turkey define, perceive and present these changes to the society at large. The conceptual framework of the dissertation is based on social constructivism and Europeanization. Specifically, Dolowitz and Marsh's Model of Diffusion (1996; 2000) is adapted.

1.2   BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Since the 1990s, new approaches, from the field of International Relations, gained prominence in the field of EU studies (Risse, 2004: 159). Diez and Wiener (2004) call this period 'the phase of constructing the EU'. The constructivist approach falls within the remit of this phase, as well as the post-structuralist and critical approaches. In terms of their ontological and epistemological assumptions, these approaches have a lot of differences between themselves. Yet, in general these approaches reject the 'rationalist' assumptions of the traditional approaches, such as intergovernmentalism and neo-functionalism, thus they are also referred as non-rationalist approaches. Neo-functionalism has attributes that resemble that of social constructivism, but two are different, as neo-functionalism is based on a 'utilitarian-individualistic logic' (for the debate on their differences, please see Haas, 2001; Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, 2006: 400-1).

In contrast to the other approaches, the non-rationalist approaches focus on how the EU is being constructed, in other words how the integration process is developing and what are the consequences of the integration process, what are its political, social and normative implications. Christiansen *et. al*, in their introduction to one of the first social constructivist studies in the field of European studies, *The Social Construction of Europe*, state that '…it is odd that a process so explicitly concerned with the construction of a novel polity has largely escaped the attention of constructivist theorizing' (2001: 1). They argue that '…neglecting the constructive force of the process itself, i.e. pushing intersubjective phenomena, and social context aside, lays the ground for missing out on a crucial process' (*ibid.* 1-2). The introduction of non-rationalist approaches was a turning point in EU integration theory, as Pollack argues:

> In place of the old neo-functionalist / intergovernmentalist dichotomy, the last half of the 1990s have witnessed the emergence of a new dichotomy in both IR theory and EU studies, pitting rationalist scholars, who generally depict European institutions as the products of conscious Member State design, against constructivist scholars who posit a more profound role for EU institutions in socializing and constituting the actors within them (2001: 237).

Social constructivism outlook to institutions in general is crucial here. Adler argues:

> …even our most enduring institutions are based on collective
> understandings; that they are reified structures that were once upon a time
> conceived ex nihilo by human consciousness; and that these
> understandings were subsequently diffused and consolidated until they
> were taken for granted (1997: 322).

Both rationalist and sociological approaches hold institutions at the centre of their arguments. However, they differ on their emphasis on the institutions. The sociological approaches define institutions more broadly and include informal rules. They argue that institutions have a deeper impact than assumed by the rationalist. Institutions shape the identities and interests of the actors (Pollack 2001: 234).

The constructivist approach is based on two tenets. Focusing on these two tenets underscores in which areas social constructivism has contributed to social sciences, as well as its potential for European integration studies. One of the most important contributions of social constructivism is the emphasis it puts on 'social ontologies' or ideational factors. Christiansen *et. al.* defines 'social ontologies' as 'intersubjective meanings, norms, rules, institutions, routinised practices, discourse, constitutive and/or deliberative processes, symbolic politics, imagined and/or epistemic communities, communicative action, collective identity formation, and cultures of national security' (2001: 3). These social ontologies are neglected in the rationalist literature (for an overview of ideas literature please see Laffey and Weldes, 1997). Constructivism, focusing on 'social ontologies', argues that 'the structures of human association are determined primarily by shared ideas rather than material forces' (Wendt, 1999). Wendt identifies constructivism as an idealist approach, which stresses the role of ideas as opposed to material forces (*ibid.* 23-26). He defines idealists as those who '…believe the most fundamental fact about society is the nature and structure of social consciousness… the idealist claim is that material forces are secondary, significant insofar as they are constituted with particular meanings for actors' (*ibid.* 24). In other words, with its emphasis on social ontologies, the social constructivists argue that the '"ideas" have structural characteristics' (Adler, 1997: 325). It is not only the material structure that shapes global politics, but also social structure.

> …[I]deas – understood more generally as collective knowledge,
> institutionalized in practices – are the medium and propellant of social
> action; they define the limits of what is cognitively possible and
> impossible for individuals. Concurrently, knowledge-based practices are

the outcome of interacting individuals who act purposively on the basis of their personal ideas, beliefs, judgments and interpretations. The main goal of constructivism, therefore, is to provide both theoretical and empirical explanations of social institutions and social changes, with the help of the combined effect of agents and social structures (*ibid*. 325).

By problematizing social ontologies, the approach draws attention to 'the social aspect of human existence – the role of shared ideas as ideational structure constraining and sharing behaviour' (Copeland, 2000: 189). Adler's characterization of this approach as a social approach captures this aspect. This stands in clear contrast to the emphasis put on material structure by neorealism.

This tenet clearly indicates why constructivism has become one of the important theoretical tools in studying European integration. In regard to social ontologies, Christistiansen *et. al.* write that '…in studying a process in which the social ontologies are subject to change, research failing to problematize these ontologies have severe limitations' (2001). The EU is constantly in a state of flux and to capture this process constructivism as an approach opens new methodological and theoretical doors. Wind also argues:

> ..in explaining a phenomenon like European integration, the rational approach is insufficient and often directly misleading. Because of its focus on the EU as 'just' a classical international regime utilize by European states to maximize their power and general welfare, it is – in its ontological assumptions and concrete research-design – completely insensitive to the working of dynamic institutional orders (1997: 18)

For the purposes of the dissertation, social constructivism is employed as an approach, as the focus of the study is on the diffusion of norms, in other words the diffusion of social ontologies. This dissertation concentrates on how a social space, a European educational space, is being constructed, how the norms of this space are being established and how these norms are diffused to its members.

The second tenet of constructivism argues that agents and structures are mutually constituted. 'The fundamental insight of the structure-agency debate, which lies at the heart of many social constructivist works, is not only that social structures and agents are mutually co-determined. The crucial point is that constructivists insist on the mutual *constitutiveness* of (social) structures and agents' (Risse, 2004: 160-1).

> Structures constitute actors in terms of their interests and identities, but structures are also produced, reproduced, and altered by the discursive practices of agents… Structures are not reified objects that actors can do nothing about, but to which they must respond. Rather structures exist only through the reciprocal interaction of actors. This means that agents, through acts of social will, can change structures. They can thereby emancipate themselves from dysfunctional situations that are in turn replicating conflictual practices (Copeland, 2000: 189-90).

This has broader implications. Rational theories are criticized by the constructivist for treating identities and interests as exogenously given. Because the structure has constitutive effect on the actors, '…the structure leads actors to redefine their interests and identities in the process of interacting (they become 'socialized' by process)' (*ibid.* 189). This is clearly a different outlook from that of the methodological individualist (Risse, 2004: 160). 'Whereas constructivists treat identity as an empirical question to be theorized within a historical context, neo-realism assumes that all units in global politics have only one meaningful identity, that of self-interested states' (Hopf, 1998: 175). In other words, 'Constructivism and neo-realism have the assumption that interests imply choices, but neo-realism further assumes that states have the same a priori interests. Such a homogenizing assumption is possible only if one denies that interests are the products of the social practices that mutually constitute actors and structures' (*ibid.* 176). Hence, the main difference between the two approaches is that the interests that neo-realism takes for granted are problematized by constructivists.

This tenet – the constitutiveness of structure and agent – also has important implications for the study of EU. The rationalist theories of EU integration are mostly agent-centred. In terms of the research on the 'evolvement of European institutions', the rationalist assumptions do not pose such a problem (Risse, 2004: 161). 'If institution-building and, thus, the emergence of new social structures are to be explained, agency-centred approaches are doing just fine' (*ibid.*). Where these approaches fail is when the research is on the impact of integration process on its member states (*ibid.* 162). For instance, the focus on discourse is one way of displaying the interaction between the structure and agent:

> Discourse is fundamental both in giving shape to new institutional structures, as a set of ideas about new rules, values and practices, and as a resource used by entrepreneurial actors to produce and legitimate those ideas, as a process of interaction focused on policy formulation and communication. After all, policy change in the EU is not simply the result of top-down institutional and outside-in economic pressures but is rather

the result of decisions by political leaders taken after deliberation on alternative policy choices (Schmidt and Radaelli, 2004).

Thus specifically in the Europeanization literature, social constructivism has an important role to play. Focusing on the interaction between the structure and the agent, social constructivism provides tools to analyse the process of change happening not only in the member states, but also beyond the EU. Christiansen *et. al.* argue that:

> It is the constructivist project of critically examining transformatory processes of integration rather than the rationalist debate between intergovernmentalists (implicitly assuming that there is no fundamental change) and comparativists (implicitly assuming that fundamental change has already occurred) which will be moving the study of European integration forward (2001: 11)

For the past decade, there has been a growing literature on the impact of the European integration on its member-states and candidate states (see for instance Risse *et. al.,* 2001; Featherstone and Radaelli, 2003; and Cowles *et. al.,* 2001). Börzel defines Europeanization as 'a two-way process': 'Bottom-up' 'emphasizes the evolution of European institutions as a set of new norms, rules and practices', 'top-down' 'refers to the impact of these new institutions on political structures and processes of the member States' (2002: 193).

There are various approaches to Europeanization. According to the traditional rationalist outlook 'Europe is largely conceived as an emerging political opportunity structure which offers some actors additional legal and political resources to exert influence, while constraining the others to pursue their goals' (*ibid.*). This approach takes interests, identities and norms as externally given. Europeanization is conceived as a process that gives rise to a distinct opportunity structure, which empowers or disempowers different actors. In contrast to this approach, the sociological institutionalists believe that Europeanization is a process that generates logic of appropriateness. Börzel defines the logic of appropriateness as 'collectively shared understandings of what constitutes proper' (*ibid.*). The interests, identities and norms of the actors are redefined and reconstructed within the process. The institutionalist approaches employ the 'goodness of fit models' to explain the process of Europeanization.

This dissertation argues that these models fail to explain the process of Europeanization taking place in policy areas where the pressure from the EU is less direct, such as the educational policy. Thus the study uses the policy transfer model as a conceptual

framework (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996; 2000) and Radaelli's definition of Europeanization is adopted:

> Processes of (a) construction (b) diffusion and (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 EU policy process and then incorporated into the logic of domestic discourse, identities, political structures and public policies (2003a: 30).

The dependent variable of the dissertation is norm diffusion. How are norms created at the EU level and diffused to the national level? Within the Europeanization literature, the emphasis is mostly on norm diffusion with pressure, the dissertation focuses on a policy area where there is no direct pressure. Norms mostly diffuse due to direct incentive, yet how about areas where there is no direct incentive or pressure? Analysing this process requires one to focus on the interaction between the structure – the European educational space – and the agent – Turkey in the case of this dissertation.

1.3   QUESTIONS AND DESIGN OF THE STUDY

The question of the dissertation is how policy diffusion occurs in policy areas where there is no direct pressure. This dissertation focuses on the European educational policy, specifically initiatives at the level of the higher education. Turkey has been a part of the educational space since 2001. This research aims to answer the following questions:

1) How are the European educational space and the norms of the space constructed in the European level?

2) How and why do these norms diffuse to the national level?

The dissertation aims to answer these questions by focusing on two different levels – the European level and the national level; and analyse the interaction between these levels. The study employs Dolowitz and Marsh's policy transfer model (1996; 2000). The model is based on four dimensions. First of all the source of the diffusion process is explained, which in this case is the European educational space and the norms on which the space is built

around. Secondly, reasons behind the diffusion process are discussed. Thirdly, the agents of diffusion process are identified. Finally, the discourses the agents use to justify the diffusion are analysed in detail. In other words, the questions of why and how the norms of the space are diffused and adapted in the national level are focused upon.

The first part of the research aims to show how the European educational space is constructed. Michel De Certeau in his famous work written in 1984 distinguishes space (*espace*) from place (*lieu*). James Clifford depicts de Certeau's conception of space in the following manner 'space is never ontologically given. It is discursively mapped and corporeally practiced. For instance, an urban neighbourhood may be laid out physically according to a street plan. Let's name it a 'place'. But it is not a 'space' until it is used and practiced by people's active participation, their movements through and around it.' (1997: 54). Thus space is established by people's involvement with the place, by the common practices, rules, norms and ideas they come to share. It is an anthropological concept.

The concept of European space is widely used in the literature, yet not clearly defined. It is an important concept because it implies a change in the focus of social sciences whose boundaries were drawn by the nation-state for so long. Currently, what is understood from political spatiality is changing, thus the concept itself is used and therefore questioned more frequently. Besides the spatiality of the nation-state, different political spaces have emerged, one of which is the EU. Yet the EU also harbours different spaces within itself, some of which are smaller and some larger than its actual territorial boundaries. The EU is composed of different spaces, which most of the time crosscut each other. This dissertation focuses on the European Educational Space.

The first part of the research is based on primary document analysis. In this part where the European educational space is discussed, the official EU documents are analysed to trace the evolution of the norms of the European educational space. The relevant EU treaties, decisions, regulations, Commission communications, White and Green Papers, declarations and communiqués are analysed.

The second part focuses on Turkey as a case study. How is Turkey integrating into the educational space? The focus is on the process of the policy transfer, rather than the

outcome or the impact. The concern of the dissertation is the process and mechanisms of diffusion in soft policy areas, such as the educational policy, where there is no direct pressure from the top. In this part, the reasons behind the diffusion process, the agents of change and the discourses they employ to justify the changes are concentrated on.

Document analysis is done to provide insight on structural changes taking place in Turkey. As a result of policy diffusion, what kind of changes (structural or otherwise) in Turkish higher education has been brought forward? Through the documents the diffusion process is outlined in detail. The three National Reports, the 2008 Eurydice Report on the Education System in Turkey, various national reports (such as CoHE's Higher Education Strategy and their Report on Foundation Universities, which were both published in 2007) are analysed. Also, presentations of the Bologna experts that are posted regularly in the official CoHE Bologna Process Turkey Website, as well as their reports published at the end of each term are focused upon.

After outlining the structural changes taking place in Turkey with reference to the European educational policy, the dissertation outlines how the agents of change in Turkey construct and shape the policy diffusion process. How do the agents of change in the national level instrumentalise this Europeanization process? How do agents take up norms and use them for change? How do they interpret Europeanization? What do they think about the Europeanization process? The agents of change in Turkey are identified as the CoHE, the National Agency, the Bologna Experts and the officials working in the international offices of the universities. Focusing on the discourses agents of change one sees the function of using Europe as a reference point. The experts and university officials instrumentalise the process, but this instrumentalisation is also a construction. So it is essential to see how the agents of construct the costs and benefits of the integration and whether they use Europe as a reference point. The agents of change also become the 'agents of European consciousness', which Shore defines as '*all* those actors, actions, artefacts, bodies, institutions, policies and representations which, singularly or collectively, help to engender awareness and promote acceptance of the "European idea"' (original emphasis, Shore, 2000: 26).

For this purpose, semi-structured interviews with 8 experts were conducted. The experts are the officials in Centre for EU Education and Youth Programmes in Turkey (the

National Agency) – the President of the National Agency as well as the coordinator of the Erasmus Programme –, the coordinator of the EU and International Relations Department of the Higher Education Council and selected members of the National Team of Bologna Experts. Alongside the interviews with the experts, semi-structured interviews were conducted with the officials working in the international offices from 16 universities. Through the data collected, the reasons behind the diffusion process and the discourses employed to justify the changes are identified.

Participant-observation is used as another method of data collection. Meetings in Anadolu University in Eskisehir (National Conference on the Bologna Coordination Model on March 19, 2010), Namik Kemal University in Tekirdag (Regional Workshop for the Newly Established Universities on May 28, 2010) and TOBB University of Economy and Technology in Ankara (Meeting with the Bologna Coordination Committee Chairs on December 10, 2010), the Erasmus Biannual meeting organized by the National Agency in Gaziantep (5-6 November 2009) were observed. This research technique is used to analyse how the diffusion process occurs. Five site visits were made to Sakarya University in Sakarya, Ege University in Izmir, Hacettepe University in Ankara, Ankara University in Ankara and Istanbul Technical University in Istanbul. Through these visits the changes taking place in the universities in Turkey were observed first hand.

This dissertation is a qualitative study based on descriptive narration. The study relies on primary sources, participant-observation and interviews with what can be deemed to be educational 'elites' of the space, which are identified as 'the agents of change'. The method of triangulation is employed – data is collected from interviews, participant-observation in educational activities, as well as official documents and reports. The dissertation employs the methodological toolkit of process tracing in trying to explain how the policy evolved in the EU level, its impact on the national level as well as the universities. The focus is on how the discourse of change is framed by the experts within the national framework and how it is viewed by the university officials, in other words how the actors are socialised into these norms.

The dissertation is divided into five main chapters. The next chapter sets out the theoretical framework of the dissertation. It reviews the literature on Europeanization. The

third chapter discusses the methodological basis of the dissertation. The fourth chapter defines the European education space. After focusing on the historical evolution of the European education policy, the parameters of the European education space is set out. The fifth chapter is composed of two main parts. The first part analyses the structural changes going on in Turkish higher education. These structural changes are all done in reference to the European Educational Policy, specifically the Bologna Process, combined with the requirements of the integration into the Erasmus program. The second part concentrates on the national level discourses surrounding the structural changes. Focusing on the discourses of the experts sheds light on how and why the process of diffusion is happening, how the experts define the process and rationalise it. The discourses of the university officials is also analysed to capture their perceptions of the changes taking place in Turkish higher education within the framework of the Erasmus program and the Bologna Process.

1.4   SIGNIFICANCE

While Turkey has become part of the European Educational space very recently, the Europeanization process in the country goes back to the 19th century. Deeming it to be part of its westernization efforts, Turkey was very quick to establish relations with the EU. It was in 1959 that the Menderes government in Turkey tried to open up a relationship with the then communities. After long years of hurdles, the negotiations for membership between the two parties started in the year 2005. The period between 1999 and 2005, when the status of candidacy was granted to Turkey and the opening of negotiations, was a period in which Europeanization in political terms was at its highest (see Kaya and Tecmen, 2011a). Yet by the end of 2005 this 'virtuous cycle' quickly turned back to a 'vicious' one (*ibid*. 29; also see Öniş, 2004). The carrot of the promise of membership does not seem to work in the same manner as in Central and Eastern European Countries, for the prospect in the case of Turkey seems to be getting more and more indefinite. Currently, there are many impediments on the way of the negotiations, one of which is the recognition of Southern Cyprus. As of May 2011, 18 chapters are blocked. Among these are the chapter on education and culture, which is blocked by Southern Cyprus. From the onset, it seems that the relations are currently in a bind.

Europeanization in candidate countries is mostly a top-down process, where conditionality is one of the main instruments. Conditionality creates an asymmetrical relation between the EU and the candidate country, where the former dictates the terms of the relationship. This is also the case for Turkey. Most of the studies on Turkey focus on conditionality. Yet, focusing solely on conditionality gives an incomplete picture. Conditionality has limited explanation power in terms of norm adoption.

This research aims to contribute to the study of horizontal Europeanization and how it occurs. So the question is: in soft policy areas where pressure from the EU is not direct, such as the educational policy, can Europeanization occur? In the case of the Bologna process, there is no direct pressure on the member states or Turkey to implement the educational policy in the form of judicial pressure, because the process is a political one where the European Court of Justice plays no role. However, this does not mean there is *no* indirect pressure. The Bologna Process is based on peer pressure. The progresses of the member states within the process are compared regularly through national reports, which are made public. Turkey is one of the countries, which might seem least likely to feel the pressure for change because it is not a full member yet. Yet in the Turkish case, there is pressure stemming from its candidacy status, as education is part of the *acquis communitaire.* Also, reviews take place in the EU-Turkey Association Agreement sub-committee that deals with education.

Europeanization is a diffusion process occurring on different levels – diffusion from EU to the national level, diffusion from national level to the EU level and diffusion from national to societal level. This dissertation aims to shed light into this complexity. So a distinction between political and societal Europeanization can be made. The political Europeanization covers the Europeanization process, taking place at the official level, such as through the negotiations. Europeanization at the societal level occurs more informally and to a great extent horizontally. Europeanization is a dynamic/flexible process.

There are only a few academic studies on European educational policy and Turkey. To cite a couple of them, Tarman (2008), examines in his book the Europeanization of Turkish educational policy focusing on the Turkish history and social studies curriculum. He looks at the impact of the Council of Europe Programs and EU initiatives. Another study was

done by Stolle (2009), who concentrates on the Erasmus program. Her analysis is based on a field research on the program's impact on five Turkish universities. She applies the 'goodness of fit' model by Börzel and Risse. There are also Mızıkacı's works (2003; 2005), which dwell on the impact of European educational policy on mobility and quality systems in Turkey. The most recent and extensive research on the Bologna Process and Turkey was done by Kaya and Tecmen (2011a; 2011b). Among a variety of issues, they focus on the Bologna Process to understand the construction of identities in Europe within the framework of a project covering nine countries. Finally, there is also Önal's book (2011), who brings a new dimension to the debate on the Bologna Process in Turkey by compiling the works of various authors who analyse and criticize the process from a socialist perspective.

1.5   LIMITATIONS

The main limitation of this study is that it is based on a single case study. Turkey has been chosen as one of the 'least-likely cases' (see Trondal, 2002 for Norway) of Europeanization. Analysing the integration process of Turkey into the European education space brings important insights into the Europeanization and, more specifically, the policy transfer literature. The time frame of the study is short, yet in this short period of time the Turkish higher education has undergone important transformations. Because the focus is on the process of the policy transfer, rather than the outcome or the impact, the short time frame has not proved to be a limitation. Acknowledging the limitations of a single case study, in the discussion chapter secondary literature on different Bologna countries have been used for the purpose of comparison.

Another limitation is that the analysis of the study is based purely on the discourses of experts and the university officials, who are directly involved in the process. As the process consolidates, further study can be done on the views of other actors, such as political and other societal actors.   Analysis of important newspapers shows that the process is very narrowly covered in the media. The discussion and awareness on the societal level is still very limited. The debates surrounding the process stay mainly on the technical level. One recent

publication on the process by the Education and Science Worker's Union (*Eğitim Sen*) might bring further interest on the societal level (Gümüş and Kurul, 2011).

2   CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual framework of the dissertation is drawn by the literature on Europeanization. The concept of Europeanization was first coined by Ladrech in 1994. He defined Europeanization as 'a process reorienting the direction and shape of politics to the degree that EC political and economic dynamics become part of the organizational logic of national politics and policy-making' (1994: 69). The preoccupation with the concept since then coincides with the changes that are taking place in the field of European integration theory. The questions surrounding the integration process in the recent decade have been changing. For the past decade there has been a growing literature on the concept of Europeanization.

Europeanization is not an approach or a theory. It is a conceptual framework, which as Radaelli states 'should be seen as a problem, not a solution' (2004). Radaelli sees Europeanization as 'a way of orchestrating existing concepts and to contribute to cumulative research in political science' (*ibid.*). In other words, Europeanization in his opinion is a 'puzzle' that needs to be solved. Thus it should be treated as 'a problem in search of explanation – not the explanation itself' (*ibid.*), which this dissertation aims to do. The aim of the research is to analyse the diffusion process in the European educational space by taking Turkey as a case study; to analyse the Europeanization process in a soft policy area in a candidate country.

While research on Europeanization is still 'disorderly' as Olsen (2002: 922) argues, it is no doubt that literature on the concept of Europeanization has contributed to European studies as well as social sciences. Radaelli points out that studies on Europeanization refers to three important questions: 'the understanding and analysis of 'impact', how to endogeneise international governance in models of domestic politics, and the relationship between agency and change' (2004: 2). Vink and Graziano argue that Europeanization 'has at least enriched the study of European politics by providing new empirical data on previously under-researched questions related to domestic politics in an integrating Europe' (2007: 5).

Featherstone and Radaelli point out that Europeanization is 'not a single theory, but rather a distinct set of research foci...' (2003). There have been various theoretical approaches,

such as the institutionalist approaches that have sought to theorize the concept (see Aspinwall and Schneider, 2000). The dissertation adopts a social constructivist approach. Accordingly, the argument of this dissertation is that Europeanization process is not only about institutional and policy-oriented changes, but also about identity and norm changes. The interests, identities and norms of the actors are redefined and reconstructed within the process of European integration and '…norms and rules structure and therefore socially constitute – 'cause' – the things people do; that is, they provide actors with direction and goals for action (in Adler, 1997; also see Finnemore, 1996: 28). Thus it is crucial to understand the changes taking place in Turkey in relation to the European educational policy.

The first section of this chapter focuses on the different definitions of Europeanization. The dissertation adapts Radaelli's conceptualisation (2003a: 30; also see Bulmer and Radaelli, 2004). After focusing on the institutionalist theories that have been employed in the Europeanization literature, the chapter reviews the 'goodness of fit' model. The model fails to capture the dynamics of the alternative forms of Europeanization, such as horizontal Europeanization. Therefore the chapter reviews the main mechanisms of horizontal Europeanization, which occurs in soft policy areas such as educational policy where the pressure from the EU is indirect. Lastly, the chapter introduces the policy transfer model that the dissertation employs as a conceptual model. This model provides a framework for the dissertation in the analysis of the diffusion of the European educational norms to the national level.

2.1   DEFINING EUROPEANIZATION

Defining Europeanization is problematic. One encounters many definitions in the literature, which can be deemed as a theoretical exercise in itself. While Olsen sees this as an 'attention-directing device' (2002: 943), Caporaso argues 'inventing definitions and model building, the process of assigning meaning to terms is, from the start, a theoretical exercise' (2007).

There are various definitions of the concept. Olsen (2002) identifies five usages of the concept: 'Changes in external boundaries'; 'Developing institutions at the European

level'; 'Central penetration of national systems of governance'; 'Exporting forms of political organization' and 'A political unification project'. The third definition is the most common one (*ibid.* 932) (see Table 2.1).

Table 2–1: Olsen's Typology of Europeanization

Changes in external boundaries	*Developing institutions at the European level*	*Central penetration of national systems of governance*	*Exporting forms of political organization*	*Exporting forms of political organization*
This definition refers to the territorial boundaries of the EU system and creation of a single European space.	This definition refers to 'centre-building'.	This definition focuses on how the institutional framework of the EU has an impact on the national systems.	The definition refers to impact of the European model on non-EU states and regions.	The definition refers to building of a single political Europe.
The mechanism at work is rule application, such as the use of the Copenhagen Criteria during the enlargement process.	The mechanisms at work here are purposeful decision-making, where actors make decisions on how to institutionalize on the EU level and how much competence to transfer.	The mechanism is experiential learning, where actors react to the process in terms of their experiences. Interpretation of the actors is important. Through competitive selection the most efficient institutional framework survives in the process.	The mechanism at work is the process of diffusion, the focus is on how the EU institutions are diffused and emulated beyond the EU.	The mechanism of the process is institutional mutual adaptation, where different institutions adapt to each other.

Source: Olsen, 2002

The discussions over the conceptualization of Europeanization revolve around two main definitions. Bulmer (2007) condenses Olsen's typology into two: Europeanization can be defined as 'transfer from Europe to other jurisdictions' and 'building European capacity'. Börzel defines the two above-mentioned conceptualizations as top-down and bottom-up Europeanization (2002). The bottom up Europeanization refers to 'the evolution of European institutions as a set of new norms, rules and practices' (*ibid.*). Here the concept captures the newly emerging institutions and norms in the level of EU, above that of the nation-state. The second type of Europeanization, which Börzel refers as 'top-down', is 'the impact of these new institutions on political structures and processes of the member States' (*ibid.*).

For many years in the European studies literature the focus of attention was the EU level and how the different institutions, norms and rules came into existence in the EU level. This began to change with studies on top-down Europeanization. One example of a prominent research on Europeanization is Cowles, Caporaso and Risse's edited book entitled the *Transforming Europe: Europeanization and Domestic Change* (2001). The authors in their introduction define Europeanization as 'as the emergence and the development at the European level of distinct structures of governance' (*ibid.*) and they look at the impact of Europeanization on the domestic structures of the member states. Their main concern is change; and whether and in what ways Europeanization brings change to the domestic structures of the member states. They focus on 'formal structures (national legal systems, regional administration), as well as informal ones (business-government relations, nation-state identities and citizenship norms)' (*ibid.*). The impact of the EU is also a concern for the non-members. Grabbe states that 'Many of the phenomena identified in the Europeanization literature can also be seen emerging in Central and Eastern European countries, but the EU's influence on applicants has the added dimensions of conditionality and a negotiating process' (2003: 304). Goetz defines this as 'Eastern style' Europeanization (2001: 1036). Conditionality is one of the main mechanisms of Europeanization in the case of candidate states.

Over the years, some scholars began to criticize these definitions and stress that Europeanization is best captured as a two-way process, in other words as an interaction of two different conceptualization – top-down and bottom-up (see Table 2.2). Radaelli proposes a

definition, which is 'grounded in an understanding of Europeanization as interactive process, and not a simple process of uni-directional reaction to "Europe". It is useful to approach Europeanization well beyond a narrow, linear, top-down notion of "impact" (of the EU on domestic systems)' (2004; Radaelli points out that Olsen's definitions also capture this interaction). Furthermore, the discussions on Europeanization began to argue that the process is not only about top-down pressure, but also 'vertical and horizontal dimensions of influence' (Lehmkul, 2007). Therefore it is also necessary to 'pay attention to voluntary adaptation through processes of learning or policy transfer rather than merely looking at reactive processes of adaptation' (*ibid.*), which this dissertation intends to do by focusing on a soft policy area.

Table 2–2: Dyson and Goetz's (2002) Typology of Europeanization

First Generation	*Second Generation*
• top-down perspective, seeking to explain domestic reactions to pressures from above	• emphasizes both top-down and bottom-up, vertical and horizontal dimensions
• assumed 'mismatch' between European and domestic levels – particularly legal, institutional and procedural	• greater emphasis on interests, beliefs, values and ideas: the 'political' dynamics of fit
• emphasized reactive and involuntary nature of adaptation	• greater emphasis on voluntary adaptation through policy transfer and learning
• focused on policy and polity dimensions	• greater emphasis on politics, e.g., identities, electoral behaviour, parties and party systems
• expected increasing cross-national convergence	• emphasizes differential impact of Europe
• defined Europeanization in substantive terms – focus on the 'end state' effects	• emphasizes impact of Europeanization on domestic political, institutional and policy dynamics

Source: Bache, 2003

Acknowledging this interactive dimension of Europeanization and the horizontal forms of Europeanization, this dissertation adopts Radaelli's conceptualisation (2003a: 30; also see Bulmer and Radaelli, 2004), which states that:

> Europeanization consists of processes of a) construction, b) diffusion and 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 EU policy process and then incorporated in the logic of domestic (national and sub-national) discourse, political structures and public policies. It can derive from different stages and forms of the policy process: policy formulation (construction); putting policy into practice (institutionalization); and in a much less structured manner (diffusion), where the EU's role may be quite limited. Europeanization is not simply about formal policy rules but also about less tangible aspects, such as beliefs and values (2003: 30).

This dissertation focuses on the 'construction' of the educational policy in the European level and its institutionalisation and diffusion into the national level. One of the advantages of this definition is that it underlines the perspective of the actors in the process. As reiterated by Radaelli and Pasquier 'Europeanization is not an objective entity to be pigeonholed into one aseptic definition. Europeanization is what political actors make of it' (2007). Lehmkul also states 'the concept of Europeanization is better understood as a living concept that evolves over time and allow for alterations rather than being a more rigid rule-defined concept *a la Sartori*' (2007). These alterations are the reason why it is not an easy task to capture the concept of Europeanization.

2.2   THEORISING EUROPEANIZATION

To understand the concept of Europeanization, it is necessary to review the theories of integration. Europeanization is connected with how these theories evolved. As Lehmkul argues:

> …with a view on the patterns of scientific debates, the existence of attention cycles or sequences of research foci seems to be inherently linked to dynamics of research and its ideal of cumulating empirical and analytical knowledge. In this regard, it seems self-evident for the mainstream of European studies to first of all address policy-making and institutional dynamics at the European level as the new phenomena in the process of European integration and to discover other themes and foci

only later in the history of European studies (*ibid*. 338-9).

For years the study of European integration was dominated by two grand theories, the variants of neo-functionalism and intergovernmentalism (for an general overview of the theories, see Schimmelfenning, 2004; Schmitter, 2004; Rosamond 2000). Since the inception of the EU, these two theories, which had their roots in the field of international relations, have sought to explain the process of integration and the driving force behind the cooperation schemes. Diez and Wiener refer to this period of integration theory as 'the phase of explaining integration' (2004), in which the two dominating theoretical approaches offered two different explanations to the question of what drove the integration process. Both of these theories are rationalist theories. In other words both are actor-centred theories. At the centre of the intergovernmentalist argument is the nation-state, which drives the integration process. For the neo-functionalists, the supranational institutions have a crucial role to play too. Yet it is actually utility maximizing nation-states that instigate the integration project. After only a certain period of time – when functional spill-over starts – that the supranational institutions gain legitimacy (Risse, 2004: 162).

During the 1970s, the integration process entered into its dark ages and international relations scholars began to lose interest in integration studies. Yet this period was far from dormant in terms of integration theories. Policy-oriented studies began to dominate the integration studies starting from the 1970s. These scholars were interested in the 'actual workings of the new European institutions' (Jachtenfuchs, 2001). As opposed to grand theories, rather than striving to explain the whole, they focused on parts of the entity.

With the re-launch of the integration process in the 1980s, the EU theories entered into 'the phase of analysing governance' (Diez and Wiener, 2004). As the integration process deepened, it was much more difficult for the grand theories to capture the complex nature of the European entity. The dynamics of the process went beyond that of supranational versus intergovernmental debate. Within the framework of European integration, various EU institutions/norms/rules have come into existence. Since the late 1980s, the study of European integration has flourished by various middle range approaches to European integration. While the EU studies was used to be dominated by the analytical tools of international relations, other perspectives, such as from comparative politics and public policy gained prominence.

The EU was more than an arena for international cooperation, it was also a polity on its own (Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, 2006).

This change in theoretical focus signified that the emphasis was shifting more towards top-down studies starting from 1990s (Börzel, 2004). Intergovernmentalism and neo-functionalism have a bottom-up focus. 'In the main theories of integration, domestic politics is a central explanatory factor… Much less effort has gone into thinking about the reverse effect: European integration as an explanatory factor in domestic political continuity or change' (Hix and Goetz, 2000: 1).

If we go back to Europeanization and theories of integration as Radaelli argues what Europeanization is a 'set of post-ontological puzzles' (2004).

> This means that we start from the notion that there is a process of European integration under way, and that the EU has developed its own institutions and policies over the last fifty years or so. Accordingly, the puzzles do not refer to the nature of the beast (to paraphrase Puchala 1973), i.e., why and how do member states produce European integration, and whether the EU is more inter-governmental or supra-national. Instead, the theoretical effort in Europeanization as a research agenda is all about bringing domestic politics back into our understanding of European integration, without assuming that the balance of power between the state and European institutions is being tilted in one direction or another (*ibid*.).

Thus these changes brought with itself a new research question – how the European integration and various EU policies affect the states. Europeanization was an important step forward, because it treated the European integration and its institutions as an independent variable in domestic politics and problematized the adaptation of various domestic structures (Caporaso, 2007). Börzel states that 'integration theories are not well suited to understand Europeanization as their main puzzle is the explanation of dynamics and outcomes of European integration rather than domestic effects' (2004). Vink and Graziona focus on how the studies on Europeanization contributes to the integration theories:

> In questioning the state of the state, therefore, the Europeanization research agenda responds much better to the general concern of 'unit variation' in contemporary political science. Yet, precisely because it is more specifically directed at the study of state porosity, there is also a very good opportunity to reflect on how these insights feed back to the process of institution building at the European level (2007: 14).

Different approaches have been used to give the concept a theoretical basis. Specifically, the institutionalist approaches come to fore in the debates (see Table 2.3; also see Hall and Taylor, 1996). Hix and Goetz refer to this 'instutionalist turn' in European integration as 'explanations that operate principally at a macro institutional level and conceive of both European integration and in particular the national effect primarily in institutional terms' (2000: 18).

Table 2–3: The New Institutionalist Approaches

Approach	Integrative Dynamic
Rational Institutionalism	Institutions enable and constrain the actions of self-interested actors. Institutions intervene between actors' (exogenous) preferences and behaviour.
Sociological Institutionalism	Institutions are constitutive for actors' identities and interests. Institutions are *independent* variables, which constitute preferences and behaviour.

Source: Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, 2006

According to the traditional rationalist outlook 'Europe is largely conceived as an emerging political opportunity structure which offers some actors additional legal and political resources to exert influence, while constraining the others to pursue their goals' (Börzel, 2002; also Pollack, 2004). This approach takes interests, identities and norms as externally given. 'Actors engage in strategic interactions using their resources to maximize their utilities on the basis of given, fixed and ordered preferences' (Börzel and Risse, 2000; 2003). Thus Europeanization is conceived as a process that gives rise to a distinct opportunity structure, which empowers or disempowers different actors. The process is captured by 'logic of consequentialism', which is defined as 'changes in domestic opportunity structures associated with European integration and explain national adaptive reactions by reference to the actions of utility-maximizing domestic actors' (Hix and Goetz, 2000: 19).

In contrast to this approach, the sociological institutionalists believe that Europeanization is a process that generates 'a logic of appropriateness'. Börzel defines the

logic of appropriateness as 'collectively shared understandings of what constitutes proper' (2002). 'These collective understandings and intersubjective meaning structures strongly influence the way actors define their goals and what they perceive as rational action. Rather than maximizing their subjective desires, actors strive to fulfil social expectations in a given situation' (Börzel and Risse, 2000). Risse calls this approach the 'constructivist inspired version of institutionalist research' (2004: 174). The sociological institutionalist view has a structuralist and a more agency-centered explanation of domestic change. The structuralist explanation 'focuses on institutional isomorphism suggesting that institutions which frequently interact, are exposed to each other or are located in a similar environment, over time develop similarities in formal organizational structures, principles of resource allocation, practices, meaning structures, and reform patterns' (Börzel and Risse, 2000; 2003). Thus over time, the organizational structures converge (Börzel, 2004). The second explanation is agency centred and 'focuses on socialization processes by which actors learn to internalize new norms and rules in order to become members of (international) society 'in good standing'. Actors are socialized into new norms and rules of appropriateness through processes of persuasion and social learning and redefine their interests and identities accordingly' (Börzel and Risse, 2003).

This dissertation adapts the second outlook and treats Europeanization as an intersubjective concept. As Radaelli and Schmidt refer to Kratochwill and Ruggie's article (1986) and argue that 'there exists no external Archimedean lever to assess Europeanization as it 'truly' is. It is not a concrete entity, but a conceptual creation in which inter- subjectivity plays an important role' (2004). It is crucial to focus on how the actors define/interpret Europeanization.

2.3 MODELS OF EUROPEANIZATION

One of the most important models of Europeanization is the 'goodness of fit model' that is based on the institutionalist approaches mentioned above (for the discussion of the model see Börzel, 2003; Börzel and Risse, 2000; Börzel and Risse, 2003; for the application of the model to Turkey and higher education see Stolle, 2009; see Table 2.4 and Figure 2.1).

This model argues that 'In order to produce domestic effects, EU policy must be somewhat difficult to absorb at the domestic level. The lower the compatibility between European and domestic processes, policies and institutions, the higher is the adaptational pressure Europe exerts on the Member States' (Risse *et. al.*, 2001; also see Börzel and Risse, 2000). The initial studies on Europeanization focused on the autonomy of the member states and they usually expected some sort of convergence, but this convergence did not occur. Institutionalists approaches tries to give an answer to this by employing the 'goodness of fit' model (Börzel, 2003). Today the Europeanization studies focus on three dimensions: the polity (formal and informal domestic institutions), policies or the politics (*ibid*.).

The goodness of fit model points out to two types of misfits – policy and institutional misfit. This model constructs a three-step approach to Europeanization, where adaptational pressures, fit/misfit between domestic/EU level and mediating factors play a role. The model argues that 'strong movements in Europeanization as well as strong adaptational pressure do not necessarily translate into domestic structural change. These forces must pass through and interact with facilitation and / or obstructive factors specific to each country' (Risse *et al.*, 2001: 2). Europeanization creates adaptational pressures on the states. Yet the impact of these adaptational pressures depends on how much change is needed and the mediating factors.

The 'goodness of fit' model employs two different theoretical approaches – rationalist institutionalism and sociological institutionalism. Börzel and Risse (2000) conceptualize the adaptational pressures in two ways: logic of consequentialism or logic of appropriateness. Domestic change is characterized either 'as a process of the redistribution of resources' or 'as a process of socialization and learning'. The impact of high adaptational pressure is interpreted differently by the two logics. They also argue that 'two pathways might relate to each other in sequential way… more Europeanization exerts adaptational pressures on constitutive and deeply embedded institutions (such as citizenship rules) and collective identities, the more the socialization/learning pathway is necessary to induce constitutive change' (*ibid.* 19).

Table 2–4: The 'Goodness of Fit' Models

Rational Institutionalism	Sociological Institutionalism
Logic of Consequentialism	Logic of Appropriateness
Process of redistribution of resources	Process of socialization and learning

Source: Börzel, 2003; Börzel and Risse, 2000; Börzel and Risse, 2003

Figure 2–1: The Two Logics of Change
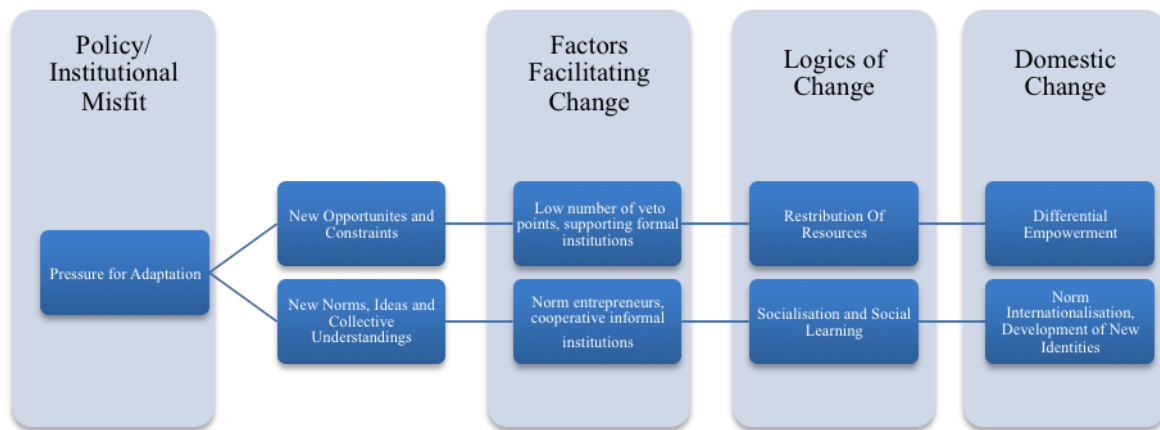
Source: Börzel, 2003; Börzel and Risse, 2000; Börzel and Risse, 2003

The 'goodness of fit' models have been criticized by many scholars (for a review see Börzel, 2003). The main criticism is directed to the problem of determining whether there is fit or misfit. Goetz argues that 'fits and misfits are politically constructed: apart from extreme cases, there is no absolute match or mismatch' (Goetz, 2002 in Schmidt and Radaelli, 2004). It is important how the agents of change define 'fit' or 'misfit'. 'All in all, the 'goodness of fit' framework is somewhat excessively structural. There is not enough room for agency. True, actors are not completely neglected, but they act only in response to pressure. Instead, actors can also choose and learn from Europe outside adaptational pressures' (Radaelli, 2004).

Another issue is that this model is not applicable to all policy areas. As there are different policies, the model fails to capture each of their dynamic. For instance, Knill and Lehmkul (1999) distinguish between three ideal types of policy-making frameworks and they argue that these are 'characterized by distinctive mechanisms of Europeanization, and hence

require distinctive approaches in order to explain their domestic impact' (*ibid*. 1; see Table 2.6). Especially this is the case in soft mechanism policy areas (Radaelli, 2003a) or framing policy areas (Knill and Lehmkul, 1999). These are policy areas where there is no policy template, such as OMC policy areas (see Bulmer, 2007). While the 'goodness of fit' model might explain the diffusion process in the positive integration areas, in the soft policy areas – where learning, spread of best practice are important mechanisms of Europeanization – the model fails:

> With respect to policies of negative integration and framing integration, by contrast, a merely institutional perspective is not sufficient to account for the domestic impact of Europe. Instead, we need to apply an actor-centred perspective which takes account of the extent to which European policies have either altered domestic opportunity structures (negative integration) or beliefs and expectations of domestic actors (framing integration). Although domestic institutions play a crucial role in affecting domestic adjustment patterns in these cases, they do not independently explain the domestic impact of Europe. They must instead be taken as intervening factors mediating the impact of changes in interests, strategies, and beliefs of domestic actors (Knill and Lehmkul, 1999: 11).

Similarly, Bulmer and Radaelli (2004) identify different types of governance models and argue that Europeanization works in different mechanisms in each type (see Table 2.5 and Figure 2.2). Their argument is also that the 'goodness of fit' model is explanatory in positive integration.

> 'Goodness of fit' assumes a clear, vertical, chain-of-command, in which EU policy descends from Brussels into the member states. ...Yet they have used European policy to justify and legitimate change. Governments already seeking reform have been able to use European policy as an opportunity, rather than responding to a 'pressure'... The implication is that adaptational pressure is not a necessary condition for Europeanization to cause domestic change or that adaptational pressure is politically constructed (Bulmer and Radaelli, 2004: 9).

Table 2–5: Alternative Models of Europeanization I

Mode of Governance	Type of Policy	Analytical Core	Main Mechanism
Negotiation	Any of those below	Formulation of EU Policy	Vertical (uploading)
Hierarchy	Positive Integration (social policy, CAP, regional policy, environmental policy)	Market correcting rule; EU policy template	Vertical (downloading)
Hierarchy	Negative Integration (EU competition policy)	Market making rules; absence of policy templates	Horizontal
Facilitated Coordination	Coordination	Soft law, OMC, policy exchange	Horizontal

Source: Bulmer and Radaelli, 2004

Table 2–6: Alternative Models of Europeanization II

Policy /Integration Type	Positive Integration	Negative Integration	Framing
Dominant Europeanization Mechanism	Institutional Model for Domestic Compliance	Changing Domestic Opportunity Structures	Changing Beliefs of Domestic Actors
Explanation of Domestic Adaptation Patterns	Degree of Institutional Compatibility	Degree of Resource and Power Redistribution Between Domestic Actors	Degree of Support Mobilization for Domestic Reforms

Source: Knill and Lehmkul, 1999

Figure 2–2: Alternative Models of Europeanization III
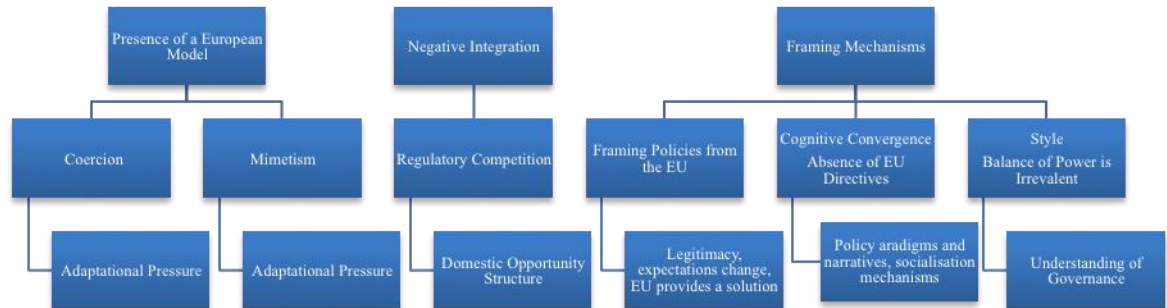
Source: Radaelli, 2000b

Thus the main criticism directed against the 'goodness of fit' model is that it 'privileg[es]… hierarchy over coordination in the conceptualisation of Europeanization' (Bulmer, 2007; also see Exadaktylos and Radaelli, 2009). This is also exemplified by the fact that there has been a far greater focus on implementation in the Europeanization literature. Europeanization has been mostly judged through implementation of relevant EU provisions (Lavenex, 2007). Lavenex proposes that the focus should be more on policy areas where there is little *acquis communataire*.

Connected with this is the criticism that the model is that it is a one-way model, which privileges top-down processes. This tendency to focus on top-down process is more apparent in the case of candidate states. The Eastern style Europeanization privileges top-down processes, as the candidates have very low chance of uploading their policies to the EU level. Conditionality is one of the main mechanisms of Europeanization. Schimmelfenning *et. al.* (2003) define how the process works:

> In applying conditionality, a social actor uses the mechanism of reinforcement to change the behaviour of another actor. Reinforcement is a form of social control by which pro-social behaviour is rewarded and anti-social behaviour is punished. It is based on the expectation that, after a certain time, the actors subjected to reinforcement will stick to pro-social behaviour in order to avoid punishment and continue to be rewarded (2003: 496).

31

With the help of conditionality, Grabbe argues that the 'accession process is pushing the applicant countries towards greater convergence with particular policy models than has occurred within the existing EU' (2003: 306; also see Goetz, 2004: 480-1). Thus compared to the Western style Europeanization, one sees more signs of convergence. The convergence is high because in contrast to the Western style Europeanization, the Eastern style has more 'hierarchical' and 'impositional' features (Goetz, 2004: 480). The Eastern style Europeanization is more prone to be 'top-down' Europeanization rather than a 'bottom-up'. The candidates are mainly 'downloaders', they adjust to the EU policies, institutions and norms. They do not yet have an opportunity to 'upload' their preferences, as the current members states are able to. In other words, their impact on the integration process has been limited (*ibid*. 473).

Hughes *et. al.* criticize the studies on conditionality. They argue that these studies base their analyses of conditionality on the power of asymmetry that exists between the EU and the candidate states (2004: 2-3; also see Schimmelfennig, 2000; Grabbe, 2006). Where the EU (the socialiser), influences the candidates (the socialised) through rewards and sanctions. Hughes *et. al.* criticize these studies for taking the 'causative effects as given' and they construct a new model, in which they take into account many intervening factors in the process. These are multi-level actors, perceptions, rewards/sanctions, timing and compliance.

Grabbe also argues that the effects of conditionality vary from one policy area to another, as well as from one candidate to another. She refers to this as the 'diffusion of impact' (2001: 1024-7). She argues that it is also difficult to distinguish between 'internally and externally driven processes of change' (*ibid*. 1027-8). Thus the causal link between the two concepts is not always clear-cut. Bulmer and Radaelli argue that:

> On balance, asymmetric power is the major force, but one should not underestimate the counter-forces produced by uncertainty. Consequently, policy emulation (of EU models) in candidate countries can be highly selective. Candidate countries may import, imitate, and absorb EU policies creatively. Leaders in the former communist states in Eastern and Central Europe distinguish between those aspects of EU policy which are useful for domestic political purposes and those which are politically damaging or useless. Imitation has a political logic (2004).

In other words, as argued above, Europeanization is more complex than assumed by the top-down model. Europeanization is a two-way process and the model of 'goodness of fit' fails to capture the complexity of the process. Lavenex argues that Europeanization is a circular process, which he defines as an 'understanding of Europeanization takes its point of departure in the member states, traces their bottom-up influence on the output of European cooperation, and then evaluates the impact back onto the member states in the light of the role they played in the design of these European policies' (2007). What is important to underline here is that 'understanding of Europeanization as institutionalisation and interactive process' (Radaelli and Pasquier, 2007: 37).

Alternatively, Radaelli and Pasquier (*ibid.*) suggest a bottom-up-down model. This outlook has a different research design. 'Instead of starting from European policies (or politics) as independent variable and tracking down the consequences for domestic actors, policies, and politics, it starts and finishes at the level of domestic actors' (Radaelli, 2004). The benefit of the model is explained in Exadaktylos and Radaelli:

> In top-down models, empirical research starts from the presence of integration, controls the level of fit/misfit of the EU-level policy vis-à-vis the Member States and then explains the presence or absence of domestic change. The model is recursive, that is there are no exogenous variables. Technically, this model can be represented by a system of linear equations that are solved simultaneously. It allows for a wide range of intervening variables or mediating factors... The bottom-up research design exogenizes the EU level. It starts from the set of actors, ideas, problems, rules, styles and outcomes at the domestic level at time zero – in short, the policy system at a given time. Then it process-traces the system over the years and identifies the critical junctures or turning points… For each juncture, the question becomes: was the cause of this major change domestic, or did the change come from exogenous variables like the EU-level variables or global-level variables? (2009: 510).

This dissertation also argues that Europeanization is more complex that assumed by the 'goodness of fit' model. The model fails to explain the diffusion process taking place in the soft policy areas, as well as the interactive dimension of the process. Europeanization is not a simple process of uploading or downloading. The interaction between the structure and agent is more complex.

2.4   HORIZONTAL EUROPEANIZATION

This dissertation focuses on the educational policy, which can be characterized as a soft policy area; or in other terminologies as an area of facilitated coordination (Radaelli, 2004) or framing policy (Knill and Lehmkul, 1999). The policy area is mainly identified as closer to an intergovernmental policy area, where states still retain their competence through. There is little *acquis communautaire*, and supranational institutions play small roles. In educational policy rather than hard law, soft law mechanisms are present. Soft law is defined as: '…rules of conduct that are not legally enforceable but none the less have a legal scope in that they guide the conduct of the institutions, the member states and other policy participants' (Radaelli, 2008). The OMC is a form of soft law introduced with the Lisbon European Council in 2000, which this section concentrates on as an example of horizontal Europeanization. In the Lisbon Conclusions, the educational policy was mentioned indirectly, linked with the Lisbon Strategy and the goals it set out. Since then the instruments of OMC are used in the educational policy (see Gornitzka, 2005). The Bologna Process came into existence outside of the treaty competence and is being implemented through the instruments similar to that of the OMC.

The concept of OMC, which was first coined in the Lisbon European Council Presidency Conclusions in March 2000, can capture the dynamics of this process[2]. Points 37 and 28 of the Lisbon Conclusions outlined the characteristics of the OMC policy area:

> 37) Implementation of the strategic goal will be facilitated by applying a new open method of coordination as the means of spreading best practice and achieving greater convergence towards the main EU goals. This method, which is designed to help Member States to progressively develop their own policies, involves:
>
> ▪ fixing guidelines for the Union combined with specific timetables for achieving the goals which they set in the short, medium and long terms;
>
> ▪ establishing, where appropriate, quantitative and qualitative indicators and benchmarks against the best in the world and tailored to the needs of different Member States and sectors as a means of comparing best practice;
>
> ▪ translating these European guidelines into national and regional

---

[2] The roots of the strategy can be found in the 1994 European Council decision, which was taken in the aftermath of the White Paper on Growth, Competitiveness and Employment to monitor national developments.

policies by setting specific targets and adopting measures, taking into account national and regional differences;

▪ periodic monitoring, evaluation and peer review organised as mutual learning processes.

38) A fully decentralised approach will be applied in line with the principle of subsidiarity in which the Union, the Member States, the regional and local levels, as well as the social partners and civil society, will be actively involved, using variable forms of partnership. A method of benchmarking best practices on managing change will be devised by the European Commission networking with different providers and users, namely the social partners, companies and NGOs (European Council, 2000).

The OMC method launched in 2000 by the Lisbon Council cannot be considered as an innovative policy style (see Radaelli, 2003b). As Bulmer and Radaelli point out 'the OMC itself, as defined by the Lisbon Council in the year 2000, is more an attempt to provide a definition to modes of policy-making that emerged in different policy areas in the 1990s than a dramatic innovation' (2004: 11). Borrás and Jacobsan also indicate that 'taken at face value, the OMC is a collection of mechanisms previously developed under the broad 'soft law' tradition in the EU, such as collective recommendations, review and monitoring, and benchmarking, which also bear similarities with the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development practices' (2004). Radaelli states that 'the OMC as discourse yielded political coherence to existing practices' (2003b). Yet one has to acknowledge that the OMC brings new characteristics to soft law as well; 'being a political rather than a legal process, building on a different set of actors, and being an on-going process entailing a refined system of monitoring and follow-up' (*ibid.*).

There are important functions of the OMC method, as well as soft laws. One is to find alternative methods of integration, as 'centralization of policy formation encapsulated in the Monnet method is more problematic due to difficulties in achieving policy convergence and popular dissatisfaction with the Union' (Hodson and Maher, 2001). As the number of member states increases, it is more difficult to take decisions. New and innovative ways of policy making are searched for. The OMC method means both 'new, and more limited, role of law' and also a 'new approach to problem-solving' (Radaelli, 2003b). Wallace defines OMC in the following manner 'the object is not to establish a single common framework, but rather to share experience and to encourage the spread of best practice' (2000: 33 cited in Hodson

and Maher, 2001). The policy has proven to be an alternative to both Community as well as intergovernmental method and is defined as 'perche(ing) on the fence between the Community method and the international method, it coaxes member states into co-ordinating their national public actions within a collectively decided framework, it spreads widely into different policy areas, and it cuts across the national–EU borders using persuasion but not coercion' (Borrás and Jacobsan, 2004).

Secondly, the OMC method is seen as a solution to the Union's much debated legitimacy problem with its emphasis on participation. The horizontal nature of the process might be a solution to EU's democratic deficit.

> The open method provides a pragmatic rather than a principled answer to the Achilles' heel of the EU – legitimacy. Legitimation is presumed for policy formed at the national level and, even if contested, arguments are framed in national rather than EU terms and hence are unlikely to call into question fundamentally the role of the EU in facilitating co-ordination (Hodson and Maher, 2001).

The main elements of the procedure are 'participation' and 'power-sharing', as point 38 of the Lisbon Conclusions indicate (Radaelli, 2003b). Under the concept of partnership, the method aims to involve as many actors as possible in the process. The OMC diversifies the EU by reinforcing its multi-level nature.

> The roles of the different levels of government are in a constant state of flux and deeply intertwined, as opposed to the image of a 'two-level game' where national–EU spheres are static and clearly delimited by Treaty reforms. The OMC might enhance this mutual multi-level dependency because the participation of social, sub-national and local actors becomes essential for a successful definition and implementation of national plans, as for example in the case of employment (Borrás and Jacobsson, 2004: 201).

Thus the OMC model contributes to transnationalisation by providing a venue for horizontal Europeanization.

> The high density of issues that characterizes the EU does not just refer to those that have been transferred to Brussels, but also the multitude of policy areas at national level. By means of the OMC, these areas might become subject to systematic and constant exposure (both to the public and to the EU members) in a way that the conventional processes of national policy- making will be transformed, generating a trans- rather than supranational policy dynamics. In contrast with the vertical

dimension of supranational policy-making, transnational policy dynamics might be understood as an extensive process of mutual functional influence across national policies, in a horizontal dimension (Borrás and Jacobson, 2004: 201).

The policies that employ the OMC method are listed below in the table (see Table 2.7). Most of the OMC policy areas are linked to the Lisbon agenda, but the OMC method is also applied in policy areas such as migration and asylum. While the OMC policy areas share characteristics, they differ in the manner they use the OMC method (see Table 2.8). Radaelli (2003b) defines three types of policy areas, which use the OMC. 'The reality is that the method varies markedly across policy areas. Accordingly, one should not refer to 'the' method but to different policy practices that take inspiration from the Lisbon conclusions as legitimising discourse' (*ibid.*). The first type uses the OMC openly, such as in the employment policy. The second type, such as education, asserts its intention to use the OMC, but use it minimally. For instance, national action plans and indicators are not used in the educational policy. There are also policy areas that use the OMC, but are not aware of it, such as in the area of direct taxation.

Table 2–7: The OMC Policy Areas

Lisbon European Council, 2000	Information society, research policy, entrepreneurial policy, social policy
Feira European Council, June 2000	Enterprise policy
Stockholm European Council, March 2001	Education policy, enlargement, pension reform

Source: Hodson, 2001

Table 2–8: Different Uses of OMC

OMC as the 'working method'	OMC as discourse, where minimal use of the method	'Open coordination in disguise', no deliberative intention
• Broad Economic Policy Guidelines • European Employment Strategy • Social Inclusion • Pensions	• Innovation and RDT policies • Education[3] • Information society • Environmental policy • Health care	• Direct taxation

Source: Radaelli, 2003b

How does Europeanization occur in soft law policy areas? The main instruments of this area are learning and the long-term socialisation. In such areas, 'if Europeanization occurs, it is a process of learning amongst national elites. The EU simply provides the arena' (Bulmer and Radaelli, 2004: 12). While learning is an important mechanism of change at all types of policies, in cases of soft policy areas learning especially plays an important role (*ibid.*; see Zito and Schout, 2009; Bennett and Howlett, 1992 for a review of the learning literature). One may call this policy transfer or spread of best practices. The OMC process works in the same manner:

> The OMC as process starts with the formulation of guidelines, followed by the agreement on a list of indicators. National plans are then developed by using the agreed lists of indicators and benchmarks. They are used to compare national results and to identify best or good practice. The final step is the 'monitoring, peer-review, and evaluation' stage of the process. This should provide learning opportunities that feed-back into the development of national policy and the re-formulation of guidelines (Radaelli, 2003b).

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[3] See Dale, 2004 and 2009b for a discussion of the OMC and educational policy.

Radaelli identifies three types of learning in soft policy areas 'learning by socialization', 'learning by monitoring', and 'learning by arguing and persuasion':

> Socialization processes make policy makers more aware of their interdependence, and can inspire more commitment towards EU-level goals. Monitoring enables the EU institutions to keep track of progress and to compare what has been achieved by the 27 member states, individually and as a whole… Finally, arguing and persuasion contribute to the refinement of guidelines, timetables, and goals (2008: 240).

Thus there are three mechanisms of OMC through which learning occurs. One is 'tapping local knowledge, exploring and exploiting successful experiences, and diffusing innovation from one system to another' (*ibid.* 245). This involves diffusion of ideas and norms among the actors. The actors learn from the experience of others. The actors of the process also come to create a common discourse amongst them, as the process of diffusion comes with a distinct terminology. Through regular monitoring and the national reports the countries that are part of the process is pressured into coordination, in terms of 'agenda-setting and structuring of attention' (Gornitzka, 2005: 5). The agenda is set through the instruments of the OMC and the reform process in the national level is structured according to the outline that is created by the process. The other one is participation to sustain a legitimate process (Radaelli, 2008: 245). The process by pushing for the involvement of as many actors as possible has the potential to create a legitimate diffusion process. And lastly, networking 'embodied in specific committees, benchmarking, peer review, multilateral surveillance, scoreboards, trend-charts and other mechanisms for transnational policy diffusion' takes place, which also is part of the diffusion process (*ibid.*).

For some authors like Jacobsson (2001; 2002) the learning process is still a top-down one (see Radaelli, 2003b for a discussion). The guidelines are formulated in the EU level and they have to be implemented by the national level. The process cannot bypass the top-down nature of the integration. Others like Trubek, Cohen and Sabel (as indicated by Radaelli, 2003b) argue that these policy areas create more possibility for bottom-up procedures with its emphasis on learning and best practice cross-nationally. Furthermore the emphasis put on participation brings forward new opportunities for different range of actors.

> The text of the Lisbon conclusions contains evidence for both schools of thought. On the one hand, there is a reference to EU goals, convergence,

and guidelines that Member States are supposed to meet – a reference that sounds like top-down dynamics. On the other, the text insists on mutual learning processes and development of domestic policies at a pace that is not dictated by Brussels – something close to bottom- up dynamics. If Lisbon contains the template of the OMC, it is fair to conclude that the template leaves the question of the relative weight of local knowledge versus top-down learning open (Radaelli 2003b).

This learning process entails a competitive dimension (Börzel and Risse, 2009). For instance benchmarking, which is based on 'on understanding how it is that others operate and why it is they behave in a particular manner in the light of agreed guidelines' (Hodson, 2001). 'Competition does not only entail the diffusion of ideas as normative standards for political or economic behaviour but also seeks to spread causal beliefs, for example by learning from best practice, on how to best reach these standards' (Börzel and Risse, 2009). The process comes to involve a 'reputational mechanism' (Gornitzka, 2005: 6). For the actors involved achieving the goals become a matter of prestige.

Focusing on the educational policy, this dissertation concerns with the process and mechanisms of policy diffusion in a soft policy area. The study analyses whether learning takes place in the case of Turkey. This is measured by the changes the higher educational policy is undergoing. In doing so, it questions whether this diffusion process creates a more favourable atmosphere for participation compared to other areas of integration. Because the pressure for change is indirect, the expectation is that the process will be more prone to societal participation and thus will give rise to long-term socialization.

2.5   POLICY TRANSFER: DIFFUSION OF IDEAS

This dissertation focuses on the mechanisms of Europeanization in a soft policy area, the educational policy. The focus of the dissertation is the question of how Europeanization works, or in other words the 'mechanisms through which causality works', which can be argued to be under-researched in the literature (Exadaktylos and Radaelli, 2009). Rather than focusing on the impact, this dissertation focuses on the process of Europeanization. Schmidt and Radaelli argue that focusing on the effects presupposes that EU has an impact (2004). The

question of the dissertation is how policy transfer occurs in a soft policy area, where there is no direct pressure.

As indicated above the 'goodness of fit' model does not capture the complexity of the Europeanization process. Because the pressure for change is indirect, 'the explanation of domestic change or persistence has to take account other non-institutional factors which alter the national context for strategic interaction' (Knill and Lehmkuhl, 1999: 4). As an alternative, the dissertation examines Europeanization from a 'policy transfer' framework.

Radaelli contrasts the policy transfer approach to the institutionalist approach. 'According to new institutionalism, actors follow rules, shared interpretations, symbols, schemata and meanings. Policy transfer, instead, assumes that policy diffusion is a rational process wherein imitation, copying and adaptation are the consequences of rational decisions by policy-makers' (Radaelli, 2000b: 28-9; also see Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996: 356). While one should not ignore the constitutive relationship between structure and agent and the importance of structure, the policy transfer model gives more emphasis to the agency. This dissertation does not employ the institutionalist model due to the criticisms raised in the other section.

Dolowitz and Marsh define policy transfer as a 'process in which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, institutions etc. in one time and/or place is used in the developlement of policies, administrative arrangements and institutions in another time and/or place' (1996; also see Radaelli, 2000b). As a result of globalisation, as well as growth in the number of international organizations, the concept of transfer has been used prominently in the recent years (Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000). Börzel and Risse (2009) point out the various dimensions of policy transfer in terms of the EU. First and foremost, there is the concept of Europeanization, which intends to capture the process of diffusion, which – as argued above – is not only vertical, but also a horizontal process. Secondly, there is also external side to this diffusion, as EU's impact is beyond that of the candidate countries. The EU has been a model of emulation for different regions. Thirdly, European integration is also part of a global process. Thus it should not be treated separately from the global diffusion process, which can be captured by the concept of globalisation. The EU should be analysed in relation to such global processes. The Europeanization process is being shaped by globalisation (*ibid.*).

The concept of policy transfer can be treated both as an independent or a dependent concept; 'if one wishes to use policy transfer to explain policy outcomes, then one also needs to explain what causes transfer; so, a full analysis would treat transfer as both a dependent and an independent variable' (Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000). The concept of policy transfer is beneficial to understand 'why a particular policy was adopted' and 'attempting to explain why transfer occurs' (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996: 354). Dolowitz and Marsh's model gives a conceptual framework to following questions: Who transfers policy? What is transferred? Why and how does transfer occur? This dissertation looks at Europeanization as a dependent variable and the aim is to understand why and how Europeanization in a soft policy area such as education policy in a candidate country occurs.

The policy transfer model can be useful in analysing horizontal Europeanization. The open method is similar to policy transfer, i.e. a process in which 'governments study each other's different methods, gauge the success of various policy alternatives and mimic best practices employed elsewhere, with successful policies transferred deliberately and willingly' (Bomberg and Peterson, 2000: 6, cited in Hodson and Maher, 2001). Radaelli argues that 'with the open method of coordination, governance by learning, socialisation, and policy transfer have been codified and somewhat institutionalised' (2004). As Flockhart argues, in the diffusion model there are three dimensions 'the ideational structure' – the norms that are constructed in the global and EU level –, 'the ideational agents' – the agents that are involved in the diffusion process –, and the 'ideational processes' – the instruments of diffusion. The next section outlines the focus of the dissertation, based on Dolowitz and Marsh's framework (1996; 2000).

2.5.1 Source of Diffusion

One of the questions in regard to diffusion of ideas is the source of the norm. This is an important issue and the answer may not always be clear. Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) argue that sources may range from international to local sources. This dissertation looks at the European level and how the norms of the European educational space are transferred into national level.

In the last section, some precautions in regard to defining Europeanization were presented. If Europeanization is defined simply as the impact of European integration, the question that needs to be asked is to what extent the change that one sees is due to European integration. It is not always easy to draw a distinction between Europeanization and other forces. 'Both European integration as a source of change and Europeanization as an effect are likely to interact strongly with other economic, political, legal and social developments' (Hix and Goetz, 2000: 21). As Bulmer and Radaelli indicate 'The boundaries between cause and effect, independent and dependent variables are blurred… Europeanization is a matter of reciprocity between moving features [EU and member states]… Attribution of domestic change to the EU is not always easy, since globalization is also a force at work' (2004: 3; also see Lehmkul, 2007). There might be a different processes at work beside the Europeanization, such as globalization (see Delanty, 2005). Thus as Bulmer and Radaelli indicate, the questions that need to be considered are:

> • Is Europeanization a bastion against globalisation (in this case understood as 'Americanisation')?
>
> • Is Europeanization (as opposed to globalisation) a convenient discourse for legitimising domestic reform? Put another way, is Europeanization a manifestation of globalisation?
>
> • Or is it a 'mix' of both of these that is dependent on the particular circumstances within individual member states (2004: 3).

They also emphasize 'the importance of looking for Europeanization beyond the narrow space of EU policy-making processes. Organisations such as the Council of Europe are also deeply involved (perhaps to a higher degree than the EU) in the transfer of European models' (*ibid.*). Similarly, Radaelli and Pasquier draw attention to this and warn against two misunderstandings that might arise when studying Europeanization 'reducing the analysis of how EU decisions impact domestic politics and everything that goes on in Brussels as manifestation of Europeanization' (2007).

Therefore the main criticism directed towards studies on 'Europeanization research needs to demonstrate whether observed domestic developments would have occurred even in the absence of European integration' (Haverland, 2007). The scholars propose a number of strategies to demonstrate the causal importance of the EU (*ibid.*; also see Hix and Goetz,

2000: 21). These are process tracing and counterfactual reasoning (Haverland, 2007; Cowles *et. al.,* 2001; Cowles and Risse, 2001). In applying these methods it is important to analyse Europeanization in a 'broader social context' (Checkel, 2005a), for instance globalisation.

This dissertation employs process tracing as a method. It looks at how European educational policy was constructed and how it is diffused to the national level. The recent literature on education policy has more and more focused on the formation of a European education space (see Novoa and Lawn, 2002; Novoa, 2000; Lawn, 2001; Lawn, 2006). A dilemma regarding the conceptualization of this space came to surface during the negotiations of Socrates and Leonardo in 1999, which revolved around a debate on whether the educational policy should create an 'European educational area' or 'an area of European cooperation in educational policies' (Berggreen-Merkel, 1999: 6). Within the framework of the Bologna process, this space was conceptualised as the EHEA. Dale defines this space in the following manner: '…European education *space* can be seen as an opportunity structure framed *formally* by Treaty responsibilities, *substantively* by the Lisbon Agenda and the European Social Model, and *historically* the 'pre-Lisbon' education activities of the European Commission' (Dale, 2009a; original emphasis). Lawn conceptualises the educational space as a 'borderless education' (2001), both geographical and conceptual borders are changing in terms of education. The educational space is 'being produced by national state collaborations, EU guidelines and products, academic networks, social movements, business links and sites, city 'states,' virtual connections…' (2002: 1). Gornitzka (2007) outlines how a network of administration came into existence in the area of education, specifically in regard to exchange programs. This network was created around the Commission, with actors such as expert groups, national agencies, the administrative units in the universities, as well as the information network Eurydice, lobbying groups like Erasmus Student Network and agency networks ENIC/NARIC.

While the EU has been the building block of this space, this space is actually beyond what has been drawn by the EU itself, which the Bologna Process exemplifies. As Soysal states beyond the confines of the intergovernmental nature of EU education policy there is 'enormous activity at the European level… which contributes to the production of an *effective* Europeanness in the field education' (2002: 58). An extensive array of non-governmental

bodies, international committees and organisations are involved (see Jallade, 2011 for a review of how international organisations contribute to cooperation). Ryba (1995) focuses on the role individuals, voluntary associations, national and regional authorities played in the construction of a European dimension. He also points out that the Council of Europe is an important actor in educational policy.

> Although it includes the legislative base flowing from key summits in its history, with their attached programs and facilitation of exchange, the idea of the 'space' is much more a way to perceive a new area, only partially visible, which is being shaped by constant interaction between small groups linked professionals, managers and experts. This space does not have a constitutional position, a legislative legality, a fixed place of work or a regulated civic or business mission. Yet it is being formed between state and EU offices, between agencies and subcontractors, between academics and policy managers, between experts and officials, and between voluntary and public sector workers. It is a growing culture, which exists in the interstices of formal operations, in the immaterial world (Lawn and Lingard, 2002: 291-2).

The source of change in Turkish higher education is identified as the European educational space, yet other sources also need to be considered to show whether different dynamics are at play. This can be answered by looking at whether there is change in Turkish higher education, if so how the process of reform was initiated in Turkey and would these reforms have happened in the absence of the EU and the Bologna Process. This is done by first identifying how the European educational policy was constructed and then by answering the questions of why and how diffusion to the national level occurred. Here one also needs to identify what is being transferred, which might differ from case to case. Dolowitz and Marsh's framework identifies different categories – policy goals, policy content, policy instruments, policy programs, institutions, ideologies, ideas and attitudes and negative lessons (2000). This dissertation looks at what the *norms* of the EU educational policy are and how these *norms* are transferred.

2.5.2 Reasons for Diffusion

After outlining how the norms of the educational space came into existence, the dissertation focuses on whether there is diffusion. Is so, why is there diffusion without

pressure? The above-mentioned dynamics between top-down and bottom-up processes exist in this type of loose governance models. Grabbe (2006) argues in terms of the candidate countries there are various reasons why they decide to adopt soft policies. As an example she says the candidate countries were encouraged to 'shadow' Lisbon economic reforms. One reason 'was to show the EU that they were willing and able to play a full part as member-states and take on the future *acquis* as it developed'. Secondly, the other one was 'to show their domestic electorate that they were taken seriously by the EU as a full partner, and sometimes to legitimate their policy programmes by reference to EU policies' (*ibid*.).

So why does policy transfer occur? Dolowitz and Marsh identify three types of policy transfer: voluntary, direct coercive and indirect coercive transfer (1996: 346-9; also see Hodson, 2001). Voluntary transfer or lesson-drawing usually occurs when policy makers search for alternatives because they are dissatisfied with the existing policies. In coercive transfer, the policy makers might be more reluctant to transfer, as well as more persistent to keep their existent practices. In lesson-drawing this tendency is less, because other considerations play a role (Knill and Lenschow, 2005: 603). It is a rational process, where actors seek to find better solutions to their problems. 'Uncertainty about the cause of problems, the effects of previous decisions or the future cause actors to search for policies they can borrow' (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996: 347). With direct coercive transfer the actors are directly and openly obliged to transfer. As an example the decisions of European Court of Justice can be given. In indirect coercive transfer, this obligation is not direct, but arises out of externalities, such as from the pressures of world economy.

Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) argue that the distinction between these types of policy transfer might be too simplistic, so they propose a continuum from lesson-drawing to coercive transfer (see Figure 2.3). For instance, they argue that in terms of lesson drawing 'Despite the assumption of rationality inherent in most studies of policy transfer, it is rare that actors are perfectly rational. Most act with limited information, or within the confines of "bounded rationality" (*ibid*.). In between the continuum of lesson drawing and coercive transfer, they propose four different policy transfer types. These are sequentially lesson drawing (where rationality is bounded), voluntary transfer (arising out of necessity), obligated transfer (arising out of obligations) and conditionality. Dolowitz and Marsh's argue that one needs

longitudinal studies to understand policy transfer, as motivations might shift from one time to another. Policy transfer usually involves a mixture of voluntary and coercive decisions. Different actors may have different intentions and motivations in promoting the diffusion. Thus it is important to identify the different actors and also the context in which diffusion occurs. The case study this dissertation focuses on falls within the remit of voluntary and lesson-drawing transfer.

Figure 2–3: Dolowitz and Marsh's Policy Transfer Model

Obligated Transfer   Conditionality

(treaty obligations)

Lesson Drawing   Coercive Transfer

(Perfect Rationality)   (Direct Imposition)

Lesson Drawing   Voluntary

(Bounded Rationality)   (Driven By Perceived Necessity)
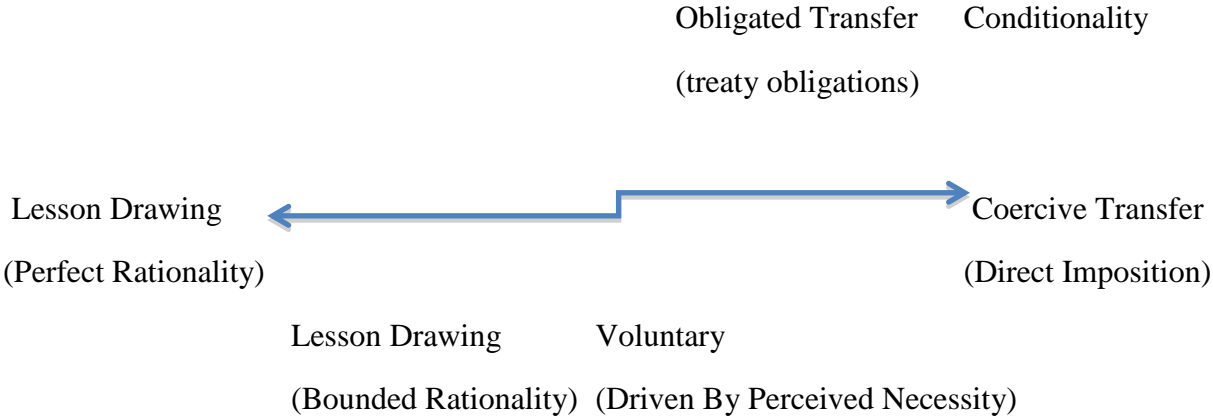
Source: Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000

DiMaggio and Powell identify three sources of change (1991; cited in Radaelli 2000b; also see Dale 2004): coercive, mimetic and normative. In coercion, change occurs due to pressure. Mimetic change is imitation, occurs due to 'the need to cope with uncertainty by imitating organizations perceived to be more legitimate or more successful. In this case again, the imitation of models may not assure efficiency, but is nonetheless extremely effective in generating legitimacy' (Radaelli, 2000b: 28). Normative change is connected with cognitive change with a shared sense of legitimacy. Boras and Jacobsan indicate that scholars of international studies generally take coercion as the basis of change. This dissertation focuses on a policy area where the pressure for change is not direct, an area where there is no direct coercion, which is identified as mimetic change.

To understand policy transfer in policy areas where there is no direct coercive pressure it is necessary to focus on the domestic level.

> When it comes to isolating the impact of Europeanization upon policy areas covered by the OMC, one needs a focus on the local level, not on Brussels. The idea is to look at the problems, resources, and ideas most relevant to policy-makers 'at the hub of the problem' and then examine to what extent the ideational resources made available by the OMC do or do not matter in the games domestic actors play (Bulmer and Radaelli, 2004).

Similarly, Schmidt and Radaelli indicate that in analysing OMC policy areas, it is not beneficial 'to trace down best practices from Brussels to domestic settings, but to analyse what goes on at the level of policy-makers 'at the hub' of national and subnational employment policy puzzles' (2004).

The EU level offers norms and policy templates to the domestic actors. In policy areas where one does not see clear-cut pressure for change, the policy instruments provide 'legitimacy' to the domestic actors to do the necessary reforms:

> They do so by providing additional legitimacy to domestic reformers in search for justifications, by 'inseminating' possible solutions in the national debate, and by altering the expectations about the future. Additional legitimacy is particularly important when domestic leaders are engaged in radical reforms (Radaelli, 2000a; also see Knill and Lehmkuhl, 1999: 9-10).

The European policies can give domestic leaders legitimacy in the reform process, in terms of why it is done and how it is done. They might also be an impetus that start the much-needed reform process and also in the long run alter the interests and identities of the actors involved. Thus the process of diffusion is not only instrumental. In the long term, the argument is that these domestic actors are 'Europeanized' in the learning process. According to organizational theorists, who are more structure oriented than the policy transfer model (see Börzel and Risse, 2009: 7), there are two different processes that lead to institutional homogenization. These are competitive and institutional isomorphism. Isomorphism occurs because either the change is 'the most rational and efficient solutions' or 'a way of securing legitimacy in political life' (Radaelli, 2000b). Focusing on learning one must also take into consideration the ideational level. 'The introduction of new solutions coming from Brussels can alter the

perception of problems. New solutions can provide a new dimension to national policy problems and trigger learning dynamics or a different political logic' (Radaelli, 2000a).

> Policy-makers engage in the definition of criteria of best practice and… worst practice… In areas in which it is either impossible or politically too sensitive to say what the EU 'model' should be, policy-makers seek to develop some ideas of how to improve their policies and notions of good and bad policy. They develop common benchmarks. They also elaborate a common vocabulary. Thus in areas previously impenetrable to Europeanization, 'communities of discourse' with their own vocabulary, criteria, and belief systems are emerging (Bulmer and Radaelli, 2004).

Legitimacy also has an external dimension to it:

> The embeddedness of national bureaucrats and policy-makers in transnational expert networks implies not only that these actors can observe and learn from developments in other countries, but also that they are 'observed' by their counterparts; i.e. they have to demonstrate the quality and legitimacy of their concepts vis-à-vis external actors... Institutional change is thus driven by a bureaucracy confronted with the need to legitimize national developments in the light of 'transnational scrutiny (Knill and Lenschow, 2005: 589-90).

Börzel and Risse (2009) indicate the importance of agency while outlining the process of diffusion, specifically emulation, which the OMC method is characterized as. The institutionalist approach is not enough to understand the diffusion process. Rather the study should be actor-centred, focusing on to what extent the European policies change the beliefs and expectations of domestic actors:

> Actors, in turn, borrow ideas in order to improve their performance (emulation) in comparison to others. Ideas may become 'contagious' under conditions of uncertainty, policy failure and dissatisfaction with the status quo, rather than external pressure. Actors look to others for policies and rules that effectively solved similar problems elsewhere and are transferable into the domestic context. Next to lesson-drawing, which is based on instrumental rationality, actors may also emulate others for normative reasons, to increase their legitimization (symbolic imitation) or to simply imitate their behaviour because its appropriateness is taken for granted (mimicry) (Börzel and Risse, 2009).

In sum, the first dimension to consider is 'the extent to which European policy beliefs and ideas have mobilized the support of domestic actors for European reforms', the second one is 'the extent to which European support was sufficient to enable domestic reformers to put through national reforms in the light of given institutional opportunities and

constraints' (Knill and Lehmkul, 1999: 4). The norms the European policy is built upon and their impact should be concentrated upon. The domestic actors adapt to these norms because they fear that they will be left behind in the process. The tools of comparison, such as peer reviews and reports create such a dimension that 'taps some competitive spirit in national actors as well as the real need to legitimize national structures and approaches in a cross-national comparative discourse' (Knill and Lenschow, 2005: 600). The idea is that this discourse will be internalized by 'not only representatives of national executives and administrations, but also stakeholders in society who may utilize comparative evidence to create 'bottom up' pressure for structural reform' (*ibid.*). Thus what is crucial is the reform process happening in the national level and how much the European policies have an impact on it – whether it initializes and supports the domestic reforms.

2.5.3 Agents of Diffusion

As argued above, in horizontal Europeanization the focus should be more on the domestic level as well as the agents of change in the domestic level. The policy transfer model focus more on the role of the agents compared to the organizational theorists (see Börzel and Risse, 2009: 7). The agents of change are the ones that play an intermediary role in the learning process. They are not decision-makers, but are responsible from the transmitting the policies from the European to the national level. Featherstone indicates 'agency within the "Europeanization" process is not only structured, but may also be structuring, as actors "lead"' (Featherstone, 2003: 4).

It is important to identify the actors that play a role in this process. Börzel and Risse (2000: 12) call them the change agents or norm entrepreneurs. The change agents play an important role as can 'persuade actors to redefine their interests and identities engaging them in processes of social learning' (*ibid*.). There two types of change agents. One is the epistemic communities (Haas, 1992) and the other is advocacy or principled issue networks (Keck and Sikkink, 1998). The epistemic communities are defined as 'networks of actors with an authoritative claim to knowledge and a normative agenda' (Börzel and Risse, 2000: 12).

Epistemic communities are the more influential in inducing change, the

> higher the uncertainty about cause-and-effect relationships in the particular issue-area among policy-makers, the higher the consensus among the scientists involved, and the more scientific advice is institutionalized in the policy-making process (*ibid.*).

Advocacy or principled issue networks are defined as networks 'bound together by shared beliefs and values rather than by consensual knowledge' (*ibid.*). 'They appeal to collectively shared norms and identities in order to persuade other actors to reconsider their goals and preferences' (*ibid.*). Sweet *et. al.* use the term policy entrepreneur, which this dissertation adopts. These agents 'have to convince others that a set of policy decisions makes sense and can be construed as consistent with their basic interests or identities', which are also called the skilled social actors (2002: 8-9). 'Skilled actors use cultural frames because they provide narratives that help them articulate what the collective interest will be in a particular situation… they are important to justifying action, maintaining unity within existing groups, resolving disputes real and potential, and bringing new groups together' (*ibid.* 20).

In this dissertation, various agents of change are identified in the national level. Lawn and Lingard's study (2002) focus on the national policy actors within the educational space. Their study aims to complement Chris Shore's study on EU officials in terms of how EU is being constructed by these policy elites. These national elites are referred as the 'new magistracy of influence'. These elites are involved in 'engrenage', which is defined as 'the intermeshing or bureaucratic interpenetration of European and national officials as an element of creation of Europe' (*ibid.* 292). These are the actors that play an important role in the process of diffusion. The agents of change in terms of the educational policy in Turkey are the National Agency, the CoHE, the Bologna experts and the universities. While these agents are domestic actors, 'they may act as deterritorialised, trans-national policy actors' (*ibid.*). The Bologna experts fit the definition of Haas' epistemic communities. The agents of change act as intermediaries between the European and national level. It is important to focus on how they present the policy changes discursively. The agents are:

> … 'producing' the new European educational space… These policy networks (or clubs) have their own language ('globalization', 'society of knowledge', 'modernization', 'accountability', 'democratization'), congruent with European policy documents, which they circulate back and forth among themselves, in their national or European settings (Lawn, 2001: 179).

Interestingly, the actors of the space 'may not even know they are actors in this Europeanizing process in education. They are attracted to this European space yet varying in their contributions, their expertise, their purposes and their opportunities. As an area of governance, it may not be visible or even disciplining to its members, who are nevertheless creating it' (Lawn, 2006: 280).

2.5.4 Discourse of Diffusion

Vivien Schmidt (2001) offers a theoretical perspective where she introduces discourse as another mechanism at work in the Europeanization process, which Schmidt and Radaelli (2004) identify as discursive institutionalism. They define discourse as 'the policy ideas that speak to the soundness and appropriateness of policy programmes and the interactive processes of policy formulation and communication that serve to generate and disseminate those policy ideas' and focus on discourse within the institutional context:

> Discourse is central because it assists in the attempt to integrate structure and agency – and thus to explain the dynamics of change. Discourse is fundamental both in giving shape to new institutional structures, as a set of ideas about new rules, values and practices, and as a resource used by entrepreneurial actors to produce and legitimate those ideas, as a process of interaction focused on policy formulation and communication. After all, policy change in the EU is not simply the result of top-down institutional and outside-in economic pressures but is rather the result of decisions by political leaders taken after deliberation on alternative policy choices (*ibid.*).

Thus Schmidt and Radaelli (*ibid.*) define discourse as an interactive process: between the EU level and the national level, as well as the elites and the public. This process is a constant state of construction, in terms of how the national levels construct the diffusion and how it is communicated to the public.

Therefore within the framework of the diffusion model, discourse is important both in terms of how the norms are discursively constructed in the European level and also how they are received/ interpreted/ and used in the national level. Discourse plays an important role in the learning process. 'Discourse helps create an opening to policy change by altering actors' perceptions of the policy problems, policy legacies and 'fit', influencing their

preferences, and, thereby, enhancing their political institutional capacity to change' (Schmidt and Radaelli, 2004). Checkel refers to these as the 'the norms of discursive structures' (1998). As Novoa points out 'the meaning is being created through movement itself, in the way in which 'ways of saying' are always 'ways of seeing' the world, repositioning our own beliefs, affiliations and identities' (2002: 150). He calls them 'the new planetspeak' (*ibid*. 135).

In other words, as Schmidt argues discourses have two functions: ideational and interactive dimension. In terms of the ideational dimension, discourse is important for 'its ability to convince of the necessity and appropriateness of a policy program' and also because 'it enables policy elites to co-ordinate the construction of the policy program and communicate it to the general public' (2001: 250). By using a pan-European discourse, the agents legitimize the process of transfer and institutional changes. Thus, 'discourse performs both a cognitive function, by elaborating on the logic and necessity of a policy program, and a normative function, by demonstrating the program's appropriateness through appeal to national values and identity' (*ibid.* 249). Furthermore,

> …discourse also performs two functions: co-ordinative, by providing a common language and framework through which key policy groups can come to agreement in the construction of a policy program, and communicative, by serving as the means for persuading the public (through discussion and deliberation) that the policies developed at the co-ordinative phase are necessary (cognitive function) and appropriate (normative function)' (*ibid*. 249-50).

This dissertation focuses on policy narratives. 'In a policy narrative, a plot connects events by dint of causal mechanisms. By contrasting the inertial scenario with the favourite scenario, narratives provide a sense of necessity and suggest that certain courses of action are urgent and legitimate. Policy narratives are amenable to empirical analysis in a variety of forms' (Radaelli, 2000b). How do the actors construct the policy narrative of the educational policy both with the EU and both within domestic level? How do the domestic agents reconstruct the narratives for their purposes? As 'Europeanization processes are filtered and refracted by systems of policy beliefs'. The question to ask here is 'under which conditions Europeanization can change 'policy core' beliefs and facilitate learning and non-incremental change' (*ibid*.).

Therefore, it is important how the agents of change interpret and present the process. How do these actors define the sources of the change? Do they define it as internationalisation, Europeanization or globalisation? How do they interpret the impact? How the agents of change conceptualize and present the policy changes to the society at large? Thus the focus should be on the discourses of the agents of change. Europeanization occurs if it 'become(s) a reference point in domestic politics' (Radaelli and Pasquier, 2007).

2.6 EUROPEANIZATION AS CONVERGENCE?

There are wide-ranging discussions surrounding the outcome of the Europeanization. The question is whether Europeanization leads to convergence? Does it lead to homogenization or standardisation? This concern over standardisation is also prevalent in the case of the Bologna Process. The conclusion of the Europeanization literature in this regard is that Europeanization 'does not give rise to convergence. The effect of European policies, institutions and processes are filtered through existing domestic institutions, policies and interests. Not caused divergence either. The effects are differential. Empirical studies found little evidence of convergence' (Börzel, 2003). Thus the impact is differential.

In some policy areas, there have been signs of convergence, which is defined as structural convergence by Cowles and Risse (2001). One these areas is the telecommunications sector. There are also mixed policy areas, where some member states structurally converged and others did not, such as environment, nation-state identity, territorial structure. One example of divergence is the legal structures of the member states. Thus the argument is that Europeanization occurs as 'domestic adaptation with national colors' (Risse *et al.,* 2001: 1). 'The impact of Europeanization is typically incremental, irregular, and uneven over time and between locations, national and subnational' (Featherstone, 2003: 4).

Dolowitz and Marsh propose that there are degrees of transfer:

> …copying, which involves direct and complete transfer; emulation, which involves transfer of the ideas behind the policy or program; combinations, which involve mixtures of several different policies; and inspiration, where policy in another jurisdiction may inspire a policy change, but where the final outcome does not actually draw upon the original (2000).

Similarly, Radaelli identifies different types of convergence: 'convergence at the level of discourse, convergence at the level of ideas, convergence of decisions'. He proposes that:

> Convergence should be measured along a continuum. At a minimum, convergence means that domestic policy-makers share 'European' vocabularies. If Europeanization produces a convergence of paradigms and ideas of good practice, one can also speak of ideational convergence. The next stage is convergence at the level of decisions. When similar decisions are implemented in a relatively uniform way, the degree of convergence increases. Finally, one can imagine the case of convergence in outcomes (Radaelli, 2004).

As an example in OMC policies, the process of convergence starts with ideational convergence, as the domestic actors start to use the discourse of the EU level. Yet the question is whether this type of convergence leads to convergence at the level of decisions and outcomes (Radaelli, 2004). 'Convergence in 'talk' may not produce convergence in decisions. Neither does it produce the same actions: even if a decision is taken, implementation may differ' (*ibid*.). There is no expectation of convergence specifically in terms of OMC.

Another question is: is there convergence in terms of how the policy is diffused? Because the OMC areas are designed more loosely, the prospect of bottom up processes is believed to be stronger in these areas. The conclusion is that this is also not the case: 'open co-ordination has potential for learning, but it has not delivered, especially in terms of bottom-up learning, due to limited participation, the political aspects of learning, and the still insufficiently critical discussion of benchmarking. So far the OMC has not been very ''open''' (Radaelli, 2008). The aim of participation has not been achieved. The policy process fails to involve a wide range of actors and stays at the elite level. This requires a change in the domestic policy making procedures, but also 'the institutional architects of the OMC have neglected the issue of how to create a structure of incentives for participation at the local and national levels' (Radaelli, 2003):

> It would be wrong to assume that when the EU does not work in a law-making mode, horizontal mechanisms are all about deliberation, participatory governance, and cooperation. Networks can be more hierarchical than one would imagine. Collective learning can be a very political exercise. Competitive benchmarking can be used to establish hierarchies of national practice (Bulmer and Radaelli, 2004).

In terms of higher education, the impact of the European educational space has definitely been differential and 'context-dependent' (see Wodak and Fairclough, 2010 for a discussion). Therefore it is important to focus on the national level to analyse the factors that has an impact on the reform process:

> …the systems had to deal with quite different challenges in their higher education systems, ranging from inefficiencies of all sorts, e.g. high drop-out rates (Serbia), corruption (Georgia), low participation rates across a variety of dimensions, the need for a robust quality assurance system (Ireland), to limited flexibility in the system (the Netherlands), and maintaining and upgrading quality in a rapidly expanding higher education system (Turkey). Consequently, systems had to deal with very different key challenges (Westerheijden *et. al.,* 2010: 91).

In conclusion, in this dissertation after reviewing the different definitions of Europeanization, Radaelli's conceptualisation (2003a: 30; also see Bulmer and Radaelli, 2004) of Europeanization is adapted. The 'goodness of fit' model fails to capture the dynamics of the alternative forms of Europeanization, such as horizontal Europeanization. Alternatively in this dissertation, the policy transfer model is employed as a conceptual model. This model provides a framework for the dissertation in the analysis of the diffusion of the European educational norms to the national level by focusing on four different dimensions – the source and reason behind the diffusion process, agents that are responsible from the process and the discourses they employ to justify the process.

3   METHOD AND RESEARCH

This dissertation is based on primary research employing primary documents, interviews and participant-observation. It is qualitative and descriptive in nature. The dissertation employs interpretation and descriptive narration as a tool. Creswell defines interpretation as 'developing a description of an individual or setting, analysing data for themes and categories, and finally making an interpretation or drawing conclusions about its meaning personally and theoretically, stating the lessons learned, and offering further questions to be asked' (2003: 182). This dissertation is a policy analysis of the European educational policy and integration of Turkey into this policy space.

The dissertation employs an interpretivist paradigm (for a discussion of three approaches of social science see Corbetta, 2003: 9-87), specifically adopting social constructivism as an approach. The interpretivist paradigm argues that there are multiple realities, thus rejects the existence of objectivity. Epistemologically, according to this paradigm the object of study and the researcher cannot be separated from each other. There is a wide-ranging debate about where social constructivism stands ontologically and epistemologically in relation to rationalism and post modernism. In the first section of this chapter, the three different outlooks of the discussion are concentrated on. Before focusing on the research design, it is crucial to establish what social constructivism is and the tools it offers for research. The first section of the chapter focuses on the epistemological and ontological debates surrounding social constructivism, which this dissertation is based upon. The second section explains the research design. The section outlines how the data of the research was collected and how it is analysed. The second section focuses on the research design and deals with the process of data collection and the methods of analysis.

3.1   SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVISM

Situating social constructivism in relation to other approaches both ontologically and epistemologically has been a challenging issue. Specifically, social constructivism approach's similarity/differences from post-modernist approaches has been a dominant issue that is being discussed. Three different views can be identified in the literature on social constructivism.

The first framework offered is by Alexander Wendt (1999). Wendt ontologically defines constructivism as 'structural idealism'. In his words, constructivism is based on two tenets '(1) that the structures of human association are determined primarily by shared ideas rather than material forces, and (2) that the identities and interests of purposive actors are constructed by these shared ideas rather than given by nature' (*ibid.* 1). Based on this definition, Wendt places constructivism in the same box as postmodernism and post-structuralism (see Table 3.1).

Figure 3–1: Wendt's Categorization of Constructivism

	Realism (materialism)	Idealism
Holism	World Systems Theory Security Materialism	Gramscian Marxism English school World Society Postmodernism Constructivism
	----------Neo-realism--------	-----------------------------
Individualism	Classical Realism	Domestic Liberalism Neo-liberalism Ideas Liberalism

Source: Wendt, 1999

Emanuel Adler (1997) questions this categorization and revises Wendt's matrix, arguing that constructivism is actually '*seizing'* the middle ground (see Table 3.2):

> Unlike positivism and materialism, which take the world as it is, constructivism sees the world as a project under construction, as becoming rather than being. Unlike idealist and post-structuralism and postmodernism, which take the world only as it can be imagined and talked about, constructivism accepts that not all statements have the same epistemic value and there is consequently some foundation for knowledge (2002: 95).

He argues that '… constructivism is an attempt, albeit timid, to build a bridge between the widely separated positivist/materialist and idealist/interpretive philosophies of social science' (1997: 323). Therefore, social constructivism holds a different place ontologically and

epistemologically. Constructivism, as an approach, is neither purely holist nor individualist. It stands in the middle. Similarly, it is neither materialist nor idealist. It is both.

This dissertation also adopts Adler's categorization of social constructivism, which states that:

> Constructivism seizes the middle ground because it is interested in understanding how the material, subjective and intersubjective worlds interact in the social construction of reality, because, rather than focusing exclusively on how structures constitute agents' identities and interests, it also seeks to explain how individual agents socially construct these structures in the first place (ibid. 330).

Figure 3–2: Adler's Categorization of Constructivism
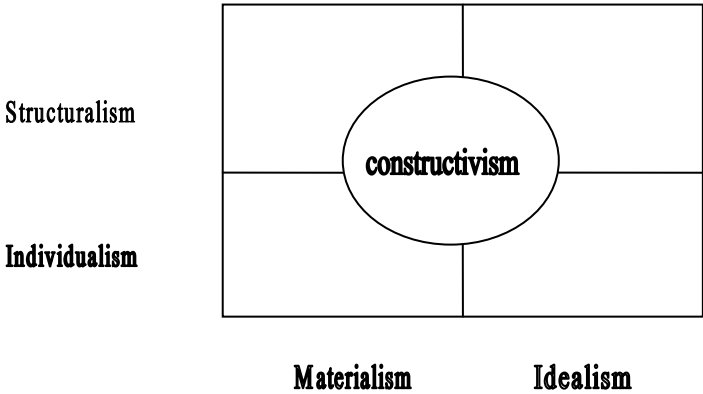
Source: Adler, 1997

Jeffrey Checkel (1998) characterizes social constructivism similarly:

> … constructivism has the potential to bridge the still vast divide separating the majority of IR theorists from postmodernists. With the latter, constructivism share many substantive concerns (role of identity and discourse, say) and a similar ontological stance; with the former, they share a largely common epistemology. Constructivists thus occupy a middle ground between rational choice theorists and postmodern scholars (1998: 327).

According to Adler, social constructivism is built on 'ontological realism'. Constructivism is the 'ontological reality of intersubjective knowledge and on the epistemological and methodological implications of this reality' (Adler, 1997: 322-323). In Adler's words, the ontological realists 'believe not only in the existence of the material world,

but also that this material world offers resistance when we act upon it' (*ibid.* 323). Guzzini similarly points out that:

> Constructivism does not deny the existence of a phenomenal world, external to thought. This is the world of brute (mainly natural) facts. It does oppose, and this is something different, that phenomena can constitute themselves as objects of knowledge independently of discursive practices. It does not challenge the possible thought-independent existence of (in particular natural) phenomena, but it challenges their language independent observation (2000: 159).

The third categorization by Thomas Christiansen *et. al.* (2001) brings Adler's argument one step further. They argue that rather than 'seizing' the middle ground, constructivism and its variants are actually 'establishing it'. This brings a new dimension to the debate, as categorization of different types of constructivism has been problematic. Different authors have categorized constructivism in various streams (see for instance Hopf, 1998; Adler, 2002). In general, the variants of constructivism separate themselves from rationalism (neo-realist, neo-liberalist) and reflectivist (postmodernist, post-structuralist). All of the variants agree that ontology comes over epistemology, yet they do not share a common epistemological position.

Christiansen *et. al.* have argued that these steams of constructivisms are actually scattered on the line between rationalists and reflectivists (2001; see Figure 3.1). So, constructivism is not seizing the middle ground, but it is actually *establishing* it. Their position on the line depends on their preference over ontology over epistemology; their dialogue with rationalism and reflectivism; and the methodology they use (*ibid.* 8-10).

Figure 3–3: Christiansen *et. al.*'s Categorization of Constructivism

Rationalism ⟵————————————————⟶ Reflectivism
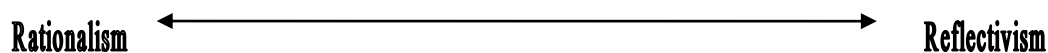
Source: Christiansen *et. al.,* 2001

According to where they are situated on this line, Checkel (2004) identifies three variants of constructivism: conventional, interpretive and critical. The approach adopted here can be defined as 'conventional constructivism' (see *ibid.*), which is more close to positivist epistemology and usually employ process tracing as their methodology, which is dealt in detail in the next section.

With its the emphasis put on social ontology, as well as the constitutiveness of structure and agent, constructivism's contribution to European integration is crucial. This approach can capture the 'transformative impact' of the integration process (Christiansen *et. al.,* 2001: 2), which this dissertation focuses on. In other words, constructivism offers a lot in terms of explaining the 'constitutive effects' of the EU: such questions as how EU level rules and norms are created; how they are disseminated; as well as, the impact of these rules and norms on various actors, along with the nation-state as an entity. In the case of this dissertation, the focus is on how European educational policy is constructed and Turkey's integration into the European educational space. This dissertation looks at Europeanization as an inter-subjective concept. As Radaelli and Schmidt argue 'there exists no external Archimedean lever to assess Europeanization as it 'truly' is. It is not a concrete entity, but a conceptual creation in which inter-subjectivity plays an important role' (2004). Focusing on how Europeanization is being defined by various actors is important. How do the agents of change in the national level define the Europeanization process? Lehmkul points out that 'it might be argued that if Europeanization research pays more attention o the ideational dimension of European integration and how it 'hits home', its contribution to our understanding of European integration will be even more substantial' (2007: 353).

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

This dissertation is a policy study, focusing on European educational policy and Turkey's integration into European Educational space as a case study. One of the most criticized aspects of conducting a single case study is that it might be too narrow to give one a full picture of the issue at hand. George and Bennett argue that 'several kinds of no-variance research designs can be quite useful in theory development and testing using multiple observations from a single case. These include the deviant, crucial, most-likely, and least likely research designs, as well as single case study tests of claims of necessity and sufficiency' (2005: 32-3). This dissertation focuses on such a deviant case, Turkey and the Europeanization of its educational policy. Turkey is not yet a member of the Union, yet it has for so long been in directly influenced by EU's policies. The Europeanization process in Turkey has been in most regards a top-down process. The case of the educational policy and the Bologna process is specifically interesting. While there is no direct pressure coming from the EU, Turkey is integrating into the educational space.

This dissertation aims to uncover how in this process of integration the agents of change in the national level construct the policy. This requires a detailed focus on the case and deconstruction of the discourses of the agents of change. Stark and Torrance argue that:

> …case study seeks to engage with and report the complexity of social activity in order to represent the meanings that individual social actors bring to those settings and manufacture them. Case study assumes that 'social reality' is created through social interaction, albeit situated in particular contexts and histories, and seeks to identify and describe before trying to analyze and theorize. It assumes that things may not be as they seem and privileges in-depth inquiry over coverage: understanding 'the case' rather than generalizing to a population at large (2006: 33).

The appropriate method of study for single case studies is process tracing and counterfactual analysis (George and Bennett, 2005: 80), which is also used in the Europeanization literature (Haverland, 2007). This dissertation adopts process tracing as a methodology. This methodology is defined by George and Bennett as:

> …attempts to trace the links between possible causes and observed outcomes. In process tracing, the researcher examines histories, archival documents, interview transcripts, and other sources to see whether the

> causal process a theory hypothesizes or implies in a case is in fact
> evident in the sequence and values of the intervening variables in that
> case (2005: 6).

This is one way to deal with the above mentioned weakness of a case study, because it is 'a way to increase observations in case studies – identifying causal mechanisms' (King *et. al.,* 1994: 86), therefore to 'overcome the dilemmas of small-n research' (*ibid.*). Checkel defines process tracing as the 'the language of mechanisms', which is 'helpful in reducing the lag between input and output, between cause and effect' (2005a). Thus it is a useful method to trace the process of Europeanization. The aim is to trace the intermediate steps between the independent and dependent variable.

There are varieties of process tracing (George and Bennett, 2005: 210-2). Some employ a detailed version, where each dimension of the case is traced meticulously. There are also examples of process tracing where explanation is done more generally (*ibid.* 211). Process tracing has been used by conventional constructivists (Checkel, 2005b; also see Wendt, 1999). Checkel (2005b) uses process tracing, focusing on the socialisation impact of European institutions. By using process tracing, he shows the mechanisms of socialization. He traces the intervening variables between the independent variable (EU institutions) and a dependent variable (socialization). Gheciu (2005) also uses process tracing to examine the case of NATO and the mechanisms employed by the organization to socialize the CEEC countries. In this dissertation, it is employed to trace construction of European educational norms and its diffusion into the national level.

One of the benefits of the methodology is that it helps one to construct mid-range theories:

> Between the beginning (independent variables) and end (outcome of
> dependent variable), the researcher traces a number of theoretically
> predicted intermediate steps. This step-wise procedure essentially
> produces a series of mini-checks, bridge building the method on offer is
> typically process tracing, as it is extremely useful for teasing out the
> more fine- grained distinctions and connections between alternative
> theoretical schools (George and Bennett, 2005: 211).

Secondly, this methodology is 'useful for obtaining an explanation for deviant cases, those that have outcomes not predicted or explained adequately by existing theories' (*ibid.* 215). This method has been specifically employed in the Europeanization literature to trace the top-

down and bottom-up dimensions of the process (Haverland, 2007). Moreover, it also provides a toolkit to analyse the diffusion mechanisms of the OMC policy areas.

Thirdly, 'process tracing forces the investigator to take equifinality into account, that is, to consider the alternative paths through which the outcome could have occurred, and it offers the possibility of mapping out one or more potential causal paths that are consistent with the outcome and the process tracing evidence in a single case' (George and Bennett, 2005: 207). This specifically relevant to the Europeanization literature, which as indicated in the other chapter, tries to trace not only the top-down and bottom-up interaction, but also questions whether any other process other than Europeanization, such as globalization, is at play. In conclusion, in George and Bennett's words, process tracing 'provides a common middle ground for historians interested in historical explanation and political scientists and other social scientists who are sensitive to the complexities of historical event but are more interested in theorising about categories of cases as well as explaining individual cases' (*ibid.* 223).

3.2.1 Collecting the Data

This dissertation adopts a triangulation strategy (Huberman and Miles, 1998: 199). The data was collected through semi-structured interviews, participant-observation, and examination of relevant documents. A combination of these methods is used to trace the process of Europeanization of educational policy and its diffusion to Turkey. As Stark and Torrance point out:

> …interviews offer an insight into respondents' memories and explanations of why things have come to be what they are, as well as descriptions of current problems and aspirations. Documents can be examined for immediate content, changing content over time and the values that such changing content manifests. Observations can offer an insight into the sedimented, enduring verities… (2006: 35).

The research combines the three different data sets to give a broader picture of the diffusion process.

Documents

In the first part of the analysis, the European educational policy is historically traced from its inception to today. Punch points out that 'all documentary sources are the result of human activity, produced on the basis of certain ideas, theories or commonly accepted, taken-for-granted principles, and these are always located within the constraints of particular social, historical, administrative conditions and structures' (2005: 226). He focuses on the three important elements of document analysis 'the social production of the document' and 'the social organization of the document' and 'analysis of text for meaning' (*ibid.* 226-7).

The first part of the research (Chapter 4) solely relies on primary documents for descriptive narration. The official EU documents are analysed to trace the progress of the educational policy. Relevant EU treaties, decisions, regulations, Commission communications, Commission White/Green papers, declarations and *communiqués* are used for a thick description of the evolution. A publication by the EU, L. Peppin in 2006 on the *The History of European Cooperation in Education and Training: Europe in the Making - an example* published by the Office for Official Publications of the European Communities has been also used. Primary documents are used to understand how the policy evolved, the actors of the policy area as well as the discourses of the policy area. The evolution of the norms of the policy area, namely the concept of European dimension, is traced. As Punch argues 'even such apparently objective documents as organizational files are 'artfully constructed with a view to how they may be read' (*ibid.*). The aim in employing these primary documents is to understand how the educational space is being constructed and what the policy narrative is.

In the second part, where Turkey is discussed, primary documents have also been employed. The three National Reports submitted within the framework of the Bologna Process were analysed. The 2008 Eurydice Report on the Education System in Turkey, as well as various national reports (such as the CoHE's Higher Education Strategy and the Report on Foundation Universities, which were both published in 2007) are used. This part also makes use of numerous presentations of the Bologna experts that are posted regularly in the official CoHE Bologna Process Turkey Website, as well as their reports published at the end of each term. These presentations are prepared by the experts and used in the educational

meetings that are organized by the CoHE for various groups. These documents provide deeper insight on structural changes taking place in Turkey.

Participant-Observation

One of the methods employed is based on participant-observation. Corbetta defines this method in the following manner:

> Observation implies watching and listening. But at the same time this technique entails personal and intense contact between the subject who studies and the subject who is studied, a prolonged interaction that may even last years. Indeed, it is the researcher's involvement (participation) in the situation under investigation that constitutes the distinctive element (2003: 236).

Within the framework of the study, informational meetings organized by the CoHE in Anadolu University in Eskisehir (National Conference on the Bologna Coordination Model on March 19, 2010), Namik Kemal University in Tekirdag (Regional Workshop for the Newly Established Universities on May 28, 2010) and TOBB University of Economy and Technology in Ankara (Meeting with the Bologna Coordination Committee Chairs on December 10, 2010) were observed. These informational meetings are organized by the CoHE for the purpose of educating the relevant actors. The Erasmus Biannual meeting organized by the National Agency in Gaziantep (5-6 November 2009) was also observed. The participants were the Erasmus coordinators and/or officials from the International Offices of various universities. This research activity was crucial to observe the information given to the university officials by the experts of the space and the mechanisms of the diffusion of the area. It shed light to the diffusion process of the educational norms from the EU to the national level. The aim is 'to describe and "understand", in a Weberian sense – that is, to "see the world through the eyes of the subjects studied"' (*ibid.* 236) and the 'basic objective remains that of *grasping the subject's perspective*: understanding his mental categories, his interpretations, his perceptions and feelings, and the motives underlying his actions' (*ibid.* 283).

Interviews

Finally, interviews with two different groups of agents of change in Turkey were conducted. Most of the interviews were tape-recorded and later transcribed. The interviews were conducted as semi-structured interviews, which is defined as:

> When conducting a semi-structured interview, the interviewer makes reference to an 'outline' of the topics to be covered during the course of the conversation. The order in which the various topics are dealt with and the wording of the questions are left to the interviewer's discretion. Within each topic, the interviewer is free to conduct the conversation as he thinks fit, to ask the questions he deems appropriate in the words he considers best, to give explanations and ask for clarification if the answer is not clear, to prompt the respondent to elucidate further if necessary, and to establish his own style of conversation (*ibid.* 270).

The aim of the interviews was to set how the experts defined and evaluated the changes taking place in higher education in Turkey and how the university officials reacted to these changes. The approach of the dissertation is that 'Language use is itself a form of social action, and descriptions are actions: they do not merely represent the world, they do specific tasks in the world' (Punch 2005: 177).

> The purpose of qualitative interviewing is to understand how the subjects studied see the world, to learn their terminology and judgements, and to capture the complexities of their individual perceptions and experiences. ... The fundamental principle of qualitative interviewing is to provide a framework within which respondents can express their own understandings in their own terms' (Patton, 1990: 290; original emphasis; cited in Corbetta 2003: 265).

As put forward by Corbetta (2003), through the interviews the aim is to understand how the experts understand the European educational norms and how do they construct it in the national level; as well as how the university officials react and evaluate these changes.

a) Interviews with the Experts in Turkey

Selection process

In total, 8 experts were interviewed. Three groups of experts were interviewed. First of all, interviews with the officials in the Centre for EU Education and Youth Programs in

Turkey (the National Agency) were conducted. The President of the National Agency and the coordinator of the Erasmus Program were interviewed. Secondly, the EU and International Relations Department of the Higher Education Council, established in 2005, was visited. This department is responsible for the coordination of the Bologna Process in Turkey. The coordinator of the department was interviewed. Thirdly, interviews with the members of the National Team of Bologna Experts were conducted.

Questions for the Experts

The interview questions were prepared in advance and shared with my advisors. A pilot interview was conducted. The questions for the experts had three parts. The main objective of the questions in the first part of the questionnaire was to outline the institutional structure of the European higher educational programs and the Bologna Process in Turkey, in an attempt to understand how the process was launched and how it is being implemented in Turkey. Questions on the Bologna process was asked to understand the diffusion process, which actors were involved in the process with the aim of understanding the nature of the process as well as evaluating the progress achieved so far.

The second part of the questionnaire was composed of questions on the impact of the programs. The aim of these questions was to capture the perceptions of the officials about the impact of the programs on the universities and the Turkish educational system in general. The objective was to understand whether the experts observe an impact, and if so, what kind of an impact they observed and which areas do they think was impacted the most.

The third part of the questionnaire was composed of questions on norms and ideas. These questions aimed to capture the perceptions of the interviewees on Europe and Europeanization. The aim was to understand how the experts defined the process and whether they saw it as Europeanization and whether they see the universities as part of an educational space and can they identify with the norms of the educational space.

b)   Interviews with the Universities in Turkey

Selection process

Considering that most of the activities in the EU occur within the remit of the Erasmus program, interviews with the officials working in the International Offices responsible from Erasmus were conducted. These officials are the mediators between the Commission/the National Agency and the students participating in the programmes. Furthermore, they are in constant contact with each other. Thus, in Checkel's words, they 'interact with the broader institutional context' and thus one of the main agents of change (2001).

Officials from the international offices from 16 universities were interviewed during the national agency Erasmus Biannual Meeting in Gaziantep in 5-6 November 2009 (see Table 3.3; Appendix 2). In total, 18 interviews were conducted. These officials were either Erasmus coordinators and/or officials that work in the international offices of the universities that deal with the Erasmus Program. The number of invited universities to the Gaziantep meeting was 94 state universities, 45 private universities, 5 military higher education institutions, 1 police academy and 6 private vocational schools.

Sampling of universities was done as purposive sampling (Punch, 2005: 187). The aim of the sampling was 'to cover all the social situations that are relevant to the research, rather than attempting to reproduce the characteristics of the population in full' (Corbetta, 2003: 268). In Turkey, there are two types of universities – state and foundation (private non-profit) universities. Total number of universities in Turkey as of august 2011 is 164. This number increased very rapidly in the last few years. Thus many of the universities have not institutionalized yet. For the purposes of this dissertation only state universities were interviewed. Enrolment in foundation universities is around 8.3% of the total number of schools.

In the interview process, one of the main concerns was interviewing universities from a variety of geographical regions. The aim was to capture a snapshot of the Turkish universities in general. Specifically universities in Ankara and Istanbul were not concentrated on as the universities in these cities were expected to integrate into the program more easily as

traditionally they are more open to the outside world. The second concern was to interview universities from a variety of backgrounds. For instance, some of the universities are very recently established. While it is too soon to question any kind of socialisation or instutionalisation in these universities, these universities were also interviewed to capture their vision of Europe in general and specifically their expectation out of the education policy. Some of the universities are more active in the program in terms of the number of students they send and receive, whereas some are more passive. Thirdly, the length of interaction with the programme was also taken into consideration. Table 3.5 gives the name of the universities interviewed and the year in which the Erasmus University Charter was signed. While most universities that were interviewed were pilot universities[4] or the initial signatories of the charter, others that signed the charter very recently were also interviewed.

The interviews conducted were sufficient to give a picture of the diffusion process. These short interviews were supported by participant-observation as well as the site visits that were made to Sakarya University in Sakarya, Ege University in Izmir, Hacettepe University in Ankara, Ankara University in Ankara and Istanbul Technical University in Istanbul (see Table 3.4). The universities interviewed, in alphabetical order according to the cities they are situated in, are shown in Table 3.3 and Table 3.4. Participating in the educational meetings and the site visits gave a full picture of how the diffusion process was taking place.

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[4] Akdeniz, Ankara, Ataturk, Bilkent, Cukurova, Dokuz Eylul, Ege, Galatasaray, Gaziantep, Istanbul, Istanbul Teknik, Karadeniz Teknik, Marmara, Orta Dogu Teknik, Sabancı Universities.

Table 3–1: The Name and City of the Universities Interviewed

Amasya University, Amasya
Batman University, Batman
Bilecik University, Bilecik
Uludağ University, Bursa
Dijle University, Diyarbakır
Anadolu University, Eskişehir
Atatürk University, Erzurum
Gaziantep University, Gaziantep
Sülayman Demirel University, İsparta
Ege University, Izmir
Kahramanmaraş Sütçü İmam University, Kahramanmaraş
Dumlupınar University, Kütahya
Muğla University, Muğla
Ordu University, Ordu
Sakarya University, Sakarya
Cumhuriyet University, Sivas

Table 3–2: The Name and City of the Universities, On-site Visits

Sakarya University, Sakarya
Ege University, Izmir
Hacettepe University, Ankara
Ankara University, Ankara
Istanbul Technical University, Istanbul

Table 3–3: Universities and the Year EUC Signed

University	EUC
Gaziantep	pilot
Ege	pilot
Dicle	2004
Anadolu	2004
Cumhuriyet	2004
Uludag	2004
Mugla	2004
Amasya	2007
Ordu	2010
Bilecik	2009
Sutcu Imam	2005
S. Demirel	2006
Ataturk	pilot
Sakarya	2004
Batman	2009
Dumlupinar	2005

Questions for the Universities

Similarly to the experts, the interview questions were prepared in advance and shared with my advisors. A pilot interview was conducted. The main objective of these questions in the first part of the questionnaire was to outline the institutional structure of the European educational programs in the relevant university, in an attempt to understand how the program was launched and how it is implemented in the university. Questions on the initiation of the program was asked to understand which actors were involved at the beginning of the program and who played the most important role in the initial years of the program: the academics or administration. Questions on the Bologna Process were also asked.

The second part of the questionnaire was composed of questions on the impact of the programs. The aim of these questions was to capture the perceptions of the universities about the impact of the programs. Do the interviewees observe an impact, and if so, what kind of an impact do they observe? These questions are asked in order to outline why the universities are part of these programs – i.e. is it because of functionality or ideational reasons. This is to shed

light on whether there is a process of Europeanization; and if there is, whether it is a top-down process or a bottom-up one. Does the pressure of Europeanization come from the state, or do the universities drive the process? A question on whether they are involved in other programs outside the EU was also be asked to understand the international relations of the universities. These questions mainly captured Europeanization process taking place at the institutional level.

3.2.2 Analysing the Data

Primarily the analysis in the study is qualitative. The primary documents are used in the descriptive examination of the European educational policy. The documents are examined to give a picture of the progress of the European educational policy. Documents are used to trace the evolution of the norms of the educational space, most importantly the concept of the 'European dimension'. In the second part (Chapter 5) where Turkey is concentrated on, documents are used to capture the changes taking place in the national higher education. These are supported by participant-observation of the educational meetings. These documents also present informational data on the changes that are taking place in Turkey. Analysing the interview data, a mixed method (Creswell, 2003) is employed. At the stage of interview analysis, qualitative data has been transformed into quantitative data. Through tables the qualitative data is quantified.

The interviews with the experts were done in an exploratory manner. The interviews were used to gather descriptive information on the policy area. In other words, personal accounts of the evolution of the policy area were asked for that was not included in the official reports. Thus the data in the first section of the analysis on Turkey is used in a descriptive manner to give a complete a picture of the policy changes that are taking place in Turkish higher education. The transcribed interviews of the experts are also analysed in terms of understanding the prevalent discourses of the policy area. As these experts are the ones that present the information on the policy changes, it is crucial to see how the information is constructed. Analysing the data, various themes arise out of the interviews. The second section of the research on Turkey focuses on these themes. These themes have been selected

in terms of the categorizations the experts used to describe the Bologna process, its structure and impact. The data is presented in tables.

In terms of the university officials, the data is categorized in terms of the interview questions. After analysing the data, various themes are concentrated on. These themes and responses of the university officials are presented in tables. In these tables the qualitative data is quantified by showing how many of the officials uses the same categorizations.

In conclusion, the triangulation method is used to answer the questions of the dissertation. The research is mainly descriptive in nature. The next two chapters present the main research of the dissertation, thus focus on the construction of the European educational space and Turkey's integration into this space.

4 CONSTRUCTING THE EUROPEAN EDUCATIONAL SPACE

The European education policy is one of the belated policy areas of the Union. It was not until the Maastricht Treaty, which entered into force in late 1993, that general education was first mentioned within the treaty framework as a EU policy. Yet the EU's involvement in the area of general education goes back further to 1970s. During the initial years of the integration process, general education has been a concern for the EU only to the extent that it was related to the Community's economic goals, as the integration process itself was driven by these goals. Along with the deepening of the integration process, actions in general education began to be pursued for the sake of education itself, independently from economic policies and concerns. While the community competence in general education is still low and classified as supplementary competence, one can still argue, especially in the light of the initiatives carried out in the field of general education, that education is more and more a part of the integration process. The current educational *acquis* is composed of secondary legislation − such as decisions and recommendations –, Council political conclusions and resolutions, intergovernmental political declarations and European Court of Justice decisions.

In this chapter, the historical evolution of the educational policy is outlined, drawing attention to the turning points in its development. The chapter specifically concentrates on the initiatives taken in the area of higher education. Since the 1950s, a lot of initiatives in the area of higher education have been taken (Corbett, 2005). As educational cooperation was closely interlinked with that of vocational training, the chapter occasionally touches upon the vocational training as well. Until the Maastricht Treaty, it was only vocational training that was mentioned in the founding treaties. The chapter also focuses on the Bologna Process of 1999, which was launched with the aim of creating an EHEA. During this phase, the cooperation on educational policy was broadened both geographically as well as in content. While the Bologna Process is outside the framework of the EU, many of its action lines are connected with the initiatives taken in the EU educational policy especially in regard to educational programs, such as the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS), the Diploma Supplement (DS), recognition of degrees and quality standards in higher education (Keeling, 2006). Corbett looks at the Bologna Process as 'the latest attempt to solve the problem of how to act on a European scale in a way which is compatible with

national control of university systems' (2006: 23). In this chapter, this phase is specifically covered in more detail in a separate section.

Concentrating on how the European educational policy evolved, this chapter also aims to outline the policy narrative the education policy is constructed upon. In other words, through the education policy, what kind of norms does the Union aim to 'construct, diffuse and institutionalize'? One of the aims of the dissertation is to analyse the European discourses within the European education space, in Checkel's words, 'the norms of discursive structures' (2001). Novoa refers to these discourses as 'the new planetspeak' (2002). The educational policy's planetspeak is being built around the concept of 'European dimension', which was first used by the Commission in 1974. This chapter concentrates on how the concept came into being and how it evolved. The research in this chapter is based on primary document analysis, focusing on the 'social production' of the texts. This is done by outlining: the context in which the texts came about and how the contextual changes in Europe impacted the evolution of the educational policy.

4.1   THE EU POLICY ON HIGHER EDUCATION

The evolution of educational policy is analysed in five phases (for different periodization, please see Johnson, 1999; Ertl, 2003; Pepin, 2006). In analysing these phases, the general EU context is also briefly concentrated on. As Ertl states 'influences on the educational agenda often originated in areas other than the educational field' (2003: 13). The developments in the general EU context and other policies, most importantly the vocational training, have influenced the establishment and consolidation of the educational policy.

The EU educational policy developed 'due to the requirements of the internal market'. The Rome Treaty specifically dealt with vocational training, which was thought to be crucial for the promotion of free movement of services and people (Sherrington, 2000: 145). To facilitate freedom of movement, transnational recognition of qualifications and foreign language learning were encouraged. Thus in the first phase, which was from 1951 to 1968, vocational education was closely connected to the economic goals set out, which in turn constituted the basis of the EU educational policy. The second phase covers the period

between 1969 and 1980. In 1971, general education was mentioned for the first time as a policy area. During this phase the European context became more favourable, hence activities in the field of education gained momentum (Beukel, 1993: 161). In the third phase, that is, from 1980 to 1992, general education gained its independence from economic concerns and began to be linked closely to the cultural dimension of the integration project. During this period, the concept of 'European dimension' in general education was widely discussed. Vocational training also started to detach itself from employment policy and began to be pursued not as a policy on its own, but as part of the general educational policy (Johnson, 1999: 211). In the fourth phase, from 1992 onwards, general education acquired a legal status with the Maastricht Treaty. In terms of the relationships with vocational training, a 'twin track' system was created: vocational training and educational training were to be pursued together, alongside each other (*ibid.*). The fifth phase, from 2000 onwards is the Lisbon phase, where education started closely to be linked with EU's aim of becoming 'the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy' (European Council, 2000), where educational policy is closely linked with the economic goals of the Union.

4.1.1 Cooperation in Vocational Training: 1951 to 1968

In the Paris Treaty (1951) and the Treaties of Rome (1957), vocational training was referred to very narrowly. During the initial years of the integration process, the Community had little competence in vocational training, while general education was not even under the competence of the Community. This phase was characterised by 'the traditional dichotomy between general and vocational education'. In terms of EC policies, similar to the most of the educational systems in Europe, vocational training was treated as a separate area from general education (Neave, 1984: 61; Ertl, 2003: 17)[5]. Vocational training was seen as an instrument for facilitating the free movement of workers within the single market project. Vocational training was confined to the general aim of establishment of the single market. Cooperation in the area of general education was only possible by relying on the weak competence that existed in the field of vocational training.

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[5] Neave states that the period from the Council Decision of 1963 to the 1976 Education Action Program is characterized by this dichotomy. Closer relationship between vocational and general education was achieved fully in 1981 (1984: 59-75).

While the 56 of the Paris Treaty referred to the task for the Community to finance the training of employees, Articles 7 and 9 of the EURATOM Rome Treaty provided for the establishment of a European University. The EEC Treaty included much broader provisions for vocational training (Articles 41, 50, 118, 128) and a provision for mutual recognition of certificates (Article 57). Article 128 of the Rome Treaty stated that:

> The Council shall, acting upon a proposal from the Commission and after consulting the Economic and Social Committee, lay down general principles for implementing a common vocational training policy capable of contributing to the harmonious development both of the national economies and of the common market.

It was not until 1963, that a 'program for action' to implement Article 128 was agreed upon (see the Council Decision, 1963)[6]. With this Council decision, the general principles for implementing a common vocational training policy were set out. This program stated that 'to ensure the maintenance of a high level of employment through their economic policies, member states should take appropriate action to adapt the skills of their labour forces to changes in the general economic situation and to changes in production technology'. The reasoning was that 'the implementation of an effective common vocational policy would help to bring about freedom of movement for workers' (*ibid.*). The signals for the changing nature of the relationship between vocational training and general education was given by the second principle of the decision, which underlined that the vocational policy aimed to 'to broaden vocational training on the basis of a general education' (*ibid*.). This link became much clearer in the second phase of the history.

During the first phase, the basis of the vocational policy, which would also pave the way to educational policy, was set out. Yet the policy was still very weak. While the 1963 Council Decision was a step forward in setting up the general principles of the policy, it was not legally binding. Establishment of a common vocational policy was not a priority for the member states (Pepin, 2006: 57).

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[6] This article was very difficult to interpret, as did not give 'a sufficient basis to identify clearly the responsibilities given to Community institutions' (Ertl, 2003a: 15-6). There were discrepancies in the interpretation of this article by the Commission and the member states. While the Commission interpreted this article much more broadly, the member states interpreted it more narrowly giving the EC little competence in this area (*ibid*.).

The integration process in this phase was driven by economic concerns and goals and vocational policy was included in the treaties as far as it served these goals. As Pepin states:

> Since they could not build the 'Europe of their dreams' – one of which would also have incorporated, or even given priority to, culture and education – the founding fathers of the European Community built the 'Europe that was possible', a Europe that focused on the economy (2006: 22).

Rather than the three communities, it was the Council of Europe, an intergovernmental institution set up in 1949, which was considered to be a forum for cooperation in education and culture (see *ibid.* 50-51).

4.1.2 Cooperation in General Education: 1969 to 1980

The context of the second phase was much more favourable to the creation of an educational policy. At the end of 1960's, the integration process was entering a new period. With the December 1969 Hague Summit, the integration project was revived. Prior to this summit, in October 1969, the European Parliament called for 'the Europeanization of universities as the foundation for a genuine *cultural community*' (emphasis added, Pepin, 2006: 23). The Heads of State or Governments in the Hague Summit declared 'the importance of preserving an exceptional centre of development, progress and culture in Europe' (*ibid.*; also see Meeting of the Heads of State or Government, 1969). First was the influence of a group of politicians who saw education as 'a means to create the 'new European citizen of the future'' (Ertl, 2003: 17). Establishment of the European University Institute in 1972, through which an idea of 'common citizenship' was to be promoted, was an indication of such an outlook.

The international and European economic context also had an important impact on the evolution of the policies. In 1972, the final communiqué of the Paris Summit underlined that 'economic expansion which is not an end in itself must as a priority help to attenuate the disparities in living conditions' (Meeting of the Heads of State or Government, 1972). According to Neave, especially the period between 1974 and 1981 was significant to understand how the economic crisis years influenced the Community action in the area of

vocational training and education and gave rise to a different outlook and approach (1984: 15). While during the first phase the general tendency was to treat vocational training as a separate area from general education, during the second phase of the history of educational policy, general education had started to be referred legally and became part of the communities' agenda. In this phase, vocational and general education had begun to be interlinked, especially with the 1976 Education Action Program, and cooperation in the area of general education had started to be built by relying on the weak competence of the vocational training (Neave, 1984: 62; Ertl, 2003: 18). This change in the attitude happened at the end of 1970s, when the roots of youth unemployment were understood to be not short term or conjectural, but long term. Outlook to both vocational training and general education changed. The discourse was that both policies together 'should serve as instruments for long term adaptation to those developments both in society and in the economy' (Neave, 1984: 16-7). These policies were considered to be 'instruments of positive discrimination' (*ibid*. 62). Especially after 1975, most of the resolutions gave primacy to the issue of transition from school to work. In the Council Resolution of 1974, full employment was declared as a main priority (Resolution, 1974).

'The General guidelines for drawing up a Community action program on vocational training', adopted by the Council of Ministers in July 1971, was a turning point in the evolution of the educational policy. This document stated that 'the aim should be to offer everyone the opportunity of basic and advanced training and a continuity of in-service training designed, from a *general* and vocational point of view, to enable the individual to develop his personality and to take up a career' (emphasis added; Council of Ministers, 1971). The importance of this document stems from the emphasis it put on the general education, which implied that general education was becoming 'an area of interest to the Community' (Neave, 1984: 7). With this guideline, general education, which had no legal basis, was closely linked with vocational training. The guideline stressed 'the importance of the growing interdependence between general education and vocational and technical training' (Council of Ministers, 1971).

The same month, the Commission set up two Working Parties on educational matters (a Working Party on Teaching and Education and an International Working Party on

Coordination) working under the then Commissioner Altiero Spinelli, which initiated projects for the collection of data on educational matters and stressed the need for 'greater Community effort' (Beukel, 1993: 157; 2001: 127). In November 1971, the Ministers for Education held their first meeting. Since then the Education Council meets under the name of 'meeting of the Council and the Ministers for Education meeting within the Council'. This implied that 'such meetings have formally taken place outside the treaties' framework, with the ministers acting solely as representatives of their government on the basis of the member countries' constitutional rules' (Beukel, 1993: 155).

In their 1971 press release, the Ministers concluded that whereas actions taken in the field of vocational policy had a legal basis, 'it was now appropriate to complete these actions by increasing cooperation in the field of education' (Neave, 1984: 7). The resolution also stated that the ''ultimate aim' was 'in fact to define a European model of culture correlating with European integration' (quoted in Beukel, 2001: 127). The resolution focused on five topics:

> - co-operation between universities with particular reference to student exchanges,
>
> - equal opportunities for girls in secondary education,
>
> - education of second-generation immigrant children,
>
> - effective transition of young people from school to adult and working life, and
>
> - promotion of closer relations between educational systems in Europe (cited in Ertl, 2003b: 216-7).

This meeting gave the green light to the Commission, and 'from then on, educational issues were to be considered common policy issues and the Commission hoped for a convergence of the member states' educational policies in order to assure a harmonious development in the Community' (Beukel, 2001: 127). The Commission played a decisive role in the progress achieved in the policy. The 1971 meeting triggered the publishing of several reports on general education with the initiative of the Commission. In July 1972, the Commission asked Professor Henri Janne, a former Belgian Minister of Education, to prepare a report on the possible areas of action in the field (Janne, 1973). In November 1972, a Working Party of Senior Officials presented its report on the possible areas of cooperation in the field of

education. The Janne report, which was called 'For a Community Policy on Education', was presented in February 1973. The report was based on a series of discussions held among 35 experts. The report was based on two premises. One was that 'an irreversible recognition of an education dimension of Europe had begun and that this initial movement led to an education policy at European community level' (Neave, 1984: 8). The Janne Report stated that:

> … there is no longer any good vocational training that does not comprise a sound general training at all levels, and there is no longer any good general training which is not linked with concrete practice, and, in principle, with real work (1973).

In January 1973, education for the first time became part of the responsibility of one of the Commissioners, Ralph Dahrendorf. Furthermore, the Directorate General XII on Research, Science and Education was established. In the spring of 1973, Dahrendorf presented a draft proposal on the Community's role in education. The proposal emphasized 'educational policy can in many ways help to promote the process of European integration' (Dahrendorf, 1973). A year later in March 1974, the first communication on education from the Commission, 'Education in the European Community' was presented. It stressed the reasons behind the need for cooperation while identifying the main areas of action that could be taken at the Community level. The communication asserted that: 'a Community perspective in education is increasingly important, and what is required is a common commitment to the development of educational co-operation and a systematic exchange of information and experience' (Beukel, 2001: 128). Specifically mentioned were the increasing mobility in education and the development of a 'European dimension in education'. Proposals were in line with the Janne and Dahrendorf reports.

In June 1974, the Ministers of Education holding their second meeting proclaimed that 'on no account must education be regarded merely as a component of economic life…. The program of cooperation initiated in the field of education, whilst reflecting the progressive harmonization of the economic and social policies in the Community, must be adapted to the specific objectives and requirements of this field'. The resolution adopted set out the main framework of the cooperation by identifying the priority areas:

> - better facilities for the education and training of nationals and the

children of national of other Member States of the Communities and of non-member countries,

- promotion of closer relations between educational systems in Europe,

- compilation of up-to-date documentations and statistics on education,

- increased cooperation between institutions of higher education,

- improved possibilities for academic recognition of diplomas and periods of study,

- encouragement of the freedom of movement and mobility of teachers, students and research workers, in particular by the removal of administrative and social obstacles to the free movement of such persons and by the improved teaching of foreign languages,

- achievement of equal opportunity for free access to all forms of education (Resolution, 1974).

The resolution was based on three principles. The first principle was 'the right of every citizen to education'. The second was the 'importance of upholding the diversity and particular character of Member State education systems'. And finally, it was stated that the way the objectives would be achieved would be 'firmly the responsibility of the individual Member State' (Neave, 1984: 9-10). An *ad hoc* Education Committee, composed of representatives of member states and of the Commission, was set up to work on the priority spheres of action.

Two years later, the Ministers within the framework of the Resolution of 1976 adopted the Community Education Action Program. The Ministers 'reaffirm[ed] their desire to achieve European cooperation in education' (Resolution, 1976). The resolution set out the action program in order to achieve the priority spheres of action identified in the resolution of 1974. Most importantly, under the heading of promotion of closer relations between educational systems in Europe, the term a 'European dimension in education' was mentioned (*ibid.*). With this action program, the committee obtained a permanent status and became the 'organizational centre of educational cooperation'. The Commission was to work closely with this committee in implementing the measures. Many initiatives and projects were initiated after the adoption of the action program, which is deemed to be 'forerunners' of the programs adopted in the mid-1980s (Ertl, 2003: 19).

In conclusion, the European context was important in giving momentum to activities in the field of education, yet educational cooperation from 1978 to mid-1980 was slow (Beukel, 1993: 161). As Neave states, 'one effect of the new planning context has been to move education from the periphery to the centre of the Community's preoccupations' (Neave, 1984: 17). The most important obstacle to a consensus revolved around the concept of 'European dimension in education'. Regardless, the Educational Committee continued to work on the implementation of the Action Plan.

4.1.3 The European Dimension: 1980 to 1992

With the adoption of the Single European Act, the integration process was re-launched, leaving behind the Euro-sclerosis years. Vocational training and general education gained more significance, as the goal set forward, the completion of the single market, was closely interlinked with these policy areas (Corbett, 2005: 121). Ertl identifies four main factors why this was so. First of all, economic competitiveness is closely connected to the skills of the citizens. Secondly, to encourage the free movement of workers the Union needs trained workers that can work transnationally. Thirdly, integration in the economic field requires the 'establishment of comparable conditions for training and education'. Fourthly, the Union's aim of 'social cohesion' also requires more cooperation in the concerned policy areas (2003: 22).

The resolutions at the end of the 1980s began to stress the 'European dimension in education that was characterized by a marked attachment to European culture and European ideas' (Beukel, 2001: 131). The term was mentioned in the Janne Report and the 1976 Resolution, but was not defined till 1988. The May 1988 Resolution was adopted in accordance with the Solemn declaration on European Union (June 1983), the conclusions of the European Council Fontainebleau (June 1984) and the 'People's Europe' report adopted in the Milan European Council (June 1985). The Solemn Declaration on European Union was a turning point in the evolution of the educational policy (June 1983). As Beukel states especially at the end of this phase educational cooperation acquired an 'ideational' nature.

The 'tendency to argue for educational cooperation in terms of *European* ideas and interests' was evident (original emphasis, 2001: 131).

The legal basis of the educational policy was consolidated during this phase. As explained above, in the previous phases of the policy 'virtue of 'implicit competence'' was the principle, because the educational policy had no legal basis (Ertl, 2003: 19). In line with the resolutions adopted during the 1970s, the European Court of Justice's decisions on vocational training and general education policy were very progressive. The European Court of Justice, with its broad interpretations of the provisions, established 'directly enforceable legal rights in the sphere of education', specifically for the workers, their children, and students (see Johnson, 1999: 201-206; Ertl, 2003b: 217). While Article 128 was not clear on the type of policy instruments and decision-making procedures that would be employed, through the European Court of Justice's adjudication it was possible to adopt legislation in the area of vocational education. Furthermore, the Court's decisions set out higher education within the scope of vocational education. These decisions paved the way towards the surge of activities in the mid-1980s. The most important cases can be cited as the Forcheri case of 1982[7]; Gravier case of 1985[8]; Erasmus verdict of 1989[9].

Furthermore, during this phase the Council adopted educational programs, which were to be implemented by the Commission. 'These programs created a form of 'soft law', where the Commission intervenes in education indirectly through offering 'carrot' of financial incentives designed to encourage pan-European educational initiatives' (Johnson, 1999: 201). Between the years 1986 and 1989, on the basis of Article 128, the following programs (first generation) were adopted[10]: the Commett (Community Program for Education and Training in Technology), Erasmus (European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students), Lingua (Program for the Promotion of Foreign Language Knowledge in the

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[7] The case concerned the right of a foreign worker from a member state to educational grant in a different member state. 'applied the principle of non-discrimination in relation to vocational training' (Ertl, 2003a: 16).
[8] Important decision because 'the court emphasized that a common policy should be developed gradually and that the enforcement of general principles, as well as the cooperation of the member states should be the main priorities' (*ibid*.).
[9] With this case, 'the Community has the right to pass statutes which introduce Community joint actions in the field of vocational education and training and which entail corresponding obligations for the member states' (*ibid*.).
[10] Specifically the Gravier and Erasmus cases were crucial in terms of opening up the way forward for the adoption of these programs (see Ertl, 2003b).

European Community); along with Petra (European Community Action Program for the Vocational Training of Young People and Their Preparation for Adult and Working Life), Eurotecnet (European Technology Network for Training) and Iris (European Community Network of Training Programs for Women). The programs were to be implemented by a committee composed of two representatives from each member state and one from the Commission acting as a Chairman.

In general terms, what these first generation programs aimed was to:

> - exchange of participants (for instance, students, trainees, skilled workers),
>
> - promotion of joint pilot projects and transnational initiatives,
>
> - promotion of the exchange of information about educational practices in other countries, and
>
> - implementation of comparative studies among the countries involved (Ertl, 2003b: 218).

The 1988 Resolution was a turning point. The objective that was set out in the 1988 Resolution was 'to strengthen the European dimension in education':

> - strengthen in young people a sense of European identity and make clear to them the value European civilisation and of the foundations on which the European peoples intend to base their development today, that is in particular the safeguarding of the principles of democracy, social justice and respect for human rights (Copenhagen declaration, April 1978),
>
> - prepare young people to take part in the economic and social development of the Community and in making concrete progress toward European union, as stipulated in the European Single Act,
>
> - make them aware of the advantages which the Community represents, but also of the challenges it involves, in opening up an enlarged economic and social area to them,
>
> - improve their knowledge of the Community and its Member States in their historical, cultural, economic and social aspects and bring home to them the significance of the cooperation of the Member States of the European Community with other countries of Europe and the world (1988).

To achieve these ends, the resolution made a distinction between the measures that would be taken at the level of the Member States and those at the level of the European Community.

The 1993 Green paper on European Dimension of education clarified the main characteristics of the European dimension. It pointed out the 'the added value of Community action 'a European citizenship based on the shared values of interdependence, democracy, equality of opportunity and mutual respect' (Commission, 1993: 5).

4.1.4 A *De Jure* policy: 1992 to 2000

With the Maastricht Treaty, the '*de facto* position of a developing Community competence in education' turned into a '*de jure* one' (Johnson, 1999: 206). By introducing Article 126 and 127 into the Treaty establishing the European Community, 'the Treaty of Maastricht had taken into account the fact that in spite of the lack of explicit Community powers to deal with education as a whole, a common educational policy had gradually been established' (Bergreen-Merkel, 1999: 1). Thus with the Maastricht Treaty, the policy gained 'a much firmer legal basis for Community competence' both in terms of education as well as vocational training (Johnson, 1999: 200). The Treaty added a new chapter to the Treaty establishing the European Community, entitled 'Education, Vocational Training and Youth'. Education was brought under the Community competence for the first time. A new Directorate-General for Education, Training and Youth (DG XXII) was established (this was transformed into Directorate-General for Education and Culture in 1992).

During the mid-1990s, the educational programs were also reformed, restructured and geographically extended, thus began the second generation of programs. A program for vocational training (Leonardo da Vinci) was adopted in 1994, to be followed in 1995 with another program for education (Socrates), both of which were to cover the period between 1995 and 1999 (see Table 4.1). These programs were later extended for another six years from 2000 onwards.

Table 4–1: The Educational Programs and Their Objectives

Program	Objectives
Leonardo Da Vinci	▪ to improve the quality vocational training actions and promote vocational training; ▪ to improve the ability of training providers to meet demand from the business world; ▪ to encourage vocational training curricula and partnerships; ▪ to support and supplement national vocational training policies and initiatives
Socrates	▪ to develop the European dimension in education; ▪ promote improved knowledge of European languages; ▪ to promote the intercultural dimension of education; ▪ to enhance the quality of education by means of European co-operation; ▪ to promote the mobility of teaching staff and students; ▪ to encourage the recognition of diplomas, periods of study and other qualifications; ▪ to facilitate the development of an open European area for co-operation in education; ▪ to encourage open and distance education in the European context; and ▪ to foster exchanges of information on educational systems and policy.

Source: Johnson, 1999: 208-9

Table 4–2: The Socrates Program

Comenius: school education
Erasmus: higher education
Grundtvig: adult education and other education pathways
Lingua: learning and teaching of European languages
Minerva: information and communication technologies in education
Arion: Observation and innovation of education systems and policies – study visits for decision-makers in education
Joint actions with other European programs – Leonardo, Youth Programs
Accompanying measures – activities to raise awareness of European co-operation in education.

Source: European Commission Website, 2012

For both the Leonardo and Socrates programs, construction of a European dimension in education and training was set out as an objective (see Ertl, 2003: 26-7). Article 162 (2) of the Treaty of the European Union also set out that '…developing the European dimension in education, particularly through the teaching and dissemination of the languages of the Member States…' as one of the objectives of the educational policy. However, the Treaty did not define the concept itself.

4.1.5 Lisbon Strategy and Education: 2000 to today

The Lisbon Strategy of 2000 put educational policy at the forefront of EU's agenda. The Agenda 2000 declared knowledge-based policies as one of the four fundamental pillars of the Union. "Education and Training 2010" and "Education and Training 2020" programs were adapted within the framework of the Lisbon Strategy. The Lisbon strategy was restructured with the EU 2020 strategy, which put forward five targets for 2020. These are:

> 1. Employment: 75% of the 20-64 year-olds to be employed;
>
> 2. R&D / innovation: 3% of the EU's GDP (public and private combined) to be invested in R&D/innovation;
>
> 3. Climate change / energy: greenhouse gas emissions 20% (or even 30%, if the conditions are right) lower than 1990, 20% of energy from renewables, 20% increase in energy efficiency;
>
> 4. Education: Reducing school drop-out rates below 10%, at least 40% of 30-34–year-olds completing third level education;
>
> 5. Poverty / social exclusion: at least 20 million fewer people in or at risk of poverty and social exclusion (see Europe 2020 Website).

Thus education also became one of the OMC policy areas, introduced by the European Council of Lisbon in March 2000.

The Lisbon Strategy had an impact on the discourse of the policy area. The Strategy '1) reasserts the role of education for economic competitiveness and growth 2) underlines education as a core labor market factor as well as a factor in social cohesion 3) asks for a focus on common concerns and priorities' (Gornitzka, 2005: 12). With the Lisbon Strategy, the policy discourse became more economic based and the emphasis on diversity was left aside for a search of a common framework. Thus within the framework of the Lisbon Agenda, education is situated in a broader framework, along with the social, labor market and economic policies in achieving the EU's goal towards becoming '*the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy*' (European Council, 2000).

In 2001, the Council of Ministers of Education agreed on three goals:

> - to improve the quality and effectiveness of education and training systems in the EU.

- to facilitate the access of all to education and training systems.

- to open up education and training systems to the wider world (2001).

Accordingly, the Council Resolution of 2002 declared that 'Education and training are indispensable means for promoting employability, social cohesion, active citizenship, and personal as well as professional fulfilment' (2002). The resolution also emphasized the European dimension by stating that 'priority should be given' to:

> Strengthening the European dimension in vocational education and training with the aim of improving closer cooperation in order to facilitate and promote mobility and the development of interinstitutional cooperation, partnerships and other transnational initiatives, all in order to raise the profile of the European education and training area in an international context so that Europe will be recognised as a worldwide reference for learners (*ibid.*).

Within this context, the educational programs were restructured in 2007 under the name Lifelong Learning Program (LLP) on the basis of 'Education and Training 2010' program for it to contribute to the Lisbon Strategy (see Table 4.3). The objectives of the program are:

> To contribute to the development of quality Lifelong Learning, to promote high performance, innovation and a European dimension in systems and practices in the field

> To support the realisation of a European area for Lifelong Learning

> To help improve the quality, attractiveness and accessability of the opportunities for Lifelong Learning available within Member States

> To reinforce the contribution of Lifelong Learning to social cohesion, active citizenship, intercultural dialogue, gender equality and personal fulfilment

> To promote creativity, competitiveness, employability and the growth of an entrepreneurial spirit

> To contribute to increased participation in Lifelong Learning by people of all ages, including those with special needs and disadvantaged groups regardless of their socio-economic background

> To promote language learning and linguistic diversity

> To support the development of innovative ICT-based content, services, pedagogies and practices for Lifelong Learning

To reinforce the role of Lifelong Learning in creating a sense of European citizenship based on understanding and respect for human rights and democracy, and encouraging tolerance and respect for peoples and cultures

To promote cooperation in quality assurance in all sectors of VET in Europe

To encourage the best use of results, innovative products and processes and to exchange good practice in the field covered by the LLP, in order to improve the quality of education and training (Education and Training Program 2010).

During the 1990s, life-long learning has become one of the 'core policy principles' of the Union (Hake, 1999: 54). The year 1996 was declared the 'European Year of Life-long Learning'. Also in the Amsterdam Treaty, life-long learning was declared to be the 'guiding principle for policy on education and training, and as a complement to other policy fields' (*ibid*. 58). Life-long learning was especially encouraged to 'meet the challenge of globalisation'. Thus, the new momentum educational policy gained can also be attributed to 'the growth of information society' (Beukel, 1993: 168; Beukel, 2001: 137; also see Commission, 1997).

Table 4–3: The LLP

COMENIUS (School Education)	ERASMUS (Higher Education)	LEONARDO DA VINCI (Vocational Training)	GRUNDTVIG (Adult Education)
Transversal Program			
Jean Monnet Program			

The inclusion of right to education in the Charter of Fundamental Rights signed in December 2000 also brought new developments in to the field (Mentink and Goudappel, 2000; Wallace, 2002). Article 14 of the Charter states that:

Everyone has the right to education and to have access to vocational and continuing training.

> This right includes the possibility to receive free compulsory education.
>
> The freedom to found educational establishments with due respect for democratic principles and the right of parent to ensure the education and teaching of their children in conformity with their religious, philosophical and pedagogical convictions shall be respected, in accordance with national law governing the exercise of such freedom and right.

This article has been criticised for being incomplete and ambiguous in its content. For instance, whereas the charter refers free compulsory education, it does not mention free non-compulsory or vocational education (Wallace, 2002: 12). Nevertheless, with the charter 'for the first time, the common values within the EU have been laid down in an official document, whatever its scope may be' (Mentink & Goudappel, 2000: 147).

The Lisbon Treaty includes Title XII on 'Education, Vocational Training, Youth and Sport':

> Article 165 (ex Article 149 TEC)
>
> 1. The Union shall contribute to the development of quality education by encouraging cooperation 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 organisation of education systems and their cultural and linguistic diversity. The Union shall contribute to the promotion of European sporting issues, while taking account of the specific nature of sport, its structures based on voluntary activity and its social and educational function.
>
> 2. Union action shall be aimed at:
>
> — developing the European dimension in education, particularly through the teaching and dissemination of the languages of the Member States,
>
> — encouraging mobility of students and teachers, by encouraging inter alia, the academic recognition of diplomas and periods of study,
>
> — promoting cooperation between educational establishments,
>
> — developing exchanges of information and experience on issues common to the education systems of the Member States,
>
> — encouraging the development of youth exchanges and of exchanges of socio-educational instructors, and encouraging the participation of young people in democratic life in Europe,
>
> — encouraging the development of distance education,

> — developing the European dimension in sport, by promoting fairness and openness in sporting competitions and cooperation between bodies responsible for sports, and by protecting the physical and moral integrity of sportsmen and sportswomen, especially the youngest sportsmen and sportswomen.
>
> 3. The Union and the Member States shall foster cooperation with third countries and the competent international organisations in the field of education and sport, in particular the Council of Europe.
>
> 4. In order to contribute to the achievement of the objectives referred to in this Article:
>
> — the European Parliament and the Council, acting in accordance with the ordinary legislative procedure, after consulting the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, shall adopt incentive measures, excluding any harmonisation of the laws and regulations of the Member States,
>
> — the Council, on a proposal from the Commission, shall adopt recommendations.

The Lisbon Treaty did not reform the policy much. The treaty only added the phrase 'encouraging the participation of young people in democratic life in Europe' into second point of the Amsterdam Treaty Article 149, as well as the references to sports and sportsmanship to the article in general. The most important aspect of the Treaty of Lisbon is it has clarified the competences of the EU. In the education field, the EU has supporting, coordinating and supplementing competences. Thus the EU legal acts in education cannot lead to harmonisation of the legislation of the Member States (see Consolidated Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union Articles 2 and 6).

4.1.6 Institutional Structure

In the Lisbon Treaty, the educational policy has been classified as supplementary EU competence. The EU decisions in education are based on Commission proposals and are decided by co-decision (ordinary legislative procedure) between the European Parliament and the Council of Ministers, by qualified majority voting. The Commission implements the programs, but its influence over drafting legislation is restricted due to the 'limited scope' of the policy (see Gornitzka, 2007 for the role of Commission). The European Parliament has some power over the policy, arising out of its 'dual budgetary control', hence its control over

funding. The most important reason why there is still a 'weak' Community competence in this policy area is mainly political. Education is one of the most important tools of state-building (see Gornitzka, 2005 and 2007). In order for the member-states to protect their sovereignty, education has proved to be a sensitive issue.

As evident in the provisions of Lisbon Treaty, the EU does not aim to standardize the educational policies of the member states or impose a 'European timetable'. The Article 126 of the TEU, followed by the Article 149 of the Amsterdam Treaty and the Article 165 of the Lisbon Treaty state that the Union's primary task is to 'encourage cooperation between the member states'. Most importantly, only 'if necessary' it shall 'support' and 'supplement' the actions of the member-states, while 'respecting the cultural and linguistic diversity' of the member-states. Thus the member states still have competence when it comes to the content and methodological organization of general and vocational education. Rather than aiming for a 'centralized policy', 'unity in diversity is the objective' (*ibid.* 12).

4.2   THE BOLOGNA PROCESS

The Bologna process was initiated in 1999 with the Bologna Declaration, signed in Bologna in June 1999 by the Ministers of Education of the 29 European countries.[11] Ten years after the signature of the Bologna Declaration, on 12 March 2010, the Ministers of 47 countries[12] adopted the Budapest-Vienna Declaration and officially launched the EHEA. In 2009 the Leuven *Communiqué* stated that:

> The objectives set out by the Bologna Declaration and the policies
> developed in the subsequent years are still valid today. Since not all the
> objectives have been completely achieved, the full and proper

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[11] The 2003 Berlin Communiqué sets the requirements of becoming part of the process: 'Countries party to the European Cultural Convention shall be eligible for membership of the EHEA provided that they at the same time declare their willingness to pursue and implement the objectives of the Bologna Process in their own systems of higher education', also see Requirements and Procedures for Joining the Bologna Process (BFUG, 2004).

[12] The list of participating countries in accordance with the year of participation is as follows: 1999 - Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom; 2001 - Croatia, Cyprus, Liechtenstein, Turkey; 2003 - Albania, Andorra, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Holy See, Russia, Serbia, 'the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia'; 2005 - Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine; 2007 - Montenegro; 2010 - Kazakhstan.

implementation of these objectives at European, national and institutional level will require increased momentum and commitment beyond 2010 (2009).

The Framework for Qualifications of the EHEA defines 'the common understanding' of higher education that has emerged with the Bologna Process. These are:

1) preparation for the labour market;

2) preparation for life as active citizens in a democratic society;

3) personal development;

4) the development and maintenance of a broad, advanced knowledge base (2005: 23)

The roots of EHEA lie in the Magna Charta Universitatum of 1988. This document influenced the debates on European higher education policy. The document was signed at the meeting of European rectors on the occasion of 900th anniversary of the University of Bologna:

Among its fundamental principles it inscribed that '[a] university is the trustee of the European humanist tradition' – this is a principle which has been common to the Bologna Process as well… It also referred to 'the mutual exchange of information and documentation, and frequent joint projects for the advancement of learning, as essential to the steady progress of knowledge', and encouraged 'mobility among teachers and students; furthermore, they consider a general policy of equivalent status, titles, examinations (without prejudice to national diplomas) and award of scholarships essential to the fulfilment of their mission in the conditions prevailing today (Magna Charta Universitatum, 1991 cited in External Dimension of the Bologna Process 2006).

Another document that has contributed to the Bologna Process is the Lisbon Recognition Convention (1997). Convention is the only legal document of the Bologna Process. '…Convention was developed and signed in a similar 'spirit of the time' as the Magna Charta – announcing 'new times' in the Europeanization and internationalisation of higher education' (Zgaga, 2006). The Sorbonne 'Joint Declaration on Harmonisation of the architecture of the European Higher Education System', signed by the four Ministers of France, Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom in Paris on May 25 1998, the anniversary of the University of Paris, officially launched the Bologna Process. In this declaration the Ministers stated that:

The European process has very recently moved some extremely important steps ahead. Relevant as they are, they should not make one forget that Europe is not only that of the Euro, of the banks and the economy: it must be a Europe of knowledge as well. We must strengthen and build upon the intellectual, cultural, social and technical dimensions of our continent. These have to a large extent been shaped by its universities, which continue to play a pivotal role for their development (1998).

The principles of this space are:

- quality: reforms concerning credit systems or degree structures cannot substitute efforts to improve and guarantee quality in curricula, teaching and learning;

- mobility: the most powerful engine for change and improvement in higher education in Europe has come, and will come from growing awareness of alternative approaches and best practice in other countries;

- diversity: measures not respecting the fundamental cultural, linguistic and educational diversity in Europe could jeopardise not only the progress already made, but the perspective of continuing convergence in the future;

- openness: European higher education can only fulfil its missions within a worldwide perspective based on competition and cooperation with other regions in the world' (EUA, 1999: 24).

The Bologna Declaration emphasized three main goals: international competitiveness, mobility and employability; and aimed to create the EHEA by 2010. International competitiveness is defined in two related dimensions 'the competitiveness of European diplomas in the international scene and the capacity to attract students from outside the EHEA' (BFUG, 2001: 8). Mobility within the European Education Area is the second objective of the process (*ibid*. 10). The EU mobility programs, along with other instruments such as ECTS, DS and the Lisbon Convention are important building blocks of the EHEA. Lastly, employability was deemed to be one of the goals of the process, which is defined as 'the objective of preparing people for an active life and citizenship, that includes being employed or self-employed' (*ibid*. 12). Employability is clearly linked to the concept of active citizenship. Bologna Official Website defines it as 'the ability to gain initial employment, to maintain employment, and to be able to move around within the labour market' (2011).

4.2.1 Action Lines of the Process

The Bologna Declaration operationalized the term 'European area of higher education' fore-mentioned in the Sorbonne Declaration by setting specific objectives. These action lines are:

> 1. 'Adoption of a system of easily readable and comparable degrees, also through the implementation of the DS, in order to promote European citizens employability and the international competitiveness of the European higher education system';13
>
> 2. 'Adoption of a system essentially based on two main cycles, undergraduate and graduate. Access to the second cycle shall require successful completion of first cycle studies, lasting a minimum of three years. The degree awarded after the first cycle shall also be relevant to the European labour market as an appropriate level of qualification. The second cycle should lead to the master and/or doctorate degree as in many European countries';14
>
> 3. 'Establishment of a system of credits – such as in the ECTS system – as a proper means of promoting the most widespread student mobility. Credits could also be acquired in non-higher education contexts, including lifelong learning, provided they are recognised by receiving Universities concerned'; 15
>
> 4. 'Promotion of mobility by overcoming obstacles to the effective exercise of free movement with particular attention to:
>
>   for students, access to study and training opportunities and to related services
>
>   for teachers, researchers and administrative staff, recognition and valorisation of periods spent in a European context researching, teaching

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[13] This action line is connected with recognition of qualifications. The Council of Europe/UNESCO Joint Convention on the Recognition of Qualifications concerning Higher Education in the European Region (Lisbon Recognition Convention) signed in April 11, 1997 in Lisbon is an important legal instrument that aims to achieve this objective. To implement the Lisbon Recognition Convention, the Council of Europe and UNESCO have established the ENIC Network (European Network of National Information Centres on academic recognition and mobility). The ENIC Network cooperates with the NARIC Network of the European Union (National Academic Recognition Information Centres).

[14] The 'Framework for Qualifications in the EHEA' was adopted in 2005. The framework outlines the system in 'three cycles'. It was the Attali Report prepared by Jacques Attali to the French government, that first proposed a European model of diplomas, 'a 3-5-8 model' (Murdoch 2003). The framework also includes 'generic descriptors for each cycle based on learning outcomes and competences, and credit ranges in the first and second cycles'. From 2007 onwards, each participant country started to work on a national framework of qualifications compatible with the overarching framework for qualifications in the EHEA, to be completed by 2010.

[15] The ECTS system was established within the framework of the EU exchange programs in the end of 1980s to foster mobility. The DS supplement was developed by the European Commission, Council of Europe and UNESCO-CEPES in the 1990s.

and training, without prejudicing their statutory rights';

5. 'Promotion of European co-operation in quality assurance with a view to developing comparable criteria and methodologies'; 16

6. 'Promotion of the necessary European dimensions in higher education, particularly with regards to curricular development, inter- institutional co-operation, mobility schemes and integrated programs of study, training and research'.

On 19 May 2001, the Ministers in charge of education met in Prague to evaluate the process and set new priorities. In this meeting further action lines were added to the process:

7. 'Lifelong learning is an essential element of the EHEA. In the future Europe, built upon a knowledge-based society and economy, lifelong learning strategies are necessary to face the challenges of competitiveness and the use of new technologies and to improve social cohesion, equal opportunities and the quality of life';

8. 'Ministers stressed that the involvement of universities and other higher education institutions and of students as competent, active and constructive partners in the establishment and shaping of a EHEA is needed and welcomed…. Ministers also reaffirmed the need, recalled by students, to take account of the social dimension in the Bologna process.'

9. 'Promoting the attractiveness of the EHEA (EHEA)'.

In the Berlin *Communiqué* signed on 19 September 2003, the last action line was added:

10. 'The emerging EHEA will benefit from synergies with the European Research Area, thus strengthening the basis of the Europe of Knowledge.'
The doctoral level was included as the third cycle in the Bologna Process.

Social dimension was further emphasized in the Berlin *Communiqué*:

The need to increase competitiveness must be balanced with the objective of improving the social characteristics of the EHEA, aiming at

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[16] Eurydice Report defines quality assurance: 'In higher education, quality assurance can be understood as policies, procedures and practices that are designed to achieve, maintain or enhance quality as it is understood in a specific context… Thus Quality Assurance should focus on: the interests of students as well as employers and the society more generally in good quality higher education; the central importance of institutional autonomy, tempered by a recognition that this brings with it heavy responsibilities; the need for external quality assurance to be fit for its purpose and to place only an appropriate and necessary burden on institutions for the achievement of its objectives' (2010). For this purpose 'the Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance in the EHEA' was adopted by Ministers in 2005. The European Quality Assurance Register for Higher Education was set up in 2008, which provides a list of the agencies that operate in accordance with the European Standards and Guidelines.

strengthening social cohesion and reducing social and gender inequalities both at national and at European level. In that context, Ministers reaffirm their position that higher education is a public good and a public responsibility (2003).

These ten action lines form the basis of the Bologna Process. The aim is the formation of the EHEA.

4.2.2 The European Dimension

The European Dimension in the Bologna Process is defined as '….the development of modules, courses and curricula at all levels with 'European' content, orientation or organisation. This concerns particularly modules, courses and degree curricula offered in partnership by institutions from different countries and leading to a recognized joint degree' (Prague *Communiqué*, 2001). In practice, the concept is usually treated in a very narrow manner. As ESIB criticized in its report:

> The European dimension of higher education is mostly understood in a very narrow sense. Provision of language courses and offering study programs in foreign languages (mostly English) are widely considered as the 'European dimension', whereas the introduction of a European perspective into curricula is rarely on any agenda (ESIB, 2007).

Connected with the European dimension is the emphasis the Bologna Process puts on the 'external dimension' or in other words international competitiveness. Two different points are emphasized within the framework of external dimension – international competiveness and international attractiveness. The Bologna Declaration emphasized international competitiveness.

> We must in particular look at the objective of increasing the international competitiveness of the European system of higher education. The vitality and efficiency of any civilisation can be measured by the appeal that its culture has for other countries. We need to ensure that the European higher education system acquires a world-wide degree of attraction equal to our extraordinary cultural and scientific traditions (1999).

There is also emphasis on international attractiveness. The Prague *Communiqué* similarly stated that:

> Ministers agreed on the importance of enhancing attractiveness of European higher education to students from Europe and other parts of the world…. Ministers particularly stressed that the quality of higher education and research is and should be an important determinant of Europe's international attractiveness and competitiveness (2001).

This emphasis on external dimension is closely related with EHEA asserting its normative power. [17] The Trends 2010 Report sets the context of the Bologna Process and links the process with the wider changes occurring in the field of educational policy − specifically globalisation.

4.2.3 Institutional Structure

As clearly stated in the Bologna Declaration, the Bologna Process is an 'international cooperation'. The Bologna Process is not based on an intergovernmental treaty. The *Communiqués* and Declarations, adopted by the Ministers responsible for higher education of the participant countries, are the main instruments of the Process, but these are not legally binding documents. The 2005 Report reiterates that:

> The Bologna Process is a process of voluntary cooperation between different national systems overseen by the BFUG and associating the various partners. There are no legally binding provisions except for the Lisbon Recognition Convention; the cooperation is based on mutual trust. Participating countries have adapted their legislation to the principles and objectives of the Bologna Process, and higher education institutions are committed to implementing them (BFUG, 2005).

Yet this does not seem to be an impediment in front of the process as 'Although the Bologna process was initiated as mainly an intergovernmental process, there is an evident and growing convergence with EU processes aimed at strengthening European co-operation in higher education' (BFUG, 2003: 7).

Today, the Bologna Process encompasses 47 countries, which are also signatories to

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[17] The EU's power over the applicant states stems from the EU's 'normative power', a term coined by Manners, which he defines as 'the ideational impact of the EU's international identity/role' (2002: 238). Manners (2002) identifies five core norms on which the EU's normative power is based on, which are the centrality of peace, liberty, the rule of law, respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms. In Manners's words 'the most important factor shaping the international role of the EU is not what it does or says; but what it is' (*ibid*. 252).

the European Cultural Convention.[18] The European Commission as an additional member; Council of Europe, UNESCO's European Centre for Higher Education, European University Association, European Association of Institutions in Higher Education, European Students' Union, European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education, Education International Pan-European Structure, and BUSINESSEUROPE as 8 consultative members, are also involved in the process.

In terms of the institutional structure, every two years a Ministerial Conference is organised, composed of the Ministers responsible for higher education of all participating countries, which evaluates the progress of the process and sets guidelines and priorities for the upcoming years (see Table 4.4). The 'Bologna seminars' organized throughout Europe are also important in terms of their contribution to the direction of the process.

The Bologna Follow-up Group (BFUG) plays a crucial role in the process. It is composed of all signatory countries and the European Commission; as well as the Council of Europe, EUA, ESU (previously ESIB), EURASHE, UNESCO-CEPES, ENQA[19], Educational International Pan-European Structure and UNICEF as consultative members. The Ministerial Conferences are organized by the BFUG. The working groups and the Bologna Seminars provide input in the process. The BFUG meets at least once every six months and it is chaired by the presidency of the EU. Since July 2009, the Bologna Process has a Secretariat, which is jointly operated by the Higher Education Ministries of the French and Flemish Communities of Belgium. While the role of the European Commission was limited in the initial stages of the Process, later on it gained an important role (Gornitzka, 2007; Keeling, 2006). Gornitzka argues 'part of the information and documents that have been essential to the development of the Bologna process is processed "through Brussels"' (*ibid*. 25). The Commission also organizes seminars and conferences on the action lines.

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[18] The Convention was opened for signature in Paris on 19 December 1954 and it entered into force on 5 May 1955. The Convention states that 'The purpose of this Convention is to develop mutual understanding among the peoples of Europe and reciprocal appreciation of their cultural diversity, to safeguard European culture, to promote national contributions to Europe's common cultural heritage respecting the same fundamental values and to encourage in particular the study of the languages, history and civilization of the Parties to the Convention. The Convention contributes to concerted action by encouraging cultural activities of European interest' (See European Cultural Convention, 1954).

[19] An association of quality assurance agencies that is established in 1999. Membership is open to all Bologna countries. The Berlin meeting in 2003 charged the association with two duties: 'to first develop a peer review system for quality assurance agencies, and second to develop an agreed upon set of standards and procedures for national quality assurance systems' (Gornitzka 2007: 23).

Table 4–4: The Bologna Ministerial Conferences

Bologna, 18-19 June 1999
Prague, 18-19 May 2001
Berlin, 18-19 September 2003
Bergen, 19-20 May 2005
London, 17-18 May 2007
Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve, 28-29 April 2009
Budapest/Vienna, 10-12 March 2010

In terms of the policy, the education is identified as a supplementary policy area, where the Union's competence is low. The Bologna Process is an intergovernmental process and is not purely a EU process. This chapter's aim was to define the European education space, by concentrating on the European education policy, which stands at the centre of the space. The core of the space is identified as the EU educational policy, which was based on vocational policy. The chapter outlined how the concept of European dimension came about. The space was built around this main norm. The Bologna Process consolidated the space and gave new meaning to the concept of European dimension. The space at first had a regional focus; later on it gained an international dimension.

5   SITUATING TURKEY IN THE EUROPEAN EDUCATIONAL SPACE

While the negotiations in Turkey EU relations are at a stall, Europeanization in Turkey on the societal level is continuing uninterruptedly. The EU has become part of the Turkish society at many levels. One example of this is Turkey's integration into the European educational space. While on the political level Turkey cannot even close the educational chapter of the *acquis communitaire*, the initiatives taken in educational policy in Turkey continue to progress. Turkey has been going through a lot of structural changes as a result.

This chapter starts by outlining the structure of Turkish higher education and continues by focusing on how the institutional links with Europe in the area of higher education were formed, by focusing on the mechanisms of diffusion. The chapter argues that important structural changes has been happening in the area of Turkish higher education as a result of these links with Europe. Most of these changes are taking place due to the Bologna process. After identifying the agents of change in Turkey that lead the process of diffusion, the chapter sets out the discourses of change, in terms of how the agents of change in Turkey conceptualise the process of change and their perceptions on the impact of the process. The focus is on how these agents define the process of change, how they perceive it and how they present these changes to the society at large.

5.1   STRUCTURE OF THE TURKISH HIGHER EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The higher education system in Turkey[20] is a unitary and centralized system, consisting basically of universities (see Turan, 2010 for the general features of the Turkish higher education system). Article 130, 131 and 132 of the 1982 Constitution relate to higher education. The Higher Education Law 2547 of 1981 regulates higher education. The objectives of higher education are determined by the National Education Law No. 1739 (Article 35), which sets out the general objectives of national education:

> 1) To raise the students in the direction of their interests, potentials and
> skills according to the manpower needs in high level and various stages of

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[20] For the historical overview of the higher education in Turkey, please see Özen (1999) and Turan (2010).

the society;

2) To educate the students in accordance with their interests and skills as citizens who support national development and supply national requirements, also who have professional knowledge, skills, attitudes and general culture both provide maintenance and contentment,

3) To raise citizens that have the power of independent and scientific thinking, who have an extensive worldview and who respect human rights

4) To publish all sorts of works that present the results of research and inspections and that provide progress in science and techniques.

5) To provide scientific education on various stages;

6) To analyse and reconsider, public affairs before all else, so as to solve all scientific, technical and cultural problems that expand and deepen sciences;

7) To consider national issues as subjects of education and research with the collaboration of the Government and other institutions and to present the results to public service,

8) To spread the knowledge beneficial and enlightening to public opinion either orally or written and to provide widespread educational services.

9) So as to raise welfare and contentment of Turkish society to render constructive, creative and distinguished partner of the modern civilization by executing programs that contribute and accelerate social and cultural improvement,

10) To do high level studies and researches, to produce information and technology, to spread scientific data, to support development and improvement on national field, to be an outstanding member of the science world with the collaboration of domestic and foreign institutions; to contribute to universal and modern development (Eurydice, 2008: 132-3)

The CoHE is the responsible public institution for higher education. It was established under the Article 131 of the 1982 Constitution (see EUA-IEP Report, 2008 for an analysis of the CoHE). The objective of the Council is:

…planning, arranging, managing, supervising education in higher education institutions, directing educational-instructional and scientific research activities in higher educational institutions, providing foundation, development of these institutions in accordance with the objectives and principles that mentioned by law and providing effective usage of resources which are allocated to universities (Eurydice, 2008: 131).

The CoHE has no political affiliation. The CoHE has 21 members; seven are nominated by

the Interuniversity Council (IUC), seven by the government, seven elected by the President of the Republic. All of the members are appointed by the President of the Republic for a term of four years, which is renewable. The President of the Council is appointed by the President of the Republic selected from the Council members. Nine members of the Executive Board carry the day-to-day operations of the Council.

The IUC, composed of all the rectors of the universities and one additional member elected by the senates of each university, is an academic advisory body. The functions of the IUC are:

> …coordination of educational, scientific research and publication activities of the universities within the framework of planning of tertiary education, evaluate practices, deliver opinion and recommendations to CoHE and universities, propose measures to cover instructor necessities of universities and engage with educational, scientific research and publication activities (*ibid*.).

Figure 5–1: Number of Universities

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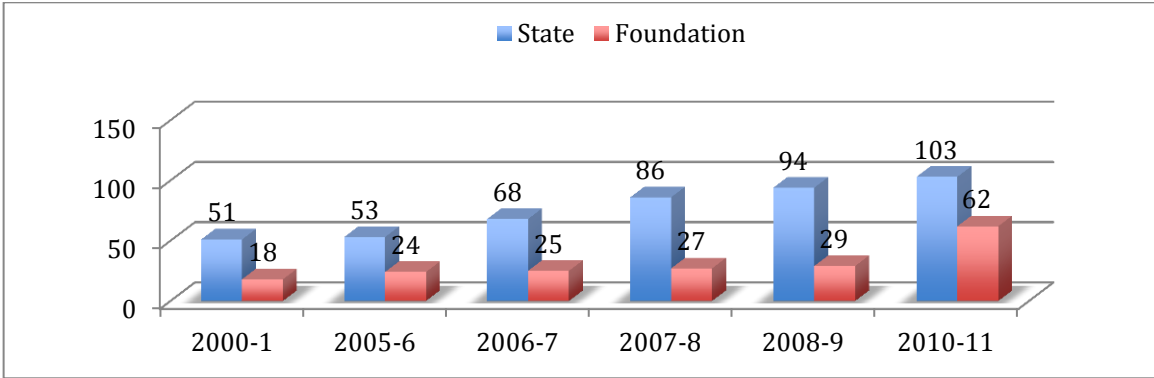
Source: Eurydice, 2010a

Total number of universities in Turkey as of August 2011 is 165 (see Figure 5.1). At present, there are 103 state universities and 62 foundation universities in Turkey, which are regulated under the Higher Education Law 2547 (November 4, 1981). The Article 3 of the Higher Education Law No. 2547 of 1981 defines higher education institutions in two

categories: the universities and Higher Institute of Technology:

> a. University: An institution of higher education possessing academic autonomy and juristic personality, conducting advanced-level education, scholarly research, publication and consultancy.
>
> b. Higher Institute of Technology: An institution of higher education possessing academic autonomy and juristic personality, carrying out high-level research, education production, publication, and consultancy specifically in the areas of technology (National Report, 2005; also see Eurydice, 2008: 32).

While the initial discussions on private universities started in 1970s, the first foundation university was established in 1984. The others followed after 1992. Their legal basis is the Article 130 of the Constitution. Enrolment in foundation universities is around 8.3 % of the total number of students (Eurydice, 2010b: 30). Foundation universities are non-profit institutions. Similar to the state universities, they are established with law and are public legal entities. 'Foundation universities have only to conform to the basic academic requirements and structures set forth in the law. Apart from this, they are completely free to manage their own affairs according to rules and regulations adopted by their boards of trustees' (National Report, 2005). In other words, the foundation universities have financial and administrative autonomy. The Rectors and Deans are appointed by the Boards of Trustees; appointment of the Rector is approved by the CoHE. Whereas in state universities, 'the Rector is appointed by the President of the Republic from among candidates holding the academic title of professor, selected by the teaching staff members of the university upon the announcement of the currently serving rector' (*ibid.*).

The amount of tuition fees in the state universities is set each year centrally by the CoHE. Tuition fees for foreign students are three times higher than for national students (EUA, 2003). The state universities are financed by public resources. The Council of Ministers determines how the state budget will be allocated. The minimum level of state support for a state university is 50%. The foundation universities set their own tuition levels (see CoHE, 2007b).

The higher technical and vocational studies, four-year and two-year programs, are affiliated to the universities. While the associate degree programs last for two years, bachelor level programs are four-year programs, with the exception of dentistry and veterinary

medicine (5 years) and medicine (6 years). Master-level programs last either 3 (without thesis) or 4 (including a thesis) semesters. Doctoral studies last about 4 years. Universities, faculties, institutes and four-year schools are founded by law. The two-year vocational schools, departments, and divisions are established by the CoHE.

Admission to all undergraduate programs is done through a centralized student examination, which is administered centrally by the Student Selection and Placement Centre (*ÖSYM*). The Centre was established in 1974 and is affiliated to the CoHE since 1981. Foreign students wishing to register for undergraduate studies in Turkey, take a separate examination for foreign students. The numbers of students to be admitted to the Bachelor's and the Associate's programs are determined annually by the CoHE upon the recommendations of universities (see *ibid.*).

In terms of the universities, the Open Education System of Anadolu University is worth mentioning not only because it provides distance education, but also because around 35% of the higher education students are enrolled in it (National Report, 2009). Anadolu University in Eskisehir has been providing distance education since 1982. Under the Open Education system, 7 four-year programs and 18 two-year programs are offered.

The higher education system in Turkey has become part of the European educational space. This chapter argues that as a result important structural changes have been happening in Turkey. The next section outlines the instruments of the diffusion process. In other words, the institutional links that Turkey formed with the European educational space, which contributed to the integration of Turkey into the educational space. Later on, the chapter also identifies the agents that are responsible from the reform process, which are identified as agents of change.

5.2   INSTITUTIONAL LINKS WITH EUROPE

The first academic institution that specialized on European Studies was established in April 1987 in Istanbul. This was two months after Turkey's membership application to the EU. The European Union Institute was established under Marmara University. The Institute

offers post-graduate education as well as conducting research on European Studies. There are currently two active Institutes that focus on European Studies. Along with the EU Institute of Marmara University, there is also the European Institute of Istanbul Bilgi University, which was established in April 2005 with the Decision of the Council of Ministers of the Republic. There are also around 16 research centres established under universities that focus specifically on European Studies.[21] In terms of the institutional links on education, the relations with Europe and Turkey is set out through four major instruments – the Jean Monnet Program, the EU Education and Youth Programs, the Bologna Process and the Lisbon Convention. The following part shortly focuses on these instruments, which have driven the process of policy transfer and diffusion of European educational norms.

5.2.1 The Jean Monnet Program

Turkey has been part of the Jean Monnet Action Program since 2001. As of August 2011, there are 58 projects in Turkey – 4 European Centre of Excellence [22], 16 Jean Monnet chairs and 37 Jean Monnet modules at various Turkish universities. The Jean Monnet post-graduate scholarship program has been running since 1990, based on an agreement signed with the Commission in 1989. Bureaucrats, students, academicians and employees of the private sector benefit from the program.

5.2.2 The Bologna Process

Turkey started to participate in Bologna Process, with a project called 'Implementation of Bologna Process in Turkey', which was prepared and implemented by the National Agency (with a budget of 143.500 €). Turkey became part of the Bologna process in May 2001. As responsibility of higher education lies in the CoHE, the leading role was taken by the CoHE. The Minister of Education appointed the President of the CoHE as the

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[21] Universities, faculties, institutes and four-year schools are founded by law. The two-year vocational schools, departments, and divisions are established by the CoHE. The Institutes offer post-graduate degrees, while centers are research oriented.

[22] In Marmara, Bosphorus, Middle East Technical and Sabanci Universities

responsible partner and sent him to Bologna Ministerial Meeting.

5.2.3 The EU Education and Youth Programs

Turkey signed the Framework Agreement for the Participation in EU Education and Youth Programs on 26 February 2002, published in the Official Gazette on 28 June 2002. The Under-Secretariat of the State Planning Organization was the responsible body for necessary procedures. The Erasmus program started in 2003-2004, initially as a pilot study in 15 universities[23]. In this year, the number of outgoing students was 124, incoming students was 17 (see National Report, 2005). Turkey started to fully participate in the EU educational programs on 1 April 2004 after a 18-month preparatory phase (see Figure 5.2). In August 2003, the Turkish National Agency Centre for EU Education and Youth EU Education and Youth Programs was established with the January 2002 decision of the Council of Ministers (published in the Official Gazette on 1 September 2002). The Turkish National Agency is an independent legal public entity.

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[23] Akdeniz, Ankara, Ataturk, Bilkent, Cukurova, Dokuz Eylul, Ege, Galatasaray, Gaziantep, Istanbul, Istanbul Teknik, Karadeniz Teknik, Marmara, Orta Dogu Teknik, Sabancı Universities.

Figure 5–2: Erasmus Budget Allocated to Turkey
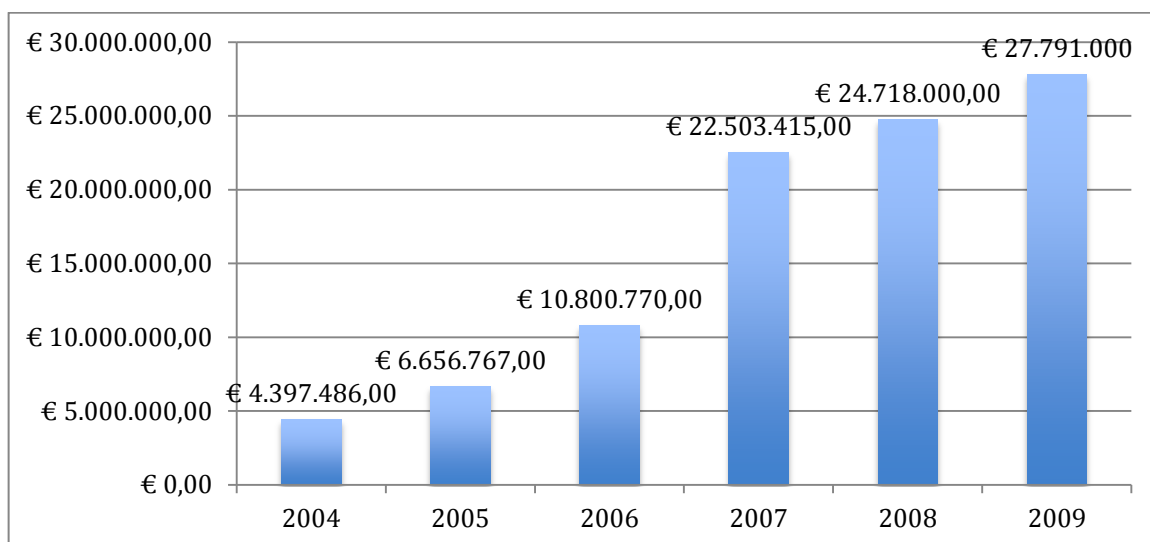
Source: Erasmus Statistics Website, 2011

5.2.4 The Lisbon Convention

The Turkish European Network of National Information Centres of Academic Mobility and Recognition (ENIC) office has been established in 1998[24]. Turkish National Academic Recognition Information Centre (NARIC) office has been established under the CoHE in April 2003[25]. These networks are important part of the Bologna Process as 'The ENIC/NARIC networks see it as their task to improve common recognition standards as part of the development of the EHEA' (Gornitzka, 2007: 21). In the member states, where the universities have the autonomy to take the decisions on academic recognition, their scope of responsibilities is limited. This is not the case in Turkey. The duties of the Turkish offices are: 'improving academic recognition of diplomas and periods of studies by promoting information and experience exchange in the Member States of the EU, the EEA countries and the candidate countries of the EU' (National Report, 2005).

The relations between Europe and Turkey were further institutionalized with the

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[24] The ENIC network in Europe was set up by the Council of Europe and UNESCO.
[25] The NARIC network is financially supported by the EU.

signature of the Lisbon Convention on December 1, 2004. The Convention was approved by the Law No. 5463 on February 23 2006, and ratified by the Cabinet Decision No. 2006/11158. The five basic principles related to the assessment of qualifications of the Lisbon Recognition Convention were adopted by the decision of the CoHE, which concerns the accreditation procedures for degrees and diplomas obtained abroad. The Convention entered into force in March, 2007.

5.3 THE AGENTS OF CHANGE

Through these four instruments of policy transfer, the process of policy diffusion in Turkey is institutionalized. This section focuses on the actors that play an important role in the process. They are identified as 'agents of change'. As stated in the conceptual chapter, in policy areas where there is no direct coercive pressure, it is necessary to focus on domestic level to understand why diffusion occurs and why the agents of change promote diffusion.

5.3.1 The Council of Higher Education

As responsible bodies from higher education, the CoHE and IUC are in charge of the implementation of the Bologna Process. The CoHE has set up various commissions and working groups for the implementation of the action lines. The current BFUG Member, Ömer Demir, is also the Vice-President of the CoHE. The IUC 'sets up follow-up procedures within the scope of the regulations enacted by the CoHE and makes recommendations for further development and implementation of the Process' (National Report, 2007).

Policy committees established within the CoHE for the implementation of action lines are:

> • Strategy Development Commission
>
> • Higher Education Academic Evaluation and Quality Improvement Committee
>
> • Commission for National Qualifications Framework (NQF)

• Commission for EUROSTUDENT project (*ibid.*)

In 2005, the European Union and International Relations Office was established under the CoHE. Six people are working in the EU and International Relations department. The Unit is:

- primarily responsible for each main action lines of the Process

- providing support to the CoHE, Commissions, Working Groups and higher education institutions in the work they conduct in relation to the Bologna Process,

- responsible experts for DS and ECTS

- Acting as the Liaison office responsible for:

relations between National Student Council and ESIB

relations of EUA with CoHE, Turkish University Rectors' Conference and universities

the ENIC-NARIC networks

relations of Higher Education Academic Evaluation and Quality Improvement Committee with CoHE and universities

relations of the Commission for NQF for HE with CoHE and universities

the Turkish National Agency for EU education and youth Programs

- Secretariat office of the Strategy Development Commission

- Responsible for following and announcing/distributing the decisions of CoHE to universities (*ibid.*).

This office conducts most of the work on the Bologna Process. The office is responsible in running the day-to-day activities of the process.

5.3.2 The National Agency

In regard to the implementation of the educational programs, two institutions are involved. The European Commission, who is in charge of 'centralised actions', and the national agencies, who are in charge of 'decentralised' ones (Gornitzka, 2007). 'The profile of such national agencies varies, they may be agencies charged with the national task of

academic programme development or internationalisation, or they are agencies that have been set up specifically to deal with the range of EU education programmes and/or with Socrates/Erasmus' (*ibid.* 17-18).

The Directorate of EU Education and Youth Programs Centre (the National Agency) in Turkey was established in 2004 with the commencement of the EU programs. The National Agency is an independent public entity. 2005 Progress Report states:

> A Steering and Monitoring Committee comprising representatives of the State Planning Organisation, the Ministry of National Education, the General Secretariat of EU Affairs, the Higher Education Council, the Directorate General of Youth and Sports, and the Turkish Employment Agency holds regular meetings to determine general policies regarding the implementation of the Community Programs and to monitor and evaluate the work of the National Agency (European Commission, 2005).

The national agency is the administrative body of the educational programmes, responsible from the diffusion of information from the EU level to the societal level.

5.3.3 The Bologna Experts

The National Team of Bologna Promoters was first established in July 2004 with a budget of 143,500 Euros. Their object is to 'contribute to the implementation of the Bologna Process with dissemination of knowledge and good practices through conferences, seminars, site visits...' (National Report, 2009). The first group was selected by the National Agency. The members of the team are academicians selected by the Council with the approval of the European Commission 'from different universities taking into account the balance of gender, geographical distribution of universities, subject areas of professors and the balance between private and foundation universities' (*ibid.*). One student representative nominated by the National Student Council and appointed by the Council is also part of the team. The National Agency is responsible from finance and budget of the Bologna Process. The national team is also part of the European team, which is composed of around 300 experts.

5.3.4 The University Officials

Administrative units at the level of the universities have been established within the framework of the exchange programs. In Turkey, the involved universities also have established International Relations Offices, which are responsible from the EU Educational Programs. Responsible units within the universities at the level of faculty and departments assure coordination with the central office in the university. While some of the international offices in the universities deal with the Erasmus programme specifically, others have broader international responsibilities.

All universities have units responsible that act as a liaison with the CoHE regarding the implementation of the Bologna action lines (*ibid.*). The CoHE required all universities to establish 'Academic Assessment Quality Improvement Board' (AAQIB), that are responsible from internal and external quality of the university in question. With a regulation adopted in November 2008, all universities are required to establish Bologna Coordination Commissions. 'These new Commissions are intended to be an upper structure which will work on the realization, dissemination, monitoring and evaluation of Bologna reforms in higher education institutions in coordination with other structured units established within the context of Bologna Process of the same institution' (*ibid.*). These units within the universities are responsible from the implementation of the Bologna Process.

5.4   STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN TURKISH HIGHER EDUCATION

After focusing on instruments and agents of policy transfer, this section concentrates on the changes that are taking place in Turkish Higher Education. Especially since the inception of the Bologna Process, there has been an important number of structural changes (see Appendix 1 for the legal instruments of the process). These changes are done with direct reference to the Bologna Process and sometimes the EU. The Higher Education Strategy published in 2007 has dedicated a separate section to the Bologna Process (CoHE, 2007a). The Ministry of Education in its report has indicated, 'The qualitative and quantitative objectives for the coming years have been determined by considering the measures of developed countries, particularly of the EU, and the requirements of our country' (2005: 31).

One of the objectives put forward is: 'To reach the EU indicators in all levels of education' (*ibid*.). Turkey's progress within the Bologna Process has been positive. According to the 2005-2007 Evaluation Report, Turkey's average grade has increased from '3.45' (good performance) in 2005 to '4.13' (very good performance) in 2007 down to 3.34 (good performance) in 2009 (see BFUG, 2005; 2007 and 2009).[26]

From the onset of the relations, Turkey deemed to meet the first two action lines of the Bologna Process, which are:

> 1. 'Adoption of a system of easily readable and comparable degrees, also through the implementation of the DS, in order to promote European citizens employability and the international competitiveness of the European higher education system'.

> 2. 'Adoption of a system essentially based on two main cycles, undergraduate and graduate. Access to the second cycle shall require successful completion of first cycle studies, lasting a minimum of three years. The degree awarded after the first cycle shall also be relevant to the European labour market as an appropriate level of qualification. The second cycle should lead to the master and/or doctorate degree as in many European countries.'

As indicated above except dentistry, medicine and veterinary medicine programs, the higher education system in Turkey is structured in two cycles, undergraduate and graduate study. Expert 2 describes the stance toward these action lines in the following manner:

> ***Expert 2:*** This was one of our strongest side, a structure that came from pre-Bologna time, coming from the American system, this system was existent. Did not have to spend much effort. This was one of the topics Europe discussed the most and had difficulty. We were more comfortable at the beginning, even advantageous.

The confidence in the system was one of the reasons why in the initial phases of its integration into the Bologna Process Turkey was slow to reform itself. In the early years,

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[26] BFUG Report defines the scorecard in the following manner: 'The scorecard is based on objective criteria and benchmarks, and it is a good way to show collective achievement of the targets set by the Ministers in Berlin. It also provides a useful set of baseline data against which progress can continue to be measured in the future… Firstly, it is a systematic and effective framework of analysis that enables us to see the 'big picture', and to answer the question: how are we doing on these priority action lines? Secondly, it integrates quantitative and qualitative measures, with a five-point scoring system based on descriptive rubrics allowing a focused analysis of the different action lines. Thirdly, the scorecard is a good method for dealing with large amounts of material from different sources, and for taking stock of collective progress against objective criteria. Finally, it also generates baseline data that can be used to measure progress in the future' (BFUG, 2005).

Turkey only initiated work on ECTS and the DS. The reason behind this slow start is explained by an expert in an interview:

> ***Expert 1:*** The fact was that Turkey had already embraced the North American model. Therefore, compared to the traditional continental European system, at that time Turkey saw itself as more advanced.

Only in 2002, after informal push from other participant countries, Turkey fully started to participate in the process and the process gained ascendency in the year 2003. This push came because Turkey did not prepare any report or submit any statistical information in the initial years. Thus Expert 1 argues that this should not be thought as 'pressure', but a 'push' from other participants, so that Turkey assured its integration and took the process seriously. The section of the chapter focuses on five main areas where reform is most visible.

5.4.1 The National Qualifications Framework

The action lines of the Bologna Process require the members to adopt a NQF. The NQF define the educational systems in a transparent manner (see Figure 5.3). This makes the educational systems more easy to understand and comparable. It gives answers to such questions like what qualifications a graduate of a bachelor program should possess upon graduation, what a graduate knows, understands and is able to do (knowledge, skills and competence). The NQF relate to the overarching European Qualifications Framework, which sets the parameters of the qualifications for the national frameworks.

Figure 5–3: The Qualifications Framework

| The European Qualifications Framework (EQF) |
| A framework in the European level to ensure comparability and transperancy. Adopted by the the Ministers of Education of the Bologna Process at their meeting in Bergen in May 2005. |

| The National Qualifications Framework (NQF) |
| Defines all the qualifications in an educatinal system. All members will adopt one which is compatible with the EQF. |

| Qualifications for Study Fields |
| Qualifications for different study areas. |

| Program Qualifications |
| Qualfications of programs in the universities. |

| Learning Outcomes for Courses |
| Qualifications of each course of the programs. |

The CoHE established the Commission on NQF for Higher Education with its decision dated May 26, 2006. This Commission consists of four members: one member from the CoHE, one Rector, the President of Higher Education Academic Evaluation and Quality Improvement Committee and the Chairman of the Executive Board of the Educational Volunteers Foundation of Turkey, a non-governmental organisation. Expert 7 explains the process in the following manner:

> ***Expert 7:*** We formed a qualifications commission. That working group prepared the draft. We looked at the European qualifications framework. There were a couple of examples [from other national frameworks], we restructured them for our purposes… we spend like two years on it. We finalised it. The final work was a draft. Before the general commission approved it, we shared it with the universities.

In the process of preparation of the document, participation of wide-ranging actors (representatives from teaching staff, national student union, alumni, business world – employers and employees – and trade associations) was aimed for (National Report 2005, 2007 and 2009 all refer to this participation). The consultation process with different stakeholders was held at the end of 2008. Yet the participation was not as much as it was expected and the results were diverse.

The CoHE approved the NQF on 30 June 2009. It was finalised on 21 January 2010. Its name was later changed to 'Turkish Qualifications Framework' (see Table 5.1). For each level of degrees, the qualifications are classified.

Table 5–1: Turkish Higher Education System Levels and Qualifications

HIGHER EDUCATION LEVELS	AWARDED DEGREE /QUALIFICATIONS		
Doctorate QF-EHEA: 3. Level **EQF-LLL : 8. Level**	Doctorate	Proficiency in medicine	Competence in art
Master's QF-EHEA: 2. Level **EQF-LLL : 7. Level**	Master's with thesis		Master's without thesis
Bachelor's QF-EHEA :1.Level **EQF-LLL :6.Level**	Undergraduate (Faculty programs)		Undergraduate (Higher school and Conservatoire programs)
Associate's QF-EHEA : Short cycle **EQF-LLL : 5. Level**	Associate's (Among the bachelor's degree programs)		Associate's (Vocational higher schools-MYO)

Source: NQF in Turkey Website, 2011

After the adoption of the national framework, core study areas were set out to prepare the field frameworks. The aim was also to include as many participants as possible. For each field of study, a working group composed of the deans of the relevant areas was established. These working groups also included the Bologna Experts. As an example, in the Education Area, a workshop − composed of the deans of the Faculty of Education, students and graduates and relevant think-thanks, trade unions and associations, representatives from the Ministry of Education – was organised. The qualifications document prepared for the field of study were send to the Faculties of Education and the remarks that came from them were evaluated and added to the qualifications. One expert talks about the difficulty of getting feedback from the universities:

> *Expert 7:* We established the qualifications framework of the higher education and told the universities to work on it. But they do not. They do not, time passes. We had a time period. Because we could not get the feedback from the universities, we told that we should create small commissions, so that the field qualifications can be set. Then we prepared the field qualifications. There was participation. The commissions were composed of the deans. They shared what they prepared with the stakeholders. Now we finalised that… From now in it is up to the universities.

From January 2011 onwards, a website was opened. The field qualifications is published on the website. The website gives the interested actors the opportunity to contribute to the framework and then changes will be done accordingly.

> *Expert 5:* in your field, …what is needed in Turkey, what is the vision and mission of the faculty? In the meeting of Deans of the veterinarian faculties, they told us their qualifications were ready. They came together and prepared. Yet, is Erzurum's Veterenian faculty is going to be same as Ankara? They took a template and applied. Does the university have a strategic plan, an educational strategy, an international strategy? This is because of they lack it.

The NQF is one of the tangible results of the integration into the European educational space. The document clarifies the structure of the Turkish higher education system. In the process of adopting the NQF, the main goal was to get as much participation as possible. Yet the experts admit that this was achieved only to a very small extent. The Experts indicate that the universities did not show the interest that was expected out of them.

5.4.2 The National Quality Assurance System

The core of the Bologna system is qualifications and quality assurance. First the educational system is defined with the qualifications framework, then its quality is ensured. Quality assurance is currently one of the major issues in the agenda of the CoHE. It has been given priority in terms of the action lines. For the purpose of raising awareness on the issue, the Bologna Experts organized 74 regional conferences, seminars and site visits (National Report, 2009).

The developments in this action line are very important, as the Eurydice report indicates, 'The weakest side of the higher education system in Turkey has been the quality

assurance' (2008: 222). Historically, interest in international external assurance goes back to the first half of the 1990s, at which time engineering programs of some universities were evaluated by the Accrediation Board for Engineering and Technology in USA (see Mızıkacı, 2003 and Akduman *et al.,* 2001; Expert 1 Interview). Some of the universities are also evaluated by the EUA Institutional Review Program. In 1997, the CoHE in cooperation with the British Council in Ankara and the UK Higher Education Management Consultants, Universitas started a pilot project, titled the 'Turkish University Quality Assessment Project'. Within the framework of the project 13 departments in 8 universities were selected. The project did not result in the establishment of a national quality assurance system. Yet taken at hand with the 2001 regulations for quality assurance accepted by the IUC it can be deemed to have provided the basis of current discussion on quality assurance system (National Report, 2005). '[T]he objective of the Project was the development of an academic assessment mechanism and structure, and eventually leading to the establishment of a model accreditation and quality assurance system similar to the OECD and EU countries' (project report cited in *ibid*.). Expert 2 explains the quality culture in Turkey in the following manner:

> ***Expert 2:*** The expectation [of the Bologna process] from the European countries is for them to establish a national quality assurance system – responsible bodies, independent from higher education institutions, which are apolitical. The Higher Education institutions will have an internal quality assurance system, this has to be evaluated by an independent external institution. The most important shortcoming in Turkey is in regard to this. Traditionally, throughout the years we could never form such a understanding. External evaluation of the institutions existed in Europe and USA. There is no such structure in Turkey. But starting from 2005 some work has started…

The Bologna Process contributed to the awareness of the issue and 'have brought about a tremendous consciousness in quality culture and change in the management of higher education institutions which recognises the importance of internal QA procedures in the services they provide' (National Report, 2009).

> ***Expert 1:*** …this has also created a little push for quality in all universities, because before this very few universities showed initiative in this topic. Like I said, it was METU that applied to ABET first. Later, Bilkent, ITU, Bosporus, then we saw MUDEK expanding, but with Bologna there was impetus for every one [of the universities].

One important step taken was the 'Regulation on Academic Assessment and Quality

Improvement at Institutions of \ Education' enacted in compliance with the recommendations of the Berlin Communiqué and the standards and guidelines for quality assurance in the EHEA, adopted by the CoHE, published in the Official Journal No. 25942 on September 20 2005.

> The Regulation determines the principles for evaluating and improving the quality of educational, instructional and research activities and administrative services at higher education institutions, as well as approval and recognition of their level of quality through an independent external assessment. External assessment is recommended but not compulsory… The Regulation embodies the 5 key elements of evaluation system listed in the Berlin Communiqué, namely, internal assessment, external review, participation of student, publication of results and international participation (National Report, 2007).

The Regulation also led the way to the establishment of Higher Education Academic Evaluation and Quality Improvement Committee (HEAEQIC), working underneath the Council. It is composed of 9 Members that are selected by the IUC and one student member is appointed by the national student union. The Committee 'is responsible for maintaining and organizing the activities related to academic assessment and quality improvements at higher education institutions within the provisions set forth by the regulation' (*ibid.*).   In terms of institutional actors, HEAEQIC in the national level and AAQIB within the universities play a role; they are responsible from the coordination and organisation of the processes. It is the responsibility of the CoHE and IUC to establish a national system of quality assurance.

The HEAEQIC have prepared a 'Guide for Academic Evaluation and Quality Improvement in Higher Education Institutions' in 2006. This guide aims to 'render the endeavours of evaluation and quality development of higher education institutions more systematic and traceable' (Eurydice, 2008). The Committee has reviewed this guide after taking stakeholders' opinions and published a new version in 2007. This guide basically 'includes an expanded list of standards and performance indicators for the use of higher education intuitions and quality assurance agencies in their internal and external quality assurance procedures' (National Report, 2009).

The system established in Turkey is 'based on institutional evaluation, which includes annual internal assessments and post-assessment studies (review their improvement through periodical monitoring and improvement process for continuous development) carried

out by universities and external evaluation carried out every 5 years under normal conditions' (National Report, 2007). Universities conduct annually internal assessment and based on these prepare strategic plans. The results of annual self-assessments are submitted to the CoHE and the Ministry of Finance, State Planning Organisation and these assessments are open to the public. One of the most substantial reforms done in terms of quality assurance is that:

> Starting from January 1, 2007, all state funds are allocated based on performance. Accordingly based on this 'the performance-based budget system, HEIs are required to prepare annual strategic plans which include their strategic targets determined in accordance with their mission, vision and goals, their performances assessed in the light of predetermined indicators and the monitoring and evaluation of the overall process (National Report, 2005 and 2009).

One of the aims of the 'Regulation on Academic Assessment and Quality Improvement at Institutions of \ Education' is to establish 'independent national external quality assurance agencies' (National Report, 2007). The HEAEQIC has the authority to grant license to national external quality assurance agencies. A national system quality assurance for engineering programs was established under the Association for Evaluation and Accreditation of Engineering Programs, which gained the license for external assessment in 2007 and acts as an independent external quality assurance agency. It is foreseen that similar agencies for other disciplines of study will be established.

Yet this was one of the areas where there has been much debate. The experts have concern over the progress achieved in this area. Currently, the focus of attention in terms of the Bologna Process is the establishment of the national external assurance agency.

> **Expert 2:** The most important shortcoming, which is being worked on heavily, is a national external assurance agency… external evaluation of the higher education institutions, especially in regard to the topics Bologna is based upon… ITU in the past was evaluated by ABET. Why should they come from America? We should form it in the national level.

The discussions surround the method of formation of a national agency, its independence and its relation to the CoHE.

> **Expert 4:** We are behind in the national quality agency, in quality assurance. We need to establish. The work on its foundation has been done. We worked nearly for one year. We are at the latest stage of it. With

law, an amendment to 2547, a completely independent association? Working on the method… The issue on the agenda is the qualification framework being tested by the quality assurance system. The implementation will be easier, it will become more concrete, it will create enforcement on the universities. The universities will not have the luxury to stay away from this process in terms of student attraction. Because then they will not be accredited.

Expert 1: The CoHE has concern over the establishment of independent quality agency thinking it might become another CoHE. This is not good needless to say. This is not good! I do not think a thing [agency] dependent on the CoHE will be good… after all, you are both monitoring and executing, cannot be. Execution and monitoring should not be together…

Currently the Bologna Process in Turkey is at a turning point. The decision that will be taken on the national external agency will show how committed Turkey is to the process, as well as how deep the impact of the process will be.

5.4.3 Student participation

One of the important contributions of the Bologna Process has been the emphasis it puts on student-centred education. The discussions surrounding students is crucial for all levels of education in Turkey, which has traditionally been lecturer-centred.

A versatile and comprehensive education reform process will be enacted with the aim of ensuring that student-centred education is carried out in all kinds and at all levels of education in line with the requirements of the time and society, that no individual is left out the education process for any reason, and that professional development and employment conditions of the teachers are improved (Ministry of Education, 2005).

The Bologna process provides opportunities for students, by giving them greater opportunity of 'employability, academic recognition and mobility, being involved in the decision taking processes as an equal stakeholder, getting acquainted with the academic and cultural surroundings in the member states, being an individual – that is learning rather than being lectured' (Gürol, 2009).

An important part of the student-centred education is related to the national qualifications and the field study qualifications frameworks. The universities are expected to

prepare program outcomes and learning outcomes for each course of the program. The program outcomes are knowledge, skill and competences a student is expected to acquire within the duration of her/his studies. This has existed in some universities, but been systematized through the Bologna Process.

> Expert 2: In the past, in some areas we had it because of the American system, but this was not in a systematic, in a national framework.

While designing a program, the Bologna Experts underline that the social needs should be set out and the relevant stakeholders should be involved in the process. Quality assurance is also emphasized. According to Akçamete's definition 'The learning outcomes rather than focusing on the lecturers aims focuses on the students. Rather than being about the success of the lecturer, it about the students' (2010).

> It is about a change of understanding, a transformation from lecturing to learning. It makes focus on student-centred education, the relationship between learning-teaching-evaluation, programming, sustenance and evaluation of learning essential. The learning outcomes emphasize what the student can do as an outcome of the process of learning. It focuses on what the student is supposed to learn at the end of the program or the module. That is why, the learning outcomes, are statements that point out what a student will be able to do after the learning process (*ibid.*).

In Turkey, most of the universities use a national credit system that is 'based rather on contact hours than on student workload and serves primarily for credit accumulation rather than transfer' (EUA, 2003). The ECTS system is the building block of the student-centred education. With the decision of the CoHE on March 11 2005, DS and ECTS became mandatory in all higher education institutions starting from 2006-2007 academic year. Both ECTS and DS are actually been introduced within the context of the participation in EU education, training and youth programs. Because Turkish universities offered transcripts similar to North American universities, the adoption to DS system has been relatively easy (National Report, 2005). From the 2004-2005 academic year onwards, all universities started to issue the diploma without any fee in English, German, French and/or in Turkish.

Yet the implementation of ECTS and DS system is still problematic and requires time for internationalization. 'Most institutions issue a DS free of charge. However, when they decided to do this they increased the costs for the actual degree certificate' (the National Unions of Students in Europe, 2005). Similarly, while in practice ECTS is obligatory, the

implementation process does not fit the real rationale of the credit system, which is to create a student-centred educational system.

> ***Expert 5:*** Rather than transparency and exchange, ECTS is being used as numerical credits. You need to get feedback from the students in terms of work-load, need to confirm them, and this means changing the whole education program… Generally ECTS is assigned symbolically… we [as Bologna experts] are telling them that they [the universities] have to revise it constantly, but they say 'we did it already'. Does not your lecture, educational methods ever change?

During this transformation to student-centred education, especially the academicians are to play an important role. They have to change their outlook to education and include the students into the process.

With the aim of involving the students in the educational system, the 'Regulation on Student Councils of Higher Education Institutions and the National Student Council of Higher Education Institutions in Turkey' was enacted by the CoHE, published in the Official Journal no. 25942 on September 20 2005. With this regulation, a National Student Council was established.

> The new regulation provides students with a complete bottom-up organizational power in the most democratic manner starting from the departments/program/major level at the bottom to the higher education institution and the national level at the top and aims to increase the student participation, involvement and contribution and take active part at every level of academic and administrative meetings of higher education institutions and that of student representation at national and international level through the national student councils of higher education institutions (National Report, 2007).

Accordingly, if the topics discussed are relevant, at the university level, the President of the Student Union can attend the Senate and the Executive Board meetings. At the national level, the President of the National Student Council attends the General Board of the CoHE and IUC. HEAEQIC includes one student member appointed by the NSC and at the university level, AAQIB includes one representative from the university student union. In Turkey, the Bologna Process has created 'a strong or very strong driving force towards more or better student involvement' (the National Unions of Students in Europe, 2007).

5.4.4 Mobility

The mobility programs in Turkey started as a pilot project with 15 universities in April 2003 (see Figure 5.4) . The process started by educational meetings and training seminars:

> Representatives from each selected university attended seminars led by ECTS experts from European universities… Some 63 promoters were appointed by the Turkish National Agency to promote the Socrates and Leonardo programs in all universities and attended a training seminar in May 2003. Additionally, a campaign was planned that included 84 local meetings and 7 regional conferences (Mızıkacı, 2005: 70).

Turkey started to fully participate in 2005. From then on various actions to promote mobility were taken:

> 1. Establishment of administrative offices within universities dealing specifically with the Erasmus Program
>
> 2. Promotion of the Erasmus Program within universities (such as organizing info days for students and academic staff, encouraging students to learn/improve a second language, encouraging the faculty to increase their European -wide activities towards signing Erasmus agreements, participating in related networks, projects and propose new projects)
>
> 3. Usage of ECTS as an additional credit transfer system
>
> 4. Increasing the visibility of the Turkish universities in the Erasmus Program (via setting up web-pages for Erasmus activities, publication of ECTS Information packages, course catalogues)
>
> 5. Increasing the number of course offerings (mostly) in English language
>
> 6. International marketing/appearance towards participating in European-wide conferences and fairs
>
> 7. Site visits to/from the potential partner institutions
>
> 8. Participating in related activities, organizations of the National Agency (National Report, 2005).

The total number of outgoing student mobility between the academic years 2004 to 2010 is 32,103 and incoming students is 10,424 (see Figure 5.5). During the same period, there were 6,109 outgoing teaching staff and 4,304 incoming teaching staff mobility (Erasmus Statistics, 2011).

Figure 5–4: Number of Turkish Universities Holding EUC
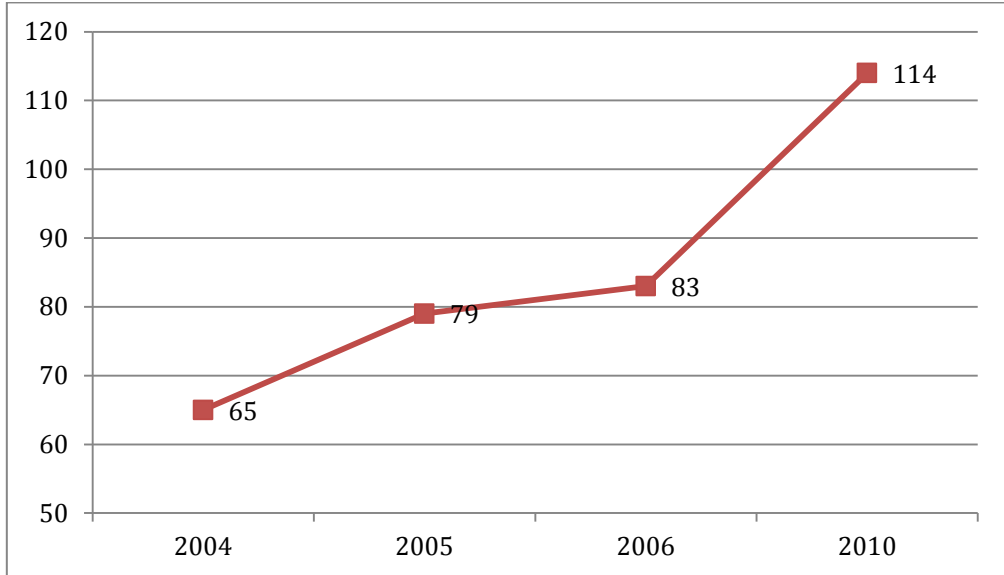
Source: Data from the National Agency Statistics

Figure 5–5: Student Mobility
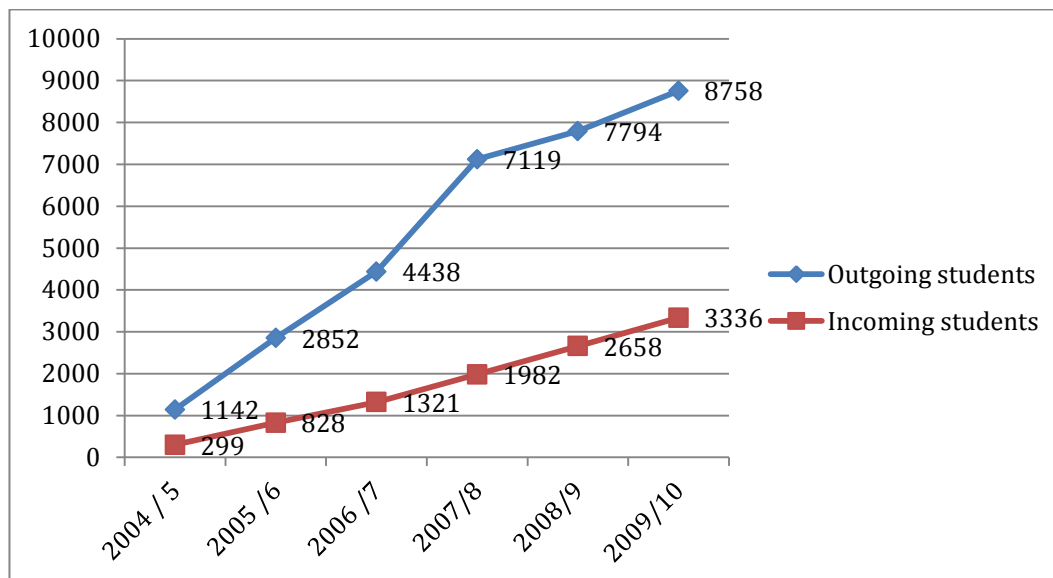
Source: Erasmus Statistics Website 2011

While the share of mobile students is low, the impact of the program is visible in different levels (see Figure 5.6). The mobility program can be evaluated from various perspectives: its impact on society, universities and students. One CoHE expert states the benefits of the program in the following manner, the society as a whole through these programs is:

> …able to integrate into the globalising world more easily, xenophobia will disappear, quality in education will increase, the city the university is situated in will liven up (contribution to publicity in terms of tourism, economy and culture), the university, citizens and business sector will come closer, Turkish language will spread, interaction between cultures will deepen, it will be publicity for Turkey (Akın, 2009).

On another level, there is the impact on universities. The programs give the universities opportunity of:

> …international experience and prestige, education in a multicultural and national environment, tolerance and dialogue between cultures, publicity for the universities, contribution to the development of research and science, additional founding for projects and exchange, gaining of team

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> spirit, a driving force for competition and development between the universities (*ibid.*).

The most of the visible and tangible effects are on the students, because mobility gives them an:

> …opportunity to learn and advance in another language, be educated in a multicultural environment, be educated in a foreign country for 3 to 12 months, have work connections after their education, get to know distinct cultures, and as a result of this to be an individual that is flexible (*ibid.*).

While there are no statistical data, many of the university officials indicated for most of the students that benefitted from the program the mobility program was their first international experience. Furthermore, without the program funding, they would not have an opportunity to go abroad. The National Agency has been very keen on extending the program:

> The selection of cities, where information-training events are held, and the selection of the participants in these events also contributes to this policy. As the eastern and south eastern regions of Turkey have a large number of disadvantaged people, an increased number of information meetings are held in these regions and project applications from these regions are given first priority (Screening Report, 2006).

Figure 5–6: Share of Outgoing Erasmus Students to the Total Student Population
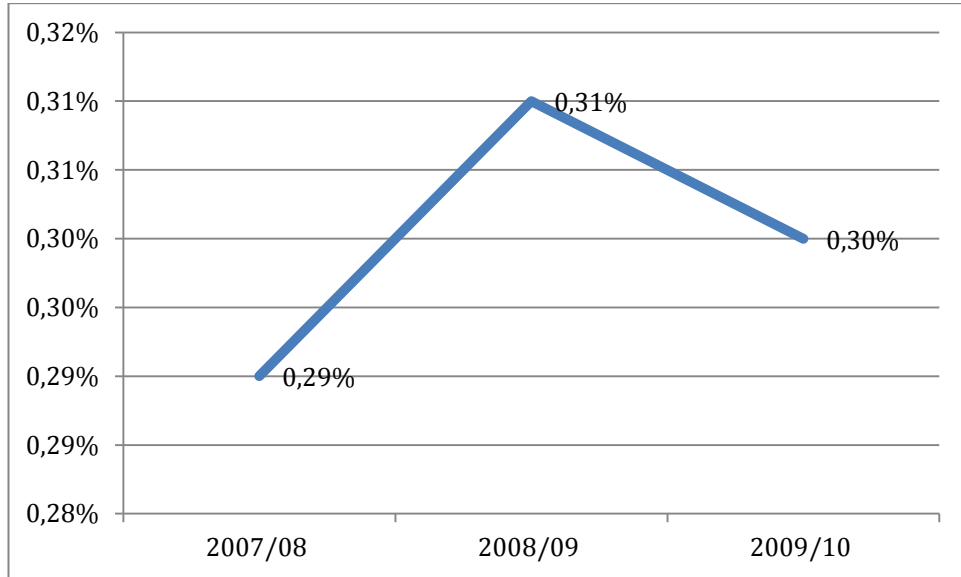
Source: Erasmus Statistics Website 2011

Interestingly, based on the practice of the mobility programs, the CoHE created a national mobility project called 'Farabi' in 2009[27]. This is a clear example of diffusion of norms, where CoHE has used the experience it acquired in the EU mobility programs to emulate a national program. The program is an exchange program for students or academicians for one to two semesters. Within the framework of the program, national exchange of academic and students is foreseen. 'Mobility, although a relatively new concept, is perceived as an indicator of quality' (Mızıkacı, 2005: 70).

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[27] Mızıkacı (2005) links the change in the mobility schemes and interests to change in foreign policy concerns.

5.4.5 Joint Degrees

Last, but not least, one of the progress achieved so far has been in terms of establishment of joint degrees. With the approval of the CoHE, universities can set up joint degrees with international partners. The number of joint degree programs is still not very high. In 2009, 38 joint degrees and 10 joint programs are carried out in all higher education institutions in Turkey (National Report, 2009). Yet Turkey specifically seems to give importance to this action line (EUA, 2003: 58). Around one third of universities have a research or teaching activity on the EU, which gained momentum especially after the Helsinki Summit after Turkey, gained the candidacy status (National Report, 2005).

The 'Regulation on Establishment of Joint and Dual Degree Programs with Foreign Higher Education Institutions' was adopted by the CoHE, published in the Official Journal No.26390 on December 28 2006.

> This regulation encourages the establishment and provision of international joint programs in Turkey in two ways: (1) providing extra income for faculty staff in those programs and (2) attracting students to the first cycle joint/dual programs as these are listed in the official guide of the student selection and placement examination (ÖSS). Universities can set up and carry out joint degree programs through bilateral protocols with the approval of CoHE (There is no legal obstacle in the establishment and recognition of joint degrees and/or joint study programs in Turkey). International joint programs have already been in practice in some universities long before this recent action taken to encourage further cooperation with universities in Europe (National Report, 2007).

The 'Regulation on Amending the Regulation on Promotion and Appointment to Assistant Professorship, Associate Professorship and Professorship' was adopted by the CoHE, published in the Official Journal No. 26173 on May 20 2006. 'The regulation provides a legal framework for the promotion and appointment of foreign visiting faculty members' (*ibid.*).

The establishment of joint degrees is an important tool that will contribute to the socialisation of both the students and academicians in the long run. Progress achieved in this area, as well as the other ones, are indicators of the reform process taking place in Turkish higher education. As a result of Turkey's integration into the European educational space, substantial structural changes have occurred. The next part of this chapter concentrates on how these changes are presented to the society by the experts.

5.5   THE EXPERTS: DEFINING THE EDUCATIONAL SPACE

The argument presented in the conceptual chapter was that in policy areas where there is no direct pressure, it is crucial to focus on the domestic level to understand why policy transfer occurs. In the domestic level, there are agents of change that play a decisive role in terms of both fostering and controlling the policy transfer process. The agents of change in Turkey were identified in the previous chapter.

In this section, the discourses of the experts are focused upon. After identifying the structural changes the Bologna Process promoted in Turkey, this part identifies how these changes are evaluated and presented to the society by the experts. The experts are identified as those that control and influence the flow of information to the society. Within the framework of the Bologna process, many training seminars and educational meetings are taking place (see Table 5.2). These meeting are organized either by the CoHE or the national agency. They are usually in the form of presentations by the officials of the CoHE, the national agency or the members of the national team of Bologna promoters. The training workshops are also organized and lead by the Bologna experts as discussants. Sometimes the university officials are also invited to present their best practice models. These meeting are an important part of the diffusion process.

Table **5–2:** The Number of Educational Meetings Held

2004-2005	2 Conferences	10 Regional Conferences
2005-2006	3 Conferences	36 Conferences in Different Cities
2007-2008	4 Conferences	12 Regional Conferences
2008-2009		9 Regional Conferences
2009-2011	9 Conferences	5 Regional Conferences

Source: Bologna Process Turkey Website, 2011

Therefore, it is crucial to focus on how the information on the Process is presented to the society by the experts. After transcribing the interviews of the experts, various themes are identified. This section focuses on the themes that were underlined in *each* and *every* expert interview. These themes give a depiction of how the experts defined and constructed the Bologna Process in Turkey (see Table 5.3). These themes also illustrate that common discourses are formed in the process of policy transfer from the European Educational space

to Turkey.

Table 5–3: How the Experts Define the Bologna Process

Bologna is:	%
Internationalization	100 (8 out of 8)
Not an EU process	100 (8 out of 8)
Broader than EU	100 (8 out of 8)
Student-centred	100 (8 out of 8)
Not a bottom-up process	100 (8 out of 8)

5.5.1 Defining the Process

The first theme that is underlined in the discourses of the experts is the internationalization of higher education. Erdoğan in one of presentations in informational meetings on the Bologna Process defines the general trends of the higher education in the following manner:

> Education is getting more important in the globalising economies. The relationship between education and business world is strengthening. Competition encourages quality in education. New technologies are changing the educational and research materials. Flexible education tools and life learning is becoming more important. The mobility/exchange of students/graduates/academic staff is inevitable and increasing. The degrees earned need to be transparent and recognizable in other countries. The international dimension is increasing everyday. For a peaceful world, expansion of intercultural dialogue among the youth is becoming more crucial (2009).

As seen from this quotation, the Bologna Process is legitimized / justified by using the concepts of the process, such as life learning, quality, competition, *etc*. Through these meetings, the experts create a common framework of concepts. The argument is that Turkey should be aware of these trends happening in Europe and should adapt to these changes.

The changes taking place in Turkey is defined as belated internationalization of Turkish higher education. Internationalization is defined as a process where 'the higher education systems [are] more compatible, easily understood, nationally and internationally recognizable, to promote cooperation, mobility and employability of the graduates' (*ibid.*). The Higher Education Strategy (CoHE, 2007a) does not use the concept of

internationalization and calls this process *küreselleşme* (which means globalization in Turkish, but uses internationalization as its English translation). The strategy defines internationalization only in terms of mobility, one of the many trends in higher education worldwide. The document makes references to knowledge society and the necessity of Turkey to prepare and integrate to it: 'In a period where the world is globalizing whilst transforming into a knowledge society, Turkey's vision of education should be to educate the children and youth of the country so that they will succeed in the conditions of the new period and to develop human resources from all ages' (*ibid*. 143).

As touched upon in the previous sections, the process of internationalization is deemed to have started in the 1990s, at which time Turkey took USA as a model. Specifically it was the engineering departments that took the lead. Because the graduates wanted to work outside of the country, the departments specifically gave importance to external accreditation to give their students the opportunity to do so.

> ***Expert 1:*** In the 90s, this [internationalization] has started already. Before Europe started, there were accreditation institutions in America. We were informed about it, actually it started with engineering, started with ABET… it started in the 90s, and even if there were no Bologna this would have happened in Turkey, yet it would not have been easy.

In the second quotation below, Expert 7 points out that learning outcomes are based on Bloom's taxonomy, which was proposed in the 1950s in a textbook. These were used in some of the courses in Turkey before the Bologna Process. Yet it was not widespread, the Bologna process gave the universities an incentive to diffuse these practices.

> ***Expert 7:*** Rather than the other dimensions of the Bologna process, I focus on the development of educational programs. Because I focus on that, I always tell to them this existed before the Bologna, it is not something that came with Bologna. For example, in the 1950s, Bloom classified the information. Why did he do that? Because when we are setting our goals, educating our kids, we set goals with this classification…. It is not because Bologna wanted this, this process existed in the educational system. Bologna was a push.

As the two quotations above show, the experts define the Bologna Process as an instrument of internationalization. The experts point out that Bologna is only one of the instruments of internationalization chosen from among many different ones. It is an important tool to promote the internationalization of Turkish higher education. Bologna was a push

forward. Yet as the above quotation indicates even if there was no Bologna, they argue the process would have progressed. The importance of the Bologna Process is that it makes the process of internationalization much easier as it provides a road map. It also gives an opportunity to reform and 'restructure' the higher education system in Turkey (Expert 4 Interview).

> *Expert 2:* It provides important instruments for transparency, modernisation and improvement of quality in higher education… How are we going to do this? In the past it was difficult to answer this question. It provides instruments. Best of all, these are internationally recognised instruments… Before the Bologna process, every country had their individual procedures, we also did. But it is difficult to say these worked fine. We have an opportunity [now] to work with the instruments that are internationally recognised, based on solid foundations. Whatever you do, you have the textile. The textile is yours. You have the scissors, you have the sewing tools. The cloth that will be sewed depends on the countries themselves.

While all experts agree that the Bologna Process is an internationalization process, some go beyond that. For some, the changes the higher education system is undergoing are more profound. This emphasis is due to the fact that some experts believe that defining the policy transfer as internationalization limits the process to the universities' external relations. Then it is only seen as Turkish universities forming links with universities outside of Turkey. Yet those experts argue that the process is much more than that. It has a deeper impact; it is also restructuring the higher education system.

> *Expert 2:* The Bologna Process is actually a process of education and learning. There is such a misconception in the society, like it is an international process. Yes, it an international process, but it is a system, its core concerns are the improvement of education and teaching systems, making them more transparent, enhancing them, making it comparable so that the countries can understand them. Its core is education and learning...

In conclusion, the goals of Turkish higher education and Bologna process are defined as compatible in the informational meetings. The Bologna Process is defined as compatible and complementary to the aims of Turkish higher education. The process is seen as continuation of the changes taking place in Turkey and because Turkey has already adapted the Anglo-Saxon model the reforms are seen as more feasible. Both Turkey and the Process aim to:

...to take place in international competition, to increase the quality and transparency of educational system, to create a student centred practices and programs, to increase employability, to increase the recognition of degrees and diplomas, to encourage mobility and promote its quality, to restructure our higher education terms of quality and qualifications, to promote the mobility of students, academic staff, scientists and graduates in a globalising world (Erdoğan, 2009).

Because the aims are compatible, the experts argue that the Bologna Process gives the universities the necessary instruments to integrate into the knowledge society.

5.5.2 Link to the EU and Europeanization

This section will concentrate on the common themes of the experts on Europe, the EU and Europeanization. First and foremost, all of the experts indicated that the Bologna Process was intentionally kept apart from the EU and the accession process in the informational meetings. Similarly, there are no references to EU or Europeanization in terms of the foreseen changes in Turkey's Higher Education Strategy (CoHe, 2007a). There is only a ambivalent mention of EU, which states that 'for those that need to be done in terms of quality of education, the transition to knowledge society and the EU full membership prospect can provide a roadmap for Turkey' (*ibid*. 39).

> *Expert 1:* It was kept separate. The reason for that was this actually; you need to be a member of the Council of Europe, this is completely different from the EU. Armenia, Azerbaijan, all are members to this now. I think it is 47 members today. Even countries that are not going to be involved with the EU are part of this... The EU of course had an impact on the taking of the decision. At first there are four countries, these are all EU's core countries... Being competitive is part of the Union. But Turkey did not link it to EU, never linked it, and I think it still does not. However the EU process evolves, this should be taken and completed separately; lively and dynamic, it will not end once you are done, this is not how it was built. That would have attracted more reaction in some places, as you know there are people that react against it. In other words, they cannot separate it with their scientific views.

As the above transcript from Expert 1 shows, in Turkey this process is defined more broadly than the EU, rather it is defined as a process where the Council of Europe is the driving force. The experts argue that this process is not and will not be bound by Europe alone. They predict that it will extent to other areas.

> *Expert 2:* I am always emphasizing, let me emphasize here. This is not only a EU process. EFTA, candidate countries are also part of it. It is European, but a wider geography, it is a process involving 46 countries. A much wider geographical process, of course Europe is at the centre of it. My personal view is that this process will not be limited to this 46 countries, but will be extended.

Even discourse around the Erasmus program is constructed in a much wider framework. The Erasmus Program and the Bologna Process is defined as instruments of internationalization, rather than Europeanization. As an example, currently the national agency is working on a new regulation that would allow Turkey to extend the exchange programs to new regions:

> *Expert 3:* In the period of new program, there is preparation for a regulation change. If the regulation changes, we will have a chance to do these programs with other world countries, not only the EU countries.

This decision to de-couple the policy transfer from the EU and the accession process has an intentional motive. The experts were careful not to link the process of policy transfer to the EU due to rising Euro-scepticism in Turkey. The fear was that if the universities see the Bologna reforms as part of the accession process, the situation might become politicised. This could have been a major impediment in front of the reforms, as there could have been backlash against 'another imposition' from the EU. As Expert 1 indicates above, the reason this decision was taken was because of the rise of Euro-scepticism in Turkey. There was fear that the mention of EU would undermine the process, creating a bias from the start.

> *Expert 7:* …in the last years, there emerged negative feelings for the EU. Because this [the Bologna process] was initiated by the EU educational ministers, there is reaction. It is normal that there is reaction.

> *Expert 4:* At first in the universities it was interlinked with the EU. There was such a conception, especially from groups that looked at EU sceptically. They thought we were being pressured into Bologna and the changes in the higher education are being imposed to us… we specifically tell them. We need to restructure our higher education. We are a country with a young dynamic population. But we need to turn this into an advantage. In all of the international entities there is a mechanism that is being talked about, we need to use this as an instrument, to restructure our higher education and to harmonize with the countries that we want to catch up with. For the benefit of our students and educational system. Every action is an action that will make our system better. We need to approach this issue in this way [separate it from the EU] to get rid of the prejudices. When you call it a European Higher Education space, it might

be get a negative reaction, [because it is] indexed to our relations with the EU. It [feelings toward the EU] changes according to daily politics.

Thus the two processes – the accession and Bologna process – are defined separately from each other. While the former is defined as a political process, the latter as a technical one. The experts in their interviews, while do not use the terminology, make a distinction between political and societal Europeanization.

> ***Expert 2:*** It has two sides to it. The accession process – the political dimension –; and these kind of works – the works done for adaptation, extra political, the harmonization of the organizational structure… The relations with the EU on the intellectual level is the one that will bring the most benefit. This intellectual relation is located in education… We have the potential to create a vision for Europe. If Turkey can create such a vision, a vision contributing to Europe's vision, it will of course contribute to the process. I am not someone that necessarily insists on EU. Our standards should catch up with the standards of modern countries in the world, it is important that we are in that league. It is important that we have a vision on those standards. It is important for our citizens, for our students. If you are there, you are there. If you are not, you are not. There is no such thing as EU taking us in or not. It is degrading, if you are there, you are there!

In this excerpt from Expert 2's interview, there is a clear distinction between the EU accession process and the policy-transfer taking place in education. The Expert indicates that the latter is prone to bring more benefit to the relations. He/she argues that the discussions on Europe and Turkey should not be limited to whether the EU *takes in* Turkey or not. It should be deeper.

While the experts did not link to process to EU, they do not define Turkey and Europe's relationship in a dialectical manner. On the contrary, all of the experts see themselves and Turkey as part of Europe. They argue while not in the EU, Turkey is part of Europe in many manners.

> ***Expert 1:*** We [Europe and Turkey] are nested, Europe is a place where we can go in the morning come back in the evening.

> ***Expert 5:*** We cannot live isolated… We are already in [European educational space]!

Expert 3 explains how the educational programs have an impact on Turkey's relations with Europe. He argues that in terms of education, Turkey is part of the European space. He talks

about the impact of the mobility programs on the youth. He/she argues that the programs changed the nature of the relations between Turkey and Europe. Turkey has become an equal partner to Europe and the programs are expected to have a tangible multiplier effect.

> ***Expert 3:*** This is the first institution [education] that became a full member of the EU's programs. We are full members in the field of education and youth. The only exception is that – we do not have voting rights in the committees. We are also in the EU. We will have voting rights once we are a member, but these programs are being applied in Turkey with their institutions and rules. It's contribution is this – since 2003 around 100 000 citizens has benefitted from the programs. In the past, we went to Europe as tourists or as students through our own means. Within the framework of the program, we went to European universities for education, we worked in joint projects, we got the chance to work together. Not as a worker-employee relation like it used to be – we were workers, they were employees –, as equal partners we worked in joint projects. We got the chance to know each other more closely. People that work close with each other will not be enemies, they will be friends. The benefiters are the youth. Todays youth is tomorrow's adults and decision-makers. The youth that benefitted from our programs and the Europeans that did joint projects with Turkey, are the ones that will decide on Turkey's EU membership. With the multiplier effect, the future will be very positive.

While the process of change is not defined as Europeanization, the experts argue that Turkey is part of Europe. Furthermore, while not every of one them see Turkey as part of the educational space, in the future they believe Turkey will completely integrate into the space.

5.5.3 The Potential Impact

All the experts agree that Bologna has a positive impact on the Turkish higher education system. The Bologna process initiated the much-needed reforms in higher education in general and universities specifically. Through these reforms, the universities have started to open up to the outside world. It has started a process of self-reflection on the part of the university officials.

> ***Expert 3:*** In terms of the Turkish universities, the Bologna Process had an important impact. The universities had to change their introverted structure. From now on, as they tell 'nothing is going to be the same'. The universities, taking their decisions, opening their departments, courses, have to take into account not only Turkey and the possibilities in their hand, but the world. And this is an important development. The quality of

the Turkish universities has to compete with the quality of the European Countries. The Turkish universities get the most out of this. They had to work with EU countries and universities very closely, both to harmonize the programs with them and also to catch up with them in terms of quality. We see Bologna's repercussion in the Erasmus program. The old universities, along with the newly established ones become quickly part of Erasmus.

The emphasis of the experts in terms of the potential impact is on student-centred education. Expert 5 identifies this as a 'mentality change' from a lecture-centred education to a student-centred one. This, they argue, is the most important and tangible impact of the Bologna process.

> *Expert 2:* Students have the opportunities that we never dreamed of in the past. They have gained, in terms of confidence, in terms of comparability of their education systems, education levels. It is incredible. It needs to be sustainable, needs institutional links. Joint degrees. The academic staff is constantly in exchange. The results will be more valuable in time. If the EU and globalisation continues to move this fast, and it is in fact will, those are that successful in these processes, those that realise these goals, will be one step further in the information society. It opens up an amazing vision.

Emphasis on students is the most crucial part of the process. As argued above, the student-centred education is one of the main impacts of the integration of Turkey into the educational space. Discursively, one also notices that students are put at the centre of the process.

5.5.4 The Mechanisms of the Process

The interviews also focused on the process and mechanisms of the policy transfer that shed light on how transfer takes place. The experts' outlook on the process centred on whether there is enough involvement and participation into the process. They reiterated that their aim is to involve as many participants as possible into the process. The experts all point out the need construct this process as a bottom-up one. The change should not come from the top, but should be owned by the universities.

> *Expert 4:* We are trying to be open to external stakeholders as much as we can, most importantly the Ministry of Education. We absolutely are trying to coordinate, we try to integrate them into meetings on Bologna. We are trying to expand the number that are interested in and involved with

Bologna.

Yet all the experts agree that to their dismay the process has not been a bottom-up one till now. The universities have not shown real interest in the process. They do not 'own' it. They take action only if they have to, only if it comes from the CoHE.

> ***Expert 1:*** Unfortunately it is not bottom-up. And it is because it is not bottom-up that there is not enough excitement in all of them [the universities]. The lack of excitement is more or less continuing.

> ***Expert 1:*** …in reality, it is not easy for such a process to be bottom-up. Yet it needs to be popularized. For that, the upper administration of the universities really have to embrace it by promoting participation from everybody. I cannot say this is being done, or can be done.

Thus while the experts believe the process should be a bottom-up one, they also acknowledge this is very difficult. The CoHE is playing a leading role and is expected by the universities to do so. The experts complain of not getting enough attention and interest from the universities and outside parties. Yet they also admit that the universities have more fundamental problems to deal with. They do not have the time or necessary funding to focus on the Bologna Process. Without finding an answer to these problems, it is too much to expect from them:

> ***Expert 5:*** The universities complain about the heavy lecture hours, lack of academic staff, problems in the physical infrastructures. In the universities the attitude is that 'lets enhance our physical conditions first, then we will do this'… when you talk about student centred education, you actually expect more of the academic staff. With forty hours a week teaching load, with big groups of students [it is not possible]! You come face to face with the general problems of the Turkish higher education.

Ideally, the push should come from the students, who are expected to benefit from the process the most. The students should be the ones to hold responsible the universities they graduate from in terms of whether they are being offered the necessary competences they need in a globalising world. There should be more involvement from the students. There are examples, especially in regard to the Erasmus exchange programs, where the students played a leading role in the policy transfer.

> ***Expert 7:*** I emphasized this to the students. There should be pressure from you. You should participate. You should demand. You should know. I am in this program, what shall the program bring to me for four years. You need to see this in the beginning. You need to confirm it. Am I graduating with those promised? The students only focus on evaluations.

> Getting grades. [They should focus more on] Getting not only the grades, but also the attainments and competences.
>
> *Expert 4:* We need to increase students' knowledge. It happened with Erasmus, the student pressure, they pressure their deans, they open the way of agreements. There is such a bottom up process.

Yet interest from the students are also low. This mainly has to do with lack of knowledge.

Most of the resistance to the process comes from the academic staff, because the real burden of the process lies with them. Some see the process as an intervention, interference into their classroom. Because the process is student centred, some fear about losing importance. The process also brings forth concerns about salaries, as most of the academic staff is paid through lecture hours. The ECTS credit system, which is based on student workload, concerns some of the staff.

> *Expert 4:* There is no reason for the academic staff to want this. The things Bologna process brings will bring extra work for the academic staff. There is nothing he/she can get, but he/she will be giving a lot. You are saying student-centred education, yet he/she is the one that is dominant in the class, might not want to abandon his power and authority. You say transparent educational materials, will not want to be that open and transparent. Learning outcomes; "I am free, I follow the curriculum I want". There is such a habit and they do not want to give up their personal ways, they do not want to make more effort. Therefore, the upper administration needs to structure this. Why? If we cannot catch this standard, in the future for example the universities will have trouble with student exchanges. The university administration should be aware of this and this is expected. Those departments, fields that are accredited, that do not have quality assurance, that do not have a qualifications framework, no student will come from outside or inside of the country. That will be a university that falls back. The upper administration will take this responsibility. But there is no reason for the academic staff to push forward.
>
> *Expert 6:* I cannot say all the lecturers support it fully. All of them react to it, like, 'we had ABET before, we were trying to adapt to the Amerikan standards, now Europe?' The lecturers do not want to change some of the things…

Therefore, the experts conclude that the process till now has been driven by the upper administration in the universities. The Experts only cite a couple of universities that truly are committed and internalised the process. There are academicians that personally support the process. They play an important role in this process, but this creates a continuity problem, because the process in driven by these individuals. One such example is Sakarya

University, in which the rector of the university played an important role:

> ***Expert 1:*** Sakarya did this with Mehmet Durman. Very actively, Mehmet became the locomotive of this in Turkey. He did this very nicely inside, the university also embraced it… The most excited one is I guess Sakarya. Bilkent is doing good. METU is not doing much. The Anatolian University is a quiet part of it. It depends also on the individual, for example the Anatolian University there was a vice rector, he was deeply involved, you need individuals that lead, that follow, you absolutely need people in the administration that follow.

> ***Expert 4:*** … Because the level, background, quality, establishment year, place they are situated, student profiles of the students are very different, the impact and internalization is different. It is directly related with whether the administration accepts and internalizes this. Sakarya, the personal effort of the rector… if the upper administration does not accept the regulations that are sent to the universities, the implementation is done recklessly.

Compared to the big cities, the experts indicate that there is more interest from the universities in Anatolia. This is mainly due to the fact that there has been a rapid increase in the number of universities in the past years. The newly established universities look for models to emulate. The Bologna Process has provided them with a roadmap. Also, these new universities more easily adapt to changes, as they do not have established systems. The problem is they do not have the necessary financial means or expertise to truly commit.

> ***Expert 3:*** Those universities that give foreign language instruction, due to foreign language, get a tad more from the program. You expect more demand from Istanbul, Ankara. But it is not like that. Sakarya, Anatolia, were the ones that got most of the program. It is important how the universities approach the program, also how they guide their students.

> ***Expert 7:*** it was much easier in the universities that were open to change. The newly established ones have an advantage. Everything will start anew. We should start with the requirements of the process. In traditional universities, 'we already follow a way', 'we already to some parts of it'. They already do most of it. But we will go through a quality assurance system, accreditation, documentation is needed. Maybe the students get out with the qualifications, but because we do not now these qualification, is it really the case? … to evaluate this we need these.

In conclusion, in terms of the process, the Bologna Process has failed to instigate a bottom-up process. The universities are not active participants of the policy transfer. The ones that have been so are due to the personal efforts of the academicians situated in the upper administrations. Thus, there is call from the upper administrations of the universities for more

involvement from the CoHE and more pressure from the CoHE:

> ***Expert 4:*** The CoHE has a certain job and mission. On the one hand it tries not to intervene in the affairs of the universities or not be involved, yet on the other hand when you leave them there is delay. In the meetings we attend, they tell us 'ok, we are listening, yet tell these to our rector'. Sometimes they tell 'once there is a letter from the CoHE we will do it'. They always expect something from the top, a cultural habit. There are different problems, the number of students is high, physical impossibilities, lack of academic staff. Some think of it [the Bologna process] as a luxury.

> ***Expert 5:*** What I heard from one departmental chair of the engineering program was that 'the CoHE should give a template for engineering programs, we will implement that, because the academic staff does not listen to me'… this is an easy way out.

Yet if the CoHE continues to play a bigger role in the process, the fear is that there will never be real internalization. The universities should own the process and take lead in the transformation process. Otherwise this process of policy transfer will lose its momentum very soon.

> ***Expert 2:*** …When the regulation on quality assurance comes into force, the universities will be obliged to be externally evaluated in every five years. The programs and institutions that do not will be non-recognized. Those that are aware of this will be in an advantageous position, those who are not will pay the price in time… The institutions that are responsible from the quality of higher education is first of all is the universities. We should not wait for the CoHE to do something. We have the responsibility of the students, not the CoHE. The institutions should see this, adapt the system to their structure. The universities that succeed in this will come to the fore. One of the indicators is the Erasmus exchange program, it is an important opportunity that is given to the students.

The experts agree that the academicians and the students are not fully participants to the process. They approach it sceptically. This mainly has to do with lack of knowledge, but also because the parties believe the process might be short-lived. The next section focuses on how the officials working in the international offices of the universities evaluate the process.

5.6   THE UNIVERSITY OFFICIALS: EVALUATING THE SPACE

This section will focus on the discourses of the university officials working in the

international offices of the universities that are responsible from the Erasmus Mobility Program. In all of the universities interviewed the institutional structure is set in place in the form of an International Office, while the name of the office might have slight differences[28]. The CoHE required the universities to form the International Offices with its 2004 decision. The Erasmus offices are mostly organized under the International Offices.

While most of the universities have relations with other non-Erasmus countries, most of their focus is centred on the Erasmus Program (see Table 5.4). This mostly has to do with the fact that universities do not have the necessary funding to enlarge the scope of the program to the non-Erasmus countries. All of the universities have pointed out their intention of enlarging their scope of their activity to non-Erasmus areas. Yet pointed out that the main impediment in front of this is funding. Thus the National Agency's plan to enlarge the mobility programs to non-Erasmus countries is an important development, which might give the necessary financial means to the universities.

Table 5–4: Universities and International Relations

Non-Erasmus Agreements	%
Have other agreements	63 (10 out of 16)
Have intention of enlarging the scope	100 (16 out of 16)

The university officials also refer to the Bologna reforms, yet this stays within the limits of the Erasmus program. All of the universities are at the very beginning of the process. The reforms that are referred are the ones that were carried out in the process of establishment of the Erasmus program, such as the establishment of the ECTS. The most important development is that the universities have formed a Bologna Coordination Committee, which was done with the request of the CoHE. Yet the work these committees carry out vary from university to university. The Bologna reforms have started to be implemented, but the process is still at the initial stages.

All of the interviewed university officials have identified the impact of the

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[28] Please see the methodology chapter for the table of universities interviewed and the year they acquired their Erasmus University Charter.

integration into the European educational space as positive. When asked to evaluate this positive impact, the interviewees have focused on different dimensions. Five different categories came out from their responses (see Table 5.5).

Table 5.5

Impact of the Erasmus Program

Impact	%
Turkey	56 (10 out of 18)
City	28 (5 out of 18)
University (institutional structure)	61 (11 out of 18)
Academic staff	39 (7 out of 18)
Students	89 (16 out of 18)

When asked to evaluate the impact of the program, some of the university officials focused on a more general level. These officials see the Erasmus program as a 'mentality change'. What is meant by mentality change is internationalization. Integration of Turkey into the European and international higher education system is deemed to be an important result of the process. One university official describes the process in the following manner:

> *UO 11:* First of all, it [the program] brought the universities together closer. The researchers that were worked actively had international networks, which they cooperated with. But these always stayed at the individual level. It depends on how active the researcher is, how much he/she can guide the students. Our biggest problem is finding funding. Due to our socio-economic condition, it is very difficult for a family to finance a student in a foreign country. These [the programs] opened the way for this, opened up the students' horizons, brought the universities closer. Research, education, cultural exchanges are not only among the individuals anymore, but also among the societies. We got closer. Therefore I see these programs very advantageous.

Here one sees that the impact of the program is characterised more broadly as having an impact on Turkey as a whole. The societies that are in contact get closer, thus Turkey becomes part of the broader educational space. Some officials argue that the programs also have impact on the cities the universities are situated in:

> *UO 9:* As it is with all the universities, we guarantee communication in education and culture [through these programs]… Specifically, the social structure of the region, the city is affected. The establishment of the

university has a positive social and cultural impact on that city. Thus, international students coming to the city or our students going to foreign countries, these change the perspective of the students, they look at life from a different angle. Due to this communication and cultural dialogue, there will be a positive impact.

Mostly, the university officials evaluate the impact by focusing on the university level. They also refer to internationalization. The programs pushed the universities to open up to outside world and restructure themselves so that they can internationally compete. This is specifically important for the universities in Anatolia, who have been recently established. The program has provided them with a roadmap in terms of how to establish links and networks with the universities outside of the country.

> *UO 1:* Dues to these programs, rather than being closed universities, they have a chance of becoming international universities. This is what Turkey need. This is what all our universities need.

There is also focus on structural changes in the university. As a result of the integration into the educational programs, the academic staff needed to restructure their courses and their syllabus. The process of change had to do with the reorganisation of the credit system into ECTS. At that stage, the universities had to examine their programs and the courses thoroughly. This was made use of by the upper administration of some universities as an opportunity to restructure the system and make institutional changes. One official deems to be 'a marvellous change in an institutional sense' (*UO 17*). Yet not all universities went through such noteworthy change. The attitude of the upper administration as well as the expertise that the universities had, were important factors. For instance, those universities that the Bologna Experts came from are more prone to change in the sense the experts provided them with the necessary knowledge in the process and led the way to change.

> *UO 4:* The learning outcomes need to be organized, the curriculum restructured. For this purpose, a lot of experts came from Europe, we had meetings, a lot has been done to determine the student workload. Consistently. It is still a work in progress, the surveys never end. Because the credits always need to change. For instance, we require students to complete surveys before every exam... Depending on the surveys, the credits are restructured. In this process, this is what happened; the educational system in the university was reviewed all over again.

Many of the university officials refer to the impact of the program on the students. For most of the students that benefitted from the program the Erasmus program is their first

international experience. They argue that the program has a positive effect on the students' self-confidence. Besides, they point out that without the funding the program provides it would have been very difficult for these students to study abroad. The recent Lifelong Learning Evaluation Report also points out that over 90% of the participants indicated they would not have been able to go abroad if there were no funding from the Program (2011: 59). The experts argue that the program provides an opportunity that some of the students never would have dreamed of. Four of the university officials stressed that some of the students that benefit from the program have never even been out of the boundaries of their native towns.

> *UO 3:* The impact on students is that especially their self-confidence definitely increases; in terms of standing on their own two feet, after they go and come back. In [our] university, most of the students are from the region. Because they are from the surrounding area, they are constantly with their family. Along with their first international experience, standing on their own two feet, doing something – it gives them serious self-confidence.

Alongside the students, the university officials stress that the program has important positive impact on the academic staff. Some of the academic staff has already international experience and networks, yet as a result of the programs the interaction increased. The programs gave an incentive for the lecturers to work on their international relations.

5.7   CRITICIZING THE BOLOGNA PROCESS

The experts and all of the university officials talk about the process of integration into the educational space in a positive manner. One does not find a critical voice towards the Process. Yet the experts identify two criticisms at the societal level in regard to the process: commercialization and standardization. The concept of employability is gaining importance within the framework of the Bologna Process and there is discussion surrounding the inclusion of businesses as stakeholders to the process so that the students are given the necessary competence for the labour market. This is criticized for contributing to the commercialization of higher education. One of the experts talks about the students' reactions:

> *Expert 7:* students ask a lot – are the stakeholders businessmen? This gets a lot of criticism… Who can be my stakeholder as a an academician in the field of education, the Ministry of Education, trade unions related with

education, associations related with education, students, graduates. Not necessarily businessmen… it might be because of the word stakeholder. The word stakeholder disturbs both students and lecturers.

One other concern in regard to the Bologna Process is standardisation. Each of the experts reiterates that this process does not give rise to standardisation. Expert 2 in this interview actually underlines the fact that the process is an important tool for internationalization, but also points out it does not aim standardisation, which is one of the major criticisms directed against the Bologna Process in Turkey. Expert 2 tries to reiterate here that Bologna is a toolkit, thus it depends on the national agents to decide how to use this toolkit. There is no pressure from above to do the policy transfer and the underlying purpose of the process is not standardisation. The aim is not to create convergence among the members of the process.

> *Expert 1:* One should not take harmony to be the same with standardisation, rather one should think of it as comparability.

> *Expert 5:* We are doing this for ourselves, to make our higher education more transparent, for quality assurance. Every country's system is unique. The system change will not come from the top.

In conclusion, Turkey has integrated into the European educational space. As a result, many structural changes have taken place. The driver of the process has been the CoHE. The officials of the universities on the discursive level seem eager for change. Yet changes take place with top-down pressure coming from the CoHE. Furthermore, the universities seek for this pressure, because they are not sure whether the process will continue. The process is still not internalised. This chapter of the dissertation answered how the norms of the European educational space diffused to Turkey and why Turkey adapted these norms. The first section of the chapter concentrated on the structural changes happening in Turkey and the second section focused on discourses surrounding these changes. The instruments and agents of the diffusion as well as the mechanisms and discourses of the process were identified. While the diffusion process occurred, the process in the national level has not been a bottom-up process as expected from soft policy areas.

6   DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

This dissertation had three main objectives. One was to define the European education space, by concentrating on the European education policy, which stands at the centre of the space. Chapter 4 of the dissertation outlined the borders and norms of this space. The second objective was to set out the process of diffusion, in other words how the 'norms' of the education space are diffused and institutionalised in Turkey. The third one was to evaluate the reasons behind the diffusion process, why these norms have been diffused and how the agents of change framed the policy transfer process. Chapter 5 of the dissertation focused on Turkey. First the structural changes in Turkey were analysed and then the discourses surrounding the changes were focused upon. The first part of the research focused on the European level and the second one on Turkey.

Following Dolowitz and Marsh's (2000) study, first of all the dissertation focused on the source of the diffusion: the European educational space and the policy narratives it is based on. After discussing how an educational space is being constructed in the European level, the second step was to look at how and why it is diffused to the national level. In the case of Turkey, the norms are being employed as instruments of domestic reform. Wallace and Wallace's argue that the Europeanization literature 'need[s] to look harder at the bottom-up pictures of how national systems domesticate EU policies, co-opting and instrumentalizing them for domestic purposes' (2007: 340), which they call the 'forum-shopping dimension' (*ibid.* 341). In other words, the focus was on how the agents of change used the discourses of the European space and re-constructed them in the process. The main contribution of the dissertation is on why and how policy diffusion occurs in areas where there is no direct pressure, such as the educational policy. This chapter of the dissertation outlines the main findings by first discussing how the European educational space is being constructed. Secondly, the chapter discusses Turkey and its integration into this space.

Reflecting on Radealli's definition of Europeanization adopted in the dissertation, this study concentrated on the question of how 'the formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, 'ways of doing things' and shared beliefs and norms' of the European education space is constructed and diffused, as well as to what extent they are institutionalised (2003: 30). In the literature, various mechanisms of Europeanization have

been identified. The socialisation of elites through their involvement with the EU has been cited as one of the main mechanisms of Europeanization. Checkel defines socialisation as 'a process whereby actors, through interaction with broader institutional contexts (norms of discursive structures), acquire new interests and preferences' (2001: 53). Evidence of such a socialisation process is not only manifest in the member states, where the elites are involved with each other and the EU at each step of the EU policy-making process, but also in the candidate states. The dissertation focused on Turkey as a case study.

The assumption of the dissertation was that ideas matter as social constructivism argues and discourse is not only a resource, but it also is also an action. Thus how the norms of educational space is framed, transferred and interpreted is important. The process is an interactive one, where various actors come to play. In this case, the interaction centres on three levels – the European level, the national level and the societal level. It is important to show the interplay between the top-down and bottom-up processes at work in terms of Europeanization.

6.1   SOURCE OF DIFFUSION: THE EUROPEAN EDUCATIONAL SPACE

The first part of the research (Chapter 4) outlined how the educational space is being constructed in Europe within the framework of the EU educational policy and later the Bologna Process. Over the years an *acquis communautaire* for the EU education policy has come into existence. While the community competence in education is still low and it is primarily supplementary, the initiatives carried out under the rubric of education policy in the Union suggest that the importance attached to this policy area has increased over time. The *acquis* on education is very thin compared to the most elaborate policy areas of the EU – such as regional or agricultural ones –, yet it is undeniable that over the years the EU has acquired a defining role in the education policies of its member states. In the Lisbon European Council that took place in March 2002, a new method, which is called the OMC, was set out to strengthen cooperation. This method, along with the launch of the Bologna Process, aims to create a 'coherent policy' and opens the way towards more activities in the field of education. Hence focusing on the educational policy is specifically important, for the Europeanization

process is not bound by the size of the policy area's *acquis*. As Novoa states, one cannot argue that there is homogenization in this policy area, but this will not 'eliminate tendencies towards defining common goals, similar strategies and, therefore, identical policies' (2002: 133). The member-states' competence in the area of education is being challenged:

> Several forces have been tugging at the national prerogative with respect to higher education: supranational developments in combination with the trans-national forces, and trends towards delegation and institutional autonomy, a changing balance between market and hierarchy in higher education, and the strengthening of the regional authority level (Gornitzka, 2007: 29).

The first part of the research focused on how the European educational space was constructed. The source of diffusion in this case is the European educational space and the norms of this space, which is built around the concept of European dimension. This part set out, the 'norms of discursive structures' – the policy narrative of the educational space. As Novoa points out 'the meaning is being created through movement itself, in the way in which 'ways of saying' are always 'ways of seeing' the world, repositioning our own beliefs, affiliations and identities' (2002: 150). He refers to these discourses as 'the new planetspeak' (*ibid*. 135).

The discussion surrounding the European dimension should not be built on national versus transnational debate. As Soysal argues, these levels are usually taken to be as separate and independent levels, rather as in may EU policy areas in the educational policy 'the transnational as integral to the very structuration of the national' (2002: 60; also see Novoa, 2002). These two levels cannot be neatly separated. Similarly Ryba argues 'The dimension notion has clearly been taken to imply something additive to what already exists rather than something that provides a wholesale replacement' (1995: 27). From the onset of its history, the educational policy of the EU always emphasized diversity. This mainly has to do with the 'sensitive nature' of the policy area (see Gornitzka, 2005 and 2007). Gornitzka argues that 'the national sensitivity rests moreover on the mutual dependencies between educational institutions and the nation state: political institutions sustain schools/universities and schools/universities sustain other institutions of a political system' (2007: 8).

Within the framework of the Bologna process, starting with the Sorbonne Declaration (1998) 'respect for diversity' was also underlined frequently. The reactions

against the Bologna Process, in terms of the process standardizing the education systems, or creating a 'one size fits all' recipe were the reasons behind this emphasis. In the Bologna Declaration, the signatories similarly reiterated that 'full respect of the diversity of cultures, languages, national education systems and of University autonomy' (1999). The Berlin *Communiqué* emphasized that 'The aim is to preserve Europe's cultural richness and linguistic diversity, based on its heritage of diversified traditions, and to foster its potential of innovation and social and economic development through enhanced co-operation among European Higher Education Institutions' (2003).

The history of European higher education policy was analysed by dividing it to five periods (see Johnson, 1999: 211). Primary documents were employed to trace the evolution of the educational policy. Chapter 4 showed how the norms of the educational policy changed throughout the history of the policy area as well as outlining the *acquis* and the policy-making process of the education policy. A detailed process tracing of the official documents have shown the changes in the policy narrative of the educational space. The policy narrative of the educational space has changed to be more responsive to wider global trends.

Therefore, the concept of European dimension can be linked with both the Europeanization and internationalization processes taking place in Europe. Teichler defines internationalization in the following manner:

> …the totality of substantial changes in the context and inner life of higher education relative to an increasing frequency of border-crossing activities amidst a persistence of national systems, even though some signs of 'denationalisation' might be observed. Phenomena often viewed as characteristic for internationalisation are increasing knowledge transfer, physical mobility, cooperation and international education and research (2004: 22-3).

Globalization signifies the blurring of borders. In the recent years globalization has been used interchangeably with internationalization in the public debates. Europeanization is 'the regional version of internationalisation or globalisation' (*ibid.* 22). Lawn and Lingard argue that 'The Europeanization of education occurs as an element of a wider globalisation in education' (2002: 293).

While till the 1990s European educational policy had a regional focus, this strategy has changed acquiring a more international dimension (see Robertson and Keeling, 2008; Robertson, 2009). Today the European educational policy is a response to globalisation. In Bulmer and Radaelli's words it is has proved to be 'a manifestation of globalisation' (2004: 3). The concept of internationalization is important for higher education, because:

> …the globalization of the economy increases the demand for international competences of graduates; the level of specialization and investment in advanced research requires more international cooperation; the recruitment of foreign students and scholars is becoming an increasingly important economic factor; and the use of information and communication technology in the delivery of education is blurring national borders and the role of national governments (Van der Wende, 2001: 433).

Two important trends in European the educational policy can be identified: 'in addition to the goal of strengthening the EU's economic and technological competitiveness worldwide, an important goal of current EU programmes is to construct a `people's Europe' and an `ever-closer Union' (Trondal, 2002: 344). Thus, the educational policy has contributed to the understanding of European citizenship. The following two sections focus on the discussions surrounding the European dimension.

6.1.1 Europeanization and Educational Policy

While the will to create a European dimension in education can be traced back to four hundred years ago to the time of Comenius, it was through EU's policy that this concept has been institutionalised (Ryba, 1995). The EU has framed its educational policy on the discourse of European dimension. It was in 1974, that the Commission first mentioned a 'European dimension' to education (Beukel, 2001: 128). Yet, there are still problems remaining with the operationalization of the concept (Ertl, 2003: 27). The Green paper on European Dimension elaborates the concept, but still remains vague (*ibid*.). The subsidiarity principle is a barrier to 'a more concrete conceptualisation of the European dimension and leaves it to the highly diverse implementation approaches of the member states' (*ibid.;* Commission, 1993).

In spite of this barrier, the educational policy, while still considered under the remit of the nation-state, is used as an instrument to create a Europe of meaning, to 'affirm to European citizens their place in a new, shared space, Europe' (Lawn, 2006: 276; Lawn, 2001). The educational policy until the 90s was 'regional in its focus, politics and outcome' (Robertson and Keeling, 2008: 222; also see Robertson, 2009). It served both economic and political aims and played an important role in the creation of the unification project.

In its initial years, 'education' was considered only within the remit of economic policy. In the Treaty of Rome of 1957, education was only narrowly referred to. General education was not under the competence of the Community. The community only had a weak competence in vocational training, which was linked to the functioning of the common market as the development of vocational training was essential for the promotion of free movement of services and people (Sherrington, 2000: 145; Johnson, 1999: 199). The Treaty included provisions for vocational training (Articles 41, 118, 128) and a provision for mutual recognition of certificates (Article 57). To get rid of the barriers in front of freedom of movement; transnational recognition of qualifications was essential, along with the encouragement of foreign languages. In 1971, the Commission set up two Working Parties on education matters, which initiated projects for the collection of data on education matters and stressed the need for 'greater Community effort'. This was the first time general education 'appeared directly as an area of interest to the Community' (Beukel, 2001: 127) and in 1973, education for the first time became part of the responsibility of one of the Commissioners. A year later in 1974, the Commission presented the first communication on education, 'Education in the European Community'. Through the communication, the Commission stressed the reasons behind why cooperation was essential. The communication asserted that: 'a Community perspective in education is increasingly important, and what is required is a common commitment to the development of education co-operation and a systematic exchange of information and experience' (*ibid.* 128). Specifically, increasing mobility in education and developing a 'European dimension in education' was stressed.

As the integration process deepened, the education policy began to be pursued independently from economic policies and concerns. In 1974, the ministers of education proclaimed that education should no longer 'be regarded merely as a component of economic

life'. The resolutions at the end of the 1980s began to emphasize the 'European dimension in education that was characterized by a marked attachment to European culture and European ideas' (*ibid.* 131). The mid-1980s were characterized by a boost in education policy. Between the years 1986-89, Council launched three education programs, which were to be implemented by the Commission. 'These programs created a form of 'soft law', where the Commission intervenes in education indirectly through offering the 'carrot' of financial incentives designed to encourage pan-European educational initiatives' (Johnson, 1999: 201). Furthermore, they paved the way toward both the Europeanization and internationalization of higher education (see Teichler, 2004 on the discussion of the differences between Europeanization, internationalization and globalization). The countries participating in these programs saw the main impediments in their national system and these opened the way toward more cooperation in the area of higher education (see Huisman and Van der Wende, 2004).

Finally, with the Maastricht Treaty, the '*de facto* position of a developing Community competence in education' turned into a '*de jure* one' (Johnson 1999: 206). As Berggreen-Merkel states 'by introducing Articles 126 and 127 into the Treaty of Rome, the Treaty of Maastricht had taken into account the fact that in spite of the lack of explicit Community powers to deal with education as a whole, a common education policy had gradually been established' (1999: 1). With the Treaty of European Union, the policy gained 'a much firmer legal basis for Community competence' both in terms of education and as well as vocational training (Johnson, 1999: 200). The Treaty added a new chapter to the Treaty of Rome entitled 'Education, Vocational Training and Youth'. During the same period, the education programs were reformed, restructured and geographically extended.

Thus the educational policy was initiated by linking it to the economic goals of the Union in constructing the educational space. With the emphasis it put on the construction of the European dimension, the educational policy has come to be seen as an instrument that had the potential to play an important role in the construction of European citizenship. It is one of the policy areas that is the most tangible to the public. The frequent emphasis on the concept of European citizenship in the educational statements is an evidence of this (see Ollikainen, 2000 for the different conceptualizations of European citizenship in the EU documents). The

biggest problem the EU is facing today is its legitimacy crisis. The European educational policy, with its substantial programs, is a step forward in coping with this problem. Education holds a key role in the debates surrounding the democratic deficit of the EU (for the basis of the discussion see Zweifel, 2002; Schmitter, 2000; Majone, 1998; Moravcsik, 2002; Meny, 2002). It can be concluded that the European organs, by promoting cooperation in education, are in fact effecting national educational systems; by setting standards and thus indirectly influencing the 'political socialization' of the Europeans.

Educational mobility is very much connected to EU citizens' right to freedom of movement, thus enhances EU citizenship rights. In the EU documents, European citizenship is sometimes conceptualised purely as a right of free movement, which Ollikainen calls the most 'banal conception of the European citizenship', linked with the Single Market project (2000). The Youth survey of 2007 (Flash Eurobarometer 202, 2007) indicated that 94% think that being a citizen of the EU is being able to study in any EU country. Student mobility in higher education was 3,244 in 1987/8. In the 2009/10 academic year, this figure rose to 213,266. During the same period, the total number of mobile staff was 37,766 (Education and Culture DG 2010). Overall, since the inception of the program 2.3 million students were mobile. There is no doubt that education policy of the EU gives rise to high levels of mobility. The educational programs contribute to one of the rights that granted to the EU citizens with the Maastricht Treaty: the right to circulate and reside freely in the Community.

Also, educational cooperation is an important tool of communication for the Commission: explaining the rationale behind the integration. Educational programs have especially become an 'image enhancing' activity for the Commission (Ollikainen, 2000). These programs are one of the few tangible benefits of the European integration process that brings EU closer to its citizens. The 1988 Resolution aims to raise awareness in terms of the 'advantages which the Community represents, but also of the challenges it involves, in opening up an enlarged economic and social area to them' (1988). Similarly, the Green Paper on European dimension underlines that through educational policy 'a better understanding of Europe today, and of its construction for tomorrow' is possible (1993). Thus, the EU documents tend to conceptualise education in terms of the potential contributions it can make

to the European integration process and bringing about attachment to the process in the long run.

Furthermore, educational cooperation contributes to citizenship by bringing into contact different cultures, and increasing people's awareness of the common norms. In the educational documents, emphasis is put on a shared European heritage. The 1988 Resolution underlines this by aiming to 'strengthen in young people a sense of European identity and make clear to them the value European civilisation and of the foundations on which the European peoples intend to base their development today, that is in particular the safeguarding of the principles of democracy, social justice and respect for human rights' (1988).

Within the framework of the Bologna Process there have also been direct references to European citizenship. While there was no mention of European dimension, the Sorbonne declaration referred to the construction of European citizenship by stating that the creation of such an area gives Europe 'a solemn opportunity to engage in the endeavour to create a European area of higher education, where national identities and common interests can interact and strengthen each other for the benefit of Europe, of its students, and more generally of its citizens' (1998). The Bologna Declaration also made reference to a common shared space:

> A Europe of Knowledge is now widely recognised as an irreplaceable factor for social and human growth and as an indispensable component to consolidate and enrich the European citizenship, capable of giving its citizens the necessary competences to face the challenges of the new millennium, together with an awareness of shared values and belonging to a common social and cultural space (1999).

In the Sorbonne declaration, the past is cherished as a time when 'students and academics would freely circulate and rapidly disseminate knowledge throughout the continent' (1998). The Ministers therefore aimed for 'an open European area for higher learning'. In the BFUG report of 2001 the promotion of the European dimension is linked to existence of a shared values:

> …higher education has broader aims of the social, cultural and human development and an irreplaceable role in a Europe of Knowledge. The EHEA will be the result of shared values and a common social and

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cultural heritage, but also of the goals established in the Bologna Declaration (2001: 8).

In May 2007, Ministers adopted the 'EHEA in a Global Setting' strategy and emphasized Europe's shared heritage and norms:

> Innovation and renewal can... only be successful if they build on an awareness of traditions and values. Like the EHEA as a whole, also in its global setting it should build on Europe's heritage, values and achievements, while adapting to changing circumstances across the world'. These principles are deemed to be 'belief in democracy, human rights and the rule of law. It is based on the ideas of cultural and religious dialogue and tolerance (2007).

Therefore, throughout the years the European dimension in education has become an inseparable part of the national dimension. This is clearly indicated by the references to European citizenship in the official documents. The European educational policy, while initially was solely linked with the economic goals of the Union, has in time gained a political dimension. As stated earlier, in this period the educational policy had a regional focus, as opposed to an international one. The focus of attention was Europe and the potential contribution the educational policy could make to the integration process (Robertson and Keeling, 2008; Robertson, 2009). Within the European educational space, the European, national and local levels are entangled with each other. Educational cooperation is adding a European dimension to citizenship. As an example, Soysal (2002; see also Soysal and Schissler, 2005) focuses on textbooks and school curricula and evaluates how Europe and European identity is (re)constructed through them. She argues that increasingly the national textbooks acquire a 'European dimension'. Soysal and Schissler argue that 'The nation is being tendentiously recast in a European framework' (2005: 5).

One of the important tasks facing the EU in the education field is the promotion of 'Europeanization' in the earlier years of education, considering that early education plays an important part in the process of political socialisation. While ''Europeanization' of education is now underway at all schools levels, it is most visible at the upper end' (Laushway, 2000: 30). The European nation-states tend to shield their sovereignty more closely when the primary and secondary levels of education are concerned, avoiding concessions as much as possible.

6.1.2 Internationalization and Education Policy

The Lisbon Strategy was a turning point for the educational policy, as the policy discourse of the educational space shifted towards an economic and international one. The fifth phase of the history of the educational policy is the Bologna phase (1999 onwards), which was launched outside of the treaty framework with the aim of creating a EHEA. Similar to the Bologna process, the Copenhagen process was launched in 2002 in the field of vocational training. During this phase, with the Lisbon strategy, the educational policy gained more of an economic overtone. The EU was able to take more active role in education due to the Lisbon strategy. As Gornistka argues 'the reference to the knowledge society/economy and the urgency of facing up to global competition seems to have lifted to some extent the "European ban on education"' (2005: 21). In terms of the goals set out in the Strategy, 'some of the indicators go much further into areas traditionally considered to be very close to areas of national sovereignty in education, such as curricular content, teacher training, language learning, and strengthening the ties to work life' (*ibid*. 17), for instance in the secondary level, where cooperation is very limited.

The Lisbon Strategy linked education with the European Social Model making emphasis on 'investment in people', 'building an active welfare state' and 'productive social policy' (Dale, 2009a). Yet this emphasis on social model is very modest compared to economic discourse. Huisman and Van der Vende argue that this process where higher education was closely linked with the economic concerns covered by the Lisbon Treaty goes back to 1991 Memorandum on Higher Education (2004). Robertson (2009) explains the politics behind the Memorandum, which was the recession in European economies in the early 90s and the implications of the economic globalisation.

With the Lisbon Strategy, the discourse of education changed and education began to be defined 'as human capital, as an engine for economic growth, as a private rather than public good, and as a new services sector within the economy' (*ibid*.). Thus the European space is today 'shaped by the opportunities and fears of globalisation' (Lawn and Linguard 2002: 292; also see Robertson and Keeling 2008; Robertson 2007). This also means that the policy is much more open to the outside world, adopting a global view which situated Europe in a competitive manner. The discourse of education is more and more shaped by global

competitiveness.

Parallel to the Lisbon Strategy, the launch of the Bologna Process has brought a new impetus to the EU educational policy. Robertson and Keeling (2008) explain the relationship between the Lisbon Strategy and the Bologna Process in the following manner: 'The re-launched Lisbon competitiveness agenda gave these 'low-register' developments political traction, providing the mandate and the political philosophy for further progress, while the Bologna Process provided a range of useful tools' (2008: 232). Keeling similarly argues 'the framing of EU research policy as consistent with the Bologna Process enhances the political legitimacy of the Lisbon objectives in education and research' (Keeling, 2006: 212).

Zgaga in his report indicates that the Bologna Process was a turning point. It was 'a reconsideration of the European emphasis of internationalization. In the mid-1990s, attention shifted towards the relationship between higher education in Europe and higher education in the wider world' (Teichler, 2005; cited in 2006: 7). The Bologna Declaration was an attempt of internationalization as well as domestic reform of the higher education policy:

> The very beginning of the Bologna Process was characterized by the belief that changes in the structure of European higher education systems could be the main vehicle for raising attractiveness worldwide. Of course, this sentence could and should be read also in a reverse way: efforts to increase worldwide attractiveness are an important lever to improve European higher education systems 'internally', as well as to establish European higher education as such (*ibid*. 10).

While the challenges they face are different, the US initiatives taken in the field of education is very similar to the Bologna Process. Both parties are responding to the challenges of globalisation, the initiatives taken in both regions are justified in terms of globalisation. Furthermore, the US is legitimizing its domestic reforms by referring to the challenges Europe is posing to itself with its educational policies, which shows that Europe has become a reference point (Robertson and Keeling, 2008). One important aim of the Bologna Process is 'to extend its 'spheres of influence' to other parts of the world' (Robertson and Keeling, 2008: 232; also see Robertson, 2009).

Therefore, these two processes – the Lisbon Strategy and the Bologna Process – signified a change in the educational discourse (Lawn 2001; 2006). This also meant a change

in the understanding of European citizenship. In the European educational policy and space, the individual is put to the forefront. The concept of European citizenship starting from the 1990s is linked to the aim of increasing political participation among European citizens. This conceptualisation can also be called 'active citizenship'. The concept of 'active citizenship' is used very frequently especially since the beginning of 1990s. Analysing one of the communications of the European Commission entitled *Towards a Europe of Knowledge* (1997), Lawn sets out the characteristics attached to the concept of European citizenship through the EU discourses (2002: 24; also see Lawn, 2001). He argues that European citizenship has been 'located in the individual'. In other words, 'the individuals of this 'area' would enter or become members, if they had attained, or would attain knowledge and competence' (*ibid*.).

In March 2001, the European Council stated that active citizenship was one of the three strategic goals of European education. In 2004, the European Commission established a *Community Action Program*, for the enhancement of 'active citizenship'. The EU expects its citizens to be lifelong learners, responsible for themselves in catching up with the knowledge-based economy and responsible for their own employability. Novoa argues '…the European educational policies are creating new conceptions of the 'reasonable' and 'responsible' lifelong learner and, at the same time, constructing an ideology that blames individuals who are unable to take care of their 'own life,' that is their 'own education'' (2002: 142).

The concept of 'active citizenship' in connection to life-long learning is frequently underlined in the Bologna Process. The London *Communiqué* stated that:

> Our aim is to ensure that our HEIs have the necessary resources to continue to fulfil their full range of purposes. Those purposes include: preparing students for life as active citizens in a democratic society; preparing students for their future careers and enabling their personal development; creating and maintaining a broad, advanced knowledge base; and stimulating research and innovation (2007).

The Leuven *Communiqué* also employed the concept of active citizenship:

> European higher education also faces the major challenge and the ensuing opportunities of globalisation and accelerated technological developments with new providers, new learners and new types of learning. Student-centred learning and mobility will help students develop the competences they need in a changing labour market and will empower them to become

active and responsible citizens (2009).

The measures taken to promote European dimension is deemed to enable the students to 'achieve their full potential for European identity, citizenship and employability' (Berlin *Communiqué*, 2003) and 'prepar[e] the student for the labour market, for further competence building and for active citizenship' (Bergen *Communiqué*, 2005). Here higher education is constructed as something 'extending beyond the university', which is exemplified by the emphasis put on life-long learning (Keeling, 2006: 2010).

Lawn criticizes this. Education is characterised as 'no longer a public good, it could be an individual necessity, as in lifelong learning' (Lawn, 2003: 330). The focus on competence can also be read in a similar manner where the aim is 'to develop employability through the acquisition of competencies made necessary through changes in work and its organization. This means that it is necessary to promote on a lifelong basis creativity, flexibility, adaptability and abilities to 'learn to learn' and to solve problems' (*ibid.* 331). In 2007, the educational programs were re-structured under the name LLP on the basis of Education and Training 2010 work program to contribute to the Lisbon Strategy. This indicated the change in conceptualisation of both the European dimension and European citizenship. This has been criticized in many manners. Lawn argues:

> Education was seen in the EU as a way of driving integration, but in its new version, the individuation of learning responsibility, it also represents an abdication of its own responsibility. There is no vision offered but an endless circulation of plans and partnerships: no hope but only necessity, and no desire but only private compulsion (Lawn, 2001: 179).

Therefore, the policy narrative of the European educational space has changed from a regional focus into an international one. Turkey has integrated into this space through various instruments. The next section of the chapter focuses on Turkey and the diffusion process, taking place in Turkey. The section also focuses on the backlash that exists in Turkey against the changes taking place within the context of the European educational policy. These criticisms should be treated as part of a broader process, which also exists in Europe as well. The main concern is whether the European policy is commercialising higher education.

6.2 TURKEY IN THE EDUCATIONAL SPACE

The second part of the dissertation (Chapter 5) focused on Turkey. If Radealli's definition is taken at hand, Europeanization is not only the ''a) construction (b) diffusion and (c) institutionalization' of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, 'ways of doing things'', but also 'shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the EU policy process and then incorporated into the logic of domestic discourse, identities, political structures and public policies' (2003: 30). Because Turkey is not a member of the union yet, there seems to be less pressure for convergence in the area of education, which is identified as a soft policy area (for another 'unlikely case' of convergence see Trondal 2002; 2005 on Norwegian Educational Policy).

Turkey has been part of the European Educational space since the early 2000. Turkey's integration into the educational space is an example of 'voluntary transfer or lesson-drawing' (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996). The main agent of change in the case of Turkey has been CoHE. Trondal, in his research on Norway and its integration into the educational space reaches the conclusion that 'the Europeanization of Norwegian research and educational policy seems only partly steered and forged by the domestic top ministerial leadership, and partly affected by the import of policy models from international governmental organizations' (2002). One sees a similar trend in Turkey, where the CoHE mainly drives the changes. Furthermore, the transnational forces, which are focused on below in detail, play a role. There exists an indirect pressure for convergence in the case of Turkey because the objective of membership makes integration into the educational space more instrumental.

The yearly Progress Reports prepared by the European Commission focus on Turkey's progress on education under the Chapter 26: Education and Culture heading. The 2005 Progress Report indicates that:

> As regards education and training, Turkey has been participating very successfully since April 2004 in the Community Programs Socrates, Leonardo da Vinci, and Youth. Supported by continued information campaigns by the Turkish National Agency, these programs met with a strong interest among students and young professionals' (European Commission, 2005).

The report also states that 'In the field of higher education, significant progress has been made in the implementation of the Bologna process in Turkey' (*ibid*.). Both the 2007 and 2009 Progress Reports evaluate the changes as 'good progress'. The 2010 Progress Report also states that 'Turkey is at an advanced stage of implementing the Bologna process recommendations'. Yet there are still challenges to be coupled with, such as 'recognition of qualifications, quality assurance and establishment of a NQF based on the European Qualifications Framework' (European Commission, 2010).

Turkey's involvement in the LLP benefitted the universities and contributed to their internationalization, as it did with all of the participatory countries. First and foremost, the mobility programs created partnership among different universities across the borders. Secondly, these programs also had a direct impact on the universities institutionally (see Stolle, 2009 for an overview of how the Erasmus Program changed the universities). The universities have established units and came up with strategies as a response to their changing relations with the universities abroad. There were other indirect impacts, such as the contribution of the program to the 'international visibility' of the universities and also 'image of the universities in the national level' (*ibid*. 56-7). The concept of quality gained importance. The establishment of the Farabi program is an example of how the benefits of the LLP was diffused to the national level and gave rise to cooperation schemes in the national framework.

6.2.1 Integrating into the European Educational Space

Historically speaking, the Turkish higher education system went through important transformations in a very short period of time. It was in the mid-nineties that 'emphasis was placed on further restructuring the Turkish higher education system with a view to making it more responsive to the needs of the market economy prevailing in the country, while becoming more competitive in the global higher education arena' (Barblan *et. al.*, 2008: 56). The number of universities increased very rapidly. In 1933, there was only one university in Turkey. In 1981, this number rose to 19 state universities. The first foundation university was established in 1984. Today in 2011 the total number of universities is 165. Integration into the European educational space is an important phase Turkey is going through right now. The

Bologna Process provides a road map to the recently established universities as well as the old ones to adapt to the changes in the higher education system occurring worldwide. Being part of the educational space is seen as an opportunity to deal with forces that cannot be dealt nationally. The process actually can strengthen in the long run the universities role in national politics, because the reforms 'elevate universities to a European plane and grants them an influential dual status: as actors and as the site of action for EU higher education policy' (Keeling, 2006: 213). The universities 'can access new sources of both financial and political support, mobilising a different constellation of stakeholders, including employers and industry' (*ibid.*).

While the focus of the dissertation was only a very short period of time, the changes that occurred in Turkey are crucial. Since 2000, important structural changes have been achieved in Turkey in the area of higher education and analysis of various official documents have shown that these changes were made in direct reference to the Bologna Process. The Strategic Report of Turkey is based on the concept of knowledge society and preparing Turkey for the changes. It deals with the Bologna Process extensively, it points out that Turkey 'should fulfil the demands of the knowledge society by increasing its competitiveness in the world and also becoming an effective actor in the European Education and Research areas' (CoHE, 2007a: 191). This is an example of mimetic change, which is about imitating institutions that are believed to be not only legitimate, but also successful in providing solutions to common problems (Radaelli, 2000b).

To understand why these changes have been made, one needs to look at the context of the Turkish higher education. The higher education system in Turkey was and still is in need of reform. The CoHE has used the Bologna Process as an instrument that made the reform process easier. As Trondal argues 'the sheer existence of strongly integrated and old national policies is assumed to limit the degree of policy convergence. In situations where these priors are weakly integrated and/or compatible with EU policies the adaptational pressure for policy convergence is expected to be stronger' (2002: 339). Turkey's higher education system can be considered as weakly integrated, as many parties agreed there was an urgent need for change. One can argue that there was a 'perceived necessity' in Turkey for doing these reforms (Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000: 13). Furthermore, Turkish experts argue,

due to the American model adopted system-wise, EU policies are compatible with the Turkish system.

As argued before, due to the nature of the process, because there is no direct pressure for convergence, one needs to emphasize the role of the domestic actors. Voluntary transfer or lesson-drawing usually occurs when policy makers are searching for alternative policies. 'The possibilities for EU initiatives and policies to be properly implemented at the national level depend on the willingness and capacities of member-state authorities to ensure that they are transposed and enforced effectively, fully and on time' (Trondal 2002: 346). Turkey has shown this willingness very clearly and used the Bologna Process for legitimatizing the process. Mızıkacı argues in her report that 'Turkish higher education has a commitment to building capacity at both governmental and institutional levels to achieve the goals of the Bologna Process' (2006: 99). The lesson-drawing process is not a rational one, because 'it is rare that actors are perfectly rational. Most act with limited information, or within the confines of "bounded rationality." At the same time, actors are influenced by their perceptions of a decision-making situation rather than the "real" situation' (Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000: 14). The changes taking place in Turkey have showed that while at the political level the relations between Turkey and the EU is problematic, at the societal level Europeanization exists. Turkey is integrating into the European educational space. The agents of change are in close contact with the European space.

6.2.2 (Re)Defining the European Educational Space

It is important to take into consideration how the agents of change view and interpret the changes. These agents of change were identified in the previous chapter. How do they interpret the rationale and source behind these changes? How do they justify the changes? Lawn and Languard, based on their analysis of how policy actors from different states treat transnational influences on education, argue the responses change from one country to another; 'there was an interesting variation in response across Europe on globalization/Europeanization influences' (2002: 301). The agents of change are 'the main carriers of discourses of globalization, appearing to act as interpreters or translators, excluding

or reframing aspects of internationalization to fit the ('imagined') situation they felt the site (country or city) was in' (*ibid*. 304).

Westerheijden *et. al.* mention two different trends in terms of the Bologna Process. Either Bologna countries were already in a reform process and thus saw Bologna process as complementary to their reform process (as examples Ireland and Netherlands are given) or they became involved as part of their quest to join the Union (such as Serbia and Georgia). They argue that Turkey, like Estonia, carry elements of the two trends: 'reforms were also taking place in Turkey and the Bologna Process was seen as having the potential to strengthen them, for it would allow Turkish higher education to modernize and internationalize, as well as contributing to an increase in the reputation of Turkish universities' (2010: 84-5). Thus, Turkey's motivation behind integration into the European Education Space can be interpreted in two different manners (Yağcı, 2010: 589). First, it can be evaluated as part of the accession process to the EU, while discourse-wise the process was kept separately from the integration to EU. Secondly, it can be seen part of a general national initiative of reform and as an attempt of internationalization / a response to globalisation. Westerheijden *et. al.* in their report identify the reasons behind Turkey's decision to be part of the educational space in the as following:

> The existing need for reform in the higher education system and the trust in the suggested reforms of the Bologna Process to improve the higher education system has been motivating for the participation in the process. Furthermore, being a signatory of the Bologna Process is considered important in improving the international reputation of Turkish universities, and making them more competitive at the international market (Westerheijden *et. al.,* 2010: 94).

The Turkish higher education needed to adapt to changing circumstances. As experts indicated the process of internationalization has started in the 1990s, yet the Bologna Process provided the real impetus.

Discourses serve two interactive functions: coordinative – establishing a common framework of concepts – and communicative – justifying the changes to the society at large (Schmidt, 2001). Westerheijden *et. al.* (2010: 102) identify three different discourses the national actors use to justify the Bologna reforms: Europeanization, internationalization or national discourses. In other words, it is about how the national actors conceptualize the

Bologna process. In terms of Europeanization, the process is justified within the framework of the creation of a European higher educational space and integration of the European countries. Bologna is also linked to internationalization and global competitiveness. Finally, Bologna is presented as a solution to specific national problems. Sometimes this creates an unjustified backlash against the process, as the criticism that is directed against the reforms might have nothing to do with the action lines of the Bologna process.

As shown above, during the reform process in Turkey there have been clear references to the Bologna Process and the process was defined as internationalization:

> 'globalization' is a complex phenomenon in education and system actors are themselves differentiated in their response; they may use 'outside' networks and data to justify change locally; they may use new sources of external data to develop critical arguments about the new global; or they may be re-affirmed in the values of the local compared to other places (2002: 303).

In the case of Turkey, Bologna Process was used to justify the reforms that needed to be done in the face of changing circumstances. Litjens identifies a similar trend in Dutch Higher Education and the process is seen as 'the most effective way to respond to the challenges of globalisation and they may have as little as no commitment to the Europeanization of their higher education systems (2005: 216).

Focusing on the discourses of experts, the research showed that the Bologna Process is not considered to be an 'EU related process'. A conscious decision was made not to use the concept of 'Europeanization' or the 'EU' during the launch of these reforms. This was preferred to prevent any kind of backlash against the process. The fear was due to growing scepticism towards the EU in the public, it was believed that linking the Bologna Process with the EU accession process might have slowed down the process. All of the experts believed that the process brings forward a positive impact:

> Turkey's willingness to give up some national sovereignty in exchange for long-term benefits is reflected in its priorities in higher education. At the university level, decision-makers stand to take advantage of European integration in different ways. First, the concept of Europeanization is a familiar one with regard to Turkey's modern history; it does not require great adaptation. Secondly and in market terms, being a part of the EU and/or EU programs brings about undeniable opportunities for growth and competition (Mızıkacı 2005: 77).

The interviewees mostly were not able to define what Europeanization is. The definitions they provided were very diverse. In many cases, Europe and EU was used synonymously (see also Kaya and Tecmen 2011a: 30). Interestingly, the actors are part of the space, but are not aware of their role in it.

Another trend in Turkey is the reference to Americanization (Kaya and Tecmen 2011b: 19). The experts have pointed out in many occasions that Turkey underwent the structural changes more easily because it already had adapted the American model in the higher education. This actually coincides with the fit/misfit account of the goodness of fit model. There was partial fit between the aims of the Bologna process and Turkey's higher education policy. Kaya and Tecmen argue that:

> …while Europeanization was surely an important issue with regards to the reformation of Turkish higher education, non-state actors who were directly involved in this Process also indicated that this Process can also be equated with Americanization, since its point of reference is the Anglo-American model (*ibid.* 19)

They conclude that: 'modern education is often understood and discussed in reference to the USA. In light of this information, due to the lack of references and information on the Bologna Process, private individuals are in favour of Americanizing the education system rather than Europeanizing it' (*ibid.* 20).

In conclusion, while for Europe, the Bologna Process has been *a European response* to internationalization, for Turkey it has been a process of internationalization. Europeanization can be seen here as both as 'bastion against globalization' and 'manifestation of globalization' (Bulmer and Radaelli, 2004). Europeanization should be analysed by taking into consideration the broader social context, which is globalization in this case (Checkel, 2005). The Bologna Process has been an instrument for Turkey to integrate into world system in the area of higher education. Going back to the conceptual framework in the case of Turkey, the discourses serve two functions: ideational and interactive dimension. In terms of ideational dimension, the discourse in Turkey underlined that Bologna process was done in the name of the much-needed domestic reforms. It was used as a way to justify the changes undertaken. Within the framework of the ideational dimension, two arguments were put forward. In terms of cognitive function, the focus was on internationalization rather than

Europeanization, which emphasized the necessity of the changes. Yet the discourse was never anti-European or EU. The normative function was served by the argument that these changes already fit the Turkish higher education, due to the fact that it was closer to the American model. Overall, these changes were made because they served the interests of the actors, as Schmidt argues 'However good the discourse, after all, interest also necessarily plays a role' (2001: 261). The expectation is that in the long run this interaction will create socialization.

6.2.3 Impact of the European Educational Space

Two surveys have been conducted in 2007 and 2009 by the European Commission – 'Survey among teaching professionals in higher education institutions, in the 27 Member States, and Croatia, Iceland, Norway and Turkey' (2007) and 'Survey among students in higher education institutions, in the EU Member States, Croatia, Iceland, Norway and Turkey' (2009). In Turkey, 87 per cent of the professionals agree that 'There is a need for European quality standards for higher education'. 88 per cent agree that 'There is a need for European quality labels for certifying the quality of institutions and programs'. 74 per cent agree that 'ECTS should be used in all programs of study'. 86 per cent agree that 'The introduction of the three cycle system (Bachelor-Master-Doctor) will improve (or has improved) the quality of education'. 86 per cent agree that 'More opportunities should be created for double and joint degrees, at Bachelor and Master level'. 69 per cent agree that 'Mobility should be an obligatory part in the curriculum for all students' (2007). In terms of students, 82 per cent agree that 'All study programs should include a short study period in another country as an integrated part of studies'. 69 per cent agree that 'Independent reports on the quality of universities and programs would help students to decide where to study'. 78 per cent agree that 'Performance rankings of universities and programs would help students to choose where to study'. 80 per cent agree that 'Students should be involved in quality reports and rankings' (2009).

These figures, as well as the interviews, show us that there is support in Turkey for the Bologna reforms. 'There is agreement on the need for improving the higher education system. The requirements of the Bologna Process, especially the ones addressing problematic

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issues of the national agenda, are providing feasible solutions to these issues' (Westerheijden *et. al.,* 2010: 101). But this support similar to the one on Turkey's membership to the EU can be identified as a 'shallow consensus' (Avcı, 2003). The changes in higher education in Turkey have occurred so rapidly that currently there is no indication of real 'paradigmatic change' (see EUA-IEP Report, 2008). This is the main challenge facing Turkey in terms of the policy diffusion process. The Turkish Higher Education Strategy (CoHE, 2007a: 31) criticizes the Bologna Process for being top-down, not being able to involve the higher education institutions.

Till now the CoHE has driven the process. Because the CoHE controls the process, one can argue without its lead there would not be such change. Thus the conclusion is that change is still driven mainly by a domestic actor, and only partly by the transnational pressures. Universities are part of this transnational network, but the pressure for change in terms of structural reforms is still expected from the CoHE. Similarly Yağcı argues that:

> On the one hand, the central bodies' commitment to the Bologna Process goals and their super vision of the higher education system ensure a country-wide development of the same structures, which is an advantage for providing concrete results in a very short time. On the other, it can reduce the speed of acceptance among students, academics and other university staff (2010: 598).

The centralised nature of the system made the policy transfer much easier (also see Westerheijden *et. al.,* 2010: 101). Yet, this also made the policy transfer from the educational space a top-down reform process. Yağcı comes to a similar conclusion. The universities:

> …are asked to respond to the structural changes as soon as possible. For this, they were offered presentations and workshops, as well as new regulations and offices to ask their questions and get help during this process. In such a setting, it is difficult to consider universities as actors in the governance of the reforms that can influence the substance of the reforms. Rather, they are passive implementers (Yağcı, 2010: 596).

In Turkey, the top-down nature of the policy process 'with little opportunity for feedback from the grassroots level may have hindered the process of understanding and accepting the reforms and hence achievement of the goals of the reforms' (Westerheijden *et. al.,* 2010: 103). This creates a problem of legitimacy; also is against one of the mechanisms of learning identified by Radaelli (2008) in soft policy areas – participation. One initiative to

involve as many actors as possible was taken during the negotiations on NQF. The process was designed so that there would be participation from different actors of the society. Chakroun analyses the process in pre-accession countries – Albania, Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzegovina. He also sees the NQF as an opportunity:

> The development of national qualification frameworks can be considered as an opportunity for policy learning. For instance, it is supposed to widen the range of stakeholders involved in VET reforms and so brings together stakeholders who often do not meet. They work together and agree on something they have never done before: they learn how to develop an NQF and then develop it and they also learn new concepts, methods and tools and relate them to national contexts. In doing this, they can call on all available national and international experience (2010: 206).

The universities in Turkey and also the Balkans did not take these opportunities. The interviews indicated lack of interest from the universities.

In the Turkish universities that are successful in implementing the action lines, the reform process is mainly driven by committed individual administrators, such as the case of Sakarya University, where the rector is personally committed and is actively involved in the Bologna process (see Yağcı 2010: 596; Westerheijden *et. al.,* 2010: 102). Kaya and Tecmen reach a similar conclusion in their study:

> The Bologna Process on the other hand seems to be far from institutionalization as it is still being undertaken by volunteering individuals who have internalized it. Bologna offices of each university are often run by those individuals who are very supportive of the process. However, their hard-work is not accompanied by the institutionalization of the process (2011b: 28).

The new universities that do not have a deep-rooted system underway seem to be more excited about the Bologna Process. Yet they do not possess the necessary funds and resources to do the necessary reforms.

The interest of the students and the academic staff in Turkey is very limited. For the academic staff, the process brings workload, but no direct benefits (see Westerheijden *et. al.,* 2010: 101). The process is also seen as an intervention into their classroom. The concept of networking has just become part of their vocabulary. 'For many academics, networking has not been as necessary as it would be in business. They are still trapped within institutions, organized through bureaucratic order, which were formed in other times' (Lawn 2001: 179).

Through such means like mobility programs, joint publications, international conferences, double degree and joint degree programs, the academicians have slowly began to form transnational networks.

The conclusion is that currently that there is no internalization and institutionalization in Turkey in terms of the European educational policy. Yağcı in a similar manner states that 'The current situation in Turkey is that structural elements are implemented whereas there is a relatively slow internalization of the substance of the reforms (2010: 598; also see Westerheijden *et. al.,* 2010: 101). The universities are part of the process, but they have not owned it or have taken initiative. They mainly wait for directions from the CoHE. One sees similar problems in other members of the Bologna Process. One example is Romania:

> The authorities are faced with a dilemma: it seems that the reforms will not be implemented unless they are imposed from above, yet they cannot ultimately work as intended without the active participation of and 'partnership' between all parties which is at odds with both top-down imposition and entrenched relations of power (Wodak and Fairclough, 2010: 36).

The Trend Report (EUA, 2010: 91) also points out the same setback exists Europe wide. They warn that these reforms have to be 'owned' by the institutions and 'communicated' to the society. In Romania, students are not involved at all in the process and '…many staff knew nothing about the reforms until they began to be imposed from the top, and the discourse of governance which represents all relevant groups as 'partners' seems to be alien and totally at odds with the extremely hierarchical nature of social relations in universities' (Wodak and Fairclough, 2010: 16). Yağcı also points out that 'the rapid introduction of macro level structural elements and a broad variety of applications at the institutional/departmental levels are common patterns in many Bologna countries' (2010: 593).

The process should be explained in detail to the actors concerned. The informational meetings are very crucial in this sense. One challenge is to make sure the process is not taken in on the surface, the 'discourse' only superficially applied as another layer to the existing structure, without any real change taking place:

> All Bologna Process partners should be aware of the risk of slipping into a

technical and technocratic discourse at the policy level, among a relatively limited number of actors, with the attendant possibility that its vocabulary could become opaque to many academics. This would be regretful because the overriding objectives of shifting to student-centred learning and restructuring meaningfully curricula require time and resources as well as an adequate understanding, by academic staff and students, of the Bologna tools, their context and linkages (EUA, 2010: 27).

This risk exists not only for Turkey, but also for the other members of the Bologna Process.

6.2.4 Critical Voices

In Turkey, the Bologna process has not gathered much attention in the media or in the public. This can account for the lack of major anti-Bologna demonstrations compared to Europe (Yağcı, 2010: 596). Protests are more frequent in countries where there were radical reforms due to the Bologna process, such as Croatia, Germany, Italy, Serbia and Spain. In another countries such as Germany and Austria, the national reform process (such as introduction of tuition fees) coincided with the Bologna process (Westerheijden *et. al.,* 2010: 101). In 2008, in Spain students protesting the Bologna process occupied school buildings and blocked railways (EUobserver, 15.12.2008). There were also protests in Finland, Italy and Croatia.

The students in Europe protest the Bologna Process on the ground that it aims 'to commercialize public universities and impose an Anglo-Saxon style tertiary education system on other countries' (*ibid*.). They also argue that the intergovernmental nature of the process actually excludes them. The Anglo-Saxon system works to the disadvantage of the students, as they used to acquire two degrees (undergraduate and MA level) with one. This increases the cost of education for the students. Furthermore, the global economic crises in Europe have led to the budget cuts (*ibid*., EUobserver, 09.03.2010). This is seen by some as an 'opportunity to increase private funding'. Protesters reiterate that education should stay a public responsibility. The Budapest-Vienna declaration acknowledged these protests. The Ministers stated that:

> Recent protests in some countries, partly directed against developments and measures not related to the Bologna Process, have reminded us that some of the Bologna aims and reforms have not been properly

implemented and explained. We acknowledge and will listen to the critical voices raised among staff and students (2010).

In Turkey, a backlash against the Bologna Process has also been recently formed. One example where one encounters critical voices is the 'Anti-Bologna Blog', which deems the process as a 'neo-liberal invasion of the universities'. The criticisms in regard to the Bologna process centre around two main issues: commercialization and standardization (see Kaya and Tecmen, 2011b). One criticism surrounds the fact that the discourse of the Process is mostly based on economic priorities and competitiveness, thus embedded in the neo-liberal ideology. There are concerns here about whether higher education is a public or private service. In Turkey, as in Europe, higher education tends to be viewed as a public service (see Turan, 2010). The argument is that this process brings forward a new understanding of education, which is based on capital. The pedagogical dimension of higher education is not discussed at all. The process does not bring quality, but limit it. These fears are not actually connected with Europeanization per se, but can be 'identified as by-products of globalization and increased economic competition and interdependence on the global scale' and the insecurities these processes are creating (Kaya and Tecmen, 2011b: 19).

A recent report published by *Egitim Sen* (Education and Science Worker's Union) gives a critical view of the Process and argues that the process has been accepted without any discussion and is built around the ideology of neo-liberalism (Gümüş and Kurul, 2011: 5). The main point of the report is:

> One needs to oppose the Bologna Process, along with knowledge becoming commoditized, the hegemonic and one-sided nature of student and academic exchanges flowing from the periphery to the centre and creation of a single European Higher Education market, recognition of diplomas serving the commoditized order, construction of joint programs on the basis of the needs of capital (*ibid*. 7).

The report sees Turkey's integration into the European educational space as 'universities surrendering to the market' (*ibid*. 137). The argument is that the process does not serve the students, but sees them as customers (*ibid*. 150). Specifically, the LLP of the process is criticized. The report argues that this policy does not provide a long-term solution to the unemployment problem (*ibid*. 141). The unemployment problem is a structural problem that should not be put to the responsibility of the individuals. Thus the policy is a superficial one.

The higher education strategy of 2007 is also criticized for adapting and thus legitimizing the discourse of the Bologna Process (*ibid*. 60).

To conclude the chapter, one should also underline that most of the times the domestic actors, not only in Europe, but also in Turkey, choose to use the Bologna process as a front to do the national reforms, as is the case with all of the EU policies. 'In general the Bologna critique is linked more to national interpretations of the process goals, and the overall goals themselves are rarely criticized' (Westerheijden *et. al.,* 2010: 101). The fact that the educational policy is a soft policy area, gives the domestic actors more of an opportunity to do so. John MacDonald, the European Commission's education, training and culture spokesman, argued that:

> …some governments have chosen to use the impetus of the Bologna Process to institute other changes over funding and governance at the same time… It is more these aspects they are protesting over. Despite all you hear about the demonstrations and so on being anti-Bologna, the irony is that aspects that they are opposed to have nothing to do with the process (quoted in EUobserver, 15.12.2008).

Similarly, the Trends 2010 Report talks about Bologna as a 'Dislodging event' (EUA, 2010: 25) and state that 'sometimes the Bologna Process is seized upon at national level as an opportunity to bring about changes that are not necessarily agreed at European level (or are not part of the European agenda) but which are seen as important locally' (*ibid*.). Heinze and Knill argue that this is 'a 'window of opportunity' giving national governments an instrument at hand to circumvent dead-locks and to facilitate national reforms' (2008: 505; also see Keeling, 2006: 213). As an example after 2005, Austria can be given: 'through linking the 'reform' of the university structure fallaciously with the Bologna Process, the government has been able to legitimize all its drastic changes in terms of European demands', even though these reforms had nothing to do with the action lines of the Bologna Process (Wodak and Fairclough, 2010: 14). Focusing on Italy, Germany, Ireland, Portugal and Norway, Veiga and Amaral argue 'there are different national contexts and different national objectives or perspectives to implement the Bologna process and national governments are using Bologna as a lever for the implementation of national agendas' (2006: 288).

A similar situation exists in Turkey. The danger is that the Bologna process 'reproduces' the current top-down centralised system (see Yağcı, 2010: 598), rather than

creating a reformed higher education system; and creates another layer of bureaucracy over the one that exists (Kaya and Tecmen, 2011b: 12). The expectation was that in soft policy areas, the process would be more prone to bottom-up participation. Finally, one also needs to question whether the Bologna Process is a 'symbolic window dressing' as 'governmental policies are sometimes geared towards action and sometimes meant solely for talk and symbolic signaling' (Trondal, 2002: 339). Do these reforms really deal with the structural problems of higher education institutions or do they actually obscure these problems?

7   CONCLUSIONS

The main concern of this study was to explain how policy diffusion occurs in policy areas where there is no direct pressure. The dissertation focused on European educational policy and traced the evolution of the policy, specifically focusing on the Bologna Process that was launched in 1999. The aim of this dissertation was to show how the European education space is constructed and to identify the norms of the space. After focusing on the source of the diffusion process, which is the European educational space, the dissertation focused on Turkey as a case study, analysing how the norms of the educational space diffused to Turkey. Thus, the study aimed to answer the following questions: How is the European educational space constructed? How and why the norms of the space diffuse to the national level?

In terms of the theoretical framework, the study based itself on social constructivism. The conceptual framework was drawn with the literature on Europeanization. The Europeanization process in the educational policy was argued to be a horizontal process, where pressure for change is less direct. Therefore, after reviewing the 'goodness of fit' models, this dissertation adapted an alternative model, the policy transfer model proposed by Dolowitz and Marsh (1996; 2000). The model provided a framework for the analysis of the diffusion of the European educational norms to the national level. The study focused on four different dimensions – the source of the diffusion process, reasons behind the diffusion process, agents that are responsible from the process and the discourses they employ to justify the process.

The source of policy diffusion was identified as the European educational space. The first part of the research was a descriptive analysis of European educational policy. The policy was analysed in five phases. The educational space was built around the policy narrative of 'European dimension'. Primary documents were used to trace the evolution of the policy. The research showed that educational policy at first was regional in focus. The initiatives in the area of education were taken to complement the economic integration project of the Union. The economic overtone of the policy later gained a cultural one in the 1980s. Educational policy came to be seen as crucial in the process of construction of European citizenship and identity. Starting from 2000 onwards, European educational policy acquired an international

dimension. The Lisbon Strategy and the Bologna Process changed the discourses of the educational policy to an economic one, linking education with the goal of knowledge-based economy. The educational policy today is both a manifestation and a response to globalisation (Bulmer and Radaelli, 2004). Education is not only crucial for EU's regional integration, but also for its international presence. The educational policy has an external dimension.

The dissertation focused on Turkey as a case study to analyse how the norms constructed in the European level diffused to the national level. Turkey has institutional links with the European educational space through four instruments: the Jean Monnet program, the Erasmus program, the Bologna Process and the Lisbon Convention. The research analysed the structural changes taking place in Turkish higher education as a result of these links. The focus was on the process of diffusion, rather than the outcome.

The structural changes in Turkey was traced by using primary documents and through the semi-structured interviews conducted with the experts and the university officials working in international offices. Participant-observation was also used another method of data collection. Participating in the informational meetings on the Bologna Process and Erasmus program, as well as site visits to the universities, gave an opportunity to observe first hand the changes taking place in Turkish higher education.

The research also focused on how the agents of change define, perceive and present these changes. This was crucial, because in horizontal Europeanization the focus should be more on the national level and on how the national actors construct and shape the process. The agents of change in Turkey are the CoHE, the National Agency, the Bologna Experts and the university officials working in international offices. Discourses of the agents of change were analysed.

Following Schmidt and Radaelli's analysis (2004), discourse serve two functions – ideational (cognitive – normative) and interactive (coordinative – communicative). The discourse of the diffusion process in Turkey was discussed through these two functions. First of all, the discourse of the agents serves interactive functions. The integration into the space provides a common language to the agents in the process of change in Turkish higher education. This common language is used to persuade the society. In terms of ideational

cognitive dimension, the discourse on the changes in Turkey is constructed as necessity. The diffusion process is justified in terms of need for change. The European educational space provides the instruments of change for the Turkish higher education. Within the framework of the ideational normative dimension, the diffusion process is discursively constructed as appropriate. This appropriateness is not linked with Turkey's relations with the EU. Rather the process is deemed to be an internationalization process, both a response and manifestation of globalization. The argument is that Turkey's integration into the space is appropriate because the Turkish higher education is close to the American model, which the Bologna process employs.

In terms of the policy transfer model, changes happening in Turkey are identified as voluntary, lesson drawing and mimetic. Diffusion process is mainly identified as instrumental. The main reason behind Turkey's integration into the space is the search for alternative policies, as Turkish higher education needs reform. The diffusion process arises out of necessity. The European educational space is used as a model to legitimatize the changes that are crucial to deal with the uncertainties the globalisation process brings forward. Lastly, there is also a fear of being left behind on the part of Turkey in the process of formation of European educational space.

The dissertation concludes that Turkish Higher Education is Europeanizing to a limited extent within the context of the European educational policy. While Turkey has become part of the European educational space, the norms of the space have still been not internalized. The changes taking place in Turkey is identified as internationalization, rather than Europeanization. This is in line with Europe, which also went through a discursive change with the Lisbon Strategy. As argued, the Bologna Process has become a European response to internationalization. Similar to the other members of the space, the reforms in Turkey are treated mostly as technical issues. While the educational policy is characterised as a soft policy area, which is argued to be more open to bottom-up participation, the process is still a top-down process both in Turkey and other members of the space. Horizontal Europeanization in the theoretical sense does not take place. On the societal level participation cannot be fulfilled.

Furthermore, the Turkish higher education still faces a number of structural problems

that are not acknowledged within the framework of the Bologna Process. The report on the Strategy for Turkish Higher Education 2025 identifies the challenges as following: disparity between demand and supply in higher education, improvement of quality and insufficient financial means (CoHE 2007b). An important problem facing the higher education system is the increasing demand, as Turkey has a very young population in contrast to Europe (see Akar, 2010; Turan, 2010). While the number of universities has risen very rapidly during the past few years, there are huge disparities in terms of quality between these institutions (Turan, 2010: 157-8). Therefore, the increase in the number of universities, on top of not solving the demand problem, also widens the inequalities that are currently in existence in the higher education system. The TUSIAD report identifies the problem in the higher education system as both a quantity and quality issue (2003). Equality of access to universities that offer quality education is a challenge. This actually has to do with the state of the primary and secondary schools and the inequality in access to higher education from the lower levels (Akar, 2010: 450; see ERG 2007 for the problems Turkey is facing in education). Furthermore, the number of faculty members is low and does not meet the demand of the newly established universities. These problems overall are connected with inadequate financial support to higher education.

The Bologna process has started a process of internationalization in Turkish higher education. Yet there are still a lot of impediments in front of it (see Akar, 2010). The success of the process depends on the inclusion of the actors involved. The top-down nature of the process has not allowed this to happen yet. The involvement of the relevant stakeholders in the university governance has always been a problem that Turkish higher education faced (Turan, 2010: 156). Due to the nature of the governance of the Bologna process, participation of the relevant actors is emphasized, yet still has not been fulfilled in the case of Turkey. Specifically, the participation of the faculty members and students into the Bologna process is crucial here, as they are the ones that are directly impacted from the process. This can only be achieved by decentralization. In the initial years of the process, the involvement of the CoHE was a positive contribution that quickened the process. From now on, the CoHE should play more of a coordinating role, so that the process can be internalized by all of the actors. As Turan argues that 'more flexible and responsive university system' is needed (2010: 156; for an evaluation of the current system see TUSIAD 2003).

In terms of further research, it is important to ask the question of to what extent the discourse of the European educational space has actually been internalized by the 'elites' and 'officials' at the national level. While some argue that such a space exists, there has been no study on the actuality of this space. Are these agents aware of this space? How do they define this space? Do they talk the same 'planetspeak'? If they do, do they attach common definitions to the concepts they use? In general terms, do they constitute a community? Are they really the 'agents of European consciousness'? Through these questions, the parameter of the space can be set out and the impact can be measured.

For the universities, the Bologna Process has provided a doorway to the outside world. Yet the danger is that these reforms might stay on the surface. This reform process in the short run might obscure the real problems facing the Turkish higher education system. The system has deeper structural problems that the Bologna Process does not touch upon. On the societal level, while there seems to be no major backlash against the Bologna Process, critical voices are rising. Future studies on the topic will put these into more perspective. The Bologna process is a *process*, not an *end point*. The discourses it is built upon can and should be challenged.

As Turan argues 'Change is always painful. The university system does not appear capable of initiating change itself, nor does it have sufficient built-in flexibilities to allow it to accommodate pressure for change' (2010: 162). Turkey's integration into the European educational space has provided the impetus for the much-needed change. The question is whether this reform phase will continue.

APPENDIX 1

Instruments of the Bologna Process in Turkey

Diploma Supplement and ECTS became mandatory implementations at all higher education institutions from the end of 2005-2006 academic year onwards with the Decision of CoHE dated March 11 2005.

"Regulation on Student Councils of Higher Education Institutions and the National Student Council of Higher Education Institutions in Turkey", was enacted by CoHE after its publishing in the Official Journal no. 25942 of September 20 2005.

"Regulation on Academic Assessment and Quality Improvement at Institutions of Higher Education" was adopted by CoHE after its publishing in the Official Journal No. 25942 of September 20 2005.

The Convention was approved by the Law No. 5463 of February 23, 2006, and ratified by the Cabinet Decision No. 2006/11158. The five basic principles related to the assessment of qualifications of the Lisbon Recognition Convention were adopted by the Decision of Council of Higher Education (CoHE) dated April 13, 2006. The Convention entered into force in Turkey on March 1 2007.

"Regulation on the Consultation and Coordination of Physically Handicapped Students at Higher Education Institutions" was enacted by CoHE and published in the Official Journal No. 26024 of June 20, 2006.

The Law No. 5544 of September 21, 2006 on the establishment of the Authority for Vocational Competencies was enacted.

"Regulation on Amending the Regulation on Promotion and Appointment to Assistant Professorship, Associate Professorship and Professorship" was adopted by CoHE following its publication in the Official Journal No. 26173 of May 20 2006.

A draft "Regulation on the Harmonisation of the Minimal Training Requirements for the Seven Regulated Professions stipulated by the EU Directive 2005/36/EC" was adopted by the Decision of CoHE dated December 1, 2006. The Regulation was forwarded to the Prime Ministry to be published in the Official Journal.

The "Regulation on Establishment of Joint and Dual Degree Programmes with Foreign Higher Education Institutions" was adopted by CoHE following its publication in the Official Journal No.26390 of December 28, 2006.

In line with the Lisbon Convention, the Regulation on Recognition of Foreign Higher Education Qualification was reviewed by the integration of the five basic principles related to the assessment of the qualifications of the Lisbon Recognition Convention, adopted by the Decision of CoHE on April 13 2006 and came into force on May 11 2007 upon its publication in the Official Gazette No. 26519.

APPENDIX 2

The Names and Short History of the Universities Interviewed

Amasya University, Amasya – From 1982 to 2006 Amasya Eğitim Yüksekokulu was part of Ondokuz Mayıs University, which became Faculty of Education in 1992. The University of Amasya, was established in 2006 based on the various vocational schools and the faculty of education established under the Ondokuz Mayıs University. The university is recently establishing the instutional structure for the exhange programmes.

http://www.amasya.edu.tr/

Hacettepe University, Ankara – was established in Hacettepe University was established in 1967. Its root go back to 1954 when the Chair of Child Health, deemed to be the origin of Hacettepe Faculty of Medicine, was founded as part of Ankara University, Faculty of Medicine. The European Union Office was established in 2004.

http://www.hacettepe.edu.tr/

Batman University, Batman – was established in 2007. The university history goes back to Batman Vocational School established in 1975. Between 1982-2007, the vocational school started to function underneath Dicle University. The university is establishing the instutional structure very recently.

http://www.batman.edu.tr/

Bilecik University, Bilecik – was established in 2007. It was established on the basis of Faculties and Vocational schools formerly functioning under Anadolu and Dumlupınar Universities. The university will send it first students in 2009-10 academic year, they are establishing the institutional structure for the exchange.

http://www.bilecik.edu.tr/

Uludağ University, Bursa – was established in 1975. The basis of the university is the Bursa faculty of Medicine (1970) affialiated to Istanbul University. The university is involved in the LLP programme since 2004.

http://www.uludag.edu.tr/

Dicle University, Diyarbakır – established in 1974. The basis of the university is the Diyarbakır Faculty of Medicine (1966) affiilated to Ankara University. The university is involved in the LLP programme since 2005.

http://www.dicle.edu.tr/

Anadolu University, Eskişehir - First founded as Eskişehir Academy of Economy and Commercial Sciences in 1958, Anadolu University was established in 1982. The university is

involved in the LLP programme since 2004. Eskişehir Anadolu University has been providing open higher education services since 1982.

> http://www.anadolu.edu.tr/

Atatürk University, Erzurum – was established in 1957. The university is involved in the LLP programme since 2004. The first student was sent in 2006-7 Academic Year.

> http://beta.atauni.edu.tr/

Gaziantep University, Gaziantep –The University of Gaziantep was founded as a state university in 1987. The Department of Mechanical Engineering (1973) and the Gaziantep Engineering Faculty (1974) functioning under METU formed the basis of the University of Gaziantep. The university is involved in the LLP programme since 2003 as part of the pilot project.

> http://www.gantep.edu.tr/

Sülayman Demirel University, İsparta – established in 1992. Isparta Faculty of Engineering between the years 1982-1992 was functioning under Akdeniz University. The university is involved in the LLP programme since 2004.

> http://w3.sdu.edu.tr/

İstanbul Technical University, İstanbul – established in 1773 during the reign of Ottoman Sultan Mustafa III, the Rolay School of Naval Enginnering. The school gained the university status in 1944.

> http://www.itu.edu.tr/

Ege University, Izmir – established in 1955. The university is involved in the LLP programme since 2003 as part of the pilot project.

> http://www.ege.edu.tr/

Kahramanmaraş Sütçü İmam University, Kahramanmaraş. The university is involved in the LLP programme since 2004.

> http://www.ksu.edu.tr/

Dumlupınar University, Kütahya – established in 1992. It was founded as the Kütahya vocational school of administrative sciences in 1974. Between 1982-92 it functioned under Anadolu University. The university is involved in the LLP programme since 2005?.

> http://www.dpu.edu.tr/

Muğla University, Muğla – established in 1992. Based on vocational schools established in 1975 which started to function under Dokuz Eylül University in 1982. The university is involved in the LLP programme since 2003 as part of the pilot project.

http://www.mu.edu.tr/

Ordu University, Ordu – was established in 2006. Various departments and faculties of the Ordu University previously functioned under Ondokuz Mayıs University and Karadeniz Tecnical University. The university is involved in the LLP programme since 2008. They have not started exchange yet.

http://www.odu.edu.tr/

Sakarya University, Sakarya – was established in 1992. 1970 Sakarya Engineering and Architecture Vocational School. Between 1982-92 this school functioned as one of the faculties of Istanbul Techical University. The university is involved in the LLP programme since 2004.

http://www.sakarya.edu.tr/

Cumhuriyet University, Sivas – was established in 1974. The university is involved in the LLP programme since 2004.

http://www.cumhuriyet.edu.tr/

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