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**ADULT EDUCATION AND LOCAL  
GOVERNMENT: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF  
TURKEY, BRITAIN AND FRANCE**

By

Ahmet DUMAN

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Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

University of Durham  
Faculty of Social Sciences  
Department of Adult & Continuing Education  
December 1996



10 OCT 1997

## **ABSTRACT**

### **Adult Education and Local Government: A Comparative Study of Turkey, Britain and France**

**By  
Ahmet DUMAN**

The purpose of this study is to analyse adult education and local government relations in Turkey, Britain and France. It is based on a method of comparative research which has employed primarily qualitative research techniques. The study attempts to bring macro and micro levels of analysis together in order to make a coherent and comprehensive analysis of educational practices in different societies.

Each of the three societies under study have had their own unique structures of education and politico-administrative systems which are the basis for the development of adult learning opportunities. Central governments in these societies are under pressure to respond to global, national and local requirements for education and training. The complex interaction of adult education-local government relations in different societies reflect their own historical traditions, emergent educational discourses, traditional modes of thinking, resource constraints and opportunities. The decentralisation of local government, education and adult education is a world wide trend. It translates into different kinds of practices in different kinds of society. This study explores the reasons of this

This study has shown that local government adult education (LGAE) policies should be based on the promotion of a decentralised, democratic and effective adult education service aimed at citizen empowerment and at building a learning society. The optimal balance between the central and local control of education, and between the vocational and democratic aims of education and training, has to be achieved. However, this balance has not so far been founded yet in any one of the societies under study.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have helped and supported me in different ways in the research for and writing up of this thesis. To begin with, I owe a great debt to Prof. Dr. Bill Williamson, my supervisor, for his constant moral support and patience in directing this study. I have learned from him not only how to be a good academic but also to be flexible, patient and reconciled with myself.

I would like to thank Tim Ducker (Mr. D) for his encouraging support and his careful and assiduous work of proof-reading the first draft of each chapter; and to Ms. C. Ducker and Dr. C. Hampton for the translation from French to English of materials I used for this thesis.

I also want to thank Prof. Dr. Cevat Geray and Prof. Dr. Rusen Keles of Ankara University, Faculty of Political Sciences for their constructive criticism of my questionnaire and for help in carrying out interviews in Turkey.

I am also indebted to Ince's family (Hasan, Suna and their son Deniz) for their hospitality in sharing their small flat with us in Paris during research in France; and to all the staff of Department of Adult and Continuing Education of the University of Durham for their friendly and invaluable support throughout whole research process.

I would like to convey my whole-hearted gratitude to every one who helped me in the preparation of this thesis and to those who gave me guidance before and during the completion of this study.

Finally, I wish to express my deepest appreciation to my family (my wife Mujden, son Huseyin Eren, and daughter Elifcan). They have suffered, once again, in the production of this thesis, and I am not sure it would have ever been completed without their moral support.

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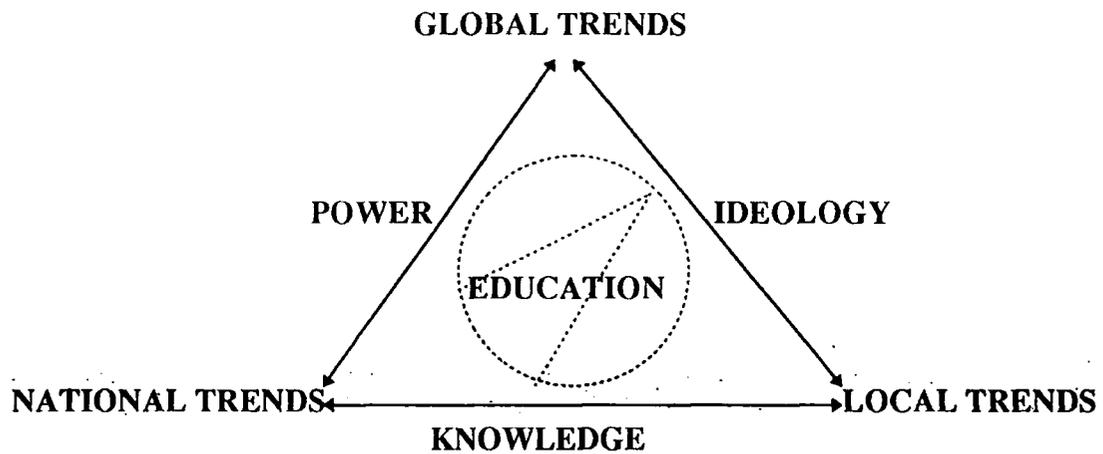
## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of this study is to examine the concern of local authorities with adult education in Turkey, France and Britain from an international comparative perspective. However, the term 'adult education' refers to different meanings and practices in different societies. Adult education is a socially-constructed, culturally-bounded, politically-driven and highly contested terrain of theory, policy and practice.

This study aims to explore and explain the ways in which the structure of adult education provision is related to a country's level of socio-economic development, the structure of government, and the prevailing interpretations of adult education itself. Adult education, therefore, is not something which can be defined outside of the context in which it is practised. It is context dependent. Adult educational policy debates at the international levels emphasise the importance of decentralisation, citizenship, civil society, democracy and the learning society. But these concepts do not mean anything unless they are seen and analysed within particular and national contexts.

It is for this reason that the concept of education and educational policy formation needs to be considered using an approach in which the analysis of educational discourses interaction is a core focus. Discourse refers to that which can be thought, written or said about something such as a product, topic or field of knowledge. Broadly, it can be defined as the conjunction of ideology, power and knowledge. The ability to employ or improve or challenge a discourse reflects a command of knowledge in a particular field of study or discipline (see Ball 1990a and 1990b, Marshall 1990, and Layder 1994). From this perspective, every educational system is a political mechanism for maintaining the appropriateness of discourses which may and do change through time and in three special dimensions: the global, the national and the local. What this study shows is that educational policies and practices are directed by developments in these three dimensions. National governments have to take into account global and local economic, social and political developments in the process of educational policy formation. Provisions for adult education can be considered in this context in order to be able to understand international perspectives on the dynamics associated with developments in

adult education. This broad perspective which informs the approach of this study, can be visualised as follows:



**FIGURE 1.1**  
**THE EDUCATIONAL DISCOURSE TRIANGLE**

Figure 1.1 makes explicit that the practice of education - in this case adult education- in any society can and must be seen in the light of both the global and local context of its operation. The circumstances of the world have to be refracted through the blocks of interests, power structures, ideological configurations and patterns of knowledge and understanding in a society. The same global pressures may be interpreted differently in different societies. The local expression of national policies, as will be seen, can be very different from what is intended. Education, as mentioned by many commentators (see Freire 1972, Lindeman 1944), is never neutral or in some way immune to the contexts and changes of the society in which it functions.

It is widely believed that global trends in economic and political life are formed and manipulated by the developed and industrialised capitalist societies to maintain their dominance in world market and international affairs. Under the name of the 'new world order', 'interdependence rather than independence' is stressed; the 'international division of labour' is maintained through a number of international organisations such as OECD, IMF and the World Bank, and multi-national companies. It is for this reason that the pattern of the interaction between the developed and underdeveloped societies are unbalanced and culturally imperialistic. Developed countries patronise education as a

part of foreign policy to reinforce dependency which is now less overt but not less powerful than in the past. An overall look of world history provides many examples to support the above proposition (see Altbach 1982, 1987, Youngman 1988, White 1996, and Persianis 1996).

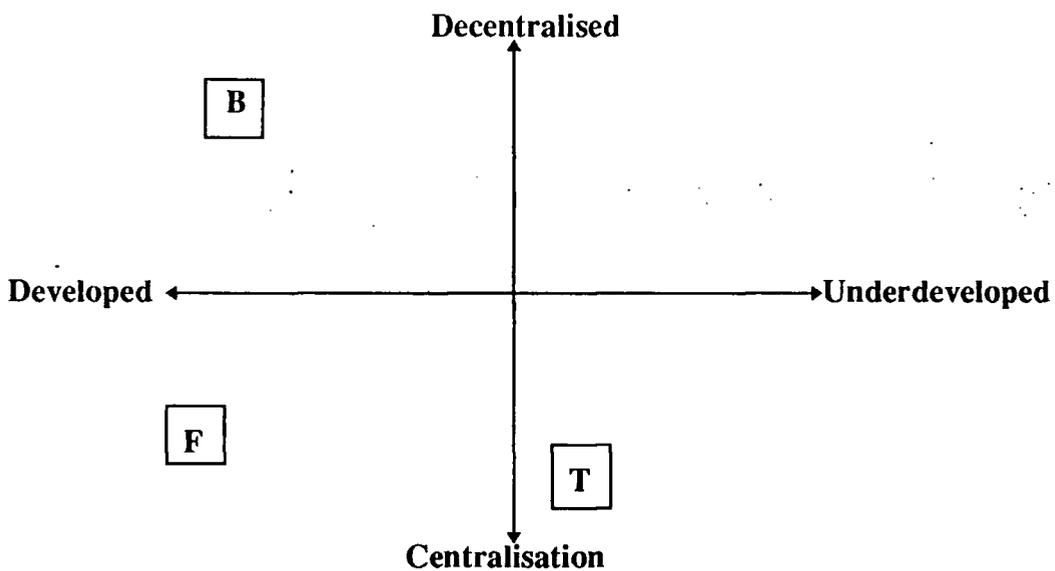
From this point of view, it can be further asserted - and this is key theme of this study that central governments bear witness to international trends in the vocationalisation and commoditisation of education. This is seen as a vital tool for increasing the competitive ability of an economy. It is also a source of much political debate and tension, for there is another view of the importance of education. This one lays stress on the role of education in personal and cultural development. This is not the point to discuss these tensions in detail. It will be shown in subsequent chapters how they have come to be part of current debates in education. It is sufficient to note at this point that these tensions reflect the struggles taking place within the politics of education and reflect profound differences of view about the purpose and goal of education. Neo-liberal education policies, which are the currently dominant paradigm, ignores the social aims of education for the sake of economic ones.

The following tensions have emerged with this paradigm of education which has been entitled the 'new vocationalism' or educational ideology of the new right. They can be characterised as the tensions between:

<b>Training</b>	<b>Vs</b>	<b>Education</b>
<b>Vocational Education</b>	<b>Vs</b>	<b>Liberal Education</b>
<b>Consumerism</b>	<b>Vs</b>	<b>Citizenship</b>
<b>Centralisation</b>	<b>Vs</b>	<b>Decentralisation</b>
<b>Commodification of Education</b>	<b>Vs</b>	<b>Education as a Human Right</b>
<b>Parentocracy</b>	<b>Vs</b>	<b>Local Democracy</b>
<b>Privatisation of Schooling</b>	<b>Vs</b>	<b>State Schooling</b>
<b>Competency</b>	<b>Vs</b>	<b>Knowledge</b>
<b>Continuing Education</b>	<b>Vs</b>	<b>Adult Education</b>
<b>Lifetime Learning</b>	<b>Vs</b>	<b>Lifelong Learning</b>

It is one of the key aims of this study to explore the implications of such disagreements for the way in which adult education is provided in different countries.

Turkey, France and Britain differs in terms of their degrees of political centralisation and development. Diagrammatically these differences might be plotted as in Figure 1.2. It makes clear that Britain can be seen as a highly developed and decentralised country while France is a highly developed and centralised country. Turkey can be described as a developing and centralised country which is currently trying to integrate with Europe.



**FIGURE 1.2  
DEVELOPMENT AND CENTRALISATION-DECENTRALISATION LEVELS  
OF THE SUBJECT COUNTRIES**

My reason for undertaking this research stems from the situation in which Turkey, my home country, has been trying to find a rational way of decentralising many aspects of government. My hope is that something can be learned from the British and French experience of decentralisation to assist the development of decentralisation strategies. The research is, of course, also a contribution to knowledge for other countries which are seeking to decentralise their education and adult education provisions. In this respect, the study aims to identify policy models which would allow other developing societies to overcome the situations of dependency which they face.

The comparison of these three countries is useful and important for the following reasons. Firstly, Britain and France have very different politico-administrative systems. Britain is seen as having a highly decentralised unitary system of administration while France has a highly centralised one. Both countries have been seeking to transform their

public administration and education systems for one and a half decades. However, they have favoured rather different approaches: It is decentralisation in France, and re-centralisation in Britain. Both cases provide useful lessons about what ought and ought not to be done.

Secondly, the comparison of Britain and France shows strikingly how European countries are different as well as similar in respect of their politico-administrative, educational and adult educational structures, and how the slogan of 'unity in a diversity' (see Sultana 1996), is meaningful in European context of educational policy formation. It also gives some valuable hints to understand the European context of trends for educational and adult educational policy formation.

Finally, Turkey as developing country seeking to integrate with Europe, has already a strong commitment to decentralise its politico-administrative system in which local authorities are expected to be given the responsibility of education. The comparison of the three countries of this study takes place at both national and local levels. Detailed case studies of local authorities were undertaken in Britain and Turkey. It is through these local case studies that the broader national issues are explored. It is important that international comparative studies should acknowledge intra-national variation in educational policy and practice. This study demonstrates the importance of the comparative study of local government on a way of understanding patterns of change and opportunity in adult education.

A distinctive feature of the approach of this comparative study is that it focuses in a major way on the work and role of educational officials in the three countries. There are two fundamental reasons for doing so. The first is that broad international and national trends which affect education, have to be translated into local contexts, interpreted, refined and implemented. This is the work of officials. They advise, evaluate, control resources and influence politicians. Because of this, and secondly, an understanding of their role and of how they perceive it is critical to all attempts to explain how the macro world of politics and of social and economic change becomes part of the micro world of

adult education practices. The methodology of this study is designed to cope with the complex interactions of these two levels of analysis.

It is important to see adult education from the perspectives of officials, and to understand their role and qualifications. It is, in principle, possible to undertake a study of this kind and focus on the perceptions and roles of teachers and students. Indeed, my hope is that further studies of this kind will be carried out. But there are special reasons for concentrating on educational officials in a study of the changing governance of adult education. Weber (1970) drew attention to the permanent character of the bureaucratic machine, the economic and social consequences of bureaucracy, and the relationship between the political master and the expert in bureaucratic organisations. He noted that:

*“Under normal conditions, the power position of a fully developed bureaucracy is always towering. The ‘political master’ finds himself in the position of the ‘dilettante’ who stands opposite the ‘expert’, facing the trained official who stands within the management of administration. This holds whether the ‘master’ whom the bureaucracy serves is a ‘people’, equipped with the weapons of ‘legislative initiative’, the ‘referendum’, and the right to remove officials, or a parliament, elected on a more aristocratic or more ‘democratic’ basis and equipped with the right to vote a lack of confidence, or with the actual authority to vote it. It holds whether the master is an aristocratic, collegiate body, legally or actually based on self-recruitment, or whether he is a popularly elected president, a hereditary and ‘absolute’ or a ‘constitutional’ monarch.” (pp.232-33)*

For these reasons, both macro and micro levels of analyses of adult education and local government relations in the three countries have to be employed. Firstly, macro and micro analyses refer to different dimensions of a phenomenon in terms of level and scale of analysis and research focus. The macro dimension in this analysis refers to central government interventions, conflicts over policies, ideological disputation between central and local government, the general structural parameters of societies, goals and differences among local authorities. These features of the analysis can be studied using public documentary sources of information. The micro dimensional analysis focuses on the interests and characters of local actors, changes in organisational control and structure at the local level, decision-making, the perceptions and feelings of actors about the policies, provision and problems of particular local authorities.

Secondly, micro and macro analyses are complementary, rather than contradictory, for the better understanding of the subject under study. The macro analytical comparison provides the essential context for micro analysis. Micro analysis may fail or be misunderstood in the absence of the essential macro framework.

The main theses built up from the theoretical framework being considered in this study are, first, that there is a global trend towards decentralised, vocationally-oriented and employer-led educational provision which is responsive to the demands of labour market. These pressures in both developed and less developed countries shape the main education policies and the politics of adult educational provision. The vital tension between democratic, participatory, responsive, efficient and accountable adult education provision, and the centrally-planned, employer-led and vocationally-oriented provisions, which are sensitive to the labour market, is the most distinctive feature of educational policy-making in the political systems of the three societies under study. Secondly, the character of adult education provision is directly related to the structure and character of the rest of the education system in a society. The national profiles of educational attainment among school leavers is one of the factors determining the level and nature of demand for education from adults. This demand, whether it is high or low, affects the local political context of educational provision and the values which adults in a given area attach to their own further education. Thirdly, differing strands of political control over adult education provision generate different structures of learning opportunities for adults.

Despite the fact that the terminological ambiguity of the concepts of adult education and decentralisation make it difficult to generate wide agreement on any aspects of these concerns, locally-controlled educational provision is one of the essential elements of the idea of learning society. It should be borne in mind, however, that the decentralisation of education does not in itself ensure responsive, effective, accountable, democratic and participatory service delivery. Decentralisation is a tool to achieve this the success of which will depend upon the form of decentralisation employed and the nature of its expected outcomes. It is not an aim itself. It is a highly flexible and fashionable organisational approach referring to particular types of practices in different disciplines,

state systems and periods of time with a spectrum of expected outcomes. Decentralisation, therefore, must be seen as a means to achieve and enhance the expression of the commitment to empower citizens in order to deepen and broaden democracy towards the vision of a learning society.

The political vocationalisation of education and market dogmatism are increasingly growing throughout the world. It makes it difficult to resist the rhetoric surrounding discussions of the economic value of education which include terms and ideas like competence, vocational education, competition and the vocational-nonvocational distinction. This over vocationalisation and marketisation of education, which is the so called 'new vocationalism', needs critical review in order to generate more flexible alternatives. 'Liberal vocationalism', for instance, which seeks to establish a sensitive balance between education and training, is discussed later, meets this requirement. It promotes active and democratic citizenship to revitalise a decentralised democracy. Yet it does not ignore the economic value of education.

Finally, comparative education and adult education studies provide a valuable pool of knowledge for the international communities facilitating possible policy exchanges and learning from each other. However, it should be borne in mind that comparative education and adult education can be abused by industrialised countries for the retention of components of their world economic dominance. Policy borrowing is, therefore, a potentially very complex, indeed controversial, issue.

This study develops these debates described above in the following ways. This chapter has touched on debates about the importance of studying local government-adult education relations. Chapter two describes the research methodology developed for and employed by this study, and the contemporary debates regarding methodology and theoretical frameworks related to it. It explores the idea that international comparative adult education (ICAE) research requires a flexible multi-method and systematic research approach which can be considered as interactionist rather than positivist, and qualitative rather than quantitative. The chapter provides a framework for ICAE scholars to 'make' their own research methodology rather 'take' it directly from other research

areas. The approach outlined, the TIP Scheme, which codifies the theoretical, ideological and practical elements of the research methodology, may assist scholars who would like to carry out ICAE studies. Chapter two also declares the limitations of the study in connection with the design, data collection and data analysis techniques used.

Chapter three is based on the assumption that international comparisons of adult education systems in any societies requires an understanding of the structure and functioning of their educational systems as a whole. Educational opportunities in any society are also correlated with the levels of socio-economic development and the forms this has taken. It is for this reason that comparison of recent educational trends in Britain, France and Turkey is essentially made in chapter three. Chapter three also looks at education, as a lifelong process from cradle to grave, and the power-ideology-knowledge interactions in connection with contemporary debates on the conceptualisation of education, training and learning. In the light of these debates, the new right ideology and its educational agenda, and 'new vocationalism', are assessed from a highly critical perspective.

In chapter four, it is explained that adult education is a socially-constructed, culturally-bounded, politically-driven, highly-contested, multi-paradigmatic and multi-disciplinary field of study. It is noted here that an international comparison of adult education provisions needs to be examined the socio-economic and political background of the countries under study. It requires, too, an account of the conceptualisation, the structure and organisation, legislative framework, finance, the role of adult educators, and of issues and trends within adult education in these countries. Chapter four seeks to clarify the notion of adult education in the three countries under study from this broad-based international comparative perspective.

Chapter five is an attempt to promote the idea of decentralisation versus centralisation. It shows that decentralisation, both of local government and education, can be expected to achieve a diverse set of outcomes. It is determined by the unique historical, socio-political and economic circumstances of a society. It is for this reason that chapter five deploys a number of relevant concepts such as civil society, local government,

democracy and citizenship with the analysis of the concept of decentralisation, its forms and expected outcomes. In the light of the above discussions, the chapter also focuses specifically on educational decentralisation and the contract culture which is such a key element of the current discourse about local government services.

Chapter six explores and explains the idea that adult education-local government relations vary according to levels of socio-economic development, differences in the structure of educational systems and their governance and in relation to prevailing interpretations of the meaning of adult education. It employs both micro and macro comparative analyses in order to understand the complex and fragmented relations between adult education and local government. Chapter six shows that adult education-local government relations are under pressure from international, national and local trends in conjunction with the local elements of ideology, power and knowledge which constitute the educational discourses of a particular society. It is for these reasons that the concern of local authorities with adult education differs between societies as well as between the communities within a single society. Chapter six, therefore, examines local government systems in the three countries, and macro and micro analyses of adult education-local government relations are made based on empirical data and through an analysis of published sources of information on policy.

Finally, chapter seven aims, as a concluding chapter to provide a synthesis of the findings of the earlier chapters. It emphasises the need for decentralised, democratic, holistic and effective adult education policies to facilitate adult learning for active and democratic citizenship within a developing vision of the learning society. It also contains some recommendations for LGAE policy and further research.

## **CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY**

Methodology is a set of techniques, methods and principles to carry out research or to teach language. Methodology, as has been pointed out by Silverman (1993) refers a general approach to study research topics while the method implies the specific research techniques.

The research problem of this study required a comparative methodology which was developed by the researcher and is an amalgamation of methods relevant to the nature of the topic. Local government, education and adult education are quite contested fields of study, and they are not unified concepts. The practice of policy, in each area, varies from one country to another, from one local authority to another. It is, therefore, very obvious that international comparative adult education (ICAE) research requires a variety of research methods.

This chapter describes the research methodology developed for this study, and the contemporary debates regarding methodology and theoretical frameworks related to this type of study. Comparison, comparative method and methodology in the context of social science research is, therefore, considered briefly within the first part of the chapter.

### **2.1. Comparison, Comparative Method and Comparative Methodology**

Comparison is defined as a process of discovering similarities and differences between the two or more phenomena. It is a mental operation in daily life, a basic brain activity, and a scientific method. It aims to deepen knowledge systematically (Schriewer 1989). Eckstein (1986) has pointed out that comparison is an inherent process in human thinking and reasoning.

Some comparative researchers believe that if the two or more phenomena, systems, cultures etc. are too different from each other, comparison is not possible because,

according to their views, only very similar phenomena, structures and cultures can be compared. As has been explained by Raivola (1986), there is no logical reason why comparison should be based upon only similarities, convergences, identicalities or resemblances. Comparison can be based equally upon differences and divergences. The following three rationales argue this.

Firstly, comparison cannot be based on the idea of absolute and precise similarities or identicalities because culturally-bounded social phenomena cannot be strictly compared. In other words, each social phenomenon, structure, system or society is unique.

Secondly, there are no phenomena which differ too greatly to be compared at least in principle - sameness-difference, or convergence-divergence are relative concepts- and suggestions that comparison should be based only on similarities or, differences, (as pointed out by Beteille 1990:2257), are only reflections of differences in aesthetic, moral and political judgement.

Finally, comparative researchers have to use figurative thinking patterns, metaphors, models and paradigms to explain and identify study results. Every discipline uses metaphors to demonstrate what it knows because metaphors shape perceptions, and those perceptions are used to discuss the meaning of the studied subjects and events (Ilecki 1996). As is stressed by Hackett (1988:389) there is no basis for doing comparative studies without using metaphor, allegory or parable, and thick descriptions or narratives of the world around us (cited in Paulston & Liebman 1994:215).

Some, such as Farrel (1986), believe there is no such thing as a comparative methodology, there are only comparative data which are collected by using several analytical tools and scientific methods. On the other hand, comparative methodology is defined as a set of principles, methods and techniques for conducting comparative research. Comparative methodology refers to a general research approach aimed at carrying comparative research. Despite Farrel's views, there is a general trend towards accepting the term 'comparative methodology' in the world of social science.

Ragin (1994) considers comparative approaches to be strategies for achieving social research goals including: (a) exploring diversity, (b) interpreting cultural or historical significance, and (c) advancing theory. However, it is often difficult to follow rigid steps of scientific methods in the social sciences due to the abstract, vague and inconsistent nature of most social theories, and because of the culturally-determined as well as historically-linked characteristics of societal phenomena. That is to say each societal event is a part of a historical sequence within a specific cultural context (Lisle 1985).

Masterman (1970) refers to the multiple paradigm sciences. This implies a state of affairs in which there are numerous and different paradigms, research methodologies and approaches for each body of knowledge. With this in mind, some assert that scientific method is not appropriate for social science research; comparative research is not possible, and quasi-comparative studies generate incomplete evidence and flawed arguments. However, this argument is not widely accepted: comparative studies in social, educational and political sciences can be usefully done to understand social phenomena.

Before concentrating on international comparative studies, there are three important concepts which should be considered briefly in order to see diversities of approaches: cross-cultural, cross-national and cross-societal studies.

According to Warwick and Osherson (1973:8) cross-societal comparisons may be based upon historical analyses, survey research, small group experimentation, the use of aggregate data, participant observation, content analysis, or a panoply of social science methods. Kobben (1979:1-2) summarised the differences between the cross-cultural and cross-national studies as follows. Cross-cultural study refers to anthropology, it uses ethnographies as a source of information, and participatory observation and case study research techniques. Cross-national study refers to sociology and political sciences, it uses national statistics and surveys as a source of information, and interviews and questionnaires as research techniques. As Lisle (1985), stressed, a comparative methodology is problem-oriented and multidisciplinary rather than of a single discipline

if it takes proper account of the relative incidence of the different aspects within a particular society. In addition to these differences, communities or ethnic groups are the population for cross-cultural studies; states or countries are population for cross-national studies.

Despite Kobben's classification, Robinsohn (1992:31) pointed out that the Educational Sciences use cross-cultural comparisons (a) to analyse institutions and methods in various educational systems for gaining information on conditions and objectives of educational systems, and (b) to draw attention to updated information and specific conclusions for the theory and practice of education and pedagogy.

In elsewhere, Rokkan (1970) pointed out that the forms of comparative study, as cross-national, cross-cultural and cross-societal, related to the sampling frame and design of comparison. If the data are collected from a nation-state, comparison was cross-national. If the data are collected from various nation-states or societies, comparison may be accepted as cross-cultural or cross-societal as well (cited in Scheuck 1989:152).

Apart from the afore-mentioned classifications of comparative research (cross-national, cross-societal, and cross-cultural), comparative studies may be considered as theoretical, descriptive or interpretative. Theoretical comparative studies aim to set up, develop or test a theory. Descriptive comparative study, as pointed out by Berting (1979a:153), tries to reply questions such as "What are the differences and similarities between the certain units?. How large are those differences? ". If the objectives of a research project are explained in terms of establishing similarities and differences between the countries rather than formulating, verifying and modifying general hypotheses, it is referred to a descriptive comparative study. Finally, interpretative comparison refers not only identification of similarities and dissimilarities between the two phenomena, system etc., but also to an explanation of why these similarities and dissimilarities have occurred, and to what extent. According to Berting (1979b:159-64) most international comparative studies are descriptive, and give the impression that social reality is considered as theoretically non-problematical. Descriptive studies are not very explicit with regard to their theoretical arguments. There are five types of goals in an international comparative

research in the social sciences: (a) to develop theory, (b) to explain specific social phenomena, (c) to describe social phenomena, (d) to select variables from a larger number of variables that may be affected by policy, and (e) to evaluate processes of change.

Discussions of comparative analysis, whether in social sciences, education, adult education or political sciences, are characterised by a wide range of views, arguments, theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches. Some believe there is no such thing as comparative methodology, there are only comparative data, scientific method is not appropriate for social sciences research, and so comparative research is impossible, and those quasi-comparative studies produce incomplete evidence and flawed arguments. Others believe comparative methodology is a set of principles and strategies for conducting comparative studies. Some says comparisons should be based only on similarities, and some believe it should be based on contrasts and dissimilarities; comparison should be variable oriented or case oriented, or state-society oriented or policy-process oriented?, it should be based on correlational-causational relationships or inductive-deductive reasoning?, it should be qualitative-quantitative or descriptive-theoretical?, it should be micro or macro comparisons? and so forth.

The difficulties and problems associated with international comparative studies in the social sciences have been described by Williamson (1987:6) as follows;

*“... The absence of comparable data on different societies is only part of the problem and perhaps the least difficult to overcome. Of much greater significance is the fact that comparison involves theorising and there is little agreement among sociologists about the theories they should use. Moreover, societies are not static structures; they exist in time and their structures change. In any case, all societies are unique; they have distinctive histories and cultural patterns so that entities which are essentially alike can never actually be identified.”*

However, there is no doubt that comparative analysis have some advantages and disadvantages together with some problems. The answers to the question "why comparative research?" can be summarised as follows:

(a) to build, testify or falsify a theory, (b) to attain scientific generalisation about human society and culture in order to predict and control changes earlier, (c) to exchange and

borrow some innovations or establishments by adapting from one country or society to another with the intention of improving their own system, (d) to provide knowledge and international experiences, practices about special topics, (e) to find alternative strategies on subjects in different countries or socio-economic systems, (f) to illuminate policy and decision makers on problems and panaceas, (g) to prove that different cultural phenomena can be related to some structures or models, (h) to describe a particular social phenomenon in world-wide scope, and (i) to evaluate processes of social change internationally. Of these, the closest to the aims of this study is (c).

The following problems for comparative analysis, whether national or international, are described by several authors in the literature, and they reflect the scale and content of the problems:

(a) system boundness of social phenomena is a methodologically significant problem in the comparative social research process. The same phenomena mean different things in different cultures, and conversely different phenomena may have same meaning amongst different culture, (b) availability and comparability of the data: research design, sampling and data collection problems, (c) cultural ethnocentrism of the comparatists; it means looking at the world primarily from the point of view of the observer's own culture and values, (d) language problems in the translation of questionnaires, (e) the absence of proper and well-prepared training programmes for the comparative researchers, and (f) multiplicity and diversity of the variables and social phenomena (Smelser 1973, Warwick & Osherson 1973, Berting 1979b, Framheim and Mills 1979, Jurkovich 1979, Noah 1986, Farrel 1986, Hague & Harrop 1987, Watson 1994)

The discussion amounts to this: comparative research is a complex, multi-dimensional process with many problems associated with it. In this study, attempts have been made to overcome these and to clarify a comparative procedure which is systematic and sensitive to both qualitative and quantitative data. The approach adapted is informed by a sense of history, an awareness of the different level of development and structures of government of the societies involved. This is not an impediment to comparison but a necessary part of effective and productive comparative research.

## 2.2. Introduction to Comparative Education and Comparative Adult Education

Epistemological and terminological disagreements in the social sciences have formed an on going debate for many years. Education and adult education are no longer separated from such debates. These are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3 and 4. What is comparative adult education (CAE)? Is it a discipline or subdiscipline, or is it an applied field of study?

Education, as an interdisciplinary field, is connected with more than a dozen other disciplines, so it has got a multi-disciplinary basis. Because of this, there are disputes over the definition of CE and its aims, methods and research concerns. CE has been defined as the application of comparative techniques to specific educational issues by Raivola (1986: 262); as a field that focuses on educational phenomena within and between educational systems by Farrel (1986:202); or as an applied field of study that finds particular justification in the service of evaluation, management, administration and policy making by Noah (1986:161). According to King (1968) CE could be defined as the systematic collection of data about educational systems and their contexts aimed at allowing policy makers to make informed decisions about school reform or educational innovations (cited in Kelly et al 1982:513).

Olivera (1988:182) formulated comparative education in the field of EDUCOLOGY with the following series of concentric circles whose boundaries are not rigid:

*"...at the centre, the comparative studies, the theory and methodology; then the international information on educational matters and the different kinds of case-studies we have just seen; and at the outer fringe, the comparativist contribution to study and research on any educological subject..."*

According to Epstein (1995), the following three developments were the most prominent changes in CE in the 1970s and the early 1980s: the discovery of conflict and dependency theory in terms of alternative paradigms; the promotion of ethnographic methods and other forms of qualitative research as alternatives to positivism and scientism; and the paradigmatic conflicts in the field of CE. Thus, the CE field had become sharply fragmented. This fragmentation may be seen as the beginning of a dialogue, or 'a commitment to the diversity of perspective'.

In the 1980s, the field of comparative education departed in some significant ways from earlier traditions. New research topics emerged, and the field increasingly came to discuss the underlying assumptions guiding research methods as well as research questions in ways that in the past were muted. CE studies began to discuss and concern with the issues of educational efficiency, and researchers have started to ask how a greater quality of education could be achieved without increasing expenditures or with minimum expenditure because of the economic crisis and recessions - particularly in the second part of the 1980s (Altbach & Kelly 1986).

According to Robinsohn (1992:32), concern over and interest in comparative education has increased considerably in recent years because of the following reasons;

- (a) an awareness of the need for reform of all educational systems in view of increased quantitative and qualitative demands, and the expectation that new and more adequate structures can be developed on the basis of additional, systematically derived experience;*
- (b) the international competition which has also extended to the field of education and serves as a new impetus for adjustment in a world of intensive communication and shared obligations;*
- (c) new tasks in the development of educational systems in the new countries and societies;-the need for rational educational policies and planning;*
- (d) the "discovery" of education on the part of the social sciences which is manifested in such fields of concern as education and social opportunity (sociology), education and economic development (economics), political socialization (political science) etc., all of which call for a comparative approach;*
- (e) the development of more sophisticated methods in the social sciences and in systems analysis;*
- (f) the integration of Comparative Education into the scope of teacher training".*

The aims of CE, which is another oft-debated topic, are clarified by Robinsohn (1992) as follows;

- (a)** an understanding of the process of education,
- (b)** an understanding of particular systems of education,
- (c)** the practical reform of school systems, and

(d) identification and classification of the educational objectives and ideological forces. Therefore, description, explanation and interdisciplinary co-ordination are the crucial components for comparative education studies.

Arnove, Altbach & Kelly (1982:4) underlined two considerable effects of comparison in the field of education as 'chastening' and 'humanizing'. The *chastening effect* means discovering limitations and possibilities of schooling to achieve reforms in a society by studying different educational systems around the world. The *humanizing effect* implies understanding and seeing common problems faced by most societies and educational systems.

There is no doubt that the aims and scope of CE studies is subject to change in time and place. However, in the light of the above-mentioned aims of CE studies, it might be concluded that the most prominent goal is to borrow or 'learning from each other' to improve educational institutions, policies or systems in different societies. The rationale for this study is the chastening one: it is to discover the optimal arrangement for the public control of successful adult education services in the three countries through this study.

Such comparison is not, however, a simple process; it requires, too, an understanding of the structure of relationships between different societies in a system of an unequal international division of labour. In this context, the structure and dynamics of the relationship between developed and underdeveloped countries is one of the hottest components of the field of CE. It is a very old debate: some draw attention to this relationship by emphasising the negative impacts of CE, based upon dependency and conflict theories, while the others reject blindly the abuse of CE to maintain and strengthen centre-periphery relations, dependency and the colonial legacy.

Dependency is not a fate itself; it is a relationship which is not static; it changes through time, political and economic action, and conflict (Williamson 1987). Underdevelopment is both the reason for and result of dependency. It is defined as the vicious circles of poverty connected with each other by Williamson (1979): The first circle consists of low

savings and capital investment, undeveloped superstructures (roads, schooling, banking), and a high proportion of foreign investment. The second circle consists of a low growth rate and little structural economic change. The third circle is composed of entrenched attitudes and economic behaviour, limited economic opportunities, high unemployment and the growth of problems of poverty. The fourth circle includes the continuing external dependency with external and internal loans, a lack of balance between imports and exports (excessive imports), international aids and foreign personnels, a limited range of exports, high debt interest payments and high levels of repatriated profits. And final circle is low per capita incomes and low gross national products.

Altbach (1982) highlighted the fact that industrialised imperialist countries maintain colonialist policies and aims towards the Third World Nations. He stressed the inequalities of the relationships between central and peripheral nations in his impressive analysis, 'Servitude of the Mind? Education, Dependency and Neo-colonialism', which is dedicated to a great ideal that to understand the nature of the relationships between the industrialised and Third World nations and to abandon their dependency. He clearly described how imperialist countries colonised the Third World by training an intellectual elite, designing the school curriculum of the underdeveloped countries and by using international aid programmes, scholarships and their own languages as tools of this process.

In a similar manner, Watson (1986) pointed out that one of the major problems of developing countries is the shaping and manipulating impacts of the Western paradigms on developing countries' educational systems, economic growth and development, and the use of high technology to export educational policies and understanding.

In contrast the Altbach's ideas, Noah & Eckstein (1985) saw the dependency theory in comparative education as a simplification because, in their mind, there was no clear evidence of attempts on the part of western industrialised countries to maintain the oppression of Third World countries, or of economic domination which would explain either the poverty or the evolution of school systems in these countries. They consider the analyses of the dependency theorists are flawed, that there is no evidence to support

it. Moreover, Epstein (1983) asserted that Marxist and Conflict theories are ideological and biased so they are harmful and risky to the field of comparative education.

Altbach (1982 & 1987), nonetheless has delineated and exemplified clearly how the USA used international aid programmes to establish new universities in Latin America and other Third World countries in order to train imperialistic internal compradors and to eliminate older national universities in those countries. He also described how France and the UK used education by lending their school systems to assimilate colonised societies; how education became a fourth dimension of foreign policy; how linguistic colonisation helps to reinforce colonial structures and relations; how the West (Europe and the US) dominates the world-wide distribution of knowledge; how the West dominates 'invisible' colleges; how imperialist countries export text books, journals and materials produced in their own languages so that texts in the said languages are much more easier to reach than those in, for example, African languages; how industrialised countries donate school and teaching materials to underdeveloped countries in order to prevent the improvement of their related industrial research sectors; and how Ford and Rockefeller foundations distribute postgraduate scholarships to develop 'links' and networks of obligations amongst the intelligentsia and the powerful.

There is no doubt that underdevelopment and dependency can not be explained solely by these systems of manipulation. However, the periphery has little chance of changing and improving manifestation of dependency. It is maintained and masked through various tools - imperialists abuse of education and other sectors by the creation of new concepts and new forms of relations. Neo-colonialism is increasingly becoming entrenched through multinational companies and world-wide organisations, such as IMF, OECD and World Bank, which are controlled by the powerful industrialised states.

Evidently, there are many explicit as well as implicit relations between the western-style educational systems and economic, cultural, social dependency. In so far it can be concluded that industrialised countries abuse the field of comparative education to legitimise their colonialist heritage and to maintain the servitude of the minds in the Third World. CAE is no longer separated from this debate. Thus, materials on

dependency are quite relevant with this study. In particular, these broad perspective are needed to understand the historical development of Turkish society, its present profile of socio-economic development problems and the ways in which attempts have been made to overcome these. The perspective reminds us, too, that the prevailing educational discourses which shape policy-making and practice, have a history and a context which is international and which reflects the world educational dominance of the advanced, capitalist industrialised societies.

The context has contradictory features, however in particular, a heightened and powerful criticism of it has come from within its own educational discourse, especially within the field of comparative studies of education.

An initial reading of the relevant literature on CAE displays epistemological, terminological and methodological disagreements and arguments which are the inescapable outcome of the multi-paradigmatic nature of social science. According to Harris (1980:162) there is no such subject as comparative adult education (CAE). CAE is seen by Siddiqui (1993:139) as essentially a research and evolutionary activity which aims to measure the nature and extent of similarities and/or dissimilarities between two or more adult educational phenomena. Titmus (1985) doubts that whether there is/could or should be a methodology specifically related to CAE. He argues coherently that comparative educationalists and adult educationalists work in different parts of the same field, and the experience and methods of the CE are relevant for CAE.

CAE is one of the youngest member of the educational family as a research concern. The first international conference on CAE was held in 1966 at Exeter, New Hampshire, US and the first systematic graduate course on CAE began in 1967 at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education in Canada. Since then, CAE has already begun to develop its own concepts, definitions, strategies, approaches and research interests. Interaction between the CAE scholars started through conferences, publications and professional bodies such as the Committee for Study and Research in Comparative Adult Education, the International Congress of University Adult Education, and the International Council of Adult Education (Charters 1992).

Charters (1988) defined CAE as:

*“(a) statements about the theory, principles, methodology and other topics of comparative studies related to adult education, and (b) studies comparing a topic on adult education in two or more situations. A comparative adult education study needs to extend beyond a description of adult education in two or more situations and/or a juxtaposition of adult education data... An intra-national study is the comparison of a topic in two or more situations within one country and an international study is the comparison of a topic in two or more countries. (Quoted from Charters and Siddiqui 1989:3)”.*

CAE, ICAE (International Comparative Adult Education) and INCAE (Intra-National Comparative Adult Education) do not refer to the same things, but they are used interchangeably. Charters & Siddiqui (1989) defined these concepts as follows: CAE may be accepted as a process of learning from each other both vertically (across time) and horizontally (across space). Vertical learning implies ‘learning from the past to improve the present and the future’, and horizontal learning implies ‘learning in the present from the practices of adult education in other countries and cultures’. In this context, INCAE compares two or more aspects of adult education in a single country. ICAE compares one or more dimensions of adult education in two or more countries. If research only describes one or more aspects/dimensions of adult education in two or more countries without comparing them, it is an example of international adult education not of ICAE.

Before giving a brief summary of aims, methods and approaches of CAE research in general, the following prepositions formulated by Verner (1975), may provide a useful basis to conduct ICAE studies:

*Proposition One-Every society has a need for continuous learning, but the nature and content of the need varies from one to another so that a specific need existing in one society is not necessarily common to others.*

*Proposition Two-Different societies develop unique methods to meet their need for continuous learning; consequently, a system of adult education established in one is not necessarily appropriate for another.*

*Proposition Three-The method developed to meet a specific need for learning in one culture is not necessarily suited to the same need in a different culture.*

*Proposition Four-A method developed at one place and time in one culture can be applied to the same need at other places at the same time in that culture.*

*Proposition Five-A method developed to meet a specific need in a culture at one time is not always suited to the same need in the same culture at a different time.*

*Proposition Six-A method developed to meet a specific need in a culture at one time may meet a different need in the same culture at a different time.*

*Proposition Seven-A method developed to meet a specific need in a culture at one time may meet a different need in a different culture at a different time. (Cited in J. R Kidd 1981:229-30)".*

ICAE refers not only to gathering data on one or more aspects of adult education in two or more countries or regions, i.e. descriptive comparison, but also to identifying differences and similarities between them together with their convergence and divergence levels, namely, interpretative comparison. Furthermore, it aims to generate understanding of why the differences and similarities take place, and what their ramifications and significance for other countries are as well as providing a cross-country comparison of the adult education field. In order to give a satisfactory interpretation of the subjects of the study, adequate attention should be given to the theory ( Charters 1981, Poeggeler 1988, Titmus 1985).

CAE research approaches may vary in accordance with the different authors (see Kidd 1975, Krajnc 1983, Knoll 1983). However, multi-method approaches and micro-macro analyses were employed in this study. Knoll (1983) has foreseen micro and macro comparative analyses for educational research. While macro-analytical comparison refers to the comparison of whole system, micro-analytical comparison implies to the comparison of parts of the system.

According to Titmus (1985), there is a significant difference between the CE and CAE on micro and macro-analytical comparisons. Macro-analytical comparisons in adult education provide the essential contexts for micro-analytical comparisons because any comparison of the parts without macro analysis may fail or be misunderstood due to the diversity of understanding what adult education is. The macro-micro debate is mentioned in detail later on in this chapter.

Method(s) for CAE research are shaped to a great extent by the research goals, types, variables, hypothesis and components of the comparison. Both Kidd (1981a) and Titmus (1985) point out that one of the major determinants of method is the goals of research. Each goal may require a specific combination of methods. In addition to the goals of research, the nature of the process of comparison, the nature of what is to be compared, its environment and the influential factors, and the techniques at our disposal are also determinants of appropriate method.

The following questions must be considered in the selection of techniques:

- (a) What is the scope of research problem?,
- (b) What are the purposes of research?,
- (c) Research will be international, national or intranational?
- (d) It is horizontal or vertical?,
- (e) Research will be based on macro or micro comparisons, or both?,
- (f) Research will be carried out by a team or a scholar?,
- (g) If it is undertaken by a team, team will be formed internationally, semi-internationally or by using only one university scholars?,
- (h) If it is carried out individually by a scholar, is it for an MA, Ph.D. or Post Doctorate research?

In this context, Titmus (1989b) stressed that CAE does not cast a spotlight on a particular part of CE; it shines it on a new part of the field. There is no unique methodology which is specifically designed for comparative adult education studies, so comparative adult educationists need to synthesise methods. The product of such a syntheses have been named 'a combination of methods' or 'categorisation of the methods', 'a panoply' (Charters 1981) or 'a conglomerate' (Titmus 1985).

Because it is not focused mainly on schools, CAE as a field of study should develop its own research methodology. Using comparative educational research methods and techniques for CAE research does not mean it is a subfield of comparative education. CAE scholars should 'make' their own research methodology rather than 'take' from

other disciplines. They should develop methods suited to their own research problems. For this reason, the following TIP Scheme has been developed as the research methodology to conduct this research (Duman 1996).

### **2.3. Systematic and Empirical Features of Codification**

It is widely recognised that the social, psychological, educational and information sciences are 'multiple paradigm sciences'. This implies a state of affairs in which there are numerous and different paradigms (Masterman 1970) for each body of knowledge, research methodology and approaches etc.

Education and AE together with CE and CAE are no longer excluded from these debates. The conceptualisation of AE and its research questions, approaches and methods may vary from one society to another. For example, as noted by Rubenson (1989), conceptions of AE research questions and trends in North America and Western Europe differ from one to another. The North American AE conception is based upon the idea of "people-over society", while the European's premise is "people-in-society". In addition to this, psychologically-oriented "process-product" (i.e. instruction- student learning) research trends are very popular in North America because many AE scholars assume that motivation is the basic determinant for participation in the process AE. AE studies in Western Europe, unlike North America, are sociologically, and decision-oriented because AE is considered as a part of social and economic policy.

Beyond the multi-disciplinary character and epistemological as well terminological ambiguity of AE, the conceptualisation, policy and practice of AE provisions differs throughout the world depending upon their development levels, historical, political and cultural traditions, and the background of structure, organisation and administration of school systems. In other words, education is an outcome of the discourses which are the conjunction of power, knowledge and ideology in a society, and AE takes its place in the wider prevailing concept of education (see Figure 1.1).

There is a general inclination to conceive international comparative adult education (ICAE) research as a team-work in the field of CAE. There is no doubt that ICAE

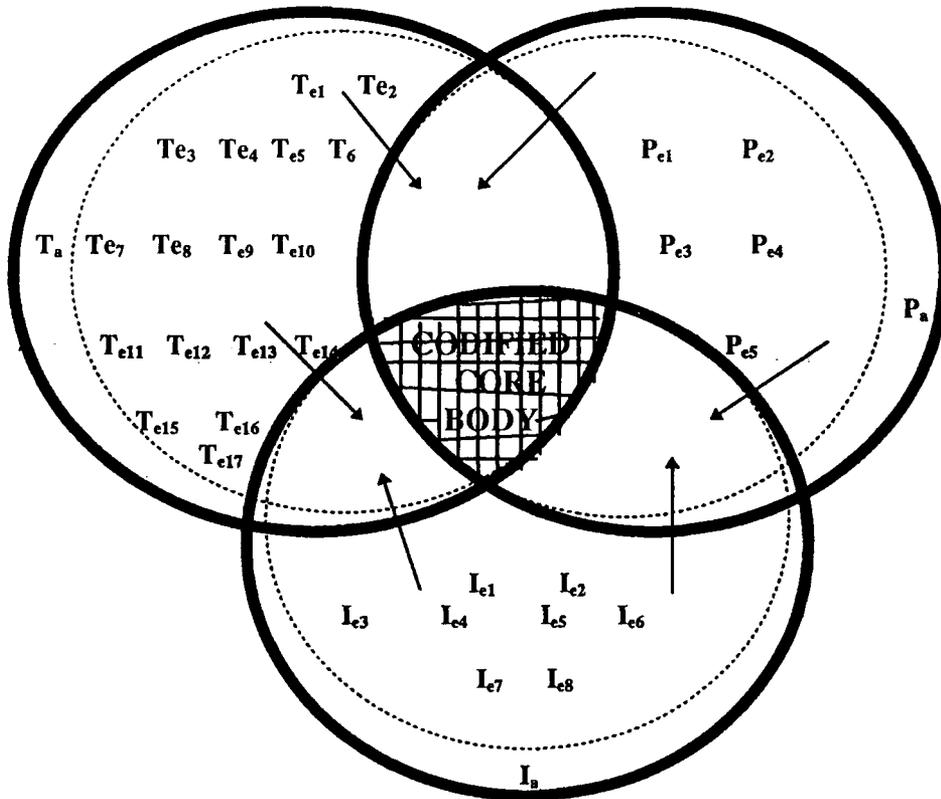
studies done by teams, particularly multi-disciplinary and international teams, may have many advantages. However, this ought not to belittle ICAE studies conducted individually. Although there are some important accounts on the methodology of ICAE research being done by a team (see Krajnc 1983 and 1987, Siddiqui 1993), there is almost no account of ICAE studies being carried out as a part of graduate programs and postdoctoral studies. Although team-based ICAE research approaches have some explicit or implicit influences on the process of ICAE studies being carried out individually, they should be considered to be different in many respects. Individual research in this area is likely to remain the mode through which research is done.

In such a context, it is obvious that ICAE scholars need to generate their own research methodologies by focusing upon a synthesis. They should undertake a 'codification' which has been defined by Merton (1968) as 'the orderly and compact arrangement of fruitful procedures of inquiry and substantive findings'. That is to say there are numerous elements which should be codified to generate a systematic methodology. Consideration of elements can be seen as the process of identifying, sensitising and clarifying major concepts, and empirical categories that Ragin (1994) formulates as parts of the process of qualitative research.

### **2.3.1. The TIP Scheme**

The TIP scheme (FIGURE 2.1), is an original research methodology for ICAE studies. It contains a core body which is the codification of a number of theoretical, ideological and practical elements that ICAE scholars should ponder. Elements of the TIP scheme can be considered as essential ( $T_e, I_e, P_e$ ) and additional ( $T_a, I_a, P_a$ ). Essential elements are the basic ones to be considered by the ICAE researchers. They provide a perspective and a relevant body of knowledge necessary to codify an orderly and compact arrangement of methods and procedures from contemporary debates in the literature. Additional elements may be clarified and sensitised specifically by researchers according to the nature of the research problem, availability and comparability of data, the background of the researcher, and time, money and facilities available to the researcher. ICAE researchers may reach in-depth analyses and a beneficial way of

seeing phenomena and research problem through the additional elements unique to their own research problem.



**FIGURE 2.1**  
**THE TIP SCHEME**

The congruent areas on FIGURE 2.1 are left empty because it may be debatable which elements belong in which congruent area, and why as based on research goals. It may vary from one perspective to another; from one researcher to another. Arrows on the FIGURE 2.1 simply display this flexibility, which researchers ought to tailor in accordance with their own study.

After considering elements which are grouped as theoretical, ideological and practical (TIP), a codified core body is formed as the central focus of research methodology for regulating and directing the whole research process. It is a systematically generated and original research methodology, the focus of which may vary from researcher to researcher in accordance with the nature of research problem, availability and

comparability of the data, background of the researcher, and time, money and facilities available to him/her.

In clarifying the meta-discourse of ICAE in this way, two important things can be achieved. First, a mixture of qualitative and quantitative research methods with an emphasis on the former, is employed in the process of ICAE research. According to Grounded Theory, which has had a great impact on research in AE both in North America and Europe, there is no fundamental clash between qualitative and quantitative approaches, and each form of data is useful (Rubenson 1989).

Qualitative research is defined as an “in-depth examination of specific cases in a reciprocal clarification process”. It can be seen as a “data enhancement” process to get in-depth knowledge about the phenomena. Qualitative research is less structured than other sorts of research, and it is also holistic, i.e. aspects of cases are considered in the context of the whole. Holism, which comes from historicism, accepts that social phenomena or groups have their own history and structure. They have holistic character, i.e. they have their own traditions, institutions and rites (Popper 1960). Qualitative researchers have to ‘triangulate information’ about a number of cases in order to make sense of one case. Triangulation may be defined as a way of using independent pieces of information to get a better fix on something that is only partially known or understood. In other words, it implies comparing different kinds of data and different methods to see whether or not they support each other, and to identify the correct positions of the objects (Ragin 1994, Silverman 1993).

Secondly, ICAE researchers are provided with adequate flexibility to generate their own research methodology. This methodological flexibility is vital in the process of ICAE research. Therefore, I believe further more that CAE research methodology, which is widely agreed as a ‘*panoply*’, ‘*conglomerate*’ or an amalgamation and combination of convenient methods and techniques, is just the codified core body developed and described through the TIP Scheme.

However, it should be noted here that application of the TIP Scheme as an original research approach requires a functionally eclectic perspective view of education and adult education which is outlined in Chapter 3 and 4. Education, in this perspective, is a culturally-bounded socially-constructed interaction of the discourses which are the conjunction of ideology, power and knowledge. These three elements shape education systems and policies. Adult and continuing education takes place in this context of education. Otherwise, there is no justification to apply the TIP Scheme into ICAE research. The multi-disciplinary and multi-paradigmatic nature of AE makes it essential to focus on such an eclectic perspective which can also be characterised as the 'Genealogical Approach' as based on the Foucauldian Framework.

Foucault's framework together with the necessary element of ideology, which he does not use, provides us, as comparative adult educators, a great opportunity to design CAE research. To grasp the mutually-interactive and interrelated relations between power, ideology, knowledge and discourse regarding the formation of educational systems and policies make it necessary to employ an amalgamation of existing research methods. According to the genealogical approach, it is a necessity because of the fragmented and multiple structure of knowledge and disciplines in post-modern society (Marshall 1990). Micro and macro analyses can be employed together to understand social phenomena. Micro analyses enable us to understand and interpret social phenomena which are much more personal, actual and immediate, while macro analyses are more general, structural and on a larger scale. Micro analyses are based upon the personal perception, plans, feelings and views of the actors (Layder 1994).

#### **2.3.1.1. Theoretical Elements**

There is no comparison without theory, or to put it differently, all comparative research rest on theoretical presumptions about how educational systems are shaped by society. The approach of this study is based on the view that systems of AE reflects the interaction of the state, civil society, and level of economic development in different societies. This is not a narrow functionalist view of AE. Rather it is one which locates AE within the structure of power, conflict and control in all societies. It is a perspective in which methodological terms require close inspection of how resources are distributed

and decisions are taken, and of how different groups in a society articulate their demands for AE.

In this domain, given the following theoretical elements are in fact the catalogue of conceptual elements that should be considered by the CAE scholars. These are: Epistemology of AE; Lifelong Education; Learning Society; Information Society; Recurrent Education; Continuing Education; Andragogy; Community Education; University Adult Education; Comparative Research; Positivist, Interactionist, Ethnomethodological (Grounded Theory) Research Approaches; Qualitative and Quantitative Research; Interviews; Observation; Discourse Analysis; Textual Analyses; Functional Analysis; Case Studies; Major and Minor Comparisons; Micro and Macro Comparisons; Horizontal and Vertical Comparisons; Descriptive (Juxtaposition) and Interpretative (analytical) Comparisons.

#### **2.3.1.2. Ideological Elements**

Comparative studies are seen as the pooling of resources, international co-operation and transfer of training, and a means to understand and improve existing practices and policies of related systems. In other words, the aims of comparative studies are to adapt models, review the relevance of innovations, (i.e. lending-borrowing) and to direct policies, plans and practices. In this context, CAE is defined as a process of “learning from each other” (Charters 1981).

It is very important to grasp at this point that the traditional patterns of the interaction between the developed and less developed countries are neo-colonial, and culturally and economically imperialistic. Altbach (1982, 1987), and Youngman (1988) have lucidly described how developed countries patronise CE and CAE to sustain and to reinforce colonial legacy now referred to as neo-colonialism. The colonial legacy, which is now less overt but not less powerful than the past, has been embedded through widely usage of English, French and Spanish; foreign aid policies; control of the production and distribution of the knowledge; education and training of the elite groups of the peripheral countries; creation of regional centres in strategic territories; creation and control of some international organisations such as IMF, World Bank and OECD, in

order to implement and legitimise such concepts as 'new world order', 'globalisation of the economies' and 'interdependency'.

Clearly CAE may have some impacts, either explicit or implicit, on the continuation and reinforcement of dependency. For example, community development projects in British colonies during the colonial period were reinforced by the coercive power of the colonial state (Youngman 1988). Therefore, it is a vital task for ICAE scholars to analyse critically possible ramifications of newly adopted policies, practices and structures in the light of international experiences, and the results of the studies should assist in the dismantling of the neo-colonial legacies whenever they are found and whatever form they take. By doing this, ICAE scholars from colonised and the other affected arenas can initiate the eradication of the "servitude of the mind" in their societies.

From these brief observations, it is clear that all educational practice is embedded in a wider ideological discourse. Researchers have to be aware of this and, be prepared to specify the role of ideology in the adult education systems they are studying. Practitioners of adult education and administrators may either deny the ideological influences on their work or not understand them. It is vital that the researcher should tease them out. In this study, special attention is devoted to understand the ideological forces which have stepped AE provision in the three countries under study. Therefore, it is expected that ICAE scholars must ponder following concepts in terms of ideological elements: colonialism; neo-colonialism, dependency theory; centre-peripheral debate; modernisation and postmodernism; cultural and linguistic imperialism; under development, and third world.

#### **2.3.1.3. Practical Elements**

Doing ICAE research, of course, has some practical problems that researchers should pay attention to beforehand. These include: linguistic problems; availability and comparability of the data; elements of time, money and facilities available for researcher; excessive pragmatism and problem-centredness; existing historical, social, economic and cultural situations in the compared countries. These last factors are crucial: comparative

research can not be static. It requires a through grasp of how particular societies are constituted and changed.

#### **2.3.1.4. Additional Elements**

The following additional elements are identified and sensitised to reach in-depth analyses regarding the research problem: local government; local democracy; decentralisation; citizenship; citizen involvement and control; citizen empowerment; civil society; new right ideology; contract culture; new vocationalism; liberal vocationalism; discourse; the genealogical approach; and learning society.

#### **2.3.1.5. Sequential Steps**

The classification of sequential steps in the research process for ICAE studies is like a kaleidoscope because of the disagreements on research methodology, method and approaches in CAE. The process of data collection in comparative research, as stressed by Titmus (1985:88-9), have been at the forefront arguments in CAE. To set up precise research aims before starting data collection or the investigation of the availability and comparability of data may seem to guarantee more systematic work. But, research may be of little use due to inadequacy in the quantity and quality of comparable data. Investigating the availability and comparability of data in the countries/systems being compared is a crucial step in research process. Some comparatists believe that collecting data before determining the aims of comparative research is a good move in research. On the other hand, others believe it to be a weakness.

It follows from the discussion so far that research in ICAE could usefully be carried out in the following way:

- (a) to decide the scope of research / definition of research problem;
- (b) to select relevant sites and cases;
- (c) to define what is to be compared;
- (d) to set up tentative research aims and objectives;
- (e) to investigate the availability and comparability of the data;
- (f) to verify the essential TIP elements;
- (g) to identify and sensitise additional TIP elements;

- (h) to codify the core body / generation of research methodology to be employed;
- (i) to collect and classify data;
- (j) to work on descriptive comparison (juxtaposition);
- (k) to work on interpretative comparison / analysis of why and how these similarities/dissimilarities have arisen;
- (l) to write first draft of the report for discussion, interpretation and critique;
- (m) to write final draft and dissemination of the findings to stimulate further debate on theory, method, policy and research.

It is my own belief that each methodological debate on CAE research can be considered as a paradigm in the Kuhnian sense. According to Kuhn (1970) paradigms play a crucial role in any scientific field in defining specific research problems to reach a 'concrete problem solution'. Through well-organised and developed methodological dialogue in the field of CAE, methodological paradigms enable research strategies to be cumulative in their outcomes. In this sense, the TIP Scheme, as a methodological paradigm aims to sketch out a framework to help ICAE scholars working as individuals to develop a greater theoretical coherence to their study. Mostly, doctorate programmes of AE in Britain are based on research, rather than taught-courses, so the essential elements are vital to provide an opportunity for individuals to work together to make productive comparisons of their work and to share information.

### **2.3.2. Design of the Study**

Initially, this research was planned as a four-way comparison between Turkey, England & Wales, France and one of the Nordic Countries (either Norway or Denmark). However, it was decided to focus the macro comparison on France, Turkey and England & Wales and with the micro comparison between Turkey and England & Wales later on chiefly for financial, time and linguistic reasons.

The bulk of the research for this study involved qualitative methods. The key point of this methodology is twofold: to provide a way to clarify the key theoretical terms and relationships between them which are required by the study. Secondly, it is to identify the kinds of data which must be collected for the comparative analyses to be undertaken.

It is, however, not simply a question of data collection. The methodology has to acknowledge that all the theoretical terms of the analysis are themselves embedded in a political, historical and ideological context so that their meaning differ from one society to another.

Adult Education and local government itself have to be observed in practice, in the actions and decisions of key officials and providers who try and manage the resources and the contradictions of their roles. Their actions, thoughts and feelings, their priorities and doubts are major features of the structure of AE provision in particular national contexts. It has to be so far all social institutions have their dual character which is the interplay of the objective circumstances of their world and the interpretations actors make of these.

The so-called 'qualitative-quantitative' clash is a very old discussion which is the reflection of the conflict between positivism and interactionism. However, the most common approach is one where qualitative and quantitative research approaches can be combined for comparative studies in the social sciences. Indeed, there is no pure qualitative or quantitative research methodology. Furthermore, qualitative research does not have a unitary nature though Hammersley (1990) has argued in favour of the following features of a qualitative research approach:

- (a) the use of everyday contexts rather than experimental conditions,
- (b) a range of sources of data collection mainly observations and informal conversations,
- (c) a preference for unstructured data collection with no prior hypothesis and definitions,
- (d) a concern with the micro features of social life,
- (e) a concern with the meaning and function of social action, and
- (f) the assumption that quantification plays a subordinate role (cited in Silverman 1993).

In the design of this research, the qualitative approach I employed can be described as a 'panoply' which enabled me to collect data by using a wide range of data sources. An interactionist rather than a positivist approach has been employed as a key research principle. Interviews, observations and analyses of texts were the main methods of qualitative research used in the design of this study. Qualitative research, as pointed out

by Ragin (1994), is an "in-depth examination of specific cases in a reciprocal clarification process", and is considered to be a "data enhancement" process to get in-depth understanding and acknowledges of phenomena.

The interviews conducted with officials and many conversations with adult educators from several fields of practice, enabled me to develop a detailed understanding of the public policy issues in the three countries studied. The work I did could not have been done only on the basis of published documentary sources. Published sources, including other academic research, have to be understood in context. The researcher has to be immersed in the systems being studied. The interviews with officials and the informal conversations before and afterwards, was a very important way to do this.

Thus, the goals of qualitative research as 'giving voice' to and 'interpreting the cultural or historical significance' of rather than 'advancing theory' are of considerable importance in this study. In this way, the study seeks to advance theoretical understanding in the field of adult education. The study is not, however, a theoretical study. It seeks to clarify some theoretical terms and approaches; but its main emphasis is empirical: to understand and explain why there is variation in the structure of adult education provision, and to relate this variation to differences in the structure of political control of these services.

It is widely acknowledged by social scientists that qualitative researchers rarely test a theory. In general, they seek to use one or more specific cases to develop detailed ideas or levels of understanding. Qualitative researchers sometimes do not even develop an analytical frame, leaving this task to other researchers working on related cases because the field as a whole is too large for a single researcher, so qualitative researchers are judged negatively for being descriptive and pseudo-scientific in their research.

As mentioned previously, the micro-macro debate reflects the dual character of social phenomena. Some believe that this dual character of social phenomena is an advantage in their analysis of social phenomena while the others consider it as a disadvantage. According to Layder (1994) micro-macro analyses, which are inextricably interrelated,

refer to different aspects of social life in terms of level and scale of analysis, and research focus. Broadly, micro analysis concentrates on the more personal, actual, face to face encounters and immediate aspects of life, while the macro focuses on more general, impersonal and larger scale of features of society despite the difficulty of making clear distinctions between the micro and macro analyses. Micro and macro analyses overlap with the conception of social structure as the regular and patterned practices which form the social context of behaviour.

It is believed in this study that macro and micro analyses can be brought together advantageously. Macro and micro analyses are potentially linked, intrinsically implicated and tightly interwoven with each other. Without knowledge of the macro structural parameters, the micro world of social phenomena cannot be fully understood. In other words, one-dimensional analyses may not cope with the difficulty of understanding social phenomena by ignoring half of the whole. This approach is called the 'neo-functional framework' (Layder 1994).

Macro-micro debates bring to mind the conception of ethnomethodology and phenomenology. Ethnomethodology is a sociological perspective which is based on the work of Harold Garfinkel in the late 1960s. It goes beyond the boundaries of existing knowledge and methods to analyse social phenomena. It refers to 'the methods by which people make sense of the situations in which they find themselves and how they manage to sustain orderliness in their dealings with others'. Ethnomethodology, which is seen as a revolution in sociology, rejects the traditional positivist approach that 'there is an objective social world which externally influences behaviour in favour of the idea that social order is accomplished from within settings through the practical activities of those involved'. Phenomenology, which has directed attention to the pivotal role of meaning, subjective experience and the purposeful of human behaviour, is adopted by ethnomethodology. It favours taking full account of the role of local practices, beliefs in individuals, subjective contents and directive processes. Observable and empirical local practices constitute the subject matter of social analyses (Layder 1994:81-90).

In respect of the micro-macro politics of education, Ball (1987:8-19) defines micro politics of the school as the dark side of organisational structure. Micro political perspectives prefer to use;

power	rather than	authority
goal diversity	rather than	goal coherence
ideological disputation	rather than	ideological neutrality
conflict	rather than	consensus
interests	rather than	motivation
political activity	rather than	decision making
control	rather than	consent

He has limited and specified the concept of micro politics in relation to the three key and interrelated areas of organisational activity: (a) the interests of actors, (b) the maintenance of organisational control, and (c) conflicts over policy. This approach has been helpful in the context of this study.

All social structures and systems of decision-making can be seen as political orders in which different social actors seek to achieve their own goals and interests. In the specific context of the provision of adult education services, it is possible to see the ways in which administrators at local levels negotiate for more resources from the centre and seek to extend their roles in ways which meet the needs of their students in ways they think are necessary. Given this, it is important to understand how structures of administration, funding and control appear to the local providers themselves. This is an important feature of micro analysis which is vital to the understanding of how macro structures work in practice.

Micro comparative analyses between England & Wales and Turkey can be seen as a comparison of parts of the larger systems of education. The nature and character of local politics as the main determinant of postcompulsory as well as compulsory educational provisions are analysed and compared at micro levels based on the ideas, perceptions and feelings of relevant actors who are the officers responsible for adult education provision. The macro analyses of the three countries are essentially comparisons of whole systems. The central government interventions, the overall map of education and adult education systems together with some general indicators such as population, GNP per capita, schooling rate etc., are employed in carrying out the macro analyses of the

study. The two levels of analyses are necessary because the nature and charter of local politics is a key force in the formation of compulsory and postcompulsory educational provisions at the micro level. Central government intervention in, for example, the traditionally decentralised form of British education system has significantly affected LEA adult education services, by the central government policies over the last two decades

In the design of this study, most of the sequential steps of the previously outlined TIP Scheme have been followed: (a) codification of methodology, (b) data collection, and (c) writing up the results. The codification of the methodology includes the following steps:

- to decide the scope of research and to define of research problems.
- to select relevant sites and cases.
- to define what is to be compared.
- to set up tentative research aims and objectives.
- to investigate the availability and comparability of data.
- to identify, sensitise and clarify major concepts in terms of essential and additional elements of the study.
- to codify the core body of research methodology.

This part of the research took over one and a half years. Next, the research methodology was mapped out. A great deal of literature-based work and three initial visits were made to local government adult education services. Sensitising and clarifying the concepts was not completely done at that time, but decisions were made about what was to be compared, and how. In other words, the ground work necessary to be able to develop a semi-structured interview and observation schedule was done (see APPENDIX 1). This was translated into Turkish (see APPENDIX 2). The questionnaire, translated to Turkish, was given to two professors to evaluate its content validity and appropriateness. By doing this, clarification of empirical categories and most of the main concepts had been done. It was time to begin collecting data.

## **2.4. Data Collection & Data Analyses Techniques**

According to Silverman (1993:8-17) there are four major qualitative research methods: (a) observation, (b) textual analysis, (c) interview, and (d) transcripts. On the other hand, Ely et al (1991) considered the tasks and strategies of doing qualitative research as follows: (a) participant observation, (b) interviewing, (c) logs, (d) audio-taping and videotaping, and (e) postscript. A further range of qualitative research methods, e.g. qualitative research interview, participant observation, stakeholder analysis, case Studies and intervention techniques, are considered by Cassell and Symon (1994)

Interview and observation methods have been used to gather data for this research because they provide an opportunity to see events, actions, norms, values or research problems through the eyes of those being studied. However, policy documents, annual reports and statistics - the texts referred to by Silverman- are also used in this research.

A semi-structured interview and observation schedule in the form of a comprehensive questionnaire was used to gain data sets. It was developed first on the basis of a large literature-search and field visits. Later, it was translated to Turkish. The questionnaire consists of four parts. Part 1 includes 7 questions concerned with the background of the interviewees. Part 2 is made up of 27 questions about the practice of adult education in the sense of its aims, legislative bases, organisational structure, finance and staff development. 4 out of 27 questions can be said to be recorded questions regarding legislative structure, finance, allocation of resources and staff development. Part 3 comprises 4 questions regarding the aims, purposes and social definitions of adult education, local government-adult education relations, and problems of planning, policy and practice. The final part was brief memory-jogging notes taken by interviewer (myself) recording my own personal observations, feelings and perceptions above the interview process, the interviewee and the venue. After the interviews, all was transcribed and typed up.

As pointed out earlier in this chapter, positivist and interactionist approaches differ significantly in terms of qualitative research approaches, interview methods and interviewer-interviewee relations. According to Silverman (1993) positivism accepts that

interview data are the facts about behaviour and attitudes. The methodology is random sampling with standard questions and tabulations. The interactionist approach considers interview data as authentic experiences with unstructured open-ended questions.

This study does not follow a positivist methodology. It was not feasible to develop sampling frames from which statistically valid numbers of interviews could be conducted. The constraints of time, resources and ordinary practices of coping with the complexities of the comparative research - the need for permission to conduct interviews, making appropriate contact etc.- were too difficult to overcome.

This does not mean, however, that the sites chosen on the interviews conducted, are inadequate basis for the kind of comparison attempted here. On the contrary, great care was taken to choose sites and people appropriate to the themes of the study and illustrative of the kinds of situations which could be researched in a study on a much larger scale.

Interviews can be defined as a purposeful conversation between two or more people, directed by one (or more) of them in order to gain information, beliefs, perceptions or attitudes of the interviewees regarding the phenomena under study. Silverman (1993:90-1) described positivist and interactionist views on interview data as follows:

*“According to positivism, interview data give us access to ‘facts’ about the world; the primary issue is to generate data which are valid and reliable, independently of the research setting; the main ways to achieve this are the random selection of the interview sample and the administration of standardised questions with multiple-choice answers which can be readily tabulated” .*

*“According to interactionism, interviewees are viewed as experiencing subjects who actively construct their social worlds; the primary issue is to generate data which give an authentic insight into people’s experiences; the main ways to achieve this are unstructured, open-ended interviews usually based upon prior in-depth participant observation” .*

According to Denzin (1970), interactionists favour open-ended interview questions because: (a) open-ended questions allow respondents to use their unique ways of defining the world, (b) interactionists assume that no fixed sequence of question is

suitable to all respondents, (c) open-ended questions allow respondents to raise important issues not contained in the schedule (Noted from Silverman 1993:94).

Ely et al (1991:58-9) pointed out that there is no unstructured interview. Interviews inherently have a structure either pre-determined or determined during the interview process. They highlighted the following seven questions to provide a guide for qualitative researchers planning to carry out interviews.

- (a) What do I know about the interviewee? What should I know?
- (b) How will I gain access? What explanations will I give? What assurances of anonymity?
- (c) How will I begin my questions? Rule of thumb: Start with questions that the interviewee will feel comfortable answering.
- (d) How will I be able to influence the choice of physical setting for the interview? Will there be sufficient privacy?
- (e) How much time should I request?
- (f) Will I use a tape recorder? Strongly recommended. Obtain permission by describing my efforts to protect confidentiality and anonymity. Mention sharing of transcript, if this is reasonable. Tell this person where to reach me.
- (g) How will I conclude the interview? What opportunity will I provide for clarification? How do I make arrangements for a follow up interview?.

In the light of above considerations it is fair to say that my interviews were semi-structured qualitative research interviews with open responses. They can also be seen as interactionist interviews rather than positivist one. I confronted none of the problems of the interview classified by King (1994) that covers difficult issues connected with emotional subjects or badly phrased questions.

None of the interviewees objected to tape-recording our conversations, and they did not require to see my extracts and notes. They were very friendly, co-operative and helpful. Some interviewees forwarded some copies of policy documents and statistics about finance and enrolments by mail after the interview was carried out, and all interviewees said not to hesitate if I had further questions. Some wished to be unnamed in the thesis,

so I decided not to use any real names for local government adult education officers. Despite these positive points, it is my own view that the adult education officials I interviewed felt constrained by the political realities of their jobs. Sometimes, their answers were qualified, circumspect and diplomatic. This is a common problem for all qualitative research interviews.

Overall of the 13 interviews carried out, 6 were in Turkey (Ankara, Bursa, Eskisehir, Kirsehir, Nigde and Mugla), 4 were in England & Wales (Durham, Newcastle, Hampshire and Cleveland), and 3 were in France (*Conservatoire National Des Arts et Metiers, Formation des Adultes (Conception et Mise Ceuvre)* in Paris, *Coordination Enseignement Superior De La Region Nord-Pas-De Calais*, and *Wattignies Centre de Formation d'Apprentis* in Lille). Each of them took about half a day. Unfortunately, the interviews in France can not be considered to be of equivalent utility to the other interviews, so they were excluded from the research to make micro level comparisons. Ten interviews, 6 in Turkey and 4 in England & Wales, were transcribed word by word. The 80 pages of transcripts were printed, sensitised, familiarised and analysed in order to deepen my understanding of how macro trends in public policies were coped with in the micro worlds of the personnel interviewed.

Analysis of qualitative data is another extensively debated and multi-faceted topic. It is not the last step of the research process, and the methods of analysis for qualitative data are as important as the data collection approaches themselves. Some qualitative research scholars (such as Silverman 1993, Ely et al 1991), believe that analysis of the qualitative data is more important than the data collection. Everything depends on the purposes at hand. The process for analysing qualitative data is neither rigid nor unsystematic. The analysis of qualitative data is a form of 'intellectual craftsmanship', and the result of qualitative data analysis involves a high level of synthesis and triangulation.

According to Ely et al (1991) analysing data implies two things. The first is to find some ways to tease out the essential meaning in the raw data. The second is to reduce, reorganise and combine the data in order to present the research finding in the most concise and tangible fashion to the reader. Analysis of the qualitative data demands the

creation of narratives because qualitative data tends to be idiosyncratic to some extent. As King (1994) has shown, however, there are several ways in which qualitative data can be interpreted systematically.

There is no doubt that metaphors of researchers and respondents in the process of qualitative research is a valuable resource. In this regard, life-words, worlds and discourses of the interviewees must be seen as an important tools to reach an in-depth analyses of the cases. Discourse analysis requires careful attention to language, the voice of the interviewee must be heard. And, theory-discourse links must be set up as often as possible. In order to do follow this strategy of analysis, the transcripts were sensitised, and abstracted by choosing strong words, expressions and descriptions. Thinking units and categories were established, and then they were organised and linked with the main writing headings and sub-headings. The results of the study was not analysed in only one chapter. Analyses of the qualitative data were spread out throughout the thesis.

## **2.5. Limitations**

There are a few important limitations of this study which were faced during the research process. First of all, there are the overall limitations of qualitative social research which are discussed in this chapter. Secondly, there was a lack of available quantitative data for adult education at national and, particularly, local levels in the three countries under study. Thirdly, the comparability of the limited amount of available data is extremely poor even within the same country. In CIPFA (Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy) statistics, the format of local governmental statistics has been altered every 3-4 years. In local government Standard Spending Assessment (SSA) notes, the level of adult education expenditure was separated into the various services. Fourth, the language complexities were an important obstacle. It is very difficult to find comparable and useful literature in English on the French decentralisation experience, adult education, and particularly education-decentralisation and adult education-decentralisation topics.

Finally, it is widely acknowledged in the literature of qualitative research that the number of interviews in the sense of sample representativeness is not a problem. However, it is

very difficult to analyse the totality of local government-adult education relations basing the conclusions entirely upon single interviews. Policy and practice vary in accordance with the nature of local politics. Even within a single country, it varies from one authority to another depending on the type of authority, political control, size and socio-economic conditions. Deficiency of financial support for the research was a serious problem, too. Under these circumstances, it was not possible (even if desirable) to do more interviews. Since, 'giving voice' and 'interpreting' the cultural or historical significance' rather than 'advancing theory' are the main aims of qualitative social research, the number of interviews can be seen as a disadvantage, but detailed interviews provide a basis for gaining an in-depth analyses of the phenomena being studied. There is no better way to try to understand the perceptions and feelings of the relevant actors on the subjects under examination in this research. Their voice provides important information about the ways in which national policies are working out in practice. This is the main justification for the methods employed in this study. Interviews provided a way of making sense of the theme within three different sets of national data and the policies they reflect. They are vital to the way in which historical and structural differences between societies translate into different policies and experiences in the field of adult learning.

### CHAPTER 3: EDUCATION VERSUS TRAINING

Education and training are terms often defined in contrast to one another. Attempts to highlight the difference between the two are deeply influenced by the emergent ideological discourse. This chapter is an attempt to illustrate how throughout modern societies the 'educational right ideology', as a world-wide epidemic, is progressing by disrupting the sensitive balance between the concepts of education and training on the one hand, and by devaluing the social and emancipating role of education on the other. My intention is to analyse the concept of education in relation to those of training and learning. This is done to underline the need to see these terms in the context of both the distribution of power and the changing organisation of economic life. New right ideology and its educational agenda is summarised within this critical perspective with examples drawn mainly from Britain.

The central claim running through this chapter is that an international comparison of adult education systems in Britain, France and Turkey requires an understanding of the structure and functioning of their educational systems as a whole. Adult education has different meanings and associated practices in different societies, and must be considered as being related to the whole system of education in a society.

Educational opportunities in any society are also strongly correlated with the levels of socio-economic development and the forms it has taken. Britain and France are highly industrialised advanced societies. Turkey is a developing society with many features of underdevelopment and dependency. The contexts set different constraints on education and provide for very different structures of educational opportunities. They also set up very different conditions for social and political action. Britain and France have modern and secular state systems. Because of its geopolitical position, the Ottoman past and Islamic traditions, Turkish society generates political divisions very different to these of modern Europe.

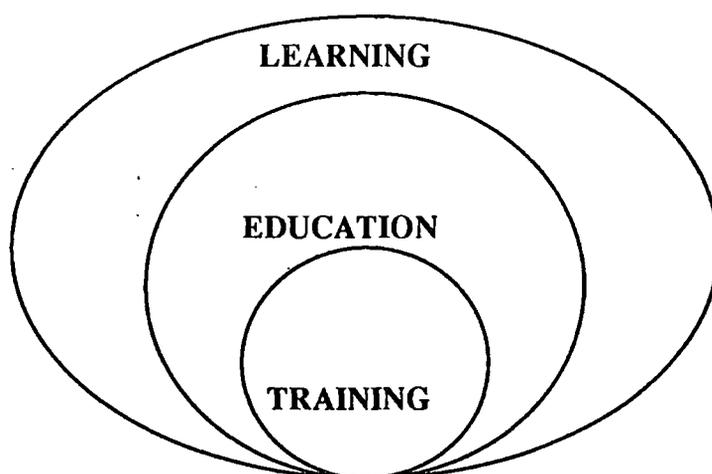
These differences are discussed in some details in chapter 5. For the moment the point to note is this: educational systems need to be understood in their relationship to the socio-economic and political structure of the societies in what they junction. As we shall see, these differences in social and economic life translate into very complex patterns of educational opportunities, discourse, power, ideology, knowledge and possibilities for change in educational practice.

### **3.1. Education, Training and Learning**

These three terms, education, training and learning, are used interchangeably in different societies and times even though they may be seen as different concepts. The distinction/s between the terms “education” and “training” are not clear. For example; “*education*” and “*formation*” in French, “*educacion*” and “*capacitation/entrenamiento*” in Spanish, “*egitim/terbiye*” and “*yetistirim/talim*” in Turkish are the apparent equivalents of education and training. As will be seen, however, they mean different things in the different contexts of their use. The concept of education is defined by UNESCO in connection with the concept of lifelong education in terms of ‘the organised and sustained instruction designed to communicate a combination of knowledge, skills and understanding valuable for all the activities of life’. However, training refers to the shaping of the learner’s habits and behaviours, or the acquisition of skills (Jarvis 1990). In this regard, education implies general education while training refers to work-related education, i.e. vocational education. Work related education, it is claimed, raises the productivity of workers, while general education is non-specific to any particular job, and should be a charge of the state (Withnall et al 1982).

Learning implies any process of transforming experience into knowledge, skills and attitudes (Jarvis 1990). However, there is an on going debate on the definition of learning and learning styles. According to Belanger (1994) lifelong learning refers to the totality of learning activities in each society which can be broken into three specific constituent elements as initial education, adult education and the wider learning environment.

Figure 3.1. illustrates relationship among the concepts of learning, education and training. Learning as the widest circle, covers both education and training. From this point of view it is clear that prioritising and focusing on training is not a healthy approach in terms of educational policy making and formation. These three elements should, therefore, be considered together for defining education and learning as a lifelong process from cradle to the grave.



**FIGURE 3.1**  
**LEARNING, EDUCATION AND TRAINING**

Recently, a debate was opened up on lifetime learning by the DFEE in Britain with considerable reaction from academics and professional organisations. The DFEE published a consultation document on 'lifetime learning' in 1995. It starts with the words 'The skill...'. The aim of education and training is seen as being 'to improve the UK's international competitiveness'. When we look at the targets of lifetime learning later on, it is easy to see how lifetime learning concentrates on vocational, and work-related education rather than liberal education. These targets (DFEE 1995:8) are:

*"Target 1: 60% of the workforce to be qualified to NVQ Level 3, Advanced GNVQ or two GCE A Level standard.*

*Target 2: 30% of the workforce to have a vocational, professional, management or academic qualification at NVQ Level 4 or above.*

*Target 3: 70% of all organisations employing 200 or more employees, and 35% of those employing 50 or more, to be recognised as investors in people."*

James Paice (1996), MP and Under Secretary of State for Education and Employment, asks why lifetime learning matters to everyone by mentioning the word of 'skill' 15 times (in an article in *Adults Learning*). Scoop which is the newsletter of SCUTREA (1996, v8) replied to this document by caricaturing it. It is pointed out that economic rewards are presented as the main incentive for learning. There has been a shift from lifelong to lifetime learning because lifetime learning refers to lifetime work. It was recently coined to restrict the notion of learning to work. Such a shift is not simply conceptual. It is also political and represents changes in the structure and distribution of power in society as a whole.

### **3.2. Education, Power and Ideology**

Education, as is stressed by many authors such as Freire (1972), Kogan (1978), Ranson (1994), is politically committed because of its impact on the distribution of power and advantage in a society. All social forms, as described analytically by Weber (1978), exhibit a dominant order of beliefs and values that legitimate the structure of power and organisation. Societies reveal a distinctive pattern of power, values and organisation. Power is organised through appropriate forms of administration (Ranson 1994:9-11). Dominant ruling orders have ideological apparatuses, one of which is education, which serve to perpetuate them by regulating the distribution of power, advantages and status. Some of the key concepts of educational philosophy and practice can be viewed from this angle.

Tomlinson (1993) considers the aims of education as extrinsic and intrinsic. Education as extrinsic is provided primarily as an induction to culture, so education serves primarily the purposes of society, the economy or other organisations such as churches and civil society organisations. Education as intrinsic is concerned with freedom; the creation of an autonomous, critical and free frame of mind is the prime objective of education. He mentions three goals for the curriculum: (a) the transmission of knowledge, (b) the development of the individual's mental power and personal capacities, and (c) an introduction into the mores of the civil society concerned.

Kogan (1978) considered the aims of education as individualistic and social. The objective of education which is espoused most by the Conservative right-wing policy-makers, refers to the maintaining of the existing traditional system by creating both an elite and a dutiful work-force rather than through enhancing personal freedom. The social objective of education refers to the transmission of the dominant culture to a new generation by inculcating society's norms and values, and ways of thinking. Thus there is a tension and balance between individual and social needs, freedom and control, individual independence and collective effort. This tension and balance is quite volatile and political.

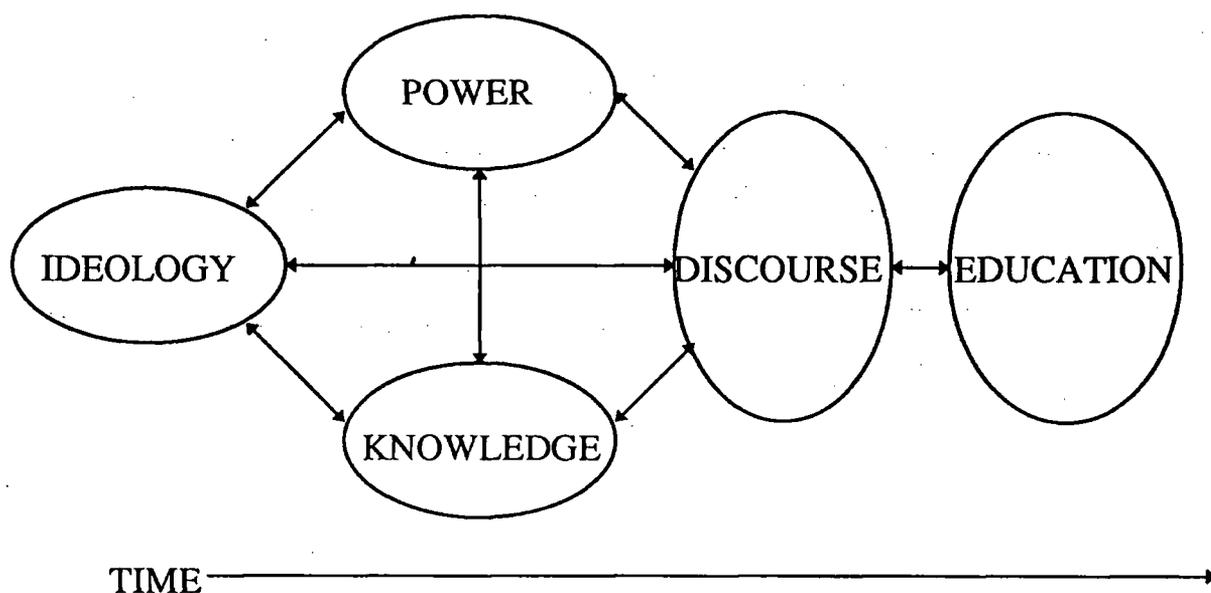
The volatile and political nature of education can be described as a multi-layered in having purposes which may be compatible with each other (Ranson 1994). The purposes of education are considered as; (a) Education for individuals: meeting the needs of individuals, (b) Education for society: the transmission of knowledge, culture and morality, (c) Education for the economy: investment in human capital and vocational preparation, and (d) Education for polity: the development of the democratic citizen and society.

Paulo Freire (1972) in his well-known book "The Pedagogy of Oppressed" sees education as the essence of practice for freedom, not a major instrument for the maintenance of the 'cultural silence', 'dehumanisation' and 'domestication'. Therefore he says 'there is no such things as a neutral educational process'. He sees education as the practice of freedom to develop critical social intervention and consciousness. He suggests 'problem-posing education' against 'banking-education' because, he states;

*"In problem-posing education, men develop their power to perceive critically the way they exist in the world with which and in which they find themselves; they come to see the world not as a static reality, but as a reality in process, in transformation....Banking-education ...attempts, by mythicising reality, to conceal certain facts which explain the way men exist in the world; problem-posing education sets itself the task of demythologizing. Banking-education resists dialogue; problem-posing education regards dialogue as indispensable to the act of cognition which unveils reality. Banking-education treats students as objects of assistance; problem-posing education makes them critical thinkers. Banking-education inhibits creativity and domesticates...Problem-posing education bases itself on creativity... (p70-71).*

Undoubtedly, some authors don't wish to accept the political nature of education because they, as has been explained by Kogan (1978), either fail to understand that the purposes and procedures of education, or they try perhaps unconsciously to limit the rights of citizens to participate in decisions of deep and abiding importance to them. Education brings into conflict many different values to teach children or students rather than enable them to make their own choices. In this sense, education is related with 'what ought to be rather than what is'.

The framework being developed here to enable us to see more clearly the political and ideological dimensions of all education, can be represented as follows. An essential point to be drawn from the FIGURE 3.2 is that education as a political apparatus is formed by the discourses which are the conjunction of ideology, power and knowledge relations. In this sense, every educational system is a political mechanism for maintaining the appropriateness of discourses, which may change through in time.



**FIGURE 3.2**  
**FORMATION OF EDUCATIONAL DISCOURSE**

In other words, discourses which are the reflections of ideology-power-knowledge relations, have explicit impacts on the formation of educational policies and their implementations. In order to better analyse and understand this argument, I want to

sketch out very briefly the concepts of ideology, power, knowledge and discourse with their relations and impacts on education by using the FIGURE 3.2 .

It is quite obvious that this framework of analysis of education draws upon the conception of discourse formulated by Foucault. But, as we shall see, Foucault has ignored the role of ideology in the establishment and maintenance of power relations and exercises. Thus, the element of ideology is included into this framework to analyse the phenomenon of education. Foucault's analysis has been associated with post-structuralism and post-modernism. His analysis rejects phenomenology and accepts individuals as the origin of meaning (Layder 1994). According to Ball (1990a) discourse which is a central concept in Foucault's analytical framework, embodies meaning and social relationships. Discourses constitute both subjectivity and power relations. They constrain the possibilities of thoughts.

Discourses are the expressions of power relations and reflect the practices and positions that are tied to them. Discourse refers to any thing can be thought, written or said about something such as a product, topic or field of knowledge. The ability to employ or improve a discourse reflects a command of knowledge in a particular field of study or discipline. Thus, discourses enable a speaker to organise knowledge about a particular area and give him/her power. In this sense, for example, a medical discourse becomes a means of power relations between the patient and doctor. However, some discourses are not systematically codified as formal bodies of knowledge or principles of practice, so they are called 'common sense' (Layder 1994:97-98).

Major elements of Foucault's analysis of discourse, power and knowledge, are considered in conjunction with education and educational research. Educational institutions which are the main subject of discourse, control the access of individuals to various kinds of discourses on the one hand and, are centrally involved in the dissemination of selected discourses and the social appropriation of discourses on the other hand (Ball 1990a:3). Foucault (1971:46) draws attention to the relationship between education and his framework as follows:

*"...Every educational system is a political means of maintaining or modifying the appropriateness of discourses with the knowledge and power they bring with them". [Noted from Ball 1990a:3].*

In the notion of discourse formulated by Foucault, the system of power-knowledge relations is a crucial element. The following quotation from Foucault (1976:21-22) regarding the notion of discourse makes clear what the discourse is:

*"Discourses are tactical elements or blocks operating in the field of force relations: there can exist different and even contradictory discourses within the same strategy: they can, on the contrary, circulate without changing their form from one strategy to another opposing strategy" [noted from Kenway 1990:181].*

Power and knowledge are inextricably linked in Foucauldian sense. He uses the term of discourse to designate the junction of power and knowledge. Knowledge is neutral, pure, true or false in itself (Kenway 1990). Foucault (1977) wrote that:

*"Power and knowledge directly imply one another...there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations. These 'power-knowledge relations' are to be analysed, therefore, not on the basis of a subject of knowledge who is or is not free in relation to the power system, but, on the contrary, the subject who knows, the objects to be known and the modalities of knowledge must be regarded as so many effects of these fundamental implications of power-knowledge and their historical transformations" [Noted from R. Jones 1990:81].*

Foucault considers power to be not a commodity or property of an individual or class. Power is a multiple and mobile field of force relations. Within highly differentiated and fragmented post-modern society, power itself is variegated, and drawn from many different resources, sites and relations. If power is a multiple and mobile field of forces, how many centres of power are there?. And what is the basis of particular forms of domination?. Foucault ignores power and hegemony relations. Foucault's analytical framework makes us more analytically sensitive to the variegated nature of power and its effects. In addition, the most important general empirical implication which may be drawn is that power should be considered at every level of society. However, he paid little attention to the exercise of power and its structural conditions (Layder 1994).

Broadly, ideology can be defined as a set of beliefs, rules and principles which are employed by people, groups, political parties or states to give a direction and rationale to their understanding, behaviour, and approach to life. However, ideology is conceptualised differently within Marxist, structuralist, post-structuralist, functionalist and post-modernist frameworks. According to the Marxist view, ideological elements serve to mask power relations, and blind the subordinate groups to the realisation of their true interests. Ideology provides people with sets of values, views and ways of viewing the world and their position in society which justify their position by presenting it as natural and inevitable. In this sense, ideology which is seen as 'systems of thought or conceptions of the world', legitimises and masks power relations in an indirect and manipulative manner. Thus, it justifies inequalities, and sustains order created by prevailing power relations. Ideology is a 'cement' on which hegemony is built. Social classes which gained power through elections soon use ideological elements in the name of the state. The state has some ideological apparatuses to retain its "legitimate control of force". These ideological apparatuses are; Education; Religion; Culture; Media; Law; Politics; Family; Trade Unionism. Giddens, Gramsci and Althusser's analyses agree with this view while Parsons and Foucault ignore the conception of ideology in the establishment and maintenance of power relations. Parson used 'the cultural system' framework to analyse power relations while Foucault uses the notion of discourse (Layder 1994, Kenway 1990).

Jarvis (1993) has classified recent ideologies as radicalism, social reformism, liberalism and conservatism. The term of radicalism is adopted by Thatcher to describe some of her policies of the 1980s in the UK. However, radicalism may be considered as socialism, anarchism, utopianism and Marxism. Social reformism and liberalism overlap with each other in some respects.

It must be kept in mind that as education, training and learning are connected closely with employment and competence, the sensitive balance between the education and training could be damaged for the sake of employment and competency-based job-related education. Undoubtedly lifelong learning and education will be shifted by creating new vocationally-based meanings to terms such as lifetime learning. In this regard, the

lifetime learning consultation document is obviously perpetuating and reinforcing the existing dominant role of employers in the policy making process for post-compulsory or further education in Britain. It asks 'who should pay?', and replies that it should be the individuals who benefit from learning and their employers. It is an intention which has already been expressed explicitly in the white paper on Education and Training for 21st Century. Thus, lifetime learning and job-related training are seen as the twin pillars of employee development by Payne (1996). He draws attention the importance of non-work related courses in the context of employee development programmes after criticising the classification of 'soft' benefits that refer to expectations from non-vocational courses, and 'hard' benefits that denote to expectations from vocationally-oriented courses. He notes that 'hard' and 'soft' benefits reflect two aspects of personal development in the workplace, both of them have equal importance.

### **3.3. New Right Ideology and its Education Agenda**

Education is no longer separated from the other areas of social and economic policy. In this sense, it is in the mainstream of the dominant political ideology. New Right ideology has been in operation for the last two decades in many parts of the world. To analyse new right ideology is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, I now want to look briefly at the new right ideology because it will enable us to analyse in greater detail the educational dimensions of new right ideology.

According to Ball (1990b) new right ideology is based on the re-examination of neo-liberal texts written by Smith, Burke, Hayek and Friedman. He believes that the impacts of the new right on economic and social policy is to provide social policy initiatives from education to health, and to facilitate a reworking of the parameters of political possibility. These policies which might have been seen as 'economic barbarism', seem right and proper now. The key elements are beliefs in competition, concern about the power of the modern state, a belief in industrial choice and responsibility and the effectiveness of market mechanism of resource allocation.

Kenway (1990:168), basing her argument on the work of Cohen (1986), Levitas (1986), Elliot and McCrone (1987) and Miliband et al (1987), noted that the new right is a variegated group:

*"...the New Right consists of a loose amalgam of different sets of interests, that its organizing theoretical ideology includes an uneasy blend of many, sometimes contradictory, strands of political thought, and that it demonstrates a ready capacity for developing political rhetoric which both produces and taps contemporary popular concerns and discontents."*

The educational ideology may be perceived and formulated differently even in a single political party. According to Tomlinson (1993:163) it is varied in the Conservative Party between the 'old conservatives' and 'new radicals'. This difference is the evidence of a political and ideological struggle which shapes administrative practice. The opening chapters of the DES's Brief Guide to the education service of 1981 and 1984 provide a dramatic illustration of this fact:

*"1981: Opens with a chapter entitled 'A national service locally administered' and starts, 'The tradition of decentralised education in Britain is strong.'*

*1984: the heading and opening sentence have been deleted. The pamphlet now opens: 'The Department of Education and Science is responsible for all aspects of education in England.'*

The essential points to be made here are that: firstly, the new right ideology foresees the removal of all intermediate institutions between the state and individual, so trade unions, professional organisations and local authorities are unwanted organisations. Secondly, education is a marketable commodity, so it should be left to market conditions. Thus, employers should become dominant in educational policy formation. Thirdly, the extrinsic aims of education should be prioritised, and vocationally based education is subsidised by the state, so vocationalism should be the dominant character of education. Finally, the privatisation of schooling is preferable to the state schooling. In other words, the new right ideology which is known as 'Thatcherism' in Britain, may be summarised effectively within following concepts; (a) market, (b) competition, (c) inequality, (d) rolling back the state intervention and cutting public expenditures, (e) efficiency rather than effectiveness, (f) value for money because everything is purchased and measured.

The new right ideology has developed its own ideology of education which is referred to as the 'new vocationalism' or the 'ideology of educational right' in different parts of the world such as USA, Australia, New Zealand and Britain. Discourses, as it is stressed by Ball (1990b), provide a particular and pertinent way of understanding policy formation in education. They also contain both diagnoses and treatments of the educational problems. The impacts and intervention of new right ideology on education may vary from society to society and through time in accordance with emergent discourses, which arise in the conjunction of the elements of ideology, power and knowledge. For example; the educational right discourse in Australia has centred on the debate about 'state schooling versus private schooling (Kenway 1990).

In turn Britain, the new right ideology 'Thatcherism' has been in operation through conservative governments at the central level since 1979. Britain has been confronting a number of transformations from education to health, and from local government to central government during this period. The prevailing Conservative control at central level and Labour control at local level has led to deepening disagreements and disconsensus in many respects between the political parties. Thus, local government reorganisation and educational transformation have been located at the centre of the political agenda for two decades in Britain. It has been a popular political football in Britain for many years.

Education and local government are the two most hotly debated issues, and are located at the centre of political agenda. Two main political parties, Conservative and Labour, have different political discourses on educational policy. Since 1979, policies on education and local government have been altered many times through a number of pieces of legislation enacted by the Conservative controlled Parliament. It is widely recognised that all legislation on education and local government enacted by the conservative government since 1979 have been clearly increasing the power of central government, and weakening the power of local governments by privatising and contracting out many services under strict central pressures.

The unique circumstances of Britain have focused these questions on both education and local government. The United Kingdom, as it is known, is a monarchy with a royal family so the Queen is symbolically the head of state. There is no written constitution so no constitutional protection of local government against central government intervention. Under the on going conservative governments since 1979, the power of the LAs has been destroyed step by step via successive changes in national legislation. These legislative changes, as is stressed by many scholars, were extremely political and concerned with the party benefits rather than national and local benefits. Through this legislation, Britain is quickly moving away from decentralisation to deconcentration and re-centralisation in contrast to the world-wide and European trend of decentralisation. The following quotation from the UK Guardian, of 23rd September, 1995, p.22, The Leader Page, succinctly assesses the scale and extent of the erosion:

*"No area of British life is more in need of regeneration than local government. The March of quangocracy has been widely documented: 3 000 unelected bodies, over 40 000 government appointed or self-appointed members, over £30 billion of former local council controlled services now in unelected hands... Local legitimacy, accountability and openness all need restoring."*

On the educational side, the situation is not too different from that of local government. The removal of the LEAs from education totally by 'repositioning and restructuring' the education system via a numerous pieces of legislation enacted by the Conservative controlled parliament was the most dramatic structural and political change since 1979. The education system is quickly moving towards re-centralisation rather than decentralisation through the educational discourse of new right ideology of the 'new-vocationalism'. In this shift, Quangos, GMS, New Vocationalism, Independent and Autonomous FE Colleges, GNVQ, the National Curriculum, the Voucher System, the Demise of Liberal Education and Extra-Mural Tradition, TECs, TEED, Ex-Polytechnic Universities, FEFC and HEFCE signify some of the key changes what have taken place.

Changes in education is considered to be the 'repositioning and restructuring' education by Ball (1990b) in terms of changing the nature of its relative autonomy. The manifestations of repositioning and restructuring education are; (a) privatisation, (b)

marketisation or commodification, (c) differentiation or a basis for diversity, (d) Vocationalism, and (e) proletarianisation.

It is possible to see the impacts of these reflections at every level of education. Interviewees in the course of this research have described numerous effects and consequence of the above mentioned conservative repositioning and restructuring of education. The experience of these changes will be examined in more details in chapter 6. In this respect, one of the interviewee's thoughts on marketisation and proletarianisation is worth quoting. She argues that:

*"...I genuinely believe that market forces will reduce the salaries, make it cheaper to run and get rid of unwanted institutions instead of planning in a sensible way... There has been a dramatic reduction of salaries of staff. I have problems in employment, part-time especially..."*

Deep disagreement and disconsensus between the Conservatives and Labour is considerable. Many years ago, Kogan (1978:21) addressed in the following quotation why political consensus had disappeared:

*"...the Conservatives made education a component of the Opportunity State and thus have increasingly come into conflict with the Labour Party view, which took far longer to clarify, that education is an equalising force. Conservatives thus emphasised the individual objectives of education and concentrated on those social objectives which aim to produce an efficient work-force and a strong social fabric..."*

Despite this lack of political consensus between the Labour and Conservatives, it should be kept in mind that the above-mentioned progression of the educational right has been achieved under the Labour control in New Zealand and Australia. Nobody knows what would happen if the Labour is to take over power from the Conservatives in the UK. However, the Conservatives and Labour, as has been mentioned previously, present quite different discourses on education. From the new-right point of view, which is represented by the Conservative Party in Britain, education should give much more priority to vocational qualifications and the needs of the industry and business. Thus, employers and business groups should be dominant in the determination of educational policy. The commodification of education leads to increases in the choice and voice of parents. Responsiveness, accountability and efficiency are increased by the marketisation

and vocationalisation of education. In this respect, White Papers on 'Education and Training for the 21st Century' (DES 1991a, 1991b) and 'Choice and Diversity: A New Framework for Schools' (DFE 1992) are the clear reflections of the conservative new right ideology of education in Britain.

According to Ball (1990b) the conservative new right ideology sees the lack of individual motivation and skills as the main reason for Britain's economic regression and lack of competitiveness. He highlights five basic elements of the conservative education policy since 1979: Parental Choice, Diversity, Competition, Funding and New Organisational Styles. He draws attention to the following new vocationalist discourses in Britain. The schools; (a) fail to instil in their students the habits, attitudes and self-discipline which are required by employers, (b) are neglecting basic skills which are the technical demands of the workplace, (c) maintain and perpetuate a bias towards the academic against practical, vocational and industrial, (d) fail to teach students about the world of work and importance of industry within society, and (e) fail to develop the skills of entrepreneurship and enterprise.

In this context it becomes clear, firstly, that education should give much more priority to the needs of industry, business and employers. Secondly, identification of the standards and determination of educational policies should be predominantly controlled and directed by the employers rather than employees or their representatives. In other words, education at the local level should be directed by employer-led, unelected and undemocratic organisations instead of democratically elected and bona fide representatives of local communities.

Some believe that educational changes made by the on going conservative government since 1979 are necessary reforms in order to cope with Britain's shortfall of skilled labour force by developing and upskilling the workforce. Otherwise, Britain will not be able to compete with Europe in the next millennium. By doing this, conservative governments have managed to build the 'society of opportunity' which promised by John Major on November 29, 1990 (Raggatt 1993). In this manner, the post 1979 changes in education are seen as a revolution by John Major in the foreword of the

White Paper on 'Education and Training for the 21st Century', where he says 'there has been a revolution in Britain's education and training over the last decade' (DES 1991a).

On the left, the picture is quite different. The changes in education are obviously towards increasing control of education by central government from curriculum to finance and staffing. These transformations, as emphasised by one of the Labour MPs in a TV speech, engendered a situation in which parents are pitted against teachers, teachers against councils, colleges against colleges as well as the council. Ballots for making decisions whether the status of school is changed as grant maintained school (GMS) or not, have become a political battleground between the two main political parties.

Right or not, the 1100 schools out of 26 000 have already opted out of local government control. They have started to arrange their own finances through central government financial intervention via the Funding Agency for Schools (FAS), which was established in April 1994 by the 1993 Education Act, in order to assess and administer the grants payable to self-governing GMSs. When the rate of pupils educated in GMSs in an area of LEA reaches 10% in either primary or secondary level, the FAS takes on joint responsibility. If the afore-mentioned rate exceeds 75% in an area, the FAS takes full responsibility to ensure there are sufficient schools. By November 1994, the FAS was operating 48 out of 116 LEAs (EURYDICE et al 1995).

The educational discourse against new vocationalism claims that education, as an important comprehensive public service should not be viewed as a commodity. Leaving educational policies and priorities to the market place may engender unacceptable outcomes. When education is left to the market, its social purpose is replaced with economic and vocational purposes; the meaning of citizenship is replaced with the good consumerism; and racial, gender, regional inequalities in education, and cultural, social and economic problems are likely to increase.

On the side of further and adult education, the situations differs little. The organic relations between the LEAs and colleges have been destroyed to a great extent since the 1988 education reform act (ERA). FE, Tertiary, Sixth Form colleges have become

independent corporations, and the FEFC was created in 1992 to organise the finances of these colleges. Since April 1993, all colleges have come out of LEA control. Despite the aims of central government, some LEAs still have very good working relations based on co-operation, collaboration and co-ordination. In addition to this, TECs have been created to increase impacts of employers and industry on education policy formation and implementation. The GNVQ system has been developed to provide vocational training particularly for young people who are not able access higher education. Public resources have mainly been directed towards vocational education rather than non-vocational and liberal education. The balance between the education and training has been destroyed. These developments and rationales towards vocational education have been named “new vocationalism”.

Indeed, the economic value of education became more important than the social and cultural value and, financial supports and control of governments on universities increased throughout the 1960s and 1970s after the 1963 Robbins Report on higher education. Therefore, both Labour and Conservative governments began to exert pressure by using the allocation of fiscal resources in order to create a new model of higher education with the following aims and rhetoric:

- Non elitist and mass models of higher education.
- More part-time students.
- Close links between the higher education and industry.
- A cheaper and more efficient model of higher education (Coffield 1995).

Without doubt, other adult education providers, particularly university adult education departments, have been influenced by the new vocationalism in education. After polytechnics acquired university status, they continued to provide continuing education certificates, diplomas and degrees, both part-time and full-time. University adult education departments in Britain had a very old tradition, called the ‘extra-mural’ or ‘great tradition’, regarding the educational provisions for adults. This tradition denotes liberal education rather than vocational. Central government cut-back public moneys for liberal, non-vocational and non-accredited educational provisions for adults. It has forced university adult education departments to change their traditional policies. For that

reason, some of them were closed, and some were marginalised. Some were combined with education or other departments. The demise of university adult education, i.e. extra-mural tradition, as has been emphasised by Crombie and Jenkins (1983), has taken place over a long time in Britain. This process is increasingly in progress. The competition between the colleges, old university extra mural departments and former polytechnics has been very tough since 1993. Thus, liberal education and adult education in sense of the education of adults is dead now: Long live continuing education. This implies obviously much more significance to vocational education rather than non-vocational, and much more significance to training rather than education.

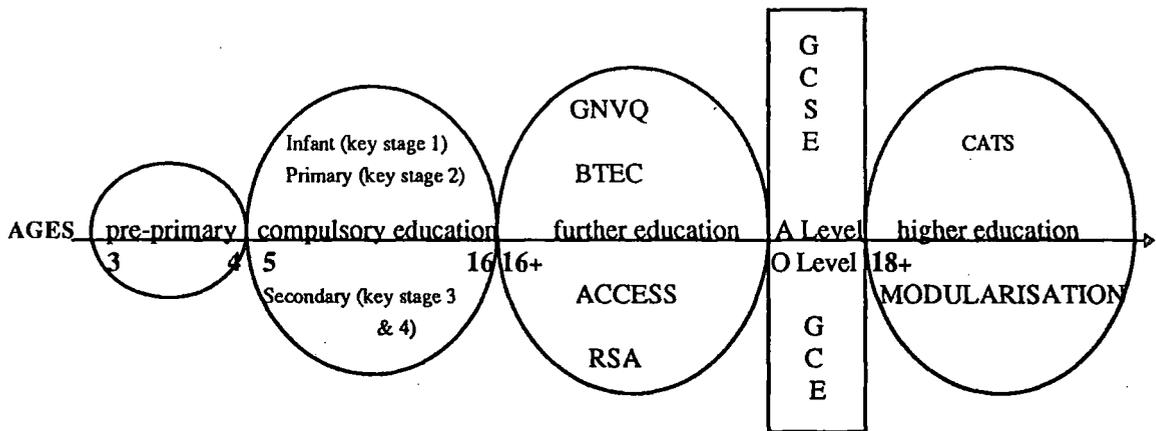
### **3.4. Comparison of Recent Educational Trends in Britain, France and Turkey**

The vocationalisation of education is a global trend which all countries both developed and less developed, are experiencing more or less. It has been the priority of educational policies for many years. Dominant, residual and emergent ideologies (see Williams 1977) behind educational policies in three countries under study differ significantly. The changes in the structure of governmental control over adult education have been in response to economic and political changes. They have been promoted by international bodies like the OECD and the IMF. It is important, therefore, to retain an international perspective by investigating local government adult education provisions. Each society has its own tradition of adult education and local government, and local government adult education provisions.

In this chapter I want to look at educational policies, structure and practices in the three countries of this study in a comparative perspective. This will enable us to look at the phenomenon of adult education and adult education-local government relations. Since education for adults is generally considered as part of overall education system. I want to sketch out systematically and briefly the main indicators and tenets of education in the three countries before engaging in the theoretical analyses and comparison of them. The rationale for doing so in this: the pattern of adult education in any society reflect the performance of the schools system. If the school system is poor, adult education is likely be concerned with basic literacy. If the school system is well-resourced and successful, the demand for adult education is likely to be for personal and professional development.

### 3.4.1. England & Wales

Education in Britain as we have seen, has been one of the most debated topics over the last decade. It has been shifted towards a centrally-controlled education system. The education system in Britain has traditionally been decentralised. Education at the nursery and compulsory level is provided free by local authorities or in GMS schools, whilst further and higher education is not universally free for everybody. The education system can be considered into four levels; pre-primary, compulsory, postcompulsory or further education, and higher education. The structure of the education system is simply represented in FIGURE 3.3.



**FIGURE 3.3**  
**THE STRUCTURE OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM IN ENGLAND & WALES**

Pre-primary education is the education of the children from 2 to 5 years old. However, the nursery schools under control of local authorities or private sector only accept children of 3-4 years old, usually for half a day. Public nursery schools are free but a variable fee is charged for full time day nursery care by private play groups or nurseries. The schooling rate for 3 and 4 years old children is 55% in England and Wales. 80% of the nursery pupils attend part time nursery schools (CEC 1987, EURYDICE et al 1995).

Education is compulsory between the ages of 5 and 16 which means from the beginning of the school term following the child's fifth birthday, until the school leaving date next

after his/her 16th birthday. The two school leaving dates are; (a) the ends of spring term, and (b) the Friday before the last Monday in May (CEC 1987:165-6).

Two types of school system exist at the compulsory education level: first, is the two tier system of primary and secondary schools; second is the three tier as primary, middle and secondary schools. In general, compulsory education can be seen as primary and secondary with 4 key stages. Primary education consists of two levels; Key Stage 1, which is called infant school for ages 5 to 7; and Key Stage 2, which is called junior or lower secondary school for ages 7 to 11. Secondary education consists of two key stages; Key Stage 3 for ages 11 to 14; and the Key Stage 4 for the ages of 14 to 16. At the end of the Key Stage 4, students are examined at the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) level. Students are awarded one of the seven grades from A to G. There are no rules regulating the minimum or maximum number of the subjects to be taken by a pupil at any time.

Postcompulsory education, further education, postsecondary education, post-sixteen and college education are used interchangeably in Britain to refer to education beyond the compulsory level. Further education implies all educational provisions for post sixteen (Stephens 1990) or denotes education which children must attend in order to continue their formal education after compulsory level (Leicester 1994). In general, further and higher education are described together since the traditional boundaries between the FE and HE have been blurred by the 1992 FHE Act. At 16, young people who stay at school, may be transferred to sixth form colleges to pursue academic 'access courses', or may be transferred to further education/tertiary colleges to gain rather more vocational qualifications. Young people who have decided to study to get vocational qualifications go through the National Vocational Qualification (NVQ) system, which I will now describe.

The NCVQ was established in 1986 to accredit qualifications devised by awarding bodies, and to establish these qualifications within the national framework as NVQ. GNVQs were laid out in 1991 as result of the 1991 White Paper on Education and Training in the 21st Century. The system of GNVQs, which is considered as an

important feature of an accelerated modern apprenticeship scheme, is a complicated process. It consists of three levels of GNVQs- foundation, intermediate and advance GNVQs-, and more than 800 NVQs in eleven occupational areas. These areas are; Tending Animals, Plants and Lands; Extracting and Providing Natural Resources; Constructing; Engineering; Manufacturing; Transporting; Providing Goods and Services; Providing Health, Social Care and Protective Services; Providing Business Services; Communicating, Developing and Extending Knowledge and Skills, and in five levels (Glower 1995, Wren 1995, FEFC 1994). The each three levels have sub levels of 1 to 5. Jarvis (1995:223) clarifies the meaning of the levels as follows;

*Level 1- performance of routine and predictable work activities.*

*Level 2- performance of work activities involving greater individual responsibility and autonomy than Level 1.*

*Level 3- skilled performance of activities, involving complex and non-routine work. Some supervisory activity may also be involved at this level.*

*Level 4- complex, technical, specialised and professional activities, including planning and problem solving. There is personal accountability at this level.*

*Higher Level- competence in pursuit of a senior occupation, including the ability to apply fundamental principles and techniques. Extensive knowledge and understanding is necessary to underpin competence (summarised from Oakeshott 1991:52).*

According to national education and training targets agreed in 1991: (a) 80% of young people should have reached NVQ level 2 or equivalent by 1997, (b) 50% of young people should have reached NVQ level 3 or equivalent by 2 000, (c) 50% of the workforce should be aiming in sense of lifetime learning for NVQs or units by 1996, and (d) 50% of the workforce should be qualified to at least NVQ level 3 or equivalent by 2 000 (Ashley & Etherington 1994, FEFC 1994).

Despite the fact that adults are also able to work towards GNVQ through full-time, part-time or open learning study routes, the first three levels of GNVQ have been designed for students aged between 16-18, who;

*(a) may not have decided as yet upon a specific occupation or career;*

*(b) may prefer a course which involves a more vocational (rather than academic) emphasis;*

*(c) may wish to combine a vocational qualification with additional GCSEs or an A level;*

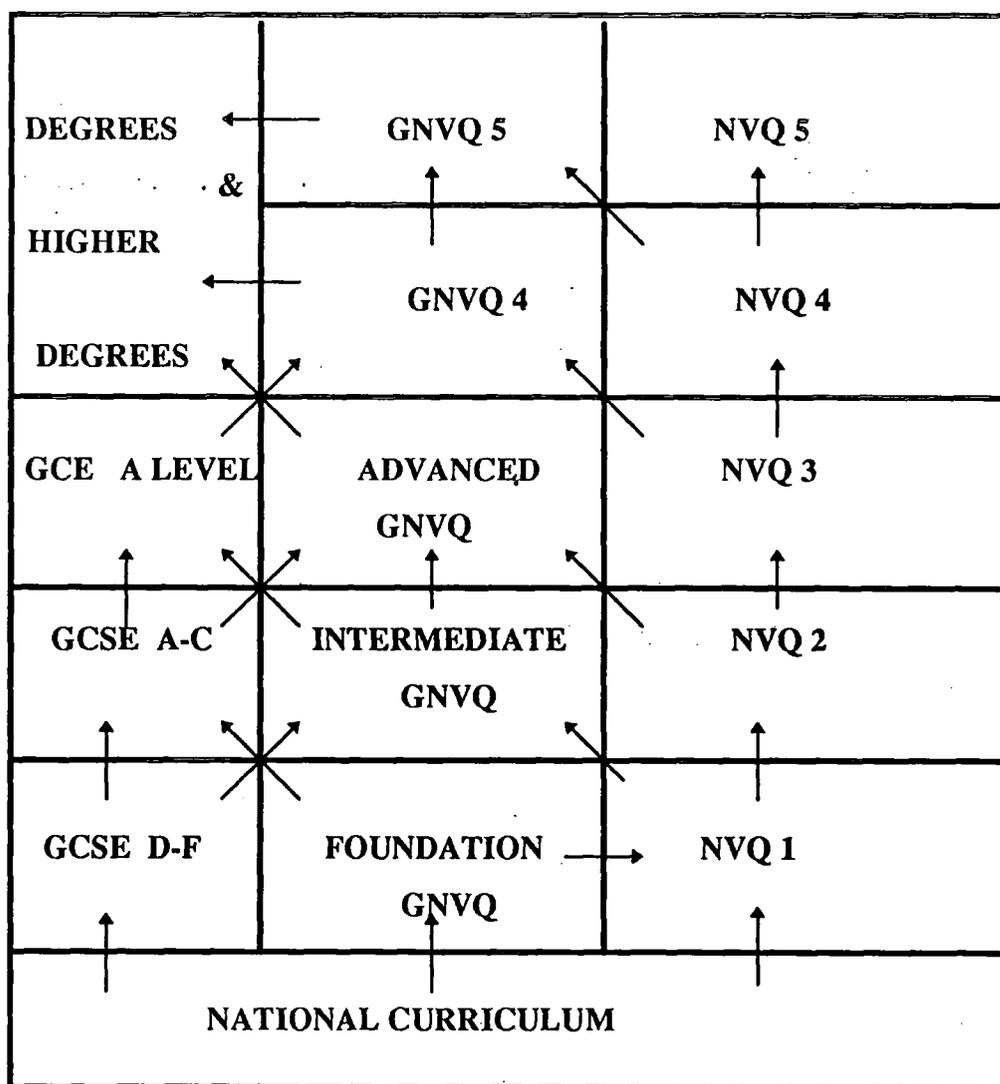
- (d) may wish to combine a vocational qualification with units of an occupational qualification or a full occupational qualification;*  
*(e) may develop better and become more thoroughly prepared for a higher education course through the teaching and learning approaches adopted in delivering GNVQs (Wren 1995:5).*

The assessment of GNVQ is made by 114 awarding bodies such as BTEC, C & G (City and Guilds of London Institute), RSA (Royal Society of Arts) and Work-Based Assessment. Assessment and financing of GNVQ is very complicated. Accreditation of prior learning experiences has become widely accepted in post-compulsory education in Britain. There are two types of credit: general and specific. General credit is often given as a general remission of part of a course for the overall learning experiences engaged by the student. Specific credit refers to remission of part of a course of study because of previous successful study in that specific area of knowledge (Jarvis 1995).

The GNVQ system is based on the concept of competency based learning and training/education which was first mentioned in the 1970s. Competency-based learning or training implies a process of learning or training which is based on pre-determined specific objectives, called competencies of a vocation, and a modular system. GNVQ programs are offered by three types of institutions: FE Colleges, Private Training Organisations and Companies which operate in-house training schemes. The main route of GNVQ is the degrees. However, there are numerous progression routes as displayed in FIGURE 3.4. In other words, all GNVQ students can progress to employment, higher education or FE depending upon their successful completion of the programs.

GNVQ represents the vocational part of the FE, and it is a debatable issue that GNVQ may be considered as adult education, continuing education or post-16 education. GNVQ is intended, mainly for young people aged 16-20, but it does not exclude adults. Undoubtedly, GNVQ has influenced the FE system in Britain. It is widely acknowledged that GNVQs have created a highly competitive situation amongst FE Colleges, private training companies, schools and LAs. Therefore, developing an effective marketing strategy became one of the most important issue, and FEU, as drawn attention by Jarvis (1995), has produced a pamphlet on marketing strategies for adult and continuing education in 1990. This competitive condition, the 'education market', has come about

through neo-liberal Thatcherist educational policies and ideologies. The GNVQ system is directed by the employers and central government through NCVQ, TECs, BTEC (Business and Technology Education Council) and TEED (Training, Enterprise and Education Division) of the Department of Employment. TEED, which succeeded the Training Agency, is now part of Department of Education and Employment (DfEE).



**FIGURE 3.4**  
**POSSIBLE STUDENT PROGRESSION ROUTES IN GNVQ SYSTEM**  
 SOURCES: Adapted from Wren, P. (1995), Ashley, R. & Etherington, I. (1994), and FEFC (1994).

The structure and meaning of higher education is very complicated in Britain. Higher education is defined in the 1988 Education Reform Act in terms of education provided by means of a course of any description mentioned in schedule 6 of the act. These courses are:

- “\* a course for further training of teachers or youth and community workers;*
- \* a post-graduate course (including a higher degree course);*
- \* a first degree course;*
- \* a course for the Diploma of Higher Education;*
- \* a course for the Higher National Diploma or Higher National Certificate of the Business and Technology Education Council, or the Diploma in Management Studies;*
- \* a course in preparation for the Certificate in Education (which accord Qualified Teacher Status);*
- \* a course in preparation for a professional examination at higher level; and*
- \* a course providing education at a higher level (whether or not in preparation for an examination) (noted from EURYDICE et al 1995:394)*

In the UK, there are 249 higher education institutions including universities, university college of higher education, academies, colleges and postgraduate schools. The number of universities is over 90 together with ex-polytechnics. Each higher education institution has its own admission policy and requirements. However, at least three passes in GCSE, i.e. 3 grade C, are required in general. Because of the competition to enter higher education, most of the universities raise the admission requirements. Most applicants are interviewed in the process of admission by the higher education institutions.

Modularisation and the Credit Accumulation and Transfer Scheme (CATS), which come about through conservative education policies, are the most prominent features of British higher education system. CATS was launched in Britain in 1986, and was administered by the Council for National Academic Awards. CATS may be seen as the accreditation of courses at different levels in the education system. It is based on the modularisation of courses and the consideration of 3 years undergraduate degree as 360 credits and 1 200 hours study. The Certificate of Higher Education, which is equivalent of first year of degree, is worth 120 credits, namely 6 modules, the last one being a project module which is based on a short dissertation. Each award-bearing modular course provided by

HE Colleges or universities is equivalent to 20 credits. Certificate of Higher Education in the various subjects such as Visual Arts, Social Studies, Information Technology, Humanities, and Environmental Studies is normally based 6 modules, but not all modules are usually worth 20 credits. In addition, there is no guarantee that the Certificates of Higher Education are accepted by all universities in Britain. The conditions and requirements may vary from one university to another.

A Diploma of Higher Education, which is equivalent to the second year of a degree, is also worth 120 credits. In order to get a bachelor degree, students have to get at least 60 credit in level 3, and not more than 120 credit at level 1. An honour degree had to include 120 credits at level 3 and no more than 120 at level 1. A taught master course consists of 120 credits at master level and a dissertation (Jarvis 1990, 1995). Undergraduate diploma, advanced certificate and MA programmes are two-years part-time programmes based on six modules. In each type of diploma and certificate programme, there may be 3 or 4 mandatory modules together with optional ones.

Apart from the Certificate in Higher Education, there is a Continuing Education Certificate for many subjects. They are worth 60 credits, and are equivalent to half of a first year of undergraduate training. The precise number of credits depend on the decision of the university award committee. Students of certificates or diplomas of higher education don't have to complete all modules. They can choose to be awarded with a certificate of continuing education at the end of third module they complete.

Modularisation is recent development in British Universities. According to Davidson (1992) 22 universities established a modular scheme in 1992, 9 agreed in principle to modularise, 9 discussed modularisation at senate, and 5 did not do anything. Three important issues were highlighted in an UCACE workshop in May 8, 1992 at Sheffield on Accreditation & the Adult Education Program: The Process of Modularisation (Edited by G. Mitchell 1992)- Matching, Marketing and Money. The loss of the spirit of liberal adult education-of learning for its own sake- it has been claimed is one of the most important threats in the modularisation process.

The modularisation movement in UK has been split into three developmental phases by Theodossin (1986): (a) Uncoordinated and local in nature, institutional in origin and impact, (b) Concentrated within public sector with its focus upon vocational goals, and (c) The introduction of credit transfer as a response to the need for higher education to identify new markets (cited in Davidson 1992:3).

### 3.4.2. France

France with its highly centralised education system and programmes of study attainment targets laid down for all children, and Britain with decentralised education system and greater autonomy for teachers in matters of curriculum and teaching methods are two very different national contexts (Broadfoot & Osborn 1990). The French education system, unlike the British, operates with a National Curriculum in the subjects taught and teacher-centred teaching methods, based upon the transmission of the encyclopaedic body of knowledge (Greaves 1994).

The French education system, which is administered centrally by the Ministry of National Education, is mainly state controlled. It is highly organised and strongly academic and in which 80% of schools are run by the state. MNE which consists of 9 general directorates, has a monopoly of diploma and awards at the national level. Other ministries have some educational responsibilities and power, e.g. the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries is responsible for agricultural education, the Ministry of Labour, Employment and Training plays an important role in vocational training, and higher education is controlled by the Ministry of Higher Education (Hughes 1994, EURYDICE et al 1995).

After the 1982 decentralisation frame law (*loi-cadre*), many administrative functions were transferred from the centre to periphery. In educational functions and duties, every level of the French local government system, i.e. communes, departments and regions, have clearly defined responsibilities for the maintenance and construction of pre-university public education establishments. In other words, communes, departments and regions share educational functions and responsibilities. Communes in primary and pre-primary levels, departments in colleges or junior high schools, regions in lycees or high

school levels have the responsibility and duty for; the location, finance, construction, equipment and maintenance of public schools; modifying school hours and extra-curricular activities; and creating, organising, funding and teaching arts, dance, music and theatre. In addition, the regions have a responsibility to decide their educational priorities in their territories, *zones d'éducation prioritaire* (Schmidt 1990, Firth 1994).

It is clear that at the beginning of the decentralisation process the education sector was excluded or one of the least effected sectors on the one hand, and higher education was of no concern to the local governments on the other. However, as it is stressed by Davies (1995:134), the afore-mentioned arrangement has begun to change in the late of 1980s. The relationships between the MNE and the Universities were widened in 1988, and an Outline Regional Plan (*Schemas Regionaux d'aménagement*) was launched by the MNE in 1990. This was to act as a framework for decentralising regional planning of all higher education and training provisions through inputs from industry, commerce, universities, central and local government.

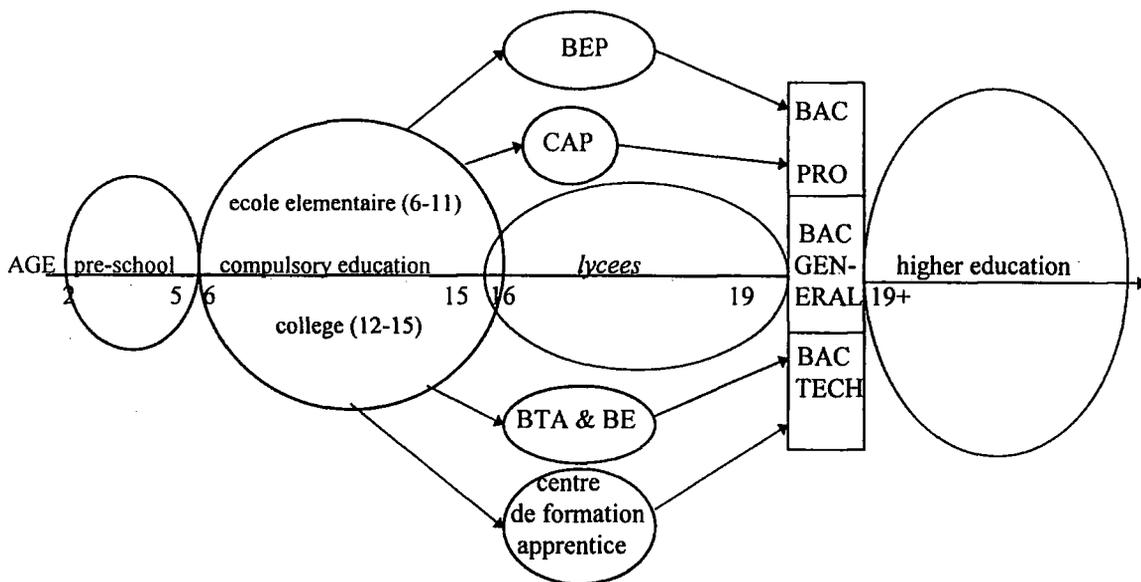


FIGURE 3.5  
THE STRUCTURE OF THE FRENCH EDUCATION SYSTEM

The French Education system, simply illustrated in FIGURE 3.5, can be examined as pre-school education, compulsory education, higher education and adult education. Pre-

school education includes nursery schools, *ecoles maternelles*, and infant classes, *classes enfantines*. Attendance to pre-school education is optional: the schooling rate in pre-school education for children aged 3 is 99%, and 35.2% for 2 years old. Local governments, excluding small communes, have a duty to provide pre-primary education by law. Pre-primary education is provided in either separate nursery schools or in infant classes of primary schools (EURYDICE et al 1995, CEC 1987).

The compulsory education between the ages of six and sixteen can be divided into primary or elementary school, *ecole elementaire* (5 years) for the ages 6 to 11, and secondary education, *college*, to the ages 12-15. Theoretically, pupils must attend school for at least one year on a full time basis either in a general, technological or vocational *lycees* after satisfying compulsory schooling requirements. After compulsory education, students join 2 years vocational lycee or short courses to gain qualifications, or alternatively 3 years courses to baccalaureat which is the minimum entry qualification to the university (DES 1985, EURYDICE et al 1995).

According to Firth (1994) the rapid expansion of the French education system, particularly in secondary education, in the 1980s is one of the most important characteristics leading to serious problems. Because of the massive decline of employment in jobs of low level skills and a gradual increase in the demand for high level skills, educating 80% of each age group to the level of *baccalaureat* till 2000 became an important objective for the French education authorities. *Baccalaureat* is the degree of qualification taken by all high school graduates in order to begin university education or to work in France.

*Baccalaureat* (bac), originally an elite qualification serving the needs of a small minority, is a very strict educational implementation in France. It is the equivalent to the first year of university. Initially, two types of *baccalaureat* were created in 1968 the *bac general* and the *bac technologique* in order to prepare students for the further studies. In 1985, the *baccalaureat professionnel* was created. However, there are currently three types of *baccalaureat*; (a) *Pro- baccalaureat*: It intends to prepare students to do a specific job by offering 26 subjects covering all industrial sectors for 17-19 age group in the *lycee*

*professionnel* programme. It is based on four study areas; Vocational, Communication and Knowledge of Contemporary Society, Art and Design, and Physical Education; (b) *Baccalaureat d'enseignement general*: It consists of three options in terms of Literary, Economic and Social, and Scientific; and (c) *Baccalaureat d'enseignement technologique*. Within each type of bac, there are a number of series, such as Bac A, B, C, which allow students to concentrate on different subjects (DFE 1993, DES 1985, Firth 1994, EURYDICE et al 1995).

On the other hand, according to Davies (1995:142), the *Baccalaureat* may be considered as a general educational qualification with a compulsory core of maths, science, French and modern languages for all students. The system has been reformed recently to provide a greater range of choices and possible combinations of subjects. The Pro-Bac was set up in 1986 to provide a vocational version of the qualifications including a work placement of between 16 and 24 weeks over two years for those coming through the more vocational qualifications route in vocational high schools. In 1993, students study 32 subjects in the bac-pro.

Through the reforms of *baccalaureat*, the number of the school leavers who acquired various *baccalaureat qualifications* has been increased gradually, and higher education demands have risen up in France. Therefore, as it is stressed by Vincens (1995:134-6), firstly, central government, local government, particularly regions, and other public organisations have become more aware of the relevance of higher education to employment; secondly, the central government has not been leaving universities alone to cope with this increase, and has encouraged a growing number of school leavers to opt for various short courses which provide necessary qualifications after two years in order to facilitate easier entry into the labour market.

Green (1995:49-58) emphasised clearly that post-compulsory education in France consists of the following three tracks;

(a) **General Academic Track**: It consists of various 3 year courses in general and technical lycees. These courses are differentiated by their special subjects. There are three general lines *economique et sociale, litteraire and scientifique* and *technologique*

*tertiare et industrielle*. The final one consists of three options as *science et technique industrielle*, *science et technique tertiaries* and *science medico-sociales*.

(b) **Broad Vocational Track:** It consists of various *Brevet d'Etudes Professionnelles (BEP)* courses through the *baccalaureat professionnel (BP)*. Post-Compulsory Education and Training (PCET) and General National Vocational Qualifications (GNVQs) in England & Wales are considered to be equivalent of BEP and BP in France. This route is generally followed in the vocational lycees but it is possible to take both BEP and BP in an apprenticeship centre. The broad vocational track has gradually come to be seen as the main alternatives for the academic/general track. Consequently, this route has become increasingly wide since it has been promoted by the central governments in both countries.

(c) **Narrow Vocational Track:** It implies old craft courses and *certificate d'Aptitude Professionnel (CAP)*. There is no equivalence of CAP in Britain after drying up day-release apprenticeship courses, but craft courses validated by the City and Guilds, and the Royal Society of Arts (RSA) forms narrow vocational track courses in England & Wales. This route is convenient for the students who leave college early. They take CAP over three years at the apprenticeship training centre or at *lycees professionnel*. This route is seen as a preparation for entry to work. Narrow vocational track have been becoming increasingly marginal, and enrolments for this route are declining steadily.

In addition to the afore-mentioned approaches to classifying post-compulsory educational provisions in France, BEP, CAP, BTE AND BT which are the important implementations for providing vocational education opportunities for adults and young peoples, may be described as follows: First is the *brevet d'etudes professionnelles*. It was begun in 1970s in order to provide opportunities to the school leavers for continuing studies. It may be considered as vocational courses for school leavers in various fields. Second is *Certificate d'Aptitude professionnelles*. It is linked to about 250 specific occupations. It may be considered as vocational courses for apprentices in skilled manual occupations such as, butchers, chefs, hairdressers. BT (*brevet de technicien*) is the certification of pupils as the specialised technicians in a specific area. It covers some common and compulsory courses. For example; BTA (*Brevet de technicien agricole*) is the certification of pupils as agricultural technician. Agricultural lycees offer

after the 2nd class ( DFE 1993, EURYDICE et al 1995). According to Mauger (1993) CAP, BEP and BT may be considered as intermediate vocational diplomas for people who are not able to pass Bac and to enter higher education.

Finally, there are many apprenticeship training centres, *Centres de Formation des Apprentis*, which are operated by the local Chambers of Commerce and similar professional bodies. Apprentices attend 400 hours minimum per year based on 39 hours per week. It normally takes 13 weeks training in the form of 1 week training 2 weeks working. Working and training is 42 and 39 hours per week. Apprenticeship contracts ensure that a salary is paid to apprentices. The salary, which is less than the current minimum wage of 6000 FF, varies according to his/her age, experience and progress. Inspectors control workplaces whether on-the-job training is going well or not, and whether or not resources for training are sufficient. Young people working in industry or other sectors sign a contract which is called *contracts d'orientation* (up to 21 years old) or *contracts d'adaptation* (22-25 years old), *contracts emploi solidarite* (18-25 years old). This apprenticeship contract, which is valid one to three years, covers apprenticeships in accordance with the employment legislation. (DFE 1993, EURYDICE et al 1995).

According to Davies (1995) it is necessary to distinguish two higher education concepts as *la formation initiale*, initial education and training, which refers traditional forms of higher education, full-time students, free education, and *la formation continue*, continuing education and training, which implies training and trainees rather than education and students. There are two important alternative entry routes for adults to enter higher education apart from Bac. First of all, *Les Examens Speciaux d'access Aux Etudes Universitaires* are defined as special entry examinations to universities. It includes an oral interview to verify candidates' ability and knowledge, and two sets of written papers- set A for admission to humanities, social sciences, law and economics, and set B for admission to science, medical and paramedical subjects, dentistry and pharmacy. It is for the candidates of at least 20 years of age. If a candidate is 20, he/she should have been working at least two years and paying social security contributions. If he/she is 24 and over, there are no condition to take the exam. In August 1994, the

name of this exam was altered to *Diploma De Acces Aux Etudes Universitaires*, which is translated as national diploma to university entrance. Second route is *Le Validation Des Acquis* which may be translated as accreditation of prior learning. Accreditable experiences are work experience in part or full time employment, work based training, knowledge and skills gained outside of the education system, and overseas experiences.

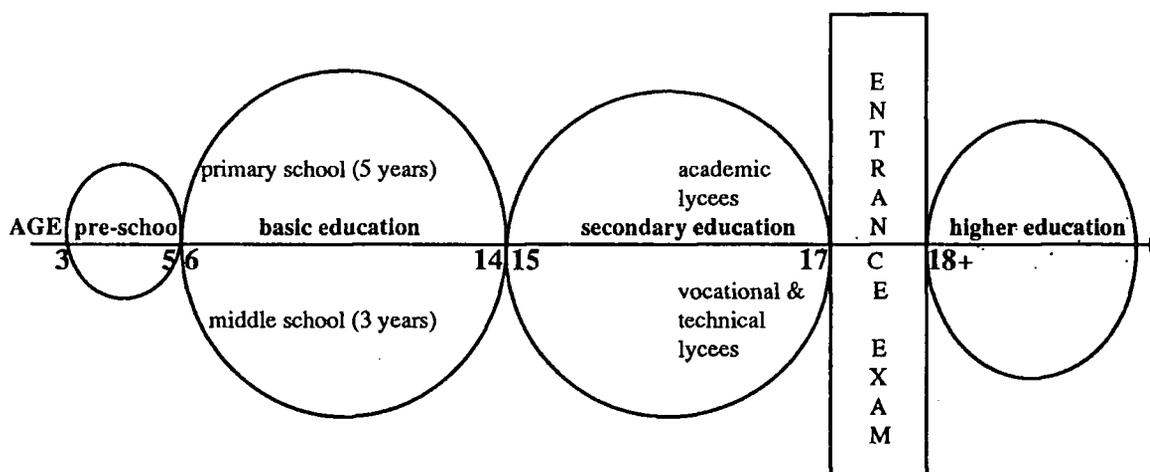
Alternatively, applicants must have a BAC to enter university education. There is no tuition fee but the registration fees for public institutions of higher education, determined by the decree, should be paid. Students are eligible for financial assistance provided on the basis of universities' own criteria and social indicators. Interest free loans should be reimbursed after graduation ( EURYDICE et al 1995).

### **3.4.3. Turkey**

In turn Turkey, the education system is highly centralised in Ankara, and the Ministry of National Education (MNE) is responsible for the provision, administration, organisation and supervision of all forms of educational services (Duman 1995). The education system in Turkey with national curriculum in the subjects taught by teacher-centred methods, and a centralised programmes of study attainment targets is based on the transmission of an encyclopaedic body of knowledge. It has many similarities with France. Education is free in state schools at all levels except higher education for preliminary undergraduate and undergraduate degrees. Tuition fees for higher education is a lively debated issue in Turkey. Despite the existence of a bursary scheme for needy students, it is inadequate to fulfil the needs. Because of the most recent increases of tuition fees in higher education, mass demonstrations were organised in big cities by the student unions. Police have clashed with student demonstrators protesting at increase in higher education tuition fees. Privatisation of the schooling is increasingly in progress through the financial support of the state at all levels of education in Turkey.

The Education System in Turkey consists of two sub-systems in accordance with the Basic Act of National Education 1973: formal and non-formal education. The system can be considered as pre-school education, secondary education, higher education and adult education. The structure of education system is simply represented in FIGURE

3.6. Pre-school education is seen as the preparation of children for basic education. Pre-school education facility is quite rare in rural areas. Although it is widely available in urban areas, particularly in larger cities, the rate of schooling in pre-school education is around 10% of under 6 years olds.



**FIGURE 3.6**  
**THE STRUCTURE OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM IN TURKEY**

Basic education, *ilkogretim*, is the education of the children aged 6 to 14. It covers five years primary school, *ilkokul*, which is compulsory education, and three years middle school, *ortaokul*. The second part of the basic education, which is optional, is provided either by separate or combined schools as the initial step of high school, *lise*, or the final step of basic education, *ilkogretim* or *temel egitim*. Although 8 years basic education has been foreseen as compulsory 23 years ago through the Basic Act of National Education in 1973, it has not been fulfilled yet. The most recent National Education Suras which assembled in June 1996 has advised to the MNE to enact the necessary legislation to establish 8 years basic education.

Secondary education is the 3-4 years education which is based on basic education. Secondary education consists of high schools, *lise*. High schools may be classified as the academic lycees, vocational and technical lycees, and open lycees. All lycees are 3 years except technical lycees which are 4 years. Education is free in public high schools. The structure of secondary education is over fragmented. Academic and vocational lycees

have following sub categories: (a) General, Anatolian, Science, Teachership, Art and Evening lycees, (b) Vocational lycees controlled by the MNE and the other Ministries. The curriculum of secondary education is excessively academic, even in vocational and technical lycees. Graduates of secondary education almost do not have any professional qualification so the only way is to enter higher education.

After high school, there is a two-step central examination of university entrance to select and locate successful students in accordance with the results and their preferences. It is a highly academic and difficult examination, and this led to the development of a new educational sector to prepare students for this university entrance exam in Turkey. Although higher education is free, the cost of the preparation for university entrance examination is quite high. Because of the heavy demand for higher education, the competition to enter higher education is very tough, and it is almost impossible to enter higher education without getting special preparation courses to the centrally-made university entrance examination. In this sense, private tuition (*dersane*) to prepare students university entrance examination may be seen as a practice which increases inequalities and inequities in the education system. They begin at the 1st class of secondary education to prepare students for the university entrance examination.

Most of the population almost does not have any educational opportunities beyond the five years of compulsory education. Adult education provisions which are controlled by the MNE, are too sparse both quantitatively and qualitatively to offer educational opportunities for adults. Universities of which there are now 60, offer almost no community education or university adult education to the residents of the area. In other words, there is no extra-mural tradition for Turkish universities throughout their short and recent history. The schooling rate in higher education is lower than many European countries: 10% excluding the Open University, and 16% including the Open University whose rate is around 40% of all higher education students.

However, apprenticeship training is available for young people who have left formal schooling after the 5 years compulsory education, and are currently working in industry. The number of the Apprenticeship Training Centres (ATC), and trainees was 256 and

196 200 in 1993. It is very difficult to consider apprenticeship training and provisions, started in 1979, as a postcompulsory education system but it can be seen as 'narrow vocational track' which implies courses and certification of young people as semi-qualified, *kalfa*, and qualified, *usta*, workers. The theoretical part of the training programme is arranged by the ATC in terms of weekly day-release courses, and then they return to their work places in industry (Duman & Williamson 1996).

Higher education is provided by the universities in terms of preliminary undergraduate (2 years), undergraduate (4 years), and graduate education. In 1971, Turkey, as noted by the Williamson (1987) had only 9 universities controlled by the MNE. Now, Turkey has 60 universities, controlled by the Higher Education Council which was formed by the appointed, not elected, members. In 1991, 23 new university have been established by the political authorities with a campaign of 'a university for each city'. However, unplanned rapid expansion of higher education has led to an increase in existing problems of insufficient human resources and physical capacity. By the Autumn of 1993, around 3000 young graduates had been provided scholarships to get postgraduate degrees abroad. Most of the students have been captured by low-rank American universities under serious financial crises. The World Bank, therefore, has provided low-interest loan to Turkey with this purpose in mind.

What is clear is that the education systems in the three countries display some similarities as well as dissimilarities. The vocationalisation of education and increasing privatisation of schooling are common points in the three countries because new right ideology is a world wide trend. These common elements are the inescapable results of it. The parallel points between the France and Turkey are, first, the over centralised and bureaucratic structure of education system. The Ministry of National Education has a diploma monopoly, and a direct responsibility for administration, planning, staffing, supervision and the financing of educational provision. Teachers and educational officers in France and Turkey are, unlike in Britain, civil servants are employed and managed by the central government via the MNE. Therefore, decentralisation is an unfinished symphony in terms of strongly desired reforms in public administration. However, it is very difficult to see effective and efficient educational decentralisation because education is mainly

considered to be the most important form of social control with the national curriculum and centrally-run educational services. In this sense, despite the argument that national curriculum is the most important way to decrease educational inequity and inequality between the rural and urban areas, it is far from minimising existing inequalities. Because, inequality is implicitly fostered by the capitalistic organisation of economic activity, so the privatisation of education exposes it to influences which will weave division and inequality through the education system. That is to say, inequality is an inescapable outcome, not accidental of capitalist society: the system generates inequalities to legitimise itself.

Debates on the national curriculum in France and Britain are very lively. Before Britain launched the national curriculum in 1988, a comparative ESRC research project on teaching styles and teacher perceptions in primary schools in France and Britain was carried out by Broadfoot and others. According to the results of this project, the national curriculum forces schools to abandon a child-centred approach. The national curriculum reflects centralisation rather than decentralisation. It also restricts personal and institutional autonomy in education systems, and responsiveness to different local and individual needs. It demands narrowly-defined, centrally-prescribed goals, practices and their inspection. The centrally-organised education system and its national curriculum leads to greater conformity in practice, and it makes good sense to have nationally-agreed curriculum objectives. Therefore, the argument of equal opportunities for all pupils may be seen as an important reason to launch such a national curriculum. But this idea should get confused with national standards, testing and teacher accountability (Broadfoot & Osborn 1987, 1990).

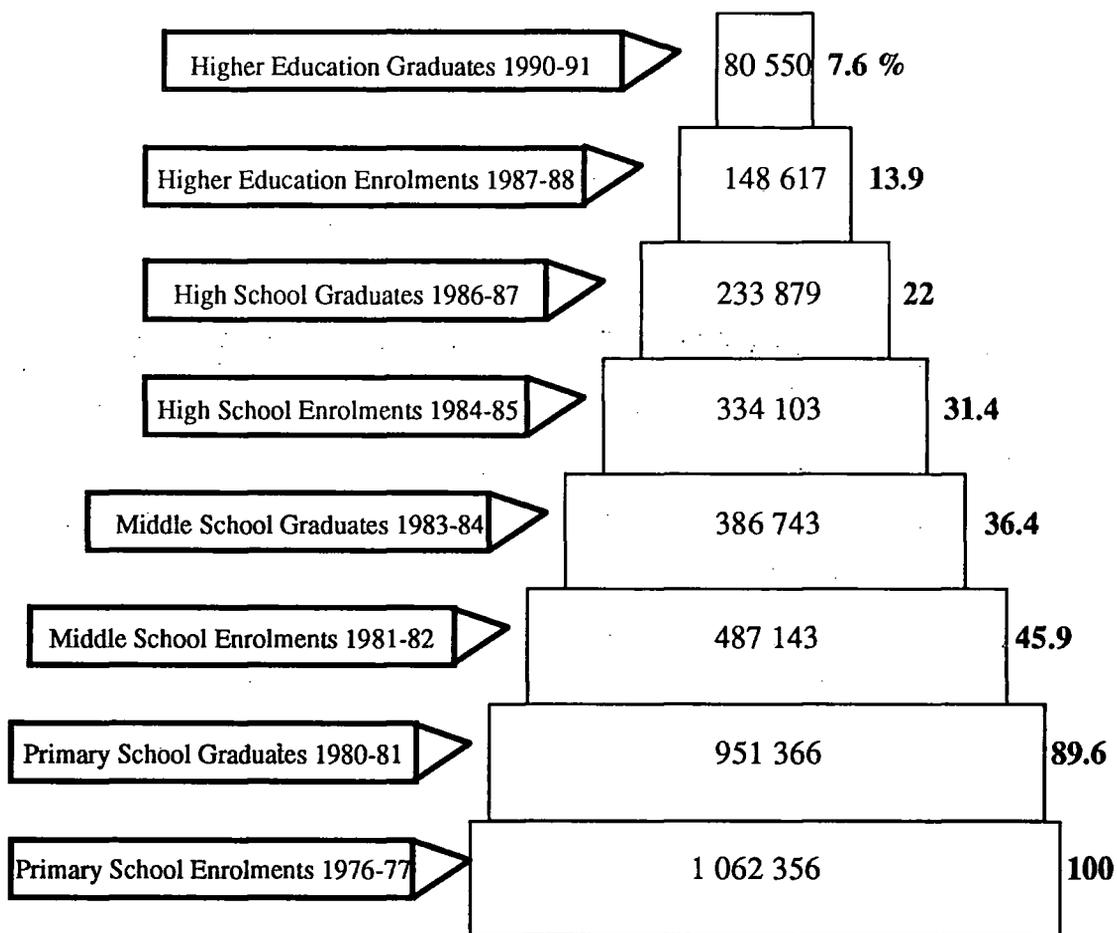
On the other hand, some, (e.g. Corbett 1987), believe that a national curriculum is not a simple form of central control on education. It is the expression of an equality of educational opportunity which might launch a cultural revolution. This equality includes equality of access to the same culture, same knowledge and same civic values. The meaning of the national curriculum in France is to ensure that a child in rural France should have access to the same knowledge, diploma and chance as the child from one of

the Paris's richest arrondissements. He believes that a nationally-defined curriculum programme and its objectives offer a new hope to the British society.

Both France and Britain have already created long enough compulsory education structures, and intermediate steps between the compulsory and higher education. Compulsory education, as has been seen in TABLE 3.1, is 10 years in France and 11 years in Britain. Further Education or postcompulsory education, *education post scolaire*, is one of the most important sectors of education in both countries. GCSE and BAC which is the requirement to enter higher education, are equivalents but BAC is equal 'A levels' plus first year of undergraduate education. Both France and Britain are trying to label the postcompulsory educational sector as a 'modern apprenticeship'. However, Britain has been trying to achieve this by moving towards re-centralisation since 1979, unlike French decentralisation endeavours since 1982.

In contrast to France and Britain, Turkey has a five year period of compulsory education. For political and economic reasons, the five years of compulsory education has not been replaced with the eight year basic education planned since 1973. Many graduates of secondary education neither have the opportunity to enter higher education nor to get a secure employment because the structure of secondary education is quite academic rather than vocational. The main objective is to pass the university entrance examination. The curriculum of vocational schools is too broad for the acquisition of the skills and qualifications industry requires. Although the five year development plans have always aimed to increase the number of vocational schools and their students, these objectives have not been achieved with the exception of religious middle and secondary schools which are called *imam-hatip okulu*, i.e. the schools which educate prayer leaders and preachers. The surprising growth of those schools, as noted by Williamson (1987), has progressed rapidly since the 1980 military take-over. The rising rate of votes for the pro-islamicist Welfare comes as no surprise because the function of these religious schools is not the training of young people for employment as prayer leaders and preachers. They are the foundations of political socialisation which train antiseccular, anti Ataturkist radical Moslems who want Islamic order, *seriat*, rather than

parliamentary secularist democracy. All political parties are trying to use the religious beliefs of the people in order to gain their votes.



**FIGURE 3.7**  
**MINARET PATTERN OF EDUCATION IN TURKEY**

**SOURCE:** Adapted from MEB (1992), p.32, Ankara.

Another bitter and notorious fact is the 'minaret pattern' of the structure of educational opportunities in Turkey. The minaret pattern of schooling rates for educational stages, which was mentioned by the Kazamias (1966) (noted from Williamson 1987:148), emphasises the dramatic decline in proportions of student population who enrolled in schools at different levels. Student numbers at three different levels, has been displayed in FIGURE 3.7 and TABLE 3.1.

FIGURE 3.7 is an obvious indicator of the hierarchic structure and pattern of education system in Turkey. The educational loss (drop out rates) between the stages is excessively high, and it is a bitter fact that only 139 children out of 1000 had the opportunity of higher education, and 76 out of 139 has succeeded graduation at the beginning of 1980s. Furthermore, there is almost no possible route to return education for those who leave the system. The only chance is to attend evening schools or to take complementary examinations to get a diploma in order to attend higher levels of education.

### 3.5. Education, Politics and Economic Change

Having examined the structure of the educational system in the three countries it is time now to highlight the ways in which each is responding uniquely to patterns of economic change which are affecting them all. TABLE 3.1 illustrates the main educational indicators of the three states; the longevity of compulsory education, student numbers by levels, the rate of total education expenditure in GDP and unemployment rate. Education is an important sector in all three countries with the different education expenditure/GDP rates; 4% in Turkey, 5.2% in Britain and 5.7% in France.

TABLE 3.1  
MAIN EDUCATIONAL INDICATORS IN THREE COUNTRIES

	Compulsory Education	Number of Students			Total Educ. Exp./GDP(%)	Unemploy. Rate
		Level 1	Level 2	Level 3		
TURKEY	5 years (6-11)	6 878 923	3 987 423	915 765	4.0	7.9
BRITAIN	11 years(5-16)	4 532 500	4 335 600	1 385 072	5.2	10.2
FRANCE	10 years(6-16)	4 060 408	5 573 582	1 951 994	5.7	11.6

SOURCE: Adapted from United Nations (1995) *Statistical Yearbook*, Fortieth Issue.

To increase educational opportunities for all, particularly people who are not able to enter higher education, has been a priority in Britain and France. Thus, governments have defined some future objectives for the sector of postcompulsory education in order to increase existing opportunities. They are attempting to attract adults into education because of the economic value of education. Investment in human capital is seen as the

most important factor to promote successful economic competition with other countries. It is generally agreed that in doing so, they are giving much more importance to vocational education. The existing balance between education and training is being altered for the sake of skill acquisition, the needs of industry and employers, and this vocationalisation of the whole process of education. In this paradigm of education, referred as new vocationalism, we can identify the following political and educational tensions in all three societies:

- Training Vs Education
- Vocational Education Vs Liberal Education
- Consumerism Vs Citizenship
- Centralisation Vs Decentralisation
- Commodification of Education Vs Education as a Human Right
- Parentocracy Vs Local Democracy
- Competency Vs Knowledge
- Continuing Education Vs Adult Education
- Lifetime Learning Vs Lifelong Learning

There is a general trend to consider adult education as a part of higher education in Europe because all sorts of postsecondary education is conceived in the concept of higher education (Vincens 1995:133), and because access and participation of adults into higher education is an important topic in the educational and social policies of the European countries. Thus, European countries began to accredit non-academic out of school experiences for the receipt diploma or degrees. Universities began to offer various courses for adults both vocational and non-vocational, through mostly vocational. For this reason, the new-vocationalism became dominant. As it is stressed by Lamoure and Rontopoulou (1992) university courses in France have become more vocational through the central, political and administrative pressures during the last 20 years. Vocationalisation of higher education is an important factor leading to the June 1991 reorganisation of higher education announced by the government. Thus new vocationally oriented courses were created in 1991 under the name of *Instituts Universitaires Professionnalisés* in order to train master engineers in three years after the Bac or after a year at an *Institutes Universitaires de Technologie*, or after

preparation for *grandes ecoles*. Some universities have resisted the vocationalisation of courses despite the financial pressures of the central governments, but most have accepted already this more vocationally oriented function. In this manner, France and Britain have similar trends; the traditional extra-mural mission and its liberal non-vocational education provision in the British universities have been already replaced with extremely vocationalised training activities, “the demise of university adult education” has been stressed by many adult educationalists in Britain.

What sorts of factors can enforce the vocationalisation of the education system, and create opportunities for adults to enter higher education in Western World? Why do they need to do this? There are many complicated and interlocked reasons: (a) An increasing unemployment rate, (b) Increasing requirements of qualified manpower, (c) Decreasing requirement of low skilled manpower, (d) Increasing social welfare, (e) Rapid technological changes, (f) Increasing cost of supporting the unemployed in the GNP of the countries, (g) Increasing epidemic of neo-liberalism, (h) Increasing numbers of school leavers, (g) Changing the structure of labour market, and favouring constant reform of education to solve problems of labour market rather than reforming labour market to solve some educational problems.

Undoubtedly, there are some implicit relations between the concept of education and unemployment. The vocationalisation of education relatively helps students to find better jobs. But these ties should not be interpreted in a strict reason-result discourse because unemployment is directly related to the economic policies, not educational ones. That's why education should not be conceived as the basic means to solve unemployment problems. It may be considered as a helpful, but not the main or the most vital tool of economic policies. Unless educationalists want to fight with a shadow, they must understand the reality: the educational discourse in resolution of unemployment problem is only one side of the coin, and the other side of the coin is much more important than the educational side.

There is no doubt about the economic value of education, but to prioritise vocational education excessively, i.e. to promote extrinsic aims of education, should not blind us to

see its social value, i.e. the intrinsic aims of education. We can train skilful engineers, doctors, technicians etc. but not necessarily active and democratic citizens to build moral society. Education should not contribute to the process of 'dehumanisation' of the people by over emphasising and prioritising vocational versus non-vocational goal of learning. At this point, liberal vocationalism versus new vocationalism ought need to be considered. According to Evans (1995) liberal vocationalism implies maximal interpretation of citizenship and competence, and brings them together in a way which is complementary rather than contradictory. Maximal interpretation of citizenship entails the development of a consciousness of 'self' as a member of a shared democratic culture. It emphasises participatory approaches to politics, and considers the ways in which social disadvantages can undermine citizenship. The maximal interpretation of competence implies not purely a technical and individualised approach, it also emphasises the social meaning and social relations of work within the informal localised fabric of daily life. Thus, the concept of liberal vocationalism, Evans writes 'entails education for work in its broader social, economic and technological aspects, emphasising the status of the learner as participant, and the processes of learner empowerment'.

What is clear is that liberal vocationalism requires us to view education and learning as a lifelong process towards the target of learning society. It also requires the promotion of autonomy in the process of decision making for teaching and learning. It also embraces citizenship education in the sense of the generation of active and educated citizens by promoting self-awareness, self-effectiveness, self-confidence and the attainment of critical consciousness. By strengthening the social side of the vocationally-based curriculum, liberal vocationalism can be promoted and acted against new vocationalism. Therefore, the broader interpretations of the concepts of citizenship and competence, rather than their narrower meaning, should be employed to develop vocational education curriculum.

As the analyses set out in this chapter shows that the education system of societies is a reflection of their economic development levels, the conjunction of emergent ideology, power and knowledge. Vocationalisation in education is the dominant discourse in the

countries compared in this study. However, Britain and France are different from the Turkey. First of all Turkey is an underdeveloped Moslem country which has experienced three military coups throughout its 50 year multiparty political life since 1946. The ideology of the right parties is the oriental, *alaturka*, liberalism rather than proper neo-liberalism in its Western meaning. Therefore, the new vocationalism which is the educational ideology of new right, is not present in Turkey because there is even not the political stability to develop policies, and put them into practice. For this reason, the eight year compulsory education proposal of 1973 has not been achieved. In this regard, both France and Britain have transformed their education system during the last 15 years. Agree or disagree, applaud or criticise, they have transformed their education system because their government had the power and consistency to do so. There was and is a political stability in both France and Britain, unlike Turkey.

It is very difficult to stand up against the economic value discourse of education. If the social value of education is ignored, the education system may train skilful workers and professionals with a sense of its social purpose and value. But if it is ignored to a great extent, we can not raise active, conscious and critical citizens who are self-confident, self-aware, skilled and able to participate actively in civic life. Those competencies, which may not be the vocational and professional ones, are the essential requirements to be a good human, being neighbour, parent, and an active and conscious citizen. Liberal vocationalism versus new vocationalism should be considered as an alternative to combine vocational and non-vocational aims of education by the educational policy makers at both local and central levels. Whether this will happen depends, of course, a balance of power and politics, on the strength of the challenge to prevailing educational discourse and on the levels of socio-economic development achieved in the societies under study.

## CHAPTER 4. THE NOTION OF ADULT EDUCATION

It is hardly surprising that the meanings and definitions of adult education vary from one society to another. What it means and what it should mean can be seen from the different, but overlapping, perspectives. These are well-summarised by Styler (1984) who proposed the following classification of AE: (a) remedial AE, (b) social and political AE, (c) economic AE, (d) cultural AE, and (e) recreational AE.

Courtney (1989) similarly categorises five perspectives: (a) adult education as the work of institutions (b) adult education and the education of adults, (c) adult education as a profession or scientific discipline, (d) adult education as stemming from a historical identification with spontaneous social movements, and (e) adult education as functions and goals. Adult education is inevitably defined in any society in the conjunction of the prevailing understanding of the elements of ideology, knowledge and power. Each changes through time. The purposes, meanings, practices and importance of adult education, shaped by the existing levels of knowledge, the dominant ideology and by powerful groups within the politico-administrative system of a society, are not static.

Definitions of adult education can differ even within the same society. In this regard, adult education refers to non-vocational, leisure and liberal educational activities in England & Wales, people's education and basic education of adults in Turkey, and socio-cultural activities, (*animation socioculturelle*), in France. In addition to this, European and American perspectives of adult education are quite different. Adult education is regarded as a part of social policy in Europe in order to address the solution of social problems and to define alternative ideologies of social policy. Thus, the European adult education perspective is sociologically oriented. In the USA, the adult education perspective is psychology dominated, and is seen in much more individualistic terms than in Europe. Rubenson (1989) has stressed that the idea behind the conception of adult education in the USA is 'people-over society', while it is in Europe 'people-in-society'.

The main purpose of this chapter is to develop a working definition to allow for the comparison of adult education-local government relations in the three countries: Turkey, France and England & Wales. The aim is to understand the interaction between prevailing ideas about adult education in the three countries, and the structures of adult education which exist within them.

#### **4.1. Conceptual Analysis of Adult Education**

The term 'adult education' was first used by Thomas Pole in his book 'History and Origins and Progress of Adult School'. As a formalised study and area of practice, AE was established at the University of Nottingham (UK), Department of Adult Education, in 1920. Columbia University (USA) had the first course in 1922, the first Department of Adult Education in 1930, and the first Ph.D. degree on Adult Education in 1935 (Jarvis 1990:6-7). Beginning with the Montreal Conference in 1960, the definitions, aims and scope of adult education have been clarified, and become more overt for the following three reasons emphasised by Lowe (1982). Firstly, policy-makers, and professionals (both adult educators and educationalists) began to define much more precisely their field of concern and its boundaries. Secondly, the world education crisis led to the emergence of the concept of lifelong education. Finally, adult education has tended to be seen as a national instrument for promoting and regulating socio-cultural changes and economic growth rather than as something for private consumption.

According to Finger (1995) during the growth period of adult education, it was shaped by social movements, political activism and the counterculture at the philosophical, epistemological and theoretical levels. It came to be seen as 'the total array of community facilities available to meet the needs of adult learner' (Courtney 1989). The following developments have occurred in the field of adult education;

- Lifelong education as promoted by UNESCO.
- Radical AE and the pedagogy of liberation which builds on older traditions, has been strengthened through the work of Freire and others.
- Through the importation of developmental and cognitive psychology into the field of AE, andragogy, adult learning and development have become important concepts.

In addition to these developments, UNESCO has begun to participate in AE field by supporting and encouraging literacy and adult basic education projects in Third World Countries. The World has already begun to be seen as a "global village". New concepts such as "education for all" and "learning society", have emerged, and education has begun to be conceived as a basic human right for all throughout the lifespan. The word 'learning' has increasingly become a prefix to stress the significance of lifelong learning and its availability, e.g. learning society, learning university, learning organisation, learning school, learning community etc. in most of the societies on the information highway.

UNESCO supported the publication of a dictionary, "Terminology of Adult Education", prepared by C. Titmus et al in 1979. The term AE, as pointed out in this dictionary has two meanings: one is broad and the other is narrow. In its broader meaning, AE is

*"a process whereby persons who have terminated their initial cycle of continuous education undertake any sequential and organised activities with the conscious intention of bringing about changes in information, knowledge, understanding or skills, appreciation and attitudes"*.

In its narrower meaning, AE is a *"process whereby persons who have terminated their initial cycle of continuous education undertake sequential and organised activities only for non-vocational purposes"* (27-8). Some countries (such as USA) prefer to use the broader meaning, some (such as Britain) the narrower meaning.

Despite the many definitions of AE, the following UNESCO definition made in the General Conference in 1976 is quite comprehensive:

*"The entire body of organised educational processes, whatever the content, level or, method, whether formal or otherwise, whether they prolong or replace initial education in schools, colleges, and universities as well as in apprenticeship, whereby persons regarded as adult by the society to which they belong develop their knowledge, improve their technical or professional qualifications, or turn them in a new direction and bring about changes in their attitudes or behaviour in the twofold perspective of full personal development and participation in balanced, independent, social, economic and cultural development"*. (Titmus et al 1979:33).

The UNESCO definition of AE is broad enough to provide a very general framework for all countries. It covers any planned full or part-time learning activities in any settings

whether vocational, political, military or religious. Most countries have their own AE definitions in educational or adult educational legislation, often based on UNESCO's definition. Social and conceptual definitions of AE may vary in different societies. Social definitions reflect the understandings of practitioners and laypersons have of AE. The conceptual definition refers to official and formal aspects and perceptions to the AE.

However, two points should be drawn attention to at this point. Firstly, the meaning of adult: Who is adult, what is adulthood, what kinds of criteria are used to define adult, and why? It must be recognised that answers to these questions remain normative and variable explanations because adulthood is definable more readily in terms of values and status than in positivistic terms. Social norms and role transitions in each society have significant impacts on definition of adult and adulthood (Lawson 1989, Kennedy 1989). Thus, it is almost impossible to find internationally agreeable definitions of adult and adulthood.

The second point is the definition of education analysed widely in the previous chapter. There is a general trend to consider education as 'the institutionalised forms of learning' which implies planned, organised and programmed activities with the intended and deliberate participation of both learner and learning facilitator. This trend has been employed by adult education scholars to define adult education in spite of attempts to give a wider meaning to the term of adult education at the early stage of its national recognition. It is clear that the field of AE has some conceptualisation problems because of the wide range of diversities in practice and theory. Changing aims and concepts in the field is an on going process.

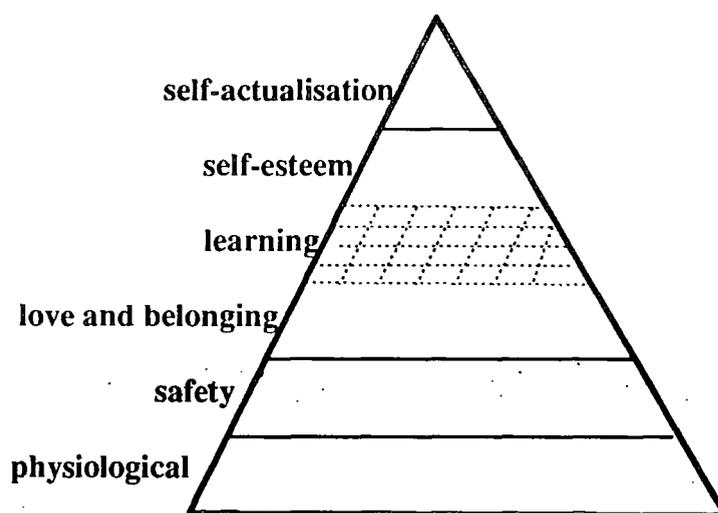
The rationale of adult education is another heavily debated issue in the literature of adult education. Adult education may/should play a significant role in a wide spectrum from women's studies to prison education, from leisure activities to combating racism, from political awareness to vocational training. The post-war period has been characterised by industrial development, expansion and economic growth which brought with it technocracy, individualisation, oppression, excessive social fragmentation, cultural erosion and destructive consumerism. Societies with these characteristics are referred to

as the 'post-modern society' and feature rapidly changing structures of knowledge, and technology requiring a continuing process of learning by the entire society both individuals and organisations.

Constant industrial development appears to be causing global environmental changes never experienced before, such as global warming and ozone depletion. Westernisation has come to be viewed by moving less as a step towards cultural modernity, and more as a loss of cultural diversity and cultural identity. In this respect, socio-cultural erosions and postmodernism become a dominant feature of late 20th century human society. For these reasons, industrial development needs to be humanised. Education in science and political studies involve as an important tool for achieving this. This type of education, which can help people to improve their level of personal fulfilment, to cope with the increasingly rapid changes in personal, professional and social life, and to participate actively in economic, social and political developments, can be referred to as lifelong education; i.e. education from the cradle to the grave. Lifelong education in this respect can promote cultural modernisation, further personal self-fulfilment, and can actively contribute to economic and social development. However, education in forms defined above is still not available for millions of people. In this context, the three main paradigmatic orientations of AE (scientific humanism, adult development, and political empowerment), would help individuals and special interest groups to defend themselves and react against increasingly rapid and threatening biophysical, socio-economic, socio-psychological and socio-cultural changes and challenges (Finger 1995).

Jarvis (1995) considered two rationales for adult education. The first rationale is also noted by Finger (1995), is the nature of contemporary society. Certain features of post-modern societies are widely recognised: increasingly rapid social, cultural, professional and technological changes, rapid growth in knowledge, increased leisure, increasing in the number of people living to old age as a result of increasing life expectancy. Therefore, AE in the context of lifelong education and learning is necessary. The second rationale is the nature of individuals. Individuals in the jungle of post-modern society have to learn much to cope with material and moral changes and challenges. Therefore,

'learning' as a basic human need should be included into the taxonomy of human needs developed by Maslow. It could be restructured as seen in Figure 4.1.



**FIGURE 4.1**  
**NEW SUGGESTED TAXONOMY OF HUMAN NEEDS**

**SOURCE:** Adapted from P. Jarvis (1995), p.14.

AE has to take responsibility for the 'humanisation' of life, for 'conscientisation', empowerment, liberation and 'perspective transformation' of people towards critical and political awareness rather than 'domestication'. In other words, individuals who are faced with the many challenges of post-modern society, need facilitative support. At this point, as it is stressed by Mayo (1993), adult educators together with the cultural workers at the grassroots level, should play a substantial role in establishing the agenda for social changes and cultural production and reproduction.

Despite these radical versions of the rationale for adult education, there is another discourse, another view of what AE should be which is much more narrowly conceived. This is the instrumental vocational version of AE and lifetime learning which ties AE to the needs of the market for labour and the hopes of individuals to find jobs. It is not possible, therefore, to arrive at a priori definition of adult education in an ideologically neutral way. Even the basic terminology of the debate is embedded in a wider ideological matrix which is different in different countries.

International discussions about adult education revolve around a number of key concepts which are classified by Tight (1996) as core and qualifying concepts. Qualifying concepts are international, institutional, work-related, learning, curricular and structural concepts. These cover ideas of lifelong learning, recurrent education, andragogy, informal education and the values which should govern all work with adults. These debates explore fundamental questions about the nature of knowledge and the discipline of adult education itself ( see Brookfield 1989, Jarvis 1995).

These themes constitute the professional discourse of adult education world-wide. For the purposes of this study it is important to explore how these discussions are filtered, understood, reformulated and acted upon in particular national context: We need to see how adult educators in different countries justify their work, define their priorities and understand their preferences in the light of these broader theoretical discussions. The meaning of these terms is inseparable from the conditions of practice of different adult educators. The local meanings have to be teased out to clarify the differences in their systems of adult education provisions.

#### **4.2. Structure and Nature of Adult Educational Provision in Turkey, France and England & Wales**

The discussions in this chapter so far have supported that AE is a culturally-bounded contested terrain. Thus, the various definitions and understandings of AE exist, and related to different cultural, ecological, ideological, organisational and educational contexts (Bhola 1988). Furthermore, the understanding of AE and its conceptualisation, even in a single country, may vary in accordance with its provider.

AE must be seen against the background of the school-based systems and the structure of its administrative organisation. What schools can achieve or facilitate the work which can be done with adults. The school system lays the foundations of lifelong learning and plays a major role in structuring the educational opportunities for adults. AE also reflects a wide range of practices from prison education to agricultural extension courses; it has numerous aims from the acquisition of vocational skills to revitalising

local democracy; and it displays various organisational structures from centrally-controlled ministries of education to locally-based civil societies.

For these reasons, most societies have developed their own nomenclature for adult educational practices. The social and conceptual categorisation and meaning of adult education, as previously mentioned, may vary within societies, because while the social meaning refers to the understanding and perceptions of practitioners and laypersons, the concept implies also the official and formal definitions of adult education held by governments.

AE in the three countries under study will be analysed from the following perspectives: the socio-economic and political background of each society; the prevailing conceptual basis of adult education; the legislative framework governing provision; the structure and organisation of AE; the financing of the system; adult educators; and issues and trends in the light of major contemporary debates.

#### **4.2.1. Socio-economic and Political Background**

These three countries represent two different worlds. Britain with a per capita income of US \$18, 182, a 0.4% annual population increase, and a life expectancy of 66 years for males & 75 for females is clearly an industrialised developed country. France is similar to Britain, with a per capita income of US \$23, 149, a 0.4% annual population increase, and a life expectancy of 73 years for males & 81 for females is also a highly developed country. Turkey, on the other hand, with a per capita of US \$ 2, 614, a 2.4% annual population growth, and a life expectancy of 63 years for males & 66 for females is characterised as a developing country (see Table 4.1 and 4.2). The position of France and Britain is at the centre of the world capitalist system within the capitalist world system while Turkey, using the language of Wallerstein (1991), is a semi-peripheral state.

Table 4.1 illustrates the GDP per capita and types of economic activity in the three countries. Agriculture and fisheries as an economic activity takes an important place in the Turkish economy (15.4%) compared to 2.8% in France and 1.6% in the UK. Table

4.1 obviously shows that France and Britain are the developed countries while Turkey is a developing country.

**TABLE 4.1**  
**MAIN ECONOMIC INDICATORS IN THE THREE COUNTRIES**

	GDP per capita (\$)	GDP by kinds of economic activity (%)							
		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
<b>TURKEY</b>	2 614	15.4	1.7	21.7	19.1	12.6	6.5	2.5	20.6
<b>BRITAIN</b>	18 182	1.6	1.7	19.3	12.2	7.0	5.3	2.3	47.5
<b>FRANCE</b>	23 149	2.8	0.5	20.5	15.1	6.0	5.4	2.4	50.6

A= Agriculture and fisheries. B= Mining. C= Manufacturing. D= Commerce. E= Transport & communication. F= Construction. G= Electricity & Gas. H= Others.

**SOURCE:** Adapted from United Nations (1995).

The major economic and social indicators of the three countries are tabulated in TABLE 4.1. and 4.2. Britain is one of the largest countries in Europe with 244 100 km<sup>2</sup> land area and population of 58, 191, 000 of whom 89.5% are urban and 10.5% rural. Its population density per square kilometre is 238. It is a parliamentary monarchy which consists of four small countries: England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. It is a decentralised unitary state system in which the small countries are not sovereign. However, they have got limited executive and legislative power. Each country, with the exception of England, has a secretary of state in the cabinet.

**TABLE 4.2**  
**MAIN SOCIAL INDICATORS IN THE THREE COUNTRIES**

	Population (1993 Esti.)	Urban/Rural %		Annual % Increase	Area km <sup>2</sup>	Density/ km <sup>2</sup>	Life Exp	
							M	F
<b>TURKEY</b>	60 227 000	72.8	27.2	2.4	774 815	78	63	66
<b>BRITAIN</b>	58 191 000	89.5	10.5	0.4	244 100	238	66	75
<b>FRANCE</b>	57 379 000	68.8	31.2	0.4	551 500	104	73	81

**SOURCES:** Adapted from United Nations (1992) and (1995).

France is the second largest country in Europe with the 551, 500 square kilometres land area and 57, 370, 000 people of whom 68.8% are urban and 31.2% rural. Its population density is 104 per km<sup>2</sup>. France is a unitary state which consists of 22 regions and 96 departments. It is a parliamentary democratic state.

Turkey is one of the largest country in Balkans and Middle East with a population of 60, 257, 000 people, 774, 815 square kilometres land area, and a population density of 78 people per square kilometre. Turkey is stood at the cross roads of continents, cultures and civilisations, and is a bridge between the Europe and Asia. It is the only country which is based on a democratic and secularist parliamentary system amongst over 50 Islamic countries whose population has a majority of Moslem people. It is a unitary state which consists of 80 counties and 7 geographical regions.

#### **4.2.2. Conceptual Basis of Adult Education**

The conceptual basis of adult education in the three countries has to be understood from the European perspective described earlier in this chapter: AE as a part of social policy with the emphasis placed on the roles of 'individuals in society' rather than prioritising their needs over that society. It is clearly distinct from the North American and Canadian perspectives which are oriented towards individual rather than social needs and which imply an ideological bias towards humanistic individualism, the belief in the power of learning, and the responsibility of individuals for their own education and advancement (Kulich 1991).

Within the broad European conception of adult education, the three countries have their own adult education traditions, terminology, institutions and patterns of provisions in their own languages. According to Styler (1984) AE in France can be conceived as been a remedial emphasis referring to the provision of basic education for underprivileged groups as well as provisions for leisure pursuits for the others. In addition to this, AE is not regarded as proper field for academic activity by French universities. Starting from the 1970s, this began to change due to the following two developments. The first, the concept of *education permanente*, which is an integrated part of education and must be planned as part of a scheme of lifelong education, has been widely discussed to improve

the structure of the education system, and this has been achieved. The second, the discussion of the concept of *education permanente* has resulted in the development of paid educational leave largely for technical and vocational AE. Both changes have resulted in the growth of demand for education services for adults. This demand is both from employers and employees, has prompted an extension of opportunities for learning from a range of providers both public and private.

The view of AE as being remedial is also applicable to Britain. Traditionally, the Sunday School movement, extra-mural education and trade union education can be considered to have been remedial AE. The extra-mural tradition was renewed in the university adult education throughout the 1960s and 1970s. Adult and Continuing Education Departments were established to extend this tradition. The socio-cultural and socio-political nature of AE was, however, gradually replaced with the economic and vocationally-based adult education after 1979, and this entailed a radically different version of remedial adult education. This change, also evident in France, demonstrates that the meanings attached to adult education both change through time and are embedded in the conflict and patterns of political and economic discourse of modern structures themselves. There can, therefore, be no a priori definition of adult education.

In Turkey, there is a terminological chaos over the concepts of AE, non-formal education, people's education, life-long education, and continuing education as well as popular education, in-service education, permanent education, and post-school education. Okcabol (1992:272) asserted that people's education is the oldest term. Non-formal education has been used recently referring mostly to the organisational aspects of adult education, and adult education and people's education are used synonymously.

People's education (*halk egitimi*), which reflects the more radical concept of Atatürkist ideology of populism, had a populist theme during the first period of the Republic in Turkey. The People's Houses as the adult educational establishments of modern Turkey were founded by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his colleagues in 1932. After the abolition of the People's Houses in 1951, the people's education centres were set up in 1955 by the MNE in Turkey (Gedikoglu 1991). These centres transformed adult education from

its 1930s and 1940s meaning. Now, the dominant notion of adult education in Turkey restricts the term to the provision of vocationally-relevant training programmes, often with an emphasis on the training of young women for highly restricted forms of employment.

During the one of the interviews I carried out in Turkey a retired director of a people's education centre was visiting the interviewee. While we were talking about citizen empowerment, adult education and decentralisation, he suddenly exploded, and he said: "what you are talking about is not people's education. People's education simply means literacy courses and sewing courses for young ladies organised by the adult education centres. You do not know what people's education means. I just want to draw your attention as a retired director of adult education centre after 15 years working."

AE in Turkey is traditionally seen as remedial education. The Ataturk revolution changed the alphabet and life style, clothing, family code, measurement scales, and currency etc. It was a radical attempt to change the dignity of a nation and overcome the effect of imperialist occupation. Because of the imposition of the Latin alphabet, the whole of the society became illiterate in 1928, and then an enormous literacy campaign was begun throughout the country to teach literacy and numeracy with the new Latin alphabet. AE as people's education had to adopt a remedial role. In order to achieve such a great transformation, unique adult educational institutions and practices were created. People's Schools, People's Houses, and Village Institutes were particularly important educational developments. All these unique educational establishments were sacrificed by the political struggles in the early period of multi-party political life in the 1950s. In today's Turkey, therefore, AE is seen as a marginal activity which is organised by the MNE via People's Education Centres. It is almost the only educational opportunity beyond five year compulsory education particularly for young ladies in rural areas.

The dominant political framework of adult education in each society has a local counterpart. The relationship between the two is not always one of agreement. There can be conflict between them, more especially in the political more open societies of

Western Europe. In all three societies under study, however, the views of local adult education providers show some concession of support for an acknowledgement of the dominant views at the centre of government.

Local government AE officials in Turkey and England & Wales I interviewed, have clearly emphasised, for example, the remedial role for AE by seeing adult education as 'a second chance to return learning', 'an integrated provision for 16+', 'education of the people in the sense of their basic education, numeracy, literacy and socio-cultural education', and 'vocational education of underprivileged groups of people'. It should be noted here that seeing adult education as a remedial activity in Turkey is much more clearer than England & Wales. Although local government AE officials in England & Wales describe AE as a 'whole spectrum from basic education to higher education', these remedial functions of AE are quite clearly implied in their definition and conceptualisation of adult education.

In France, continuing vocational education (*formation professionnelle continue*) is considered within the framework of the ideas of permanent education. Education and formation refer to education and training. Vocational training (*professionnelle formation*) is generally used for youth and adults. The classifications of education into formal, nonformal and informal is not common. Nonformal education refers to educational activities provided by organisations whose main responsibility is not education, such as churches, local governments, political parties and unions, and these activities are not based on diplomas or qualifications, i.e. award-bearing courses. The following aims are outlined for the continuing vocational education of the adults:

- (a) To adapt workers to changes in techniques and working conditions.
- (b) To contribute to their social advancement by permitting them access to the various levels of culture and professional qualification, and through their contribution to social and economical development (UNESCO 1985).

In England & Wales, the terminology of AE is extremely sophisticated and complicated. There are tens of terms in connection with the concept of adult education, often used interchangeably with each other. 'Education of the adults', 'continuing education' or



'adult continuing education' are the terms favoured over AE, because AE implies nonvocational, noncredited, leisure and recreational activities for adults. Adult educational provision is no longer separated from the mainstream work of further and higher education. AE is increasingly seen as vocational or award-bearing courses in the context of further and higher education. At this point, further education gains in significance since it covers types of educational activities beyond the compulsory schooling.

The following list gives an idea of the diversity of labels applied to AE in the three countries;

#### **England & Wales**

Adult Education, Education of the Adults, Continuing Education, Further Education, Postcompulsory Education, Post-sixteen Education, Adult Basic Education, Extra-mural Education, University Adult Education

#### **Turkey**

Halk Egitimi (people's education), Yetiskin/ler Egitimi (education of the adults or adult education), Yaygin Egitim (non-formal education), Ciraklik Egitimi (apprenticeship training), Okul Sonrasi Egitim (further education), Surekli Egitim (continuing education), Toplum Egitimi (community education), Yetiskinlerin Temel Egitimi (adult basic education).

#### **France**

Enseignement des Adultes, Formation des Adultes, Formation Continue, Formation d'Apprentice, L'Animation Socio Culturelle, L'Enseignement Fondamental Des Adultes, Education Complementaire, Formation des L'Enseignement Superior.

There is little agreement on the terminology of AE. The different concepts are not equivalent to one another. Their meanings varies in accordance with the different contexts of their use, for example Caspar (1992) favours to use further education of adults rather than adult education in describing AE in France. Nonformal, adult and people's education terms are used interchangeably in Turkey. The significance of conceptual ambiguity in this regard has already been acknowledged by Turkish adult

educators and educationalists, so it was discussed at the first session of the 13th National Education Suras, assembled specifically to discuss adult education, and it was decided to prepare a Dictionary of National Education Terms in co-operation with the universities. An adult education section was advised to be placed in this dictionary (MEB 1990).

#### **4.2.3. Structure and Organisation**

To begin with, it should be noted that there is no single structure for adult education provisions in the countries or throughout the Europe or in the Middle East. There are some broad patterns of organisation to be observed. Hutchinson (1981) considered adult educational organisations at national level by grouping countries as follows: The first group of countries, where AE is mainly provided by a national ministry of education which is responsible for all forms and types of education in terms of its planning, organising, administration, financing and supervising, is the largest group of countries all over the world. In these national ministries there is a special unit or section which is responsible for adult/continuing or non-formal educational provisions in general. Turkey and France can be considered as a member of this group of countries. The second group of countries, where adult educational organisations are formed as national associations, councils, institutes of/for AE, are quite small in number and exist in the North-Western Europe, North America, a few in India and Australasia. Although these adult educational organisations accept fiscal resources to a considerable extent from the public budget and funds in order to maintain the of structure and delivery of adult educational provisions, they are relatively independent from the government in small, culturally and ethnically, as well as religiously, homogenous geographical areas. Britain can be included in this group. The third group of countries where there are very large, effective and publicly recognised agencies of AE, and these autonomous, 'non-confessional' (voluntary and non-professional) and publicly recognised adult educational institutions are organised at local levels as provincial or federal associations, and include only a few countries such as Germany and Austria.

The structure and organisation of AE reflect the prevailing, sometimes contradictory, often conflicting versions of what AE is thought to be in different societies. In Britain, as will be seen, the current structure reflects conflicts over such values as local autonomy

and liberal education versus central control, competition among providers, and vocationalisation.

In France, the key debates about structure revolve around the relationship between the values of decentralisation and equality. Centralisation has been seen in France since the revolution of a way of reducing regional inequalities and the central state itself has been closely associated with radical social change.

Turkish public policy debates about structure struggle with the logic of a highly centralised administrative system but an unstable political order. The rationale of bureaucratic administration comes into conflict with local power blocks and ideological challenges from diverse political groupings in a rapidly changing society.

The education system in England and Wales, which is described as a locally administered national system by Arthur (1992), has been transformed since 1979 under conservative governments. It is widely recognised that the power of LEAs have been weakened in this process while the power of central government has increased. Traditionally, the LEAs, the voluntary organisations and the universities are considered as the basic elements of the structure of adult educational provision in England & Wales.

It is widely acknowledged that the most heavily influenced area in terms of organisation is the postcompulsory education sector and the LEAs. The biggest AE provider, the LEAs, of the pre-1992 period have now almost stopped delivering AE as a free-standing service. Most of the LEAs are excluded from providing adult education either by transferring the provision of adult education to the other departments such as Leisure or Community Services, or by stopping the free-standing direct provision of adult education. A limited number of LEAs still continue to provide AE through their adult education centres, community schools and in co-operation with further education colleges. How local government AE provision has been curtailed and sacrificed will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

Further education colleges, as mentioned earlier have become independent corporations, and the Further Education Funding Council (FEFC) was established by the 1992 FHE Act to channel financial resources. By doing this, the vocational education of young adults aged 16 to 20 has been prioritised. Non-vocational AE is separated and marginalised by cutting back subsidies. In summary, education has been politically vocationalised and centralised by destroying its traditionally decentralised character.

Currently, the college sector can be considered an important AE provider (both vocational and non-vocational) with the six types of colleges: (a) further education colleges, (b) sixth form colleges, (c) higher education colleges, (d) tertiary colleges, (e) residential colleges, and (f) community colleges. All of them, though not exclusively, can be considered as AE providers. There is extremely tough competition for students amongst the colleges to the total cost of this provision was £1.67 billion in 1992 for 2 million part and full-time students (Ranson 1992).

The universities, and also the LEAs, have been forced to change their liberal traditions of AE provision. Non-vocational or liberal AE is almost entirely gone: most of the liberal AE is now accredited and re-formed. Modularisation and accreditation has almost led to the demise of traditional form of extra-mural education the so called 'Great Tradition'. Thus, one of the important issues of modularisation was highlighted as 'losing of the spirit of liberal adult education' during the UACE workshop in May 8, 1992 (see UACE 1992). Some of the university extra-mural departments were either closed or merged compulsorily with departments of education. Most of them have changed their title first to include continuing education which implies vocationally-oriented courses.

There is now a tough competition for students and resources not only amongst the universities and other providers but also between the older universities and ex-polytechnics. The development of modular accredited courses is part of this. However, the ex-polytechnics, as underlined by Jarvis (1995) are more advanced than the older universities because the former already has experienced with modular courses while the latter is trying to adapt their provisions. In 1992, 22 universities established a modular

scheme, 9 agreed in principle to modularise university courses, 9 discussed modularisation in their Senates, and 5 did not do anything (Davidson 1992). Such courses in curriculum terms, are very different to the more open-ended, negotiated tutorial courses of the Great Tradition of liberal adult education.

The WEA's provision of adult education is sometimes considered together with that of voluntary organisations. In fact, the position of WEA is different from the other voluntary AE bodies in Britain. The WEA is coherently a Responsible Body not just a voluntary organisation. The WEA, which was founded by Albert Mansbridge in 1903 as the Association to Promote the Higher Education of Working Men, was given the status of a Responsible Body by the Department of Education and Science after the 1973 Russell Report. The WEA is a national voluntary organisation with the 17 districts in England and Wales, and 1 in N. Ireland and 3 in Scotland. Each branch has its own full-time secretary and a few full-time course organisers. The WEA, which is dependant of central government, was threatened by the funding crisis at the end of 1980s due to central government cut back expenditures for liberal education (Jarvis 1995).

The WEA, which has no party political or sectarian ties, is registered as a charity. It has a particular concern for the socially, economically and educationally disadvantaged, and a belief that education can contribute to the creation of a more fair and democratic society. As a voluntary, democratic and student controlled organisation, it receives financial support from central government to set against the cost of its programmes. Districts also receive financial and other forms of assistance from local governments in recognition of the WEA's AE programs in local areas. The income sources of WEA apart from central government grants are students' fees, subscriptions, affiliation fees and donations. The aims and objectives of WEA are summarised as follows:

The WEA provides educational opportunities for:

- adults who wish to continue learning throughout their life and who know that education does not stop with school or college;
- adults who wish to return to education to pick up skills or knowledge not learned during the school years;

- collective bodies such as trade unions, community organisations or women's groups which wish to put education to social use.

The WEA with 900 branches and 1500 affiliated organisations had two additional important functions: women's education and the raising of rural problems (Stephens 1990). Many branches and 4 districts of the WEAs have been closed because of the financial cut backs. Thus, as noted by Arthur (1992), central government intervention and state control do not marry easily with the spirit of English AE.

As a result, the structure of AE provision in England & Wales is multifaceted and fragmented. It is the product of a long and uninterrupted historical tradition with its own unique organisations, milestones and development trends. Apart from the above mentioned adult education providers, there is a number of other organisations involved in AE. Professional organisations are very important in England and Wales. The National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (NIACE), the Universities Association of Continuing Education (UACE), the Advisory Council for Adult and Continuing Education (ACACE), the Standing Conference on University Teaching and Research in the Education of Adults (SCUTREA), the Association for Lifelong Learning (ALL), the Educational Centres Association (ECA), and the University of Third Age are some key organisations (Jarvis 1995).

AE in France is comprised of three main streams: (a) vocational training and literacy, (b) popular education, the worker's movement and cultural action, and (c) the human sciences (UNESCO 1985). The state has a dominant role at an inter-ministerial level through funding and making major policies for further education at national level. There is a national co-ordination committee at the central level for all regional programmes in order to ensure a coherent and integrated program of AE (Caspar 1992:154).

The main components of the structure of AE provision can be viewed as the central government via various ministries (particularly MNE), the local government at regional, departmental and communal levels, private organisations, voluntary and professional

bodies. In addition to this, semi-central and semi-local organisations were created by the central government in order to play an active role in the decentralisation process.

According to the French Ministry of National Education (ENCFA 1992), further education is freely available for everybody. The government, public and private educational establishments, industry, unions, professional organisations regional and local authorities hold various responsibilities for further education. Continuing education is based on:

*“(a) the individual right for all persons in employment to a period of leave of absence (the conge formation) for training purposes; (b) the requirement that all companies with more than ten employees finance occupational training programmes through a tax equal to 1.2% of total annual emoluments; (c) the financing by the authorities of training schemes aimed at raising the general skills level or aimed at specific audiences; (d) the recently created training grant-in-aid (the credit formation) to provide school-leavers lacking qualifications with a second chance; this measure will in time be applied to people in full-time employment; (e) open competition among all training organization; and (f) the devolution of wide-ranging powers in the area of occupational training to the Regional Authorities, as provided by the decentralization legislation of 1983”.*

In France, the private companies, state and local governments have different sorts and degrees of responsibility for AE. The regions provide apprenticeship training activities, courses for social development such as free evening classes, and the courses whose fees are paid by the adults. The regions have a responsibility to allocate the funds either transferred by the central state under the heading of decentralisation, or determined within the Regional Council's own budget. Executive power for adult education lies within the Regional Council which consists of elected representatives. A Vocational Training Committee is formed by the Council with wide-based participation: the representatives of employer's and employee's unions, Department's committees, government representatives and municipalities. In addition, a committee for the co-ordination of regional apprenticeship training programs and adult vocational training consists of 12 state representatives, 12 representatives elected by Regional Councils, and 12 representatives of the unions and professional associations (UNESCO 1985).

As previously mentioned, the decentralisation of education is one of the least successful outcomes of decentralisation process since 1982 although local authorities (regions, departments and communes), have wide-range of educational responsibilities and powers. Regions, as the highest level of local government, have greater privilege than the other levels. The power and responsibilities of the regions at the beginning of the decentralisation process were summarised as follows; (a) apprenticeship training, (b) courses for social advancement, e.g. evening courses to take diplomas, and (c) the financing and equipping of voluntary organisation's adult educational provision (UNESCO 1985). Regions and communes have their local education authority, *Service Municipal-Regional de l'Enseignement*, to provide education and adult education services for their local citizens. Each municipality has its own cultural centre, *Centre de Culture*, which is supported by the Ministry of Culture in order to provide leisure pursuits and recreational education for local people.

There is no doubt that the MNE via the Adult Training Unit, is the biggest adult education provider with a highly complicated and original structure in France. According to Caspar (1992) the further education of adults in France now is considered as a significant sector within the following associations: *Institut Universitaire de Formation Permanente (IUFP)*, *Groupement d'etablissement (GRETA)*, *Deleques Academiques a la Formation Continue (DAFCO)*, *Centres Academiques de Formation Continue (CAFOC)*

The IUFP, for example, which was established as *Le Service Commune de Formation Permanente* at the University of Lille II in 1973 through the 1971 Law, performs the function of a centralising co-ordinator, promoter, developer and manager of *formation continue* for the whole university. It provides following services;

- Preparation of state exams leading to national diplomas.
- Preparation of exams leading to University of Lille II diplomas.
- Preparation of professional updating (*perfectionnement*) courses.
- Preparation of courses in economics, management, business and administration (Hughes 1994:23).

The GRETA are seen as a group of schools or group of educational establishment for unemployed adults, and companies who would like to train their personnel. There are 330 GRETAs depending upon the MNE in France. Each GRETA sets up and provides training programmes suited the needs of industry and other partners at the local level. There are 5 600 adult education centres which belong to GRETAs and are run by the MNE in France. Most of the GRETAs set up *centres permanentes* which can be translated as Permanent Training Centres. These centres provide courses tailored for individual people and organisations. These courses lead to professional qualifications and credits which are called *unites capitalisables*.

DAFCO is a regional organisation whose main roles are: (a) to define and implement adult education development strategies within the academies, (b) to co-ordinate the activities of various GRETAs, (c) to encourage co-operation among all educational partners at the regional level, (d) to train trainers of adults, (e) to develop new programmes, and finally (f) marketing and external relations with the companies. There are 28 DAFCOs in France. Each DAFCO is called as *Academie* and is directed by a the *Recteur* who is the representative of MNE at regional level. The *Recteur* is advised in the area of adult and continuing education by a *Deleque Academique* which means regional counsellor. Each university has a unit which provides services for vocational training in France. They are named differently by the Universities but they are generally referred to as *service commune de formation continue*. These university units in the same regions perform the function of a centralising co-ordinator, promoter, developer and manager of *formation continue* for the whole of university. They prepare state exams leading to national and vocational diplomas, and provide vocational courses in different subjects and professional updating courses. The co-ordination between universities in the same region is provided by a co-ordinator who is selected and paid by the universities. He/she is a co-ordination officer of DAFCO, and that unit is called *co-ordination enseignement superieur de la region X (region's name)*. In addition, the rectors meet 3-5 times in a year to co-ordinate and cooperate with each other.

CAFOC is a unit in the structure of DAFCO. Its function is to train trainers and continuing education advisors at regional level. Its services are aimed at: (a) heads of

company training departments, (b) professional trainers, (c) managers or supervisory staff who occasionally take part as trainers in courses, (d) people acting as tutors in the framework of sandwich training courses.

My study visit to France made it clear that French AE practices and policies are extremely complicated. Education is one of the least effected area within the decentralisation reforms. There may be two important reasons of this. First, centralisation in France has been embedded for many years, so it is a tradition and an essential characteristic of the French public administration system. Second, the discourse of national unity, uniformity and equality of regions is still dominant in the mind of French intellectuals and policy-makers. Therefore, educational decentralisation is seen as a threat to inter-regional equality and national unity.

It should be noted that educational reforms and practices since 1982 have not been an example of decentralisation. They can be seen as deconcentration rather than decentralisation. To a great extent the French central government is still dominant in the educational policy, practice and management although local authorities, particularly regions, have important functions in vocational education. Educational responsibilities, aside from higher education, are shared by the local authorities as follows: Communes are responsible from pre-school and primary education. Departments are responsible for secondary education and colleges. Regions are responsible for lycees. However, as we are dealing with educational decentralisation, local governmental responsibilities on education are very limited. Education is still under the control of central government via education directors at regional levels.

The power of the regions was increased in 1994 via transfer of *le credit formation individualise, CFI*, (personalised training credit) to them. The CFI was created in September 1989 to provide opportunities for all those who had left school without any qualification to acquire professionally recognised qualifications. The two functions of CFI are significant: training leading to qualification, and re-qualifying training. The former was transferred to the regions in 1994, while the latter will be transferred within 5 years from 1994. The education system is involved in developing new means of

validation within the CFI programmes. Validation units are used to measure the qualifications of the candidates. Validation centres give access to traditional exams and validation units. About 43% of the CFI students, who are outside of the world of the lycees or apprenticeship training, have a job within 6 weeks time of completing the CFI (Rioux 1994, Le Roux 1995). Beginning from the 1st of July, 1994, all responsibility regarding the implementation of the CFI was transferred from the state to the regions in the form of an agreement negotiated between the prefects and the president of the regional councils. The agreement includes the following :

(a) The management of the CFI programmes will be appointed in the regions and resources will be transferred to them. Local communities, therefore, will be able to use their funds as they see fit.

(b) The transfer of the funds involves more than 200 million francs over a year, or the equivalent of 1 000 workers for the CFI project who are at present paid for by the state.

(c) Those who at present work for the public education or employment services who only work part-time for the CFI will be made available to the regions.

(d) Holders of the Ministry of Employment who clearly have full time responsibility for the CFI management will be transferred in accordance with the decentralisation documents.

(e) Article 52 of the Decentralisation Act requires that the regions come up with a regional development plan to create a policy for informing and giving career advice to young people. This covers initial, i.e. technical education and vocational training, and apprenticeship training, state initiatives, sandwich programmes, on the job training and the other qualification programmes ( CUIDEP 1994:10-11).

In general, academics and educational officers in France think that educational decentralisation is leading to increasing regional and departmental inequalities. When the local authorities determine their educational needs and priorities, they have to negotiate with central government for contributing to cost and their expenditures. If “the colour of local authority” is all right, they are able get financial support for whatever they request. If not, it is quite difficult to get support from central government. The representative of central government at regional level is the regional prefect, at the departmental level it is the prefect, and at the communal level, the sub-prefect. The five

years regional education plan, *Le Contrat de Plan entre l'Etat et la Region*, is signed by the regional prefect. That is to say, the prefects are still powerful at local levels as the representative and agent of central government in France, although their priori tutelage is replaced with the judicial posterior tutelage.

These changes in continuing education in France have some similarities to the policies in Britain. There has been an attempt to decentralise educational decision-making to strengthen vocational education and to develop systems to accredit work-based learning. While France is trying to delegate power to local authorities in this process, Britain is eroding the power of local authorities through centrally-controlled quangos and TECs.

Furthermore, political debates over policy-development in Britain have centred on the role of markets in training, and whether or not employees can properly fulfil important strategic training functions via TECs and quangos. In France, with a different political tradition, the debate have concerned regional disparities of educational and training opportunities in the context of policies of administrative decentralisation.

In Turkey, there are many AE providers. They include: (a) the Ministry of National Education, (b) other official bodies, (c) local governments, and (d) voluntary bodies (Duman & Williamson 1996). The adult educational provisions of the voluntary organisations and local governments are rather limited in both quantity and quality. Historically, in contrast to Britain & France, there is very little experience in Turkey with the idea of civil society. Voluntary organisations, which are close to the ideology of ruling party, may be supported financially. If not, they are unlikely to be funded.

Local authorities are not autonomous and powerful bodies in Turkey. The dual character of public administration is one of the most important constraints on the public administration system. Appointed governors and elected mayors work together at the local level, but appointed governors hold decisive power under the law. Local government and its elected mayors are invariably marginalised by the central government. Without getting their approval, the elected mayors can not even employ a driver. In spite of over-centralised public administration and education, local

governments provide a number of adult educational services to local communities. These services are as follows:

- organising exhibitions and festivals.
- arranging competitions of folk dances and music.
- environmental audits and education.
- making local documentary films.
- organising panels, discussions and symposia.
- establishing municipal theatres, museums, zoos and botanical gardens.
- running professional and vocational courses (TODAIE 1991:308).

The improvement of local government has been a high priority for the Turkish government but has proved difficult to achieve in practice. It has been generally agreed across the political parties that improvement in local government might facilitate the solution of educational and ethnic problems in the south-eastern part of Turkey by increasing opportunities for local involvement in the decisions. Politicians, ministers and social scientists have been strongly arguing for the strengthening of local governments in recent years, but circumstances have not been supportive of radical local government reform. Consequently, local authorities are not able to play their role in the process of democratisation of local governance and public services. In the absence of well-developed structure, local notables, likewise in early period of French decentralisation, can keep most of the power in their hand instead of enabling citizen participation and control over decision-making

In Turkey, the biggest AE provider is the Ministry of National Education (MNE) with a number of general directorates. All of them provide different kinds of adult educational services, but the General Directorate of Apprenticeship and Non-Formal Education (GDANE) is the major unit responsible for the planning, administration, organisation, co-ordination, co-operation and for collaboration between the adult educational services provided by the MNE. As a central organisation, GDANE prepares programs and plans, publishes some materials (books, brochures, leaflets, handbooks and journals) for local organisations, and makes decisions on adult educational resources and developments. Adult Education Centres (AEC), Technical Education Centres for Adults,

Apprenticeship Training Centres, and Turkish-German Vocational Training Centres based on the adult education institutions of the MNE (described in TABLE 4.3) are controlled by the GDANE. The others are controlled by the different general directorates of the MNE.

**TABLE 4.3**  
**ADULT EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTES OF THE MNE IN 1992-93 IN TURKEY**

	Number of Branches	Number of Participants
Practical Craft Schools for Girls	494	61 205
Advanced Handicraft Institutes	11	2 238
Technical Education Centres for Adults	12	193
Adult Education Centres	826	612 018
Apprenticeship Training Centres	256	196 200
Turkish-German Vocational Training Centres	9	557
Evening Schools	23	---

**SOURCE:** Adapted from MEB (1992).

The organisational structure for adult educational provisions in Turkey is widely recognised to be extremely bureaucratic and over centralised. At the top, the MNE is responsible for all sorts of formal and non-formal educational practices with general directorates, boards, units, provincial and sub-provincial organisations on the one hand, and some ministries together with their local administrations also delivering some AE services on the other. There is no interministerial co-ordination unit at all.

According to the acts governing public administration, the governor of a province (*vali*), who is appointed by the government, is the top representative of executive power at local level, and is responsible for all civil and administrative operations. The Provincial director of national education (PDNE) who is appointed by the government, is responsible for all educational (both formal and non-formal) services depending upon the governor. One of the assistant directors of education, the Head of Adult Education, is responsible for administering, planning, programming and supervising the adult educational activities at the provincial level. The governor of sub-provinces or districts, (*kaymakam*), like the governor of the province, is the representative of the executive power at district level depending upon the governor of the province. The district director

of national education, like the PDNE , is responsible for all formal and non-formal educational services at district level depending upon the governor of district, the PDNE and the governor of province.

Finally, the directors of adult education centres and apprenticeship training centres depend upon the district director of national education. The programmes which are provided by AEC can be divided into three categories. The first group is Vocational and Technical Programmes e.g. craft, computing, typing, cooking, carpeting and cutting-sewing courses. The second group comprises complementary courses such as literacy courses, access courses for secondary and higher education. Finally, socio-cultural programmes cover family education, foreign languages, environmental education, folk music and dance courses.

It is an excessively fragmented structure and relationships between its different components are hierarchical. Under these circumstances, both formal and nonformal education services together with the other public services are not able to respond local needs. Locally-elected authorities and representative organisations are, however, in the best position to articulate the actual needs of local communities, and thus to plan and deliver services for local residents.

All ministries and central organisations of official bodies, which have a staff development responsibility can be considered as providers of continuing professional education in Turkey. Most of the ministries and the bodies such as General Directorate of Turkish Radio and Television, Universities, the Turkey & Middle East Public Administration Institute and state and private banks, can be seen in this respect as AE providers too.

For example, the Ministry of State which is responsible for employment, arranged skill acquisition courses in 1985, and about 30 000 adults who were unemployed and unskilled, benefited. Later, these courses transferred to the Ministry of Social Security and Working. The State Ministry which is responsible for youth and sport, provides some training programmes in leisure for young people. The Ministry of Health provides some publications and adult educational activities on public health, worker health and

mother-child care. The Ministry of Justice arranges some vocational courses such as carpet-making, carpentry, cobbling and printing, and literacy courses in prison settings.

Finally, the Ministry of Agriculture and Village Affairs also provides some handicrafts and home economics courses, and courses to explain or demonstrate new agricultural techniques, medicines and instruments. It also produces training programmes for television and radio together with the General Directorate of Turkish Radio and Television, which had a special television channel, called GAP TV, the Television for the South-eastern Anatolia Project. This TV channel focuses on the social-cultural education and training of farmers who live in the East and Southeast Anatolia. It promotes new irrigation methods and modern cattle and poultry breeding techniques.

In a comparative sense, the structure and organisation of adult educational provision in the three countries reflects some similarities as well as dissimilarities. The vocationalization of the education is the most interesting commonality amongst the three countries. Owing to high rates of unemployment, global competition and the responses of the countries to the global trends, vocational education has a high priority in government subsidies. Thus, the French government is trying to increase the number of young people who have passed the Bac entering higher education or acquiring vocational qualifications. The British government has similar types of objectives of increasing the number of qualified young people with GNVQ into postcompulsory education. In Turkey, vocational education has been a priority for many years. To increase the number and rate of vocational high school students is the target of the five-year development plans, but the targets are not attained due to lack of political consistency and financial resources.

The decentralisation of educational services together with the other public services is an important topic in both the French and Turkish political agendas. French decentralisation practices, initiated in 1982, are progressing while there was no significant development in this respect in Turkey. The French government is trying to create a unique structure and pattern of central-local relations in accordance with the social, economic and cultural characteristics and traditions of different regions. In Turkey, decentralisation can

be seen as just a facet of political ambition and rhetoric. The unstable political structure does not allow radical reform of the public administration system. There are many lessons for the Turkish decentralisation strategy from the French experience. Unlike France and Turkey, the education system in England and Wales has been increasingly re-centralised through conservative policies since 1979. The degree and size of central government intervention is not only for educational provision but also for other public services. The traditionally decentralised character of the education system is now turned upside down.

The governments of both France and England & Wales are trying to set up relationships between the state and private enterprises in respect of the vocational education of young people, but the method and approach to do this differs. In England & Wales, the central government has excluded the local authorities, which are mostly controlled by the Labour and the Liberal Democrats. Training Enterprise Councils (TECs), which can be seen as private companies, nonelected, undemocratic and unaccountable bodies, have been created by the government in order to achieve the following purposes: (a) to deliver youth employment training schemes, (b) to collect information about local labour markets, and (c) to promote effective training in industry. In other words, the responsibility of the TECs can be defined as overseeing and promoting the delivery of the national targets for education and training by fulfilling the following mission: (a) regional planning, (b) accountability, (c) representativeness of concerned sectors, (d) reliability of labour market information, and (e) funding (Barclay 1992, Yeo 1994).

France favoured increasing regional power by establishing a triple representative system of the state, local authorities and the other partners in the local committees and organisations of vocational training. There is, in France, a mandatory contribution of the private companies, and a mixture of public and private apprenticeship training centres in order to offer vocational training courses in competitive circumstances. Private companies who employ young people, have to sign an apprenticeship training contract with the apprenticeship training centre. It is worth noting here that in order to make training an important part of local dynamics, the partnership between the actors, (i.e. local government, universities, businesses and training bodies), at local level is promoted

through establishing wider decision-making body, and active steps are taken to consider possibilities for the combined mobilising of local resources which have often not worked together (Dauty 1994). As mentioned earlier, the regions are empowered to implement the CFI programmes. Both France and England & Wales are moving towards vocationalisation of postcompulsory education through very different approaches.

Turkey tried centrally-planned, programmed and administered skill acquisition courses in 1985 and the early 1990s in order to qualify people who were unemployed and outside of the postcompulsory schooling. The two attempts were not continued because of the changing nature of political power in the MNE. It needs stability in policy and continuous critical evaluation to detect weaknesses and problems in practice. Neither is possible in the uncertainties and instability of Turkish political life.

The AE system in France and Turkey can be considered into the first group of Hutchinson (1981) which implies that adult education provisions are mainly delivered by the MNE, responsible for all forms and types of education in terms of planning, organising, administrating, financing and supervision. The MNE is the biggest AE provider in both countries who have traditionally centralised systems of public and educational administration system. England & Wales can be put into the second group of Hutchinson (1981) mentioned earlier. It implies a country where the adult educational structure and organisations are formed as national associations, councils, institutes of AE or not.

#### **4.2.4. Legislative Framework**

Another way to approach the difference between the systems of AE in different countries is through a consideration of the legal framework governing them. The law both requires the provision of AE services and limits what can be offered. In the three countries under study, the laws governing AE are both different and differentially effective. The legal differences reflect the others: in culture, ideology, level of economic development and the ways in which different groups in society articulate their demand for AE or express a particular interest about its form and functions. Whether or not legal enactments actually result in their expected outcomes is, of course, another matter

and one which is closely related to the nature of a country's political system, political culture and economic resources. It is not to be expected, therefore, that the actual structure on provision of AE in any society will follow what the law specifies. The law also, however, reflects the values which have been significant in the way in which government, each with their own agendas and matters of political support, have structured AE services.

The 1944 Education Act is one of the most important pieces of legislation in Britain, and it remains the basis of educational legislation despite the existence of many new acts including the 1964 Education Act, the 1973 Employment and Training Act, the 1980, 1981, 1986 Education Acts, the 1988 Education Reform Act, the 1992 Further and Higher Education Act, the 1993 Education Act. Post 1979 legislation has been committed to restructuring and repositioning the whole education system from nursery to higher education in accord with the new right ideology and its educational discourse. Actually, there is no single educational system in UK. According to Small (1976), two education systems exist in UK: England & Wales and Scotland.

Responsibility for the provision of AE is traditionally shared between the central government via the Department of Education and Science (DES), (now Department of Education and Employment (DFEE)), and local governments. The 1944 Education Act (Part 1 and Section 41 and 42) defines the adult educational roles of central and local government. The Secretary of State at the DES, now DFEE, has the duty (as based on Part 1) :

*“to promote the education of the people of England and Wales and the progressive development of institutions devoted to that purpose, and to secure effective execution by local authorities, under his control and direction, of the national policy of providing a varied and comprehensive educational service in every area. He may secure the execution of national policy for adult education ...; by the issue of Circulars and Administrative Memoranda...; by the advice in Pamphlets and Reports published for the Department...; by financial controls, direct or indirect, and by the normal processes of administration...; and by the consultation between local education authorities or responsible bodies and the Department's officers and HM Inspectors” (DES 1973:25).*

Section 41 of the 1944 Education Act, which is the well-known legislative basis of AE provisions in Britain, has been quoted by many adult educationalists (Mee 1980:5, Titmus 1981:24, Charnley et al (1983) Jarvis 1983:251 and 1995:229):

*“(41)...subject as hereinafter provided, it shall be the duty of every local education authority to secure the provision for their area of adequate facilities for further education, that is to say:*

*(a) full-time and part-time education for persons over compulsory school age; and*

*(b) leisure time occupation such organized cultural training and recreative activities as are suited to their requirements, for any persons over postcompulsory school age who are able and willing to profit by the facilities provided for that purpose;*

Item 42 of the 1944 Education Act is also concerned with adult education provisions and the role of LEAs:

*“(42:i) every local education authority shall, at such times and in such forms as the Ministry may direct, prepare and submit to the Minister schemes of further education for their area, giving particulars of the provision which the authority proposes to make for fulfilling such of their duties with respect to further education..., as may be specified in the directions.*

*(iv) a local education authority shall, when preparing any scheme of further education, have regard to any facilities for further education provided for their area by universities, educational associations, and other bodies, and shall consult any such bodies as aforesaid and the local education authorities for adjacent areas; and the scheme, as proved the Minister, may include such provisions as to the co-operation of any such bodies or authorities as may have been agreed between them and the authority by whom the scheme was submitted” (cited from Charnley et al 1983: 16).*

The language of this legislation is telling; it is high-minded and focused on education and culture. It presupposes there will be co-operation among providers who share a common educational purpose, and it was conceived at a time when, following the defeat of Nazism in the Second World War, the values of democracy were paramount in British social policy.

Post-1979 educational legislation has not only transformed the LEAs' role, power and function in compulsory education but also on postcompulsory, FE or post-16 education by disconnecting FE colleges from LEAs. By changing the funding system, financial

resources for education have been channelled towards vocational education. Central control of education is a recent trend destroying local autonomy and extirpating LEAs in Britain (this is discussed further in chapter 5). The 1986 Education Act made difficult co-operation between the LEA Community Education Services and the Schools with respect to community adult educational provisions. The 1986 Education Act, which has altered the power relationships between the LEA, school governors and head teachers, is also seen by some commentators as the beginning of the process of dismantling and destroying the power of LEAs (Deem & Brehony 1993).

The 1988 Education Reform Act (ERA), which is accepted as the most radical recasting of the government of education since 1944 (Ranson 1992), is also seen as anti-worker, anti-unionist and anti-local governmental (Edwards 1991). Indeed, the 1988 ERA was the first enormous intervention by a conservative government under Margaret Thatcher in order to transform the educational system by destroying LEAs. John (1991) and Ranson (1992) summarised the reasons for enacting the 1988 ERA as follows;

- to redefine the relationships between the CG and LG regarding education;
- to diminish the administrative powers of LEAs over the educational, particularly compulsory and FE, establishments;
- to strengthen the central control over the curriculum by creating the national curriculum;
- to make schools and colleges more responsive to the wishes of parents and employers;
- to define roles and responsibilities of education providers;
- to arrange the governance of education in accordance with the value of 'public choice' and 'accountability';
- to move away from locally maintained schools to grant maintained schools by opting out schools from LEAs;
- to vest more legal powers in the secretary of the state;
- to destroy the directive and strategic roles of the LEAs.

The roles of LEAs in compulsory education are articulated in an Audit Commission Occasional Paper (1989) as (a) a **leader**: to articulate a vision of what the education service is trying to achieve, (b) a **partner**: to support schools and colleges and, to help them to fulfil this vision, (c) a **planner**: to plan facilities for the future, (d) a **provider of information**: to the education market, helping people to make informed choices, (e) a **regulator**: to regulate quality in schools and colleges, (f) a **banker**: to channel the funds which enable local institutions to deliver a service. The point, of course, is this: they are no longer provider of adult education themselves (HMSO 1989).

The 1991 White Paper on Education and Training for the 21st Century was a further step towards the direction of the new vocationalism which is central to right-wing educational ideology. Regulations were enacted by the 1992 Further and Higher Education Act: the polytechnics have acquired University status; FE Colleges have been removed from the LEA control by creating FEFC and TECs; and financial resources have been channelled to a great extent to vocationally-based education of people aged 16-19. Under these circumstances, LEAs have stopped subsidising AE provisions. Some LAs have kept community education services only, and have begun to spend money for community and youth work. Educational legislation has urged against spending money for non-vocational AE provisions, and the expectation is raised in the 1991 White Paper that people who benefit from those courses must pay the costs of them.

It is interestingly enough that the concern of LEAs with adult and community education, which was regulated by the 1944 Education Act, has not been totally destroyed by the post 1979 developments at the legislative level, despite the changing roles and functions of LEAs on post-compulsory education. Legislatively, LEAs have a statutory duty to provide and secure adult and community education provisions which were regulated by the 1944 Education Act, section 41 and 42 as quoted above. Nevertheless, most of the LEAs have already stopped delivering free standing adult education services in practice, though they still are the statutory body for adult and community education in accordance with both the 1988 ERA and the 1992 Further and Higher Education Act.

Adult and community education are considered by the 1988 ERA within the concept of further education which is defined as

*“full-time and part-time education for persons over compulsory school age (including vocational, social, physical and recreational training); and organized leisure-time occupation provided in connection with the provision of such education.”*

The Act gives LEAs the duty of preparing a Scheme of Delegation for Further Education which sets out;

*(1) the principles on which the Authority will plan its further education provision;*

*(2) how those institutions falling within scope of the scheme will be funded, and the terms of the local FE funding formula;*

*(3) on what terms budgets will be delegated to newly constituted FE governing bodies (which need to have 50% of their members representing employment interests or co-options).*

It is still possible to provide free standing adult and community education services although non-statutory delegation is recommended by the DES Circular 19/89 (Powell 1991:15-6).

The 1992 Higher and Further Education Act has disconnected local authorities with FE and sixth form colleges by creating schemes of delegation and a new funding system. Funding schemes for further and higher education have been regulated by section 139 as follows:

*“(139:1) It shall be the duty of every local education authority to prepare a scheme in accordance with this Chapter and submit it for the approval of the Secretary of State in accordance with section 140 of this Act.*

*(2) The scheme shall provide for-*

*(a) the determination in respect of each financial year of the authority, for each institution required to be covered by the scheme in that year, of the share to be appropriated for that institution in that year of the further and higher education budget of the authority for that year (referred to below in this chapter, in relation to such an institution as the institution's budget share ); and*

*(b) the delegation by the authority of the management of an institution's budget share for any year to the governing body of the institution where such delegation is required or permitted by or under the scheme” (cited from Maclure 1992:105).*

The legislative framework does not obviously define the role of LEAs in the provision of AE. The legislative framework regulating local government adult education provisions is

widely seen as inadequate to play a statutory role to overcome the wide range of needs at local level by the local actors in England and Wales. Staff in local authorities report that they feel they are 'in limbo', 'constantly under threat' and 'marginalised'. They say 'there is a great gap and lots of grey areas in the legislative framework which has led to confusion and contradiction'. 'What does "to secure adequacy and sufficiency of provision" mean?'. This debate will be discussed in further detail in chapter 6.

In France, there are a number of pieces of legislation about adult education provisions. The Law of July 23, 1957 provided an opportunity for 12 day unpaid courses in the field of economic or trade union training for workers. A list of the providers, mainly trade unions, is published annually.

The Law of July 31, 1959 was an initial attempt to offer all employees the opportunity for social and personal development. Popular education for those 25 years old and over, and unpaid leavers was created by the December 1961 Act. Grants are provided by the Ministry of Leisure.

The December 1966 Law created an inter-ministerial committee for vocational training and social development in order to strengthen co-ordination and collaboration relationships between the state and private educational organisations.

The Laws of 1957, 1959, 1961 and 1966 may be recognised as important footsteps in establishing Paid Educational Leave in France. Through the widely debated concept of *education permanente*, the responsibility and duty of companies to train their employees has been reinforced by the 1971 Law. The July 1971 Law has made it compulsory for all companies to spend a certain percentage of the total wages bill on training for employees.(UNESCO 1985:16-18).

The 1978 and 1984 Laws established a clear definition of the companies' role on recurrent education for the 18-25 age group as companies employing less than 9 people and more, and it increased control over the training organisations.

The January 1983 Law recognised that the state and local governments have duties and responsibilities in providing educational opportunities. The decentralisation Law in 1982 gave a duty to the regions to determine priorities for the education of adults. Two target populations are significant. The first is the employed people in social and professional promotion. The second is the people in marginal situations such as young people, the long-term unemployed, immigrants, women and people with certain handicaps (Caspar 1992:150).

Until 1993, all companies employing more than 10 people were forced to spend 0.3% of their total wage bill on education and training by the 1978 Law. After January 1, 1993 this rate was increased to 1.5%. For small companies employing less than 10 people, a contribution of 0.15% of total payment to salaries was introduced for employers beginning from 1st of January, 1992. The money collected is to be paid into jointly managed collecting organisations approved by the state (Davies 1995:138, Hughes 1994:138).

The education system in France has been influenced by the post 1982 decentralisation practices. However, it is widely recognised that education is one of the sectors least effected by them. The French education system is characterised still as a centralised and bureaucratic one in which centrally-appointed prefects have a dominant role in the local governance of education. The legislative framework is also a reflection of vocationalisation in education. Although some of the central powers have been transferred to the local authorities at regional level, central government is still powerful and dominant.

In Turkey, the Constitution, the Five Years Development Plans, the National Education Suras and the educational acts all have stressed the importance of AE. According to the Basic Act of National Education of 1973 (Act No. 1739), the education system of Turkey consists of two sub-systems: the formal and the non-formal education. The specific objectives of the non-formal education system - i.e. AE- were defined in accordance with the general objectives and basic principles of the national education as follows:

- (a) Teaching literacy, providing continuous educational opportunities to those whose education is incomplete.
- (b) Providing educational opportunities for people's adaptation to the scientific, technological, economic, social and cultural developments of our society.
- (c) Providing education to safeguard, develop, orientate and establish our national cultural values.
- (d) Assisting adults to understand and develop the habits of collective living, solidarity, co-operation, collaboration and organisation.
- (e) Teaching people necessary nutritional and health facts to increase the living standards and economic efficiency.
- (f) Helping adults to acquire the habits required to use leisure time efficiently.
- (g) Providing short-term courses and training opportunities to adults for learning new vocations and technical skills in accordance with the employment policy and development of the economy.
- (h) Providing the opportunities of continuing education to working persons for improving their vocations and skills (MEB 1985:13-14).

The Apprenticeship Act of 1977 (Act No. 2009) and, the Apprenticeship and Vocational Training Act of 1986 (No. 3308) were enacted to arrange the basic principles and the rules about the organisation and administration of apprenticeship and vocational training. Despite many changes in these acts, the inadequacy of the legislative framework is often mentioned as an important issue by practitioners and academics.

The five-year development plans are the main policy strategies prepared centrally via the State Planning Organisation in order to achieve development. The 7 Five-Years Development Plans, which have covered the period from 1963 to 1999, all touched upon the topic of adult education together with the educational targets and main policies. According to 5th Five-Years Plan, the education system of Turkey should seek to integrate by forming organic relations between the non-formal and formal education sub-systems. The plan redefined adult educational institutions as the organisations which offer life-long educational services to adults during the summers, weekends and evenings. In the same way, the 6th plan pointed out that the importance of AE will increase during the period of sixth plan from 1990 to 1994 because of the explosion of information and changes on science, technology, economy and communication, so AE should be planned to meet the needs of market for manpower. For these reasons, the

financial resources of AE should be increased, and at least 7.5 % of the budget investments should be reserved for adult education (DPT 1985:145, DPT 1989:293-94).

Finally, the fifteen National Education Suras (Milli Egitim Surasi), whose main aim is to discuss educational policies and issues, and to advise the Ministry of National Education (MNE), were assembled by the MNE with the involvement of academics and practitioners. All Suras had mentioned AE partly whilst the 13th Sura, in 1990, was specifically assembled on non-formal education. The main elements of the report are as follows:

- The concepts, scope and trends in non-formal education.
- Organisation and co-operation in non-formal education.
- Finance and investment in non-formal education.
- Personnel in non-formal education (MEB 1990:130-3).

It would seem, therefore, that the Turkish government is committed to develop non-formal adult education and that it is responsive to some of the main ideas in this field which have dominated European discussions in the past quarter century - ideas such as basic education, lifelong learning and manpower planning. There is an inevitable gap between intention and practice, between promise and delivery. Legal injunctions to implement policies are worthless without the resources, administrative means and personnel to achieve them. In terms of legislation, AE provisions have a significant basis in Turkey, but it is very difficult to see parallel developments in practice. The practice-theory dualism is a bitter reality.

It is widely acknowledged that the legislative framework for AE aims to map out an overall framework for the structure, content and aims. Details of provision are generally directed with the regulations, circulars or decrees. In this regard, adult education legislation in the three countries displays the varying degrees and levels of significance of AE. However, it was pointed as a general trend by Titmus & Pardoen (1981) that there is a broad gap between the enactment and implementation of AE. AE does not wait for legal regulations to start provision. Mostly, adult educational legislation comes after its

development. For example; in Britain, when the first AE regulations were issued, Mechanics' Institute and Sunday School Movement had been already existed.

The legislative framework for AE is a striking indicator of state intervention in AE provision. Central governments are increasingly concerned to manipulate adult educational developments and to intervene in adult educational provisions because the field of AE in recent years has become more important than in the past. As central governments subsidise AE, it is likely to become a vehicle of legitimate dominance and hegemony. The account of the legal basis of AE in the three countries establishes this: the law is not a neutral administrative device. It reflects the priorities of government and the conflict of interest in a society. It bears the weight of the hopes of dominant groups for the future. In the three countries considered here, the law on AE reflects powerful interest in each society to promote vocational and economically relevant AE over and against a type of education geared to personal growth and development. In the same way, the balance between what is provided locally and nationally reflects the structure of devolution of power within the state itself.

#### **4.2.5. Finance**

The financing of AE is an important indicator of state-AE relations. The funding of AE is becoming one way or another increasingly based on central government resources, so central governments have been manipulating adult education provision to a great extent. The vocationalisation of education as a world-wide phenomenon has also influenced AE by prioritising vocationally-based AE practices. State intervention and manipulation in countries, where the idea of civil society is not experienced widely, is much stronger than in countries where civil society is mature and powerful, and public administration and education services are decentralised.

At this point, France, Turkey and England & Wales have quite different backgrounds. In France, the state directly supports certain training programmes. Companies have to provide at least 1.2 % of the aggregate remuneration of their personnel for training purposes by organising training programs for themselves, assigning funds to the 'training insurance funds', financing programs for those seeking work, underwriting development

agreements with the state, and making payments to funds which finance individual educational leave. Finally, regional councils, departments and municipalities participate in the financing of AE in France. The decentralisation acts transferred the administration of some grants and funds to regional councils.

According to Caspar (1992:152) the French Government spends 18.8 billion francs in order to provide further educational provisions to 1.25 million people. In addition to this, it gave 2.4 billion francs to the regions for continuing professional education and apprenticeship training, and provided 4.1 billion francs tax exemption to companies which employ young people and offer apprenticeships for long-term unemployed people. The afore-mentioned total expenditure for continuing education represents roughly 1% of the GDP (ENCFA 1992). The regions have a special significance in the allocation of financial resources at a regional level. However, the prefects are not entirely excluded in this process. They are still powerful agents of the central government at local level.

In Turkey, the state, as mentioned earlier, is the main adult education provider via the MNE and other official bodies. There is no clear idea what the amount of total adult educational expenditures is. However, the total adult education expenditure of the MNE was calculated in 1988: it was about 58 billion TL which was 2.8% of the total annual budget of the MNE (Karakutuk 1990). The Sixth five-year Development Plan foresaw an increase in financial resources for AE; at least 7.5% of the budget investments should be reserved for AE (DPT 1990).

There is no legislation to regulate the financing of AE in England & Wales. It is hard to calculate total expenditure due to the over fragmented structure and widened provision of AE. However, TABLE 4.4 and TABLE 4.5 display the further and adult education expenditure of the central and local government beginning from 1989-90. In 1993-94, the further education expenditures of the central government increased drastically from £43 million to the £2.55 billion because of the removal of further education colleges from the control of LEAs. The percentage of the total central government expenditures on further education in the total education expenditure of the DFEE is around 26%. In the same manner, total AE expenditures of local governments, which is the total

expenditure for Youth services, FE for adults, FE in adult education centres, and FE in FE colleges, is calculated to be roughly £353 million in 1993-94. This percentage of the total education expenditure of the local authorities is about 1.7% in 1993-94.

**TABLE 4.4**  
**LOCAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION AND**  
**EDUCATION FOR ADULTS FROM 1989-90 TO 1994-95 IN ENGLAND &**  
**WALES**

£ million

	1989-90	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94	1994-95
<b>FE in FE Colleges</b>	1 432	1 509	1 629	1 713	---	---
<b>FE in AE Centres</b>	128	140	146	144		
<b>FE for Adults</b>	---	---	---	---	69	77
<b>Youth Services</b>	224	233	239	244	255	276
<b>Total AE</b>	1 784	1 882	2 014	2 101	324	353
<b>Overall Education</b>	16 596	17 983	20 366	22 057	20 592	20 664

SOURCE: DFE (1995) *Departmental Report*, p.10.

**TABLE 4.5**  
**CENTRAL GOVERNMENT FURTHER EDUCATION EXPENDITURES FROM**  
**1989-90 TO 1997-98 IN ENGLAND & WALES**

£ million

	1989-90	90-91	91-92	92-93	93-94	94-95	95-96	96-97	97-98
<b>Further Education</b>	11	11	11	43	2555	2689	2868	2958	2949
<b>Total DFE Education</b>	4866	5656	6336	7124	9807	10483	10949	11204	11212

SOURCE: DFE (1995) *Departmental Report*, p.8.

From an international perspective, AE is one of the most important sectors in the whole of education system in France and England & Wales. Increasing the importance of AE is considered as a major goal of governments. In England & Wales and France, the totality of AE sector receives about 1/4 of the ministry of education's budget expenditures amounting to at least 1% of the GNP. In Turkey, however, AE receives 10 times less

financial support than in England & Wales and France. AE is still seen a remedial type of education which aims to teach literacy and numeracy, and limited range of vocational courses for dominantly young ladies who are out of the compulsory schooling. The differences between the societies in terms of expenditure on AE reflects firstly their level of economic development. In comparison to France and Britain, Turkey is a developing country. Secondly, it reflects the balance between the state and private expenditure. The policy in Britain and France is to increase the proportions of private finance, both for companies and individuals, in AE provision. In Turkey, AE finance is almost wholly provided by the state. Finally, there is a discrepancy to be noted between government rhetoric and financial reality. In the budget outturn of education, AE is a poor cousin of compulsory education and despite its importance to the lay term well-being of the economy, AE is still inadequately provided for

#### **4.2.6. Adult Educators**

The structure, legal framework and financing of AE define the elements of a system of provision. What turns structure into practice is people. It is adult educators themselves who, in the course of their ordinary work, carry forward or subvert the aim and values of the system that employs them.

In each of the countries of this study, the structure of the role of the adult educators is different, reflecting both national differences of policy and practice, levels and types of training, and professional identity of adult educators themselves. To complete this account of the differences in the AE system of the three countries, it is important to consider briefly their differences in the professional formation of adult educators.

The professionalisation of AE is a disputed topic in the literature. Undoubtedly, the training of adult educators and the professionalisation of the field are closely related to each other. However, it is extremely debatable who an adult educator is, and who an adult educationalist is. Until recently, there has been little agreement on terminology-are adult educators 'trained' or 'prepared' for the task?

According to Lowe (1982:135) it is necessary to differentiate amongst the three levels of adult educators as follow:

*“First, there are those who are employed full-time in adult education service and who may envisage it as a permanent career. Second, there are those who are full-time in a general educational service but who are required to devote a prescribed percentage of hours to adult education. Third, there are those who are employed on a strictly part-time basis. The last group may further be divided into those who expect to be paid and those who gladly serve as volunteers such as local leaders”.*

In England & Wales, the training of adult educators is diverse: the providers of adult education take some responsibility and function for the training of adult educators whom they employ as part-time tutors. These providers were mentioned by Legge (1982) as the LEAs, City and Guilds of London Institute, the Royal Society of Arts, College of Preceptors, Independent Voluntary Organisations and the Universities.

However, the structure of AE provision, as mentioned earlier, has been changed in recent years. Within LEAs, the training of adult educators is peripheralised. Most of the LEAs have a very few training programmes for adult educators. Despite this, the college sector is increasingly playing an important role in terms of the training of the adult educators they employ. The competence based training of adult educators with modular programmes is very popular in England & Wales.

The Universities are increasingly taking more responsibility for the training of adult educators via continuing professional education programmes specially tailored in accordance with the human resource needs of organisations, and through the development of certificate, diploma and postgraduate programmes. Despite the recent development of BA programmes in Community and Youth Work studies in a few universities, there is no BA programme in adult education in English universities. Two years part-time and modular diplomas in adult education, together with either part or full time MA and doctoral programmes are available in many universities in England & Wales.

The tutor identity and adult educationalist identity as an academic is not yet differentiated in the British universities. Jarvis (1995:235) draws attention to this by

saying “ ...*extra-mural staff may be seen as tutor organisers who have expertise in a subject, other than the provision of adult education. Their competence may no longer be seen in academic terms...*”, because he believes that university departments are encouraged to offer continuing education courses in their areas of expertise, and adult and continuing education is seen as a marketing exercise rather than a specialist academic area.

In France, the term adult educator refers to three different group of people: youth trainers, animateurs and adult trainers. Existing training programs to produce adult educators in France can be seen as: the initial training of adult educators, the continuing training and knowledge updating of adult educators through short courses, and the higher qualification courses for adult educators (Freynet 1991).

There is no official qualification to define the work of an adult educator in France. There are no general training courses for the adult educators but the Ministry of Education runs internal training projects for its own staff (UNESCO 1985). According to Freynet (1991) the lack of a clearly defined status for trainers and the highly differentiated functions of the adult educators together with the diversity of practices is the most striking character of adult educators in France. The socio-cultural *animateurs* are very vulnerable to fluctuations in national and local politics in the cultural field.

In Turkey, the professionalisation of adult education, likewise in most countries, is yet to be completed. Despite the existence of people specifically trained in AE in the universities through BA, MA and Ph.D. programmes, the MNE, the biggest adult education provider, ignores them and employs teachers who are not qualified in adult education-in its theory, philosophy and practice. Three universities in Turkey are currently running adult education programmes at different levels. One of them is the University of Ankara, Faculty of Educational Sciences, Department of Adult Education, which was established in 1989. It started teaching programmes at undergraduate and postgraduate levels in the 1990-91 academic year. Before 1989 the Department of Adult Education was part of the Department of Educational Administration and Planning in the Faculty of Educational Sciences. Bosphorus University, in Istanbul, offers postgraduate

programmes in adult education. Finally, an adult education department was established in the Faculty of Education at the University of Marmara, in 1992, and it has started teaching at undergraduate level.

In Turkey, the number of full-time adult educators is much smaller than the part-time and volunteer adult educators. Most of the adult educators, either full or part-time, have very little professional qualifications in adult education, and training activities for adult educators are not sufficient to meet their needs. All adult educational administrators, like other educational administrators, have been trained originally as teachers and in particular as primary school teachers. They do not have certificates, diplomas or degrees in adult education. In addition to this, none of the full-time and part-time adult educators have been specially trained for adult education. It was assumed that the adult educators had a natural flair for organising, administering and teaching, and did not, therefore, need and require any training or at least not the sort that necessitated attending regular courses or programmes. Moreover, some older adult educators still seem to agree that formal training in adult education is a waste of time, and according to them practising is more important than theorising in the field of adult education (Duman 1991a).

Quite a few people who are specifically trained in adult education are not employed by the MNE in adult educational services. The MNE is still determined to employ teachers as adult educators who are unqualified in adult education, instead of employing adult educators who received their degrees (BA, MA or Ph.D.) in this field. The total number of adult educators who are employed by the MNE is around 9 000 full-time and 35 000 part-time. There are almost no training courses for part-time tutors, who are mostly female graduates of vocational high schools for girls.

The system of adult education in Turkey is run by people who are inadequately trained in the theory, philosophy and practice of adult education to do their jobs. In addition, their lack of appropriate qualifications is not properly acknowledged by their superiors and themselves. The main problem is political: the MNE recognises only teacher training as the basis for all educational practices so that the MNE is still determined to employ

teachers who are unqualified in adult education instead of specifically trained adult educators (Duman 1995).

The MNE provides staff development opportunities for adult educators employed by the MNE, but the MNE is not keen to invite adult educationalists in order to get academic and theoretical contributions from them. It uses its own staff as trainers and they don't have any degree, diploma or qualifications in adult education. Therefore, the quality of in-service training programmes is very poor; adult educators are not inspired by in-service training programmes.

Finally, it should be borne in mind that adult educationalists in the universities have a major role to play in providing continuing professional training programmes to improve staff development strategies, develop basic research to illuminate adult educational problems, and to improve the theoretical basis for adult and continuing education in Turkey.

#### **4.2.7. Issues and Trends**

The adult education systems in the three countries have their own unique development trends which reflect their different social, economic and cultural conditions. In France and England & Wales, the education of adults is increasingly moving towards the vocationally oriented work-based training of the adults. Education is increasingly becoming a marketable commodity, and adult education is no longer separated from this development. Accreditation and access to the further and higher education is a vital policy in both countries. The NVQ in England & Wales and the CFI in France are the outcome of this. In both countries, even individualised experiences can be validated through examinations, and they can be used as a valuable credit in the process of further education of adults. In both countries, further education of adults receives about 26% of educational expenditure, which means about 1% of the GDP. The universities are increasingly taking part in the process of adult education by training trainers and adult educators. There are, of course, many differences which these general descriptions disguise. France is trying to decentralise its public administration and educational system by creating a quite original structure, while England & Wales is moving quickly

towards centralisation by creating a national curriculum, centrally-controlled organisations and through increasing central government intervention.

On the other hand, Turkey, as a developing country, is trying to find a route in order to cope with the cumulative and structural problems of the education system which is traditionally over-centralised, inflexible and bureaucratic. The five year compulsory education is at the core of educational problems, and has been planned to be extended to the eight years basic education since 1973. After five years compulsory education most of the people almost do not have any educational opportunities. The biggest adult education provider, the MNE, is trying to provide adult education via 840 adult education centres established in each district, and through 256 apprenticeship training centres. However, peoples' needs greatly exceed these provisions. In this situation, the decentralisation of the adult education provision can be a solution to provide better adult education services. Decentralisation of local government has been a political ambition for last 10 years. There have, however, been no significant moves to decentralise the public administration system.

The universities should take part in the delivery of adult and continuing education. Only four universities are interested in the education of adults. Three of them offer adult education programmes at undergraduate and postgraduate levels while the other has set up continuing education centres mainly offering continuing education for professional groups in the forms of short courses. The adult education sector receives around the 3% of educational expenditures even though the Sixth Development Plan foresaw at least 7.5% of the budget investments.

The adult educational system, which is seen as a nonformal education system in Turkey, is currently facing a number of serious problems from finance to staff; from a lack of physical resources to the lack of functional legislation. The experiences in France and England & Wales provides valuable hints for mapping out a route for educational and adult educational reform. In this mapping process, the universities together with the other proviers should play an active role from delivering AE services to researching them.

It is well-known that universities in general throughout the Western World are interested in adult education from practical, theoretical and academic points of view. Extension courses, and extra-mural studies have been accepted as important milestones of the history of adult education, and the term 'university adult education' has emerged. Regrettably, it is not possible to say the same things for both Turkey and France. Traditionally, the MNE in both countries has been the biggest adult education provider. The universities are not active in adult education provision. However, the universities, which are controlled by the MNE in France, have been trying to take part in the vocational education of adults so they are trying to establish good co-operation, collaboration and partnerships with the other providers.

Rapid technological, social and economic changes in modern societies have led to a reconceptualisation of knowledge itself. Knowledge is now considered as relative. The rational basis and modes of transmission of knowledge have changed, and knowledge has become a marketable commodity (Jarvis 1996). Without doubt, the changing nature of knowledge has some ramifications for educational policies and practices from nursery to higher education. The boundaries between the further and higher education are being increasingly blurred in modern societies. Adult and continuing education, as mentioned earlier, is becoming increasingly part of further and higher education. For these reasons, the western world is trying to update their higher education systems. Modularisation of the courses and accreditation of prior learning into enter higher education can be seen as a general trend. In order to increase the higher education access rate of the adults, both France and England & Wales are trying to develop alternative routes to access higher education for adults. Davies (1996) has noted that despite the existence of differences regarding the formal policy framework for alternative access to higher education arrangements for adults, the admission practices in France and England & Wales are quite similar through the arrangements in Britain are more complex and flexible than in France. However, in Turkey there is almost nothing to be done in this domain. The university entrance examination is centralised. There is no alternative route to enter higher education for adults, and adults have some disadvantages in the calculation of examination scores. Therefore, the concept and practices of higher education in Turkey

should be re-considered in the light of possible lessons which may be gained through recent developments in England & Wales and France.

Both England & Wales and Turkey have quite large open universities for the provision of distance education. However, the two open university provisions are entirely different from each other. In England and Wales, the open university has a wide range of provisions from postgraduate degree courses to leisure style modularised short courses. The open university in Turkey offers mostly undergraduate degrees. It is necessary to begin offering adult educational courses both vocational and non-vocational through modularised programmes. Otherwise, it will only have the function of meeting the higher education demand of a limited number of people who are not able to enter higher education in conventional ways (Duman 1993).

The argument developed in this chapter reinforces the major point: adult education is socially-constructed, ideologically-driven and a highly contested area of both theory and practice. In essence, education is very political, and it is not possible to claim neutrality for it. Thus, Freire (1972) clarified that 'there is no such things as a neutral educational process'. From this point of view, adult education, as declared straightforwardly by Lindeman (1944) many years ago, is 'irrevocably and undeniably a political activity' (Brookfield 1986). Undoubtedly, adult education as a multi-disciplinary and multi-paradigmatic field of study, includes rather broad areas of social and cultural practices. Local government adult education (LGAE) can be used to describe all forms and types of educational and cultural activities (either vocational or non-vocational, leisure or recreational) organised by local governments including free-standing services, or joint provisions with the co-operation and collaboration of other partners in a territory, for people who are outside of the compulsory schooling age. The same general point, however, applies: the concept of LGAE does not carry across cultures. It can not be separated from prevailing structures of resource, power and patterns of administrative control. The conclusion, in some ways obvious, is nonetheless important for the development of policies in this field.

Administrative structure can be changed. There are choices to be made. The values which are reflected in educational practices can change; new values - such as vocationalism - can be promoted in Britain and France. Old ones, such as liberal adult education could be revived if there was a political will to do so. But not under the old conditions: global economic developments, new forms of knowledge, information technology and new form of economic and political dependency all combine to alter the context in which different kinds of educational practice can be effectively and legitimately developed. In this respect, comparative studies are important because they make this general theoretical point in vivid and explicit ways.

## **CHAPTER 5: DECENTRALISATION VERSUS CENTRALISATION**

Decentralisation is a fashionable concept, a confusing world-wide idea and a global trend to achieve either managerial or non-managerial goals. It does not have a widely-agreed meaning. The main aim of this chapter is to promote the idea of decentralisation versus centralisation in spite of its etymological ambiguity. In order to do this, a conceptual analysis of the relevant concepts related to decentralisation has been made. These relevant concepts are: local government, democratisation, citizenship and civil society.

After this brief analysis, an attempt is made to relate versions of decentralisation to their expected outcomes. This provides a basis from which to discuss educational decentralisation from a comparative perspective.

Finally in this chapter, the concept of the contract culture and its impact on local adult education provision has been examined in the context of the local authority case studies undertaken as part of this research. This provides an essential preliminary account for the following chapter (chapter 6) which is devoted to the analysis of the local politics of adult education provision in the three countries being studied.

### **5.1. A Conceptual Debate: Local Government, Democratisation, Citizenship and Civil Society.**

In order to analyse the links between the processes of decentralisation and the concepts of local government, democratisation, citizenship and civil society it is important to avoid neo-liberal dogma which may be summarised as 'public is bad private is good'. Secondly, it should be made clear how we define and consider relevant concepts such as local government, decentralisation, civil society, democracy and citizenship because they have diverse meanings.

#### **5.1.1. Local government**

The term local government (LG) implies many things. Generally, the concepts of LG and local administration are mixed or used interchangeably because, as Clark & Stewart (1991:2) explained, service provision or local administration of various kinds of services

by local authorities (LAs) became a dominant feature of LAs in the past. Although service provision may be very important to LG, LAs should be seen as an expression of local choices, voices, needs, wishes and demands rather than as agencies for the administration and management of services in a predetermined pattern. Local administration is used to explain the services or affairs handled by the local office of any of the departments of central government, e.g., the Inland Revenue Offices in England, or the Provincial and Sub-Provincial Directorates of National Education or Provincial Directorate of Health in Turkey. For this reason, it should be borne in mind that LG and local administration are different from each other.

In other words, local administration refers to centrally appointed and organised structures while the local government implies locally elected authorities. However, it is a negative development that centrally-appointed people and units are increasingly replacing elected ones in the process of local government. For example, the continuous proliferation of QUANGOs (quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisations), EGOs (extra-governmental organisation) and NDPBs (non-departmental public bodies) in public administration and local government is becoming a dominant shift in Britain, so the UK has been called the 'quango state' (see Stewart et al 1995), and 'quangocracy' (the Guardian 1995). The worst thing is that many major authors on local government (such as Stewart & Davis 1994, Burton & Duncan 1996, Cairns 1996, Stewart 1996) consider the above development as one of the most important barriers to necessary accountability, citizen involvement and healthy working of representative local democracy.

The term of LG is defined by the International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, IESS, (1968: v.9 p.451) as follows:

*"Local government may be loosely defined as a public organisation authorised to decide and administer a limited range of public policies within a relatively small territory which is a subdivision of a regional or national government. Local government is at the bottom of a pyramid of governmental institutions, with the national government at the top and intermediate governments (states, regions, provinces) occupying the middle range. Normally, local government has general jurisdiction and is not confined to the performance of one specific function or service."*

The terms 'local government' and 'local self-government' have almost the same meanings. The concepts of local self-government and its essential characteristics were clarified by the European Charter of Local Self-Government (1986:22) Article 3, Paragraph 1 as follows;

*"Local self-government denotes the right and the ability of local authorities, within the limits of the law, to regulate and manage a substantial share of public affairs under their own responsibility and in the interests of the local population."*

In addition to the definition of local self-government, council, council members, free elections, secret ballots based upon direct equal and universal suffrage, executive organs and citizen participation are generally seen as the essential characteristics of local self-government.

LG is seen mostly as community governance and denotes a holistic and continuous relationship between the government and governed. In fact, it should be seen as governance of the communities because of the existence of multiple communities in the boundaries of a LG (Cairn 1996).

LG should be considered as the voice and choice of local communities in influencing national politics. Many well-known politicians began their career in LG, e.g. Willy Brand, Jacques Chirac, Richard Won Weiszacker, Gaston Deferre, Olaf Palme and many others, and were trained in the process of local politics by LG before being national and well-known politicians and statesmen. LG, as has been declared by Burns, Hambleton and Hoggett (1994), is a setting in which democratic habits, practices and governing skills are acquired, and advanced. In this regard, LG may be seen as the school of political education.

The most prominent characteristics of modern society in recent years are the explosion of information, the rapid changes in technology, and globalisation of problems and economies in a changing world. These developments obligate new forms of communications, new organisational structures, new agencies, new values and problem solving approaches because of the multiplication of the needs of individuals and

communities as well as societies. Therefore, the answers that are given for "what is LG?" are diverse as well. Clark & Stewart(1991:29-33) grouped the meanings of the LG as follows;

- LG is the community governing itself but only if by recognising the multiple meanings of community.
- LG is the builder of community pride through a sense of place.
- LG is the promoter or extender of choice.
- LG is the response to diversity as well as the builder of diversity.
- LG is the extending the channel for learning in government.
- LG is the provider of an arena from which voice and focus can be given for and from the local community.
- LG is a basis for citizenship.
- LG is the justifier of political processes.
- LG is the provider of various number of services for and with the public.
- LG is a countervailing force within national system of government.

Local government has two important advantages from other forms of local administration. First, LA can co-ordinate several services within a corporate framework. Second, LA can develop policies which reflect the needs and aspirations of local communities better than central authority (Hampton 1991:3-4).

The Widdicombe Report(1986:47-50) pointed out that the most important three attributes of LG are "pluralism" that contributes to the national political system, "participation" that helps to set up local democracy and "responsiveness" that contributes to the provision of local needs through the delivery of services (see Hampton 1991:6).

In this regard, the role of LGs become more crucial in the government of a changing and uncertain society because LGs provide "a political capacity" through the active participation of councillors and direct community involvement in the LG process, and provides "a diversity of response" creating a capacity for difference within a national

framework by locally elected authorities. Finally, it provides "a capacity of responsiveness" through its closeness to the local community and its choices and voice (Stewart 1984).

Cairns (1996) considers the purpose of LG as functional and democratic. The functional purpose, which is clearly defined by statute, refers principally for the administration of public services. Democratic purpose, in contrast, is not defined by the legislative framework except how it is articulated under popular suffrage. Thus, it is expected to make annual strategic plans and reports about how LG prepares annual budgets and a set of service plans, i.e. functional role, but not democratic role of LG.

### **5.1.2. Local democracy & citizenship**

The terms local democracy and local government are closely related with each other. In order to set up a proper and healthy democracy at national level, local democracy should be established, strengthened and extended by improving closer relations between the service providers and service users, i.e. between the local governments (LGs) and their local citizens & inhabitants.

However, democracy is not defined in a single form. Which models of democracy should be established?; 'consensual (elite)', 'representative or liberal', 'direct or participatory', 'Marxist or one party', 'local corporate', 'rate payer', or 'delegate' democracy (Gyford 1986, Held 1987 & 1993, Hambleton 1988, Villadsen 1993).

The ways of strengthening and extending local democracy are formulated by Hambleton (1988:141) as follows;

*"Improving representative democracy: e.g. voter registration drives, open government, citizens' rights at meetings, better support to councillors.*

*Extending representative democracy: e.g. area committees based on wards or groups of wards, urban parish councils.*

*Extending direct democracy: e.g. funding of non- statutory groups, community development, user group participation.*

*Infuse representative with direct democracy: e.g. co-option onto committees, neighbourhood committees of councillors and representatives from community and disadvantaged groups."*

Later on, the ways of strengthening and extending local democracy are considered as the ways of strengthening the voice of citizens in local government by Burns, Hambleton and Hoggett (1994:35), and quoted as follows:

*“Improving representative democracy: e.g. voter registration drives, open government, citizens’ rights at meetings, better support to councillors.*

*Extending representative democracy: e.g. area committees based on wards or groups of wards, strengthening parish councils.*

*Infusing representative with participatory democracy: e.g. co-option onto committees, neighbourhood committees of councillors and representatives from community and disadvantaged groups.*

*Extending participatory democracy: e.g. funding of non- statutory groups, community development, user group participation, valuing grass-roots movements.”*

It is widely believed that the quality and quantity of services provided by LGs for their inhabitants have an explicit effect on the quality and standard of life in the boundaries of the LAs. According to Wolman & Goldsmith (1990:10) recent research findings on the ability of LG action in local areas indicated the importance of local education services. The quality of local education services and public amenities make the community a pleasant and attractive place to live.

In addition, it is mostly believed that there is a close relationship between local autonomy which is defined by Boyne (1993:88) as “the freedom to exercise choice in local policy making and the capacity thereby to influence the well-being of local residences”, and the following outcomes: educational equity, choice and school effectiveness. Local autonomy has a crucial role to develop effective school characteristics, and to create effective school organisations (Brandt 1990, Hilton 1992).

From this point of view, local government decentralisation can be seen as a route towards democratisation (Deakin 1987), if it retains a focus of interest in participatory democracy. If we want to promote participatory democracy, we have to go beyond the purely representative principles. We have to ponder the concepts like local democracy, citizen control, community involvement, area-based management, decentralised power.

Local democracy simply implies community involvement in decision making processes beyond selecting periodically who will govern via elections. In this regard, the low level of turn-out rates, as pointed out by Stewart (1996), are the indicators of the need to develop new forms of participation in LG decision making processes. By doing this, the limitations of representative democracy can be sorted out to a great extent. Citizens' juries, deliberative opinion polls, mediation groups, consensus conferencing, and standing citizens' panels can be seen as the main tools for strengthening representative democracy.

The LG system in Britain has a problem of democratic deficit (Mitchell 1996), so rediscovering democratic purpose and accountability are recently emerging trends. In order to promote the democratic purpose of LG, the relationship between the LG and local community should be democratic, and local citizens should be seen active participants rather than consumers or clients. Otherwise, it not possible to create a situation in which local citizens see LG as a real democratic institution. The following three developments are striking examples of the endeavours to promote local democracy in Britain. These are; (a) the reorganisation of LG through the work of the LG Commission for England, (b) the Labour Party policy document, *Renewing Democracy, Rebuilding Communities*, and (c) the work of the Commission for Local Democracy which was launched at the end of 1993 with financial support from the public sector trades union UNISON, the Unity Trust Bank and the Municipal Journal. ( Stewart & Davis 1994, Stewart 1996, Cairns 1996, Burton & Duncan 1996)

At this point, I should note that writers on LG mostly ignore adult education and its numerous strategies in order to promote local democracy. The only way to empower and involve citizens in the processes of decision making is through education. How can you increase local awareness to attract local citizens to be involved in local decision making processes? The provision of a wide range of learning opportunities to citizens across a wide range of fields from political education to leisure pursuits, can offer valuable opportunities together with the other types of promotional tools mentioned earlier. Without adult education, it is very hard to strengthen local democracy. This will be discussed in detail in the next chapter (chapter 6).

It is very striking fact that scholars who work on local government, such as Clark and Stewart (1992), and Burns, Hambleton & Hoggett (1994), have underlined straightforwardly that the empowerment of local citizens is a major theme of our times which urges every local authority to develop strategies to increase public influence and control over the activities of LG. Thus, citizen empowerment is a central task to attract people to be involved in the work of LAs.

Nevertheless, the term 'empowerment' is employed by many disciplines from management sciences to education, from sociology to psychology. They each give different meanings to it. It can broadly be seen as extending the boundaries of power and understanding. In the organisational sense, empowerment is to allow organisations to respond rapidly, flexibly and efficiently to customer and market demands ( A. Stewart 1994). In adult education literature, the use of the term is twofold: Radical adult educators use it in relation to nurturing awareness and knowledge to act in and upon social structures so that people can restructure society in a more egalitarian manner. More conservative adult educators see empowerment as equipping and raising the confidence of individuals in order to make them more successful in life (Jarvis 1990:114).

At this point, it does seem helpful to consider the concept of citizenship in a broad framework. Undoubtedly, concepts of citizen and citizenship vary from one perspective to another; from one culture to another. However, it is widely agreed in the relevant literature that the concepts of citizen and citizenship obviously imply belonging to a particular state, county, city or a community with some duties and rights. Citizenship as a submerged concept ( Lewis 1994), denotes the identity, status and dignity accorded to equal members of society (Ranson and Stewart 1989). Citizenship requires a direct sense of community membership which is based upon the loyalty to a civilisation that is a common possession (Davies 1994).

Evans (1995:16-17) draws attention the relation between the citizenship and competence stressing their minimal and maximal meanings in the four features of

citizenship identified as 'identity', 'virtues', 'political involvement' and 'social requisites for citizenship'. The minimal interpretation of citizenship implies civil and legal status, rights and responsibilities, arising from a membership of a community or society while the maximal one emphasises consciousness of self as a member of a shared democratic culture, participatory approaches to political involvement.

There are many types of citizenship defined in the literature, such as active citizenship, responsible citizenship, operational citizenship, participatory citizenship, social citizenship, local citizenship etc. The prevailing understanding of citizenship may vary from one period to another in the same societies or communities in accordance with the existing political ideology, and in the context of the dominant, residual and emergent cultures. In this regard, citizenship as a socially-constructed and invoked set of meanings is defined by Giroux (1989:16) as follows:

*"Citizenship is a form of cultural production... the making of citizens must be understood as an ideological process through which we experience ourselves as well as our relations to others and the world within a complex and often contradictory system of representations and images"* (cited in Evans 1995:16).

Westwood (1991) approaches the concept of citizenship in relation to the debate about state-adult education relations. She declares straightforwardly that the concept of citizenship has been changing in Britain since the 19th century. Both the 19th and 20th century states had a specific trajectory which saw struggles by the working class, and women for the vote. Struggle for votes in each case was directly related to rights to collective representation, not just through worker's union and other forms of organisation. Citizenship in capitalism denotes the ability to exchange labour power for wages, to be recognised as a worker.

In this context, Stewart (1996:32) believes that employed citizenship in the Citizens' Charter defines the role of the public as a consumer of service rather than as an active participant in the process of government. The following rights for citizens are included by the Citizens' Charter in Britain:

- (a) voting,
- (b) being represented in the process of government,

- (c) having access to elected representatives,
- (d) holding to account those who represent them,
- (e) being given an account by their representatives,
- (f) knowing the decisions of government,
- (g) knowing why these decisions are made,
- (h) having access to the information on which those decisions are made,
- (i) being heard in government,
- (j) being listened to by government,
- (k) being entitled to explanation,
- (l) being involved in the process of government,
- (m) contributing to discussion in government,
- (n) associating with fellow citizens to press points of view to provide services through co-operation.

Active citizenship is considered as a rationale for citizenship education and a humanist goal for adult education (Hampton 1990, Allen 1992) because a more active citizen would be seen a civilising force in a society. Active citizenship requires citizen participation in which citizens would be educated in intellect, in virtue and in practical activity (Ranson 1990).

Hampton (1990) underlines a danger which is to see local citizens as active consumers, as mentioned earlier, rather than the citizens. In this context, it is very important how local government sees local residents: Are they clients, customers, consumers or citizens? If local authorities see local residents as consumers, clients or customers, they are in a danger of missing the point. Local authorities, as pointed out by Burns, Hambleton and Hoggett (1994), need to focus on the local residents as citizens, not merely as customers, clients or consumers. Focusing on the community members as citizen would make it necessary to give the right to contribute to the production of services and policies, and in shaping choices at the local level.

According to Burns, Hambleton & Hoggett (1994:160-77) empowerment implies a notion of choice, participation and control. It implies decentralising power to local

citizens to enable them to influence decision-making. It denotes inviting local citizens 'behind the scene' not only for participation but also control which means the power of directing. Therefore, citizen empowerment foresees citizen participation in the process of the production, not only in the process of consumption of LG services.

Citizen empowerment has been conceptualised by Burns, Hambleton & Hoggett (1994) as involving 12 steps defined as the ladder of citizen empowerment. These steps, which is named as 'rungs', are considered under the three levels: **1. Citizen Non-Participation:** (a) civic hype, (b) cynical consultation, (c) poor information, (d) customer care. **2. Citizen Participation:** (e) high quality information, (f) genuine consultation, (g) effective advisory bodies, (h) limited decentralised decision-making (i) partnership, (j) delegated control. **3. Citizen Control:** (k) entrusted control, and finally (l) interdependent control.

Burns, Hambleton & Hoggett (1994) have developed the above citizen empowerment ladders. They are based on Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation and provide a conceptual framework which can help local authorities in UK to think about their empowerment strategies. Further more, they believe that, first, it is necessary to make a precise distinction between citizen control and citizen participation. Secondly, several additional forms of empowerment can be envisaged in the upper half of the ladder. Finally, the rungs of the ladder should not be considered to be equidistant. Experiences in last 20 years show that to climb the lower rungs of the ladder is easier than to scale higher ones.

Finally, it is my own perception that citizen empowerment is the most explicit state of local democracy and democratisation. Local government decentralisation, as has been stressed by Burns, Hambleton & Hoggett (1994:179), can play a major role in empowerment strategies. However, empowerment can not lie with a market whose shiny allure conceals vast concentrations of unaccountable private power. If the local authorities are wishing to develop a high level of citizen empowerment, they will need to restructure their committees and departments, and they have to go beyond the classical representative democracy exercises. The legislative and organisational structure of local

government has to be reconsidered towards local authorities supplemented by directly elected, single-purpose authorities such as health boards, energy authorities or elected regional authorities together with many others approaches such as the teledemocratic techniques mentioned by Stewart (1996).

The contract culture and civil society need to be borne in mind at this point to enable voluntary organisations to influence local operations. Voluntary organisations, as the key elements in the idea of civil societies, can be seen as the important actors in the process of the regeneration of communities. The concept of civil society must be considered now because this theoretical and conceptual analysis is necessary to be able to discuss the concept of decentralisation and its ramifications for democracy in this chapter, and the nature of local politics of adult education provision in next.

### **5.1.3. Civil society**

Civil society, like all other concepts in social sciences, has a variety of meanings. The idea of civil society is as old as the idea of the state, so it is defined as 'the opposite of despotism', and 'a particular form of society, appreciating social diversity and able to limit the depredations of political power' (Hall 1995:1-25). Civil society refers to non-governmental institutions/associations which allow local communities to administer themselves. (Gellner 1995, Perez-Diaz 1995 and Bryant 1995).

Civil society can be considered as an 'historical experience' (Peres-Diaz 1995), 'institutional attempt', 'an accommodation' (Bryant 1995), and 'a western dream and historical aspiration' (Mardin 1995). It carries the sense of socially self-organised citizen associations located between the public and private spheres, i.e., between the state and households and the market (Bryant 1995) or between the associations as enterprises (Perez-Diaz 1995). In this context, civil society can be inclusive and tolerant of pluralism, as in Netherlands, or it can be inclusive and assimilative of pluralism, as in France, it can be exclusive and suspicious of pluralism, as in Germany (Bryant 1995:145).

Civil society is considered in the context of modernity and late development by Mouzelis (1995;224-5). He defines modernity as the social situation that became dominant in Western Europe after the English Industrial and French Revolutions. Therefore, civil society refers to 'all social groups and institutions, which in conditions of modernity, lie between primordial kinship groups or institutions on the one hand, and state groups and institutions on the other'. According to this definition of civil society, it entails:

*\*the existence of rule-of-law conditions that effectively protect citizens from state arbitrariness;*

*\*the existence of strongly organised non-state interest groups, capable of checking eventual abuses of power by those who control the means of administration and coercion;*

*\*the existence of a balanced pluralism among civil society interests so that none can establish absolute dominance... (pp225-6).*

According to Perez-Diaz (1995: 98-104) the broad meaning of civil society covers both political components (limited government) and social components (markets, associations and the public sphere). The narrow meaning stresses only social components, in which the autonomy of society and its differences from the state. In its Habermasian sense, civil society refers to voluntary associations out-side the realm of the state and the economy, e.g. churches, cultural associations, academia, independent media, sports and leisure clubs, debating societies, groups of concerned citizens, political parties, labour unions and professional associations. The aim of Habermas was 'to erect a democratic dam against the colonising encroachment of system imperatives on areas of the life-world' (Perez-Diaz 1995: 98-104).

After this short analysis of civil society, it is time to raise the question why civil society? Why voluntary organisations? and why local government?. To begin with, the varied meanings of civil society as a historic entity serve the invaluable goal of building up a healthy democracy. As has been emphasised by Giner (1995), the concept of civil society has been closely tied up with liberal democracy, its success and failure in western societies and throughout the world. Secondly, the ideology behind civil society supports citizenship in a democratic, active and participatory sense of 'citizen empowerment'. As Giner(1995:304) notes:

*"Civil society is a historically evolved sphere of individual rights, freedoms and voluntary associations whose politically undisturbed competition with each other in the pursuit of their respective private concerns, interests,*

*preferences and intentions is guaranteed by a public institution, called the state”.*

The state protects and supports voluntary associations and autonomous social movements as well as the growth of ‘non-profit’, ‘altruistic’ or ‘third’ sector elements in the economy. In this regard, civil society promotes ‘civility’, which implies interpersonal and inter-group respect, and citizen association and pluralist accommodation of difference (Bryant 1995:153).

Furthermore, the idea of civil society is seen as ‘a plea for realism’ by Burns, Hambleton and Hoggett (1994:242-45). They draw attention to different views on the concept of civil society reflecting the distribution of economic and state resources around which different local groups compete. The idea of civil society can cover both emancipation and reaction, and the differences can be shown to generate further differences on a range of other issues, e.g. decentralisation, democratisation and adult education that will be analysed in subsequent.

Finally, mature and strong civil societies, which have at least the five prominent dimensions of individualism, privacy, market, pluralism and class (Giner 1995:304-6), can be considered in a Habermasian sense as ‘a democratic dam’ in front of the racism, fanaticism, political corruption, partisan arrogance, totalitarianism and despotism which can threaten modern democracies. On the other hand, weak and unmature civil society may be abused either developmentally or anti-developmentally by those who control the state apparatuses or means of dominance (Mouzelis 1995:245). Governmental organisations may try to influence and shape civil societies which will result in the death of the civil society spirit. The contract culture may be abused in this way unless it is well-practised in accordance with the idea of civil society and local government decentralisation to achieve citizen empowerment. For these reasons, the idea of local government, decentralisation, contract culture and civil society should be considered in an integrated perspective to clarify the meaning of citizen empowerment for democracy.

After this brief conceptual analysis of local government, local democracy, citizenship and civil society, the concept of decentralisation can be located at the core of the debate for decentralisation versus centralisation.

## **5.2. Concept of Decentralisation**

Decentralisation is not a clear and unitary concept which refers to particular types of practices in different disciplines, state systems and different periods of time. It is a flexible means to make changes in the delivery, quality and quantity of different types of public services. For that reason, it is a very fashionable world-wide idea and a global trend. It is an international phenomenon which is seen as a significant means of development in many Third World countries because it can mean different things in different context, so some believe that the concept of decentralisation is useless and meaningless in itself.

### **5.2.1. Decentralisation Definitions**

Etymologically, to decentralise means to disperse objects away from a central point, or the conditions of objects being located remote from a centre (Lauglo 1995:5). However, it is widely recognised that decentralisation certainly refers to the transfer of power from central government towards local levels which are either regional authorities, federative states or local authorities. Throughout the decentralisation debate the following terms are often mentioned: deconcentration, devolution, administrative-political-organisational decentralisation, responsiveness, accountability, efficiency, effectiveness, equity, equality, contract culture, local government, democratisation, citizenship, civil society and citizen empowerment. One of the aims of this chapter is to clarify the meaning of some of these terms to improve the analytical resource of the decentralisation debate in public policy.

The concepts of deconcentration, decentralisation, devolution, and administrative decentralisation are used interchangeably, and these terms have a different usage in different countries and by different authors. Deconcentration and decentralisation are the terms which have their origin in France and have been defined by the IESS as follows (v.2 p.370);

*"... decentralisation is a term reserved for the transfer of powers from a central government to an areally or functionally specialised authority of distinct legal personality ( for example, the increase of the degree of autonomy of a local government or of a public-enterprise corporation)"*

Decentralisation is a process that consists of three dimensions: 'decision making', 'service integration' and 'political' dimensions with five continuum objectives. These possible objectives of decentralisation are as follows;(a) improving services, (b) strengthening local accountability, (c) distributing resources in accordance with the priorities, (d)increasing public support for LG provisions, and (e) staff development objectives (Hambleton 1988:130-5).

In England and the USA the term devolution, which means 'the transfer of the power or authority from CG to LG or from central organisation to local and smaller organisations', is favoured to the terms of decentralisation and deconcentration. In other words, devolution means decentralisation as well as deconcentration. On the other hand, the meaning of deconcentration, which is equal to 'administrative decentralisation', may be defined as the transfer of the authority within a single government hierarchy on vertical levels having correspondingly larger geographic areas. The two important points about 'deconcentration' or 'administrative decentralisation' are that they concern hierarchy within a single government's structure and the distribution of the authority between the levels such as federal, state and local or central government and local government (IESS 1968 : v.2, p.370).

Some consider deconcentration and devolution in terms of different types of decentralisation. Decentralisation is defined as the delegation of decision-making power in two forms: first, devolution is defined as 'the delegation of decision-making power by law to the sub-national territorial assemblies', e.g. local authorities. Secondly, deconcentration is defined as 'the delegation of decision-taking authority to the lower level of public administrations or organisations on behalf of the central administration' (Chapman 1971:208). The crux of matter in the debate about devolution/deconcentration is the distinction between the decentralisation of political power and administration capacity ( cited in Stevens 1995:36-7).

Burns, Hambleton and Hoggett (1994:87-102) have approached the concept of decentralisation from the point of view that it should be seen as a possible route to the achievement of an organisation's strategic objectives. Their ideal type of neighbourhood decentralisation consists of four dimensions: localisation, flexibility, devolved management and organisational culture change. They mention three types of devolution in terms of *nominal devolution* which contains the monitoring of shadow budgets and control over small budgets concerning special items, *devolution* which implies the control over revenue budgets and major capital budgets, and the opportunity for the carry forward of budgets at year end, and finally *radical devolution* which includes the control over own establishment regrading and the freedom to contract out.

Stevens (1995) believes that decentralisation is not useful concept because it is an unclear, complicated and academically contentious notion. He asserts that the political sciences and the managerial sciences consider the concept of decentralisation differently. The political sciences are concerned with the territorial distribution of power and the electoral legitimacy of sub-national policy making. However, the managerial sciences are concerned with the quality of decentralised service provision and the effectiveness of policy delegation. In other words, the political sciences are concerned with territorial decentralisation and localised political power while the other is concerned with the distribution of control and authority within an organisation.

At this point, it should be noted that Stevens is right to some extent but it is quite difficult to distinguish clearly managerial and non-managerial expectations of the benefit of decentralisation. In practice, the concept of decentralisation employed by political scientists may include both managerial and non-managerial aims. Managerial aims refer to productivity in terms of efficiency and effectiveness. Non-managerial aims imply local democracy, local autonomy, participation and the empowerment of citizens, responsiveness and local accountability. Thus, decentralisation, as has been pointed out by Burns, Hambleton and Hoggett (1994), should be seen as a route towards local democracy rather than efficient and effective service provision. Meanwhile, the concepts of efficiency and effectiveness should not be confused because efficiency is concerned solely with output, i.e., it may be defined as getting more out put by using less in put, but

effectiveness is concerned with the meeting of needs, that is, it is related to the appropriateness or links between the quality of things produced (goods or services) and needs. In other words, efficiency is a concept which based upon the relationship between in-put and out-put but effectiveness is a concept which is based upon the quality of the relationship between production and needs. Efficiency and effectiveness are consider into the concept of productivity by some authors, and are named internal and external productivity.

Broadly speaking, decentralisation should be targeted to some specific aims. Decentralisation is not aim itself, it is a means. Gaster and O'Toole (1995) point out that decentralisation is a response both to the external and internal pressures which they see as the remoteness, insensitivity and narrow-mindedness of existing systems, the government squeeze on resources, the threat from the central government and low turn-out at elections. In this regard, decentralisation is increasingly targeting 'responsiveness', 'tailoring services to local needs', 'efficient and fair allocation of resources' and 'making links at the local level with other organisations'. Decentralisation policies should be based on proper and well-defined objectives and core values. Basic objectives may be 'localisation', 'devolved management', 'democratisation', 'integration', 'developing new organisational culture' or 'enabling local provisions'. These objectives may vary in accordance with the different standpoints. The core values should cover the following elements: (a) involving people in service decisions, (b) staff care, (c) ownership of all problems, (d) retaining professional values, (e) keeping services in house, and (f) improving service quality.

In addition, decentralisation makes necessary new roles and skills for the community, officers and members because decentralisation implies devolution of decision making, new organisational structures and new ways of thinking and working. Councillors and officers should consider a combination of the following roles: regulator, co-ordinator, orchestrating role, evaluator, networker, partnership, enabler, facilitator, budget holder and strategic decision maker.

Decentralisation is a concept with a wide range of meaning depending upon the central ideology behind the practice of policy and its expected outcomes. For example, liberalism, populism and participatory democracy, as it is declared by Lauglo (1995:22-23), have different emphases on decentralisation and its meaning. In respect of educational decentralisation, liberalism justifies a generally wide distribution of authority while populism prescribes strong and distinctly local political government of schools and strong parental control, and the participatory democracy legitimates a weak-authority for all outside bodies. For this reason, decentralisation is not a unitary concept.

It is a widespread global tendency and belief throughout the world that the decentralisation of public services helps to diminish most of the problems facing the service provision, and enables the delivery of more transparent, responsive and productive services from education to health, from leisure pursuits to infrastructure services. However, decentralisation is not a magic stick to ensure all the expected outcomes. It is only a means to reach them. Unless it is well-structured, adapted and implemented, unexpected outcomes may be generated. It may result in either the strengthening of re-centralisation or the re-vitalising of local democracy or decentralised democracy which Burns, Hambleton & Hoggett (1994) regard as the radical devolution of management structures to allow genuine responsiveness to citizens' need and the development of a matching process of participation and citizen empowerment. In this participatory model of citizen empowerment, authority flows from the bottom to up (Stevens 1995). To understand which of these outcomes is likely in any given case, it is necessary to clarify the different forms which decentralisation can take.

### **5.2.2. Forms of Decentralisation**

Many forms of decentralisation are conceivable. These are: organisational, political, economic and administrative decentralisation, horizontal-vertical, formal-informal decentralisation, devolution, deconcentration, federalism, populist localism, political liberalism, market mechanism, pedagogic professionalism, market-based decentralisation, decentralisation of the services or power so on. Suitable forms of educational decentralisation may be organisational rather than political. The decentralisation of adult educational provision is easier than compulsory education owing to the much more local

character of the learning needs of adults. There is no doubt that education is one of the most important ideological apparatus of the state, and compulsory education is much more important than postcompulsory education in the eyes of central government. In respect of education, decentralisation implies the transfer of certain decision-making powers from central government to local level by devolving either policy-making, policy adoption or policy implementation powers.

As it has been shown, decentralisation is a 'slippery' concept which should be defined for certain conditions to reach well-defined targets and objectives. The following questions are vital in this regard: who wants decentralisation? and why? so what types of decentralisation? In the light of these questions, it should be born in mind that decentralisation, as it is stressed by Gyford (1987), does not happen in a vacuum. Global and national trends, e.g. increasing power of the media on citizens' political preferences and nationalisation of local politics, have explicit impacts on decentralisation trends and policies.

The rationale for decentralisation, being considered as the expected outcomes of decentralisation later on in this chapter, also reflects the types of decentralisation in terms of dimensions which reflect the emphasis on different goals: organisational/political or selective/parallel, or horizontal/vertical, or formal/informal. According to Mintzberg (1979) vertical decentralisation refers to the extent decision-making authority is shared down the hierarchy of management. Vertical decentralisation implies the distribution of power for decision-making in a hierarchy from top to bottom. Horizontal decentralisation is defined as the dispersal of authority to non-line or staff members within any level in an organisation. It implies participatory or political decentralisation, and sharing of the power of decision-making between the central office and district office. In other words, vertical decentralisation refers to the extent which decisions are delegated downward in the hierarchy, and horizontal implies to the extent to which decisions are delegated sideways rather than downwards (see Brown 1990:37-38).

Organisations can be decentralised both horizontally and vertically, and use selective and parallel dispersal of authority at the same time. Selective decentralisation refers the transfer of only certain kinds of decisions and others are kept. For example, financial and strategic decisions may be retained by a central office while production decisions are being moved to the divisional offices. Parallel decentralisation refers to the dispersal of many decisions to the same place. For example, parallel decentralisation for schools means that their authority to plan and make decisions would encompass a much greater proportion of the resources they typically consume. Selective decentralisation refers to situations where authority is always kept at headquarters, and parallel decentralisation refers to the extent to which decisions are made in the same place (Brown 1990).

Informal decentralisation can be defined as the actual state of affairs in the sense of the dispersal of powers despite the legislative forces. For example, the relationship between the mayors and prefects in France have been altered by the decentralisation acts. However, prefects were seen as superior in many departments, and close working relationships have been retained. The level of decentralisation at formal and informal dimensions are different.

Lauglo (1995) considers the following forms of decentralisation as alternatives to bureaucratic centralism: (a) political liberalism, (b) federalism, (c) populist localism, (d) participatory democracy, (e) pedagogic professionalism, (f) management by objectives, (g) market mechanism, (h) deconcentration. It is clear from the afore-mentioned classification that the use of market mechanism is also a form of decentralisation in delivery of some provisions, such as education, by creating different choices, and allowing families to choose away a number of options. In this sense, the 'voucher system' of Milton Friedman may be considered as the decentralisation of education. Thus, the Conservative John Major Government has begun to implement of voucher system for nursery education in Britain in 1996 by presenting it as increasing the choice and voice of parents in their children's nursery education. However, it should be kept in mind that assumptions about the market, its control and impact on public service management, particularly education, is quite debatable and contested question.

Burns, Hambleton and Hoggett (1994) consider decentralisation as a sensible mainstream practice in local government. They mention following types of decentralisation practices: (a) neighbourhood-based decentralisation, (b) devolution of the power to voluntary groups, (c) purely managerial decentralisation, (d) public involvement in council decision-making, (e) put market mechanism into public services or consumerist decentralisation, and (f) collectivist decentralisation. It can be seen, therefore, that decentralisation can take many different forms and be driven by different ideological rationales.

### **5.2.3. Expected Outcomes of Decentralisation**

Decentralisation, as has been stressed earlier, is not an aim itself. It is a means which enables public authorities to achieve some particular purposes vary from efficiency to equity, from democratisation to the reduction of inequalities, and requires changing in the structure of organisation and distribution of power. Broadly speaking, it is expected that decentralisation should make the whole range of local authority services more accessible by informing, consulting, supporting and involving local people by using a wide range of incentives (Davies 1987). The following outcomes are expected generally from the implementation of decentralisation although decentralisation is no guarantee they will be reached: (a) accountability, (b) responsiveness, (c) productivity as either efficiency or effectiveness, (d) equality, (e) equity, (f) democratisation, (g) citizen participation and control, and (h) local autonomy.

McLean & Lauglo (1985:9-16) considered these outcomes under the three rationales for decentralisation:

(1) Administrative rationales: it is concerned with the efficiency, effectiveness, responsiveness, accountability.

(2) Political rationales: it is concerned with the retaining and extending of the political power, and the reducing educational expenditures by devolving educational responsibilities to local governments. Decentralisation in general aims at much local autonomy for local government and the strengthened local democracy by raising the voice and choice of the local citizens.

(3) Ideological Rationales: they imply greater local autonomy for the determination of educational policy, curriculum and its content. Concepts of citizenship and civil society may be regarded as ideological rationales for the decentralisation of adult educational provision.

Hambleton (1987:19) has pointed out following objectives for local government decentralisation:

*“1. Improving services: Convenient, integrated and one-stop service delivery; Service planning and policy; The relationship between public servants and the public.*

*2. Local accountability: Vary degrees-authority or influence?; To whom? Local councillors, community groups, local people or a combination?*

*3. Distribution: Different resources for different areas/groups; Equal opportunities policy.*

*4. Political awareness: Win political support for public services; Win support for a political party.”*

*5. Staffing: Job satisfaction; Multi-disciplinary teams; Friendly environment; Neighbourhood loyalty.”*

To clarify those objectives and values is the first and most important step of decentralisation because those aims must be kept in close contact with other steps and exercises. The key steps of decentralisation are proposed by Gaster and O’Toole (1995:34) as the key issues for developing decentralisation policies. These are:

(a) to clarify values and objectives,

(b) to involve those values and objectives into policy work,

(c) to clarify roles and relationships between the community-service users, front-line, and back-line,

(d) to keep the policy dynamic in order to be able to respond to new external and internal pressures,

(e) to build evaluation tools from the beginning,

(f) to make a realistic timetable.

Consequently, the rationales behind the decentralisation can be considered as managerial which refers efficiency, effectiveness, equity and equality, and non-managerial which denotes local democracy, accountability, participation, control and empowerment of the

local citizens. It is my own belief that locating the rationality of decentralisation on the basis of efficiency, effectiveness, equity and equality is contradictory because, first, inequity and inequality are structural, not accidental, in capitalism. Secondly, the idea of local government goes beyond the discourse of good management or local governance of public services for its own sake. Local government is a basis for citizenship and citizen empowerment to achieve democratisation towards participatory democracy. Finally, as it stressed by Hurst (1985), unresponsiveness to the needs of communities, becoming large organisations and permitting widespread corruption are the general characteristics of bureaucratic organisations in both developed and less developed societies. However, these characteristics in less developed countries are much distinctive than in developed countries. For these reasons, decentralisation can not cope with these sorts of problems and constraints. I strongly believe that the emphasis in decentralisation should be placed on the idea of local democracy, local autonomy, local accountability, citizenship, and the participation and empowerment of local citizens rather than efficiency and effectiveness. As this study shows, however, it is not just a formal matter whether decentralisation achieves all kinds of outcome or another. It is empirical issue determined by the unique historical, socio-political and economic circumstances of a society.

### **5.3. Educational Decentralisation & Practices in Different State Systems**

Given the foregoing analysis it becomes difficult to define decentralisation precisely. Definition, practice and the outcomes of decentralisation vary in federal and unitary state systems according to political ideology, and in different service provisions. In the context of education, decentralisation primarily refers to the control of education. Mclean & Lauglo (1985) draw attention two vital points: (a) what constitutes local bodies? and (b) what are the elements of control?. They highlight three possible conflicts in the process of decentralisation. First of all, the debate on whether the unit of local control should be school or local community. Second is the conflict between the national/local dichotomy and the existence of intermediate authorities, e.g. regional authorities and federal states. The third conflict is the varying size and population of existing units of local educational administration.

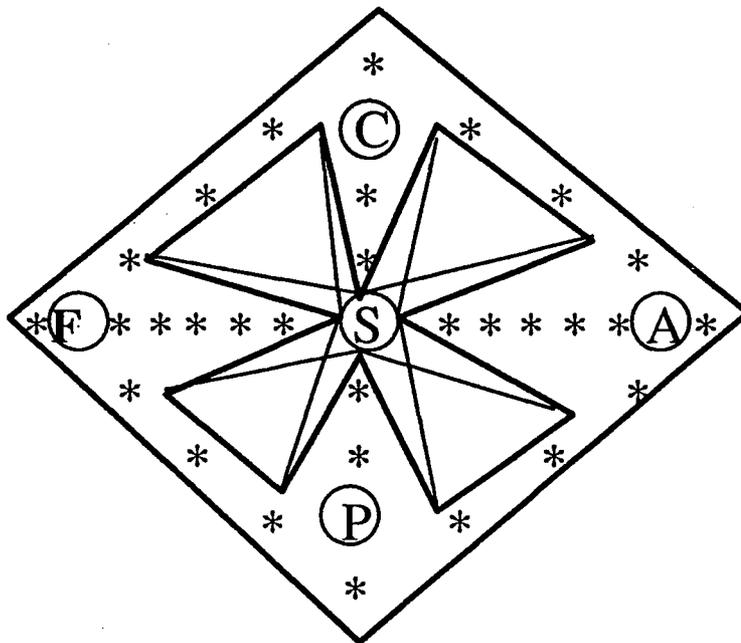
According to Holmes (1985) the main point is the distinction between policy formulation, adoption and implementation. Central governments are not keen to delegate policy formulation power to local authorities. They insist generally that local education authorities should implement policies rather than formulate and adopt them. He points out that it is necessary to make the following distinctions in any analysis of the politics of education:

- “1. Which of these several educational issues is under discussion: aims, finance, administration, structure and organisation, content, teacher education?”*
- 2. Which of three processes is under specific consideration: Policy formulation, policy adoption, and policy implementation?”*
- 3. Which groups within formal organisations and outside them negotiate on the selected issues and in each of the processes?”*
- 4. Is the issue debated among: social consensus groups, procedures and resource providers, producers only?” (p69).*

In same edited book, Hurst (1985:80-1) claims that decentralisation can be seen as a means of delegation of decision making for certain types of decision making areas. The levels of participation to decision making process, areas of decision making and asking which of these areas would necessarily be best administered at school or local level are the central points. Information, consultation and sharing-power are the three different levels of participation to decision making. Decision areas are:

- (a) raising finance,
- (b) allocating expenditure and resources,
- (c) allocating school and college place,
- (d) teacher training and supply, salaries, conditions of service,
- (e) language of instruction,
- (f) examinations,
- (g) curriculum,
- (h) building and equipment norms,
- (i) textbooks,
- (j) methods of instruction, and
- (k) timetables.

According to J. Brown (1990), decentralisation in educational contexts implies organisational decentralisation rather than political. Political decentralisation implies some form of semi-autonomous local control via boards of elected officials. Organisational decentralisation in education reflects the changes in organisational structure which provide more responsiveness, flexibility, productivity and accountability rather than centralised management of education. Decentralisation in this sense should be conceived as a structural phenomenon with special attention being given to the process of change from centralised to decentralised management. The expected outcomes of decentralisation can be classified as flexibility, productivity, accountability and change. Firstly, it advocates the ability of schools to have more authority to control resources. Secondly, it promotes school efficiency and effectiveness of resource use, and provides a greater level of equity amongst students. Thirdly, it offers choices. The final one implies structural changes of organisation in three distinct phases, those of adoption, implementation and continuation.



C= Change    P= Productivity    F= Flexibility    A= Accountability    S= Structure

**FIGURE 5.1  
DECENTRALISATION DIAMOND**

**SOURCE:** Adapted from D. J. Brown (1990), p262.

Decentralisation can be likened to a diamond (see Figure 5.1) which has five components:

*“Structure is at the centre and linked to all other themes because it provides the unifying perspectives for this enquiry into school-based management. Productivity is on the bottom since it is seen as the ultimate test of the worthiness of decentralisation and supports all other concepts. Change is on the top, forming the superstructure which requires all other elements to be in place. Flexibility and accountability, chief substantive components, are posed opposite each other because they are largely complementary.” (p261)*

Lauglo (1985) has noted that local control over the provision, structure and organisation of schools, and overall aspects of the curriculum may have different implications. Relatively, local control of education for adults and nursery education is much more easily achieved than the local control of other levels of education. In unitary state systems, central governments do not allow the local governments to control compulsory education and higher education.

It is widely acknowledged that a centralised education system is clumsy, inflexible, strictly bureaucratic, less productive and responsive to the needs of people than a decentralised one. Decentralisation creates an organisational climate to use the professional experiences of local staff by ‘manipulating their passive conformity’. However, it is not a magic diamond to eliminate all negative and inescapable outcomes of capitalism and bureaucratic organisation.

There is no doubt, however, as has been suggested earlier, that the concept of decentralisation can be used easily to re-centralise some provisions. Using the market mechanism as a form of decentralisation results in the domination of powerful interest who control the market. British experience under the Tory governments since 1979 is a striking example of this. The voucher system in nursery education, the grant maintained schools at compulsory education level, the removal of the postcompulsory education from the LEAs, the creation of GNVQ (General National Vocational Qualifications), TECs (Training Enterprise Council), independent corporate status for all colleges and ex-polytechnic universities at postcompulsory level, are reflections of the above-mentioned logic. The loss of control by local authorities under the central governance of

the Conservatives led to an erosion of the overall consensus between the main political parties. Thatcherite neo-liberal ideology began to destroy local autonomy creating a tight control of finance and constant reduction of taxing and spending power. Metropolitan counties and the Greater London Council have been abolished, and some roles, functions and authorities have been transferred to the central government via centrally appointed non-elected bodies while the other have been given to metropolitan districts. All those negative developments have undermined local democracy in Britain, and the public, as pointed out by Cairns (1996), has not valued local government as a democratic institution sufficiently to deter central government from dismantling the local authorities.

Central government has started to intervene in education which is the most important role of local authorities in Britain. The conservatives believe that they are decentralising education system in order to increase efficiency, effectiveness, accountability and parental choice and voice. They are using a quasi-market approach to do this.

Marketisation of education is a strongly debated topic. However, it should be kept in mind that there is no real market for many public and social services so it is a big question : who will be able control market situations, and for which purposes?. Bartlett (1992) underlines three important criticism against the quasi-market approach and its impacts on education: (a) circumstances are not always favourable, (b) quasi market conditions also tend to generate undesirable inequalities, (c) markets are frequently controlled and regulated in a variety of ways by different actors.

At this point, it should be made clear that using quasi-market strategies to decentralise some public services, particularly educational services, may lead to undesirable and unacceptable inequalities between social classes, regions and genders without providing any significant improvement in efficiency and effectiveness. The British approach to the educational market has been conceptualised as 'the ideology of parentocracy' which involves a major programme of educational privatisation under the slogans of parental choice, educational standards and free market by P. Brown (1990). According to Brown this ideology which is 'a third wave' and shift away from 'the ideology of meritocracy' to 'ideology of parentocracy', is not only a dominant trend for Britain, but also the USA,

Australia and New Zealand. In this framework, the child's education is increasingly becoming the subject of the wealth and wishes of parents rather than the ability and efforts of pupils. Therefore, this ideology of education leads to increasing inequalities in societies.

The commodification of education and leaving education in market conditions is not a favourable and desirable policy in the minds of many working staff in education. Interviews I carried out in Britain tended to agree that the notion of competition is not useful for educational services. In competitive conditions, local government adult education officers feel they are 'constantly under threat'. Colleges are competing in the same patch so competition has killed co-operation and collaborative endeavours. These transformations have engendered a situation in which parents are pitted against teachers, teachers against councils, councils against quangos, colleges against colleges as well as local authorities.

Evidence from the relevant literature as well as the interviews, I conducted, constantly remind us that market-based educational decentralisation increases social class, gender, regional and ethnic inequalities rather than facilitating equality of opportunities and the appropriate distribution of resources for the better delivery of services. An interviewee in France has raised a similar thread:

*"...Decentralisation, I'm afraid, has led to an increase in present regional inequalities regarding education because if you, as a local government, are rich, no problem. If you are not rich and need money to spend for education, it is the problem. If your colour is right, you can get support from the central government. Otherwise, no money."*

Undoubtedly, quasi-decentralisation implementations in post-1979 Britain can be seen as a market-based decentralisation, and may be considered as a political attempt to dismantle local authorities mostly controlled the Labour and the Liberal Democrats. In this sense, it is re-centralisation rather than decentralisation. It is interesting that central governments support some forms of decentralisation in order to control the increasing cost of some public services. In addition, decentralisation of decision making and finance to the local levels may be seen as a way of coping with complex debates and conflicts at national political levels. In other words, sharing responsibility between the

local and central government leads to the sharing of pressures and criticisms for some public services as well. For example, one of the main reasons for French decentralisation reform is to give responsibility to regions and departments on economic development, local planning, education etc. By doing this, central government delegates power to local level together with the responsibility for those public services.

Doyle (1994) criticises new right ideology of education by employing Gramsci's concept of 'hegemony' which implies cultural processes and production and reproduction of ruling class ideas. Hegemony brings a unity of economic and political aims together with an intellectual and moral unity to create the hegemony of a social group over a series of subordinate groups. She believes that the effects of the new educational right ideology on post compulsory education is much more dominant and discursive than those on compulsory education.

The experience of decentralisation from different countries in Latin America, the Southeast Pacific and Asia can be valuable in the comparison of Turkey, France and England & Wales. However, each decentralisation case, as mentioned earlier, has a unique character depending upon the socio-political and politico-administrative structure of the country in which decentralisation is carried out. For example, Ornelas (1988) articulates how the federal government in Mexico turned towards decentralisation in order to re-centralise control of education for the sake of efficiency by creating and controlling the National Education Worker's Union. He draws attention the relationship between the dependency theory and decentralisation as a global trend. He emphasises similar developments and political endeavours around the world: Chile, Peru, Mexico, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Tanzania and China. The world-wide trend of educational decentralisation is shaped and diffused by a special centre: The World Bank. Finally, he suggests following sets of theoretical outlines in order to find a logical answer to why Mexico decided to decentralise its education system:

*"...The first one can be broadly defined as constitutional republican theory; the second can be categorised within the general framework of modernisation theory; the third one clearly fits into the corporatist theories of state; while the fourth is based upon neo-Marxist approaches; finally, the last hypothesis stresses theories of dependency and imperialism." (p.111)*

The broad comparison of Turkish, French and British experiences on decentralisation reveals some remarkable convergences as well as divergences. The most recent developments in England & Wales regarding decentralisation and educational decentralisation, in fact re-centralisation, have been discussed. The most recent decentralisation experiences of the three countries must be analysed to develop an understanding of the concern of local authorities with adult education.

Decentralisation is a long tradition in Britain. Most of the public services together with education are provided by the local authorities. Since 1979, Britain has been moving quickly towards centralisation despite the global trend of decentralisation. According to Holmes (1985) Circular 10/65 was the first indicator of centralisation of certain powers regarding education. Since then, the re-centralisation march has advanced step by step: the 1986, 1988 Education Acts, White Papers, the 1992 Further and Higher Education Act have completed the puzzle, and the new vocationalist picture is now clear. Recent legislation has greatly curtailed the powers of LEAs which are dispersed to schools and the centrally-appointed bodies (QUANGOS, EGOs and NDPBs).

The above mentioned centralisation trends since 1979, which have been called the 'Tory Nationalisation of Britain' by Jenkins (1996), has led it is claimed to the following outcomes: (a) the emasculation of local democracy, (b) the removal of intermediate accountable institutions, (c) the creation of a class of citizen excluded from the political process (cited in Mitchell (1996:1), (d) the creation of 'quango state' through increasingly run 'quongocracy', and (e) the creation of unitary authorities under the direct pressure of central government intervention via re-organisation of local government structure (see Leach 1994 and West 1994).

Decentralisation has a long history in France which dates back to the 1789 French Revolution, so it has called an on going 'endless symphony' for 200 years. The period from 1789-1815 was a triumph of decentralisation but the period from 1815-1871 represents the continuing history of centralisation in French history. After that first legislation on decentralisation was implemented in 1884 during the Third Republic, and decentralisation endeavours retained by the Vichy Regime. During the Fourth Republic

and the beginning of Fifth Republic there was an unsuccessful push for decentralisation. Resistance of local administrators, local elected officials and national politicians from both left and right are accepted important reasons for decentralisation failing in France. Despite this fact, even De Gaulle began to talk about the need for decentralisation and more participation in local government at the second half of 1960s. Therefore, a referendum was held in 1969 to vote local government reform in France. In March 1982, the frame law, *loi-cadre*, on decentralisation whose architect is Gaston Deferre, enabled France to begin the irreversible and unstoppable process to devolve executive powers, administrative functions and financial resources from the central government to the different levels of local government. Between 1982 and 1986, 48 acts and 269 decrees regarding decentralisation were promulgated in France. Decentralisation during the Third Republic resulted in the revolution of mayors which politicised the communes. Decentralisation during the Fifth Republic politicised the departments and regions (Schmidth 1990).

Elected mayors and government-appointed prefects are a reflection of the dual structure of the public administration system. Since 1982, France has been trying to decentralise local government and education provision. Regions, as the elected intermediate public administration bodies, have been created in 1984 (based on 1982 decentralisation act), and the first elections to form regional councils were held in 1986. After that time, most of the central government's powers have been devolved to regions step by step. The relationships between the prefects and mayors have been changed considerably. However, the prefects are seen still the representative agent of central government in France.

The prefects' role, power and title was one of the hotly debated issues not only after passing the 1982 frame law of decentralisation between the government and opposition but also after Second Republic. Prefects were relatively weak in the first part of the Third Republic but their power increased after 1919. In 1939, they were the unchallenged authority in departments. During the war years, this situation was changed and starting from 1946 they began to regain their pre-eminence and former powers. The title of the prefects was changed as *commissaire de la republique*, state commissioner

after 1982 but later their previous title has been given back. The power of prefects on priori review mayor's decision and actions is replaced with post-priori review at regional, departmental and communal levels.

Despite the criticisms, it is generally acknowledged that decentralisation has made significant changes in French local government. The politico-administrative system in France before socialist decentralisation was not only inefficient and overly expensive but also unable to meet the needs of a complicated contemporary welfare society and the demands for local democracy and political involvement. Decentralisation has improved the relationship between the local population and its political representatives by improving relations between citizens and local elected officials, and by increasing citizens influence over them. After decentralisation, new communication channels between the local community and local government have been set up so local government agencies have been trying to be more responsive and sensitive to the needs and desires of local community. Local governments have been trying to provide wider opportunities for citizen involvement through more regular meetings with the citizen groups and local leaders, enlarged municipal commissions and coordination-cooperation committees for cultural affairs and sports as well as through providing services for the residents of local community. Municipal governments have also been trying to reach local communities by traditional and formal means as well as by electoral campaigns, mailings, posters, personal contacts, surveys, audio-visual shows, telephone answering services, public access to municipal council meetings (Schmidth 1990).

However, De Montricher (1995) has clearly noted that the French public administration system in 1990s has been in transition. Its over centralised structure and rationale makes it possible to retain old conservative and bureaucratic-centralist habits. The 1982 *loi-cadre* achieved the transfer of some responsibilities and functions to the local governments, and changed aspects of power of prefects by being ended priori tutelage of the prefects. But the structure of political power is as yet unchanged. Political power is still under the control of the privileged local groups through *cumul des mandats* (accumulation of more than one elected position for a politician). The impacts of decentralisation are diversified in accordance with nature of services. The role of the

prefect is still seen as a sole and powerful representative of national government at local levels.

Administrative functions have been transferred to the three levels of local government as follows: the regions have charge of regional economic planning and policy, industrial development and professional education while the departments have duties and responsibilities for the delivery of health and social services, and the construction and maintenance of public services through fares. Communes have their traditional duties and responsibilities regarding municipal services. The main focus of the decentralisation exercises is to transfer power to the regions and departments rather than to communes.

In regard to educational decentralisation, the devolution of the educational and cultural functions is one of the least affected areas. Both left and right politicians agreed to limited decentralisation of the educational services because of the equality issues in education. The other reason, of course, is that the central government did not want to lose one of the most important ideological state tools. Both left and right parties have seen education as a key foundation, a “bulwark” of national unity. Despite the partial decentralisation of educational services after 1982, both the right and left agreed that there is still need to change and adapt the education system to the new conditions. Educational and cultural decentralisation should be extended, because the education system in France is still highly centralised, hierarchic and inflexible. (Schmidt 1990, Firth 1994).

However, teachers and teacher unions, alike other professional groups, have some doubts regarding decentralisation and particularly educational decentralisation. The teachers organisations are one of the biggest opponents of educational decentralisation because they are concerned with the protection of their members. They believe if decentralisation is to become reality, it is almost certainly mean that the head teachers and local politicians come to possess new powers which they may exercise in unpredictable ways to the detriment of teachers. Thus, public and expert opinions include some significant doubts and caution about educational decentralisation (Williams 1993).

Historically, modern Turkey, founded in 1923 after a national independence war, does not have a legacy of local government and decentralisation. Mardin (1969) noted that the Ottoman-Turkish polity did not have a tradition of local government and decentralisation. The Ottoman polity, which was neither centralised nor decentralised, can be seen as patrimonialism in which the periphery was almost totally subdued by the centre (noted from Heper 1985:7). Establishment of the first local government occurred in 1855 in Istanbul (Keles 1994:111). After the proclamation of the republic of Turkey in 1923, it was very hard to talk about local government in Turkey. The public administration system was adapted from the Napoleon's France because the founder of modern Turkey, Kemal Ataturk, was deeply influenced by the French revolutionary thoughts, and solidarism, as mentioned by Mardin (1995) as an ideology was taken over between 1923 and 1950.

Since 1946 when multi-parti democratic system began, Turkey has faced three military coups d'états in 1960, 1971 and 1980. According to Keles (1985) the government, formed after the 1980 military take over, increased central government control over the local authorities with an emphasis of deconcentration, so elected mayors and municipal councils were abolished by the military government.

Turkey, as a developing country, has an over centralised public administration system which is based on the principle of deconcentration rather than decentralisation. Local government is based on delegation, which implies the transfer of responsibility for specific function to the organisations outside of the central bureaucratic structure, rather than devolution which creates and strengthens sub-national units of government. Thus, local governments, which were regulated and defined in the 1981 Constitution by item 127 as the county (*il özel idaresi*), Municipal (*belediye*) and Parish (*köy*) councils, have a limited number of functions and responsibilities. Almost all public services are delivered by the centrally-appointed representative bodies, which are organised at county and district levels under the patronage of a prefect (*vali*) and sub-prefect (*kaymakam*), for example, Provincial and Sub-Provincial Director of National Education (*il ve ilçe Milli Eğitim Muduru*).

In Turkey, decentralisation, as a constant political ambition, has intensively been debated for a decade. However, the conceptual complexity of the term in Turkey is no longer separated from its 'slippery' and contested nature. It is not an exaggeration to say that decentralisation can often appear in almost all political party manifestos, the relevant literature and the party leaders' public speeches. A close look at these sources shows a common misunderstanding of decentralisation. It is seen as the transfer of power from the central-bureaucracy to the its agents at local levels who are the centrally-appointed local administration bodies such as prefect (*vali*), subprefect (*kaymakam*), or provincial and sub-provincial directors of national education (*il/ilce Milli Egitim Mudurleri*) rather than to elected mayors and bodies.

The previously mentioned levels of local government, of course, have some power and responsibilities but it is almost nothing when it is compared with France and Britain. County councils, which are directed by the centrally-appointed prefect, can be seen as the distributor of the financial resources at provincial level. In regard to education, they have to allocate at least 20% of total annual income to the provincial directorate of national education. The county councils are also responsible from the construction and maintenance of the primary school buildings in their boundaries.

In consequence, educational decentralisation practices in the three countries are rather diverse: France favours an increase in the role and power of local governments, particularly regions, to decentralise education within a national curriculum. Teachers have the status of civil servants and work under the strict auspices of the Ministry of National Education (MNE). England & Wales prefers to employ a market-based decentralisation, (in fact re-centralisation), by increasing parents' choice and the autonomy of the schools. Thus, LEAs are under constant pressure from central interventions. The national curriculum has been created in 1988, and grant maintained school status is developed against local authority management of the schools. In Turkey, decentralisation is now just a politically fashionable allure. Local authorities are too weak and tiny to decentralise education and other public services. They do not have the local government bureaucracy either as an administrative tradition or the human

resources. The worst thing is that they are structurally neither democratic nor autonomous.

France and Turkey has some parallels regarding education, public administration, local government and decentralisation. Both have a deeply rooted centralist tradition with a dual structure of public administration: appointed prefect and elected mayor. Local politics are crystallised around these two notables. Due to this, local governments, which are based on the principle of delegation rather than devolution, have limited functions and powers. However, both countries, unlike England & Wales, are trying to increase the rôle and power of the local authorities. France has significantly progressed towards decentralisation, although it has yet to solve the following problems: excessive number of units and levels of local government; the complexity of local finances; complications in the delivery of public services, and the low level of citizen involvement in local politics.

Comparison of the three countries regarding the rationale and rhetoric of decentralisation provides useful material to understand the phenomenon. A rhetoric of good management and the politicisation of the periphery instead of the depoliticisation of the locally elected officials has been mainly used in France to justify decentralisation. To increase citizen involvement in local politics has been pronounced as an important goal. In England & Wales, a managerial rhetoric has been mainly employed as the rationale, and democratisation and citizen involvement and control have been ignored. In Turkey, the inflexible bureaucratic structure of the central government is one of the most important complaints, so by decentralising public services it is expected to make decisions faster and more responsively than the current situation in which local notables are almost not able to do anything without asking central government. Democratisation and increasing citizen involvement are also important hopes. Thus, a radically well-defined and structured decentralisation reform is seen as the only solution of ethnic problems in the south-east part of the Turkey without destroying unitary nature of the state.

#### **5.4. Contract Culture and its Impacts on Local Government Adult Education Provision.**

Contract culture, in its essence, is a privatisation strategy which facilitates the contracting out of the provision of some goods or services to the private sector. It is seen as a way of 'cutting spending' and 'cut back management' which implies managing against change towards lower levels of resource consumption and organisational activity. In the local government context, it is seen as a way of curbing local authority spending. (Cope 1995). Contracting out services and goods may change the role of the local authority from a delivery agency role to the control and broker agency role. This version of contract culture is obviously influenced by neo-liberal ideology, and represents the efficiency rhetoric discussed earlier. The same rationale is promoted as a dominant goal for local government decentralisation by the new right ideology in many countries. It is not necessary to contract out services to private companies in order to get low levels of resource consumption and organisational activity. The contractor, of course, does not have to be a private profit making company. In the case of adult education, the contractors are generally voluntary organisations who are committed to deliver educational, cultural or social services in Britain.

It is generally expected that local government should be as near as possible to the community. Therefore, local government should link with the local community both directly and indirectly through contract with local organisations. Decentralisation can be seen as a tool to achieve this. But it could also be achieved through the development of a contract culture. In this sense, the contract culture is an inescapable result of the need to link with the community through various practices. These complicated relations require new thinking styles about the shape and content of services traditionally delivered by local government.

The contracting out of school cleaning services in Kent is a very interesting case in sense. Cope (1995) concludes that contracting out school cleaning services to the private companies by sacking local government staff reduced both spending and the standards of school cleaning services. Furthermore, it caused job losses, worsened working conditions for unskilled, poorly educated, mostly women, and deprived groups of

underprivileged people. In addition, there is a doubt whether it really reduced spending or not.

Local authorities via various sections make contracts with the voluntary organisations in order to support them to provide varied services from adult education to community care. 'Contracting out' public services to voluntary organisations, as has been noted by Elsdon & et al (1995), is one of the most important characteristics of British public administration. The relationship between the central/local government and voluntary bodies has been characterised as the 'contract culture' (Knights 1993). However, the contractual relationships imply a huge shift in the culture and organisation of local authorities. Contractors may be: (a) a unit from the local authority, (b) a local or national voluntary organisation, or (c) a private company. Contract culture deeply effects the relationship between (a) the councillors and their constituents, and (b) the officers and members. Therefore, contracts should not only be considered in the sense of efficiency and effectiveness, but also in the light of the processes of democratic consultation, accountability and local involvement (Gaster and O'Toole 1995:12-13).

There is no doubt that contract culture has advantages and disadvantages. It raises a number of issues in respect of open government, responsive provisions and involvement of users for both buyers and providers of services. The following advantages, disadvantages and issues are noted from Gaster and O'Toole (1995). The advantages are:

- "(a) Contracts ensure that local authorities are auditing the services that they are operating.*
- (b) If the council is drawing up specifications for the contract, it must think very carefully about the nature of the service it is providing.*
- (c) Drawing up the contract helps the council think about what services it would like to provide, from whom they should be provided and what the council priorities should be.*
- (d) In separating the purchaser and provider function, councillors can be much more clear about who they are accountable to, who they represent and what their role is.*
- (e) Inappropriate management systems can be overhauled. This can go hand in hand with reviewing the procedures for a decentralised service" (p.14).*

The disadvantages are:

- “(a) There are increased costs in negotiating, monitoring and regulating.*
- (b) There are staffing implications for officers and there are attendance implications for members.*
- (c) Once a contract has been agreed there is only a slight possibility of changing it” (p.14).*

The issues as a purchaser are:

- (a) How does one deal with multi-task contracts?...*
- (b) How can area-based specifications be written into the contract?*
- (c) How does one build in a knowledge of special needs and preferences into the contract?*
- (d) How does one manage in-house and external relationships?” (p.15).*

The issues as a provider are:

- “(a) One needs a high quality of information.*
- (b) The quality of service, especially in a decentralised environment, may be difficult to provide because of limited funding and the need to achieve economies of scale.*
- (c) Integrating contracts between different providers may be difficult” (p15).*

In England & Wales, local government adult education provision (LGAEP) is diverse and covers a wide spectrum. LAs deliver education for adults as a direct or indirect provider. The overall trend, however, in the post 1992 period is towards being an indirect provider. Through the 1992 Further and Higher Education Act, Colleges have become independent corporate bodies removed the LEA control, and funded by the FEFC. In addition, the Conservative central government has clearly showed its commitment not to subsidise non-vocational adult education provisions to any great extent. This commitment is quite obvious in following quotations from the White Papers on Education and Training for 21st Century:

*“...The councils will support full-time and part-time education for adults leading to:*

- National Vocational Qualifications (NVQs)...*
- GCSEs, AS and A levels;*
- access to higher education;*
- access to higher levels of further education;*
- acquisition of basic skills (literacy and numeracy);*
- proficiency in English for speakers of other languages;*

• *in Wales, proficiency in Welsh by those learning, or improving their command of the language. The Councils will also support courses for adult with special educational needs.*" (DES 1991b:8).

*"Courses for the leisure interests of adults are likely to be provided in the future by colleges, by schools, by LEAs, by voluntary bodies, and by private providers. Many of these bodies can put on courses at low cost, and meet that cost by charging fees. But the government recognises that there can be a case for local authorities subsidising this work, especially in disadvantaged areas, since it can have a valuable social function."* (DES 1991b:9).

*"The government expects that public expenditure on education for adults will be concentrated on the courses that can help them in their careers and in daily life. It is not intended that colleges should receive explicit funding from the councils for courses catering for adults' leisure interest"* (DES 1991a:60).

*"LEAs will continue to be responsible for the Youth Service. They will retain responsibility for certain functions related to participation in further education, notably responsibility for discretionary awards and education maintenance allowances"* (DES 1991b:17).

**TABLE 5.1  
ENROLMENT PERCENTAGES OF THE 16+ POPULATION ON ADULT  
EDUCATION COURSES BY REGION AND GENDERS IN ENGLAND &  
WALES**

	1991		1994	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
North	1.7	4.3	1.3	3.5
Yorkshire & Humberside	1.0	2.7	0.9	2.4
East Midlands	2.0	4.8	1.8	4.6
East Anglia	2.2	5.7	1.6	4.4
South East	2.5	6.0	2.0	5.2
Greater London	2.8	6.6	2.3	5.5
Rest of South East	2.4	5.7	1.9	4.9
South West	1.5	4.1	1.3	3.6
West Midlands	1.7	4.0	1.3	2.8
North West	1.1	2.8	1.1	2.8
England	1.9	4.6	1.6	4.0
Wales	1.7	4.1	1.2	3.1

SOURCE: HMSO (1996) *Social Trends*, v26, p78.

The above quotations indicate, and one of my respondents (a LGAE officer) stressed that LGAEP has to be “cost-effective and self-financed”. In other words, it is expected that the participants will afford the expenditure for non-vocational adult educational provisions because some of the councillors see non-vocational adult education provision as a ‘waste of public money’. For that reason, the enrolments have declined dramatically and many of the classes are closing down. TABLE 5.1, which is taken from Social Trends (1995, n.26, p.78), is evidence of the dramatic decline in the enrolments in adult education courses.

In addition to the above statistics, the following quotations from the interviews I did present us a rather clear picture of how local authorities are trying to maintain their adult education service, and under which circumstances:

*“...After 1992, the Colleges became independent, and central government via FEFC channelled money to the colleges. No money for non-scheduled 2 adult education provision, so local authorities have to be cost-effective or on a self-financed basis. It is really restrictive. Classes for non-scheduled 2 provisions have fallen down 75%. It is detrimental...”*

*“...It was a nice disappointment that lots of parish councils and village hall committees did not want to run adult education previously run by the institutes and colleges who already had been running it before.”*

Tuckett (1991) has optimistically noted just before the 1992 FHE Act, that the most important and significant development prompted by the post-1979 central government policies on education and adult education, is the development of strategies to open up post-compulsory education for adults. It is, however, quite debatable in two respects: First, the updating of skills and qualifications are the main aims of postcompulsory education. Second, adults are expected to pay their course fees, and the target group is the 16 to 19 years olds. Programs and procedures are developed and designed for this group of people who are unemployed, young and do not have any academic and vocational qualifications. It should be borne in mind that limiting of LEAs to deliver community adult education through cutting back their financial resources, may increase the existing gap between adult education services in urban, well-resourced areas and services in underfunded, poor and often rural Britain. Giving a statutory duty to the

LEAs, which is the traditional and largest AE provider, is not enough to deliver services for particularly the second group of local authorities.

Sargant (1991 and 1996) has stressed that LGAEP had a special importance for women and elderly adults. Recent developments in the legislation and funding system for local adult education have led to their reduction. However, she believes that recent developments have also some positive impacts in increasing the access of mature students to higher education, and in ensuring and making accessible local provision for minority groups. She also notes that the participation, demographic characteristics, subjects of the courses and the concerns of people, are varied from one region to another, and from one local authority to another.

It is widely agreed fact that Britain has been experiencing a transformation of many facets of social policy and central-local government relations since 1979. Education and local government are the most debated issues which are located at the heart of the political agenda. These transformations have promoted the new type of contract culture in Britain. Beardon (1993) examines the West Yorkshire case, and makes the following distinctions between the old and new contract cultures, illustrated in Figure 5.2:

<u>OLD CULTURE</u>	<u>NEW CULTURE</u>
Statutory bodies as providers	Statutory bodies as enablers
Statutory bodies as monolithic providers	Mixed economy of care
Paternalism	Market Model
Grants	Contracts
Grant aid conditions	Service level agreements
Applying for	Tendering to provide services
Co-operation	Competition
Statutory bodies plan, purchase and provide	Purchaser/provider services
Clients	Consumer
Grants decided on historical precedent	Value for money
No evaluation of agreed outcomes	Monitoring and evaluation
Quality assumed	Quality measured
Little accountability	Accountability
Attention to inputs	Attention to outcomes
Nodefinable strategy	Some attention to strategy

**FIGURE 5.2**  
**COMPARISON OF OLD AND NEW CONTRACT CULTURE**

**SOURCE:** Adapted from Beardon (1993), p4.

The style of contract cultures within LGAEP may vary from one authority to another in accordance with the nature of the political control and professional understanding of the officers responsible for the provision of education for adults. As it has been underlined earlier, it is an overall trend among the local authorities that being the direct provider of education for adults is difficult. However, there are still some local authorities which are able to deliver direct provision which has been described as 'free standing adult and community education services by Powell (1991). These authorities are mostly controlled by the Labour Party. One of those authorities was Cleveland which was abolished in 1995, and split into four new unitary authorities.

Cleveland County Council Adult Education Service had 22 further education centres: two of them are large Adult Education Centres located in Norton and Redcar. Three centres were located in colleges and the others were located mostly in schools. The Service had a budget of over £1.5 for 24 000 students with over 700 tutors. Over 300 local venues for 1500 different courses were used. The Service also made contracts and supported voluntary organisations such as the WEA. The LA adult education officer from Cleveland I interviewed pointed out that providing adequate adult education is a statutory obligation. However, some local authorities can be only an 'enabler' by supporting other AE providers. He summarised his views as follows:

*"...Some of the battles that have been fought for adult and continuing education, have to be re-fought. The Service has a disaggregated budget from the former council which is based on the formulas related to the population of the new authorities. Within the new authorities community education, which embraces adult education, youth and community services, are really looking at the moment at a 15% cut in budget."*

*"...The distribution of the local authority budget to the college sector or voluntary organisations to provide nonvocational provisions, was really adhoc...We are reviewing all procedures of distribution of local authority funds. We want to encourage partnership, and comprehensive and coherent provision of adult education but we feel that money should meet certain criteria... I don't mean criteria to prevent moneys being distributed, I mean more criteria that avoids the duplication of services..."*

Since 1992, LGAEP has been forced to move towards making contracts with voluntary organisations to “to secure adequate provision” rather than providing direct services. FE colleges have become independent corporate bodies financed by the FEFC. Their links with the local governments have been cut by the central government. Although some local authorities have still good working relations and connections with FE colleges, some do not. In these circumstances, some local governments have begun to support voluntary organisations providing community adult education by creating a tight scheme. The Gloucestershire, Hampshire and Newcastle cases are different examples of this changing contract culture on LGAEP.

The Gloucestershire case is presented by (O’Connor 1994) as a well-known, successful example of contract culture in regard to adult educational provision. A team from the county council, led by Jacqui Buffton, has made contracts with 9 different providers across the county to run adult education courses. These providers are; 5 FE colleges, 1 grant-maintained community school, a Women’s Institute, the WEA, and the University of Bristol, Adult and Continuing Education Department. The contract culture or contracting provision does not simply refer to the hand out of financial resources. Contracts make clear what types of provision is made for whom, and at what price. Contracts specify target groups, priorities and general strategies as well. This contract system is based on co-operation and collaboration between the local government and the representatives of concerned groups. This system attempts to measure need and take adult education out into rural areas where a need is identified through the setting up of classes in village halls and available rooms (O’Connor 1994).

In spite of this striking account of contract culture, the reality at the local level is very different. During the 1996 UACE Conference, I had a chance to talk with someone who was responsible for adult education provisions of the Cheltenham & Gloucestershire College of Higher Education. He said “Gloucestershire County Council does not have any co-operation with my organisation”. He explained this as a consequence of political changes in county council, and their county educational policies from nursery school to FE. According to the political profile of districts on the county council, policies and practices are diversified, because the council is a hung one which is controlled by the

Liberal Democrats via the support of Labour. He highlighted the importance of the political colours of the organisations and of the County Council. He said clearly that his college did not have close working relations with the County Council. Therefore, the county council had not made any contracts for adult education although the college provided a considerable amount of adult education together with HE and FE services.

This example makes clear that both education and adult education provision at local levels are directly connected with the nature of local politics. They are the results of political and ideological balances in a locality that will be analysed in detail in next chapter. Therefore, it is not surprising that county councils may not connect or contract with all adult education providers. Political rationales and interests may play an important role in the determination of contractor organisations. Furthermore, the general nature of the education system and central-local government relations are very important determinant of the educational policies at both compulsory and postcompulsory levels.

In this context, Hampshire and Newcastle are very distinct cases of the operation of the contract culture. The adult education officers of the two authorities were interviewed as a part of this research. Hampshire County Council which is a hung council controlled by Liberal Democrats, is not a direct provider of adult education. Adult Education is considered as the concern of the Countryside and Community Department rather than the Education Department. Adult education provision is under control of the Sport and Recreational Committee rather than the Education Committee. Adult education in Hampshire is not even a 'poor-cousin'; it is nothing at all. A full-time adult education officer allocates the local authority funds for non-vocational adult education every year. A summary of her views are as follows:

*"We have problems regarding the procedures of resource distribution. They are mostly the result of lack of resources. Our system of funding is based on reaching targets. We have managed to get them to be more sensible about the kind of targets they have reached. We have still got problems and this year we said we would claw back money, normally we take it back. We pay three times a year up to April this year. And if they have not reached the target as estimated, we take back money. We've got a third payment. The treasurer allowed us to take the money back this year based on real performance rather than our estimates of it. They are screaming, they are saying this is unfair because we have*

*already set out our budgets, fees and everything else. But I wrote them all in February and told them all in December what we are going to do, and showed them how we calculate that. I understand their upset but the policy is about payment on the basis of targets. We said okay, if you are still doing work, you have to fill up the contract to see how you are doing. You don't have to beat every year. We can reply to 90% of all applications. If you beat to run huge number of student's hours, then you'll get the money. Even though we make it quite clear to them, if they don't reach targets, they will get the money taken off."*

Such a contract culture is not based on partnership. Unless voluntary adult education organisations reach the County Council's targets, they will not be able to get the third instalment of already allocated money. This is the contract culture which is shaped by the Liberal Democrat Controlled and hung Hampshire County Council. How can one expect civil society to play a democratic role in such circumstances? It is striking evidence of the idea that voluntary organisations in Britain are less active and strong than the pre-1979 period. Bryant (1995) has noted clearly that those policies did great damage to civil society, which even some writers of the new right are now ready to concede. Financial deficiency is the most important problem of voluntary organisations. Thus, the largest voluntary organisation, the WEA, has been constricted by the central government's on going cut back the grant for adult education provision in the 1980s, and the WEA has already closed 4 district and many branches.

What about Newcastle? The Newcastle Metropolitan Borough Council which is controlled by Labour, is not a direct adult education provider. The Adult Education Service is structured into the Education Department with a number of staff and a limited amount of budget. The Head of Adult Education and Training Officer I interviewed described what they were trying to do in order to 'secure adequacy of provision' as follows:

*"I have challenged the descriptive contract culture for this city. We, quite consciously, don't contract with our partner providers except the FEFC resourcing which has to be you have to offer a sum of money in return for a certain numbers of units of delivery. We have important opportunities for collaboration and joint development planning. Newcastle is a community of education and we use the terms of partner providers and community of schools. Most recently we have adopted a slogan which is "leading learning". We are leading learning. So that*

*the procedures of distribution are really just a system and behind the system is the process. Process of negotiation about what our partners wish to do and given our resources do nothing other than make a contribution. We don't wholly fund any of these areas of activity then the procedures themselves are working a system simply assist them. It serves the opportunity to collaborate. Development staff have as a core of their job description to support assist and advise our partners in the task that they set themselves. In some cases we are dealing with small organisations who are in receipt of funding as low as £500 , right through to the largest grant maintained partner is the WEA with £25 000. They know we are here if they need our help to contact us. It is about the monitoring the correct application of the financial resources in line with the targets that we said we'll fulfil both through the funding council and SRB. The monitoring of that target meeting is done every three months so we have to keep the dialogue and negotiation and remain open as a conduit for support and guidance, and advice. It is not chaotic."*

In Durham County Council, the contract culture is similar to the Newcastle one. Durham County Council which has been controlled by the Labour for many years, is both a direct and indirect provider. However, the funding for direct provision has nearly dried up completely. The Adult Education Service is trying to move quickly towards indirect provider status because the adult education officer sees the local authority's role in adult education as 'an honest broker' which covers taking responsibility indirectly as an enabling authority through funding to link with the other organisations. It is also based on using the expertise of the adult education service to develop a better service for all in a collaborative way. A summary of his views is as follows:

*"The Community Education Service' supports voluntary sector organisation by granting financial resources for many years. If you demonstrate the following criteria, then we can pass the money: A voluntary committee which is elected by the members, operations should be seen clearly, and membership should be open to everyone. We have got baseline money for heating, lighting, cleaning, insurance and administration fee so we keep organisations going physically. Voluntary organisations represent more informal adult education, it is really social education. They have to submit an application annually to us, they have to send an application, proof of their accounts so we see where the money last year went,; they apply for the following year. The entire budget of the community education service is £4.6 million. For our indirect provision £750-800 000. This is for community and youth not only for adult education. We can't reply to all demands and applications for grant."*

In Turkey, the conditions and practice of the contract culture are very different to that of Britain. Decentralisation and contract culture have not been widely practised in local authorities. Central government bodies have to make contracts in accordance with the relevant legislation. Local authorities are not autonomous bodies at all. They are under the strict control of central government so they may be seen as the local agents of central government funded almost totally through central grants. They have to ask permission of central government to make any decision such as to employ a full-time officer or to spend money for something. After the establishment of metropolitan municipalities for larger settlements in 1984, some local authorities created one or more private companies which are controlled by the mayor. By doing this, they created a contract culture to make provision particularly for technical investments for infrastructure or other basic services. Through those practices, local authorities enabled themselves to do something outside of the central government pressures, namely to cope with those central pressures and a strict tradition of bureaucracy, by creating their own resources. Some local authorities contracted out some basic services, such as refuse collection, to private companies which are mostly established by the people who are close to the mayor. Therefore, corruption claims have been raised by both local and national media many times about the contracting out exercises of local governments. Even for central government bodies, some serious accusations are still waiting to be resolved by the authorities.

The LGAE officers I interviewed in Turkey were very keen to take direct responsibility for education an adult education but not indirect provision. They were right to do so because as previously explained civil society is not very well developed in the underdeveloped societies. Civil society as socially self-organised citizen associations standing between the public and private spheres or the voluntary associations outside the realm of the state and the economy in Habermasian sense is seen by the Mardin (1995)'a western dream and historical aspiration'. The characterisation of mature and strong civil societies which have at least five prominent dimensions, as mentioned earlier, of individualism, privacy, market, pluralism and class (Giner 1995), are not available in Turkey to any great extent. Mouzelis (1995) has stressed a weak civil society may be

influenced positively or negatively by those who control the state apparatuses or means of dominance. Turkish civil society is vulnerable to the claims of the central state.

In France, non-vocational adult educational services are mostly provided by the voluntary organisation with financial support of the local governments. *The Ministere de la Culture and Ministere de Temps Libre* are in charge of leisure and cultural activities. Around 1200 *Maison des Jeunes* and *Maison de la Culture* are the main organisation, subsidised partly by the state and local regional councils, for leisure and cultural activities. However, the former organisation has been under attack for ten years because of the politicisation of the youth. Thus, state subsidies have been reduced 13%, more financial responsibility has been placed on local councils who became the direct employers of staff (Shepherd 1993). In France, voluntary organisations are not seen as a voluntary sector. They are considered as a social economy which implies some governmental grants and tax breaks rather than the use of charitable status (Knight 1993).

This chapter has shown that public policies to decentralise local government have developed around the idea of the contract culture in each of the countries under study. Common international trends result, however, in very different local outcomes and may be driven by different ideological rationales. In each of the countries the rationale for the decentralisation of local government and its adult education services, is contested. Is it to achieve efficiency gains and expenditure cut? Or is it to improve local democracy? Whichever is the emphasis, the precise form of decentralisation takes, reflect local politics and the relationship between the central and local government. And, both shape in a direct way the character of both civil society and adult education.

## CHAPTER 6: LOCAL POLITICS OF PROVISION

Local government adult education (LGAE) provision greatly depends on the dynamics of local politics. They vary in place and time according to a number of elements. First of all, the nature of political control at local levels: whether the council is controlled by the majority of a political party or not, and whether or not the ruling party is the same at national and local levels. Secondly, the development level of local bureaucracy has a direct impact on the politics of local provision. Unless the education departments and community education services have a strong commitment to maintaining community adult education services, AE provisions can soon come to be excluded from the responsibility of education departments. In this context, the existence of professionally well-qualified officers [who were defined by Davey (1996:262) as people who 'never cease to amaze with their energy and creativity, and who even in the most impossible situation...work tirelessly to bring rabbits out of hats'] is the most important factor in maintaining the delivery of community-based adult education provisions.

Thirdly, the economic, social and cultural development levels of local authorities are very important elements in the formation of LGAE policies. If universities, FE colleges and voluntary bodies are currently playing a highly active role in a given area, local authorities may face tough competition. Under these circumstances, local authorities may not compete with other providers to attract people to courses.

Finally, the local politics of adult education provision are influenced by the national political systems, the structure of education and local government itself, and by pressures from world-wide trends in economic and cultural life which shapes the circumstances in which local practices can develop. In this context, the new vocationalism, competency-based education, and the commoditisation of education are the dominant trends in the developed capitalist countries of the West. The Europeanisation of adult and continuing education, and the influences of EU policies on the emergence of competency-based vocational training are increasingly becoming important throughout the Western Europe.

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse the local politics of AE provisions from through an international comparative approach at the macro and micro levels. Local government in England & Wales, Turkey and France is described in order to understand the local government structure, organisation, functions, finance, elections, staffing, and relationships with the central government. It is within these areas of work that adult education providers have to negotiate what they can offer to people and their struggles there ultimately shape the structure of adult education available.

Finally, a re-conceptualisation of LGAE provision is proposed. LGAE provision has to be holistic, to be considered from both vocational and non-vocational points of view and in terms of both the direct and indirect provision of local authorities.

### **6.1. Local Government in England & Wales, Turkey and France**

Overviews of local government in Turkey, France and England & Wales are difficult since the three countries have different politico-administrative systems with different cultures, values and social fabrics. In this chapter, local government in the three countries is examined through a comparative approach focused on the form of structure and organisation, central-local relations, finance, electoral systems and the functions of local governments. These headings provide a framework for the systematic analysis of the dynamic of local government practice and for a comparison of different systems in the countries under study. The structures to be examined which change through time, constitute the framework for political and educational action and constrain what is possible in several fields of social policy. The pattern of adult educational opportunities open to different groups of people is to a great extent subject to the provision available to them and is not wholly dependent on the culturally determined demands they make of those opportunities. It is important that adult educators understand the political processes which set the constraints on their work.

#### **6.1.1. The Structure and Organisation of Local Government**

The United Kingdom (UK) is a parliamentary monarchy with a Royal family. It is currently comprised of four smaller countries: England, Wales, Scotland and N. Ireland.

Symbolically, the Queen is the head of state. There is no written constitution, so there is no constitutional protection for local government against the central government. For this reason, it should be noted, too, that there was a more straightforward political motivation behind the local governmental reforms in the UK, and local governments are extremely vulnerable institutions to political, administrative and financial interventions by central government. As it is stressed by Hampton (1991), Martin (1992) and Jeff (1992), both the 1972 Local Government Reform Act and the post-1979 legislation are extremely political being primarily concerned with the party benefits rather than the national and local interests.

The structure, organisation and functions of local government, and relations with central government are different in England & Wales and Scotland and N. Ireland. However, England & Wales have much in common.

The structure is rather complicated and fragmented. Single and two-tier local government structures currently co-exist. According to Byrne (1994) local government has a dual structure comprised of a single tier metropolitan and London boroughs, and two-tiers of counties and districts. The 6 metropolitan counties were created in 1972, and abolished in 1985 by the Conservative government despite strong opposition from Labour. The local government structure in England & Wales includes the counties (38 English and 8 Welsh), metropolitan districts (36 English), non-metropolitan districts (290 English and 37 Welsh), London boroughs (13 inner and 20 outer), and new unitary authorities (6). (see Table 6.1).

**TABLE 6.1**  
**STRUCTURE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN TURKEY, FRANCE AND BRITAIN**

<b>Turkey</b>	<b>France</b>	<b>Britain</b>
Municipal Authorities 2 709	Communes 36 551	Shire County 46
Provincial Local Authorities 80	Departments 100	London Boroughs 33
Village Authorities 40 000	Regions 22	Metropolitan Districts 36
		Unitary Authorities 6
		Shire Districts 327

France, unlike England & Wales, has traditionally had an over-centralised public administration system with a written constitution regulating local government. In other words, local government is under the quasi-control of the constitution. The structure of the French local government system consists of a huge number of entities with fragmented relations. According to the Fifth Republic's constitution (Title 11), the French local government system consists of *communes* (municipalities), *departements* (counties) and overseas *departements* (colonies). According to the same constitution (Article 72), other types of local governmental units can be created by law. After Mitterand's election victory, the 1982 Law designated the regions as the local governmental units in France, and the first election to form regional councils was held in 1986. De Montricher (1995), therefore, classifies French local government system as being comprised of municipalities, departments and regions. Two types of districts, *arrondissements* (metropolitan districts) and *cantons* (non-metropolitan districts), are located between the municipality and department.

Interestingly enough, every city, town, suburb, and village holds municipality status (*commune*). France with 36 551 municipalities, 100 departments (4 overseas), and 22 regions holds the European record of the number of local government entities (Le Cacheux & Tourjansky 1992). Most of the French municipalities are small villages and parishes whose population is less than 1 000 (Stevens 1992). 28 183 out of 36 551 communes have less than 1 000 residents, i.e. 77% of all communes accommodate less than 1000 people (Keles 1994a).

The local government structure in Turkey is very similar that of France. According to the 1982 Constitution, the Turkish local government system consists of provincial local authorities (*il ozel yonetimi*), village authorities (*koy yonetimi*) and municipal authorities (*belediyeler*), and special local authorities can be established through legislation (Article 127). Metropolitan authorities have been created in 1984 as based on the Constitution in

over-populated cities. Municipal authorities don't have a unitary character. Towns (1773), districts (783), provinces (city) (65), metropolitan cities (15) and metropolitan districts (56) are the types of municipal authorities. Metropolitan city and district authorities depend on a different legislative basis to the town, district and city municipal authorities. Administratively, the country is divided into 80 provinces (il) and 840 districts (ilce). It must be noted here that the term 'province' in the literature simply implies a larger territory in the federal state system, but in the Turkish case it is equivalent to "il" and refers to a local authority like 'shire-county' in the English local government system and 'departement' in French one. Turkey, as mentioned earlier, is a unitary and not a federal state.

Local government organisation in the three countries is quite diverse. In England & Wales, local government is based on a committee system in which the council delegates much of its work to committees and officials. Each committee has a chairman, sub-committees and professional officers to determine policies, projects and programmes related to their functions and services. Local councils are too large to be effective decision-making authorities, so they have on average 5 three-hours meeting per a year (Byrne 1994).

Local authorities in England & Wales have a well-developed local government bureaucracy with both elected and non-elected officials. Each council elects its own chair and mayor. The chair and mayor may be the same person who presides over council meetings. The lord mayor and the leader of the council may be different people. When they are so, the mayor symbolically represents the council while the leader of majority group becomes the leader of the council. The leader of the council becomes the chair of the policy and resources committee which is responsible for resource allocation, the budget-making process, decisions on expenditures and control of the distribution of funds and accounts. The responsibility is delegated to committees and officers but LG legal power and formal authority always rests with the council. Almost every local council has its own chief executive officer and a number of chief officers. Under the chief executive officer, the Chief Executive's Advisory Board (CEAB) or the Principal Chief Officers' Management Team (PCOMT) consisting of the treasurer, the director of

planning, the chief officers of the spending services such as education, housing and social welfare. The main purpose of the CEAB is to bring together the views of these specialists for consolidation into general perspectives on authority problems with the objective of co-ordination (Jennings 1977, Hampton 1991, Byrne 1994).

In France, the public administration system has a dual structure. Elected mayors and appointed prefects are two different poles of local politics and administration. The elected body of the commune is the *conseil communal* or *conseil municipal*. The *conseil* elects its chairman, and mayor (*maire*). The *maire*, now chief executive, is responsible to the *conseil* for the implementation of its decision and administration of the commune.

*Departements* in France are geographically determined administrative units and traditional organs of central government used to decentralise powers. Most of the well-known French cities are not departments. For example, Strasbourg is a well-known city in the Bas Rhin department, in the Alsace region. *Departements* are subdivided into *arrondissements* or cantons. Each *arrondissement* has its own council and mayor, one-third of the *arrondissement* council are also members of the municipal councils. The elected body of the *departement* is the *conseil general* which meets at least four times each year. The *conseil general* elects its chairman, chief executive, president and four or ten deputy presidents. The president establishes his own cabinet. The head of professional administration is the *directeur general* or *secreteria general*. (Stevens 1992).

The elected body of each region is the *conseil de region* or *assemblee de region*. It agrees the annual budget, sets taxes and forms general regional policies. The *conseil* or *assemblee* elects its chairman, president (who is the chief executive of the region), bureau (which is executive body of the region), and deputies. The head of the professional administration is *directeur general*. The statutory body in each region is the *Conseil Economique et Social* which consists of the representatives of business, trade unions, cultural, professional and other voluntary organisations in the region. The

statutory body presents reports to *the conseil* which is the only responsible body (Stevens 1992).

The operations and activities of each level of local government are considered by the appointed governor or prefect (*commissaire de la republique*) to ensure legality and appropriateness with central governmental procedures in the form of *priori* administrative tutelage. However, this power of the prefects was altered with the *posteriori* judicial tutelage through the 1982 decentralisation reform. That is to say, the prefects do not have any direct administrative power over the councils' action, the prefect no longer holds the chief executive role in local governments.

In Turkey, the public administration system, likewise in France, has a dual character. However, the elected mayor (*belediye baskani*) and appointed governor or prefect (*vali*) are different in two respects. Firstly, the centrally-appointed governor (*vali*) and sub-governor (*kaymakam*) are much more powerful than the mayors in Turkey. The *Vali and Kaymakam* are the top public administrators at provincial or county and sub-provincial or district levels. They are representatives of the state and are responsible for all public operations and procedures. They, therefore, have the right of *priori* administrative tutelage, supervision and control for all sorts of public procedures on behalf of the central government. Secondly, mayors are elected directly by the electors in Turkey, so people who have a strong political ties and kinship relations as a member of a large family, can have easier passage to mayorship.

In Turkey, as mentioned earlier, the 1982 Constitution (article 127) calls for 3 types of local government: provincial local authorities, municipal and village authorities. Metropolitan and non-metropolitan municipalities have different structures, functions and grants. The relationship between the metropolitan city and metropolitan district municipalities as well as non-metropolitan district municipalities in same province is a very complicated issue (Erguder 1989, Heper 1989, and Kalaycioglu 1989). Kalaycioglu (1989) further believes that the reformers failed to anticipate the emergence of a conflict between the two levels of municipal government.

Each municipal authority has a municipal council (belediye meclisi), a municipal executive committee (belediye encumeni), and a mayor. The number of the councillors varies between 9 and 55 in accordance with the population of the municipal area. The municipal council meets three times a year, and the municipal executive committee consists of elected members (councillors and mayor), and non-elected members (chief officers). The metropolitan city council consists of one fifth of the totality of the district mayors and the councillors. The metropolitan executive committee consists of mayor and non-elected members who are the chief officers (Keles 1994).

The provincial local authority (il ozel yonetimi) is one of the three types of local government in Turkey. It is a cul de sac organisation between the elected and appointed. It consists of three main bodies: governor, provincial council (il genel meclisi), and the provincial executive committee (il daimi encumeni). Members of the provincial councils are elected directly at district level. Each district has at least 2 representatives in accordance with the population of the district. It meets twice a year. The council elects the members of the executive committee each year. The executive committee is comprised of five elected councillors and the governor. The provincial local authorities have their own director (il ozel yonetimi muduru), assistant directors and other official who are the civil servants. The governor is the chair of both council and executive committee. The director of provincial local authorities work under the mayor.

Village or parish (koy) authorities consists of an elected head of village (muhtar) and village council (ihtiyar meclisi). Head teacher and religious leader are the non-elected members of the village councils. Residents of the village elect directly the head of the village and the councillors.

In sum, the structure and organisation of local authorities in the three countries varies considerably. The committee system is at the centre of local government in France and England & Wales whilst it is uncommon in Turkey. If a mayor in Turkey wishes, he/she can establish committees to solve problems with the participation of councillors as well as co-opted members. The public administration structures in France and Turkey, unlike England and Wales, have a dual character with the elected mayors and appointed

governors. Power relations between the appointed governor and the elected mayor have changed radically in France, and regional authorities have been created to devolve power from central government to local levels. However, there have been no significant developments to alter roles and power of the local notables in Turkey towards decentralisation although some authors, such as Kalaycioglu (1989), see the creation of metropolitan authorities as an important local government reform towards decentralisation

### **6.1.2. Local Government Functions**

The functions and power of the local governments vary significantly not only in the three countries but also amongst the types of local authorities at each national levels. Traditionally, local government in Britain has a large degree of autonomy in delivery of important services of the welfare state such as education, health and planning for local economic development. Local government in Britain is strictly separate from central government with the administrative autonomy and considerable local bureaucracy. Counties and their districts share functions and power in England and Wales. The functions of counties and their districts can be classified as follows:

**Counties:** education, libraries, museums and art galleries, playing fields, swimming pools, parks and open spaces, police, fire, refuse disposal, major roads, traffic management, consumer protection and social services.

**Districts:** refuse collection, housing, local roads, museums and art galleries, environmental health, and playing fields and open spaces.

**Metropolitan Districts:** education, libraries, museums and art galleries, playing fields, swimming pools, parks and open spaces, police, fire, refuse disposal and collection, major roads, traffic management, housing, consumer protection; environmental protection and social services ( Houlihan 1986, Hampton 1991, and Byrne 1994).

Traditionally local government is the main provider of education services from pre-school to further and higher education. The LEA is the local organisation of educational planning, administration, finance and staffing. Educational duties and responsibilities have been shared by the local and central government. The relationship between the DFEE and LEAs was based on co-operation, partnership, recognition and identification

of local needs. However, Tory governments have increasingly been destroying local government power on education since the 1986 Education Act. The removal of polytechnics and colleges from LEA control together with the establishment of the national curriculum and grant-maintained schools have damaged the educational power of the LEAs. This issue was examined in chapter 3 and 5. Further discussion of the impact of local politics on adult education provision is made later in this chapter.

**TABLE 6.2**  
**LOCAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE FOR OVERALL SERVICES AND**  
**EDUCATION IN ENGLAND & WALES**

	1984-85	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94
<b>Education Exp.</b>	11 257 234	17 387 161	18 204 856	19 183 209	16 795 571
<b>Overall Exp.</b>	18 622 245	30 574 486	33 026 754	30 002 632	34 124 795
<b>Rate of Educ. Exp.</b>	60.5%	56.8%	55.1%	63.9%	49.2%

**SOURCES:** Adapted from *CIPFA Education Statistics*, 1984-85, 1990-91, 1991-92, 1992-93 and 1993-94.

*CIPFA Finance and General Statistics* 1984-85, 1990-91, 1991-92, 1992-93 and 1993-94.

It should be noted here, based on Table 6.2, that the rates of total educational expenditure in the overall expenditure of local government in England & Wales vary from 49.2% to 63.9%. This means that education is the most important provision of local authorities in Britain. Teachers, head teachers and other staff in educational settings were employed by local governments. Unlike the position in France and Turkey, they are not civil servants.

French local governments, given the goal of national uniformity and equality of the local governmental bodies, have small service delivery responsibilities. France traditionally has a centralised system of governance. For this reason, local authorities are governed by the same administrative rules, regulations and acts. The central government has its own agents, *prefects and sub-prefects*, at sub-national levels. Through the 1982 Deferre Law, the central state in France has encouraged decentralisation in order to increase the accountability and responsibility of local governments. In other words, as noted by

Keating and Midwinter (1994:191), central government in France has favoured decentralisation since 1982, because the central government has attempted to enhance its own decision-making power, to reduce the political and administrative burden on central government, and to force local political elites to accept more responsibility for their decisions.

Responsibilities and functions are shared amongst the communes, departments and regions. However, the regions are more powerful authorities than the communes and departments. Table 6.3 shows the major functions of local authorities in France. They are very much interwoven. All authorities have general powers, and some fields are under control of two or more levels. For example, educational responsibility is shared by the communes for pre-school and primary education, the departments for secondary education, and the regions for upper secondary education, *i.e. lycees*. In this manner, vocational training is a common responsibility for local authorities, but mainly for regional authorities (UNESCO 1985).

**TABLE 6.3**  
**DISTRIBUTION OF MAJOR POWERS AMONGST THE FRENCH LOCAL**  
**AUTHORITIES**

Regions	Departments	Communes
Strategic resource planning	Rural development	Local planning
Strategic housing policy	Housing finance	Housing
Regional roads and transport planning.	Road, school and rural transport	Local roads & transport
Environmental protection	Health	Environmental health
Museums, parks & recreation	Libraries and Social Services	Arts, recreations & tourism
Economic development	Economic development	Economic development
Lycees	Secondary education.	Pre-school & primary educ
Vocational training	Vocational training	Vocational training
.....	Traffic policing	Police and fire
.....	.....	Water, gas & electricity
.....	.....	Sewerage and drainage

**SOURCE:** Adapted from *European Municipal Directory 91-92*, pp.613-7.

Both communes and departments either provide or subsidise socio-cultural and leisure style educational activities for their residents. Communes and departments have public libraries, theatres, museums and cultural centres which provide the above-mentioned facilities and activities for young and elderly people. Central government through the Ministry of Culture subsidises these activities organised by the communes. (Stevens 1992).

The employment and payment of teachers is the concern of central government through the Ministry of National Education. The power of the local authorities regarding education is based on the maintenance of school buildings and the transfer of central government's educational grants. The education system is highly centralised and rigid with a national curriculum. The vocational training of adults is exempt from this generalisation. It is a unique structure which is formed as an amalgamation of centralised and decentralised educational governance.

In Turkey, local authorities are elected public corporate bodies which are established to meet the common needs of the local people. However, 'common needs' could mean anything in a wide spectrum of need. Local governments, which are the weak arms of central government, have a very small service delivery responsibility. Almost all actions and decisions of local authorities are under tight control of central government via its agents in local areas again for the goal of national uniformity and equality. Occasional conflicts between central government organisations at local levels and municipalities are inescapable because of overlaps in role and power. According to Keles (1994) the main reason for this overlap is that local authorities were given a wide range of responsibilities and tasks through legislation due to the weakness of central government during early republican period in the 1930s and 1940s. Later on, many of these responsibilities were transferred to central government organisation through legislation.

It is widely recognised that legislation regulating the major function of local authorities is in need of updating. The basic municipality act was passed in 1930. The major functions of the municipalities were specified in 76 items, by the 1930 Municipality Act,

no: 1530, Article 15. These responsibilities can be classified as mandatory and optional responsibilities in the following areas: (a) economic development, (b) protective services, (c) educational services, (d) agricultural services, (e) social services, (f) transportation services, (g) environmental health, (h) housing services, and (I) the others (Keles 1994).

After the 1980 military take-over, a plan to create metropolitan authorities emerged. The Governance of the Metropolitan Areas Act was passed in 1984. According to this act, the basic responsibilities and functions of metropolitan authorities can be underlined as follows:

- strategic planning of major infrastructure investments and facilities;
- making business and master plans;
- transportation planning and constructing terminals and roads;
- establishment of recreational facilities;
- environmental health;
- provision of basic services to sewerage, water supply and heating;
- refuse collection and disposal;
- reservation and maintenance of cemetery services;
- detailed land use planning;
- supervision of prices and control of open-markets (Erguder 1989).

Regarding education, local authorities in Turkey, particularly provincial local authorities, have the following responsibilities: (a) the maintenance and building of primary school buildings, (b) the provision of land on which to build primary schools, (c) to establish evening schools and student dormitories, (d) to provide training and complementary courses, (e) to provide and support socio-cultural and adult educational services. Despite these responsibilities, provincial local authorities only transfer 20% of their income to the Provincial Directorate of National Education for building and maintenance of primary school buildings. They do not have adequate human and physical resources to play an active role in the governance of education together with the other areas of responsibility mentioned in the legislation.

### 6.1.3. Central-Local Government Relations

Central-local government relations can be considered from two opposing views. Firstly, each form of local government should have their own roles, duties and responsibilities. Local authorities should be considered autonomous bodies, so proper and egalitarian relations between the central and local governments based on a voluntary partnership, co-operation and collaboration ought to prevail. The second view is that local authorities are a waste of resources because of over-staffed, over-waged, unspecialised, mismanaged and inefficient service provision. Most important of all, local government reflects the priorities of political parties rather than the priorities of local needs, demands and wishes. For these reasons, central government control over local authorities is definitely necessary in order to minimise its disadvantages, and to provide efficient services through competition with private companies.

Clarke & Stewart (1991) have considered central-local governmental relations using three models. These are:

**(a)The Relative Autonomy Model:** It includes widely defined freedom of action, taxation power, limited control by CG over LAs and the central-local relations are largely determined by legislation.

**(b)The Agency Model:** The LAs are seen as agencies of CG whose purpose is to effect the policies of CG. It foresees tight control of LG, and limited taxation power for LAs. Incomes of LG should be based on grants as well.

**(c)The Interaction Model:** It accepts close involvement to the discussion of projects and plans, and the diversity of the central-local relationships. Incomes of LG should be based upon not only grant but also taxes as well.

Broadly speaking, CG in both federal and unitary state systems has explicit power over the LG (either 'potential' or 'actual'). It is widely recognised in the light of past experience that when the CG uses actual power in order to dismantle LAs, central-local relations are often conflicting. In contrast to this, when the CG uses potential power or avoids the use of actual power, and accepts the autonomy and freedom of LAs for strengthening local choice and local voice, central-local relations can reach a condition of co-operation & collaboration.

Using these models, Britain can be seen to approximate the interaction model, France and Turkey resemble the feature of the agency model. These models are means to highlight features of CG-LG relationships for analytical purposes. What the models highlight is subject to change through political processes. The degree of autonomy of British local government has been significantly challenged (John 1991, Hampton 1991). There has been a significant shift from a partnership or interactive model to one closer to the agency model.

In France and Turkey, local authorities are seen as agents of central government in order to legitimate central decisions and to co-opt potential dissidents to the corporatist and central state machinery. Despite recent decentralisation endeavours in France, the prefect is still pre-dominantly seen as a sole and powerful representative of central government at sub-national levels. Through decentralisation reform, the president of the departments and regions became chief executive, and the priori administrative tutelage of the prefects is replaced with posterior judicial tutelage.

The principle of *cumul des mandates*, the accumulation of more than one local and national political post, is the most distinctive practice in the domain of intergovernmental relations in France. Most MPs are also councillors at regional, departmental or municipal levels, mayors in big cities, or the presidents of regional or departmental councils. Therefore, local political elites can easily contact many central government units and ministries. In fact, most of the national politicians hold more than one political post. In 1985, the *decumul* bill was passed, and only two of the following mandates are allowed to anyone: mayor of a big city, departmental president, regional president, Member of European Parliament, regional and departmental councillor, mayor of a commune with 20 000 or more inhabitants, vice mayor of a commune with 100 000 inhabitants or more (Schmidt 1990, Keles 1994a).

In Turkey, local authorities are under strict control of the central government both explicitly and implicitly. First of all, provincial local authorities depend directly on the appointed governor of the province. The governor is the chair of provincial council and

provincial executive committee. Most of the municipal council's decisions are not valid without the approval of the mayor, ministry of interior or cabinet. For example, any municipal authority, which would like to employ a person of foreign nationality, has to get cabinet approval. Chief officers are appointed by the ministry of interior, and a governor has the power to call a municipal council to meet on any chosen agenda (Keles 1994).

Central-local government relations in Turkey can fit into the second model of intergovernmental relations mentioned earlier i.e. the agency model. Central government control over local authorities is inescapable because of the mismanagement of services and prioritisation of political party needs and wishes rather than those of the local community.

#### **6.1.4. Political Parties and the Electoral Systems**

It is difficult to disagree with the judgement that there are various number of relations between local and national politics as well as between party headquarters and local party units. These relations that are effective and determinant of the character of LG were described by Gyford & James (1983:7) as follows:

- (a) local party unit-party headquarters linkages.
- (b) local party unit- party parliament group linkages.
- (c) local party unit-local authority party group linkages.
- (d) party headquarters-party parliament group linkages.
- (e) party headquarters-local authority party group linkages.
- (f) party parliament group-local authority party group relations.

Given these complex interactions, local authorities can easily be blamed for prioritising political party needs and wishes over those of the local community. However, the assertion mentioned by Byrne (1994:171), is that there ought to be no politics in local government, and the councils should pull together for the best interest of the community brings to mind three questions: who is the community, what is the best, and who decides what the best is?

Effective local government should find a middle ground between the excessive politicisation of its business and good management. Well-established local government bureaucracy is the key element in finding this for local councils. It is not possible to exclude locally elected councillors from politics, but their links may become disorderly unless well-qualified staff work in a well-organised local bureaucracy. The possibility is that local councils, as noted by Byrne (1994), may be poisoned by ideological politics with the result that councillors and staff are harassed and intimidated. Party supporters and sympathisers are given sinecure jobs to determine council posts in accordance with the party affiliation. Furthermore, it may even reach down to the determination of school curriculum and purchase of books for schools. Political radicalisation of some Labour controlled local authorities in Britain is held by some to be the main reason for central governmental reforms since 1979 (Tomlinson 1993).

In the UK, there are 5 major political parties, the Conservative, the Labour, the Liberal Democrat, Ulster Unionists and the Scottish National Party, and several smaller one. They are quite dominant in political life in UK. However, lack of candidates and a shortage of public-spirited local citizens is an interesting indicators of the low level of local involvement in politics in Britain. Despite a reduction in the number of local authorities from 1500 to 500, and the number of local seats from 42 000 to 26 000, many seats for local councils are still elected unopposed (Byrne 1994).

In France, party politics is complicated. Despite the existence of many political parties, the major parties are the Communists, the Socialists, the Gaullist, the Republicans, the Christian Democrats, the Greens, and the National Front (Stevens 1992). The 1982 decentralisation reform has politicised the periphery, and changed the rules and roles of local politics. According to Schmidt (1990) the new rule of the game is the new coalitions of moderate right and the extreme right with a tacit alliances between the Socialists and the moderate right. Table 6.5 illustrates the local electoral system in France. Regional, departmental and communal councils are elected for a six year term, but half of the members of the council are elected every three years and one member is elected for each canton of the department by a two-round system. General elections are held for a five year period. Every French citizen who is over 18, has voting right,

and every French citizen who is over 23, can be candidate for political posts. Municipal elections take place every six years.

**TABLE 6.4**  
**LOCAL ELECTORAL SYSTEMS IN FRANCE 1991**

Election	System	Electoral District
Regional Council	Proportional by list	Department
Department Council (Conseil General)	Two Ballot 'first past the post'	Canton
Town Council (Conseil Municipal)	Less than 3 500* Two ballot list system	Commune except Paris, Lyons, Marseilles.
Senate	Indirect	Department

\*If inhabitants less than 3 500, two-ballot, winner takes all list. If inhabitants over 3 500, two-ballot list system 50% to winner, 50% proportionately.

**SOURCE:** *Documentation Francaise* (1991) p.70 cited from Stevens (1992), p.151.

In Turkey, general elections are held every five years period in principle. Local elections are held for four years. Mayors and councillors are elected through the direct vote of the local citizens. The number of the member of councils vary according to the size of population.

Despite the existence of many political parties, there are just 6 parties with seats in the national assembly. These are: Truepath Party, the Pro-Islamic Welfare Party, Democratic Left Party, Motherland Party, Great Unity Party, and Republican People's Party. Political party-local government relations in Turkey are quite different from Britain and France. Political parties can not make alliances without party headquarter's approval at local elections, and also they have to follow party headquarter's instructions in local government actions and operations. In France, political parties can make local level deals which differ from national trends. Political partisanship is common throughout the world in different levels. The rhetoric of non-partisanship and good management, therefore, have an important place in French and British local government practice. In Turkey, the

situation is different: local authorities are seen the castles of partisanship, mismanagement, and corruption. Citizen control and involvement is almost nil and not supported by the mayors. Voting in the election is the only way for citizen participation. The turnout rate, unlike Britain and France, is over 90%, because voting is compulsory. However, the turn-out rate in France, 70%, is higher than in Britain where it is about 40% (Stewart 1996).

It is not possible to ignore political party and local government relations in the context of local governance of some services. More or less, political parties have some impact on local government via their local branches. Due to the constantly changing dynamics of local politics, local provision can be influenced in both negative and positive ways. Adult education provision as an extremely political battle ground can be considered one of the most affected areas of local provision.

#### **6.1.5. Finance**

Income sources and levels together with the overall expenditure of local government can act as useful indicators of the strengths of local government, local autonomy and inter-governmental relation. In other words, a close look at local government finance provides us with useful hints to evaluate the concern of local government with the provision of adult education.

Broadly speaking, local authorities are economically dependent on central government financial support. However, the degree of dependence varies from one society to another. When the degree of dependency increases, the level of local autonomy decreases, and local authorities lose their most important function: good community governance of public services based on the actual needs of local community.

The income sources of LG in the UK are:

**(a) CG Grants:** There are two main types of CG grants including specific grants that are given for specific purposes and not to be used for any other purposes, and revenue support grants (RSG) that are used for other local provisions. In fact, the presence of specific grants may be seen not only as a threat to local autonomy but also a factor in

increasing central control over LG. The percentage of specific grants out of the total CG grants is only 10 %. In the calculation of RSG, there are three important elements: needs, resources and domestic elements. The 1980 LG Planning and Land Act created a new "block grant" system for England and Wales in order to limit and audit LG expenditures. According to this method, the DOE estimate a target which is called the Standard Spending Assessment (SSA), and then if a LA spends significantly more than estimated amount, the CG penalises the LA by cutting some parts of its grant. The RSG is calculated by using following formula:

$$\text{RSG} = \text{SSA} - [(\text{business rate} \times \text{local population}) + (\text{council tax} \times \text{local householders})]$$

**(b) Local Rates & Taxes:** Taxes raised from the owners of houses, factories, offices, farm buildings, churches and buildings owned by charities may be included in this type of LG income. The CG can play a dominant role, as in the example of specific CG grants, on taxes and rates received by LAs as follows: firstly, the CG can decide what kinds of properties will be exempt from tax. Secondly, CG can postpone the periodic re-evaluation, generally it is carried out in every five years by the district valuer, of the local properties.

**(c) The Other Incomes:** These includes rents, fees and local charges for local services such as licences, library fines, car parking or evening classes (Houlihan 1986, Hampton 1991, John 1991, Byrne 1994). The distribution of these three types of income in the 1991 revenue account was as follows: central government grant was 78% of the total current revenue, 14 % from taxes, and 8% rents, interests and others (Byrne 1994:301).

LG expenditures are made up of current and capital expenditures. The current expenditure consists of the costs of goods and services provided by LAs such as education, housing, police, fire and personal social services as well as wages and salaries for locally employed staff. Capital expenditure includes construction or enhancement of lands, roads, buildings and other structures together with acquisition of plant, machinery, apparatus, vehicles and vessels. LG capital expenditures have been controlled closely by CG since 1990, justified as part of the CG's general responsibilities for national economic management. By 1980, most capital expenditures were provided by the related ministries, e.g. capital expenditures for school building are provided by the DES, now DfEE, along with tightened central control over spending.

Table 6.5 displays the total LG expenditure, which is about 25% of all public spending and one ninth of GNP (Byrne 1994:296), as CG support and LG self-finance from 1989-90 to 1997-98. It is a notable that the financing of LG expenditure is becoming increasingly dependant on CG grants. The rate of LG self-financed expenditure has decreased from 28.9% for 1989 to 14.3% for 1993-1994, and is expected to fall to 16.1% by 1997-98.

**TABLE 6.5**  
**FINANCING LOCAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE IN THE UK**

Years	£ million		CG Support (%)		LG Self-Finance Exp. (%)	
	Total LG Exp. (%)					
1989-90	53 874	100	38 342	71.1	15 533	28.9
1990-91	57 783	100	42 498	73.5	15 285	26.5
1991-92	64 507	100	53 287	82.6	11 221	17.4
1992-93	68 994	100	59 279	85.9	9 714	14.1
1993-94	69 662	100	59 730	85.7	9 931	14.3
1994-95 <sup>a</sup>	73 300	100	61 460	83.8	11 800	16.2
1995-96 <sup>b</sup>	73 400	100	61 673	84.0	11 700	16.0
1996-97 <sup>b</sup>	74 700	100	62 700	83.9	12 000	16.1
1997-98 <sup>b</sup>	75 700	100	63 550	83.9	12 200	16.1

<sup>a</sup> Estimated Outturn    <sup>b</sup> Plans

SOURCE: *HR Treasury*, (February 1995), p.48.

In France, LG expenditures represented 10.4% of the GDP, and 45.2% of overall state expenditures in 1982. These rates increased from 10.7% and 48% in 1986 (Schmidt 1990:348). The level of LG self-finance in France is greater than in Britain although CG, as noted by Le Cacheux & Tourjansky (1992), has retained control over the general principles of local taxation system, the definition of tax bases, rules and limits of various tax rates, and the collection of the taxes. French local authorities pick up 41 different taxes which can be classified as *quatre vieilles* (four old direct taxes) and the others. Table 6.6 illustrates the French LG income level in 1991. It is obvious that the rate of LG self-finance as a proportion of total LG income is 64%. The rate of CG support as state aid and loans is 36%.

**TABLE 6.6**  
**RATES OF FRENCH LOCAL GOVERNMENT RECEIPTS IN 1991**

Source	(%)	Share of <i>Quatre Vieilles</i>	(%)
State Aid	27	<i>Taxe Professionnelle</i> (business & self-employment tax)	46
Loans	9	<i>Taxe D'habitation</i> (residential tax)	25
Charges etc.	16	<i>Taxe Le Foncier Bati</i> (building tax)	25
<i>Quatre Vieilles</i>	33	<i>Tax Sur Le Foncier Non-Bati</i> (land tax)	4
Other Local Taxes	15		
Total	100		100

**SOURCE:** Keating, M. & Midwinter, A. (1994), p.182.

In Turkey, LA finance comes from CG grants and LG self-incomes through rates, taxes and charges. According to the legislative framework, each year the CG has to allocate 7.55% of total tax incomes in the overall budget to municipal authorities, and 1% to provincial local authorities. It is a revenue support grant which is allocated in accordance with the population, developmental level, geographic, financial and touristic indicators of the cities. Turkish local authorities collect the following taxes: advertisement tax, amusement tax, telecommunication tax, electricity and gas tax, fire tax, professional tax, and refuse collection and disposal tax. Village authorities pick up a special village residential tax (salma), and receive a limited amount of CG grant (Keles 1994).

**TABLE 6.7**  
**RATE OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT SHARES FROM THE ANNUAL NATIONAL BUDGET IN TURKEY**  
(%)

	1981	1984	1985	1986	1987	1994
<b>Municipal Authorities</b>	5	7.15	8.15	9.30	10.30	7.55
<b>Provincial Local Authorities</b>	1	1.15	1.15	1.30	2.30	1.0

**SOURCE:** Adapted from Keles 1985, p.46, and 1994, p.287-289.

Table 6.7 illustrates the local government shares of the annual national budget in selected years in terms of revenue support grant. It shows that the percentage of total local

government budgets is just 8.55% of the total annual budget. It is about 25% for Britain and 45% for France.

Discussions in this section have shown that local governments in Turkey, France, and Britain display significant differences. The local government tradition in Britain is particularly different from France and Turkey in the domain of inter-governmental relations, functions and local government structure. Local authorities in Turkey and France have small service delivery responsibilities and power in an over-centralised, extremely bureaucratic and fragmented public administration system. There are many complex patterns of relations between the politicians and bureaucrats. However, decentralisation attempts since 1982 have relatively altered the roles and rules of the local politico-administrative system in France. There has been no significant development of this sort in Turkey with the exception of locating the decentralisation issue on political party manifestos and national agendas. It can be seen as a strong commitment towards democracy and democratisation.

In Britain, local government has traditionally been decentralised. Local authorities had a large degree of autonomy in delivering some of the important welfare services through a local bureaucracy. For example, nine out of ten children still continue LEA controlled schools at compulsory education level, and a little over than half of the overall LG expenditure goes educational expenditure. In Britain local authorities are still the biggest employer and actor at the local level. However, local government, as mentioned earlier, has been significantly changed in Britain under the Tory governments since 1979. Britain is rapidly moving towards centralisation by destroying local autonomy, and creating unaccountable non-elected quangos in opposition to the world-wide trend of decentralisation. Thus, the sense of crisis, uncertainty and loss of legitimacy of LG in Britain, as underlined by Stoker (1991), is very significant.

## **6.2. Adult Education-Local Government Relations at the Macro Level in Britain, Turkey and France**

The education, adult education and local government systems of the three countries have been examined in previous chapters together with recent literature on the debates about

education versus training, liberal vocationalism versus new vocationalism, and decentralisation versus centralisation in conjunction with the empirical data gained for this study. In this context, chapters 3, 4 and 5 can be seen as vital ground work for the study of adult education-local government relations for the following reasons. Firstly, education should be seen as a lifelong process 'from the cradle to grave', so adult education can be defined any organised and planned educational, cultural and social activity for people who are outside of the formal compulsory schooling age. In this sense, adult education is an inseparable part of the education process. Secondly, adult education compensates the formal schooling system to some extent, so it is very difficult to understand and analyse adult educational provisions in any society without also having background information about the formal schooling system together with the social, cultural and economic institutions of society. Finally, the structure of local government, organisation, finance, and functions together with the intergovernmental relations must be evaluated in order to analyse local government-adult education relations in an international comparative approach.

Adult education-local government relations at the macro level in the three countries, and at micro level in Britain and Turkey are analysed in different sections of this chapter. The macro-micro debate, as mentioned earlier in Chapter 2, is the result of the dual character of social phenomena: without an understanding of one a full understanding of the other can not be achieved. In other words, one-dimensional analyses cannot cope with the difficulty of understanding and analysing social phenomena for it ignores half of the whole (Layder 1994). Macro-micro distinctions imply different aspects of the social phenomena in terms of level and scale of analysis and research focus. The macro dimension in this analysis refers to central government interventions, conflicts over policies, ideological disputation between CG and LG, the general structural parameters, goals and differences among local authorities. These features of the analysis can be studied using public documentary services of information. The micro dimensional analysis implies the interest and characters of local actors, changes in organisational control and structure at the local scale, decision-making, the perceptions and feelings of actors about the policies, provision and problems of particular local authorities. The

appropriate method for gathering information on these issues is the detailed interviews with local actors themselves.

### **6.2.1. Britain**

Britain, as mentioned earlier, has been experiencing an enormous structural transformation for one and a half decades. The driving force behind this transformation is, undoubtedly, neo-liberal right ideology which has been politically powerful since 1979. Local government and education have been heavily influenced in this transformation process. It is widely recognised that all legislation on education and local government enacted by the conservative government since 1979 has increased the power of central government, and weakened that of local governments. Quangos, GMS, New Vocationalism, Independent and Autonomous FE Colleges, NVQ, the Demise of Liberal Education and the Extra-mural Tradition, TECs, TEED, Ex-Polytechnic Universities, FEFC and HEFCE are the key words of the new system. In this context it becomes clear that the education system is quickly moving towards deconcentration and re-centralisation. Education is regimed to give much more priority to the needs of industry, business and employers. Secondly, the identification of the standards and determination of educational policies is to be controlled and directed by the employers rather than the employees or their representatives.

Post-1979 educational legislation has not only transformed LEAs' role, power and function on compulsory education but also on postcompulsory, FE or post-16 education by removing both polytechnics and FE colleges from LEA control. By changing the funding system, financial resources for education have been channelled towards vocational education. Schedule 2 and non-schedule 2 types courses are classified, and schedule 2 courses (qualification bearing vocational and academic courses, adult basic education, English for speakers of other languages, and certain access, return to learning, and special education needs programmes ( see Powell 1996) of the local authorities have been supported by the FEFC with over bureaucratic procedures. In fact, some parts of adult education budgets of the local authorities have been removed to the FEFC. And then, local authorities are expected to apply to get support for schedule 2 courses. Local government adult educators such as Norris (1996), Flynn (1996), and Bateson (1996)

have narrated how massive bureaucratic obstacles, tightened control and the claw-back of money has to be sorted out by local authorities.

Under these circumstances, LEAs have enormous budget pressures, and have stopped subsidising AE provision in free standing form by themselves or delivered by the other voluntary bodies. Two surveys- (NATFHE 1993, and NIACE 1995) - have reported huge budget curtailments in local government adult education expenditures (see Powell 1996:17). Some LAs have kept community education sections while some have sacked outright all staff in education departments.

Based upon the results of their study which was carried out with 113 interviews in English and Welsh LEAs, the role of LEAs in postcompulsory education has been described as that of 'honest broker' by Johnson & Schagen (1994). I believe on the other hand that the role of LEAs on adult education, unfortunately, is increasingly becoming that of a simple contractor.

The nature of education for adults in Britain is rapidly changing. This has been particularly distinct during the last decade. The increasing trend is for adult education to be replaced by continuing education (Jarvis 1996, Davey 1996). In addition to this, efforts to make clear-cut distinctions between leisure and liberal, vocational and non-vocational, and adult and continuing education is a real conundrum. According to Bell (1996) the war between the liberal and job related adult education has been both unnecessary and destructive. It is a mere clash of false images. Efforts to separate out training, leisure and liberal enlightenment are ultimately harmful to a good broad view of adult education.

Before progressing with the analysis of local government adult education provision (LGAEP), the following points should be raised. First of all, the conceptualisation of adult education in Britain, as mentioned in Chapter 4, is quite distinctive from its international notion. AE refers to any organised activity for leisure and non-credited courses for adult people in Britain. Unable to offer this now, local authorities have begun to favour community and youth work studies rather adult education. Secondly, the

concept of FE refers to all educational provisions between compulsory and higher education. Indeed, the boundary between FE and HE is increasingly blurring in Britain. The traditional FE role of LEAs was given to independent further and higher education colleges and TECs in England and Wales. Finally, the nature of relationships between the voluntary organisations and local authorities has evolved over the last ten years. Contract culture, as described in chapter 5, should not only be seen as a simple distribution of financial resources among the providers, but also as a functional tool which enables local authorities to work co-operatively and collaboratively with the other AE providers. The contract culture, in this respect, can initiate an improvement in civil society spirit to empower the communities and revitalise local democracy by promoting active and democratic citizenship.

The relationship between LA and college/voluntary sectors are complex, locally-determined, and based on the dynamics of local politics and needs. It varies in time and place. Powell (1991) has classified local governmental approaches to delivering AE provisions as follows: (a) Free-standing AE services, (b) Delivery through colleges of FE, (c) Delivery through community schools, and (d) others. Organisational structures, staff and delivery services are extremely variable in nature. Usually, LA's educational provisions for adult education are co-ordinated by an officer with a specific remit (HMI 1991), or a few FT officers located at county hall, and area principals and organisers together with secretarial staff, e.g. in Cleveland. Sometimes, adult education provisions are organised by a FT organiser under the auspices of the leisure committee outside of the education department, e.g. Hampshire. In this case, LA as a simple contractor handles out a limited amount of money among the AE providers within a tight framework of bureaucratic control.

Most of the LEAs have already stopped delivering free standing adult education services. Legislatively, local authorities have a statutory duty to provide adult and community education services which was regulated by the 1944 Education Act, sections 41 and 42 which were quoted in Chapter 5.

Adult and community education can be considered within the concept of further education which is defined as

*“full-time and part-time education for persons over compulsory school age (including vocational, social, physical and recreational training); and organized leisure-time occupation provided in connection with the provision of such education”*

by the 1988 ERA. The Act gives LEAs the duty of preparing a Scheme of Delegation for Further Education which sets out;

*(1) the principles on which the Authority will plan its further education provision;*

*(2) how those institutions falling within scope of the Scheme will be funded, and the terms of the local FE funding formula;*

*(3) on what terms budgets will be delegated to newly constituted FE governing bodies (which need to have 50% of their members representing employment interests or co-options).*

It is still possible to provide free standing adult and community education services, although a non-statutory delegation is recommended by the DES Circular 19/89 (Powell 1991:15-6).

The importance of the DES Circular 19/89, as highlighted by NIACE (1990:15), is threefold: the use of the phrase ‘adult continuing education’ to broaden the understanding of adult education, ‘adult learner’, and ‘education and training opportunities’. These three points are illustrated in the following quotation from the NIACE document:

*“Adult continuing education serves the needs of adult learners. It covers a wide variety of educational and training opportunities which include general education, whether for personal, professional, recreational or other purposes; second chance education to promote access to further education and training, higher education or employment; and continuing education and training to update skills and knowledge. It is provided in different kinds of institution, including adult education centres, adult education institutes and colleges, community schools and community colleges, colleges of further and higher education, polytechnics, universities, and a wide variety of voluntary and other bodies”* (cited from Raggatt & Edwards 1996:159).

The 1992 Further and Higher Education Act has disconnected local authorities from FE and sixth form colleges by creating schemes of delegation and a new funding system. Funding schemes for further and higher education have been regulated by section 139 as follows:

*“(139:1) It shall be the duty of every local education authority to prepare a scheme in accordance with this Chapter and submit it for the approval of the Secretary of State in accordance with section 140 of this Act.*

*(2) The scheme shall provide for-*

*(a) the determination in respect of each financial year of the authority, for each institution required to be covered by the scheme in that year, of the share to be appropriated for that institution in that year of the further and higher education budget of the authority for that year (referred to below in this chapter, in relation to such an institution as the institution's budget share ); and*

*(b) the delegation by the authority of the management of an institution's budget share for any year to the governing body of the institution where such delegation is required or permitted by or under the scheme” (Cited from Maclure 1992:105).*

According to Raggatt & Edward (1996:158) there is no specific policy framework for AE as a designated form of provision. Instead of this, there is a wide range of short term policy initiatives which focus on certain group of adults and forms of provision. They believe that the 1992 FHE Act removed responsibility for FE from the LEAs. Moreover, they claim that ‘to secure adequate provision for the education of adults’ did not mean local authorities had to provide a range and variety of learning opportunities in their area. It means local authorities ensure that adequate provision is available.

According to Sargant (1996 and 1991) LGAE provisions have a special importance for women and elderly groups. Recent developments in legislation and the funding system regarding LGAE provisions (such as 1991 White paper on Education and Training for the 21st Century, 1992 Further and Higher Education Act, Creation of FEFC and HEFCE etc.), have led to the reduction and demise of provisions to a great extent. However, she believes that recent developments have also had some positive impacts on increasing the access of mature students to higher education, and making accessible local provisions for minority groups. She also notes that participation, demographic characteristics, subjects of the courses and the concerns of people vary from one region to another, and from one local authority to another. Dramatic decline of enrolments was spotted in Chapter 4(see Table 4.1 ).

It is obvious that developments in further and higher education for last ten years have damaged power of LEAs, and focused on 16-19 year-olds rather than mature students by

overwhelmingly prioritising training rather than education. Vocational education of the young adults has almost taken the whole financial resources for FE. However, some (Sargant 1996,) believe that these changes not only increased the mature student access to higher education but also developed policies to open the whole of postcompulsory education for adults.

The above-mentioned interpretation of the effect of recent developments are also shared by some commentators such as Robertson (1996), Tuckett (1991) and (1996). Further more, the above defined development, according to Raggatt & Edwards (1996), has led to an increase in the number of adult students accessing to further and higher education. More than half of the students in FE colleges are over 21, and more than half of the students in higher education are over 25. However, two points should be borne in mind: Updating of skills and qualifications are the main aims of postcompulsory education. The second is that adults are expected to pay their course fees, and the main target group is the ages of 16 to 19. Programs and procedures are developed and designed for this group of people who are unemployed, young and do not have any academic and vocational qualifications.

The college sector, with FE, Sixth form, tertiary, community and HE colleges, delivers AE. Further and higher education colleges, as has been emphasised by Jarvis (1995:238), are increasingly playing a major role in all form of training, retraining and continuing professional education. Therefore, these colleges, like American Community Colleges, are increasingly becoming colleges of adult and continuing education.

Community colleges and schools are another way of delivering adult education services for local authorities in Britain. It is an example of a high level of local awareness and sensibility to the educational and cultural needs of the local community. The principal idea behind the concept of holistic community education is that local people are best placed to identify needs, and to advise where resources would most effectively placed (Powell 1991).

However, delivering holistic community education services through community schools, which are specifically designated as based upon the tripartite agreement between the LEA, school staff and community education council, are being threatened by the 1986 Education and 1988 ER Acts in particular, and overall educational developments in general, those which destroyed balance of the power between LEA, Community Councils and School Governors (Giles 1992).

Voluntarism is the result of a mature and strong notion of civil society. The concept of civil society, analysed in chapter 5, refers to social relations and communications between the citizens, and refers to citizen associations outside of governmental control (Bryant 1995). Traditionally, voluntary organisations are numerous, functional and strong in Britain. However voluntary organisations are less active and weaker now than in pre-1979 Britain. Bryant (1995) argues forcibly that Thatcherite neo-liberalism in Britain did great damage to civil society, a fact that even elements of the new right are now ready to concede. Financial deficiency is the most important problem of voluntary organisations. Thus, the largest educational voluntary organisation, the WEA, has been constricted by the central government's on-going cut back of grants since 1980s, and the WEA has already closed 4 district and many other branches.

Voluntary organisations are vital in a democratic society in the sense of preserving pluralism. Voluntary organisations, as has been stressed by Elsdon et al (1995), are both the nurseries and channels for active citizenship in a democratic society, and important training grounds for public services. They are important contributors to the public good and overall well-being of the local community and the nation itself.

AE provisions delivered by local authorities, university extra mural departments and voluntary sectors have lost financial resources to a great extent. Adult education provision, as a soft target, has been diminished by central government pressures through financial reductions. Until recently, LGAE provision has been a broad spectrum in which a wide range of facilities from cooking to car maintenance were available.

**TABLE 6.8**  
**LOCAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION & EDUCATION**  
**FOR ADULTS IN ENGLAND & WALES**

£000

	1983-84	1984-85	1989-90	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94
A	83 282 <sup>4</sup>	86 691	177 362	185 283	203 967	200 260 <sup>6</sup>	142 182 <sup>3</sup>
B	941 034 <sup>5</sup>	1 008 569	127 519	149 033	162 706	48 661	124 301
C	---	---	236 452	245 617	255 015	321 248 <sup>1</sup>	335 574 <sup>2</sup>
D	1 024 316	1 125 260	555 100	587 557	621 688	576 714	602 057
E	10 983 021	11 257 234	16 331 478	17 387 161	18 204 856	19 183 209	16 795 571

**SOURCES:** Adapted from *CIPFA Education Statistics*, 1983-84, 1984-85, 1989-90, 1991-92, 1992-93, 1993-94.

A: Adult Education	<sup>1,2</sup> Youth Service + Other Community Services
B: Other Continuing Education	<sup>3</sup> Further Education for Adults
C: Community & Youth Services	<sup>4</sup> Adult Education
D: Total Education for Adults	<sup>5</sup> Other Further Education
E: Overall Education	<sup>6</sup> Adult Education Centres

Table 6.8 illustrates local government expenditures for education and education for adults in England & Wales from 1983-84 to 1993-94. Expenditure on education for adults is the totality of adult education, other continuing education, further education for adults, and community and youth services. The scale and level of financial reduction for education for adults between the 1983-84 and 1993-94 is enormous. When annual inflation and population increases are included in the calculation, the scale and level of financial cut-back can be appreciated.

Tuckett (1991) exemplifies the reduction of financial resources and its results by describing two cases where local authorities (possibly conservative controlled) in the East Midland, Nottingham and East Sussex, cut back their adult education expenditures soon after 1979 elections. Local people organised public demonstrations and campaigns against their county councils in front of the county halls. In addition, he adds that the government intends to reduce grant aid 8.3% for WEAs and 15% for university extra mural departments. Vocational training has the overwhelming priority in educational

spending. Britain's skill deficit problem, as has been mentioned by many conservative-minded scholars and authors such as Raggatt & Edwards (1996), and Boswell (1995), is crucial. Lifelong learning is the 'continuous updating of skills and qualifications'. Education must improve the skills of the British workforce in order to increase the competitive ability of the British economy.

This rhetoric stressing the lack of a well-qualified labour force and increasing competitive ability of the economy is increasingly acknowledged by the adult educationalists in Britain. For example, Tuckett (1996) has emphasised two points. First the UK was ranked 24th by the World Economic Forum for the quality of its people's skills. Secondly too many students in the UK leave school with low level or no qualifications. The qualification level of British students at compulsory level is lower than that of their German and French equivalents. This explains vocational emphasis for the post-compulsory and higher education curriculum.

In this manner, Raggatt & Edwards (1996) believe that conceptions of adult education have their origins in voluntary organisations, and the absence of a coherent educational policy and detailed statutory framework monitored and controlled by central government has enabled local authorities to develop their own strategies for adult education. This diversity may be welcome if resources were plentiful, but the absence of a statutory framework and a severe financial constraints make adult education vulnerable. I think this is a misconception and a failure to analyse LGAE provision in Britain. First of all, the power of the LEAs in adult education comes from the traditionally decentralised nature of local government in Britain. Until 1986, LEAs were the only organisations really responsible for education at compulsory and postcompulsory levels. Under these circumstances, local governments were able to plan, and implement policy of adult education in accordance with local needs and dynamics of local politics. AE as a non-vocational activity, has begun to be seen as a self-financing marginal activity which is the business of voluntary organisations. In order to strengthen this thought, vocational and non-vocational as well as liberal and leisure activities have been compulsorily separated in Britain since 1979.

Policies to limit LEAs from delivering community adult education may increase the existing gap between adult education services in urban, well-resourced, culturally plural Britain and underfunded services offered in poor and rural Britain. Giving a quasi-statutory duty to the LEAs, which is the traditional and largest AE provider, is not enough to deliver services in some local authorities. In this regard, it is interesting that the National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (NIACE), suggested the active promotion of education for adults for both central/local governments and voluntary/community groups. In addition, 'establishing and publishing a clear policy on adult access to education and training' and 'playing an active part in Training and Enterprise Councils' were recommended for local authorities (UDACE 1990).

The point is that: local authorities can play an effective role in promoting education of a vocationally relevant kind. In Britain, however, central government policies have, for ideological reasons, emasculated local authorities, and have prevented them from playing a more effective role even in the area of vocational training.

### **6.2.2. France**

As mentioned previously, France has a highly centralised education system controlled from Paris. However, France has created a unique educational structure which is a mixture of both central and local governance of education. Locally-elected representatives and centrally-appointed officers work together in the same educational bodies. The CG has devolved some of the power for educational planning, administration and finance to local governments in particular to the regions. However, the CG still holds most of the power, e.g. teachers are civil servants, a national curriculum is under the control of the ministry of education; universities depend on the ministry of higher education, and the rectors of universities are appointed by the CG.

The transfer of educational power to local authorities is a very slow and deliberate procedure. Education in France is seen as the most important ideological tool for retaining national unity and conformity. Traditionally, each level of local government has shared some educational responsibilities at all stages of schooling with the exception of higher education. The communes have some responsibilities for pre-primary and primary

schools, the departments for secondary schools, and the regions for lycees. Regions also have a responsibility for preparing regional educational plans.

General responsibilities for adult education are shared between the central government and local authorities, particularly regions. Regions have a general responsibility for vocational and apprenticeship training, while the state is responsible for awarding funds. The state is also responsible for the courses outside of the regional consideration and requirements such as courses for the disabled and refugees. The state and regional responsibilities can overlap. If the state consults a region over an educational strategy, the region can accept, and be involved in the implementation of strategy, or it can accept a strategy but not wish to commit itself financially, or it can choose not to accept strategy. In this situation, the state either continues or re-examines objections of the region. Each region, capable of fulfilling general responsibilities, has to prepare a plan of accepted strategies conjunction with the regional economic situation, employment level, and the objectives of vocational and apprenticeship training. Regions are expected to consult other authorities in order to ensure that all partners are informed about the intentions of the regions. There is also a national committee for the co-operation of regional programmes for vocational training and apprenticeship. This consultative committee consists of elected representatives of regional councils, and the representatives of social partners and the state (Josephe & Beguin 1983).

The decentralisation of vocational training has created a dialogue between the regions and the state. The state is required to consult regions, and the regions are required to consult other partners, so new actors have become involved in the decision making processes through a complex dialogue requirement. The transfer of vocational training and apprenticeship responsibilities from the state to the regions has led to increased regional budgets. About 14% of the regional budgets is devoted to vocational training and apprenticeship. Consequently, the decentralisation of vocational training is useful for the following reasons. Firstly, it has strengthened contractual procedures between the state and regions. It has brought national and regional priorities together to develop a clear framework for maintaining coherence. Secondly, it has facilitated a complex and diverse regional dialogue. Finally, it has initiated the clarification of partnerships between

local business groups and local governments by identifying what businesses can offer and what it is expected from them (Lichtenberger 1992).

The central government endeavour is to leave the entire responsibility to local governments but it seems to take time for the following reasons: firstly some of the regions are reluctant or hesitant to take the main responsibility for vocational training because the scale of the operation is too large, and they are not familiar with the task (Rioux 1994, Lichtenberger 1992); secondly the existence of local rivalries, bad feelings and traditional oppositions amongst the trade unions are very significant dangers (Bouday 1994). Finally, local communities have been disempowered through the internationalisation of economies and competition, so regions require greater decision-making power and fiscal resources (Salem 1993).

For these reasons, central government has its own bodies such as the National Centre for Civil Service (*Centre National de la Fonction Publique Territoriale*). It creates and defines the general direction of vocational training for 1.2 million civil servants working in the communes, departments and regions. This training covers existing jobs within local areas: communication, telecommunication, computing, culture, leisure, health and security (Halley 1993). In addition to this, agreement between the regional prefects and the presidents of the regions is required to operate any action, so prefects, as the representative agent of the state, have a negotiation opportunity. It refers to central government influence over local management despite decentralisation (CUIDEP 1994).

In turn, non-vocational AE is chiefly provided by voluntary organisations through both central and local government financial support. The *Ministere de la Culture* and The *Ministere du Temps Libre* are in charge of leisure and cultural services. Regional councils have their own cultural departments and budgets. Due to cut backs in central government subsidies of about 13%, more financial responsibility has been placed on local councils (Shepherd 1993).

In the light of discussions running through this and the previous chapter, it is clear that CG power over education in general is distinctly strong. The most decentralised

educational sector is that of vocational and apprenticeship training. The regions have gained significant power over vocational training. However, CG is still influential in the formation and implementation of vocational training policies. By increasing the power of local government representatives, it is expected to create a dialogue to ensure the sensitivity to national and regional priorities in regionally prepared development plans through compulsory consultation between the state and the regions as well as the regions and other local partners. By doing this, it is expected vocational training will become an important part of the local dynamics. Furthermore, the signs from these strategies of integration at local level suggest, as stressed by Bouday (1994), that these structures could constitute a basis for renewed active citizenship, and could encourage the emergence of communal modes of action.

In sum, educational decentralisation in France is progressing although the state retains control over the formation of national training strategies and the participation of regional vocational training strategies via its representatives. Vocationalisation of education, likewise in Britain, is a dominant feature of most recent educational trends. It, of course, ignores nonvocational community-based adult education provision. Despite the 14 years history of the most recent decentralisation attempt in France, it is seen a new project by many French commentators, such as Barbier et al (1991), and it needs time to mature as does a good quality French wine.

### **6.2.3. Turkey**

Turkey, as described in this and earlier chapters, has an over-centralised and hierarchical education system. The dual character of public administration is the basis of most of its problems. Educational administration together with other services depend on deconcentration rather than decentralisation. Provincial directorates of national education play the dominant role in educational administration under the appointed governor, (*vali*), and the ministry of national education. Provincial local authorities have some educational responsibilities in the construction and maintenance of primary school buildings. These responsibilities were summarised by the former governors, e.g. Gursoy (1990), Bassoy (1990), and Aytac (1994), together with some recommendations to delegate power towards sub-national levels using the existing legislative structure.

However, the appointed mayor remains at the centre, and it is hard to say that the proposals contain a real transfer of the power towards local authority. It retains the existing dominance of the centrally-appointed officials. It is not a surprising development since decentralisation debates and attempts in 1980s reflect deconcentration of the central power to centrally-appointed officers. It is for that reason that commentators of local government decentralisation [see Heper (ed) (1985), (1987), (1989), and Keles 1994) pronounce deconcentration or administrative decentralisation rather than a radical decentralisation of local government.

Local authorities are not capable of fulfilling their educational and adult educational responsibilities in practice although they have a limited number of responsibilities within the existing legislative framework. Provincial local authorities have to pass at least 20% of their annual income to the provincial local authorities for use on primary education. This is mandatory. The annual expenditure of Ankara Provincial local authority in 1990 was examined by myself as part of a doctoral programme in Turkey, and Table 6.9, which is based on this assignment, illustrates the rate of expenditure for primary education, adult education, library services, tourism, and environmental audits. The rate of AE expenditure in the overall annual budget, as seen on Table 6.9, was 0.071%. The rate of total educational and cultural expenditure in the total budget was only 20.92%.

**TABLE 6.9**  
**RATES OF EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL EXPENDITURES IN**  
**OVERALL LOCAL GOVERNMENT BUDGET**

	(%)
Primary Education	20
Adult Education	0.071
Library Services	0.015
Tourism	0.81
Environmental audit	0.1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>20.92</b>

**SOURCE:** Duman, A. (1992).

The Turkish Municipal Association organised a round-table meeting with academics and local authority officers to discuss the educational and cultural functions of local

authorities in Turkey in 1993. The meeting report, edited by Geray (1993), makes clear that there is no legislative barrier to local authorities delivering adult education services. Although there was almost no municipal concern for educational and cultural provisions until recently, metropolitan authorities are increasingly becoming interested in providing them. However, the following questions need to be comprehensively considered in order to create a basis for policy development. What types of local governmental education and cultural policies should be developed? How, and why? In the light of these debates, the role and function of local authorities can be critically considered, and the core values and principles for policy development can be generated.

There is no doubt that results of this study would be expected to contribute significantly to the above discussion. French and British decentralisation experiences provide useful lessons for the totality of decentralisation attempts for Turkey. France and Turkey have many similarities as well as dissimilarities in respect of education and their public administration system. The power of the elected and appointed actors at sub-national levels is almost equalised in France. Despite the fact that education is one of the least effected areas of recent decentralisation attempts in France, the power of the regions over education particularly vocational education has been significantly increased. However, the state is still keeping a great deal of power in its own hands due to the ideological importance of education at both compulsory and postcompulsory levels. It is not expected in Turkey that local authorities would be allowed to be responsible for education under these circumstances. The geopolitical position of Turkey has the most negative influence reinforcing the existence of a powerful central state. Turkey, as mentioned by Hale (1994), is uniquely positioned at the centres of three important upheavals: the disintegration of the USSR, conflicts in Balkans, and the continuation of challenges to peace in the Middle East. Turkey has been trying to cope with a Kurdish separatist movement since 1984. The Southeast part of the country has been in a state of emergency for almost 15 years. Turkey has also some problems with almost all neighbour countries at the region: Aegean and Cyprus issue with Greece, the allocation of water resources problem with Syria and Iraq, and problems with Iran, Iraq and Syria due to their logistic support for Kurdish separatist rebels. In addition to this, Turkey is trying to become a full member of the EU. A custom unification agreement was signed

between the EU and Turkey at the beginning of 1996. However, there is a constant objection amongst the European countries to full Turkish membership of the EU.

Under these circumstances, which seem at first sight unrelated to education policies, educational decentralisation for Turkey is virtually a dream. However, political commitment to decentralise local government is present at this moment. When the long history of French decentralisation attempts is taken in account, it is fair to say that Turkey is just at the beginning of the process. Meanwhile, Britain, unlike France and Turkey, is moving away from its traditionally decentralised structure of public administration. The national curriculum has been created by the 1988 Education Reform Act in Britain. Bids for Welsh and Scottish independence have occupied an important place at the national political agenda. The Irish problem has not been sorted out yet. Under these circumstances, traditionally decentralised power is increasingly being concentrated at the central level through the dismantling of local authorities. The power of local authorities for many welfare state services is being transferred to the central government. Education is one of the most important of these services. From a comparative point of view, however, local authorities in Britain are still much more powerful than in Turkey and France in the context of educational decentralisation. Despite the fact that the adult and postcompulsory educational role of LEAs has virtually been abandoned in many local authorities, the LEAs are still keeping significant responsibilities regarding nursery and compulsory education.

The comparison of the AE provision of local government in the three countries established this general point: AE is intimately bounded up with the structure of local government and the unique geo-political and ideological circumstances of the societies. This unique pattern of provision in the three societies under study can be shown to reflect their structure of government, the character of civil society and the ideological disposition of leading factions with the state itself. The complex interplay of these structures often produces effect which are unintended by those who formulate policy. The erosion of LGAE in Britain in the interest of promoting vocationally relevant continuing education, can be seen, arguably, to have had the opposite effect. In France, on the other hand, central control has not had such a damaging consequences.

There is some evidence that centrally controlled vocational education can promote holistic adult education - something quite the opposite of the British experience. Comparison shows that successful policy-making in the field of adult education requires a thorough understanding of how central government can work with local authorities and employers, and how all these can nurture or inhibit the growth of a healthy 'civil society' capable of supporting robust frameworks of adult and vocational education.

### **6.3. Adult Education-Local Government Relations at the Micro Level in Turkey and Britain**

It is not sufficient for the analysis of adult education for the account to stop at descriptions of structures at the macro levels. Such structures exist only through the actions of key personnel at the micro level. It is on the basis of the ways in which local actors - in this case adult educational officials- interpret their roles, prioritise their commitment and understand the policy that governs their work, that systems of adult education come into being and function. The micro world of the adult educational officials in local government exemplifies in all its detail the macro structures of power, the state and the civil society. The macro structures of adult education provision are examined from the point of view of the educational officials interviewed as part of this study.

As explained in the chapter on methodology, adult educational officials in selected local authorities were interviewed. Their views on the rationale, legal framework, structure, finance and on a range of operational matters were sought. The aim was to understand what the structures of control of adult education worked from their point of view. It is they who have to manage the change of public policy. It is they who have to struggle with the contradictions of those policies and the inadequacy of the resources available for them.

#### **6.3.1. Rationales for Adult Education**

During the interview process, the interviewees were asked whether local authorities should take responsibility for adult education, and if so why? The Local government

adult education (LGAE) officers I interviewed, with the exception of two officers, said clearly that local authorities should take direct responsibility for AE. Their views can be characterised as follows: Responsibility should be a statutory duty, they said, for the following reasons. Firstly, local authorities have a long history of providing adult education, so they have a considerable knowledge, background and experience in the local governance of education. Secondly, local authorities are altruistic and democratically elected bodies which can use resources more efficiently and effectively than centrally-administered organisations. They have good community linkages with both local citizens and other adult education providers in the community. Thus, they can co-operate with the other providers by supporting them financially, theoretically and practically. Thirdly, local authorities are in the best position to identify needs, and to respond to them by providing community-based holistic adult educational services for local communities. Adult educational needs of the communities may vary from one area to another. Central government bodies are expected to follow strict bureaucratic and hierarchical rules, and therefore can not respond well to local diversity. Finally, there should be a way of revitalising local democracy and citizenship. There should be bridges between the local community and local government, and local authorities can establish direct links through adult educational provisions either with direct free-standing services or indirect services via contract arrangements. By doing this, local authorities can strengthen civil society in their territories.

Civil society implies an explicit voluntarism shared by adult education in at least three regards. First, adult education relies on the voluntary participation of people as independent citizens in learning processes defined by their own needs and interests. Secondly, voluntary AE organisations such as religious bodies, trade unions, charities, social, cultural and recreational groups and professional associations etc. provide a broad mix of opportunities for different kinds of learning. By doing this, they help to promote a pluralist structure to maintain multicultural character of social and cultural life. Finally, AE and voluntarism are linked in terms of learning and personal empowerment. Both are part of everyday social relations of neighbourhood and community based organisation, and both are linked with voluntary learning, group experience and activity, personal empowerment (Elsy 1993).

Two officers I interviewed did not believe local authorities should have a statutory responsibility for adult education. They believe that local authorities should play an 'honest broker' and 'enabler role' implying that they ought to take indirect responsibility as an enabling authority through funding arrangements for community education services. Local authorities, they believed, can also find a way to use their expertise in education to develop a better community education service in a collaborative rather than a competitive way. It is worth noting the response one of them to portray what non-statutory indirect responsibility means in British context:

*"...I think we need to be aware of the nature of education in the county. We do that by collaborating with other providers by perhaps creating a climate and form where discussions and negotiations of needs, gaps in provisions and so on can take place. We'll try to bring people together in a dialogue to talk about the needs of the people. I see the authorities as being perhaps the best place to enable that to happen. Of course we can do direct provision but it is increasingly becoming less and less than we used to be able to provide..."*

The situation LEAs have to work in England and Wales since the 1992 Further and Higher Education Act is interesting. Official documents such as the Lifetime Learning Consultation Document and the White Papers, are clearly trying to set up and reinforce a more passive role for LEAs. The rationale and discourse of adult education, as I have shown, are moving towards training rather than education, and the LEAs are almost entirely excluded from the area of vocational education.

From a comparative point of view, the rationales for LGAE provisions in the two countries have both similarities and dissimilarities. Similarly local authorities are seen in the best position to understand the needs of local communities. Local authorities, as elected, democratic and accountable bodies, can build bridges between local government and the community. Local government officers I interviewed in Turkey see central government as being over-sized, bureaucratic and hierarchical. Hence, they are quite keen to take direct and statutory responsibilities for adult education. They also believe that existing adult education provisions are not based on the actual needs of communities. One of the interviewees said in this regard that:

*"...Adult Education Centres (AEC) controlled by the Ministry of National Education are not able to understand the needs of the*

*community. The director of the Centre may be from Kars, (a city from Eastern Anatolia); he does not know this community, and is appointed through political pressure from the ruling party. He is replaced together with the central government after elections. Thus, go out on the street and ask ten people where the AEC is, if two people know where the AEC is, it is a miracle. Can you tell me how it can provide useful education for a community unless it is even known where the AEC is?"*

Another officer from Turkey drew attention to the privatisation of education and the Islamicist dominance within so-called educational privatisation. He noted that:

*"...What the main responsibility of local government is to meet the common needs of local citizens. Educational and cultural needs can be considered in this context, so municipalities should certainly take direct and statutory responsibilities in this area. Why? Because education has been increasingly privatised for many years in Turkey. Many schools have already been controlled by the Islamicist sects to educate our children. If even Islamicist sects are able to take responsibility for education, why don't local authorities do it?"*

Finally, it should be noted that the rationale for LGAE responsibility in England & Wales is much more radical than that of in Turkey. Officers interviewed were asked how they define adult education, and what they thought about its aims. Broadly speaking, there is a tacit agreement amongst the British interviewees that local authorities should provide non-vocational and leisure style liberal adult education courses despite the existence of a quite radical discourse that adult education should have a responsibility for 'the economic and social regeneration of the community', 'the development of social capital' and 'combating against social exclusion', and 'revitalising local democracy'. However, in Turkey, adult education is still seen as remedial education particularly for poor and migrant residents living in shanty towns (gecekondu) around the cities. Basic education of those newly migrated city dwellers in terms of literacy and numeracy skills, together with some vocational training, are seen as an important aim of adult education. The main reason behind the more radical rationale in Britain is the higher training level of staff who are responsible for adult education provision. They are trained in adult education through certificate or postgraduate courses, and also have professional associations and unions unlike their Turkish equivalents. They have, therefore, a much stronger professional identity than their Turkish counterparts.

### **6.3.2. Legislative Framework**

The legislative framework for LGAE provision is considered 'inadequate' for meeting the very wide range of needs by nine out of ten officers I interviewed in both England & Wales and Turkey. The 1944 Education Act, as mentioned earlier, is still the main legislation in England & Wales. However, the 1988 Education Reform Act and 1992 Further and Higher Education Act are also key legislative bases for local authorities to deliver adult educational services. The interviewees were quite conscious that the current legislative basis was not clear to specify their statutory responsibility for adult education. They believe that there are a lot legislatively grey areas and gaps causing confusion. 'To secure adequacy and sufficiency of provision' could mean many things. Under these circumstances, it is very difficult to talk about a statutory duty of adult education provision. They believe that the 1992 FHE Act is 'very ugly' and 'contradictory'. Although the legislative framework defines a statutory task for local authorities to secure adequacy of provision for the education of adults, this task allows local authorities to get away with limited work due to low levels of funding, lack of coherent and consistent national policy, and the chronic hostility of the Conservatives towards local government, civil society and trade unions.

In addition, central government has intended to peripheralise local authorities from free standing adult education service delivery. The white papers and policy documents are evidence of the above intentions. LEAs are not mentioned as a lifetime learning provider and partner in a briefing (SEN 1995) on the role of providers in lifetime learning by the Skill and Enterprise Network. Lifetime Learning Consultation Document (DfEE 1995) mentioned LEAs just twice throughout the document. It seems that the LEAs are under a duty to secure the provision of all types of further education for adults which do not come within the FEFC's responsibility. They may make use of their own adult education institutions or community education centres, or make arrangements with other institutions, including organisations in the voluntary sector.

In Turkey, the legislative framework for LGAE provisions is much more ambiguous than that of in England & Wales. The legislative basis gives LAs responsibility, but not the financial and human resources backing them. Legislation defines the duties of

municipalities into the 76 headings without paying much attention to the issue of the financial means at the disposal of municipalities (see Heper 1989a). Although the interviewees accept that the legislative basis is inadequate they may take responsibility for adult education provision if they want. One of the interviewees explicitly said:

*“ There are some articles in the basic municipal acts which enable local authorities to deliver adult education services, but it is not good enough to provide sufficient services. If the mayor and related staff wish to provide services, there is no legislative barrier. However, the problem is economic and a lack of staff who have expertise in education and adult education...”*

However, some local authorities were challenged by the bureaucratic barriers created by the centrally-appointed local officers such as the governor or director of AEC. The MNE, as mentioned in chapter 3, has a diploma monopoly, so municipalities can't give any diploma or certificate to course attendants. Some believe they have to sign a contract to sort it out. For these reasons the legislative framework was considered by an interviewee as 'very deceptive'; it exists on paper but not in practice.

LGAE officials in Turkey, therefore, experience their work as something tightly constrained by bureaucratic rules and limited resources. Theirs is a frustrating world in which educational values are threatened by local political and bureaucratic intrigue. The bureaucracy does not deliver the rational decisions classically associated with this system of administration. In Both Britain and Turkey, therefore, through far very different reasons, local officials in adult education feel disempowered in the work they both wish and have to do.

### **6.3.3. Organisation and Structure**

The organisation and structure of the sections responsible for adult educational provision varies not only between Turkey and England & Wales, but also within each single country according to the type of local authority, the nature of local politics and the personal commitments of the staff they employ.

Table 6.10 illustrates the types of local authority and ruling parties in the local authorities in which observations and interviews were carried out. Three out of the four local

authorities in Britain are non-metropolitan or shire counties. One of them, Cleveland, was abolished to create 4 new unitary authorities in April 1996. The other is a metropolitan district that got most of the power and functions of a metropolitan conurbations abolished in 1986. All political parties in the Grand National Assembly in 1995 were represented in the research sample for Turkey. In the 1994 local elections, the Pro-Islamic Welfare Party won in many municipalities including the two biggest metropolitan municipalities: Istanbul and the capital, Ankara. After an inconclusive early general election at the end of 1995, the Pro-Islamic Welfare Party has become a dominant partner in the second coalition government established with the co-operation between the right wing True Path Party and the Pro-Islamic Welfare Party. First coalition government, established with the two centre-right parties Truepath Party and Motherland Party, collapsed in a very short period. The six municipalities, three metropolitan and three non-metropolitan authorities, were chosen for interviews.

**TABLE 6.10**  
**TYPES OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND RULING PARTY IN THE SUBJECT**  
**LOCAL AUTHORITIES**

	<b>Types of Local Authority</b>	<b>Ruling Party</b>
Cleveland	Shire County	Labour
Durham	Shire County	Labour
Hampshire	Shire County	Liberal Democrat
Newcastle	Metropolitan Borough	Labour
Ankara	Metropolitan Authority	Welfare (pro-islamicist)
Bursa	Metropolitan Authority	Motherland (Right Wing)
Eskisehir	Metropolitan Authority	True Path (Right Wing)
Mugla	Non-metropolitan Authority	Republican People (Left wing)
Nigde	Non-metropolitan Authority	Republican People (Left Wing)
Kirsehir	Non-metropolitan Authority	Nationalist Movement (Ultra Right)

The education departments of the county or metropolitan district councils in Britain, i.e. LEAs, usually have a special unit which is related to adult & continuing educational services. These units (Community Education Services, Community & Youth Education Services, Continuing Education Unit, Adult Education Services etc.) are under the administration of one of the principal education officers. They co-ordinate their own divisional development or strategic plans in conjunction with their full and part-time

education officers. They determine their key objectives, aims, strategic goals and principles in accordance with the mission of their county or metropolitan district council.

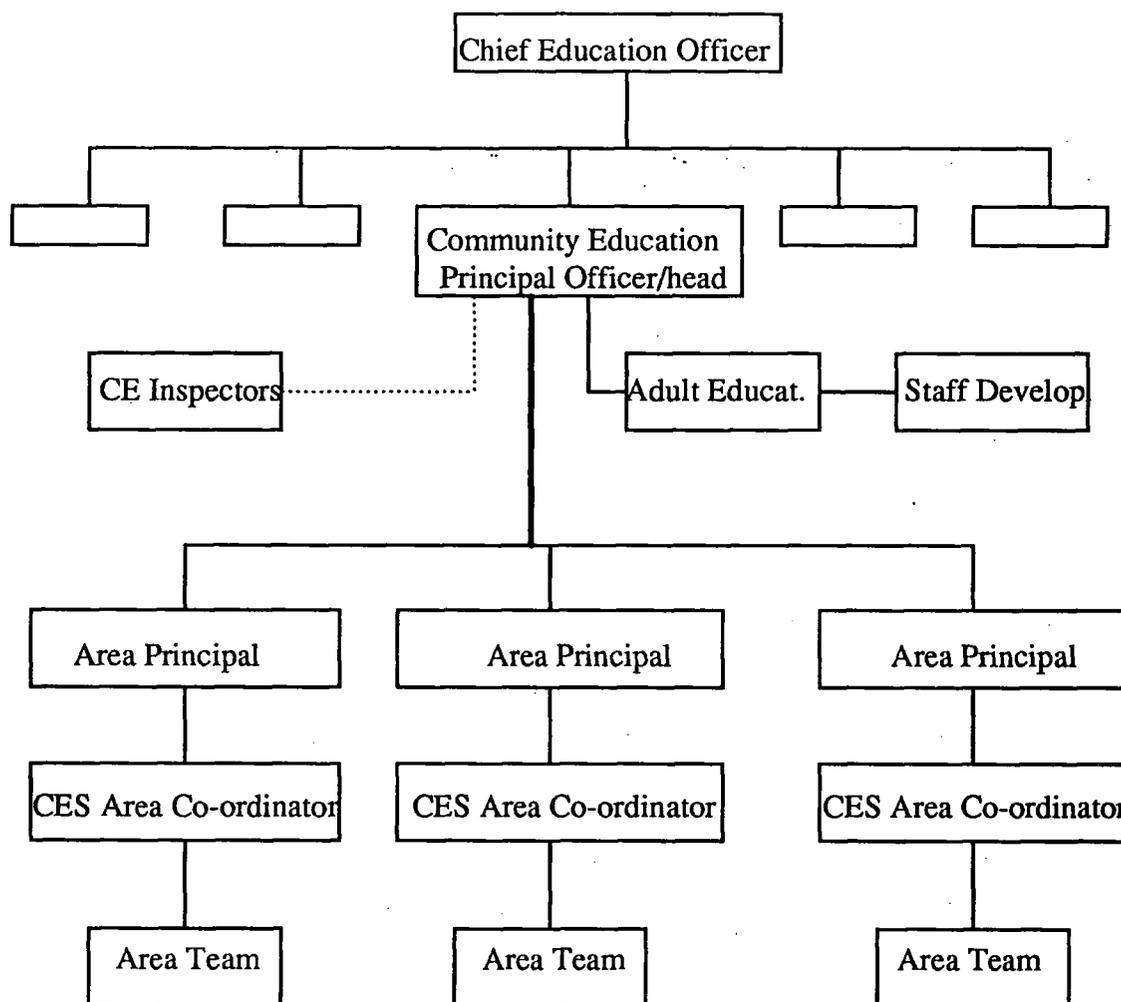
Sometimes, however, adult educational services may be out of the scope of the LEA and educational committee. It is seen as being the business of the Countryside and Community Department or that of Recreation and Social Service Committees rather than the Education Committee. However, the youth service section is often located in the structure of the education department (e.g. Hampshire County Council). It also may be positioned in Council's Economic and Strategic Development Unit as a Continuing Education and Training Service (see George 1996).

A wide range of LGAE provision may be available for local residents. Some LAs provide AE services directly through their adult/community education centres, residential colleges or community schools. Some contract out services to other providers, while some create a unique mixture of the two methods of service delivery. Some LEAs favour using FE colleges, (e.g. Cleveland), as a base for their non-vocational adult education, whilst others use school buildings during the evening. As Stephens has (1990) explained, some LEAs have a short term residential college as part of their non-vocational adult education service which provides short courses of 1 to 14 days duration. The Lancashire College for Adult Education in Chorley, Alston Hall College near Preston, Knuston Hall in Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire's Horncastle Residential College and finally Cumbria's Higham Hall at Bassentwaite Lake, are examples of these, but some residential colleges were closed due to financial stringencies of LAs during the economic recession period.

The organisational structure of community education services (CES) are illustrated simply in the Figure 6.1. The LEAs in Durham, Hampshire and Cleveland had a few area directorates as branches of the education department. The CES under the administration of a principal education officer may have sections such as adult education, curriculum development, staff development and youth work. The CES has co-ordinator/s in each area together with a few related staff. The CES may have different area organisations from education department's area organisation. In this case, the area organisation has an area principal, organiser and area team. They all work in close co-ordination and co-

operation. The CES regularly produces their annual reports, short and long term development plans and strategies. Community education policies are formed in conjunction with the participation of educational committees and sub-committees.

**FIGURE 6.1**  
**AN ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT**  
**COMMUNITY EDUCATION SERVICES**



Policy documents define the mission of the service, the main policy principles, goals and targets for LGAE provisions. According to the Strategic Plan 1993/94 for Newcastle upon Tyne, the mission of adult learning provision was to sustain the broad range of adult learning opportunities, delivered in a variety of local settings to maximise access, and cover a wide range of curriculum areas in accordance with the following principles:

- a) People need to be encouraged to feel confident in their ability to learn and need to feel confident that learning will be useful.

- b) Many people don't want to take part in a formal course provision in schools or adult learning centres, so there should be opportunities for adult learning in a variety of settings by using a variety of methods for adult learning.
- c) Adult learners would like to know what they will learn and what next steps will be open to them so there should be opportunities for adult learners to progress.
- d) Evaluation of adult learning process should be based upon the use of accreditation as well as tests.
- e) Adult learners should be able to know and influence the content of what they will learn. In other words, the curriculum for adult learning should be negotiated with them.
- f) The experiences of adults are invaluable sources for learning, so the curriculum needs to take account of and build on these experiences.
- g) Adult learners have different needs and different starting points, so the range of provisions should be reviewed regularly.
- h) Providing supports such as child care, translation and transport, are often very crucial initiatives to adult learning.

The Adult Education, and the Youth and Community Services were amalgamated and the role of the Local Authority was substantially changed at that time. However, the Youth and Community Education Service, as also described by Flynn (1996) who was one of my interviewees, has merged children's play to become a Children's and Young People's Service in a new Community and Leisure Services Department. Further reviews led to the establishment of a discrete Adult Education Service within the Education Department. The above mission is repeated in the strategic plan 1995-1998 with the following strategic objectives for adult education services:

- to ensure a range of learning opportunities for adults.
- to develop community schools as resources for adult education.
- to increase access for people who have benefited least from formal education in the past.
- to provide opportunities for progression.
- to expand the range of accreditation.
- to ensure quality.

These policy objectives have been clearly influenced by the educational officials themselves. Ms. Flynn, as seen on the reference list, is a well-known adult educator in Britain, and exercises a good deal of influence with local politicians. She has managed over several years to promote adult education in Newcastle, and to maintain adult education as a high educational priority. She has been helped in this by the political context in which she works- a labour controlled local authority. She might not, therefore, be so successful in another authority. She has also received an MA degree in Adult Education. This point emphasises the importance of political factors as well as professional qualifications in shaping the profile of adult education in a given area.

The Community Education Service of the Durham County Council LEA prepared a Development Plan for Community Education for the period 1994-1997. According to this plan, the mission of the Council is to make County Durham the best place to live, work and bring up a family. The Education Department will contribute to the fulfilment of the mission by providing effective, efficient and economic education services, and by ensuring access to facilities and services for all. In this context, the purpose of community education services is to maintain and support a comprehensive range of informal learning opportunities for communities in County Durham in accordance with the following principles:

- Participation.
- Empowerment.
- Integration.
- Equality.
- Devolved responsibility.
- Co-operation.
- Progression.
- Lifelong learning.

In addition, the Plan includes the following strategic goals for community education services together with objectives for 1994-1997 period:

1. To maintain and support a comprehensive range of informal learning opportunities for communities in County Durham.

2. To develop staff and management systems which support the development and delivery of community education provisions in County Durham.
3. To work towards an equitable distribution of resources and the establishment of sound financial and asset management.
4. To contribute to community development and support through partnerships with other LG agencies and voluntary sector organisations.

According to Durham County Council's Education Authority Business Plan 1994-95, the following 14 targets have been defined in 6 different activity fields for Community Education Service: (a) Service Planning, (b) Resource Allocation, (c) Staff Development & Support, (d) Quality Assurance, (e) External Funding, (f) Administrative Procedures. Each of these fields of activity have been given further detailed target and objectives. The managerial rationality is explicit and the rhetoric of the whole document is in keeping with the dominant discourse of effective managerialism with its emphasis on missions, target, goals and objectives. It is very different from the older rhetoric with its stress on needs, interests and opportunities.

The structure of Durham County Council's Community Education service was changed in early 1996. Indirect provision and quality assurance emerged as the new roles for the community education service. Direct provision has been channelled towards adult basic education and FEFC supported schedule 2 courses. A few redundancies have been made, and the inspection unit for adult education was abolished. An Adult Basic Education Strategic Plan for 1995-1998 was prepared by the Community Education Service. The mission of the Unit was defined in this plan as follows: to provide community-based learning opportunities for people within the county to receive basic skills tuition and support of the highest possible quality. Each individual will be encouraged to strive to attain his/her maximum potential of personal and educational development in a world where communication skills are of vital importance.

For these reasons, the 1995-1996 Business Plan of the Education Department repeated almost all activity fields and targets of the 1994-95 Business Plan with the addition of Adult Education activity field. It is worth noting here to show direction of the changes

that the target for adult education was defined as 'to bring forward new measures to enable the LEA to provide an adult education service funded by student fees and/or via franchise agreements with FE sector colleges.

Similarly, Cleveland County Council's Adult Education Service had a mission 'to promote the personal growth of adults by providing a variety of learning opportunities and a quality of educational experience which is responsive to the needs of all the community, offered by an appropriately trained and motivated staff', with the following aims:

- to promote personal growth for all involved in the service.
- to provide a range of learning routes and educational experiences through a balanced programme.
- to provide a high standard of educational experience.
- to identify and respond to different needs.
- to locate provision within the local area.
- to collaborate with other agencies.
- to provide equal opportunities for all.

Cleveland County Council had a well-developed adult education service delivery before abolition of the county council, and the create of 4 new unitary authorities. The Council via its Adult Education Service, had 23 centres and over 700 tutors delivering adult education for over 20 000 adults in the three areas: Langbaurgh, Middlesbrough and Stockton/Hartlepool. Each area had an area principal, an area organiser, an area ABE co-ordinator and an area team. It was really a well-developed adult education service. The official I interviewed had doubts whether the adult education service will be sustained by the new unitary authorities, Redcar and Cleveland, Middlesborough, Hartlepool and Stockton. The Adult Education Service may be located outside of the Education Department, and may face further financial stringencies.

The break-up of Cleveland County Council - overwhelmingly Labour controlled authority- was a much contested process and widely believed to be driven by party political motives. There was, however, considerable local support for it to happen since

there has always been a tension between the district authorities and the county itself which is rooted in fierce local loyalties and long memories strengthening back to the days before Cleveland was formed. The point is this: adult education policies and structures reflect the political divisions and culture of particular local authorities. It is not surprising that the official I interviewed viewed the future with such alarm. His experience and professional identity was tied up with a large strategic planning authority in the course of being dismantled.

Hampshire County Council, as mentioned earlier, has located adult education into the Countryside and Community Department rather than in Education. The aims of 'learning in leisure' are defined by its policy documents as:

- the adequacy of provision, geographically and by subject.
- the encouragement of new initiatives.
- the maintenance of quality and cost effectiveness.
- the maintenance of access for the over 60s and people on low incomes.
- the participation of a wider cross-section of the population.

It is clear that adult education provision is seen as 'learning in leisure' in this policy document. Policy objectives were defined in the same policy document as: (a) collaboration with other providers and local interests in the area of benefit to meet the needs of adult learner, (b) the phased introduction of quality assurance arrangements for programmes, and (c) the phased introduction of agreed procedures for achieving policy aims, responsiveness, access, progression and equality of opportunities. As mentioned earlier, LGAE provision in Hampshire relied entirely on contracting out the service to other providers with a rather tight and detailed contract for the delivery of a programme of learning.

Having analysed the policy documents regarding LGAE provision, it is clear that LGAE provision is under a constant pressure to form and re-form in accordance with the nature of changes in political control at the local level. Furthermore, the economic, social and cultural development levels of the authority, types of local authority, professional expertise of adult education-related staff and the levels of inter-organisational as well as inter-departmental rivalries, conflicts and jealousies (see George 1996) are the key

elements for positioning and re-positioning of the service. The officers I interviewed obviously saw themselves as being located at the best position to identify needs of local communities and to deal with them. The services located in or outside of the education department, have generated their own strategic plans, working plans and missions etc. in conjunction with the authority's overall strategic plan. Services are usually expected to deliver for a large and complex geographical area basing on the following core values that are noted by Flynn (1996:61):

- targeting services at those most in need,
- listening to individuals and community groups,
- facilitating and enabling groups to develop the services they want,
- networking,
- maintaining an open dialogue and negotiation wherever possible in the context of funding imperatives,

Whether or not they can achieve these objectives is, of course, another matter. The officials, with strong personal and professional roots in adult education - in both Newcastle and Cleveland that commitment has been to radical versions of community education- have been successful in defining the goal of their service within the rhetorical constraints of the new managerialism. The political, socio-cultural and economic realities they face, however, are complex and constraining, and limit what they can achieve.

In Turkey, the situations, practices and provisions are entirely different due to the weak structure of local government and the lack of a tradition and experience of adult education provision on the part of local authorities. However, metropolitan authorities have begun to establish unified Education & Culture Departments in the organisational structure of local authorities. Ankara Metropolitan Authority managed to set up an education department in 1993. This was later re-formed as education and culture department, and adult education was located in this department with the following aims:

- to facilitate to develop democratic habits and culture,
- to help local citizens in the process of urbanisation,
- to maintain an environmental awareness amongst local citizens,
- to organise vocational skill-acquisition courses for the citizens,

- to promote cultural and fine art activities,
- to organise leisure activities and public meetings.

Bursa Metropolitan Authority established a similar type of combined department as the Staff Management and Training department. Eskisehir was trying to form a similar type of department.

In non-metropolitan authorities, the situation was really hopeless. Officially, there was no education or public relations department, but in practice the Media, and Public Relations departments existed. Staff in these departments were employed by other officially-established departments. Financial resources were transferred often illegally from the budgets of officially-established other departments. The main force behind this corrupt style of management was the inflexibility of central government and the lack of power of local authorities even to employ a full-time secretary or re-form internal organisational structures for better service delivery. All non-metropolitan authority officers in Turkey I interviewed complained about the lack of power and control.

The following description given by one of the interviewees in Turkey, is worth noting. It illustrates the awkward situations the non-metropolitan municipalities have to cope with:

*“...We make provisions by using some tricky ways. First of all, neither a unit nor staff for adult education provisions in the structure of local government exist. In practice, it is different. We have already got our headed paper which is used for both internal and external communication, but not for financial documents. Staff, who work in this unit, seem to work in other departments. If the amount of money is not too much, expenditure is made by using the title of any other units in local authority. Otherwise, you have to get a decision taken by the executive committee in order to spend a significant amount of money. It is a bitter fact that central government compels us to generate false documents in order to make expenditure to provide educational, cultural and social services for our local citizens.”*

The organisation and structure for LGAE provision in Turkey is considerably different to that in Britain. It requires well-qualified, competent adult educators to be able to improve the healthy perspectives. It is also the case that British case contains a useful

lesson to learn the attempts being made in difficult circumstances to develop coherent local plans for adult education.

### 6.3.4. Funding and Finance

The financing of LGAE provision is another hotly-debated aspect of local government-adult education relations. Financial resources for adult education are considered insufficient by 9 out of 10 of the LGAE officers I interviewed in Turkey and England & Wales. Due to the tight budgets, adult education services are constantly being reduced. Adult education expenditure rates in the overall local government annual budget have dropped since the 1993-94 academic year through the removal of FE colleges from the control of LEAs (see Chapter 4). The rate of total adult education expenditure in the overall education expenditure by local authorities was reduced from 10.7% in 1989-90 to 1.7% in 1994-95 (see Table 4.4). Because of this, the rate of FE expenditure in total education expenditure of the DfEE was increased from 0.2% in 1989-90 to 25.7% in 1994-95 (see Table 4.5).

**TABLE 6.11**  
**LOCAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE FOR OVERALL SERVICES,**  
**EDUCATION SERVICES AND EDUCATION FOR ADULTS IN ENGLAND &**  
**WALES**

£ 000

	1984-85	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94
<b>Overall Services</b>	100	100	100	100	100
<b>Education Services</b>	60.0	56.9	55.1	63.9	49.2
<b>Adult Educ./ Overall</b>	6.0	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.8
<b>Adult Educ./ Educat.</b>	10.0	3.4	3.4	3.0	3.6
<b>Adult Educ./ p.person</b>	£ 22.9	£11.6	£12.2	£11.3	£11.7

**SOURCES:** Adapted from *CIPFA Education, and Finance and General Statistics* 1984-85, 1990-91, 1991-92, 1992-93 and 1993-94.

Table 6.11 shows local government expenditure for overall services, education, and adult education in its international context, i.e. education for adults in British context. Expenditure for adult education is the sum of expenditures for adult education, other

continuing education, further education for adults, youth & community services, other further education, and adult education centres. Table 6.11 makes clear that the rate of expenditure for education and education for adults as a proportion of the overall local government expenditure was reduced dramatically. In this context, Table 6.11 can be interpreted from four points of view. Firstly, the rate of education expenditure in the overall expenditure of local authorities dropped from 60.0% in 1984-85 to 49.2% in 1993-94. Secondly, the rate of expenditure on education for adults as a proportion of total education expenditure fell from 10% in 1984-85 to 3.6% in 1993-94. Thirdly, the rate of expenditures on education for adults as a proportion of overall expenditure of local authorities went down from 6% in 1984-85 to 1.8% in 1993-94. Finally, the annual local government expenditure for education for adults per person dropped from £22.9 in 1984-85 to £11.7 in 1993-94.

Financial statistics collected from local authorities are usually not comparable for the following two reasons. Firstly, the finance of LGAE provisions is complex. There are various elements to be considered. Local authorities get money through the SSA from the council budget, support from the FEFC for schedule 2 courses, and money from European Funding initiatives. They also get money from student fees. Secondly, lack of a standard for financial statistics is a definite obstacle making comparisons amongst local authorities difficult. Even CIPFA statistics have some problems of comparability of the expenditure for LGAE provision in England & Wales. For example, total adult education expenditure, as noted previously, refers to expenditures for adult education, other continuing education, community and youth services, further education for adults, and the adult education centres.

The statistics for the four local authorities in England & Wales in this study adapted from CIPFA statistics. These detailed statistics are illustrated in Table 6.12. It shows that the proportion of total educational and adult educational expenditure in local government overall expenditures varies: the proportions of educational expenditure vary between 45.6% and 67.5% of total local government expenditure while the rates of adult educational expenditures fluctuate between 1% and 2.7%. In addition, the proportions of

total adult educational expenditure in total educational expenditures vary between 1.8% and 5.7%. Finally, adult educational expenditure per person vary between £6 and £21.

**TABLE 6.12**  
**PROPORTIONS OF TOTAL EDUCATION & ADULT EDUCATION**  
**EXPENDITURES IN OVERALL SERVICE EXPENDITURE FOR FOUR**  
**LOCAL AUTHORITIES BY POPULATION FROM 1990-91 TO 1995-96**

	1990-91	91-92	92-93	93-94	94-95	95-96	Average
<b>Cleveland</b>							
Overall Service	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Education	59	55	53.9	49	49.5	57	53.9
Adult Education1	2.5	2.1	1.7	1.5	2.3	1.9	2
Adult Education2	4.2	3.7	3.1	3.1	4.7	3.4	3.7
Adult Education3	£17	£16	£14	£12	£19	£14	£15.3
<b>Durham</b>							
Overall Service	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Education	59	57.1	58.9	54.8	52.5	60.6	57.2
Adult Education1	1	1.1	1.6	1.5	2.2	2.7	1.7
Adult Education2	1.8	1.9	2.7	2.7	4.2	4.5	3
Adult Education3	£6	£7	£11	£9	£16	£17	£11
<b>H.Shire</b>							
Overall Service	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Education	58.9	57	57.2	51	56.3	67.5	58
Adult Education1	2.6	1.7	1.7	1.6	2	4.1	2.3
Adult Education2	4.3	3.1	3	3.1	3.6	2.8	3.3
Adult Education3	£13	£10	£10	£9	£12	£16	£12.7
<b>N.Castle</b>							
Overall Service	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Education	55.6	50.4	48	48.3	48.1	45.6	49.3
Adult Education1	1.9	1.2	2.2	2.5	1.2	2.6	1.9
Adult Education2	3.4	2.4	4.6	5.1	2.6	5.7	4
Adult Education3	£13	£9	£16	£18	£10	£21	£14.5

**Adult Education 1:** Rate of adult education expenditure in total education expenditure

**Adult Education 2:** Rate of adult education expenditure in overall LG expenditure.

**Adult Education 3:** Annual adult education expenditure per person.

**SOURCES:** Adapted from *CIPFA Education, and Finance and General Statistics* 1990-91, 1991-92, 1992-93, 1993-94, 1994-95 and 1995-96.

From a comparative point of view, four points are worth noting. Firstly the average proportions of total educational expenditure in local government overall expenditure were 58% in Hampshire County Council (CC), 57.2% in Durham, 53.9% in Cleveland, and 49.3% in Newcastle. Secondly, the average proportions of total adult educational expenditure in local government overall expenditure were 2.3% in Hampshire County Council (CC), 2% in Cleveland, 1.9% in Newcastle, and 1.7% in Durham. Thirdly, the

average proportions of total adult educational expenditure in total educational expenditure were 4% in Newcastle, 3.7% in Cleveland, 3.3% in Hampshire, and 3% in Durham. Finally, the average adult education expenditure (annual) per person was £15.3 in Cleveland, £14.5 in Newcastle, £12.7 in Hampshire, and £11 in Durham. In this context, it can be said that Newcastle Metropolitan District Council gave the highest priority to adult educational provisions in its international and broad meaning while it was lowest in Durham County Council.

There is no simple explanation for this: Both Newcastle and Durham have been labour controlled authorities for many years. They are, however, very different in respect of a range of factors such as economic structure, degree of urbanisation, and patterns of social differentiation. All authorities in subtle ways what must be understood historically to define different patterns of demand for adult education and different approach to the supply of adult education service.

Every local government has a duty to allocate resources to other adult education provider partners. This allocation process is shaped by local political incentives, the position of the adult education section, levels of direct or free-standing adult education provision by local authorities, and the professional expertise and understanding of the person responsible for adult education provision.

Generally, adult education providers within a local government area are expected to fill an application form to claim money for course expenditures including heating, lightening, cleaning and insurance. This money is offered through a budget for indirect provisions. Some local authorities favour a tight and strict contract which defines absolute targets to be achieved. At the end of the term, unless the voluntary organisation attains the pre-determined targets, the final instalments of allocated money is not paid. Some local authorities consciously avoid making contracts with partner providers, because they believe that making tight contracts can not solely be reconciled with the spirit of adult education. However, it does not mean that there is no co-operation and collaboration between the local government and the partner provider. The number of partner providers and allocated money may vary within place and time. For example, Hampshire County

Council made a contract with 86 partner providers in 1993-94, and allocated roughly £160 000. The largest grant maintained organisation was the WEA with around £25 000 while the smallest partner provider was a voluntary organisation with £500 in 1995-96 in Newcastle. The WEA is the biggest partner provider for local authorities. Community centres/associations, FE colleges, community schools and other voluntary organisations are the major partner providers.

One of the interviewees underlined the following points to explain their allocation process:

*“...The Community Education Service supports voluntary sector organisations by granting financial resources for many years. If they demonstrate the following criteria, then we pass the money: a voluntary committee which is elected by the members; operations should be clear; membership should be open to everyone; they should submit an annual application together with proof of their account to enable us to see where the money for last year went. Then they can apply for the following year...”*

LGAE provision depends heavily on fees rather than local government subsidies. The local government subsidies, as noted by Davey (1996), represent 20% of all expenditure. London borough of Croydon spent £1 for every £5 provision. Davey draws a rather sad picture, and narrates how Adult Education Service became Continuing Education and Training Service to a further move out of the Education Department.

Apart from the described allocation process above, local authorities can provide schedule 2 courses through FEFC support. In fact, those amounts are cut back by the central government, and the FEFC allocates this money to local authorities through extremely bureaucratic procedures. Norris (1996:76) has narrated his story with the FEFC, and noted two fundamental lessons from their experience:

*“\* be scrupulously accurate - and honest - about the volume of FEFC work which is undertaken and which it is realistic to generate while maintaining the ‘right’ portfolio balance in terms of service goals.  
\* be absolutely certain- and if necessary, ruthless - about the choice of partners.”*

The complexity of these funding mechanisms generates a requirement in local government for officials to be skilful budget managers and for them to understand the

complexities of resource allocation. They may grumble at this aspect of their work, but at least there are resources to be won.

In Turkey, on the other hand a lack of adequate financial resources for local governments is one of the most crucial problems not only for adult educational services but also for other kinds of provision. Local governments, as mentioned earlier, are dependent on central grants. They don't have any opportunity to raise their own resources through local taxation. Thus, central government is seen as '*devlet baba*' the father state which reflects in itself the degree to which local government thinking is dominated by paternalistic logic. Non-metropolitan municipalities, as mentioned earlier, mostly employ corrupt ways of using public funds to be able to deliver adult educational and cultural services for their local citizens. An interviewee from Turkey, who was the only officer who did not complain lack of resources, said ironically that:

*"... There was no money in last year's annual budget for this unit. However, we do not have any financial problem, because this unit is directly under the patronage of the mayor. Whenever we need money, we present the project, and then the necessary funding is given us directly by the mayor or by the decision of the executive committee if the amount is not too much."*

Local authorities do not provide any grants for voluntary organisations, but they allow them to use municipal premises, vehicles and other facilities. Turkey as a developing country, has little experienced with civil society and the contracting out of socio-cultural and adult educational services. Freedom to organise non-profit making social purpose societies or associations has been restricted by central government since the 1980 military take-over. The Trade Unions and professional organisations can not play an active role in political, social and cultural life neither at local nor national levels.

Due to the lack of officially published statistics to evaluate adult educational and cultural expenditure of local authorities in Turkey, data on this was gathered from the interviewees. According to data collected in this way, metropolitan authorities spend less than 0.5% of total authority expenditure on their adult education services. Non-metropolitan authorities illegally spend about 1/5000 of their total expenditure on educational and cultural services together with public and media relations.

From a comparative point of view, local authorities in England and Wales spend about half of the budget for the education department, while their Turkish equivalents spend less than 0.5% of the total budget with the exception of provincial local authority which passes 20% of their total budget to the maintenance of primary school buildings. The explanation for this is in the role and structure of local government. Despite constant conservative hostility to local government in Britain since 1979, local authorities are still seen as the major organisational force for many welfare services, so education departments are still responsible for the local governance of education. In Turkey, local authorities are seen as weak agents of central government whose purpose is to play a passive role in the local governance of services. They are seen as unaccountable, irresponsive and corrupt organisations providing a limited number of infrastructure services such as street cleaning, disposal collection, building and maintenance of local roads and paths etc.. Education and adult education services are considered the responsibility of central government.

### **6.3.5. Staffing**

Usually, LGAE provisions are co-ordinated by an officer with a specific remit (HMI 1991), or a few FT officers located at county hall, and area principals and organisers together with an area team. Sometimes, adult education provisions are organised by a FT organiser under the auspices of sport and leisure committees outside of the education department, e.g. Hampshire. In this case, the local authority as a simple contractor, hands out limited amounts of money among the AE providers within a strict set of rules.

Table 6.13 illustrates the demographic characteristics of local government officers interviewed in this study who were responsible for adult education services. It makes clear that officers in England and Wales have adult education qualifications gained through working in adult education over many years, or through academic training programmes in adult education. However, the officers interviewed in Turkey neither have relevant working experience nor university/employer-based training programmes. Four out of ten officers in Turkey and England & Wales were female. The age group of six out of ten was 41-50 years. The titles of the positions of those responsible for LGAE

provisions in both countries ranged from people's education officer to lifetime learning manager.

**TABLE 6.13**  
**DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INTERVIEWED LOCAL**  
**GOVERNMENT ADULT EDUCATION OFFICERS**

	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age Group</b>	<b>Education</b>
Cleveland	Male	31-40	BA in Geography & American Studies
Durham	Male	51+	BA in Physical Education
Hampshire	Female	41-50	Diploma in Adult Education
Newcastle	Female	41-50	BA in English Literature & MA in Adult Ed.
Ankara	Male	41-50	BA in Theology & MA in Public Administration
Bursa	Female	41-50	BA in Management Sciences
Eskisehir	Male	41-50	BA in Management Sciences
Mugla	Male	31-40	High School
Nigde	Male	41-50	BA in Man. Sci. & Preliminary BA in Phys. Ed.
Kirsehir	Female	-30	MA & BA in Urdu Language

The staffing arrangements of local authorities for adult education are seen as being inadequate in quantity in England & Wales, and inadequate both in quantity and quality in Turkey. The numbers of staff in Britain have been reduced slowly, so work of those left in past has increasingly grown. These shifts were summarised by an interviewee as follows:

*"...Staff numbers are insufficient. Numbers have been eroded slowly over the last ten years. Work has grown, so we are talking about an increasingly smaller number of people doing an increasingly large amount of work. Both FT and PT staff numbers have been cut back. The qualification and motivation of adult educators are very good. Adult educators are the people who work out of the kindness of their hearts in dedication to job and commitment to the community in which they work...We are in a process as Education Department of closing down all area offices...All functions are coming to the centre and being drawn back to County Hall. The whole of education will be increasingly administered from a central base. By doing this, it has saved money, premises..."*

The employment and development of PT staff is one of the most significant problems for local authorities in England & Wales, but due to a dramatic reduction of staff numbers they are able to do little work in this field. Many experienced and well-qualified adult

educators have already been employed by FE colleges on higher grades. One officer I interviewed described the situation lucidly:

*"...In staff development terms, we recognise that there are certainly gaps in our provision...We don't have a big budget and a coherent policy for staff development. However, we have produced a tutor's handbook, and bought a special software into service in last 12 months..."*

In Turkey, staff employment is an entirely political business. Full-time staff are seen as civil servants. To create new FT posts requires the approval of the Ministry of the Interior. If the political control of a local authority changes from one political party to another, the first business of the newly elected mayors is to sack former employees, or to force them to resign in order to employ relatives of their political supporters. The worst thing is that all political parties do the same, and it is seen as a natural consequence of changes in political control. An interviewee, who was employed as a temporary construction worker but working as a press consultant casually, described the corrupt nature of staff employment in municipalities as follows:

*"...the elected mayor has already promised somebody to create employment opportunity if he/she is elected, so he/she has to employ somebody in accordance with his/her prior promises. There is no chance to employ people who have the necessary qualifications. In consequence, most of the posts are occupied politically..."*

The story of an adult education officer can provide an interesting case to exemplify the above situation in local authorities in Turkey. A friend of mine, who received his MA degree in Adult Education, was employed as a FT adult education officer by Ankara Metropolitan Authority in 1993. In 1994, political control changed, and the Pro-Islamic Welfare Party won the election. Later on, the new mayor and his colleagues as everyone expected forced former staff to resign. Women officers in particular were compelled to resign. My friend was exiled to another department as a park keeper.

Under these circumstances, it is very difficult to employ well-qualified adult education staff. Local authorities need to be democratic and accountable. Elections do not in themselves ensure this. The structure of local authorities is in need of radical reforms to democratise the process of local governance, and to increase local involvement in the decision making processes. The most urgent need is to enable councils to play an active

role in community governance by increasing the quality and quantity of councillors, and by allowing them to elect the mayor. Mayors should be elected by the elected councillors, not by the direct vote of the people.

The principles governing the employment of LGAE officers in Turkey are entirely opposite to those in England & Wales. The principle in Turkey is to create and define jobs in accordance with the qualifications of the employed people rather than to employ the most conveniently qualified people in accordance with the requirements and definition of the job. Despite the existence of some doubts regarding the absence of transparency and accountability of recent local government employment in England & Wales, it would be hard to claim there was a corrupt style of employment relations. However, the existence of a constant potential threat of redundancy for LGAE officers was frequently commented in Britain. In addition, the job descriptions of the responsible staff have been raised as a significant difficulty because of the constant changing of the role of local authorities in adult education and the increasing size of the task must be performed by officers. In Turkey, the job description of LGAE officers have not been properly clarified for several reasons. Firstly, responsibility for adult education is unclear in Turkey. Only two metropolitan local authorities have established their education and culture departments. Secondly, chief officers in these departments are not qualified in education or adult education, so they do not know how they can establish adult education, and for what purposes. Finally, changing political control in local authorities in Turkey, in contrast Britain, is very common and easy, so nobody knows what will happen four years later, so it is really hard to set up job remits and adjust them according to changing nature of responsibility for adult education provision.

#### **6.3.6. Problems and Trends**

LGAE provision in England & Wales is increasingly becoming smaller. Staff numbers and financial resources are under a constant threat. LGAE sections have to keep retrenching, rationalising what they do, and looking again and again at how they can work more efficiently than they did the previous year. It is for this reason that Tuckett (1996:37) suggests local authorities must be persuaded to remodel themselves as

learning authorities dedicated to supporting local citizens searching for personal fulfilment, community development and economic prosperity.

It is tacitly agreed that education, i.e. schooling, is always politically a number one priority, so adult education provision is a marginal activity in councillors' eyes and in education officers' minds. Those interviewed drew attention to the fact that most councillors do not understand the significance of non-vocational (liberal) adult education for the regeneration of communities, and in opening peoples' minds. Adult Education Services were the softest as well as the easiest target for budget cuts. LGAE officers believe that 'some of the battles fought have to be re-fought' in order to provide adult education services with a high profile. However, they feel, as one put it, they are 'gonna lose in a long run'.

The absence of a coherent legislative framework for adult educational services was another common difficulty described by interviewees. They consider that the 1992 Further and Higher Education Act removed liberal adult education from the agenda. 'Securing adequacy of provision' has never been defined properly, so local authorities can do whatever they are able to do. Thus, they believe that the legislation has had a great impact on LGAE provision. It undermines the notion of local democracy and civil society, because it has created not only quasi non-governmental organisations which are undemocratic, unaccountable bodies, but also shifted power away from the LEAs to the incorporated colleges (see also Easton 1996). All these developments have created an enabler rather than direct provider role for local authorities. However, they still think they should have a leading role to play actively in the regeneration of local communities. They think it is very difficult to maintain adult education services outside of LEA structures.

Finally, the relationship with other providers was raised as another important issue by the officers interviewed. Due to the strict rules of contract signed by the provider partners and the responsible officers on behalf of the Council, voluntary bodies may fail to fulfil necessary and agreed targets. Therefore, some proportions of local government subsidies can be clawed back. Due to a lack of sufficient numbers of applicants, or lack of

sufficient financial support, courses agreed to be run in parish halls have frequently been cancelled. The number of courses and attendants in the authorities studied dropped drastically after 1993. This result of the study is also supported by the national statistics analysed in previous chapters.

In Turkey, a lack of finance and of well-qualified adult educators together with the ambiguous legislative framework for LGAE provision are the major difficulties. Local authorities are widely seen as weak, dysfunctional and corrupt organisations. Staff interviewed complained of political pressures to carry out irrational policies and operations. A local bureaucracy has not been established yet. Employment principles need to be re-formed. The lack of well-developed local management system and local autonomy were raised by the interviewees as most pressing issues. In this respect, Geray & Hamamci (1994) noted two major trends of employment by local authorities amongst the elected councillors and appointed officers. Firstly, the trend is to arrange examination and interview should be responsibility of each municipality. The other trend is that to improve a central examination system to selected local government employees.

However, structure of local government, as mentioned earlier, is not democratic and accountable. The quality and quantity of elected councillors is not sufficient. The percentage of councillors and mayors, who were graduates of only five year compulsory education, was found to be 33.3% by Keles & Hamamci (1994). They also noted that percentage of university-educated councillors and mayors was 60.9% in metropolitan areas while it was 42.8% for all local authorities. Under current circumstances, local authorities in Turkey can not play an active role in the delivery of welfare state services, and can not overcome with the existing cumulative problems of local communities in Turkish society. It is, therefore, essential to promote a committee system in local governance together with increasing the number of councillors. In addition, mayors should be elected by the councillors, and most of the powers of the mayor should be transferred to the democratically formed executive committee, and other service committees. Appointed chief officers or directors of service departments can play an active role in these democratically formed service committees.

In England & Wales, local authorities have responsibility for many welfare services from education to economic development. Despite a lack of constitutional protection for local authorities against central government, local authorities are much more autonomous and powerful than their Turkish equivalents. Education is the most important responsibility for local authorities in Britain. They spend at least half of the annual budgets for education. However, there has been a demise of adult educational provision in its broader sense. Polytechnics and FE colleges were removed from the LEA control. Vocational and non-vocational education have been forced to separate from each other through a new vocationalist educational ideology. For these reason, only non-vocational adult education was left to the local authorities. Under these circumstances, most local authorities have already stopped delivering free-standing adult education services. A significant number of local authorities have pushed adult education service from out of the control of the education department and committee.

#### **6.3.7. Role of Local Government**

The history of adult continuing education services provided by LAs in England & Wales dates back to the second half of C19th. The 1889 Technical Instruction Act and 1890 Local Taxation Act gave adult educational responsibilities to LAs. The 1902 and 1944 Education Acts were important developments in the concern of LAs with adult education (Lowe 1970). More recently, the statutory adult educational role of local authorities was eroded to a great extent through a number of legislation under the constant conservative governments since 1979.

It is widely acknowledged that due to the lack of an updated political consensus amongst the political parties about the roles, responsibilities, functions of LAs and central-local relations, the public administration system is moving towards an increasingly centralised form of public administration. In this domain, the trend of increasing centralisation in the management and control of education is a quite serious threat to community adult education in particular. The essential point here, made by Hargreaves (1986), is that this centralisation trend, which dismantles local authorities and strengthens conflicts between central and local government, is deeply inimical to the principles of community

education, and to community control of educational institutions. The community education movement is powerless to resist the tide of centralisation.

More overtly, the danger of the demise community adult educational provisions delivered by local authorities was raised attention ten years ago. The LEA community adult education provision is powerless to resist centralisation trends for the following reasons. Firstly, as mentioned by Raggatt & Edwards (1996), there is no clearly defined coherent adult education policy at the national level, so a legislative basis for LGAE provision is ambiguous and slippery. To secure adequacy of provision does not ensure a statutory role for local authorities.

Secondly, adult education is internationally seen as a 'poor-cousin' in the family of education, so formal schooling has always had an overwhelming priority. When the unclear legislative framework and lack of coherent policy are added to the second point, adult education becomes a soft target for the power exercises of narrow-minded people in the circles of policy-making.

Thirdly, vocational and non-vocational adult education, as mentioned by Stephens (1990), are twin brothers/sisters. In other words, adult education with vocational and non-vocational types can survive as a whole. If these two are separated, it is extremely hard for non-vocational part to survive itself. For this reason, LEAs have been able to resist central interventions in the compulsory education sector despite the national curriculum, grant maintained status for schools and significant changes of the relationships between LEAs, school governors, and head teachers.

Finally, neo-liberalism and its educational ideology 'new vocationalism' has become a global preference in the developed societies. This trend has seen market as a magic stick for solving all economic and social problems. According to neo-liberalist ideology, the welfare state, and intermediate organisations between the state and individuals are 'anathema'. Under these circumstances, undoubtedly, the economic value of education is prioritised, and education is seen as a tool to improve the skills of the workforce in order to increase competitive ability of the economy. Further more, education, state schooling,

citizenship, effectiveness and decentralisation were replaced with training, private schooling, competence, efficiency and centralisation under the strong effect of 'market dogmatism'.

The relevance of the above developments for LGAE provision present a significantly changing role for local authorities. The major role is increasingly becoming that of an 'enabler' or 'honest broker' to allocate shrinking amounts of money, to see where the gaps and people's needs are, and to find the best way to secure adequacy of provision. However, it has to be accepted that it is difficult for them to play the role due to the constant reduction of human and financial resources for adult education in the budgets of local authorities.

Local authorities are expected to develop and operate networking tactics and strategies (see Flynn 1992, 1996, and 1996a) in order to fulfil their enabling purpose. However, it seems rather difficult to do this networking role when local authorities themselves are becoming such marginal providers of adult education.

In Turkey, local authorities have recently begun to be concerned with community-based adult educational services. Some of the metropolitan counties have established education departments with adult education units. Traditionally, people's education centres, located in each district, have been responsible for adult educational services, so conflicts and overlaps between these centres and local authorities are inescapable.

The three major concerns of local authorities regarding community & adult education services are rather different from those in England & Wales. Firstly, local authorities and all public bodies in Turkey are responsible for the development and training of their own staff in accordance with basic civil servant acts. For this reason in-service training and adult education units were established as different units in the structures of departments for education and culture, or departments for personnel and education. This in-service unit is responsible for all staff development in the local authority including the development and training of adult and community educators. Local authorities generally collaborate with universities to keep them with their staff development policies and

programmes. From the point of view of community adult education, universities offer both undergraduate and postgraduate programmes in adult education, and a limited number of really qualified adult educators are available for employing in local government education departments. However, for political and organisational reasons, it takes time to establish close working relations between universities and local authorities.

Secondly, there is very little amount of money to spend on community-based adult educational services in local authorities in Turkey. As professional staff are employed in these departments, the hope is that these services will become much more valued by both elected and appointed members of local government. Despite cut-backs in adult education in Britain, the presence of well-qualified, active and committed educational officials is an obvious feature of adult education. Their support for this work in the politics of local authorities can be, as the case of Newcastle shows, a decisive factor in maintaining the profile of adult education. While contracting out of services is developing in Britain, the Turkish strategy is to try and promote local authority courses; there is little evidence of inter-agency co-operation in Turkey. According to the Ankara Metropolitan Authority Business Plan for 1995, for the Department of Education and Culture, a youth centre was established to arrange community and youth work courses, and vocational acquisition courses for young ladies out of formal schooling, were organised in districts of Ankara in 1994. The number of attendants for these courses was 8 426. Similar types of provisions were organised by Mugla Non-Metropolitan Authority in 1994, and 321 attendants enrolled for these courses. However, detailed financial and non-financial statistics for these courses were not available. It can be said that local authorities favour the provisions of free-standing adult education services rather than contracting out them.

Local authorities in Turkey are not able to make strategic plans and programmes for co-operation with other adult education providers. They are not able to play a dominant role in community adult education. Most of the population do not have any learning opportunities beyond the five-year compulsory education with the exception of television channels, (around 20), and the media which are patronised by dominant political groups. People's education centres are not able to play their role in providing a

wide range of learning opportunities for all towards a learning society. Local authorities could play an important role in making a wide range of learning opportunities available to all local citizens in building a learning society. The decentralisation of postcompulsory educational provision could become driving force towards these ends.

Local government officers who are responsible for adult educational provisions in Turkey are much more utilitarian than their English counterparts in respects of their aims and purposes of adult education as an important apparatus for solving some basic problems such as vandalism, mis-use of municipal premises, and poor communication between the local authority and citizens. As such it is seen as 'a bridge between the local authority and its citizens', as 'any social and cultural activity to promote citizen enlightenment', a kind of 'socio-cultural education' with a strong elements of social control. It also serves to promote the 'acquisition of vocational skills', 'basic education of adults' and 'the process for the transmission of recent knowledge to the community'. These are wide and almost vacuous goals; the local rationale is much more pragmatic and concerned with very practical questions drawn from local political agendas. These purposes is to 'educate or cure' the citizens not to empower them (see Burns, Hambleton and Hoggett 1994).

In Britain, the aims and expectations are much more complicated and advanced than in Turkey: they include 'the social and economic regeneration of the community', 'combating social exclusion', 'contributing to the development of human capital', 'learning from the cradle to the grave', 'contributing to the process of setting up a learning society and local democracy', 'basic education of underprivileged groups', 'to deliver services for 16+', 'providing a second chance to learn and re-train'; and 'to try to spark the realisation of their potential'. All these aims may be seen as the indicator of commitment for 'low level citizen participation' whose objective is to enable indirect, or representative participation of local citizen in the process of decision making (see Burns, Hambleton and Hoggett 1994). The reasons behind the difference between Turkey and Britain are that local government adult education is an old tradition, although it has been damaged to a great extent since 1979. However, it is very new idea in Turkey, and the institutions or commitments on which to develop in further.

Interviewees in Britain had a deeper understanding of the theory, philosophy and practice of adult education than their Turkish counterparts. Because of this, their practice is much more complicated, radical and advanced than those of their colleagues in Turkey. Finally, the relatively decentralised, autonomous and powerful tradition of local government in Britain has led to the creation of a higher level of citizen participation than in Turkey. This low and poor level of citizen participation is an inadequate basis on which to achieve the aim of a decentralised democracy under citizen control in which people produce rather than merely consume the services in their locality.

#### **6.4. Reconceptualisation of Local Government Adult Education.**

The local politics of adult education provision are influenced to a great extent by national political systems, and the structure of education and local government. National political systems are also under the pressure of world-wide economic processes of globalisation producing high level of inter-dependence among the nations. The impact of the EU on the emergence of competence-based models of vocational training in England & Wales is a good example (Hargraves 1995). He pointed out the existence of clear links between the emergence of the UK competence-based NVQ framework and the development of the EU vocational training policy. In addition to this, Field (1996a, 1996b) draws attention to Europeanisation of the adult continuing education and lifelong learning agenda in Europe. He noted that it is necessary to adopt a more critical view of EU's policy goals in a rapidly changing world. He also underlines the general objectives of the EU policy as follows:

- to encourage the acquisition of new knowledge.
- to bring schools and business sector closer together.
- to combat exclusion.
- to encourage proficiency in three Community languages.
- to treat capital investment and investment in training on an equal basis.

The relevance of the second policy goal of the EU implies privatisation of the schooling, training, vocationalisation of education rather than state schooling, education and non-vocational education. A close look recent developments in Britain and France from this

perspective shows that both are trying to bring education, post-compulsory education in particular, and the business sector closer. However, Britain has been trying to exclude local authorities from this process by destroying their leading role while France has been trying to decentralise local authorities and public administration system by creating unique patterns of structure and relationships between central government, local government and business sector. France is trying to bring national and regional priorities together in order to create a dialogue between central-local government and private sector by increasing the power of local authorities, regions in particular, while Britain currently and constantly erodes those power.

Despite these trends, political systems at national level, sooner or later, have to restructure and change their local political systems in order to cope successfully with global trends and influences. In a rapidly changing world, national political systems increasingly need to listen to the voices and understand the choices of local people through decentralisation of government. In this context, LGAE provision should be considered a way of changing and strengthening local citizenship and local democracy.

Citizenship, as mentioned earlier, is not a unitary and static concept. Cram and Richardson (1994) have drawn attention the Europeanisation of the citizenship concept, likewise educational policies and adult education. They have noted that the European dimension of citizenship emphasises the importance of local government for citizen participation. Local authorities can establish clear links between the citizens and the community. Local authorities, as raised by an interviewee in Turkey, should have the responsibility of building bridges between local citizens and local government. LGAE provision can play a sparkling role in this context. They are in principle close to the citizens, and need the support themselves of strong and regional institutions to be able play a role in promoting citizenship empowerment and the revitalisation of local democracy.

Contract culture may not be the model to achieve these goals. In its neo-liberal sense, it can not support the role of local authorities in LGAE provision. It is, therefore, necessary to improve network tactics and strategies in which adult education providers

have to be seen as partner providers in developing strong civil societies in the Habermasian sense of 'alternative institutions to erect a democratic dam against the colonising encroachment of system imperatives on areas of the life-world' (see Perez-Diaz 1995).

To play such a role, local authorities need much more financial and human resource support than is currently available to them. Existence of widely-structured LGAE provisions is absolutely necessary to be able to play a leading role to set up a co-operative and collaborative working relations and climate amongst the providers. When the local authority carries out a local development forum, as in Buckinghamshire case (see Noble 1996), local authority must have an enormous provision. When it was made by Buckinghamshire local authority, the provision delivered by local authority was enormous with 23 autonomous centres, 260 sites for about 40 000 adults. It should be borne in mind that local authorities can not achieve such a complex role by supporting 1/5 of total course cost in a simple allocation process, or by creating strict rules and certain targets to contract services out for voluntary organisations.

The impacts of the developments since 1992 on LGAE provisions are diverse. They vary according to nature of local political culture, types of local authority, the economic, social and cultural developments levels of the authority, and the professional expertise of responsible staff.

Their perception of the needs for adult education is really important. Unless they are well-qualified in the field of adult education, there is little chance of them convincing politicians' significance for adult education. Their work is a constant battle. One which put it in this way: 'battles had been fought for community adult education have to be re-fought'.

LGAE provision must cover both the vocational and non-vocational dimensions of adult education. It has to be holistic and community-based. Otherwise, non-vocational adult education can not survive by itself in the absence of public subsidies. Vocational and non-vocational adult education are twins. They are not rivals. It is for this reason that

local government or local authority adult education provides the best convenient conceptualisation of what is really needed if local communities are to be helped to adjust in democratic ways and changing circumstances.

Consequently, it is hard to raise or keep high the profile of LGAE provision through single endeavour of local government in long run. Local authorities do not have a magic stick to create co-operative and collaborative relations amongst the providers of adult education services in their territory in order to secure adequacy of provision in such a competitive and market-based circumstances. It is sad to say that new vocationalist educational ideology of neo-liberalism has sacrificed 130 years tradition of LGAE provision in Britain. The demise of university adult education in 1970s and 1980s has been repeated in LGAE provisions in the 1990s. The significance of these two adult learning establishments in transforming the idea of the learning society must be re-considered in the near future in Britain. It is for this reason that the British case serves many valuable lessons for the other societies regarding what ought not to be done to move towards a learning society.

## CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSIONS

It is not intended here to repeat the arguments and findings of the previous chapters. The aim of this chapter, firstly, is to develop the conclusions within the five main themes of the study: methodology, decentralisation, education, adult education, and local government-adult education relations. This will constitute a broad framework to emphasise and clarify the necessity for decentralised, democratic and effective adult education policies geared towards a vision of the learning society. It is also expected that these conclusions will illuminate some directions for further research.

Before proceeding further it is necessary to point out a few limitations of this study. First of all, there are some overall limitations of qualitative social research. Studies of social phenomena are often out of date as soon as they are published since they are constantly changing, and each society is unique. Despite the historical and structural uniqueness of all social formations, there is a need in social science to seek general propositions about how societies function and change. The methods of comparative research make it possible to do this, though the result of research must always be seen as being provisional and open to challenge and further debate.

Some of the limitations stem from the theoretical components of the study. These can, of course, be debated. The main point is that the framework of analysis is explicit and the claims made for its analytical utility are modest. The strengths and weaknesses of the empirical elements of the study are not wholly related to its theoretical and methodological limitations. Some of the data is drawn from national statistical data bases, some from documentary materials, including historical sources. Some of the data concern the character of and themes within contemporary political debate about education in the societies studied. Such data do exist apart from the theoretical and methodological approaches of this study. The interpretation of the material does, however, reflect the theoretical approach of the study, its strengths and weaknesses.

Secondly, the absence of quantitative data for adult education at both national and local levels was a real difficulty to overcome. The comparability of the limited amount of

available data was also extremely poor even within each country. This rules out the use of more statistically-based modes of analysis in this kind of study.

Finally, due to resource limitations the number of interviews had to be limited. It is very difficult, therefore, to provide definitive end-point conclusions. The interviews can best be seen as illustrative of the problems under study. They supply local insight into problems that can be studied in no other way. While the results of the interviews may be limited in what they reveal of the circumstances of each society as a whole, they have demonstrated the utility of the approach for studies of this kind. Macro issues of structure reveal themselves in and through the micro contexts of decision-making that is the case study and which constitute the work of educational officials, their attitudes, values and professional commitments. Their 'voice' must be heard if the operational realities and the cultural significance of the policies they manage is to be properly understood. The interpretation of policies they have developed must be grasped by researchers for what the officials think and do is a major element of the prevailing discourse which constitutes the structure and form of adult education in particular places.

There are in principle many other ways of researching the ways in which micro world of experience and the macro world of structure inter-relate. Resources did not allow detailed participant observation of the daily work of officials over an extended period of time. Such studies would be most useful as a way of researching how educational policies are actually put into practice. Such studies could usefully have a longitudinal, historical format but were wholly out of the scope of the resources available for this particular piece of research.

Problems also stem from the nature of the research problem itself: adult education and local government relations vary between societies and even communities within any single society. This is a generic problem of all comparative research. This study has attempted to bring empirical diversity under greater theoretical control. It remains, however, a difficult task for the notion of adult education is broad. This study has

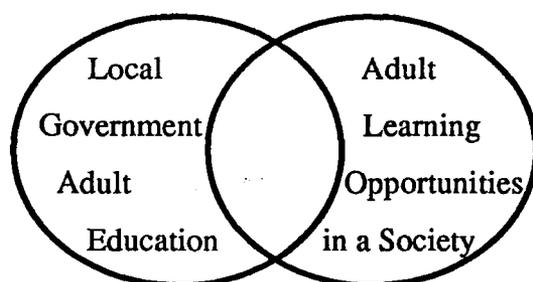
concentrated on only one form of adult education, that provided and controlled by local government.

The idea of adult education covers, however, a wide range of other learning opportunities for adults. Some of them are provided by private training organisations, others by religious or political organisations. Adults learn themselves, they learn through work and the mass media and by being part of the social and cultural traditions into which they were born.

LGAE is; from this perspective, only one of a wide range of providers. It responds to the needs and interests of the state (see sections 6.3.7 and 6.4) and, it is also responds to the demands of local citizens, who express their needs and interests through their local political institutions.

Market-led provision responds to a narrower range of individual concerns, especially in the vocational field. It has not been the purpose of this study to examine the relative effectiveness of market as opposed to government provision. These types of provision respond to different stimuli. My focus has been on the forms of and changes in local government provided adult education and on the different ways in which this provision is being influenced by the world-wide growth in market-led initiatives in this broad field of continuing post-school education.

The focus can be clarified simply by Figure 7.1:



**FIGURE 7.1**  
**THE PLACE OF L.G.A.E IN THE TOTAL FRAMEWORK OF ADULT**  
**LEARNING OPPORTUNITIES IN A SOCIETY**

LGAE does not exhaust the idea of adult education in any of the societies under discussion in this study. In each case, there are many opportunities for adults to develop themselves outside the provision of local government. In the case of Britain in particular, recent developments have shown how local government and private, some voluntary-organised providers, work together in new ways offering new kinds of learning opportunities. The interaction of the two systems-the public and the private (or voluntary)- is a highly contested area in which local politics matter greatly and shape the eventual distribution of opportunities for education of different groups of adults. It is clearly a matter of further research beyond the remit of this study, to explore these changing patterns of provision of adult learning.

### **7.1. Concluding Remarks**

This study has shown that ICAE research requires a flexible multi-method approach which is interpretative rather than positivist, and qualitative rather quantitative. It also requires bringing micro and macro comparative analyses together in order to achieve an in-depth understanding of the phenomena under study. Macro and micro analytical approaches can be brought together so as to make coherent comparisons of educational practices in different societies. Above all, it is a necessity for comparative analysis of educational structures in different societies.

The TIP scheme, outlined in chapter 2, enables researchers to develop a broad and coherent framework which is flexible and which copes with the difficulties of making international comparative studies of adult education. It provides a framework for theoretical debate and reflection which is crucial to identify structural and ideological differences between societies and their systems of education. At the core of comparative research is a detailed social understanding of the contexts -both historical and political- in which learning opportunities for adults are structured. Students of comparative education must have a strong critical grasp of these elements for education is everywhere part of the politics and the patterns of social differentiation of a society.

The approach makes clear that comparative adult education scholars must know something about the academic debates on dependency theory, centre-periphery debates,

and neo-colonialism in education. In the global economic and cultural relationships of the new world order, the constraints on development of the underdeveloped countries reflect the world-wide dominance of the industrialised countries. Such dominance reveals itself both in the resources available to developing countries for social and economic development and in the forms of state, structure of government and the patterns of civil society. The developing countries of the world - of which Turkey is one - are not only poor and vulnerable economically; they are also limited in what they can achieve by social and political institutions which are too centralised and yet powerless to initiate fundamental socio-economic change.

The TIP scheme is an attempt to bring discussion of these sophisticated contexts into the analysis of adult education and local government relations. This study has attempted to show that this framework helps explain patterns of educational change both in developed societies - in this case France and Britain- and in those seeking to develop and modernise.

However, TIP scheme needs to look at the phenomenon of education from a different perspective. This study has explored the idea that it is essential to approach educational phenomena in conjunction with the three elements of discourse (ideology, power, and knowledge) which interact at different levels of complexity: the global, the national and the local. 'Discourse' refers anything thought, written or said about something which frames how a phenomenon is understood. It can broadly be seen in the particular conjunction of ideology, power and knowledge in a domain of policy or experience. The ability to employ or improve a discourse depends on knowledge in a particular field of study or discipline and the power that flows from it. From this perspective, every educational system is a political mechanism for maintaining the appropriateness of discourses which may change in time and place, as new ways of thinking emerge in the complexity of coping with changes in global, national and local developments. Adult education should, therefore, always be seen as part of the political process of any society, as a site in which competing educational discourses struggle for dominance.

From an international comparative point of view adult education should be studied not only in relation to the socio-economic and socio-cultural development levels of the countries concerned but also in relation to the structure of their schooling system. What schools achieve either facilitates or hinders the work which can be done with adults. The school system lays the foundations of lifelong learning and plays a major role in structuring educational opportunities for adults. The pattern of opportunity it promotes shapes the subsequent motivation of adults to learn, and therefore is a major cultural influence on adult education.

Globalisation and new right ideology have created an educational agenda referred to as the 'new vocationalism'. Key policy trends in this agenda are: the artificial distinction between vocational and non-vocational education, the commoditisation or marketisation of education and the inescapable consequences of this such as employer-led control of education and tough competition amongst the providers, structural inequalities, consumerism and the re-centralisation of educational control. Central governments are under pressure to respond to these features of the educational agenda in order to compete in the globalised economic system and the new international division of labour.

Educationalists should, however, be critical of the new vocationalist agenda of education and should strive to establish a more meaningful, comprehensive and integrative concepts of education. For example, 'liberal vocationalisation' versus 'new vocationalisation', the social purposes of education versus economic purposes, decentralisation versus centralisation or re-centralisation, equal opportunities versus parental choices, and citizenship versus consumerism and competence. What has emerged from this study is that some of the distinctions central to the new discourse of vocationalism are false. It is not really possible, and certainly not effective to separate the liberal from the vocational in the definition of adult education. Nor is it sensible to separate out the economic from the democratic rationale of adult education.

The education systems in France, Turkey and Britain are under pressure to change and are seen as a vital tools in increasing the competitive performance of the economies in the three countries. In both France and Britain the vocationalisation and

commodification of education are distinct current trends. Central governments are very keen to transform their educational systems towards this direction. The situation in Turkey is different to both France and Britain. Turkey is a developing country with a highly-centralised and bureaucratic structure of the education. The minaret pattern of education in Turkey, as mentioned by Kazamias (1966), is one of the country's most important problems. There has been political instability and inconsistency in educational policies. The geopolitical position of Turkey brings many difficult problems. The Kurdish separatist movement in the Southeast of Turkey is one of the most serious issues constraining all economic, social and democratic reforms. Turkey has been governed by coalition governments since 1989. The eight years basic education proposed since 1973 has not been achieved yet. Under these circumstances, the new-vocationalism in education has not become as important as it has done in France and Britain.

The policy of the Turkish government is to promote economic reform and to do so, in part, through educational change. The administrative capacity to do so is, however, inadequate for the task. The gap between rhetoric and achievement in this area exists because the structures of the Turkish state are too centralised. The relationships between the central and local government is particularly problematical, and, for all countries, quite critical in determining what can be achieved in educational reform.

Adult education-local government relations in the three countries under study reflect their own historical traditions, emergent discourses, traditional modes of thinking, constraints and opportunities. This is a great matter of concern in debates about the decentralisation of government. Decentralisation, both of local government and education, is a world-wide trend and an expression of the commitment to empower citizens in order to deepen and broaden democracy and build a learning society. As this study shows, however, it is not just a formal matter whether or not decentralisation achieves all the expected consequences. It is an empirical issue determined by the unique historical, socio-political and economic circumstances of a society. It is also matter of fact that inefficiency, ineffectiveness and unresponsiveness are the general characteristics

of bureaucratic organisations in both developed and underdeveloped societies although these features are often more distinctive and common in the latter.

If Turkey is an example of the effect of over-centralised government, the case of Britain is one which illustrates how processes of political re-centralisation can profoundly alter the charter of local democracy and the form of adult education itself.

It is widely recognised that post 1979 developments in Britain clearly display re-centralisation trends in local government and in educational policy. Central government interventions have led to huge financial cut backs, staff redundancies and structural changes in local government organisations. County and borough council halls are being sidelined, becoming secondary-level centres in the sense of the delivery and the planning of education and adult education services. The area offices of LEAs are becoming smaller and smaller. Many area officers for community adult education have been made redundant, and a number of staff at county hall level try to play a simple contractor role in order to secure adequacy of provision. Traditional organic relations between local authorities and colleges and polytechnics have been demolished, and vocational and non-vocational adult education have been separated from each other.

The FEFC, incorporated colleges and TECs have been created during the early 1990s. The vocational and non-vocational distinction has damaged adult learning opportunities as a whole. Adults not only need learning opportunities related to employment, but also those geared towards the achievement of personal fulfilment. They need both education and training, and both 'lifetime' and 'lifelong' learning opportunities to gain and develop their vocational qualifications for better employment, and to achieve personal fulfilment as active citizens in the promotion of local democracy. A well-trained population may produce improved economic performance and the competitive ability of an economy, but this is not enough. A well-educated population, which comprises the 'cultivated man rather than the specialists' (see Weber 1970:242-43), is necessary to generate active and democratic citizenship. It is for that reason that the balance between education and training needs to be re-formed by promoting liberal vocationalism as opposed to the new vocationalism, and shifting the balance of power between central and local governments.

These developments would reconcile local governments with communities as well as central government with the whole of society.

Developments over the last one and half decades in Britain have destroyed the balance not only between central and local governments, but also between education and training. They have led to the creation of an over-fragmented and complicated system in which the power of LEAs has been transferred to the newly created bodies: the FEFC, incorporated colleges, and the TECs. The leading role of LEAs in education has been shifted. Despite the LEA control over compulsory education, this can not be said of further education. Local authorities have the responsibility of securing adequacy of provision either by delivering non-vocational adult education provisions or by promoting a contract culture amongst the adult education providers. Under these circumstances, it is clear that local authorities have lost the leadership role, and the LEAs are expected to create mechanisms for co-operation and collaboration amongst the adult education providers to set up partnerships. Establish consortium to secure adequacy of provision can be considered as another way of giving local authorities a leading role (see Noble 1996 for the Buckingham case, and Moseley 1996 for the Tameside case). However, it is difficult to imagine how the LEAs could play such a complex role with massively reduced service provisions for community adult education in an over-fragmented and complex structure. While LEAs are trying to push adult education services out of education departments, it is very doubtful that they can play an active role in ensuring coherent planning to secure adequacy of provision in their territory. Competition and the absence of collaboration have been raised by many adult educators and educationalists as impediments to adequate provision.

In France, the situation is different in two key ways: France has been working towards the decentralisation of local government and education since 1982. Regions have been created, and the responsibilities for education have increasingly been shared between the central government and local authorities under the leadership of regions. From an education or adult education point of view, the structure of the system is centralised, bureaucratic and over fragmented. However, France favours increasing regional power by the establishment of a triple agreement amongst state, local government and other

partners. There is a mandatory contribution to pay for this by private companies, and a mixture of public and private apprenticeship training centres. The dialogue between state and local authorities is promoted in order to make the vocational training of adults an important part of local dynamics, and to mobilise and combine local resources for this particular purpose. Regions are empowered to create co-operative and collaborative relationships amongst the partners (local authorities, universities, businesses and training bodies).

Turkey has a commitment to local government and educational decentralisation. These are, of course, valuable indicators of the existence of commitment towards democratisation and citizen empowerment. British and French experiences of decentralisation contain highly important lessons for Turkey and other societies wishing to move towards the decentralisation of local government and education. It is, however, not possible to deduce explicitly from the experiences of France and Britain a practical policy which can be applied directly in Turkey. But there are some implications. The main one is that policy models for decentralisation are not simply technical devices to facilitate change. They must be seen in their wider political context.

In Turkey, progressive decentralisation of education as a whole is not possible at this moment. Radical local government reform is essential to do this. As this is not at the moment a high priority among politicians. Decentralisation of adult education could be initiated together with the local government reform in which central-local relations, election systems and structural democratisation of local politico-administrative system are absolutely required. By doing this, experience gained in the decentralisation of LGAE provision can be employed as a valuable resource in the process of decentralisation of education and all other public services.

However, it must be kept in mind that decentralisation is not aim itself: it is only a means to reach some purposes. Unless it is well-structured, adapted and implemented, unexpected outcomes may be generated. It is for this reason that a basic consensus to be achieved through political dialogue is absolutely necessary if proper responses and

rationales for the following questions are to be found: what types of decentralisation should be promoted, for whom and why?

The focus is this: educational reforms are necessary parts of the political process of any society. In the specific context of present day Turkey, there is a real need to encourage informal public debate about the factors which constrain educational development. What this study shows is that, in the Turkish case, these factors are bounded up with the way in which the Turkish system of government itself is organised. Put differently, the relatively low-level of opportunity for education for adults in Turkey is not a consequence of their own disinterest or inability. It is a facet of how an undeveloped society is governed and of the ways in which it has been changing. If government could be arranged to respond creatively to both the needs and interests of people in ways which reflect the diversity of their communities and cultural traditions, real educational changes could follow.

The demand for yet further learning could hardly be contained. The promise of the learning society exists, too, for Turkey, but the Turkish version of it must be debated if Turkish educational realities are to be properly addressed.

This study indicates that LGAE policies should focus on the following rationale: to promote a decentralised, democratic and effective adult education service aimed at citizen empowerment and building of a learning society. 'Adult education', 'decentralisation', 'democratisation', 'citizen empowerment' and 'learning society' may appear to be independent issues. This study has, however, shown that they are closely interrelated with each other. Neither the character of local government on the effectiveness of local economies can be separated from the nature and quality of adult learning opportunities. The optimal balance between central and local control of education, and between the vocational and democratic aims of education and training, has to be found. It has not been found in any of the countries studied here, but each has exposed aspects of the problem to be explored further.

The idea of learning society is fashionable but defined and considered from rather diverse perspectives. The rationales behind the concept are considered by Hughes and Tight (1995) as productivity, change, lifelong education and the development of learning organisation. By Edward (1995), it is conceived of as the educated society, learning markets and learning networks. Edward (1995) sees the key rationale of learning society as a learning market in which individualism, market and economic relevance become the central themes of the learning. He sees, however, other conceptions of the learning society, e.g. equity and citizenship, as questionable. It is for this reason he has been trapped by the market dogmatism in which market and individualisation are seen as the dominant ideas governing public policies.

Ranson (1994), on the other hand, considers the concept as defining a society in which all citizens are provided with the conditions fundamental to develop their capabilities to create a moral community, and a democratic form of active citizenship towards building a democratic society. Hence, the conditions of a learning society are essentially political, and require a polity geared to respond to changing personal and social conditions. He foresees four core structures which need to change if the idea of the learning society is to develop: (a) central government, (b) local government, (c) institutions, schools and colleges, and (d) parents and the community. He believes the governance of education should be constituted according to the following principles: (a) the public good, (b) enabling citizen participation for civic purposes, (c) progressive decentralisation, and (d) multiple accountability.

It is clear that the idea of the learning society needs a widening participation of citizens in both learning opportunities and in the political processes at national and local levels. There is no doubt that LGAE provision is invaluable source of practices and methods to empower citizens through progressively decentralised, holistic, accountable, efficient and democratic adult education provisions towards building a learning society, to improve civil society, to nurture an active and responsible idea of citizenship, and local democracy. This is the most likely way of providing an effective, accountable, responsive and efficient system of adult education. Progressively decentralised adult education services could play important role in the re-distribution of power and in local

socio-economic regeneration. There is no way towards the learning society by marginalising and limiting the core of accountable local authorities. Which of these views of the learning society prevails will be decided politically. The role of educational research in this process is to provide data and analysis which can inform the political debate. The main message from the research undertaken for this study is this: the values which justify the development of effective services of adult education should not be too narrowly defined. Nor should the structures of control of adult education be too far removed from the local communities who are meant to be served by them.

## **7.2. Further research**

In the light of experience gained in the process of this research it is useful to identify for further research on the themes studied. Firstly, the Nordic Countries are the best examples of progressively decentralised and multiply accountable adult education provision. A similar research approach could be employed to study adult education and local government relations in Scandinavian Countries. Secondly, micro comparative analysis of well-organised and functional adult education-local government relations and poorly-structured adult education-local government interactions within different national contexts could be usefully carried out using the qualitative research approach of this study. By doing this, any significant differences in terms of citizenship, civil society, neighbourhood and local democracy can be investigated in connection with socio-economic and socio-cultural development levels of the local authorities under study.

This study, as mentioned earlier, was carried out from the perspectives of local government officials who are responsible for LGAE provision. Further study could be conducted from different angles such as those of students, teachers or councillors. They would enable adult educationalists/educators and policy makers to look at LGAE from these different point of views, and to develop more functional and effective and perhaps efficient, learning opportunities for their local citizens and progress towards citizen empowerment for a learning society.

A thread running through this study concerns the ways in which, on a global scale, adult education in the advanced industrial societies shape what takes place in the developing countries of the world.

Turkey is a developing country. As the study has shown, those concerned with adult education in it, can learn much from studying the experience of other countries. The policy models for adult education described in the study for Britain and France have relevance for Turkey and Turkish debate about educational decentralisation. However, they go beyond Turkey and, like the Turkish experience itself, have relevance for other developing societies. The model which can be articulated from this study for the effective development of adult education locally includes at least some of the following elements: (a) adult education must reflect local needs and interests; (b) effective planning for adult education requires devolved structures of control and high levels of citizen participation; (c) genuine political support for local organisations and for the local institutions of civil society; (d) an acute awareness among policy-makers, officials and other practitioners about the fact that their work is part of a political context which has local, national and international dimensions; (e) open public debates within democratic institutions of the educational priorities and needs of society; and (f) a widespread awareness that educational policies are never merely technical tools of government: they are always part of a wider framework of ideas (discourses) which govern priorities and resources.

Despite these possible elements of a policy model there are no empirical guarantees that such a model would work predictably in practice. These are the general guidelines which should inform the details of local debate in different countries. They are not just, however, acts of faith. The social sciences, as the study in its own limited way has shown, provide evidence, concepts and analyses which illuminate the way forward for decentralised educational planning and policy formation throughout the developing world. They do so best when they clarify the factors and political processes which shape education policies. The studies here of France, Britain and Turkey have revealed what many of those factors are.

I hope the approach to these questions outlined here will encourage researchers from developing nations to consider their own society from a similar perspective. The learning society is global in its reach, but it must be achieved locally. This study indicates what is involved in building it.

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## **APPENDICES**

**APPENDIX A**  
**SEMI-STRUCTURED OBSERVATION & INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

**INTRODUCTION**

The basic aim of this research is to analyse local government-adult education relations in Turkey, France and England & Wales in order to provide partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Ph.D. on adult education. Your answers and recordings will not be used for any purposes except the aims of this research. If you have any official policy documents, annual reports, leaflets or statistics which remain response and information to the some questions in PART 2, please tell me to pass that questions when I ask. Thank you so much indeed for your help and co-operation.

**PART 1: PERSONAL DATA**

**1. Observation and interview time, date & place.**

....., ....., .....

**2. Sex: M F**

**3. Education:**

a)Degrees: Ph.D. on.....

MA on.....

BA on.....

b)Preliminary undergraduate degree on.....

c)Certificate or diplomas on.....

d)Other qualifications;

**4. Age:**

a)30 or Less b)31-40 c)41-50 d)51 and Over

**5. Position of the interviewee:**

**6. Previous positions and experiences:**

**7. Type of the local government:**

a)Metropolitan Authority

b)Shire county

**PART 2:**

**1.** Is there any section(s) or unit(s) which is/are explicitly or implicitly related to adult & continuing education in your local government's organisational structure?

YES            NO

**2.** If answer is YES, lets try to identify this unit(s);

**a)**Name of the unit(s):

**b)**Position of the unit in overall structure of the LG;

**c)**Sub-unit(s) or committees;

**d)**Relationships with sub-unit(s) and committees;

**e)**Regional and national unions;

**f)**Strategic goals and objectives of the unit;

**g)**Targets and activity fields;

**h)**Basic roles and functions;

i) Any constitution items, acts, decrees or circulars on adult & continuing educational structure, aims so on?

j) [ RECORD ] Is the existing legislative structure for adult & continuing education actually enough to reply needs of the local community by the local governments? What is your own perception regarding these arrangements?

k) Types and numbers of adult educational provisions;

\*Leisure or liberal: ( )

\*Community & youth: ( )

\*Vocational continuing education: ( )

\*Access courses: ( )

\*Adult basic education: ( )

\*Others: ( )

l) Participants;

---

\*Sex:

Male      Female

Number

---

---

\*Age group:

20 and Less    21-30    31-40    41-50    51+

Numbers

---

---

\*Profession:

Retired    Student    Unemployed    White-collar    Blue-collar

Number

---

m)Teaching methods, resources and equipment;

n)Rate of the adult educational expenditures in annual overall local government and educational budget (SSA Standard Spending Assessment notes);

If it is possible;

---

	<b>Local Gov. Budget</b>	<b>Education ( % ) Budget</b>	<b>Adult Educ. ( % ) Budget</b>
<b>1988:</b>			
<b>1992:</b>			
<b>1994:</b>			

---

If it is possible, rates in accordance with any classification of adult education expenditure.

\*  
\*  
\*  
\*

o)Income sources;

---

	<b>Amount</b>	<b>( % )</b>
*Central grants		
*Local government grants		
*Student fees		
*Donation		
*Others		

---

p)[ RECORD ] What is your own perception regarding the financial resources reserved for adult & continuing educational provisions?

q)Procedures for the distribution of the financial resources among the volunteer organisations or sub-units;

r)[ RECORD ] What is your own perception regarding these procedures of the distribution?

s)Relationships with the other providers;

\*Universities:

\*Further Education Colleges:

\*Voluntary Organisations:

\*Schools(primary or secondary):

\*Other Public Organisations:

t)Local, Regional and National Coordination:

u)Number of the staff in headquarter or head branches and sub-units;

	FT:	PT:	Volunteer:
*Headquarter	.....	.....	.....
*Sub-units	.....	.....	.....

v)Employment Principles;

w) Education levels of the staff;

*Degrees:	Numbers
Ph.D. on.....	.....
MA on.....	.....
BA on.....	.....
Preliminary undergraduate degree on.....	.....
*Certificate or diplomas on.....	.....
*Secondary education graduation.....	.....

x) Positions in adult education or education unit;

y) Staff development activities on the job;

z) [ RECORD ] What do you think about the numbers and ability of your staff, employment principles and staff development principles?

### PART 3

1. What do you think about the aims and purposes of adult & continuing education in general, and how do you define the term "adult & continuing education" ?

2. Should local governments actually take responsibility regarding education and adult education? Why?

3.(if answer for second question is YES) In what extend? Should local governments be responsible-statutory or associated bodies to deliver adult & continuing educational provisions? In other words, should adult & continuing educational provisions be conceived on of the main tasks and responsibilities of the local governments? Why?

4. Issues and trends regarding your adult & continuing education policy, planning and practices. Any examples regarding your own problems on policy, planning and practice are very welcome.

**END OF INTERVIEW:** time.....

**MEMORY-JOGGING NOTES ON INTERVIEW:**

**a)Description of the Venue:**

**b)Description of the interviewee's attitudes and some interesting indicators or symbols regarding the organisational culture and style of the director:**

**c)Feelings and thoughts about interview in general.**

## APPENDIX B

### TURKIYE'DE, FRANSA'DA VE INGiltere'DE YEREL YONETIMLER-HALK EGITIMI ILISKISI KONULU DOKTORA ARASTIRMASI ICIN DUZENLENMIS OLAN YARI YAPILANDIRILMIS GORUSME VE GOZLEM FORMU

**ACIKLAMA:** Sayin .....,

Doktora duzeyindeki bu arastirmanin amaci Turkiye'de, Fransa'da ve Ingiltere'de yerel yonetim-halk egitimi iliskisini saptamak ve analiz etmektir. Vereceginiz yanitlar ve yapacagim ses kayiti arastirmanin amaci disinda kesinlikle kullanilmayacaktır.

Ikinci bolumdaki sorularin bazilarinin yanitlari verdiginiz/verceginiz yillik rapor, dokuman ya da istatistiklerde mevcut ise soruyu sordugum zaman lutfen hatirlatin ve bosa zaman harcamamak icin o soruyu gecelim.

Yardimlariniz ve ilginiz icin daha simdiden tesekkur ederim.

#### **BOLUM I: KISISEL OZELLIKLER**

**1. Gorusme ve gozlemin yapildigi yer, tarih ve saat:**

....., ....., .....

**2. Gorusme yapilan kisinin cinsiyeti: E K**

**3. Egitim durumu:**

a)Doktora/alani:.....

b)Yuksekk Lisans/alani:.....

c)Lisans/alani:.....

d)Onlisans/alani:.....

e)Sertifika/konusu:.....

f)Diger:.....

4. Yasi:

a)30 ve alti b)31-41 c)41-50 d)51 +

5. Gorevi:

6. Onceki gorevleri:

7. Belediyenin turu:

a) Anakent

b) Anakent ilce

c) il

## **BOLUM II: HALK EGITIMI BIRIMIYLE ILGILI SORULAR**

1. Belediyenizin orgut yapisi icerisinde halk egitimi ile dogrudan ya da dolayli olarak ilgili olan bir birim/birimler vvar midir?

Evet Hayir

2. Yanitiniz evet ise,

a)Birim adi:

b)Birim belediye orgut yapisi icerindeki yeri:

c)Halk egitimi ile ilgili alt birimler, kurullar ya da komiteler var mi? varsa adlari;

d)Bu alt birimler, kurullar ya da komiteler ile iliskiler;

e)Bolgesel ya da ulusal birlikler;

f)Birim genel amaclari ve hedefleri;

g) Birimin özel amaçlar ve etkinlik alanları;

h) Birimin işlevler ve fonksiyonlar;

i) Yerel yönetimlerin halk eğitimi ya da yaygın eğitim işlevleri ve yapıları ile ilgili anayasa maddesi, yasa, KHK ya da yönetmelikler;

j) [ KAYIT ] Bu yasal çerçeve yerel yönetimlerin yerel halkın halk eğitimi gereksinimlerine yanıt verebilmeleri için yeterli mi? Bu konudaki görüşlerinizi öğrenebilir miyiz?

k) Biriminiz tarafından gerçekleştirilen halk eğitimi çalışmalarının türleri ve sayısı;

\*Boszaman eğitimi ve sosyal-kültürel çalışmalar ( )

\*Gençlik ve toplum eğitimi ( )

\*Hizmet-ici eğitim kursları ( )

\*Tamamlama kursları ( )

\*Yetişkinlerin temel eğitimi ( )

\*Diğer ( )

l) Katılanlar;

\*Cinsiyet:

Erkek Kadın

Sayı

\*Yaş grubu:

-20 21-30 31-40 41-50 50+

Sayı

\*Meslek grubu:

Emekli Öğrenci İssiz Memur İsci

Sayı

m)Ogretim yontemleri ve bu amacla kullanilabilecek arac, gerec ve donanimlar;

Yontemler;

\*

\*

\*

Arac, gerec ve donanim;

\*Derslik:

\*Video-TV:

\*Tepegoz:

\*Diger:

n)Yillik yerel yonetim butcesi icinde egitime ve halk egitimine ayrilan mali kaynagin miktarı;

---

	Yerel Yon. Butcesi	Egitim ( % ) Butcesi	Halk Egitimi ( % ) Butcesi
1988			
1992			
1994			

---

Halk egitimi icin yapilan harcamalar gruplandirilmis ise , gruplar ve yapilan harcamalar;

\*

\*

\*

\*

o)Gelir kaynaklari;

Miktar ( % )

\*Belediye butcesinden

\*Il ozel idaresinden

\*Ogrencilerden alinan

\*Bagis

\*Diger

p) [ KAYIT ] Halk egitimi calismalari icin ayrilan mali kaynaklar konusunda ne dusunuyorsunuz?

q)Eger alt birimleriniz ya da calismalarina destek verdiginiz gonullu sivil toplum orgutleri varsa, kaynaklari nasil dagitiyorsunuz?

r)[ KAYIT ] Surec nasil isliyor? Kaynaklari dagitma sureci hakkında ne dusunuyorsunuz?

s)Halk egitimi calismalarinizi planlarken, programlarken ve uygularken universiteler, okullar, gonullu orgutler ve diger kamusal kurumlarla iliskileriniz oluyor mu?

\*Universiteler:

\*Ilk ve orta derceli okullar:

\*Gonullu orgutler:

\*Diger kamusal kurumlar:

t)Yerel, bolgesel ve ulusal duzeylerde esgudum ve isbirliigi calismalari ya da cabaniz var mi?

u)Halen biriminizde calismakta olan kadrolu ve kadrosuz Isgorenlerin (gorevlilerin) sayisi;

Kadrolu..... Gecici.....

v)Biriminize isgoren aliminin temel ilkeleri (eger varsa);

w) Biriminizde çalışan işçilerin eğitim durumları;

	Sayı
*Doktora/alani:.....	....
*Yüksek Lisans/alani:.....	....
*Lisans/alani:.....	....
*Onlisans/alani:.....	....
*Sertifika/konusu:.....	....
*Lise mezunu:.....	....
*Diğer:.....	....

x) Biriminizde kullanılan unvanlar;

y) Biriminizde çalışmakta olan işçilerinin geliştirilmesine yönelik olarak yaptığınız çalışmalar;

z) [ KAYIT ] Biriminizde halen çalışmakta olan işçilerin sayısı ve yeterlikleri, işçilerin geliştirilmesine yönelik çalışmalar ve işe alma ilkeleri konusunda ne düşünüyorsunuz?

### **BOLUM III: TUTUMSAL SORULAR**

1. Halk eğitimi ya da yaygın eğitim kavramlarını nasıl tanımlıyorsunuz? Halk eğitiminin amacı sizce ne olmalı?

2. Yerel yönetimler halk eğitimi konusunda gerçekten yetki ve sorumluluk almalı mı ?  
Neden ?

3.Evet ise, Nasil ve ne derecede? Halk egitimi yerel yonetimlerin yapmakla yukumlu oldugu gorevleri arasinda mi yer almalı yoksa istege bagli gorevler arasinda mi yer almalı? Nicin?

4.Planlama, politika ve uygulamada karsilasilan sorunlar hakkında bize neler soylemek istersiniz? Gelecege donuk beklentileriniz neler? Planlama, politika ve pratikte karsilasilan sorunlarla ilgili ornekolaylar varsa lutfen bize aktarir misiniz?

**GORUSMENIN SONU:.....**

#### **BOLUM IV: GORUSME ILGILI OZEL NOTLAR**

**a)Birimde bulundugu bina hakkında notlar:**

**b)Gorusme yapilan kisinin davranislari ve tutumlari ile orgutsel kultur ve yoneticinin sili hakkında bazi onemli gostergeler ve sembollerle ilgili notlar;**

**c) Genel olarak gorusmeyle ilgili duygu ve dusunceler;**

