

**ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY ★ INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**SOCIAL AGENTS, NATIONAL STATES AND INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS:  
RESTRUCTURING OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN TURKEY**

**M.A. Thesis by  
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**Department of Humanities and Social Sciences  
Political Studies Programme**

**JUNE, 2013**





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**JUNE, 2013**



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*To my mum and dad,*



## **FOREWORD**

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June, 2013

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## ABBREVIATIONS

<b>ADEK</b>	: Academic Evaluation and Quality Development Boards
<b>BCC (BEK)</b>	: Bologna Coordination Committee
<b>BFUG</b>	: Bologna Follow-Up Group
<b>CoHE</b>	: The Council of Higher Education
<b>DS</b>	: Diploma Supplement
<b>EC</b>	: European Commission
<b>ECTS</b>	: European Credit Transfer System
<b>EHEA</b>	: European Higher Education Area
<b>ENQA</b>	: The European Network for Quality Assurance
<b>ESU</b>	: The European Students' Union
<b>EU</b>	: The European Union
<b>EUA</b>	: The European University Association
<b>EURASHE</b>	: The European Association of Institutions in Higher Education
<b>HEI</b>	: Higher Education Institution
<b>HES</b>	: Higher Education System
<b>LLLP</b>	: Lifelong Learning Programmes
<b>MÜSİAD</b>	: Individual Industrialists and Businessmen Association
<b>NGO</b>	: Non-governmental organisation
<b>NQF</b>	: National Qualifications Framework
<b>QF</b>	: Qualifications Framework
<b>QA</b>	: Quality Assurance
<b>SPO</b>	: State Planning Organisation
<b>TOBB</b>	: The Union of Chambers and Stock Markets of Turkey
<b>TÜSİAD</b>	: Turkish Industry and Business Association
<b>UNESCO/CEPES</b>	: the European Centre for Higher Education/Européen pour l'Enseignement Supérieur
<b>WTO</b>	: World Trade Organisation
<b>YÖDEK</b>	: Commission for Academic Assessment and Quality Improvement in Higher Education Institutions



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**SOCIAL AGENTS, NATIONAL STATES AND INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS:  
RESTRUCTURING OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN TURKEY  
AND THE BOLOGNA PROCESS**

**SUMMARY**

The ongoing processes of political, economic and social globalisation have yielded a shift from government to governance, leading to increasingly transnationalised networks among public and private actors. Closely related to this emergent form of governing, the nature and functioning of the nation state have undergone a transformation in its conventional rhetoric of rule-making, requiring a deeper analysis of the fundamental administrative and economic issues such as regulation, financing, or coordination in policy-making and steering processes in a wide range of policy fields, including education. In the light of its theoretical background upon the concept of transnational governance, this study argues that the efforts to build a European Higher Education Area through the Bologna Process could pose remarkable implications for a closer study into the institutional dynamics of governance, and thus a more thorough understanding into the roles of the key actors involved.

More specifically, the paper aims to address the architecture of governance including different social agents, the national state and international institutions in the restructuring process of higher education in Turkey, by drawing particular attention to the changing social and economic dynamics and new challenges of multi-layered governance sites in Turkish higher education institutions as far as the implementations at the “Bologna” level are concerned. In this context, the study attempts to analyse the emergent relationship between and among the *domestic social agents* acting within the internationalised economic contexts, i.e. business, labour, and the academic community, the *Council of Higher Education of Turkey* (CoHE), the major central governmental body dealing with higher education in Turkey, and the international institutions involved in the Bologna Process, of which Turkey has been a partner since 2001.



## SOSYAL ÖZNELER, ULUSAL DEVLETLER VE ULUSLARARASI KURUMLAR: TÜRKİYE’DE YÜKSEK ÖĞRETİMİN YENİDEN YAPILANDIRILMASI VE BOLOGNA SÜRECİ

### ÖZET

Küreselleşme sürecinin politik, ekonomik ve sosyal alanlarda süregelen dinamikleri ‘yönetim’ kavramının mekanizmalarını değiştirerek ‘yönetişim’ odaklı bir işleyiş biçimine dönüştürmüştür. Bu dönüşüm ise doğası gereği devlet ve özel sektör arasında gittikçe artan bir hızda uluslararasılaşan ağların oluşumuna yol açmıştır. Dolayısıyla, uluslararası yönetişimin dinamikleri aracılığıyla regülasyon, finansman ya da politika oluşturma, kural koyma ve yönetme gibi devlet yapılanmasının barındırdığı temel idari ve ekonomik alanlar, özellikle eğitim politikalarını da dahil edecek biçimde bir dönüşüm süreci içine girmiştir.

Bu kavramsal çerçeveden hareketle çalışmanın amacı Avrupa Yükseköğretim Alanı (AYA) oluşturma hedefiyle 1999 yılında başlatılan Bologna Süreci bağlamında ortaya çıkan uluslararası ve ulusal aktörler ile beraberinde gelişen politik, ekonomik ve sosyal dinamikleri irdeleyerek söz konusu sürece Türkiye’nin 2001 yılında gerçekleşen katılımı itibariyle ulusal çerçevedeki kurumsal ve organizasyonel düzeylerde ortaya çıkan işleyiş biçim(ler)i ile çok katmanlı ulusötesi yönetişim sistemini araştırmaktır. Bunu yaparken Türkiye’deki yükseköğretim sisteminin yeniden yapılanmasına doğrudan ya da dolaylı biçimlerde dahil olan farklı kesimlerdeki *sosyal ajanlar* (iş dünyası temsilcileri, emek temsilcileri ve akademik kesimler) ile *ulusal devlet organı* olarak yükseköğretim sistemi politikaları konusunda regülasyon ve karar alma görevlerini açıkça görünen kurumsal merkezi yapısı içinde uygulayan Yükseköğretim Kurumu (YÖK) ile Bologna Süreci’nin *uluslararası kurumları* ve gereklilikleri arasındaki ilişkilerin nasıl biçimlendiğini anlamaya çalışmaktır. Özellikle 1990’lı yıllar itibariyle gittikçe artan bir biçimde hız kazanmaya başlayan uluslararasılaşma ve küreselleşme süreçleriyle birlikte gelişen ekonomik, politik, sosyal, kültürel ve toplumsal dinamikler ve baskılarla tetiklendiği kabul edilebilecek uluslararası nitelikli Bologna Süreci’ne Türkiye’deki yüksek öğretim kurumlarının katılımından itibaren çeşitli kurum ve organizasyonlar aktif biçimde sürecin ulusal düzeydeki işleyişinde rol almıştır. Böylelikle, ulusal yükseköğretim sisteminin Bologna uygulamaları ile yeniden yapılanması bağlamında Türkiye’de ortaya çıkan yapısal dinamikler ve güç ilişkileri aracılığıyla ulusal devlet yapısındaki dönüşüm ile uluslararası yönetişim mekanizmaları arasındaki etkileşimin doğası incelenecek ve yukarıda sözü edilen üç bileşenli ilişki biçimi üzerinden ulus devletin otonomisi ve karar-alma kapasitesindeki değişim sorgulanmaya çalışılacaktır.



# **1. INTRODUCTION**

## **1.1. Problematic**

The contemporary society witnesses intense social change in the context of the multi-faceted dynamics of globalisation of economic activities. Social theory is engaged in the analysis of various aspects of this process of change departing from various perspectives and from the standpoint of different disciplines. However, an acceleration of transformations in the governance of social and economic fields has brought the question of the 'state' to the fore, rendering the analysis of the governance structures underlying social change a major field of interest in the contemporary social studies. Transformations in governance structures have been widely defined as being composed, on one hand, of a rescaling of governance, by an increase in the power of the transnational and local scales, as opposed to the national scale, which has been predominant throughout the twentieth century. A second major transformation in governance structures, on the other hand, has been defined as an increasing involvement of social agents other than the formal political and bureaucratic structures of nation states, in governance practices. These social agents have particularly referred to the private sector actors. Consequently, an increasing number of studies have focused on the relationship between state and non-state actors on the local, national and transnational scales, and the nature of the governance structures which emerge as an outcome of these relations. This question still demands further studies as the process of transformation of governance structures is still underway in the context of the generalised economic crisis in the 2010s.

As to the role of university in the scope of the contemporary change in society, it is evident that higher education has key importance in advanced economies as it constitutes the major institution through which the skilled labour force is developed. In line with this emphasis on the essential place of university within the economic processes of globalisation, the traditional role of university, with particular reference to the perspective in the Humboldtian sense, has apparently been redefined. Such a rethinking of university can, also, raise a controversial issue as to its main function

for society. Thus, such a reconceptualisation may generate a form of questioning if it is basically the role of the university to bring up highly qualified workforce. However, this type of an investigation could be discussed as another research study as it goes beyond the purposes of the present study.

The importance of university as an institution has even grown in the last decades in the context of processes of relocalisation, or upgrading, in ever larger parts of the world, including the emerging economies. These processes have increased the demand for the skilled labour force, in line with the shift of labour-intensive segments of production activities to low-wage regions which have caused an indispensable process of upgrading in the relocalised economies. Shifts to higher technology products or branding have necessitated a more skilled labour force, and pointed to transformations in the employment structures in these regions. Demand for the skilled labour force has not only increased in numbers, but a more important facet of the change in demand has been qualitative. The contemporary dynamics in globalising economic activity have contained ever-accelerated technological change and demand by companies for flexible labour processes, and these demands have sought their equivalents in the skilled labour market. However, the existing pools of skilled labour, developed by the HESs structured in the twentieth century economic contexts, proved to be inefficient in the light of the economic changes. From the point of view of economic forces, this situation has simply highlighted the necessity for major restructurings in HESs, which have been expected to realign these systems with the requirements of the contemporary business. Thus, an ever-increasing number of countries have been urged to respond to these requirements through transnational establishments and international cooperation in the scope of their higher education policies (Gümrükçü, 2011).

Efforts to restructure higher education have been shaped by multi-scale and multi-agent processes. On one hand, they have been the outcome of particular relations between the national, transnational and local scales. One of the major artifacts of these efforts has been on the transnational scale, i.e. the Bologna Process, built on an intergovernmental agreement in Europe (EU members, candidates for membership and the third countries). As a policy field in higher education developed by the European Union, the Bologna Process has sought to generate university restructuring

throughout Europe, and even throughout a larger region, with the aim to integrate the HEIs in this territory around some minimum common grounds. The scale of governance introduced by the Bologna Process has been reciprocal with the scale of economic activity, the operation of which the Process has been designed to facilitate. However, this new scale of governance of higher education restructurings has been juxtaposed with the national scale of decision-making and the local scale of concrete higher education practices. Hence, national state institutions hold a considerable amount of power as they make the relevant legislation, and are the very agents who build the Bologna Process. Similarly, individual universities are the very agents who make the process concrete by their day-to-day practices, and therefore are the very spaces of negotiation of its principles. This new multi-scaled configuration, which has brought about major transformations in the governance structures of higher education, is a major field of study awaiting social analysis. As a result, there is a vast need for studies which question the nature of the relationship between the Bologna Process, the policy-making processes of the relevant national state institutions, and the practices of individual HEIs.

Within the scope outlined above, the present study attempts to analyse the nature of the relationship between the social agents, the nation state organizations and transnational institutions dealing with the restructuring of HESs. To put it more concretely, the study investigates the relationship between the domestic social agents who act within the internationalised economic contexts, i.e. business, labour, and the academic community (academics and administrative offices), the Council of Higher Education of Turkey (CoHE), which is the major central governmental body dealing with higher education, and in which national regulation and policy-making have been overtly centred, and the transnational institutions along with the imperatives of the Bologna Process, of which Turkey has been a partner since 2001.

## **1.2. Organisation**

Following this introduction, the study starts in Chapter 2, with a review of the different approaches to the contemporary restructuring of higher education. This review looks into the neoliberal, marxist, institutionalist approaches and a late version of the new institutional economics perspective that focuses on national state

organisations and emphasizes the diversity of national paths. This chapter is finalised with the setting of the argument of the study.

Chapter 3 gives an account of the basic components of the contemporary restructuring of higher education in Turkey, i.e. the basic components of national policy. This account will be used in comparing national policy with the needs and demands of the domestic social agents on one hand, and national policy with the basic imperatives of the Bologna Process on the other. The ordering of this account at the start of the case analysis, as Chapter 3, is because the following two chapters include comparisons of different aspects of the governance of higher education with the account included in this chapter.

Chapter 4 sets the economic context in which the needs and demands of the social agents are shaped. This context is above-all global and is basically related to the competitive squeeze resulting from shifts in the international division of labour. This chapter sets the relations between the competitive squeeze facing Turkey, the demands by economic forces for the restructuring of the skilled labour market, and the national HES.

Chapter 5 analyses the relationship between the needs and demands of the domestic social agents and the national state practices of legislation, regulation and policy-making in the field of higher education. In Section 5.1, the needs and demands of three groups, those of business, labour and the academic community, are analysed. They are then compared (Section 5.2) with the components of national policy analysed in Chapter 3. The analysis in this chapter is based on the assumption that not only frameworks defined by international institutions, but also pressures by social groups have considerable impact on national state policy. The basic question in this chapter is the extent to which pressure by these agents are reflected in government policy.

Chapter 6 analyses the relationship between national state practices and intergovernmental institutions. In Section 6.1, the basic principles of the Bologna Process are outlined. They are then compared to the components of national policy (Section 6.2). The analysis in this chapter is based on the assumption that state organisations do not only act under the influence of the domestic social agents, they also act within contexts formed by the imperatives of international institutions of

which they are members. Therefore, the basic question in this chapter is the extent to which national and international institutions shape each other's practices.

Chapter 7 concludes with a discussion on the emergent multi-level mode of governance in the context of the contemporary restructuring policies on the Turkish HES. It provides an overall institutional framework that links the particular domestic bodies and their networks on the local-regional, national and international scales with the transnational context shaped by the central institutions of the Bologna Process. The possible conclusions are drawn under two directions: one is from the society to the state, and the other is from the state to the society. This concluding chapter basically questions the implications and if any, pressures of globalisation on the nature of the transformation in the nation-state through multi-level governance practices in the context of institutional and organisational relations between the restructuring policies on the HES in Turkey and the Bologna process.

### **1.3. Methodology**

This study makes use of several sources and methods.

The first set of sources include documentary sources composed of;

- government development plans,
- acts of higher education enacted at various dates, and the parliamentary commission reports and debates belonging to these acts,
- reports published by business and labour organisations on the restructuring of higher education in Turkey,
- reports on the same subject by the World Bank and OECD, and
- the relevant academic literature.

These sources have been used in the study to document features of the Turkish economy, the economic and educational policies of governments, transformations in government policy on higher education. They have, also, been used to analyse the needs and demands of various social agents, including business and labour.

The second set of sources consists of in-depth, semi-structured interviews, originally made in the scope of this study, with academics who have occupied major positions in institutions related to the Bologna Process. 11 individuals were interviewed in this scope in the period between June, and November, 2012. The interviews have aimed at examining the problematic of the study by studying the experiences and views of the people who have been at the very centre of the construction of the Bologna Process in Turkey. Hence, the interviewees were directly asked questions challenging the problematic of the study, i.e. about the relationship between the social agents, national state organisations and the Bologna institutions.

The interviews have focused on four sets of questions. The first question set has dealt with the nature of the relationship between the Bologna Process and national institutions in Turkey. The second set has questioned the features of the process through which the principles and institutions of the Bologna Process have been integrated with the HES in Turkey. The third question set has focused on the domestic social dynamics which have contributed to the participation of the Turkish state in the Bologna Process. Finally, the fourth set has questioned the autonomy of the national state institutions of higher education in the face of the rules and institutions of the Bologna Process.

The interviews have been analysed by;

- studying the contributions of each interviewee separately, and making use of these contributions to analyse the problematic of the study,
- comparing the opinions of interviewees to figure out the similarities and differences between their approaches to the problematic challenged in the question sets,
- comparing and cross-checking the approaches of the interviewees with the analysis in Chapter 5, on the influences of the social agents on the restructuring of higher education in Turkey.

The in-depth interviews have lasted an hour on average. They have been designed and conducted as semi-structured interviews. As can be seen in the question sheet in the Appendix, the questions were not phrased or uniformly asked to each interviewee. Rather, the question sheet involved reminders about the problematic

questioned in the relevant question set. This enabled the interviewer and the interviewee to discuss the problematic relatively freely, i.e. in terms that could not be foreseen in the process of interview design.

Table 1 summarises the sources and methods used in the study.

**Table 1.1:** Summary of the sources and methods used in the study

<b>CH.</b>	<b>TASK</b>	<b>MAJOR SOURCE</b>	<b>ANALYSIS</b>
<b>Ch.1</b>	Problematic and methodology of the study	n.a	n.a
<b>Ch.2</b>	Literature review and argument of the study	See References	n.a
<b>Ch.3</b>	Basic components of government policy on the restructuring of higher education in Turkey	<p><b>ACTS AND PARLIAMENTARY DOCUMENTS</b></p> <p><b>Higher Education Act</b> (No.2547, 1981)</p> <p><b>Draft Code of Higher Education</b> (2013)</p> <p><b>OFFICIAL POLICY DOCUMENTS BY NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS</b></p> <p><b>Council of Higher Education (2007)</b> <i>Türkiye'nin Yükseköğretim Stratejisi</i></p> <p><b>Council of Higher Education (2010)</b> <i>Yükseköğretimde Yeniden Yapılanma: 66 Soruda Bologna Süreci Uygulamaları</i></p> <p><b>The World Bank (2007)</b> <i>Turkey-Higher Education Policy Study. Volume I: Strategic Directions for Higher Education in Turkey</i></p>	<p>Comparison of the current act of higher education and the draft code with an eye to uncover transformations.</p> <p>Analysis of official policy documents by the national and international organisations</p>

<b>Ch.4</b>	The economic context in which the domestic social agents are formed and act	<b>GOVERNMENT PLANS AND STRATEGIES</b> <b>State Planning Organisation (2008) <i>Ninth Development Plan of Turkey, 2009-2013</i></b> <b>Ministry of Industry and Trade (2010) <i>Turkish Industrial Strategy Document 2011-2014: Towards Eu Membership</i></b> <b>OECD (2006) <i>Economic Surveys: Turkey</i></b>	Analysis of (i) information involved in the development plan and industrial strategy as a reliable source documenting the features and problems of the Turkish economy (ii) documenting the components of the Plan as a legal document shaping government strategies
<b>Ch.5.1</b>	Demands of domestic social agents	See below	
	Business	See below	
	Large scale	<b>TÜSİAD</b> <b>(2003) <i>Yüksek Öğretimin Yeniden Yapılandırılması: Temel İlkeler</i></b> <b>(2008) <i>Higher Education in Turkey: Trends, Challenges, Opportunities</i></b> <b>(2012) <i>Yükseköğretim Reformunda Öncelikler Hakkında TÜSİAD Görüş ve Önerileri</i></b>	Analysis of the reports with an eye to document the needs and demands of business on higher education in Turkey
	Small-medium scale	<b>TOBB (2011) <i>Türkiye Yükseköğretim Sektörü Meclis Raporu (Sector of Higher Education Assembly Report)</i></b> <b>MÜSİAD (2013) <i>Yeni “Yükseköğretim Yasa Taslağı Önerisi”ne İlişkin Değerlendirmelerimiz</i></b>	
	Labour	<b>EĞİTİM-SEN</b> <b>(2011) <i>Üniversitelerde Bologna Süreci Neye Hizmet Ediyor?</i></b> <b>(2012) <i>Nasıl Bir Üniversite Nasıl Bir Rektör İstiyoruz?</i></b>	Analysis of the reports with an eye to document the needs and demands of labour on higher education in Turkey
	Academic community	<b>Original interviews made in the context of this study</b>	Analysis of interviews

<b>Ch.6.1</b>	Imperatives of the Bologna Process	<b>EUROPEAN COMMISSION</b> <i>(2004) Key Figures 2003-2004: Towards a European Research Area – Science, Technology and Innovation</i> <i>(2011) An Agenda for the Modernisation of Europe’s Higher Education Systems</i>	Identificaton of the instruments designed for the restructuring agenda of the Bologna Process
<b>Ch.6.2</b>	The relationship between national policy and transnational institutions	<b>Original interviews made in the context of this study</b> Analysis in Chs. 3 and 6.1	Analysis of interviews Comparison of the imperatives of the Bologna Process (Ch.6.1) with components of national policy (Ch.3)
<b>Ch.7</b>	Conclusion	n.a.	n.a.



## **2. DEBATES ON THE RESTRUCTURING OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND ITS GOVERNANCE**

There is a vast literature on the Bologna Process approaching the issue from different disciplinary perspectives.<sup>1</sup> In this scope, there are studies focusing on the progress of the Process, the implications of the Process on HEIs, and its possible or emergent policy outcomes for member countries. A remarkable point within most of these studies is that they seem to lack an analysis of the Bologna Process within its broader social context. Thus, they could be considered as investigations into fragmented aspects of this phenomenon. However, the Bologna Process and its relationship to national agents can be fully understood only as part of the broader process of restructuring of the global economy in general and HESs in particular. An attempt to contextualise the Process, on the other hand, necessitates recourse to social analysis other than studies focusing on higher education or the Bologna Process itself. Sections 2.1 to 2.4 attempts to present an analysis of the theoretical debates on the relationship between social agents, nation states and international institutions in general, and the restructuring of higher education in particular. The aim of this analysis is to clarify the argument of the present study, a task that will be taken up in Section 2.5.

Another noteworthy implication of this study is that the following discussion, presented as an analysis of various outlooks with an attempt to investigate the relationship between the national agents and the Bologna Process within a social context, reflects a progressive type of work. In this scope, what the study rather suggests here is that these different perspectives have been formulated upon the preceding theoretical assumptions, so it seems quite fair to state that these conceptualisations, including the neoliberal, marxist, new institutionalist outlooks and organisational focus on national experiences, have evolved through the

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<sup>1</sup> For a more detailed research on the Bologna Process, see Appendix C.

changing conditions of the social context. In this sense, it is also essential that they should be considered and analysed within such an evolutionary mindset.

## **2.1. Neoliberal Approaches**

The neoliberal perspective reveals a division between the state and society (market) in that the state is presented as an outsider to the market, which intervenes in the tendencies of the market forces. Individuals endowed with the freedom of choice constitute these forces (Friedman, 1980). In this economic policy framework, the solution is regarded as expansion of space for a free market system. The integration of the state with the market place is implemented through a minimised level of intervention and accompanied by privatisation, which is characterised by increased deregulation and competitiveness (*ibid.*).

Moreover, the neoliberal outlook argues that transformation of state structures and policy-making processes are guided by the predominant market tendencies. Therefore, these processes cannot be isolated from the discourse of structural changes in the institutions of education, as in the other public services. As far as such a market orientation is concerned, reconceptualising the function of education through schooling has come up with a redefinition grounded on the discourse of social relationships with a particular attention to their needs and concerns. Accordingly, the basic functions and role of schools have been conceptualised around the socialisation of students by equipping them with the relevant skills and abilities. The aim here is to serve productivity growth in economy through practices of the global market place, which have also led to reductions in public funding allocated for educational services in favour of the market agents' strategies constituting the key policies in the nature of the social transactions (*cf.* Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Lipman, 2007).

It is generally accepted that the discourse on the restructuring process of higher education is mainly influenced by neoliberal thinking. The major agent of this discourse is the European agenda on modernisation of the university (EC, 2011), which has also been conducive to the creation of the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) in the transnational context of the Bologna process. In this scope, developments in the market tendencies are claimed to underlie the basic mechanisms which have shaped the reform process of university as a public institution. Within

this line of thought, the impact of the market dynamics on higher education has evidently brought about a paradigmatic change in defining the mission and role of university. Thus, the existing HESs are no longer considered efficient and viable in the face of the tendencies of globalisation. Also, states need to re-regulate HESs so as to adjust university education to the changing requirements for the preparation of students considering their professional and social development to produce highly-skilled, efficient workforce and compete in the international labour market.

With a particular focus on the restructuring of the HES in Turkey, a similar discourse could be observed through the studies by the World Bank (2007) and OECD (2006). Moreover, the leading national business associations' reports (TÜSİAD: 2003, 2008; MÜSİAD, 2012; TOBB, 2012) reflect the same outlook. In the overall context of their proposed strategic policy implications, given the global economic pressures, especially felt by the states, have recently been challenged by their allocations for funding of the national HEIs as the dominant financial suppliers of the education systems in their countries due to the insufficiency of sources to meet their growth expenditures. In line with this consideration, the reports call for an immediate financial reform by which the state, allowing space for privatisation. They, also, propose the institutional organisation of the HES by the market tendencies in a way that will cater to the needs and demands of the labour market, will provide and maintain the basic institutions. By doing so, the public sector is supposed to get involved only in the areas where the private sector is not capable enough, like funding of R&D, expansion of scholarships for social equity concerns.

Given such a strategic direction developed under the increasingly global and competitive market conditions, Barblan, Ergüder and Gürüz (2008), from a similar perspective, claim that the single-size university model has already lost its former function in the complex structuring of knowledge-based economies, coupled with a shared demand for more complex societies adjustable to continuous change in line with the mechanisms of the market domain. As a result of these structural dynamics in the era of economic globalisation, they (*ibid.*) argue for university autonomy to create an entrepreneurial and efficient culture of team management and professional leadership within the university community. In this regard, they highlight the pivotal role of collaboration among the rector, deans and department chiefs as well as the

significance of diversified funding sources through a financially flexible management with the ultimate aim of achieving a quality increase in the efficiency of measurement and evaluation tools.

In the scope of this renewed university model, the regulatory and interventionist role of state in higher education, considering its constrained budget, is recommended to be replaced with a supervisory and guardian role through minimum intervention into the liberal nature of the social structure and to open up space for private investments in the restructuring process. Hence, such recommendations pave the way for private university establishments and allow for the notion of diversity via specialisation of universities in different fields, accompanied by a performance system which will promote accountability, quality assurance, research and innovation through fostered university-industry relationship, and intensified cooperation with external stakeholders in university management.

On the other hand, this approach has been criticised for being hyperliberal. Even though this notion of hyperliberalism is underpinned through most of the discourse on higher education, it seems to pose a point of controversy on the part of critiques of the neoliberal strategy. The underlying assumption is apparently reflected in the objection that university embedded in the neoliberal principles is granted with a more instrumental function presenting an organisational capacity isolated from the public realm to restructure the society (*cf.* Ryner, 2002).

Moreover, it could be argued that the neoliberal perspective to the contemporary restructuring of HESs has several shortcomings from the point of view of the present study. As the above analysis shows, the major focus of neoliberal approaches is the question of efficiency. They regard any changes in the HES as advantageous or disadvantageous to all the parties involved. Such a focus on the parties inhibits any analysis of conflicts or possible divergences among the various social agents concerned with the system. Therefore, it reduces a highly political matter into a technical issue. Therefore, these approaches hinder any effort to analyse the relationship between various social agents (generally conflicting) and their impact on the state policy.

## 2.2. Marxist Approaches

As far as the political and social structure is concerned, the Marxist outlook on the relationship between the state and society separates the two, regarding the state as an outsider, which results from a condensation of the social class struggles. From this standpoint, the dominant class is in control of the state institutions, making use of their power in order to establish market institutions through ownership of private property and contracting, and to impose its hegemony over the ruled classes. Under these conditions enabling space for capital accumulation, the state seeks to maintain the capitalist system and transforms its nature to overcome the challenges (Simon, 1977).

In this scope, two varieties are discussed as (a) the basic forms of relationship between the state and agents, with reference to the state taken over by the hegemony of social classes as agents, and (b) the state ruled over by the necessities of capital accumulation in general, rather than agents, for the use of labour power in (re)production processes (*cf.* Hall & Soskice, 2001). Both varieties have also been transformed under the social dynamics conducive to globalisation, the distinctive feature of which could mainly be reflected through the discourse of a crisis situation. The reference here indicates the necessity for a reformation of the system within an institutional framework.

With reference to the aforementioned assumptions raised in the Marxist discourse, the basic mechanisms which shape the educational reform are concerned with two functions of schooling, as Bowles and Gintis (1976:129) identify: “reproduction of the social relations of power” and “reproduction of labour power” for capital accumulation processes. According to this line of thought in the educational context, the first function is characterised by the requirements of social relations in the form of the hegemonic class divisions with particular emphasis on the ruling of large-scale capital over the working class, thus enabling the conversion of labour force into profit. The latter is involved with the requirements of general capital accumulation processes in the form of supply-demand relations. In this framework, the relations in between reveal the required skills and knowledge for qualified work performance, which are considered essential within the organisational capacities of technical and

cognitive production. This form of production is, also, supposed to enable and maintain the functioning of the global market economy (*ibid.*).

Departing from the expansion of this market rationale in education, M. Apple has also been a remarkable figure through his contributions to the critical literature on neoliberal ideology. In one of his earliest works titled *Ideology and Curriculum* (1979/2004), also challenges the (neo)liberal policies in education through his argument that considers education as an act involving a political character shaped in a social context of inequalities produced within the hegemonic relationships of power and knowledge that have emerged as a result of globalisation. Accordingly, Apple (2001) focuses on the close relations between the economic activities of the free market tendencies and the redefined role of university, to which he refers as a social, cultural and political institution. Arguing for such an interconnectedness between the educational and economic policies of states, Apple (2008) also illustrates a number of outstanding reform movements in education recently observed in some regions of the world, namely the US, Japan, Israel and Latin America, as both forms of response and challenges to the power of the ruling classes under (neo)liberal economies. In this context, such experiences have also proved the social inequalities caused by rendered public schools contingent upon the demands and circumstances of the labour market. Thus, education, in view of Apple's standpoint, grounded on the Marxist and Gramscian implications, has been placed at the labour market's service in the current trends of globalisation (*cf.* Apple, 2013).

Within the scope of this educational policy discourse resonating the knowledge-based economy in the context of the contemporary European agenda, Dale (2008) also makes a critical discourse analysis into the close relationship between higher education policies and knowledge-based economy as mutually influential on each other. In the same vein, he argues that one structure, either Europe or knowledge-based economy, is at the same time a reflection of the other. Then, he points to the role of the "mediating structures" (*ibid.*:8) in the shaping of this bilateral constitution, which enable to connect diversity and competition across Europe with the closely related governance mechanisms. Accordingly, one of his main concerns is to investigate how higher education and its institutions are being recontextualised through the transformation process (i.e. the Bologna Process) in view of the

modernisation discourse, primarily triggered by the emergent structural pressures from the economic shifts of focus on the European agenda. In this scope, he suggests a periodisational framework with three main phases linking the European responses to the shifting economic strategies based on the dominant discourses: (a) Europe and KBE (knowledge-based economy) of Maastricht, with a challenge to the internal market (b) Europe and KBE of Lisbon, with a challenge to achieve competitiveness in the face of the technological competition by the USA, and (c) Europe and KBE of post-Mid-Term Review of the Lisbon agenda, with new competitive challenges by China and India. Within these terms, Dale makes it more evident that the close relations between Europe and knowledge economy have also raised the role of university onto the modernisation agenda to achieve productivity and growth, and ensure competitiveness (*cf.* Dale, 2010).

As a result of the mainstream conditions under economic globalisation, the growing pace of social relations and intensifying competition in the context of different groups of the capital, meeting upon the supply-demand axis and catering to the needs of one another, have got involved in the educational policies as the new actors of the system. Such a reconceptualisation in the notion of education has also resulted in the necessity for a renewed understanding in the role of higher education for the production of employable labour force of the future to be equipped with flexible skills and basic knowledge appropriate to efficiency of the job market (Hirtt, 2005: 78, cited by Ercan and Uzunyayla, in Ercan and Korkusuz-Kurt, 2011:201).

With regard to the dynamics of such a social reordering underpinning the relations of power between classes and the role of capital accumulation processes discussed through the recent scholarly literature on the restructuring policies of the HES in Turkey, the implementation of the Bologna Process is contested as a tool of response for catering to the demands of marketization in higher education. The rhetoric here is highlighted through the legitimization of a market language by networks of national and transnational social actors, as well as the internalisation of education-employment policies which promote such frequently-used concepts as “information society”, “human capital”, “productivity”, “competitiveness”, “lifelong learning”, “qualified labour force” and “flexibility” (*ibid.*).

Moreover, the concepts of quality assurance, accreditation and performance system are discussed as the other controversial parts involved with the rhetoric of restructuring in higher education. The main reason here is that such concepts are claimed to conceal the erosion in the nature of intellectual labour and its emergent function within the commodification of learning and information/knowledge (Özgün, 2011, in *ibid.*). In this context, the ever-increasing changes in the global markets, coupled with the transformation processes undergone by the labour market have brought about the critical discourse on ‘entrepreneurial university’, in terms of its financial flexibility and diversified funding sources in the face of reductions in governmental funding. All these changes have, therefore, facilitated a closer integration of university into the sensitivities of business and industry, to achieve added-value production through the argument that it fosters not the generation of scientific knowledge, but a company culture based on the interactions among industry, the state and university (Okçabol, 2011). From this standpoint, the apparent hegemony of market agents under the neoliberal ideology, promoting their policies on the implementation of the Bologna Process, is highly contested. The argument here is that the transformation of university implies the integration of science towards output- and performance-oriented research as well as technological innovation, which, also, reveals the contradiction between the increased capacity of education and the reduced value of labour on the part of the academic staff and employed graduates (Hoca, 2011). As a result, the nature of scientific production at university turns out to be granted with a social feature inherent in the market dynamics, having paved the way for a reproduction of the growing inequalities between social classes (Gürbüz, 2011) and involvement of intellectual labour production into the process of university transformation through the reconstruction of learning and teaching processes rationalised by marketable tendencies (Hamzaoğlu, 2011).

However, this conceptual framework, through its constructivist attempt to bring together capital and education under the relations of reproduction, could lead to some points of criticism in the sense that it overlooks the role of institutional mechanisms, by concentrating on the significance of social dynamics through the class struggles and capital accumulation processes with particular emphasis on the economic context of social relationships.

### 2.3. Institutional Approaches

The present outlook, developed by Douglass North among others, in his work *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance* (1990), revisits the role of institutions and the impact of institutional changes on economic performance throughout history. It argues that the market (society) is constituted by the state; that is, the basic institutions including market institutions are laid down by the state (p.3). Accordingly, the state structure and policy, constituting both formal constraints (rules) and informal ones (cultural components), are seen influential on the transformation of social categories, constituting the players (agents). In this line of argument, North, also, dwells on two interrelated forms of relationships with respect to the institutional change: the first between the two varieties of constraints within the institutional context, and the second between institutions and political, economic, social and educational groupings called *organisations*, each category of which is made up of individuals with shared purposes. From this standpoint, the essential role of institutions is to provide a stable structure; however, institutional change, or state transformation, characterised by reforms (gradual change) or radical transformations (non-gradual change) and mainly caused by the altering circumstances in technological, economic and political domains as adaptive processes throughout the evolutionary course of history, results in different forms of interactions between the institutions and organisations under the dynamics in the new political, economic and social contexts, while patterns of divergence and those of convergence might also reveal variations in the directions taken by the agents of change, depending on the nature of national formal and informal constraints (*ibid.*:3-10).

When the restructuring of higher education in the context of the Bologna process is approached from North's point of view, the basic mechanism shaping the national HES reform can be seen as the state's capacity to restructure the society through its "political (and judicial) rules, economic rules and contracts" (*ibid.*:47). All of these arrangements constitute a regulatory (formal) and cultural (informal) network of interactions. When the nature of national HESs is considered as basic institutions intertwined with other institutional constraints, it is also seen that they are grounded in close relations with international networks of social and economic agents. In this scope, institutional change, with reference to the transformation of HESs, is shaped

by the agents in higher education policies, the organisational structures of which are, in response to the institutional dynamics, also, shaped by the HES with which they maintain interactions throughout technological, economic-political transformation processes. These activities are usually contextualised under the multilateral forms of relationships constituted by the tendencies of globalisation. However, responses could be expected to exhibit some divergent patterns within nations as a result of their structural differences in the required conditions for efficiency of organisations in the production of economic growth. With a particular focus on the case of Turkey, there seems to be both *convergent* and *divergent* patterns of interaction, which will be discussed further in the concluding part of the present study, between the state (CoHE) and society (market) as the national agents closely involved in the restructuring of university through the agenda of the Bologna process, which has been institutionalised under the European policies for survival and competition within the globalised market economy.

#### **2.4. Emphasis on Organisations and Diversity of National Experiences**

The current approach points to the converging role of organisations and institutions in national policy making. An influential version of this approach has been developed by Linda M. Weiss and underpinned by several other contributors in her book titled *States in the Global Economy: Bringing domestic institutions back in* (2003). The volume concentrates on the impact of increasing economic openness, linked with globalisation, upon the capacity of national states to govern national economies. More particularly, this perspective draws on the nature of relationships between the state's capabilities, positioned with a mediating role in the course of their efforts to transform domestic institutions under the pressures of economic dynamics, and non-state (global) powers of globalisation. The volume argues that the forces of globalisation could generate *enabling* as well as *constraining* effects on the state capacity to govern the national economy. As its basic point of departure, Weiss' discussion first questions whether the state still maintains the capacity to manage its national policies or the state autonomy and capacity have been reduced under the economic dynamics of globalisation. Weiss here argues for the former debate on the maintained autonomy of the state through cooperation with social organisations, for

transformation of the economic structuring, even coupled with an increased state capacity. As a reflection of the infrastructural power with reference to Mann's line of thought (1986), Weiss answers this question by pointing to a shift of focus on the 'enabling' feature of globalisation on political, economic and social domestic networks of governance. She subsequently calls this "governed interdependence" (*ibid.*:297). By designating this concept, Weiss refers to an institutionalised form of relationships, which generally constitute negotiations between the state organisations and non-state organisations. Also, she draws particular attention on the part of social agents from organisations, converging around mutually dependent forms of exchange while both sides can preserve their autonomous capabilities. At this point, through such a political exchange between the state institutions and organisations, the state not only defines its strategic development goals, but also observes the economic performance of the market forces. At the same time, it ensures the legitimisation of these social actors' power, in return for the supply of information and collaboration by the given organisations to the state bodies. Hence, Weiss claims that political and economic motives for transformation in domestic institutions (in the face of the unprecedentedly increased capital and social mobility, the exponentially intertwined networks of international trade and investment, and the national and transnational modes of governance) do not necessarily seem to involve a withering of the state's capacity to implement national policy-making mechanisms. Rather, they illustrate an embodiment of the state's prevalent ideas to pursue its policy objectives in line with the global market conditions.

However, according to Weiss' outlook on the globalisation-nation state debate (*ibid.*:1-36), it does not seem to be a sufficient exercise to investigate transformations of domestic institutions either through the lenses of an institutional change, particularly characterised by the context of relationships composed of formal and informal constraints interconnected with non-institutional bodies called *organisations* as outlined in North's new institutionalism, or a neoliberal model of governance. In the light of such a counter-argument, Weiss, draws out a wholistic analysis into domestic institutions and examines two essential constituents of these institutions: "normative orientations" and "organisational arrangements" (*ibid.*:6), while also contrasting with North's distinction between institutions and organisations. In other words, such a categorisation combines the regulatory reforms

and organisational capacities as the two complementing features of institutions, with respective reference to a bundle of rules and norms, constituted by “normative orientations” under the state’s autonomy, and the structuring of state bodies, constituted by “organisational arrangements”. Under the state’s capacity, these are considered essential to account for diversities in national policy outcomes. As a result, domestic institutions reveal significant sources of difference with their diverging regulatory policies as well as organisational structures in the face of political and economic pressures sparked by globalisation. Moreover, they transform these domestic pressures into renewed policies in order to give a response to demands for social protection and competitive innovation, thereby attributing an ‘enabling’ power within state transformation to globalisation through a redefinition of policy instruments. Such a reformulation is, also, conducive to a regeneration of policy capacity, though they might reveal patterns of divergence through structural differences of domestic institutions.

## **2.5. Argument**

As already put forward in the section setting the problematic, the present study analyses the governance structure which operates in the contemporary restructuring of higher education in Turkey. To put it more concretely, it examines the relationship between the domestic social agents (business, labour and the academic community), the major national state organisation responsible for regulating higher education (Council of Higher Education), and the transnational network of public and private organisations, called the Bologna Process, which attempts to integrate higher education systems within a larger territory centred in Europe.

The argument of the study is twofold. Firstly, the study argues that the domestic social agents have had a remarkable say in the restructuring of higher education in Turkey. This argument opposes the view, put forward by Marxists as well as most of the academics interviewed in this study, that university restructuring have been largely influenced by transnational forces originating from advanced capitalist countries, i.e. the US or EU members. It argues that the needs and demands of domestic social agents, albeit conflicting in many respects, have been reflected in the processes of restructuring. However, the study does not set the domestic social

agents in isolation. Rather, it regards these agents as parts of global networks of economic activity. Thus, the needs and demands of these agents, which the study regards as influential on university restructuring, are shaped within international contexts of capitalist competition, capitalist alliances and class conflict. The Council of Higher Education, on the other hand, is there to mediate the impacts of these international contexts on domestic agents.

Furthermore, the study does not set the social agents as unchanging and static categories. It argues that the very social agents, which have had a say in university restructuring, have been transformed themselves in the same process. Hence, the process of restructuring of the higher education system has thoroughly redefined the agents and rules of the academic community. This redefinition has laid down the background for the intensive engagement of the academic community with the transformation of the higher education system in line with the needs of business; which sought to gain a competitive edge in the global market by employing a skilled labour force compatible with the required shift into high value-added production systems. In this respect, the study subscribes to Weiss argument that national state organisations, not only mediates the impacts of globalisation on domestic agents, but also restructures the domestic social agents and the relationships among them. Secondly, the study argues that membership to the Bologna Process has enhanced the power of the Council of Higher Education to design and implement national policy. This opposes the view that the institutions and imperatives of the Bologna Process has been unidirectionally imposed on the Council of Higher Education, and eventually, national policy has been constrained by its membership to an intergovernmental agreement. The study argues that the Council of Higher Education has enhanced its policy-making power by making use of the institutions of the Bologna Process, first, as well-developed, readily-available tools to underly university restructuring, second, as a means to legitimise the restructuring process, and to impose it on opposing parties as irreversible global processes. In this respect, the study subscribes to Weiss' position upon the impact of the dynamics of globalisation on nation states. Following Weiss, the study argues that rising economic openness with its challenges upon the structure of domestic economies and national states, *enables* as well as *constrains* the nation state's autonomy and capacity to achieve domestic policies.



### **3. BASIC COMPONENTS OF THE CONTEMPORARY RESTRUCTURING OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM IN TURKEY**

Policy-making and regulation in the sphere of higher education in Turkey is centred in the Council of Higher Education (CoHE), an agency of the central government. This chapter aims to outline the basic points of shift in the policies of this agency. To this end, the first step is to make a comparative analysis between the *Higher Education Act* (No.2547) and the draft code designed by CoHE for a restructuring of the overall national system. The given draft code is still being negotiated on the national agenda. However, before moving onto this comparative framework, it would be noteworthy to point out that the policy-making processes of higher education restructuring conducive to the formulation of this draft code have been inevitably influenced by the unprecedentedly internationalised conditions of the economic, political and social contexts as a result of the globalised relationships and networks. On the other hand, the Law No. 2547, which was enacted in 1981 by the Council of National Security by the cadre of the military coup, reflects the nationally centralised policy-making tendencies in the structuring of the Turkish HES which was, thus, contingent upon the autonomy and primacy of the CoHE over all the national HEIs.

Taking these two different contexts as a point of departure, the present chapter dwells on the basic elements of the restructuring of the HES in Turkey. This analysis is intended to form the basis of a comparative analysis, in the *forth chapter*, between the new draft code and the needs and demands of various social agents in the national context. It is also intended to form the basis of the *fifth chapter* which will include a comparative analysis between the new draft code and the leading imperatives of the Bologna Process. The latter analysis seeks to examine the impact of the transnational context of the restructuring process on national policies concerning the HES. Hence, the ultimate aim in this scope is to observe the extent to which the defined instruments used for restructuring of the national HES involve

patterns of convergence or divergence with the pressures by various domestic social agents as well as the Bologna Process' action lines.

In the context of such a two-tier comparative study, the main areas of shift in the HES, which have been designed by the CoHE for the purpose of an overall quality improvement, could be classified under five categories as the administrative, financial, curricular and pedagogic (combining learning and teaching environments), social dimensions as well as the field of research policies within universities.

### **3.1. Restructuring in Administrative Issues**

To begin with the organisational model designed under Law No. 2547, it is observed that the CoHE functions as a centrally responsible organisation for governing policy-making processes with respect to the structural arrangements of HEIs in the country. Therefore, this law renders the system a predominantly national one under a centralised body of authorities whose roles and responsibilities are clearly stated in Article 7 of the given law. Accordingly, it could be inferred that the overall policy-making in the domestic system is steered under the CoHE's authority and capacity to govern. Reflecting the implementation of a defined single-type system under the regulatory framework of the CoHE, every university is made responsible for implementing their policies in order to carry out the relevant institutional objectives and each is made accountable towards the CoHE in the face of its centralised primacy over university institutions. In the light of such a nationally institutionalised autonomy of the CoHE, universities are acknowledged as public HEIs endowed with scientific autonomy and composed of different units conducting educational, scientific and research-oriented activities, as well as their advisory roles (*Higher Education Act*, 1981: Article 3/d). Such a system, also, allows room for non-state universities, generally called foundation universities; however, they need to fulfil some certain preconditions to get state assistance from the CoHE and the Ministry of Finance (*Higher Education Act*, 1981: Annex 18).

As to the specifications of the draft code, a shift of focus in the context of a more independent university administration is highlighted via the necessity to transform the CoHE into a relatively decentralised organisation providing a more flexible

structure to HEIs and functioning as a supervisory body for planning and coordination, rather than governing, in the context of relatively simplified common objectives and strategies for universities. Given these considerations, the present draft envisions an autonomus academic environment in the fields of education, research and social services, by which university institutions are expected to enhance their institutional capacities and perform improved quality outputs of academic production (YÖK, 2013:4).

In line with the particularly specified emphasis on university autonomy targeted within scientific, financial and staffing contexts, the draft code, moreover, promotes the idea of a transparent and accountable university management as an essential requirement for all the HEIs. Thus, it is supposed to involve the whole university community as internal stakeholders into policy-making processes, including academic staff and students besides the administrative bodies. Also, as observed in the institutionally local context, the given code facilitates the fostering of quality assurance and accreditation through increased institutional capabilities of efficient collaboration with external stakeholders for the purposes of transparency and accountability, so it is extended into a wider framework including both the national and international scales (*loc.cit.*).

In the scope of the basic principles of this draft, the discourse of quality raises another discussion on division of labour and inter-university collaboration in such a way as to function under different management models, instead of a single-type model generated under the existing law. By this reference to quality, the system is supposed to accommodate diverse fields of concentration in line with the locally or regionally prevalent dynamics and requirements of HEIs. Within this categorisation, the old (well-institutionalised) universities are expected to focus more on research activities, while the newly-founded (institutionalising) ones are expected to specialise in educational issues. Thus, such an environment of specialisation among the domestic university management models is expected to enhance the institutional performance capacity and efficiency, also regarded as conducive to the overall quality within an encouragingly competitive academic environment (*ibid.:*5). A second categorisation between universities in the context of autonomy seems to concern the apparently different management models of public and foundation

universities, more recently coupled with the private ones. In this sense, although these universities are subject to external regulations and basic principles for their management and quality assurance required by the CoHE, they are granted with more flexibility in their organisational and financial affairs in line with their internal decision-making policies adopted by their boards of trustees, also imposed as obligatory bodies for all non-state universities (*ibid.*:30-33).

Moving onto another related point of discussion here, when the above-mentioned considerations on university management are compared with the Bologna Process' envisioned model of leadership at university, it appears that the two models reveal a pattern of convergence in terms of their shared focus on the establishment of autonomous university, coupled with its emphasis on specialization and inter-university partnership. On the other hand, the CoHE, with its initiatives to promote the Bologna Process' imperatives on a legitimate ground by planning to replace its current law with a new one, basically designed in tune with the Bologna agenda, is still continued as a national representative of the domestic HEIs. Also, implementation processes of the national restructuring policies defined through the national commitments to the Bologna Process are organised and conducted in all the HEIs under a regulatory and strategic framework designed by the CoHE, so it is observed that universities are still exposed to a form of accountability under the CoHE's steering mechanisms. At this point, it could be argued that such implementations which could defy the idea of university autonomy poses some remarkable points of divergence from the achievement of a full-fledged university autonomy in the administrative context.

### **3.2. Restructuring in Financial Issues**

This issue can be investigated under the CoHE's changing policies on university budgeting. According to the the CoHE's regulatory framework originally designed through the current law, intended to function on the basis of an annual budgeting system and under the approval by the Ministry of Finance, universities are mostly funded by the public budget, and supplemented with other types of sources such as the revolving funds including university services like hospitals or contract research,

students' fees, contributions from other public institutions and endowments etc. (*Higher Education Act*, 1981: Articles 55 and 56).

However, a different law on Public Financial Management brought into effect in 2006 (Law No. 5018) as well as the particular emphasis placed in the draft code (YÖK, *op.cit.*:5) fosters a different model drawing on financial autonomy as the key component contingent upon institutional autonomy. The underlying reason here is that it equips universities with the capacity of financial flexibility to prioritise their resources and increase their funds on the basis of their strategic goals institutionally defined in line with the national policies, thereby leaving HEIs room for diversified funding sources, instead of a predominantly state-funded budget management. In line with such a new financing model defined under Law No. 5018, state universities are, also, introduced to a performance-based system and lump-sum budgets, the allocations of which are reduced from the previously implemented one-year period to quarterly payments through negotiations between the CoHE and the Ministry of Finance. Thus, an incentive system for universities to promote institutional development through a greater use of contributions from their local conditions and graduates is envisioned.

Along with its evident reference to the European understanding of university management, this type of a financial reformulation is promoted within the scope of discussions on university autonomy as a basic element of restructuring the system and supposed to provide a more flexible and diversified financial structure. In this framework, there seems to be a shift of the institutional actors in the making of responsibility from a top-down, single model determined under the regulatory arrangements by the CoHE to an internally institutionalised and relatively decentralised model for decision-making in the exploration and allocation of funding sources. Also, this new model described under the Law No. 5018 is allowed to serve the accumulation of capital through the financial system as an aspect of financial autonomy.

Another noteworthy point, but also bringing a bit of complexity to the new model envisioned in the draft, along with the arrangements of Law No. 5018, here is that universities are still subject to external regulations on the management of surpluses and deficits. The result is a reduction in the actual practice of flexibility and

autonomy in university management system, and this implies that the financial structure at universities in Turkey continues to be shaped by a centralised system in which the crucial role of the CoHE and that of the government in national policy-making still prevails.

### **3.3. Restructuring in Curricular and Pedagogic Issues**

In the scope of the Law No. 2547 dated 1981, it could be observed that the centralised structure under the CoHE's autonomy reflects a nationally regulated understanding of a learning and teaching environment. Thus, it was shaped in consideration of the nation-state priorities brought by the socio-political context of the given period bearing almost no reference to any efforts for internationalisation and diversity as a policy-making area within the state autonomy. Accordingly, the curricular and pedagogic policies in higher education were apparently designed to generate a united outlook on the preparation of programmes drawing on the method of indoctrination. Also, there were 19 universities established up to that time in the large urban areas, which meant remarkably limited access to higher education throughout the country (YÖK, *op.cit.*:1).

However, along with the massification of higher education and the rising number of universities in recent years (*ibid.*:2), the established structures of curriculum and pedagogy have undergone a dramatic move into the new policy discourses. As a result, the given contexts within university, which were previously formed under the CoHE's arrangements grounded on its traditionally national standpoint, seem to have been challenged by the remarkably internationalised scene. This shift has probably been facilitated in particular by the European initiatives on the agenda of the Bologna Process, resulting in the formation of transnational networks, where intense efforts have been made to restructure the various HESs within a coherent and compatible, but also a diversified policy framework. Thus, the agenda has been focused on fostering mobility, transparency and recognition of qualifications through exchange programmes between different national settings, in addition to the efforts to enable more effective measurement and assessment methods in order to promote comparability and predictability by means of credit transfer and accumulation across programmes. Such initiatives have directly brought about the implementation of the

European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS), the Diploma Supplement (DS), along with the promotion of quality assurance processes including the development of the Qualifications Framework (QF). All these tools of restructuring may also be considered to constitute the frames of reference in the draft code of the CoHE through the emerging definitions within programme structures such as *student workload*, the *National Qualifications Framework (NQF-TYÇ)* coupled with the *Qualifications Framework for Higher Education in Turkey (TYYÇ)*, *input-process-output* checks and the *three-tier system* (*ibid.*:10-11). In addition to these points of reference, it is possible to notice the implications of the Bologna Process implementations through the specifications into the functioning of certain administrative offices at universities such as Foreign Relations, Public Relations and Social Services, Quality and Accreditation, Information Management Departments (*ibid.*:21).

The other key element underlying the restructuring efforts in line with the introduction of such new tools and strategies in the draft appears to be the shift of focus into a new language of learning. Such a transition focused on learners' autonomy and flexibility position students at the centre of the whole learning process by preparing them to achieve the relevant outcomes from the lenses of an international perspective. Thus, they are supposed to cope with the global competition and to conduct innovative activities through the required know-how of flexible and adaptable skills in the face of the increasingly changing and self-developing conditions of the new educational structure shaped by the increasingly internationalised context (*ibid.*:3).

### **3.4. Restructuring in Research Capacity**

Another fundamental shift of focus in relation to the institutional endeavours of HEIs, as a result of the changing role of the university, is reflected in the requirement for restructuring in the overall research capacity and production. Given the agenda of the modernisation discourse in line with the increasingly internationalised recognition of research activities as a measurement of quality to achieve a competitive edge in the context of the current global economy, restructuring of the national HES and facilitation of R&D, along with the scientific research landscape

within the system. This is envisioned in the draft code and fostered through the educational initiatives of the European policies mostly based on the implementation of the Bologna Process to build up on research-based development in the global economy. Thus, the given emphasis on the enhancement of research could be considered to reveal a good deal of convergence as part of the increasing demand by the globalised economies and societies on investments into scientific and technological capacity building for purposes of research productivity and innovation enhancement. To this end, the national restructuring strategy of the CoHE highlights the growing need for intensified R&D activities to serve advanced research productivity. As a result of this need, the draft evidently reflects the CoHE's policy emphasis on the development of technological research and university-industry partnership through the establishment of technology transfer offices which will be granted with a commercial company status upon the approval by the CoHE and based on collaboration between the public-private sectors, generally comprised of partnerships between universities and small-medium scale business agents as well as the related foundations of capital throughout the country (YÖK.*op.cit.*:34).

In the scope of such a restructuring pattern adjusting R&D and innovation activities to the to the higher education landscape, it is, also, stated that the university community, including lecturers, researchers and students, can get involved in these activities, and their payment conditions are determined by the regulations of the Ministry of Finance. In the same vein, academic staff is granted with the right of sabbatical leave or with a part-time status to conduct their research studies to contribute to these companies, to such an extent that they can become partners upon the approval of their university management with a view to serving commercial purposes through the outputs of their research studies (*loc.cit.*). As a result, the expansion of overall research capacity and knowledge production at universities is positioned into the pursuits of multi-layered networks constituted by the internal and external stakeholders in enhancing the national capacity to strive for excellence in research performance, and thus, quality in sustainable productivity growth on the international scene.

### **3.5. Restructuring in Social Issues**

Compared to the *Higher Education Act* (No.2547), the draft code could draw particular attention in terms of its emphasis on HEIs with reference to their social role through cooperation and solidarity, coupled with their increased public responsibilities in the educational and research-based contexts. In this regard, HEIs are considered to serve a public good by contributing to the resolution of their regional-local challenges with the environmental, social, economic and cultural landscape through the implementation of various projects, research studies and other similar activities. Moreover, they are supposed to prepare their students and update the contents of their programmes in order to enable sustainable productivity in the employment market, so they are allowed to establish advisory boards in order to collaborate with the social agents including the NGOs, business actors, public institutions and other related stakeholders.

Another related point in this framework is that HEIs can get involved in collaborative work with institutions and organisations to facilitate employees' graduate studies while they maintain their occupational positions. In line with these social contributions, universities are supposed to promote lifelong learning programmes and activities within the scope of regulations by the CoHE. Also, HEIs can provide in-service training courses for teachers and the administrative staff of educational institutions prior to higher education as well as the staff of other related institutions. Course materials and facilities are made open to everyone's easy access considering different disabled groups of students (*ibid.*:42). All these considerations specified in the draft could indicate the increasing efforts of the restructuring process to assign renewed roles and responsibilities to HEIs within their intensifying relationships with the regional-local, national and international actors on a remarkably socialised agenda.



#### **4. HIGHER EDUCATION IN ECONOMIC CONTEXT**

The fundamental imperatives of the Bologna Process obviously constitute a close relationship with the changing economic implications of the globalising markets, as the process has been designed to adjust and restructure the HES in line with the increasingly competitive demands and needs of the new market trends. This section reviews the economic conditions which shape any demands by social agents on the HES. The section basically refers to the analysis in the *Ninth Development Plan of Turkey (2007-2013)*, which can be regarded as one of the most prominent documents about the contemporary problems of the Turkish economy.

##### **4.1. Structural Problems of Competitiveness in the Global Economy: Upgrading and the Requirements from the Skilled Work Force**

During the 1980s, Turkey's exports relied on cheap labour and abundant raw material and were based on traditional goods like textiles, food and tourism. This formed the country's strategy for economic growth as suggested by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. However, this strategy turned out to be less and less viable with the changing demands of the emergent global framework in the early 2000s. The 2000s brought about an immediate decrease in export value of labour-intensive goods, and this decline degraded the output of cheap labour while upgrading the features on price, quality and delivery of goods with the increasingly advanced technology industries (SPO/DPT, 2006: 4). In other words, labour-intensive sectors no longer maintained their competitive advantage over the rapidly rising export value of the manufacturing sectors.

China's economic rise and integration into the world economy, especially after its membership to the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 2001 (*ibid.*: 8), led to adverse effects primarily on labour-intensive industries in Turkey. This development paved the way for a sharp decrease in traditional sectors during the period between 2002-2005 (*ibid.*: 34). Especially the WTO Agreement in 2005, removing the quotas

on textile products posed direct threats for the textile industries and exports of all the developing economies (*ibid.*:9). Within this scope of changing balances in manufacturing industry, the period of increasing performance with cheap work force in some developing countries, particularly in China and India, enhanced the competitiveness of these countries on a global scale. On the other hand, it required a shift to productivity-based growth in Turkey, as in many other developing economies, in order to adjust to the changing strategies of development and remain competitive in the world economy. Such a transformation process in the strategy of regenerating Turkish economic growth also involved two accompanying stages: implementing measures to increase labour productivity and and developing branding in the traditional labour-intensive industries (with sophistication in design and marketing) for sustainable growth on the global scale.

However, all these domestic efforts at the beginning of the 2000s were not sufficient enough for the Turkish economy to achieve comparative advantage within the context of technology-intensive production, implying a further shift from the productivity-based growth strategy to a higher value-added structure as the new source of growth. It also implied upgrading in the economy in general (Donner and Ramsay, 2003). Within this context of a structural transition in the organisation of developing economies, industries of chemical products, electronics, machinery and equipment have created new areas of comparative advantage, constituting the primary sectors with the largest proportion of higher value (Ministry of Industry and Trade, 2010).

There have been significant increases in the production and export value of domestic investments in the manufacturing industry particularly since 2002, thanks to the increasing performance of automotive, machinery and electronics industries. However, such a sectoral shift in the exported goods have also generated high levels of dependency on imported intermediate goods and technology, hindering a successful structural shift to the realisation of value-added production at satisfactory levels in Turkey. Therefore, the share of these sectors within the domestic production structure have been relatively low compared to the shares of the same industries in the E.U. countries (DPT, *op.cit.*: 34).

The above-mentioned initiatives which are directly based on a skilled work force and the effective use of scientific and technological capacity have obviously raised the significance of human capital in the business environment. They have thereby triggered the efforts for the training of this skilled work force and promoted the acquisition of the required skills in accordance with the recent period of economic restructuring activities in Turkey.

#### **4.2. Vision of the Ninth Development Plan (2007-2013) of Turkey**

A structural transformation into the production of higher value added goods as well as a particular emphasis on the development of highly educated and skilled labour (which are generally characterised by knowledge- and technology-intensive industries incorporating specialisation) has called for increasingly advanced technological processes in production and development of innovation capacities. These have been considered at the core of growth and integration of into the current economic dynamics of globalisation. (SPO, *op. cit.*: 5). To this end, the vision of the Ninth Development Plan for the Turkish economy, covering the period of 2007-2013, was specified as “Turkey, a country of information society, growing in stability, sharing more equitably, globally competitive and fully completed her harmonization with the European Union” (*ibid.*: 1).

An increase in labour productivity levels in the manufacturing industry since 2001 has led to rises in the shares of export of medium- and high-technology products. However, it has also given way to high levels of dependence on the imported inputs, and this factor still poses a major challenge in achieving structural change for sustainable growth in the Turkish economy. It implies an unfair competition environment due to the larger share of imported inputs from other developing countries (*ibid.*: 33). Within the scope of this development programme involving policies for a vision trying to consolidate the shift to a high value-added production structure in industry and services in order to benefit adequately from integration into the world trade, Turkey has undergone a new phase of economic recovery to take a further step towards areas of higher efficiency in value-added production.

#### **4.2.1. Structural problems of the skilled labour market in Turkey**

The Ninth Development Plan puts an increasing emphasis on the skilled work force market as the current work force is not capable enough to cater to the needs of business because the changing circumstances of production have paved the way for an adaptation process concerning the use of new skills in efficient ways. In this context, *flexibility* and *life-long learning* are considered the vital components of the skilled labour market since the shift in production has generated a competitive squeeze. Along with this competitive environment, high technology and innovativeness have reduced the half-life of knowledge. Thus, they have necessitated a new type of workforce capable of showing smooth adaptability and transfer of skills to the requirements of the developing economy and workforce market by enhancing the required know-how throughout one's professional life (*ibid.*:84). However, the fact that the current work force in Turkey lacks these two basic skills poses a significant challenge for the productivity of the labour market.

In addition to this skills-driven restriction of the workforce in the country, the process of shift to the qualified workforce involves some structural limitations with the production capabilities in the industrial zones. These restrictive conditions have faced Turkey with a problem of insufficient physical infrastructure within the value chain, and this problem has been one of the underlying factors for the ineffective use of institutional reforms, primarily in small-scale enterprises with inadequate levels of technology and innovativeness. This structural challenge has generated an imbalance between the growth rates of import and export activities as it is closely associated with a lack of upgrading, the low share of R&D expenditures in GDP percentages and an insufficient number of qualified researchers (*ibid.*: 29, 59-60). Otherwise, it would be possible to incorporate knowledge and innovation capacities as well as skilled work force in line with the input demands of the industry, which has, in essence, become contingent upon a large import share of technological and capital goods, and these are accompanied by the large proportion of exported consumption goods. These problems and restrictions have basically brought about a problem of current account deficit within the Turkish business environment in recent years (*ibid.*: 15).

#### **4.2.2. Problems in the quality of higher education in Turkey**

The Ninth Development Plan sets the problem of quality in the national education system at all levels as another significant issue in this scope. More specifically, it regards the shift from the low-skilled work force in the traditional sectors with the *basic requirements* to the skilled work force with *flexible qualifications* in decision-making and adaptation to rapidly changing technologies as playing a crucial role in the increasing demand for improving the quality of education system (*ibid.*:84-86). Hence, many related parties have defined the Turkish education system as inadequate to meet the demands of the global business setting. A more efficient education system has been defined as one that is able to respond properly to the changing needs in the labour market, and such an understanding has brought about a change in the perceptions of quality in university education which has also required a shift of focus on the practices of teaching and learning at university. The traditional, single-size model of university steered under the centralised structure of higher education has no longer been considered to provide an effective model of education as it neither allows sufficient space for competitive, transparent and updated teaching and learning outcomes, nor it provides diversity, flexibility, division of labour through inter-university cooperation as well as productivity in research activities through strengthened university-business collaboration. As a result, all these considerations have raised hot debates basically on the issue of *university autonomy* as the key shortcoming within the system.

In this context, the growing reference to the development of knowledge and skills for a highly educated and skilled work force required by the high value-added production structure, has implied a substantial necessity to prepare students to handle more problem-oriented tasks and equip them with more adaptable, practical and project-based research skills, rather than an exam-focused methods. Accordingly, a particular emphasis has been on the achievement of life-long learning processes and recognition of innovative skills in all disciplines. In this scope, a crucial point of discussion has been set on adjusting the sensitivities of education to the demand for the qualified work force on the part of business. Such a system has also been regarded as increasing the employability levels during the transition period of the Turkish economy (*ibid.*: 39-40). In this sense, strengthening university-industry

cooperation for the development of R&D activities and the upbringing of qualified researchers has been underlined as one of the essential steps in the enrichment of the HES.

Throughout the preparation period of this educational development plan, there has also been a difficulty with allocating mid-level workers in the required fields, for the inconvenient conditions of vocational education programmes and the high rate of unemployment among their graduates have made this type of schools less preferable for students with high cognitive skills (*ibid.*: 39). Thus, fostering a transformation of vocational and technical education on the basis of a modular system under a single structure has been one of the top priorities in order to bring up students skilled in group tasks in addition to the processes of responsibility undertaking, decision-making and problem-solving as required by the added-value structure for productivity growth (*ibid.*: 84).

#### **4.2.3. Implications of the Bologna Process on the education of the skilled workforce**

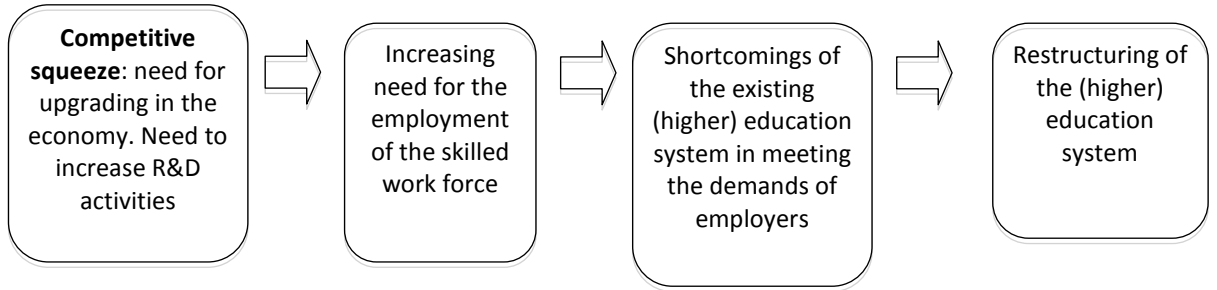
Accommodating the needs of the industry has been involved within the framework of the restructuring activities of the HES of the Bologna Process. To this end, the two issues of priority on the Bologna agenda have been skilled work force and high-quality education, by which the Bologna actors have been envisaging the development of *students who can primarily learn to learn* in order to become graduates equipped with the advanced knowledge, comparable qualifications and transferable skills required all throughout their professional lives (YÖK, 2010). In other words, implementation of quality assurance in HEIs prepares students to improve their educational competencies not only during their formal learning processes, but also enables graduates to continue their *professional development in non-formal and informal learning environments*. As a result, the restructuring process of higher education in the Bologna context has been supposed to facilitate a student-centered learning environment in such a way that encourages participation in life-long learning, also promoting an effective coordination in the ‘knowledge triangle’ of education, research and business with particular emphasis on the development of entrepreneurial skills to take an active part in informed decision-making processes for the labour market demands (European Commission, 2011). In

this context, ensuring a vision of improved quality in HEIs, and bridging the gap between university education and labour market has been closely associated with the extent to which this level of quality responds to the current challenges with the value-added productivity (YÖK, 2007).

Another significant issue within the scope of skilled labour is related to the term *employability*. In line with the productivity growth-oriented discourse of the Bologna Process, this concept refers to enabling graduates to get fully equipped with the required know-how of their fields of study in order to seize the opportunities in the relevant sectors thanks to their competitive, mobile, creative and easily adaptable professional competences under the rapidly changing labour market conditions (YÖK, 2010). Thus, strengthening *university-industry cooperation*, regarded as an indispensable strategy of adopting highly qualified work force into the labour market, has been assumed a crucial role primarily in the development of professional individuals who are both highly educated and technically trained to use their innovative and generic skills in the most productive ways by which organisations manage their business activities (YÖK, 2007).

Considering the potential outcomes with respect to the enhancement of higher education programmes in accordance with the growing requirement for skilled work force in the process of transition to the added-value structure, restructuring of the Turkish HES has been facilitated through the implementation of a more standardised, coordinated and planned strategy. Also, steered under the principles of *transparency and accountability* raising a competitive structure on the international scale, this process of transformation in the national system has been adopted as an essential concern within the development programmes of the State Planning Organisation particularly since the early 2000s (SPO, *op.cit.*). Therefore, an active involvement of the Bologna reforms into the restructuring strategy adopted by the Council of Higher Education has been widely regarded as a substantial tool which will contribute to a convergence between the qualifications of university graduates and the needs of industry. In this scope, the current structural challenges of the qualified labour market through highly-educated and skilled work force are expected to be resolved en route to ensuring an increasingly competitive and sustainable future for economic growth.

The Ninth Development Plan establishes a vital relation between the structural problems of contemporary Turkish economy and the intensifying demands on the restructuring of the HES. Figure 4.1. represents this relation:



**Figure 4.1:** The relationship between the economic context and the restructuring of the HES.

## 5. DOMESTIC SOCIAL AGENTS AND NATIONAL STATE PRACTICES

Some part of the literature<sup>2</sup> on the Bologna Process and its links with the restructuring of higher education perceives the dynamics triggering such a form of transformation as a process imposed by the European countries upon the developing world (*cf.* Weiss, 2003: 245-271). However, a closer investigation into these dynamics could imply that the changes introduced by the Bologna Process, in essence, reveal a convergence upon the needs and demands of different social agents in Turkey. From this regard, the present study claims that the Bologna Process should be analysed not necessarily as a result of a uni-directional form of transformation, but of the demands by the local-regional bodies, coupled with their emerging pressure upon the government and education system in the country. Given such an alternative implication, the Bologna Process could also be described as a bilateral form of involvement being shaped not only in a direction taken from the transnational to the local-national but also from the local-national to the transnational, resulting from the social relations constituted by the economic and political dynamics. Therefore, general perceptions on the dynamics initiating the implementation of the Process in Turkey could be united under three different forms of interpretation as follows:

1. The Bologna Process could be regarded as a form of hegemony of the European dynamics upon the HES in Turkey.
2. The Bologna Process could be perceived as the outcome of state- (CoHE-) centered driving mechanisms used to restructure university education in Turkey.
3. Imperatives of the Bologna Process could be closely associated with the needs and demands of the social agents in Turkey.

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<sup>2</sup> For some of this literature, see Appendix C.

This chapter aims at investigating the relationship between the demands of social agents in Turkey and the state practices of restructuring the HES. Thus, the analysis in this chapter looks into the needs and demands of these social agents, including business, labour and members of the academic community. This analysis will converge with that in the following chapter, on the imperatives of the Bologna Process and the features of restructuring designed by the Council of Higher Education (CoHE). Such an effort is intended to demonstrate the convergences between the processes of restructuring on the European and Turkish scales and the demands of national agents.

Social agents on the national scale cannot be regarded as isolated from those on the European or global scale. They act within the international contexts and are part of the international networks of production and exchange. Moreover, they form alliances with their counterparts on larger scales. Thus, this chapter begins with an analysis of the contemporary economic context in which the social agents act. Then, it proceeds with the above-mentioned analysis of demands by these agents.

### **5.1. Conflicting Demands by Social Agents on Higher Education**

The present part will begin with the needs, demands and recommendations of big business as well as those of small and medium business establishments with respect to the transformation of higher education in Turkey. Next, it will proceed with the conflicting demands and recommendations of labour. While doing so, the discussion in this framework will draw on the reports recently published by the leading organisations; namely, TÜSIAD (Turkish Industry & Business Association, TOBB (The Union of Chambers and Stock Markets of Turkey) and Eğitim-Sen (the Union of Education and Science Employees).

The interviewees' responses do not seem to be in full compliance with the aforementioned implication in the introductory part of the present chapter. However, it is worth considering that this feedback includes a bulk of their viewpoints. Regardless of the interpretations of the interviewees, the current part aims to confirm that there is a crucial connection between the business bodies and the university restructuring agenda of the Bologna Process, which has also been made evident

through the reports including recommendations by the major business organisations with respect to the defined transformation policies in the Turkish HES.

### **5.1.1. Demands by business**

To begin with the changing needs and demands of business on various scales particularly in the national context, it is evident that the relationship between education and employment has shifted into a different course in the processes of (value-added) production and use of (productive) work force. In line with the changes in the employment market, there have been transformations in the knowledge and skills required by business and industry. These changes have also been coupled with a particular emphasis on employability, which has been intended to ensure the availability of skilled labour under the market conditions of the *knowledge economy* and its emergent *information society* (TÜSİAD, 2008; TOBB, 2012). Consequently, it seems fair to say that such structural dynamics and their relevant needs in the business environment have remarkably influenced the overall agenda of action lines designed to transform the Turkish HES. These efforts to link up university and industry could also provide some insight, whether implicitly or explicitly, into certain needs of business in the face of the increasingly competitive conditions of globalisation.

In the scope of these structural dynamics of the global market economy, advantages of the big and small-medium businesses, depending on different sizes of capital, could reveal discernible differences. In line with this comparative perspective, small-medium business organisations can be more flexible with regard to their easy access to cheap labour and the relative prevalence of informality within establishments, while big businesses are provided with a number of privileges in terms of their financial and technical capabilities as well as their advantageous positions in supply and marketing operations. All these capabilities on the part of big business could also display a disadvantageous position for small-medium business organisations from these aspects.

Within such an analytical framework, the aim of this study was to compare and contrast the demands and positions of TÜSİAD, a representative of big business, with those of TOBB, a representative of small and medium business. However, a deeper analysis into their recommendations for the envisioned HES in Turkey has

indicated that these two organisations bear almost no differences in terms of their needs and demands regarding the restructuring agenda of the Turkish HES. A way of interpretation out of this result could be that productivity of skilled labour is of similar significance in its form and extent for such different organisational dynamics of capital relations. Therefore, the following discussion will be dealing with the needs and demands of business with a particular focus on TÜSİAD and TOBB within a single, comprehensive analysis. In this scope, their common interests concentrate on recommendations for the bringing up of a productivity-oriented skilled workforce and research environment at university through an autonomous and accountable management, promotion of diversity and external governance, development of research and strengthened university-industry relationship, financial flexibility and diversified funding sources, quality assurance and accreditation. The following sections involve an analysis with further detail into the demands of TÜSİAD and TOBB by reference to the reports published by these two organisations, namely, *Higher Education in Turkey: Trends, Challenges, Opportunities* (TÜSİAD, 2008) and *Yükseköğretim Meclisi Sektör Raporu* (Sector of Higher Education Assembly Report) (TOBB, 2012).

#### **5.1.1.1. Autonomy and accountability**

The priorities of business organisations increasingly involved in a knowledge-based economy, driven by the globalised market trend, international integration into the competitive markets intensified in the 1990s (TOBB, 2012:23), have been promoted through the predominant European policy discourse on restructuring of higher education. In the particular context of the Bologna Process, the concept of autonomy, coupled with the demand for (internal and external) accountability, is considered essential within the overall scope of the structural transformation process in HEIs. In other words, the conceptual implications of this requirement for a structural change in the role and functioning of HESs refer to university governance and university budgeting within the scope of autonomy. Also, drawing on TOBB Higher Education Council's report (*ibid.*, cited in Erguvan, 2010: 65), autonomy is similarly defined as “the capability of generating sufficient sources of financing for higher education activities and the responsibility of catering to the expectations of society with respect to education and research studies”.

Within the context of such an all-inclusive approach towards a self-regulatory university environment, a paradigm shift regarding the role of university in response to the rapidly changing market conditions has evidently triggered the initiatives to ensure an administrative management by university leaders as well as to achieve a competitive edge addressing creativity and innovativeness through financial sustainability at university level in the face of dwindling public financing allocated for higher education (TÜSİAD, *op.cit.*; TOBB, *op.cit.*). However, the following discussion of this part will mostly be dealing with the issue of autonomy in university governance as the debate on financial sustainability is later to be analysed in further detail under the conceptualisation of financial flexibility and diversified sources of funding in the upcoming section of the chapter.

The IEP (*European University Association's Institutional Evaluation Programme*) analysis in TÜSİAD's report (*op.cit.*), reveals a "lack of autonomy", as the prime limitation to the development of university system (*p.* 66), only allowing for the design of academic courses and grading systems. TÜSİAD, accordingly, regards the growing need for an autonomous university governance in Turkey as the basis for academic freedom (*ibid.*:15). Thus, realisation of autonomy is considered as a prerequisite for the development of institutional vision, mission and aims with a set time plan defined by empowered university leaders on the basis of subsidiarity. This means the delegation of certain responsibilities and the designation of their levels in each university in compliance with an agreed national strategy throughout the implementation process of the Bologna objectives within the university community (*ibid.*:26). By doing so, HEIs are also expected to attain the European standards to take part in the current global circles of competition focused on the integration of quality assurance systems into universities across the country.

At the core of institutional autonomy, also, lies the concept of accountability, constituting responsibility and transparency towards all the facets of society, which is to ensure that university education is accessible to every member in society under the defined responsibilities of university actors, who are supposed to produce institutional strategic plans with minimised interference by national-level regulatory bodies (*loc.cit.*). Therefore, as far as the demands of business are concerned, the true definition of autonomy requires a renewed conception of university administration

dependent on the overall structuring of a self-regulatory system. In line with their understanding of autonomy, the business actors, also, argue that well-established leadership and administration within an institution enables working around the externally defined structure to a certain extent, while the opposite form of a structure allowing for diversity and leadership within an institution could contribute to an overall progress in HEIs throughout the country. In this sense, TÜSİAD (*ibid.*:30) highlights that there is a gap between legislative and operational autonomy in Turkish higher education, and it concedes that YÖK, in accordance with a transfer from its detailed regulatory power as a centralised administration into a consulting and steering body with a minimised level of interference into the internal affairs and functioning of universities, is to maintain its role as “a buffer organisation. The CoHE is, thus, supposed to ensure that higher education is free of political influence” (*ibid.*:8) by proposing policies and coordinating HEIs through its nation-level representative role within the organisation of the system.

Another consideration in the framework of TÜSİAD’s demands on higher education (*ibid.*) underlines the possibility of replacing the binary structuring of Inter-University Council and the Rectors’ Committee with the Rectors’ Council, a single organisation which is to be composed of rectors, enabling a more efficient ground of functioning, as also observed in the European HEIs.

In line with the demand for a revision of the detailed YÖK regulations to achieve a more autonomous decision-making structure at university level, it is also suggested that selection of rectors should be grounded on a merit-based system with the involvement of all the university stakeholders, including the staff and students, as well as external stakeholders with a view to ensuring a true sense of transparency and competition. Similarly, the number of vice-rectors should depend on the university administration’s decision while their roles should also be reconsidered and their responsibilities should be extended in a larger framework, involving strategic priority areas as well as non-academic issues. (*ibid.*:46)

It is, therefore, evident that institutional autonomy, perceived as an effective means to achieve a more decentralised management in higher education, has been one of the basic demands on the agenda of both big and small-medium business circles. Considering the unprecedented needs for productivity increase within the globally

competitive markets, implementation of a fully autonomous, and thus a more flexible and responsive ground in university governance has been considered a crucial need to generate highly skilled workforce and make a better use of continuously upgraded labour skills.

#### **5.1.1.2. Diversity and external governance**

The second leading demand from HEIs, as voiced in the reports of TÜSİAD and TOBB, addresses the concept of diversity for the attainment of creativity and effectiveness in learning and research environments in the face of the ever-increasing necessity for more and more diversified labour skills within the scope of deepening production forms, designed to generate a competitive advantage in today's globalised market. As a result of such an essential requirement for diversity in production processes, coupled with the development of highly skilled and educated human labour adaptable to the rapidly changing market conditions, universities are expected to focus more on profile-building activities conducive to the making of external governance networks (*ibid.*:5). By doing so, they are supposed to specialize in certain areas of excellence in order to provide qualified higher education services in accordance with their defined strategy plans and inter-university cooperation in research, delineated particularly by the changing market needs.

Within the scope of the Bologna Process, it is also apparent that the idea behind the making of the European Higher Education Area caters to the demand by the global business agents for diversity in higher education since it is aimed to converge university institutions in a comparable manner without interference to their individual differences. However, the detailed regulatory legislative framework of YÖK with a "single-type" model of arrangements is regarded as a limitation to diversification not only in the national qualifications for the cultivation of university students with specialised areas of knowledge and skills, but also a challenge in the processes of labour production to be supported by the promotion of innovation, creativity and excellence in quality as the required conditions to be able to compete on the international markets (TOBB, *op.cit.*:27). The centralised administration of YÖK under the Law 2547 is, accordingly, considered intrusive to the achievement of the European standards, having been designed to adjust HESs to the needs and

demands of the globalised job market via the implementation of the Bologna objectives in the member countries (TÜSİAD, 2012:3).

In this scope of the increasingly diversified employment market needs, requiring a wide range of easily adjustable skills able to internalise flexible responses in problem-solving processes, coupled with the exponentially decreasing half-life of knowledge (TÜSİAD, 2008: 25; TOBB, *op.cit.*), it is concluded that the Turkish HES needs to address the issue of growing diversity with particular emphasis on institutional identity building. Also, guided by the understanding of a “framework law” (TÜSİAD, 2012, *loc.cit.*), the system is expected to provide all universities with a more autonomous structure as well as a more competitive environment.

#### **5.1.1.3. Research and strengthened university-industry relationship**

As industries have been exposed to increasingly advanced technologies of production within the dynamics of internationally competitive markets, educational dynamics, with particular emphasis on higher education policies, have also been required to intensify specialization of knowledge and skills for sustainability of productivity and innovation. Thus, in addition to the traditional role of universities as the leading institutions of research in the basic and theoretical context, raising global concerns of massification and employability in the discourse of ever-increasing competitiveness have led universities to be evaluated in terms of the relevance of their applied-research activities within the conditions and needs of the market place. In other words, university has also been assigned the role of a bridge between the transfer of academic education and scientific research into an economic form of value in the business environment (*ibid.*:4). Within these conditions required by the transition to the discourse of information society, the changing perception of university towards a new field with an economic function, as well as its conventional role as an intellectual, scientific and cultural center has recently been at the core of initiatives to strengthen relations between university and industry (TOBB, *op.cit.*:29). In this scope, in order to keep up with the prominent needs of business and industry, there has been a growing demand for university students to get equipped with the required skills of the market, and thus to get fully prepared to overtake real work. Moreover, the academic staff has been encouraged more to participate in institutional research

activities, and to be engaged in performance-based sabbatical work in the industrial areas of excellence.

Concomitant to these restructuring policies in higher education, having proceeded under the overwhelming support of the employment market in line with its increasingly prevalent demand for employability of university graduates as of the 1990s (Uzunyayla and Ercan, in Ercan and Korkusuz-Kurt, 2011:217), it could be understood that there are intense efforts to achieve the adaptability of qualifications for employability in the market. To this end, discussions on the qualifications required to achieve a productivity increase in the value-added system have concentrated on learner-oriented processes. Thus, the nature of labour has been transformed in such a way to generate an active involvement process of production on the part of employees so that they can be both producers and users of new information. Furthermore, they are supposed to accomplish the given tasks and responsibilities through project-based learning, mostly in the form of team work activities supplemented with their easily adaptable, outcome-oriented and independent problem-solving skills. In accordance with all these requirements in the discourse of employability, there is also a growing reference to employees equipped with flexible, creative, innovative, productive, competitive, practical and transferable qualifications in order to adjust to the rapidly changing forms of organisations related to technologies and business activities. As a result of such developments in the employment market, recruitment of a highly qualified work force is thought to be a vital component for sustainable productivity within the business market.

Such considerations into the enhancement of university-level opportunities to serve the competitive market demands have fostered university-industry relationship, also making it one of the top priorities of the Bologna Process. In this regard, it has been considered an indispensable component for the promotion of research activities and the production of innovative projects in HEIs, coupled with the principles of interdisciplinarity and inter-institutional cooperation with a view to ensuring the feasibility of research initiatives. From this aspect, it can be observed that there has recently been a remarkable progress in research activities and the development of projects at university level in Turkey (TÜSIAD, 2008:60).

Within the scope of such an industrial strategy, the market agents have sought for ways of collaboration with the university community. As a result of these efforts, it has been observed that business and industry have aimed to utilise the integration of university's project capacity into the market, including both qualified human capital (educated researchers, research assistants, students) and improved capabilities (technology areas, interdisciplinary and problem-oriented research centres, laboratories, libraries) as they expect to solve their production-based limitations via development of methodological and technological advances with the help of joint projects between university and industry. Thus, the expected result has been to manage to respond to the rapid changes in the leading market mechanisms for high-tech productivity in the added-value system (Kaymaz and Eryiğit, 2011:3). In this regard, promotion of strengthened university-industry partnerships, considered crucial for well-established, scientific and technological research alliances between the two sides, has also brought about a further involvement of public funding into use of the private sector through its investments in R&D activities at universities.

Together with all these considerations, as highlighted in TÜSİAD's report (*ibid.*), one can conclude three main issues of limitations and relevant categories of suggestions for further achievement in research capacity and productivity in R&D activities at universities in Turkey:

**i. Funding:**

One of the prevalent concerns raised as a financial obstacle, by the reports of TÜSİAD and TOBB (with research productivity increase in the domain of higher education in Turkey) is the necessity for a further rise in public resources dedicated to scientific research on the basis of national competition. Although there seem to be sufficient practices of research activities, mainly funded by TÜBİTAK, DPT (State Planning Organisation) in cooperation with the Ministry of Finance and the EU Framework collaborative projects, it is argued that the expanding share of other organisations in R&D activities could turn out to be a wasted budget in the sector unless supported by a rise in national investment through a competitive strategy in the academic field (*ibid.*:61). From this perspective, more public funding for basic research at university is required to accompany other shares allocated by the non-state establishments, so allocation from the state budget should be defined as one of

the priorities of university management in order to build up research productivity in the applied field, the basis of which is mostly considered to lie upon fundamental research. In doing so, another opportunity for the promotion of research and innovation (mainly grounded on profit-making projects through university-industry relationship) could be the formation of a financial scheme by the central management. This could also include amendments in the allocation of revolving funds system in a way that will stimulate contract-based research and reduce high amounts of cuts through legal and financial deregulatory revisions (*ibid.*:62).

In line with the argument for an increase in competitive research practices funded by the government, there is also a remarkable demand for promotion in academic salaries through an achievement-based principle together with other incentives such as financial reward, with the aim of making the present conditions of research more attractive for lecturers and young researchers. From this aspect, the high load of teaching hours of academicians mainly undertaken as an additional source of income due to their low salaries is considered a remarkable discentive to the efficient use of research capacity at university. With a view to overcoming such a financial challenge, a merit-based strategy for salary increases is recommended in such a way that will incorporate research performance, professional development, student feedback as well as teaching performance (*ibid.*:53). With respect to this research-oriented policy proposal as an incentive to foster competition in the context of university-industry relationship, it is, moreover, underlined that the academic staff should deserve the right of patent, and considerations for income distribution and promotion should be revised in accordance with patent-related achievements of researchers (TÜSİAD, 2012:5).

#### **ii. Infrastructure and human resources:**

A crucial component of the emergent information society has been claimed to call for a restructuring process of organisation in the functioning and role of HESs. (TOBB, *op.cit.*:27) According to this argument, establishment of a university-wide research strategy in compliance with defined profile, mission and objectives of a university is crucial and a successful transformation mainly depends on the viability of institutional strategies ensuring a feasible infrastructure for the promotion of research policies and enhancement of university-industry partnership. To this end,

interaction through collaborative strategies with internal and external stakeholders is perceived as one of the essential instruments involved in the required infrastructure of a university. In the light of such a cooperative approach constituting an overall structural framework, it is stated (TÜSİAD, *loc.cit.*) that a number of establishments encompassing problem-oriented research centres, Technology Transfer Offices and centres of excellence within universities, contribute to innovative research practices in relevance to the needs of the industry.

With regard to human resources, it is reported that there is an urgent need for a coherent and productive strategy between the national and institutional schemes to coordinate the university actors with a stronger focus on the relevance of research and innovation in the rapidly changing context of needs and demands. Within this framework, the academic staff is recommended to attend training and exchange programmes for a professional enrichment regarding new learner-centred teaching methodologies, as well as for an awareness of other structural ongoing dynamics involved in the reconceptualisation of research in higher education. The second recommendation in this context is that periodical participation into work for the business and industry for a few years (sabbatical work) should be included in the performance-based success of the academic staff (*loc.cit.*).

As mentioned earlier in the discussion of financial challenges, another concern in the scope of staffing strategies is observed in the employment conditions and low funding opportunities for young researchers' investigations, mainly resulting in low levels of motivation for innovative projects, and thus a shortage of the qualified new academic staff for contribution to productivity in research fields (TÜSİAD, 2008:62).

### **iii. Internal and external cooperation:**

To begin with the context of internal cooperation, the fragmented structure of universities can, first of all, be regarded as an outstanding impediment against the achievement of a comprehensive institutional research strategy and interdisciplinarity, also required for a greater level of involvement by the academic staff into research practices. Another recommendation for an efficient use of research capacities at universities, brought about by the reports of TÜSİAD and TOBB, is participation into research through problem-oriented centers directly accountable to the rector, in order to ensure interdisciplinarity and productivity in research. In

accordance with the strategies implemented in these centres, students are aimed to be more oriented towards project-based learning and teamwork, coupled with problem-solving and individual learning assignments. Moreover, the establishment of a central unit under the rectorate for coordinating research activities and steering the use of resources in a coherent way, which are already available in a number of universities in Turkey, is promoted in line with the general profile, missions and strategies of universities. (*loc.cit.*).

As to the incentives for external cooperation, advisory boards composed of business experts and other related stakeholders of the industry are promoted as a good model of interaction for collaborative work oriented to strengthening partnerships with business and scrutinising the relevance of study and research programmes in order to generate a more responsive university-level management, taking account of the market conditions and the necessities. Affiliations through technology parks and similar innovative establishments are recommended to enhance the university-business partnership. Furthermore, mobility of the overall academic community, including lecturers, researchers and students, through participation into international and national exchange programmes, is strongly supported, particularly in terms of an effective diffusion of knowledge within an inter-institutional scope. Thus, such a demand of the business environment is specified, by the reports of TÜSİAD and TOBB, as another policy-lever for a more qualified and coherent research strategy at the local level, being supplemented through various instruments of interaction with the academic environment, such as inter-university exchange programmes, partnerships and project-based agreements. (*ibid.*:42)

Considering such full-fledged efforts on the strengthening of university-industry relationship, it is also highlighted that predictability, transparency and mobility of labour force are regarded as the key components for productivity increase. Besides these newly required qualifications of labour force accompanied by the change in its nature in the discourse of employability, the market requirement for an effective evaluation and measurement of the quality standards in the workforce has simply characterised the shaping of standardisation processes for the market place, paying particular attention to the potential labour force of university students. Urged by the economic dynamics of globalisation in this context, this emergent market trend has

also been evident by international companies' pursuits of predictable, transparent and thus mobile standards in the labour market in order to improve and maintain their efficiency levels. By doing so, mobility increase in workforce at the international level has been regarded as a prerequisite for companies to be able to compare and measure the qualifications of potential labour with the minimum wages, which will provide companies with a proportional increase in absolute and relative added value in production processes. Accordingly, it could be observed that the Bologna Process has, to a great extent, provided the market with an opportunity to utilise these qualifications by promoting a series of new institutional arrangements for universities such as the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS), the Diploma Supplement (DS), outcome-oriented and student-centred learning processes, inter-institutional cooperation in the assessment of quality control standards as well as exchange programmes designed to promote mobility among university students, young researchers and lecturers (Özgün, in Ercan and Korkusuz-Kurt, 2011:394).

Given such considerations associating the imperatives of the Bologna Process with the evaluation tools of quality of labour force, it could be witnessed that the globalised market needs converge on comparability of qualifications on the international scale through transparency and predictability of labour. Within this discourse of employability, it could also be inferred that acquisition of a comprehensive insight into the content of skills of graduates to be employed has been an increasingly significant requirement for companies to balance their productivity increase for profitability in the capital market and their budget allocations for wages in the labour market.

Through these rising efforts to enhance university-industry collaboration, it could also be observed that rearrangement of HEIs in communication with the external stakeholders is aimed to educate the qualified work force while also equipping the market with the required tools for R&D activities. Thus, the renewed structuring, grounded on the notion of entrepreneurial university, seems to play a crucial role as a driving mechanism for capital accumulation within the market place. From such a neoliberal agenda dominant in the era of globalisation, the main features peculiar to university transformation have evidently focused on the reshaping of higher

education policies and rearrangement of scientific research practices as a consequence of the unprecedented forms of alliance between labour and capital in order to accommodate the market sensitivities under the interdependent social networks of powerful industrial groups involved in the growing internationalization of production and trade investments. In a similar vein to this new dimension in the conceptualisation of university, the underlying reason behind the growing number of foundation universities could, also, be explained via the efforts to promote a sound context of convergence between the discourse of professional university leadership and the demands of the hegemonic market strategies.

#### **5.1.1.4. Financial Flexibility and Diversified Sources of Funding**

Considering the yearly negotiations among the Council of Higher Education, the Ministry of Finance and the State Planning Organisation (for investments) on budget allocations of all state-universities, it appears that financial management of the Turkish HES is mostly based on state budget allocations, which are, therefore, subject to a regulatory and legal framework, highlighted by the reports of TÜSİAD and TOBB as conducive to little space for a flexible and complex financial management supported (*ibid.*:21). However, as it is mostly the case in the European countries, the current demands and needs of business and industry in Turkey increasingly agree on a more independent financial management promoting well-trained academic leadership to facilitate a more efficient allocation and use of sources within the overall university. In this context, budgeting is also justified as a means of communication between university and the external non-state community so that they can correspond to each other's sensitivities within the discourse of a knowledge-based global economy.

Behind this idea of financial flexibility associated with university budgeting lie the notions of autonomy and “entrepreneurial university”, regarded simply as two sides of a coin, as autonomy in the business discourse ensures that universities, besides a flexible management, have the capability to explore diversified sources of funding other than public sources, and to allocate these sources in consideration of the priority areas within university. Thus, it is apparent that throughout the restructuring process in the HES, budgeting has been an increasingly crucial tool of university leadership initiatives to prioritise their funding sources and form a coherent policy

related to the strategically identified targets in compliance with national policy objectives. In this regard, successful levels of research performance is seen essential in that universities are provided with multiple sources of funding thanks to their innovative activities with national and international stakeholders. From such a financial aspect, institutional autonomy of university has also been associated with 'lump-sum budgets', 'full costing' and 'capacity increase in funding sources', which are considered the key components for the fulfillment of institutional aims and objectives. (*ibid.*:6).

Moreover, the idea of financial flexibility has gained a remarkable place within the recent debates on budgeting in higher education, intensified by the exponential student intake together with the decrease in public allocations for the system (TOBB, *op.cit.*:11-17), resulting in an urgent and continual need for a considerable expansion in fund-raising activities of universities. Thus, universities have been more and more focused on financial sustainability-related issues to generate their own sources by making use of various contributions, particularly from sponsored projects, corporate partnerships and other similar establishments with external stakeholders, in addition to tuition fees from curricular and extracurricular programmes, such as life-long learning activities (YÖK, 2011).

On the other hand, it has been observed that despite the law on Public Financial Management (TÜSİAD, *op.cit.*: 20), which came into force in 2006 to facilitate the financial autonomy of HEIs through the development of strategic plans and performance-based budgeting system, universities still have external obligations with regard to their financial issues, leading to little coherence in income generation and its distribution.

As most reviewers in the TÜSİAD report (*ibid.*), also, state in their comments upon the tightly regulated budgeting system in the Turkish HEIs, one can obviously infer the current challenges posing a lack of coherence between the legislative and operational autonomy within these restrictive conditions of the regulatory framework:

Universities are subject to rigid procedural controls which involve four restricted spending periods within the year, thus reducing flexibility ... The budget formulation is based on a line

item principle rather than lump sum budgeting, thus limiting operational flexibility. ... No state funding for research is directly provided to universities, as part of the budget. (p.79)

The detailed line-item budgeting system and the cumbersome rules for the use of public funds lead to less efficient utilisation of these funds and to heavy and time-consuming administrative duties. (*loc.cit.*)

In addition to these concerns, the following comment has been made in spite of the ratification of the new regulation. This still indicates the insufficiency of the recent efforts towards the assignment of more responsibility to the university management for a performance-based strategy of internal income distribution in line with the priority areas and needs at the institutional level:

We cannot easily understand how this shift from input-based to performance-based funding can be applied if the university is not in a position to draw and manage a real strategy at central level. This kind of strategy requires, among other things, the establishment of a system of internal allocation of funding to the various Faculties based on their performance. (*loc.cit.*)

Given the overall limitations of financial autonomy within the present funding structure regulated by the state organisations and the resulting challenges with institutional budget allocation, it is argued that more responsibility, coupled with more independent and transparent management mechanisms based on a culture of decentralisation for an efficient use of internally generated funds, should be jointly assigned on the part of the university community. Hence, the transfer to a performance-based model could also prove to be effective through the promotion of incentives within a more entrepreneurial environment under financial flexibility, diversity of sources and institutional strategic planning. To this end, the regulatory framework on the use of sources is recommended to be more relaxed with a view to diminishing the gap between the legislative and operational autonomy. It is thus expected to allow free allocation of institutional revenues through the promotion of further performance-based budgeting (*ibid.*:33).

Another recommendation on financial autonomy by the reports of TÜSİAD and TOBB focuses on the replacement of annual budgeting with a strategic use of funding instruments secured for longer periods, involving three to five years, in order

to promote the institutional development in the light of a strategic planning designed to take shorter- and longer-term needs of all the university units into account. In other words, it is demanded that time-related obstacles with the use of surpluses must be overcome through a guarantee of their availability for extended periods, and thus it must be ensured that universities have sufficient sources to achieve their objectives. While doing so, it is also required that the revolving system-related restrictive regulations on budget allocations be deregulated for a more independent and efficient use of internal revenues (*loc.cit.*).

In addition to the removal of such limitations, a more intensive use of non-state sources is seen as a crucial instrument of financial flexibility which will, at the same time, help to foster relations of the academic bodies with business and industry, and thus overtake more income-generating activities (*ibid.*:34). However, just as importantly, the demand for a corresponding increase in public budget allocations to match the growing enrolment is highlighted so that universities can make a budget balance and meet their defined targets in accordance with their strategic plans (*ibid.*:35).

Another significant financial point of recommendation, coupled with the discourse of flexibility and diversity has placed emphasis on the allocation of expanded public funding for international investments. The current account deficit in the public budget performance, lately observed in the Turkish economy, has not only reduced state sources of funding for universities, as mentioned earlier, but also adversely influenced public-private partnership organisations, leading to cuts in public contributions for companies, particularly in conducting extensive infrastructure projects, purchasing banks and contributing to collaborative activities of business and industry in international markets. As a result of this reduction in public budget allocations for both expenses of higher education and initiatives of private companies, it seems viable to suggest that the economic discourse of autonomy in university management has evidently been a justification of the market conditions in need of expanded state financing so as to be able to cope with big investments in the international market place. Considering such a demand, specifically urged by the neoliberal discourse, the state has been aimed to decrease its budget deficit through the introduction of a deregulatory framework upon university management (Ulutürk

and Dane, 2011:421) so that it can redirect its investments towards cooperation with the market place, thereby contributing to competition and value-added productivity increase in compliance with the priority needs of the private sector exposed to the market mechanisms.

All in all, behind the idea of these entrepreneurial university-oriented demands on the agenda of business and industry could be observed a growing requirement for universities with professional management systems that can take on institutional responsibility for financial sustainability due, in part, to the reduced amounts of public funding allocations for higher education. Thus, it becomes apparent that all these initiatives promoting financial autonomy and public accountability in university management have inevitably raised the efforts for well-established quality assurance mechanisms to respond to the needs and demands of the increasingly competitive environment.

#### **5.1.1.5. Quality assurance and accreditation**

Within the basic scope of the recommendations of business, responsibility and accountability in HEIs are justified through a professional quality management as it is considered vital for both national and international recognition through accreditation of educational and instructional qualities as well as comparability of research activities and administrative services on a competitive edge (*ibid.*:39). In this context, discussions on the shaping of an effective quality assurance system in higher education during the restructuring process in Turkey, as in the other member countries of the European Higher Education Area, have apparently formed the basis of institutional planning mechanisms and strategies, embedding two complementary fields into quality assurance procedures at university level; namely, the internal and external/public spheres of accountability. The following part of the present chapter will be dealing with quality assurance in respect of its internal and external aspects concerning the structural dynamics constituting the university-business relationship.

##### **i. Internal quality assurance:**

The report underlines the necessity of an autonomous quality assurance system within university management in terms of its strategic role as a facilitator of an overall institutional improvement and a responsible engagement of all the university community with a greater sense of accountability steered under well-established

internal mechanisms (*ibid.*:65). Given such a consideration in the development of a sound quality assurance system under a central unit inside university, YÖDEK (Commission for Academic Assessment and Quality Improvement in HEIs), established under the Council of Higher Education in 2005 as a centralised organisation (*ibid.*:39.), has been regarded as a form of excessive bureaucracy. It has been argued that this type of an institutionalism is inclined to suppress institutional research performance and creativity in the sense that universities can neither fully use their internal accountability, nor incorporate a reliable institutional quality assurance mechanism into their overall strategies to be able to meet their individual requirements, to improve their educational and research opportunities, and to serve the needs of the society in a more general framework (*ibid.*:40).

In the light of such impediments derived from the use of external control as a quality management tool under the regulations of YÖK (CoHE), the TÜSİAD and TOBB reports recommend that YÖDEK should function as a guide for universities to help them actively determine and achieve their internal responsibilities through involvement of the whole university community, while also reporting to a central office for quality assurance under the rectorate as a response to national legislation. To this end, establishment of autonomous and reliable university-wide quality assurance systems, which will ensure national and international comparability through a comprehensive scope of minimum standards, is considered essential to relax bureaucracy in the internal functioning of quality management and to raise institutional reliability on the part of the government and society (*loc.cit.*).

#### **ii. External quality assurance:**

In addition to the demand on developing a university-wide quality assurance strategy, the TÜSİAD and TOBB reports report that the system in Turkey still involves certain restrictions on external evaluation procedures, lacking a model of governance with sufficient external representation in order to generate more effective and reliable quality mechanisms in university. In line with such a challenge with the engagement of external quality networks, one of the recommendations is stated as the *formation of governing boards* composed of members not directly linked with university, which is, therefore, expected to cultivate the culture of transparency, as well as that of external accountability through monitoring and systematic data

collection (*ibid.*:63). In this context, it is claimed that an external evaluation programme must be an obligatory quality mechanism for all units within university, which will be granted with the autonomy to choose a quality assurance agency on the basis of their own preferences (*ibid.*:40-41.).

Moreover, as in the scope of limitations with internal quality considerations upon YÖK's regulatory involvement, a second issue of concern on the part of quality assurance and accreditation procedures has focused on the ***independence of external agencies***, as also required by the European Standards and Guidelines (*ibid.*:40). Thus, it is demanded that their reports must not be exposed to the influences by third parties, such as HEIs and ministries (TÜSİAD, 2011:7). From this aspect, owing to its relations with universities and the government, the role of YÖK in quality monitoring is alleged to be a potential source of concern with regard to the independence of quality judgements. As a result, TÜSİAD requires that YÖK should transfer its authority of evaluation and accreditation to an independent institution which will be composed of members from the private sector, non-governmental organisations and professional associations (*loc.cit.*). Likewise, a revision of the three-tier system including, YÖK, YÖDEK and external quality assurance agencies, is reported to be essential to shape a more complementary structure of functioning so as to distinguish their roles in quality assessment processes. At the same time, external quality agencies are called on to take part in international networks and events so that they can evaluate their performances according to international standards and benchmark their own quality standards (TÜSİAD, 2008:41).

#### **5.1.1.6. Short-list of business representatives' policy recommendations**

Concrete policy recommendations by business and its suggestions on institutional change in higher education, voiced by the reports of TÜSİAD and TOBB, can be summarized as follows:

1. University autonomy, accountability and transparency based on the subsidiarity principle and governance mechanisms are the essential components of academic freedom, creativity and innovation to be a part of the global competition.

1a. The whole university community, including students, administrative and academic staff, external stakeholders, should be made responsible for the university management.

1.b. Selection processes of rectors and roles of vice-rectors should be revised in a way that will ensure transparency and competition and the number of vice-rectors should be determined by the university management.

1.c. “Rectorate management boards”, including the rector, vice-rectors and the secretary general, should be established.

1.d. The option for the establishment of “advisory boards” with a supervisory role for each state university should be considered.

2. For an efficient use of sources in all institutions, diversification among universities and inter-university cooperation should be enabled by regulatory (legal) arrangements.

3. The detailed regulatory framework of the CoHE which interferes with the internal management of universities should be revised and the CoHE should be transformed into an organisation with a coordinating and supervisory role both as the national representative at the governmental level and the international representative of the domestic HEIs.

4. Instead of a dual structure including the Inter-University Council and the Rectors’ Committee, the alternative of establishing a Rectors’ Committee with a sufficient number of members for efficiency should be considered.

5. The gap between the public budget allocations and the growing number of university enrollments should be reduced in order to achieve the defined targets within the institutions’ strategy planning.

6. Financial flexibility and diversified sources of funding through external governance mechanisms should be facilitated in budget allocations to meet the needs of priority areas within the university management.

7. Particular emphasis should be set on the enhancement of performance-based system for internal income distribution, which could, also, provide incentives to the

academic staff and researchers' active contributions to productivity growth in line with the public financing provided for the development of R&D.

7.a. Human resources planning and management should be a part of the short- and long-term institutional strategies.

7.b. Training and exchange programmes should be promoted in order to keep the academic staff updated about the new teaching methodologies and learner-centered approach.

8. In order to ensure the efficiency of research initiatives, particular attention should be drawn to the strengthening of university-industry relationship and a central unit directly responsible to the rector for coordinating research activities should be established.

9. For the achievement of effective quality assurance mechanisms within the overall policy strategies of universities, interdisciplinary and problem-solving oriented research centres should be established at university-level and made responsible directly to the rector or vice-rectors.

9.a. The possible ways of integration of vocational schools as a part of university into the general strategic framework of university should be evaluated and reformulation of their curricula in consideration of the employability requirements for graduates should be achieved through cooperation with business and industry representatives.

10. Increase in public financing in the development of R&D at university-level should be supported and distributed to universities on a competitive basis. Public sources of funding should be allocated through lump-sum budgeting.

11. It is essential that fully independent quality assurance systems should be established. The three-tier quality assurance system including, the CoHE, YÖDEK and external quality assurance agencies, should be revised so that a more complementary structure with their separately defined roles on quality assessment should be established.

11.a. The CoHE should, also, transfer its authority of assessment and accreditation to an independent institution which will be composed of members from the private sector, non-governmental organisations and professional associations.

11.b. YÖDEK should function as a guide for universities to help them actively determine and achieve their internal responsibilities through involvement of the whole university community, while also reporting to a central office for quality assurance under the rectorate as a response to national legislation.

12. The model of university education presented by Bologna principles, including the ECTS, Diploma Supplement, international and national mobility of students and academic staff, student-centered teaching and learning environment, lifelong learning, employability conditions of graduates, should be promoted in order to achieve the standards of internationalisation in the national higher education policies and strategies.

### **5.1.2. Demands by labour**

Since the beginning of the Bologna Process, Eğitim-Sen (the Union of Education and Science Employees), a national labour union engaged in addressing the problems of the Turkish education system as well as defending education and science employees' rights and social status, has evidently demonstrated a harsh opposition to the decisions and actions by the Council of Higher Education regarding the implementation of the Bologna reforms in Turkey. It has, also, exhibited a conflicting position with business that promote a transformation in the HES based on the Bologna imperatives. In this context, Eğitim-Sen positions itself for a university model to the benefit of humanity, society and nature rather than the interests of business. Accordingly, members of the organisation claim higher education as a basic human right, pinpointing their primary opinions and demands for extended public funding, scientific freedom, democratic and egalitarian model of administration enabling a more activated participation of the academic community into the administrative issues, providing job guarantee and fostering the academicians' social status and role as a collective force (Eğitim-Sen, 2012). The union's demands are analysed in the following sections mainly by reference to the publication titled *Üniversitelerde Bologna Süreci Neye Hizmet Ediyor?* (What Function Does the Bologna Process Serve in Universities?) (2011); thus, this section examines the views of labourers pertaining to the educational field.

### **5.1.2.1. Higher education as a basic human right**

Eğitim-Sen, first of all, underlines that health, social security and education, including higher education, are the rights of every individual being. However, changes envisaged by the Bologna Process for the transformation of Turkish HES in line with the apparently absolute necessity to adapt to the growing competition on the global scale, from Eğitim-Sen's (2011) perspective, bring a dramatic transformation in the conditions where higher education service is produced and provided to those benefiting from this service, thus leading to the commercialisation of education driven by the logic of academic capitalism. Within the scope of such a way of functioning, universities are transformed into profit-based organisations where students are treated as customers and lecturers are exposed to insecure and flexible working conditions as labourers of education.

Considering all these structural changes, Eğitim-Sen unionists criticise that educational rights of labourers' children are adversely affected as a result of the new forms of relations being shaped among the state, labour market and civil society. Moreover, the content of education attached to university is being changed in a way that will deprive higher education of its quality a basic human right and a public service, but that will reflect 'a company culture', embedded in the market mechanisms promoting higher education as a competitive sector on the market. "This process serves the generation of conditions inclined to increase the exploitation of labour in the absolute and relative senses." (*ibid.*: 6)

### **5.1.2.2. Public financing**

Eğitim-Sen points to the fact that within the economic framework of the Bologna goals, the process envisages bringing general budget limitations in higher education, setting the utmost priority on techno-science, strengthening relations with multinational companies and focusing on intellectual property. For Eğitim-Sen, all these efforts are characterised by decentralised mechanisms of financial administration isolated from the public financing, and increasingly open to diversified sources of finance, with particular emphasis on extracurricular developments such as certificate programmes, e-learning, distance education activities under the rhetoric of lifelong learning. Hence, the union argues that such a policy of financial fragmentation seems to generate a contingency for universities

upon the changing market conditions and activities of partnership with the private sector to meet their overall expenditures.

On the other hand, Eđitim-Sen (*ibid.*) argues against the concept of financial flexibility, which will probably result in a decrease in the quality of higher education in terms of its close involvement with multiple sources of income accompanied by the shrinking public budget because higher education must be regarded as a public service to the benefit of the society. As a result, the organisation advocates for production processes in academic activities financed by a central budget, rather than driven by the mechanisms of the private sector, and underlines that university must be given the authority to freely allocate the public budget within the institution itself, which also involves the implementation of institutional autonomy in its real meaning.

### **5.1.2.3. Freedom of research, thought and expression**

Aligned with the structural tendencies forming different levels of decision-making between the public and the private spheres, the Bologna Process has recontextualised university and scientific research activities within the economic context of policy implementation. Thus, scientific studies in higher education institutions have been closely involved with the market-oriented terminology and flexible demands for labour constituted by the changing balances of power on a global scale.

Eđitim Sen (*ibid.*), criticising such a close form of engagement with the economic and political actors throughout the implementation of the Bologna imperatives in Turkey as an important means of the increasing European response to the global competition of markets, states that “within this context by which almost all research fields are intended to be mobilised for the EU to become a competitive, knowledge-based economic power, the social responsibilities of universities are being damped step by step.” (*loc.cit.*). This form of restructuring in higher education, which comes to be regarded as “the mind of the economy” (*ibid.*: 40) within the project of “homo-technicus” (*ibid.*: 66) as a competitive advantage, is considered to regulate the value of intellectual labour on a pragmatic basis, resulting in low-quality education, which can only raise students able to cater to the necessities of the labour market. Therefore, the union strongly claims that higher education be considered as an independent space for scientific activities which will contribute to raising an awareness of humanity, society and nature, educating students skilled in critical

thinking, producing science and technology through an institutional planning, administration and auditing system. For Eđitim-Sen, only when higher education and industry are independently positioned, can the independence of science be actually achieved and quality in higher education can ensure the sincere meaning of scientific success independent from the dominant economic and political mechanisms.

#### **5.1.2.4. Democratic and egalitarian administration**

As a multi-layered governance model with its complex structuring of local, national and international actors of significant influence on the construction of agenda-setting, decision-making and policy implementation, the Bologna Process is being framed in a transnational context of external agents increasingly involved in the standardised functioning of the Bologna principle. In line with this multi-level mode of governing, board of trustees in university administration, quality assurance and accreditation agencies, performance-based measurement and assessment procedures are all conducive to the growing engagement of external stakeholders in the whole restructuring process, as also rationalised in the Bologna discourse of transparency and accountability principles.

With all these objective-based steering mechanisms displacing the conventional mode of governing within university, this new understanding of governance is also reshaping the relations between the academic community and bureaucratic as well as societal agents including advisory groups and expert circles, particularly promoted by the Bologna discourse of university-business cooperation and discussed by Eđitim-Sen (2012) in a critical discourse as follows:

##### **i. Involvement of the academic community (internal governance)**

Within the framework of this transformation in the way of governing, the emergent transnationalised body of governance is exposing the academic community to a higher level of disintegration from the administrative affairs. However, Eđitim-Sen (2011) regards such a governance model as dissolution of democracy and dominance of autocracy by boards of trustees. The union, thus, demands that independence of the university administration from the market-oriented mode of governance is essential for the practice of democracy and equality, which also construct the basis of scientific freedom and institutional autonomy in the HES. Therefore, the union positions the body of academics' participation within the policy network of

university as a crucial actor in the making of a more democracy- and equality-based academic environment.

### **ii. Strengthened role of the academic staff**

Closely related to the rhetoric of knowledge-based economy, the second negative implication of the Bologna rules is considered the weakening status of the academic staff under the management-oriented mode of governance transforming “scholars into ‘human resources’ with no say for the affairs of their institution” (Moutsios, 2012:15). Similarly, Eđitim-Sen (*ibid.*) underpins that academic research, as subject to budget reductions, and scholars, as exposed to low salaries and output-oriented evaluation mechanisms of competition which compare academic staff members on the basis of their performance grades, must be independent both from the marketised and bureaucratised university model. In this context, proponents of the idea argue that academicians must be provided with extended research opportunities and more favourable conditions of employment to be defined without the mechanisms of ‘knowledge economy and society’.

### **iii. Academic autonomy freed from bureaucratic hierarchy**

Another remarkable point on the democratic and equalitarian mode of governing in Eđitim-Sen’s account deals with the problematic structure of the Council of Higher Education (CoHE) which excludes the role of labour in administrative issues. Although the Bologna Process is based on the principle of voluntariness with no centralised power over the engagement into realising its objectives and reforms, adaptation to the process for the HES in Turkey was initiated with the decision by CoHE in 2001, so the implementation of this process has since then generated a target of criticism for the highly centralised structure and legal ground of CoHE in the critical account of Eđitim-Sen (*op.cit.*). The union has conversely argued for a university model involving participation of all the academic community into the decision-making processes.

#### **5.1.2.5. Employment security**

The deepening form of relationships between university education and employment have integrated the concepts of employability of graduates and lifelong learning into the priority areas of higher education institutions as a result of the Bologna agenda.

The former, as defined in the *Employability Working Group Report* (2009:5), refers to “the ability to gain initial meaningful employment, or to become self-employed, to maintain employment and to be able to move around within the labour market”, while the latter is constructed upon the way to cultivate the employable, mobilised individual, who is to be included in the surrounding world of competition and dynamic knowledge. As a result, the central responsibility of higher education associated with the discourse of employability is to “equip students with the knowledge, skills and competences that they need in the workplace and that employers require” (Employability Working Group, *loc. cit.*) through adaptation to the three-cycle system and encouragement towards wider participation in lifelong learning, which will “ensure that people have more opportunities to maintain or renew those skills and attributes throughout their working lives” (*ibid.*).

In Eđitim Sen’s account (*op. cit.*), the recent regulations in higher education involving increasingly flexible and competitive working environment, primarily with the growing adaptation of a performance-based system which generates an insecure environment of employment through sub-contracting, imply the dwindling position of labour production in the face of the burgeoning role of capital. In this scope, the quality of service in higher education could also be adversely affected by the dominance of market conditions over the processes of production. Considering such a threatening atmosphere within the issue of employment, and declaring that the social and economic rights of all education and science employees are dismantled, Eđitim-Sen is making great efforts to ensure employment security and democratic working conditions where scholars will have no concerns about the future of their employment.

A similar tension embedded in Eđitim-Sen’s outlook in the context of employability is also created with higher education graduates’ future of employment under the required ‘flexibility’ of the labour market, which requires the construction of a ‘learning society’ composed of individuals able to “update their skills and knowledge, acquire new qualifications and to be a part of the mobile throughout their professional lives” (Employability Working Group, *op.cit.*:6). Within this framework of the emergent business environment, Eđitim-Sen (*op.cit.*), adopts a critical approach towards the hidden discourse of lifelong learning. In line with this outlook,

it is viewed as a reasoning behind budget reductions in higher education, and thus seen as another implication of the profit-based model of education through an increasing number of non-formal programmes at university. These dynamics once more could draw one's attention to the increasing contingency of labour upon the agents of the market in the face of their continuously changing demands. Thus, it argues for the security of employment conditions and equality of opportunities in educational and professional development for every individual, respectively as a basic human and social right.

#### **5.1.2.6. Short-list of labour representatives' policy recommendations**

Concrete policy recommendations by labour, voiced through Eđitim-Sen's outlook on higher education policies can be summarized as follows:

1. Higher education must be regarded as a basic human right, so it must be provided as a public service to the benefit of the whole society.
  - 1.a. Knowledge production must be based on a collective scientific approach instead of an individualist and competitive one.
2. Institutional autonomy and democratic management, freed from bureaucratic hierarchy and external quality control mechanisms in line with the market conditions, are essential for the achievement of academic freedom.
  - 2.a. Higher education must provide an independent space for scientific activities and it must produce science and technology through an institutional planning, administration and auditing system in a way that will contribute to the critical thinking skills of students by raising an awareness of humanity, society and nature.
  - 2.b. Democratic participation and public assessment with the involvement of the whole university community are essential for quality education.
  - 2.c. The whole body of academics' involvement within the policy network of university is a crucial factor in the making of a more democracy- and equality-based academic environment.
  - 2.d. The role of the academic staff must be strengthened, so they must be provided with extended research opportunities and more favourable,

equalitarian employment conditions to be defined without the mechanisms of 'knowledge economy and society'.

3. Production processes in academic activities must be organised on a public ground, rather than a basis of diversified sources of funding generated by privatisation efforts, so education and knowledge production must be financed by a central public budget, and university must be given the authority to freely allocate this budget within the institution itself.
4. Only when higher education and industry are independently positioned, can the independence of science be actually achieved, and quality in higher education can ensure the sincere meaning of scientific success independent from the dominant economic and political mechanisms.
5. Employment security and democratic working conditions must be ensured so that scholars will be free from performance-based promotion and selection criteria, which lead to concerns about the future of their professional positions. All university staff must be provided with unconditional job security.

### **5.1.3. Demands by the academic community**

Depending on the priority needs of certain departments and the type of universities, as far as the feedback from the interviews reveals, it is possible to infer that demands of the academic community generally reflect variations among one another. In this scope, although not all faculty members converge on their demands, at least, there seems to be a general understanding of a requirement for the restructuring of the national university system. Driven by this need, the implication of the interviews is that some members, particularly those in faculties of engineering and some from faculties of economic and political sciences, apparently, give full support to restructuring activities guided by the implementation of the Bologna Process. In this context, one of the leading aims has been reported to gain a competitive edge in raising the institutional quality at university-level. Moreover, members of the academic community in the newly established universities have favoured this process as they make use of the presented tools to shape their institutional systems.

On the other hand, some part of the academic community have showed resistance against these restructuring tools introduced by the Bologna imperatives. In this sense, it could be pointed out that the most outstanding line of argument by these faculty members has been placed on the issue of standardisation efforts under the discourses of quality increase and transparency. Coupled with such concerns about the tendencies of standardisation, it is reported that they argue against the performance-based system and competitive environment for purposes of motivation among themselves, since they consider that this performance-oriented approach grounded on competition will only bring a quantitative increase in their research studies, rather than a qualitative one. Another significant controversial issue has been raised on the involvement of external stakeholders into university management, with particular emphasis on the efforts for strengthened university-industry relationship. Considering these tendencies, some academics from various universities, initially, preferred to remain ignorant to the process and even partly resisted it by remaining inactive to the practical requirements for implementing the restructuring agenda of the CoHE.

## **5.2. Relations between the Demands of Social Agents and National Policies**

The present part is intended to present a discussion on the demands of social agents with reference to business, labour and the academic community in the context of their relations with the national policies. By doing so, the aim is to question the extent of their direct or indirect impacts on the national policies, along with the patterns of convergence and divergence.

### **5.2.1. Relationship of the business and labour agents with the CoHE policies**

Considering the above-mentioned demands by the domestic business and labour representatives on the national higher education policies, it becomes evident that these social agents keep substantially conflicting positions in terms of their policy recommendations shaped in line with their demands. Moreover, these conflicts seem to be influential on the CoHE's policy-making processes and thus, its restructuring agenda appears to have been shaped under this influence. Within this context, it could be observed that the business agents' recommendations reveal a great deal of convergence with the CoHE's efforts to transform the university system in accordance with the Bologna's action lines. However, labour agents evidently

struggle against the demands by business contributing to the policy reform initiatives and the recommendations by labour diverge from the business proposals voiced in the related reports as well as the restructuring efforts within the national-policy making reflected in the draft code.

On the one hand, it would be fair to say that the impact of the recommendations by business agents is not completely, but to a great extent, visible within the CoHE's restructuring policies. On the other hand, labour agents' recommendations generate a form of resistance to the demands by business, even though their impact on the CoHE's policy-making is not reflected so visibly as the imprint of business agents on the national policy mechanisms. In this scope, it is possible to draw the conclusion that the CoHE, though maintaining its primacy of policy-making over the national HEIs, has been exposed to these conflicting voices from the national social agents. As a result of this controversy in the social context, the Council has apparently been implementing its restructuring process by making great efforts to accommodate the recommendations and demands on both sides by placing its position into a balancing context between business and labour agents.

### **5.2.2. Relationship of the academic community with the CoHE policies**

The first basic point of discussion here is to investigate the leading national agents (government institutions, university administrations or other academic offices) that have triggered the adoption of the Bologna framework in the restructuring of the HES in Turkey. The aim is to understand the process through which the relations between the domestic institutional and organisational actors and the CoHE have been structured throughout the Bologna Process. In this sense, the study will try to uncover the relationships among the national bodies (including those other than the CoHE's agents) related to the Bologna agenda in the country. It will also investigate whether the CoHE, as an overtly centralised government institution, has experienced any loss of autonomy over the HEIs in the country. In addition to the CoHE as a central organisation responsible for the implementation process, it could be observed that several institutional and organisational agents in the domestic context are

actively involved in the restructuring of the national HES in line with the Bologna agenda. The leading ones of these agents<sup>3</sup> may be categorised as follows:

**1. Related bodies under the CoHE as the nationally central institution:** Bologna Follow-Up Group (BFUG) representatives, members of the International Relations Department, Academic Evaluation and Quality Development Commission (YÖDEK), National Team of the Bologna Experts, student representative.

**2. Other related national institutions and organisations:** Ministry of Education (MEB), the National Agency (UA) and Vocational Qualifications Authority (MYK).

**3. University community:** Bologna Coordination Committees (BEKs), Academic Evaluation and Quality Development Boards (ADEKs), rectors and vice rectors, international relations offices, student representatives.

The following analysis attempts to make an evaluation of the impact of these agents on the shaping of the Bologna Process at the national level. In this context, it is aimed at evaluating the relations of power at the domestic level; particularly between the CoHE, the Ministry of Education, the leading business agents, and individual academics. Interviews made in the context of this study have shown that, although agents other than the CoHE have also played important roles in the integration of the HEIs in the Bologna Process, the leading initiatives have been shaped by the primacy of the CoHE management and the influence of other institutions have been limited compared to the CoHE. As a result, such a finding confirms that the CoHE has basically maintained its centralised autonomy over the national bodies throughout the restructuring activities and the basic categories of the national actors have been mostly shaped through the CoHE's decisions. In this scope of the national dynamics, as Prof. Dr. Çiğdem Kayacan<sup>4</sup> states,

The main institution that links the HES in Turkey with the Bologna Process is reflected as the CoHE, accompanied by its nationally centralised structure and its regulatory framework over university management. (I.1)

In the same vein, Prof. Dr. Hasan Mandal<sup>5</sup> points out,

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<sup>3</sup>The information has been gathered during some of the personal interviews with the academics.

<sup>4</sup> Head of the Bologna Coordination Committee, Istanbul University.

<sup>5</sup> Director of Research and Graduate Policy Center, Sabancı University.

The agenda and policy-making processes of the CoHE have played the most decisive role in the implementation of the Bologna Process in Turkey. (I.2)

However, despite the decisive steps taken by the CoHE's policy-making mechanisms, the efforts of individual academics and activities of a number of leading universities have evidently played influential roles in the restructuring process at the national scale. Therefore, it appears that the individual roles on the part of the intellectuals and experts within the academic community and their feedback to the policy processes have remarkably contributed to the shaping and implementation of the process at the national and local-regional levels. Prof. Dr. Cenap Özben<sup>6</sup> draws attention to this point in his account as follows,

If it had not been the efforts on the part of the CoHE, the process would not have been so much well-known. On the other hand, supports on the part of the academic staff have had significant effects on the implementation of the process. (I.3)

Dr. Özge Onursal Beşgül<sup>7</sup>, also, highlights the impacts of particular universities and academics' efforts on the promotion of the Bologna tools throughout the country by pointing out,

This is a process which has been developed by the leadership of the CoHE. The Ministry of Education and the National Agency are other supporting institutions. However, this does not mean that universities or individual initiatives have been inactive. Sakarya and Kocaeli Universities, along with the National Team of Experts and the responsible members of the International Relations Department of the CoHe have made intense efforts for progress in the implementation of the Bologna steps. (I.4)

On the other hand, as a result of the changing levels of focus onto the implementation process through the shifts of different leaders taking over the CoHE management, it is possible to observe some challenges with the sustainability of the national restructuring process, and these individually different tendencies have led to some forms of interruptions challenging the implementation of the process, particularly within the scope of the university-level practices steered by the CoHE. In line with this point, Assist. Prof. Armağan Erdoğan's<sup>8</sup> considers that these

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<sup>6</sup>Dean of the Faculty of Science and Letters, Istanbul Technical University.

<sup>7</sup>Member of the Bologna Coordination Commission, Istanbul Bilgi University.

<sup>8</sup>International Representative as the Member of the Bologna Follow-Up Group (BFUG) and Member of the National Team of the Bologna Experts, Turkish Competition Authority.

interruptions pose adverse effects on the efficiency of Turkey's member status in the Bologna Process and underlines this in her following remarks,

The sustainability of the process is crucial, but the periodical shifts of the CoHE presidents before we can fully learn about the process have led to interferences with Turkey's active role, and the CoHE's efforts to be a host country during the process have failed to reach sufficient levels. (I.5)

Prof. Dr. Lerzan Ozkale<sup>9</sup>'s comment is also noteworthy in terms of the fluctuations in the practices on the agenda of the CoHE,

The most outstanding leadership in the society belongs to the position of the CoHE, so it is dependable on the agenda of the CoHE. If there is a change in its tendencies on this agenda, we can observe changeable conditions in the process... It is viewed as an opportunity from time to time, being contingent upon the institutional priorities, so it is not continuous and sustainable at the national level. (I.6)

All in all, the above-mentioned points on the relations prevailing the national landscape with regard to the CoHE's restructuring activities through the imperatives of the Bologna agenda can be summarised as in the following three basic points:

1. The CoHE's policies have constituted the essential elements of the restructuring process, and this constitution by the CoHE has shaped the major categories and their relevant actors within the academic community, who have been assigned as responsible for implementation of the Bologna reform steps at the nation- and university-levels.
2. Support from the individual efforts on the part of the academic intellectuals and experts in the have provided remarkable influences on the functioning of the structural changes in the national system. Therefore, contributions from the academic community has had its imprints on the CoHE policies while the academic community itself has not remained static and unchanged. In this regard, transformations in policy at the intersection of the Bologna Process and CoHE policy have restructured this community to a great extent.
3. Coupled with the feedback from the academic community, the CoHE has introduced all the restructuring tools, such as *the National Qualifications Framework (NQF)*, *the ECTS*, *Diploma Supplement*, learner-centered

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<sup>9</sup>Member of the National Team of the Bologna Experts, Istanbul Technical University.

approach and lifelong learning activities, to the institutional practices of universities, and thus reconstructed the educational elements related to the functioning of the national university system. Therefore, transformations in policy at the intersection of the Bologna Process and CoHE policy has been thoroughly restructuring this community.

Given such initiatives, it could be concluded that the tendencies in the national HEIs as well as individuals involved in the Bologna Process from the standpoint of different positions have also influenced the CoHE's policies. These influences have been, on one hand, in the form of intellectual-specialist contributions which have expanded the CoHE's capacity. These contributions can be considered to be in demand as the adoption of the Bologna Process' practices in HEIs in Turkey has not been in the form of the transfer of an existing set of practices from the European context to the national context. Rather, (as will be examined in the relevant section) it has been composed of a process of 'constitution' by the mutual interaction of many parties at the intersection of the national and international scales. This complexity has necessitated the involvement of a capacity greater than that of the bureaucratic structure of the CoHE. This has been supplemented by individuals amongst the academic community who have been the proponents of the basic philosophy of the Bologna Process and have regarded the process as advantageous to the development of the Turkish HES on the international scale.



## **6. NATIONAL STATE PRACTICES AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS**

### **6.1. Higher Education System Envisioned by the Bologna Process**

EU-level initiatives and efforts have aimed at promoting a European dimension in HESs in the face of the changing requirements for quality in education institutions towards the 21st century. The advent of globalisation and the rising pressures exerted by this process on national state institutions and public services, has evidently imposed an unprecedented phase of transformation on the European university. This institution is still being constructed around the so-called “Europe of knowledge” by the European Commission (EC) and fostered through the transnational Bologna process (EC, 2004:6). The present part of the study, accordingly, aims to explore the basic features of university transformation via the implementation of the Bologna initiatives launched in the late 90’s within the framework of the European Union’s policy discourse on higher education. These efforts were basically aimed to create a European Higher Education Area (EHEA), which was subsequently integrated into a wider framework including non-European countries

As its point of departure, the Bologna Process was designed to contribute to the functionality of HESs by creating a European higher education space through the establishment of a shared network, including the provision of common qualifications generated for the attractiveness of undergraduate and postgraduate levels. On the other hand, this space was basically aimed at maintaining the principle of diversity. As the one-size-fits-all policy is no longer seen as a viable solution, the Bologna Process has been regarded as a tool that will converge, rather than harmonise, national HESs. Accordingly, the process is supposed to provide a more competitive learning and teaching environment by ensuring high quality standards not only for students and scholars within the boundaries of Europe, but also for those in the other member or third countries beyond Europe. The Process involves several steps shaping the biannual ministerial meetings, called *communiqués* formally starting

with the Bologna Declaration signed in 1999.<sup>10</sup> Thus, it has yielded a collective effort of public authorities, universities, teachers and students, together with stakeholder associations, employers, quality assurance agencies as well as international organisations and institutions throughout the 47 signatory countries.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, the university institution has assumed an essential role in the generation of a shared European space for education and research area through its interconnections among the changing economic and political contexts of the major social and public agents involved in the Process, and it has been located into a transnational network of the national state and non-state institutions.

In this scope, the growing emphasis on the efforts of integration into knowledge production and dissemination in the emergent knowledge economy and its information society (Kwiek, 2006:18-19) have triggered the Bologna imperatives on restructuring of the university system through the European policy framework. In line with this development, the implementation process has been based on certain action lines including the Qualifications Frameworks (QF), Quality Assurance (QA), recognition of the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS), implementation of the Diploma Supplement (DS), Mobility, Lifelong Learning Programmes (LLL) and Joint Degrees and the Social Dimension (YÖK, 2010:24). To this end, various instruments to transform the basic features of HESs and institutions have been developed since the inception of the Bologna process (EC, 2011):

- The introduction of easily identifiable, comparable and recognisable academic degrees, encompassing the implementation of a common diploma supplement and qualification for joint degrees, has been designed specifically for the promotion of transparency between systems as well as international mobility and competitiveness, also facilitating the recognition of employability standards within the partner countries.
- A transfer from the one-tier degree system to the two-tier, subsequently to the three-tier system, including undergraduate, graduate and postgraduate

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<sup>10</sup> For a chronological account of the initiatives taken throughout the Bologna process, and the list of the signatory countries up to date, see Appendix A.

<sup>11</sup> “The Bologna Process- Towards the European Higher Education Area”, from [http://ec.europa.eu/education/higher-education/doc1290\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/education/higher-education/doc1290_en.htm) (Date retrieved Feb 7, 2013).

cycles, has been accomplished and coupled with the recognition of the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS) to be used for accumulation and transfer of credits.

- Accelerated with the promotion of social dimension and equitable access to educational opportunities, free mobility of university students, researchers and lecturers between the member countries has been encouraged for the enrichment of scientific and technological research activities through academic exchange. Hence, acquisition of research skills intertwining learning and innovation has been integrated into HEIs through collaboration on the international scale.
- Formation of a multi-layered governance model has been paid particular attention through inter-university collaboration in the national and transnational contexts as well as through strengthened links between university and its external stakeholders.
- The concept of transparency has been adopted as one of the leading imperatives of the process in order to contribute to quality and efficiency increase in teaching and learning with the development of a student-centered environment that is shaped by the active involvement of the whole university community, including student participation, into an autonomous and accountable university management granted with financial flexibility and diversified funding sources.
- University education has been aimed to foster the concept of a defined Qualifications Framework (QF) at both national and international levels with growing reference to the initiatives for academic assessment, quality assurance and accreditation, which seek to promote learning outcomes and generate sustainable growth in such a way to enhance creativity, innovation, lifelong learning, adaptability in the job market, and thus equip students with highly-qualified skills in the increasingly globalised discourse of employability.

Consequently, it could be understood that the contemporary dynamics surrounding the transformation of the HES as envisioned here by the Bologna process have been designed for purposes of an overall quality increase in university education. By achieving the shared goals through convergence of the national systems, along with the increasingly competitive global environment, this common area of higher education has also been aimed at productivity increase and sustainable growth. Such a restructuring discourse on higher education envisioned by the Bologna process could also need to be discussed through the lens of an interdisciplinary perspective with multi-faceted dynamics. The major constituents of this perspective could be enlisted as political economy of globalisation, European politics and socio-cultural aspects in the context of transnational higher education studies. Given such an interdisciplinary perspective behind the university transformation, as Kwiek (*ibid.*:26) argues, it could also be contended that the recontextualisation of higher education has been accompanied by a reconstruction process of the learner identity as an autonomous self-regulating individual, equipped with the required know-how to learn and adapt in the face of the constant changes. This learner identity has replaced the student as a national citizen of any given country. From this perspective, it is possible to conclude that the current process envisioning a Europe-driven common educational and research space through the convergence of national HESs, along with the conservation of diversities across nations, has also been constitutive of a discourse on the reconstruction of European identities through the restructuring mechanisms in higher education on the international scale (Fejes, 2008).

## **6.2. Relationship between the National Policy and the Bologna Process**

This part of the study deals with the relationship between policy-making, institution building and regulative practices in the national and international contexts. It builds on the case of Turkey, a signatory country of the Bologna Process since 2001. More specifically, the section analyzes the relationship between the practices of the CoHE in its efforts to restructure the HES in Turkey, and the Bologna Process. While doing so, the present section aims to analyse the extent to which transformations in the national context have been shaped by the transnational dynamics, i.e. the Bologna process, and vice versa. To put it in other words, it aims to question the level of

autonomy of national government bodies vis-a-vis the framework and policies imposed by intergovernmental agreements and transnational forces. Conversely, it questions the ways in which national government bodies influence international networks and processes. The analysis in this section is based mostly on interviews with academics from diverse Turkish universities and government institutions, who occupy different administrative or specialist positions within their institutions or the National Team of Bologna Experts.<sup>12</sup>

Following this comparative analysis, the current part will move on to question whether the CoHE policies and the imperatives of the Bologna Process have been shaped through a mutual process, i.e. the national and the intergovernmental scales have mutually shaped each other. More specifically, there are two basic questions of discussion at this point: first, what is the extent to which the Bologna process shapes the CoHE's contemporary policies of restructuring, and second, what is the extent of and what are the ways through which the policies and actions of agents on the national scale shape the Bologna Process?

### **6.2.1. Autonomy of the CoHE vis-a-vis the Bologna institutions**

As for a closer investigation into the national policy-making power of the CoHE in the face of the impact of Bologna institutions (usually regarded as being imposed on national decision-making agencies), it would be fair to say that the CoHE's autonomy has been neither undermined nor constrained by these institutions. The effects of the Bologna process on the policy-making power of the CoHE can rather be conceptualised as "mutually constitutive". On one hand, it may initially appear that there is a power of asymmetry between the policy-making capacity of the CoHE's and that of the Bologna institutions. However, the fact that the CoHE becomes part of the Bologna Process provides the basic tools for the transformation of the national system and implementation of the given reform process at the national level, while also rendering the CoHE constitutive of the enlargement of the Bologna Process as well as its ongoing course of formulation. On the other hand, the CoHE makes use of the Bologna Process as a means of legitimising its own agenda of

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<sup>12</sup> For a full list of the interview questions and interviewees, see Appendix B.

restructuring the HES in Turkey. Hence, it could be considered that the Bologna Process functions as a feasible ground for the implementation of the CoHE's reform initiatives. In this context, it could be claimed that the CoHE maintains its centralised position in national policy-making vis-a-vis the transnational processes, and implements the steps of the process as part of a result of its institutional resolutions.

Prof. Dr. Mehmet Durman,<sup>13</sup> similarly, views the issue of autonomy with its reference to universities, so he agrees that the Bologna institutions have not reduced the capacity of the CoHE for its restructuring policy, and he suggests,

The notion of autonomy should be viewed as more related to the imperatives of the Bologna process, as it is considered to promote knowledge society and social development. From this aspect, the process does not impede the national basis of the decision-making processes. (I.7)

Similarly, Ö. O. Beşgöl's comments on the CoHE's policy-making capacity in the Bologna context converge with the idea of maintained autonomy under the CoHE. She, briefly, puts her comments as follows,

The process does not restrict the autonomy of the CoHE as it is essentially constructed upon collaborative work through the open method of coordination. However, it could bring about a restructuring in the CoHE's institutional mechanisms in the long term. (I.4)

With reference to the CoHE's autonomy and policy-making capacity, it, also, seems possible to discuss its centralised administration and regulatory practices under this centralised mode of governing under the CoHE. Thus, certain categorisations and roles related to the implementation of the Bologna agenda have been defined under the CoHE's steering mechanisms and its related arrangements at the nation- and university-levels. However, it is observed that the main responsible unit for the arrangements concerning the Bologna process-driven policies within the organisational structure of the CoHE has been assigned as the International Relations Department. However, in line with the comments by M. Durman, who has been engaged in the implementation of the action lines at the country level as a member of the National Team of the Bologna Experts since the earlier steps of the process, this agenda could have worked more efficiently if it had been overtaken by the Educational Department of the CoHE. In this scope, he also draws attention to the

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<sup>13</sup> Vice-Rector of Sakarya University and Member of the National Team of the Bologna Experts, Sakarya University.

fact that the process has been integrated into a nation-based structure, thus having been qualified with a national character, particularly with the formulations, such as the National Qualifications Framework (NQF/TYÇ) and the Qualifications Framework for Turkish Higher Education (TYYÇ), and states,

We must accept that the process is grounded on a national basis, although it has been usually perceived as a form of imposition by the foreign actors. (I.7)

On the other hand, M. Durman argues that such an organisational structure composed of units with different functions, the responsibilities of which have been separately designed, should rather be united under a centralised and single structure, which would lead to greater institutionalised efficiency. Similarly, he suggests that the dynamics behind the inter-institutional relations of power and functionality between the different national bodies, including the Ministry of Education, the National Team of the Bologna Experts, and the Commission for Academic Assessment and Quality Improvement in Higher Education (YÖDEK), and the related university-level units, including Academic Assessment and Quality Improvement Boards (ADEKs), Bologna Coordination Committees (BCCs), Student Councils According to him, all these units must be shaped within the overall organisational structure. Thus, M. Durman recommends that the process should be regarded as an essential issue on the agenda of university senates, and implemented in accordance with this organisational integrity, which will be constitutive of the local (university) and national functionality with the fullest efficiency.

Centralisation of power in the CoHE can also be questioned by reference to the roles of other state institutions. In this respect, The Ministry of Education and the National Agency are involved in the Bologna Process with regard to the promotion of the social dimension and funding as supporting bodies. Referring to the centralised role of the CoHE, A. Erdoğan points to the impact of the former,

The Ministry of Education is partially involved in the process, but not as actively as the CoHE. The predominantly active institution from all aspects has been the CoHE, so the dynamics within the signatory country, particularly the national policy mechanisms of a centralised authority, like CoHE, construct the forms and processes of restructuring to a large extent. (I.5)

## **6.2.2. Impact of the Bologna Process on restructuring of the national institutions and legislation**

The relationship between transnational institutions like the Bologna Process and national policy is broadly regarded as a uni-directional relationship in which intergovernmental agreements and transnational forces unidirectionally shape national practices. Such views disregard the complexity of the relations between the different scales in which social reality is structured. Many researchers conceptualise the local, national and transnational scales as parts of a whole composed of multi-layered processes of policy formation with multi-level actors. (see for example, Lazetic, 2010; Witte, 2006, Kehm, *et.al.* 2010, Gornitzka, 2010) In fact, a more fruitful discussion can be yielded by conceptualising this relationship as bi-lateral where the different scales mutually shape each other within a process of multi-layered governance. At this point, the interviewees' accounts could reveal important findings to gain the essential insights and understanding of the apparent form of the relationship under question. Nearly all of the interviewees agree on the view that the Bologna institutions have asserted a greater amount of influence on the national institutions as the aim is originally to restructure the national system.

H. Mandal's following explanation could also reflect the role of this transnationalised power on the national policies,

Rather than a set of formal regulatory changes, the process must be perceived as an opportunity for the restructuring of the HES on the national agenda. (I.2)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Kıvanç Ulusoy,<sup>14</sup> also, describes this restructuring process as the construction of common space in higher education among the signatory countries and views the American model as the point of departure within the process. As he suggests this in his own words,

Adaptation of the whole system into a similar process of functioning, but especially those not close to the American system have undergone radical changes. (I.10)

The most crucial impact in this scope is usually regarded as the change in the national legislation dated February 12, 2011 on Articles 44 and 46 of the Law No. 2547 within the lump-sum Law No. 6111. This shift in the legislative framework

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<sup>14</sup> Member of the Bologna Coordination Commission, Istanbul University.

introduced an overall revision over the functioning of the system. In line with this renewed regulatory framework, the issues on diplomas, credit accumulation, students' rights and exams have been restructured using certain tools of the Bologna principles. Particularly, the academic staff within the National Team of the Bologna Experts view this act of legislation as a significant change in the national course of the process. On the other hand, H. Mandal draws attention to the national internationalisation process of this change in the act of legislation, and comments as follows,

Though it took two years for this regulatory change to be raised and approved on the legal agenda, the change in the level of national perception will be slow and tough. (I.2)

M. Durman's following comment on the "shaping of the institutions" with reference to their power over one another throughout the restructuring of higher education could also be a remarkable one in order to see the nature of the relationship between the transnational and the national scenes. According to him, this process does not have a direct effect on shaping the national institutions, but has a kind of mediating role. As he highlights it,

The Bologna process provides the tools for acquisition of the required qualifications and fulfillment of transparency. 'Diversity' is the keyword here, so "shaping" might not be an appropriate term as the signatory countries could make use of the opportunities provided by the process. (I.7)

Another point of comment on the nature of this relationship could be viewed from a more comprehensive perspective, and one could claim that the impact of the Bologna institutions not only reflect the role of European-based dynamics, but also the pressures of internationalisation, or rather those of globalisation. In this sense, the restructuring efforts place the national HES into a globalised context, together with its economic and political forces which are conducive to the transnational multi-layered modes of governance, one of which is illustrated in the context of the Bologna process. It could be considered that such a global perspective has paved the way for the convergence of nations to adjust their HESs to the changing conditions, and thus, to overcome the challenges particularly brought by the emergence of the global economy. Given such an international impact on the part of the Bologna process, A. Erdoğan, shares her opinions as in the following,

The Bologna Process, with its 47 signatory countries, is one of the largest international organisations, and this process is brought even onto the agendas of OECD and UNESCO meetings although they have completely global structures. Modernisation of the HEIs through the introduction of certain practices such as the ECTS and Qualifications Framework enable fields of convergence among the national HESs. In order to be a part of the international scene, involvement into such an organisational structure is a prerequisite. (I.5)

Closely related to these global impacts, the issue of mobility seems to have gained outstanding importance both for students and employees, also triggering intensified relationships between university institutions and business agents. B. Şenatalar, also, puts particular emphasis on the increasing competition based on the promotion of R&D in the academic environment. To put it into his words,

The university-industry relationship could be regarded as a grey zone, but it enhances academicians' fields of study. Thus, it serves both a societal and a social mission, and this requires an interdisciplinary framework shaped by an overall process of formation as in the case of Bologna. (I.8)

Most of the conflicting positions in the national restructuring process are apparently related to the debates on standardisation of the system, mostly regarded as a direct influence of the Bologna principles on the Turkish HEIs. Assoc Prof. Dr. Sema Ergönül<sup>15</sup> points to this issue as follows,

Most of the objections were based on claims for standardisation. Also, these were more evident in well-established universities, like Mimar Sinan, as it was really hard for most of the academics to change what they had been used to for years. In the particular context of Mimar Sinan University, there were further claims that arts could not be standardised. (I.11)

However, L. Özkale does not converge on these claims in that she describes the process in terms of the principles of transparency, comparability, readability and understandability, so she excludes the issue of standardisation from the defined objectives as one of the impacts of the Bologna institutions on the national restructuring process. From such a controversial standpoint, it is also evident that the Bologna institutions have enhanced the CoHE's capacity to accommodate patterns of conflict and divergence in the restructuring of the university system in Turkey.

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<sup>15</sup> A previous member of ADEK and a new member of the BEK (BCC), Mimar Sinan University.

### **6.2.3. Impact of the national institutions on the Bologna process**

Based on the interviewees' responses above, one could observe that the Bologna institutions have had substantial impacts both on the restructuring of the national HES, and the policy-making mechanisms of the CoHE in legitimisation of the reconstruction process in the national scene. Hence, it would not be so unfair to say that the emerging diverse relationships and networks in the given transnational environment might have paved the way for the emergence of a less centralised power of exercise under the autonomy of the CoHE, but this should not necessarily mean that the CoHE as a national institution has completely been deprived of its capacity to make new policies. In fact, the result seems to be the transformation of the CoHE's functioning and conducting policies within the multi-layered networks of transnational and national organisations. This shift is also conducive the transformation of the CoHE's capacity into an expanded power of influence in the context of the Bologna implementations through the practices of transnational governance. In line with such a consideration, it, then, seems possible to talk about the role of the national institutions on the Bologna process.

Although not all the interviewees<sup>16</sup> confirm that there has been a directly visible impact of the national institutions on the shaping of the Bologna process, there is also some agreement, particularly among the national team of the Bologna experts, on the existence of such an influence of the national on the transnational scene. H. Mandal illustrates this point with reference to the already existing national tendencies based on the American model of education and the national quality assurance agency, MÜDEK (Association for Evaluation and Accreditation of Engineering Programs). He highlights the advantageous position of the Turkish system thanks to the international recognition of this organisation for accreditation and quality processes as follows,

Turkey started to accommodate the American-based model of development in higher education prior to Europe. In this sense, there seems to be a valuable contribution on the part of Turkey for Europe, particularly behind the motive of competitiveness. Recognition of programmes, transparency, quality assurance and accreditation are the indicators specifically remarkable in the

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<sup>16</sup> The general points of disagreement cover on the idea that Turkey is still trying to understand and implement the imperatives of the Process, so if possible, the national contributions on the process could be more evident only after the restructuring process has been internalised in the domestic scene.

fields of engineering. MÜDEK is recognised both by the US (Washington Accord Signatory) and Europe (European Network for Accreditation of Engineering Education-ENAE) as a national quality assurance agency in accrediting engineering programmes worldwide, so it has evidently had a remarkable impact on Western European institutions in terms of quality assessment. That is also one of the reasons why Turkey has been among the countries which have achieved the formal adaptation process in the shortest time. (I.2)

Another field in which Turkey has been influential on the Bologna institutions could be observed through the promotion of the restructuring agenda with some individual (with intense efforts on the part of the national experts, Bologna-Follow-Up Group representatives in the international scene) and university-based initiatives (particularly those which aimed to make a difference among others) within the national system. Therefore, not only the national institutions of university but also the transnational networks of the Bologna institutions seem to have found the required support and space for restructuring efforts through these individual and local contributions. In this context, the process of transformation here could be claimed to pave the way for the emergence of internal patterns of pressures, or contributions, with reference to the social dynamics of the nation state in the face of globalisation. Thus, the foundations of the transnational structuring in the Bologna context seem to be facilitated by certain national actors. However, for the achievement of such an influence, M. Durman underlines the role of active contribution and sustainability in the national tendencies in his following comment,

If there is active contribution on the part of countries, it is more likely that you can provide more contributions on the transnational processes, or else the external processes may bring more impact on the country. In this scope, sustainability is another key of success in the national performance in the course of the process. (I.7.)

## **7. CONCLUSION: MULTI-LEVEL GOVERNANCE OF THE CONTEMPORARY RESTRUCTURING OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN TURKEY**

It is evident that over the recent decades higher education has gained unprecedented significance for the development of countries in the face of the economic and social pressures caused by the changing conditions of the market economy. In line with these contemporary dynamics of the global economies, these conditions have brought about growing demands for inclusion into the processes of internationalisation, which have more recently turned into an age of globalisation. As a result of these developments, there has been an increasing emphasis on the role of university, and restructuring policies on the future of the national HESs have generated new forms of relationships among national state institutions together with a wide range of internal and external stakeholders. More particularly, university transformation in the context of the Bologna Process has rendered the signatory countries engaged in their restructuring policies in higher education, combining teaching and research issues, within a new formation of policy making processes. This new form has been constitutive of a transnational governance system. What is central to the given system is observed as the changing nature of the nation state within the emerging forms of interconnections with various organisational agents and networks on the local-regional, national, international scales.

In this scope, the present study has attempted to investigate the restructuring of the HES in Turkey as a signatory country of the Bologna Process with regard to the architecture of the communications between the national state transformation and the transnational institutions, along with the related networks of governance. Accordingly, this investigation has raised two closely related points of debate on the transformation of the CoHE as a national state institution within the transnational governance structure constructed by the Bologna Process. First, this transformation has been analysed as a form of relationship between the state institutions (the CoHE

& the Bologna Process) and the market (social) agents associated with the university system relations with references to the neoliberal, marxist and the new institutionalist approaches. Second, this transition period has been discussed as to the interconnectedness between the national state autonomy and the policy-making processes within the transnational governance system with a particular reference to the pressures and demands of globalisation on the nation state. Such a situation is also articulated in Weiss' approach called *governed interdependence* (Weiss, 1998), through which she describes the structural dynamics, or the *logics*, of globalisation, domestic institutions and state responses.

Within this context grounded on the constitutionalist approaches and emphasis on diversity, the underlying assumption for the argument of this study has been the recontextualisation of the CoHE's autonomy within an internationally economic and social landscape. Such a rethinking into the CoHE's autonomy has been discussed in the context of a restructuring of its policy-making mechanisms with a shift from a nationally centralised state institution regulating the HEIs into an enhanced form of its institutional capacity. From this aspect, it has been concluded that the CoHE has been mediating the functioning of transnational governance mechanisms, along with its increased capacity to include conflicting patterns. As a result, it has been suggested that the national restructuring policies have been provided with the basic tools of transformation by the Bologna Process, while the transformation process of the domestic institutions has also been formulating and enlarging the process of transnational governance system under the dynamics of Bologna institutions.

At this point, in order to conclude with a comprehensive insight into the overall structuring of the mentioned national institutions and organisations, it turns out that different stakeholders in the international, national and institutional scenes are involved in the implementation of the Bologna Process.<sup>17</sup>

In the scope of this organisational structure at the international level<sup>18</sup>, the Ministerial Conferences of the national ministers of education stand at the highest

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<sup>17</sup> See Appendix D for a national framework that links the restructuring institutions and organisations with the Bologna process and the overall structuring of their relationships in the context of the global impacts on domestic institutions and organisations.

<sup>18</sup> For further information on the organisational functioning and work plan at the international level of the Bologna Process, go to [www.ehea.info/article-details.aspx?ArticleId=5](http://www.ehea.info/article-details.aspx?ArticleId=5).

level of the Process. At the second level stands the Bologna Follow-Up Group (BFUG) with national representatives from each country in coordination with the European Commission, and these national representatives within the BFUG form working groups in consultation with a number of external stakeholders (ENQA, ESU, EUA, EURASHE, Council of Europe and UNESCO/CEPES).

Moving onto the national structuring, within the CoHE three levels refer to the categories of the related bodies: international, national and institutional. BFUG (Bologna Follow-up Group) representatives play a role at the international level, while the national team of experts, coupled with the activities of YÖDEK (Commission for Higher Education Academic Assessment and Quality Development), represent and guide the process at the national-level. University community, including rectors and related responsible bodies such as coordination groups (BEKs), departments of foreign relations), academic assessment and quality development groups (ADEKs), implement the process at the institutional level. In addition to this organisational architecture within the CoHE, the Ministry of Education, the Board of Professional Qualifications (MYK) and the National Agency (UA) under the Ministry of the European Union are the other supporting organisations in cooperation with the CoHE at the national level.

Moving back to the relationship between the state and society in the context of university transformation, the possible conclusions could be drawn under two directions: one is from the society to the state, through the pressures from different social agents of the university system, and the other is from the state to the society through the impacts of restructuring of the CoHE as well as those of the Bologna institutions on the relations with the social actors. With regard to the first direction of relationship, the agents of labour diverge from the imperatives of the Bologna Process, whereas the agents of capital (business) are the leading proponents and facilitators of the process. Moreover, some academics in public-private and urban central-peripheral universities, particularly those with the leading positions in the departments of engineering, management, and international relations, along with the active contributions of rectors and vice rectors, have been leading the implementation of the Process in Turkey since the membership in 2001. As to the opposite direction, the context of the CoHE in the 1980s-90s could illustrate a

political economy in which the state controls the economy centred around a small bourgeoisie and a regional-local landscape. Also, in the scope of the Bologna implementations through the national policies, it could be accepted that the interactions between the domestic institutional (state) and organisational (social) agents restructure the ground on which their relations are shaped. Hence, the Process renders these forms of relationships into the conflicting positions on different parts of the agents, along with mediating role of the CoHE.

Considering the implications of globalisation on the nation state, the emergent form of relationships, also, reveals respective correspondence to the impacts of the Bologna institutions on the CoHe's policy-making capacity in restructuring higher education. In such a globalised context, it seems a *condicio sine qua non* for the internationalised Turkish economy to remain inside the European networks of capital. In addition to this economic prerequisite, the national social agents are also part of the economic processes and of the social actors on the European scale with their seemingly influential roles in the Bologna Process. Therefore, their needs and demands converge with one another, and this implies that the pressures on the national scale are similar to those on the European scale. In this scope, the Bologna Process provides the ideological and practical tools within an institutional framework for the CoHE to restructure the university system in Turkey in line with its domestic concerns related to the demands by the social agents and the conditions within the state.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX A.**

#### **Brief Historical Account on the Initiatives of the Bologna Process**

##### **The Bologna Declaration (1999)**

Laying the basis for the establishment of a European Higher Education Area (EHEA) by 2010 and the promotion of a European higher education system on a global scale, this Declaration, signed by 29 European countries, including the then 15 Member States of the EU (Austria, Belgium, Germany, Denmark, Greece, Spain, Finland, France, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden, the United Kingdom), three EFTA countries (Iceland, Norway and Switzerland), and 11 candidate countries at the time, apparently functioned as a catalyst for the realization of a reform process in the EU's higher education policies by introducing six action programmes in the issue of academic degrees:

- a system of academic degrees easily recognizable and comparable, including the introduction of a shared diploma supplement in order to increase the qualifications of European citizens in terms of promoting employability and international competitiveness of the European higher education system,
- a system essentially based on two cycles: as undergraduate and postgraduate degrees, the first cycle is related to the labour market and lasts at least three years, and a second cycle is conditional on the completion of the first cycle,
- a system of accumulation and transfer of credits of the ECTS (European Credit Transfer System) type used in the Erasmus exchange model,
- mobility of students, teachers and researchers; removal of all hindrances in the way to freedom of movement between countries,
- cooperation with regard to quality assurance,
- increase in the number of modules, teaching and study fields in which the content, guidance or organization has a dimension at the European level.

On the other hand, the Member States bear full responsibility for the instructional content and the organizational structure of their systems as well as their cultural and linguistic diversity. In this respect, the Union action is intended to ensure that the European higher education be equipped with a worldwide attraction equal to the extraordinary cultural and scientific traditions of Europe by:

- developing the European dimension in education, particularly through the teaching and dissemination of the languages of Member States;

- encouraging mobility of students and teachers, the academic recognition of diplomas and periods of study;
- promoting cooperation between educational establishments grounded on an international perspective for recognition;
- exchanging information and experience on issues common to the education systems of Member States.

Compared to the content of the Sorbonne Declaration, signed in 1988 by France, Germany, Italy and the UK with a view to generating a common framework through the European Higher Education Area in line with the principles of mobility for students and graduates, and of qualifications required for the employment market, there is a shift in emphasis towards a language of “convergence”, rather than “harmonization”, between systems with more focus on the principles with reference to accountability, comparability, transparency, free mobility, quality assurance in the framework of the European dimension on higher education.<sup>19</sup>

Since the Bologna Declaration, new proposals and objectives through meetings that have been held biannually to measure the progress of universities have also updated and modified the priorities in the EU’s higher education policy framework.

### **Prague Communiqué (2001)**

The declaration in Prague added a second package recognizing the essential role of university staff and students to create a constructive EHEA, emphasizing lifelong learning as a leading element of education policy in Europe to increase economic competitiveness and promoting EHEA not only in Europe, but also in other parts of the world to gain recognition on the international scale. Another aim was to make a review of the progress and define the priorities for the next two years. To this end, a Bologna Follow-Up Group (BFUG) as the representative of all the signatory countries, special participants and the European Commission was established to ensure a continual development of the process and provide professional help on implementing the policies.

This conference is also important in the sense that the EU decided to open its higher education programmes to students of non-EU member countries such as Croatia, Turkey and Cyprus, involved in the Bologna process as the new members.<sup>20</sup>

### **Berlin Communiqué (2003)**

At the 2003 Berlin conference, with the participation of seven new signatory countries, (Albania, Andorra, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Holy See, Macedonia,

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<sup>19</sup> “The Bologna Declaration of 19 June 1999” from [http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/hogeronderwijs/bologna/documents/MDC/BOLOGNA\\_DECLARATI ON1.pdf](http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/hogeronderwijs/bologna/documents/MDC/BOLOGNA_DECLARATI ON1.pdf). Date retrieved May 29, 2012.

<sup>20</sup> “Towards the European Higher Education Area”, from [http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/hogeronderwijs/bologna/documents/MDC/PRAGUE\\_COMMUNIQU E.pdf](http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/hogeronderwijs/bologna/documents/MDC/PRAGUE_COMMUNIQU E.pdf). Date retrieved May 30, 2012.

Russian Federation, Serbia and Montenegro) the ministers responsible for higher education reaffirmed the importance of the social dimension of the Bologna process, referring to an equal ground of opportunities, calling for increased mobility at doctorate and post-doctorate level and encouraging the institutions in question to enhance their cooperation in the spheres of doctorate studies and training of young researchers. Including doctorate studies and synergies between the EHEA and the European Research Area (ERA) in the Bologna process, they also underlined the importance of research, research training and the promotion of interdisciplinary research to maintain and improve the quality of higher education and strengthen its competitiveness.<sup>21</sup>

### **Bergen Communiqué (2005)**

By 2007, the ministers welcoming five more signatories (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine) aimed to make progress in the following areas:

- adopting the standards and guidelines proposed in the ENQA report (European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education);
- introducing a framework for recognition of national qualifications to make them convertible into the system of EHEA;
- awarding and recognizing joint degrees, including at doctorate level;

Thus, the basis of European policy-making in higher education seems to have been laid on a cooperative, rather than a legislative, process composed of the EU rules, which are mostly operated by national policy-makers at the time. The whole process has also been engaged with an intergovernmental system.<sup>22</sup>

### **Modernisation Agenda (2006)**

The Commission also published a modernisation agenda for universities in 2006, identifying three priority reform areas for action in the agenda as defined in the following issues:

- **Curricular:** the three-cycle system (Bachelor-Master-Doctorate), competence-based learning, flexible learning paths, recognition, mobility;
- **Governance:** university autonomy, strategic partnerships with enterprises, quality assurance;

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<sup>21</sup>“Realising the Higher Education Area”, from [http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/hogeronderwijs/bologna/documents/MDC/Berlin\\_Communique1.pdf](http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/hogeronderwijs/bologna/documents/MDC/Berlin_Communique1.pdf)  
Date retrieved May 31, 2012.

<sup>22</sup> “The European Higher Education Area- Achieving the Goals”, from [http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/hogeronderwijs/bologna/documents/MDC/050520\\_Bergen\\_Communique1.pdf](http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/hogeronderwijs/bologna/documents/MDC/050520_Bergen_Communique1.pdf) Date retrieved May 31, 2012.

- **Funding:** diversified sources of university income better linked to performance, promoting equity, access and efficiency, including the possible role of tuition fees, grants and loans.<sup>23</sup>

### **London Communiqué (2007)**

The focus was on the following issues recognized in need of further attention:

- promoting the mobility of students and staff as well as creating measures for evaluation of this mobility,
- evaluating the effectiveness of national strategies on the social dimension in education;
- developing indicators and data for measuring progress regarding mobility and the social dimension;
- examining ways to improve employability linked to the three-cycle degree system and lifelong learning;
- improving the dissemination of information about the EHEA and its recognition throughout the world;
- continuing to take stock of progress towards the EHEA and developing the qualitative analysis in this stocktaking.

Thus, welcoming a greater number of countries outside Europe into the Bologna process to reach a more global context, the success of the objectives in the field of higher education institutions was also assessed and measured both on the national and the international scales.<sup>24</sup>

### **Leuven Communiqué and the First Bologna Policy Forum (2009)**

Certain targets still needed to be realized in full and properly applied at European, national and institutional levels. Consequently, the communiqué noted that the Bologna process would continue beyond 2010 with the following priorities set for the new decade:

- *providing equal opportunities to quality education:* extending participation in higher education should be made possible; in particular, for students from underrepresented groups should be given more attention;
- *increasing participation in lifelong learning:* the accessibility, quality and transparency of information on, lifelong learning must be ensured;

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<sup>23</sup> “The Higher Education Modernisation Agenda”, from [http://ec.europa.eu/education/higher-education/doc1320\\_en.htm#doc](http://ec.europa.eu/education/higher-education/doc1320_en.htm#doc) Date retrieved May 31, 2012.

<sup>24</sup> “Towards the European Higher Education Area- responding to challenges in the globalised world”, From: [http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/hogeronderwijs/bologna/documents/MDC/London\\_Communique18May2007.pdf](http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/hogeronderwijs/bologna/documents/MDC/London_Communique18May2007.pdf) Date retrieved May 31, 2012.

- *promoting employability*: cooperation among stakeholders should be encouraged to raise basic qualifications and renew a skilled workforce, as well as to improve the provision, accessibility and quality of guidance on career objectives and employment. Work placements included in study programmes and on-the-job learning should also be further promoted;
- *developing student-centered learning outcomes and teaching missions*: the development of international reference points for different subject areas and enhancement of the teaching quality in study programmes should be taken into account;
- *intertwining education, research and innovation*: the acquisition of research skills should be promoted; research should be better integrated within doctoral programmes and the career development of early stage researchers should be made more attractive;
- *opening higher education institutions onto the international stage*: the European institutions should further implement their activities in an international perspective and collaborate at the global level;
- *increasing opportunities for the quality of mobility*: by the year 2020, 20% of graduates is expected to have spent a study or training period abroad;
- *improving data collection*: data should be gathered to make evaluations on the progress made in line with the objectives of the Bologna process;
- *developing multidimensional transparency tools*: to acquire comprehensive information about higher education institutions and their programmes, transparency tools should be developed together with key stakeholders;
- *guaranteeing funding*: public funding should be complemented with new and diverse funding solutions.<sup>25</sup>

### **Budapest-Vienna Communiqué and the Second Bologna Policy Forum (2010)**

This declaration welcomed the end of the first decade of the Bologna Process and officially accomplished the formation of the European Higher Education Area (EHEA), as envisaged in the Bologna Declaration of 1999. With this conference, the ministers,

- stressed that the Bologna Process and the resulting European Higher Education Area, had raised considerable interest in other parts of the world and made European higher education more visible on the global map. The ministers also declared to look forward to intensifying their policy dialogue and cooperation with partners across the world,
- underlined the specificity of the Bologna Process, referring to a unique partnership between public authorities, higher education institutions, students,

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<sup>25</sup> “The Bologna Process 2020- The European Higher Education Area in the new decade”, from [http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/hogeronderwijs/bologna/conference/documents/Leuven\\_Louvain-la-Neuve\\_Communiq%C3%A9\\_April\\_2009.pdf](http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/hogeronderwijs/bologna/conference/documents/Leuven_Louvain-la-Neuve_Communiq%C3%A9_April_2009.pdf) Date retrieved May 31, 2012.

academic and administrative staff, together with quality assurance agencies, international organizations and European institutions;

- acknowledged the findings of various reports, indicating that some of the Bologna action lines had been implemented to varying degrees and recent protests in some countries showed the Bologna aims and reforms had not been properly implemented. The ministers promised to listen to the critical voices raised among staff and students,
- highlighted academic freedom as well as autonomy and accountability of higher education institutions as principles of the European Higher Education Area;
- addressed the key position of higher education as a public responsibility;
- reaffirmed the need for increased efforts on the social dimension to provide equal opportunities to quality education, with particular attention to underrepresented groups.

Kazakhstan was accepted as the new participating country in this conference. The ministers responsible for higher education agreed to meet in Bucharest on 26-27 April, 2012.<sup>26</sup>

### **Bucharest Communiqué and the Third Policy Forum (2012)**

The ministers from the 47 signatory countries attended the conference in order to revisit the progress of the higher education reforms and define their priorities on *mobility, quality* and *employability* for the following period of three years. Within this framework, the ministers,

- focused on the issue of widening access and promoting joint programmes and degrees, student-centred learning and social dimension in order to reduce inequalities provide quality education for all.
- committed to the goal of the EHEA to achieve “automatic recognition of comparable degrees” in the long run.
- acknowledged the development of qualifications to contribute to transparency and flexibility.
- placed particular stress on the essential role of higher education in fostering employability to cater to Europe’s needs on the way to overcoming the European economic crisis and contributing to productivity and employment.
- agreed on the essential role of cooperation with other nations and international openness to achieve further progress in the EHEA.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Budapest-Vienna Declaration on the European Higher Education Area”, from [http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/hogeronderwijs/Bologna/2010\\_conference/documents/Budapest-Vienna\\_Declaration.pdf](http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/hogeronderwijs/Bologna/2010_conference/documents/Budapest-Vienna_Declaration.pdf) Date retrieved May 31, 2012.

## APPENDIX B

### Appendix B. 1. SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. What is the nature of the relationship between the Bologna institutions and the national ones?
  - 1.a. Do you agree that we should consider the Bologna as a unidirectional process shaping the national institutions, or a mutual one shaping both the national and the international ones?
  - 1.b. What is the extent to which the Bologna Process has shaped the institutions in Turkey?
  - 1.c. What is the extent to which the institutions in Turkey have shaped the Bologna landscape?
2. How is the Bologna Process being shaped in Turkey?
  - 2.a. What institutions and organisations are shaping the relationship of Turkey with the Bologna process? Which one has had the biggest effect?
    - i. Is it the primacy of the CoHE shaping this relationship?
    - ii. Is it more related to the growing responses from universities and the academics which are reflected into the CoHE's policies?
    - iii. What are the effects of organisations like TÜSİAD and TOBB?
  - 2.b. What are the dynamics behind the power of relations among the related domestic bodies of the Process and what is the level of functionality within these organisations such as BEKs, ADEKs, the National Team of Experts? Are there any others indirectly involved?
3. What are the social factors influencing the membership of Turkey in the Bologna process?
  - 3.a. Is it the demands of business, those of science, or is it the institutional dynamics like the EU membership?
  - 3.b. Is it possible to define and categorise the voluntary/involuntary parts within the university system?
  - 3.c. What are the conflicting positions within the university system?

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<sup>27</sup>Bucharest Communiqué, Making the Most of Our Potential: Consolidating the European Higher Education Area. From [http://www.ehea.info/Uploads/\(1\)/Bucharest%20Communique%202012\(2\).pdf](http://www.ehea.info/Uploads/(1)/Bucharest%20Communique%202012(2).pdf) Date retrieved June 1, 2012.

4. Do you think that the process constrains the autonomy of the CoHE?

4.a. To what extent are the commitments to the process binding for Turkey?

4.b. Do you think that Turkey had the choice not to be part of the process?

## **Appendix B.2. THE LIST OF INTERVIEWEES:**

- 1. Assist. Prof. Dr. Armağan Erdoğan (I.5):** She worked as the Head of Unit for EU and International Relations at the Council of Higher Education in Turkey until recently. She is currently working as an advisor to the President of the Council of Higher Education and represents Turkey in the BFUG while also continuing to be a member of the National Team of the Bologna Experts for 2011-13 under the CoHE administration.
- 2. Prof. Dr. Burhan Şenatalar (I.8):** He was assigned as a member of the CoHE and worked there until 2005. He is now working as a Professor of Economics and the Head of the Bologna Coordination Committee in Istanbul Bilgi University, Turkey.
- 3. Prof. Dr. Cenap Özben (I.3):** He is working as a Professor of Physics and the Dean of the Faculty of Science and Letters, Istanbul Technical University, Turkey.
- 4. Prof. Dr. Çiğdem Kayacan (I.1):** She has been working as the Vice-Rector for Academic Affairs and the Head of the Bologna Coordination Committee in Istanbul University, Turkey, since January, 2009.
- 5. Prof. Dr. Hasan Mandal (I.2):** He is currently working as the Director of Research and Graduate Policy Center in Sabancı University, Turkey. He has also been included in the National Team of the Bologna Experts since 2009 under the CoHE administration.
- 6. Assoc. Prof. Dr. Kıvanç Ulusoy (I.10):** He is a lecturer at the Faculty of Political Science, Istanbul University, Turkey. Also, he works as the Vice-Coordinator of the Bologna Coordination Committee for the same university.
- 7. Prof. Dr. Lerzan Özkale (I.6):** She is as a Professor of Management Engineering and the Head of the International Relations Office in Istanbul Technical University, Turkey. Also, she has been actively contributing to the implementation of the Bologna Process as a member of the National Team of the Bologna Experts since the establishment of the related body under the CoHE administration.
- 8. Prof. Dr. Mehmet Durman (I.7):** He worked as the Rector of Sakarya University, Turkey, between 2002-2010. He currently holds his position as a

Professor of Metallurgical Engineering. He has been actively contributing to the implementation of the Bologna Process as a national representative within the National Team of the Bologna Experts since 2005, particularly in the fields of quality assurance and the development of the National Qualifications Framework (NQF).

9. **Dr. Özge Onursal Beşgül (I.4):** She works as a lecturer at the Department of International Politics in Istanbul Bilgi University, Turkey. She is particularly interested in the EU educational policy, social construction of Europe and EU integration. At the same time she has been involved in the implementation practices since 2011, and currently she holds the position of membership within the Bologna Coordination Committee at the same university.
  
10. **Prof. Dr. Selçuk Karabatı (I.9):** He is a Professor of Operations Management and has worked as the Vice-President for Academic Affairs in Koç University, Turkey, since 2011.
  
11. **Assoc. Prof. Dr. Sema Ergönül (I.11):** She is a lecturer at Mimar Sinan University of Fine Arts. She also held ADEK membership for the same university until recently. She is currently contributing to the implementation processes as a member of the Bologna Coordination Committee within the institution.

## **APPENDIX C. RESEARCH ON THE BOLOGNA PROCESS**

There seems to be a growing amount of literature on the Bologna process, which addresses various aspects of the issue. These studies generally deal with the process at its historical, economic, political, legal, cultural, social and educational themes at the national and international (including the European scale and comparative studies on the global scale), including descriptive, analytical and some critical accounts on how the implementation of the relevant tools has been proceeding in the participant countries, what outcomes in these different contexts have been observed since the initiation of the process, and what implications the progress has generated for the HES of the non-member countries which are also integral to the increasingly competitive conditions of globalisation.

To start with some of the policy-inspired and contextualised studies through the progress at the national levels, Ballarino and Perotti (2012) analyses the process in Italy in relation to the theories of institutional change and how the European dimension has enabled more legitimacy to the implementation of the process in the country and strengthened the status of the Italian academics. However, their findings have suggested that the emergent relationships of the institutional networks have not been driven directly by the market-based tendencies, so liberalisation is not an intrinsic part of the process. Malan (2004) investigates the Bologna implementations to achieve integration of the French HES into the European network for the promotion of innovativeness in educational programmes and consolidation of contractual agreements at the governmental level. Telegina and Schwengel (2012) look into the views and outcomes of the process in the scope of the Russian university system, and they argue that the political, economic and cultural conditions in the country, as in the European countries's systems, have sparked tendencies of internationalisation in higher education, so they have urged the the agenda of university transformation in line with the Bologna tools although the two systems have quite different contexts from their historical, social and cultural aspects. Ahola and Mesikammen (2003) investigate the background to the implementation of the Bologna process with a critical approach and contemplate on the likely future scenarios focusing on the case of Finland question why the country has volunteered to be part of the process and what do the Finnish policies of higher education intend to achieve through the process. Furlong (2005) discusses the UK policies in view of the Bologna practices, and describes the potential reasons for patterns of divergence in the political context of change. Telpuhkovska (2006) questions the viability of the Bologna reforms with particular reference to the Ukrainian HES in the context of the social and economic conditions within the country; also, she presents an analysis of the opportunities and challenges brought by the process on the national system. Fejes (2008) evaluates the reconstruction of the European citizenship inspired by the Foucauldian perspective of governmentality and relates this neoliberal mode of governing to the harmonisation of higher education in the course of the Bologna practices by arguing that the relations of power have redefined the European identities of citizens within the contexts of diversity and autonomy. One another contribution is by Veiga and Amaral (2007) presenting a survey conducted in the Portuguese HEIs to examine the outcomes of the Bologna process on the basis of the legislation framework passed at the national level. Diaz, Santolalla, Gonzalez (2009) examine the implications of Bologna process on the emergent higher education

environment in Spain through an investigation on 257 professors from ten universities in order to understand the faculty responses and their training needs and motivate them to adjust their teaching methodologies to student-orientedness. Dalgıç (2008) addresses a similar research question on how to achieve a more effective implementation process of the Bologna imperatives in the case of Turkey, and she shares her findings of opinions from with 3781 members of the academic staff from four state and six foundation universities in Ankara concerning how progress of the Process in their respective universities. Another study (Esen, Gürleyen, Binatlı, 2012) investigating the impact of the Bologna process on Turkish higher education system in the context of the curricula development in Izmir University of Economics argues that the process has enhanced transparency and comparability of curricula systems through the establishment of the European Higher Education Area. Yağcı (2010) discusses the underlying factors of Turkey's membership into the process and dwells on the interaction of the national governance implementing the reform policies in higher education with the Bologna's modernisation agenda. However, as far as the given case study in Turkey indicates, it is argued that the ongoing process of restructuring has not been completely internalised within the framework of domestic particularities constitutive of the higher education culture. Durdu (2012) studies the experience of the HES in Turkey during its adaptation to the process and focuses on the Bologna practices in relation to the role of human capital in productivity.

As to the discussions on the international level, most of the literature generally draws on the European context of policy-making processes and the power relations among the related actors within the multi-layered networks of the process by placing particular emphasis on the supranational and multicultural setting of the European Union. Keeling (2006) draws the attention to the burgeoning central role of the European Commission in higher education policy discourse shaped by the Bologna objectives and the Lisbon process. Accordingly, Garben (2010) points to the existence of concerns in view of the European law particularly due to the exclusion of the European Parliament in practice. Lazétić (2010) discusses the institutional structuring of network governance developed for implementing the Bologna agenda, which also includes a growing number of external stakeholders located within a social context both at the European and national levels, and the author concludes that the Bologna process provides an attractive policy arena for entrepreneurs and countries so that the former group can test the outputs of their initiatives while the latter can be flexible in the implementation of the Bologna policies without a legally binding framework. Kehm (2010) addresses the implementation of the process through an independent assessment focused on the effective and weak points observed through the intended outcomes of the reform agenda and highlights the challenging issues with regard to the future of the Bologna reforms in the political, social and curricular contexts. Gornitzka (2010) locates the Bologna process into the dynamics of governance structures actively involved in the context of Europe of Knowledge and from a horizontal perspective of change, the author dwells on two dynamics of institutional shift in the political scope: specialisation and interaction among institutions. Croché (2009) investigates into the Bologna network as an institutionalised sociopolitical field in higher education that has changed the relations between countries and with the European Commission, which have also been situated within a binary game including cooperation and competition. To this end,

the author focuses on policy-making actors' organisations and draws on the analysis of papers prepared by these actors of the process and 50 interviews of them. Palfeyman (2008) explores the legal impact of the Bologna implementations and makes an assessment of the progress through the related criticisms and critiques upon the issue. Corbett (2005) narrates the story of European Commission between 1955-2005 by addressing the EU policy process and entrepreneurship in higher education in order to provide a background of the ideas behind the development of Europe of Knowledge and the Bologna process. Hoareau (2011) analyses the Bologna process as an alternative structure in the context of deliberative governance and applies this mode of governance to the formation of the Bologna process.

In addition to these European-level investigations, there seems to be remarkable research interest in the Bologna process through comparative studies beyond Europe. To illustrate some of these studies, Adelman (2010), though agreeing that the US literature on the Bologna is still limited, focuses on the responses by the US in the face of the Bologna-related reforms and reveals the signs of convergence in the US system through the efforts of the Lumina Foundation for Education, so the author argues that higher education community in the US is becoming increasingly informed and perceptive to the Bologna agenda. Singh, Fu, Sawyer (2007) discuss the involvement of Australia with the Bologna process for purposes of internationalisation of the national policies on higher education through an analysis of the Australian Government's paper which identifies the responses within the country to the Bologna reforms and shapes a long-term vision for the possible benefits of a Diploma Supplement in the internationalisation efforts and its implications on teacher education. Verger and Hermo (2010) make a comparative analysis of the higher education policies in Latin America and Europe, respectively drawing on MERCOSUR-Educativo and the Bologna process and referring to theories of governance and globalisation vis-a-vis regionalisation, along with the external and non-educational impacts, on the development of the two processes. The authors, then, conclude that economic globalisation has been directly and indirectly influential on both processes in spite of their regional framework. Croché and Charlier (2012) contribute to the literature considering the implied effects of the Bologna process on French-speaking African universities and examines the key points in the promotion strategy of the Bologna agenda in comparison with the policy proposals in Africa and investigates. However, considering that the exportation of the model has transformed the Bologna practices into a system of rigid principles and the tools of the Bologna do not directly serve the priorities of these universities, the authors underline that the Bologna model might lead to negative perceptions for concerns over adding to sovereignty in the political systems and expanding the challenges of universities in Africa. Zeng, Adams and Gibbs (2012) provide a comparative study of the Bologna process and China-ASEAN (Association of South East Nations) Free Trade member countries (CAFTA) seeking the possibility of convergence between the two regions and suggest that such a convergence is essential for the CAFTA region.



**APPENDIX D.**

