

Jeroen Huisman & Marijk van der Wende (eds.)

On Cooperation and Competition

National and European Policies for the
Internationalisation of Higher Education

**ACA Papers on
International Cooperation in Education**

Lemmens



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About ACA

Founded in 1993, the Academic Cooperation Association (ACA) is a not-for-profit pan-European network of major organisations responsible in their countries for the promotion of internationalisation in education and training. Current membership is comprised of 20 national organisations in 15 European countries, as well as associate members in North America, Japan and Australia. ACA's secretariat is located in Brussels, Belgium, in easy reach of the European institutions.

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About CHEPS

The Center for Higher Education Policy Studies (CHEPS) is an interdisciplinary research-institute located at the faculty for Technology and Management of the University of Twente, The Netherlands. Since 1984, CHEPS has undertaken and published a considerable amount of research on higher education especially at system and institutional levels. CHEPS seeks to increase our understanding of institutional, national and international issues that bear upon Higher Education.

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Preface

This is the first report of the study on Higher Education Institutions' Responses to Europeanisation, Internationalisation and Globalisation: Developing International Activities in a Multi-level Policy Context.

This study, with the abbreviated name HEIGLO, is a research project funded by the European Union's 5th Framework Programme for R&D; Horizontal programme: Improving Human Potential and the Socio-economic Knowledge Base (Project no: SERD-2002-00074).

The HEIGLO project aims to analyse the dynamic interaction between changing international, European and global contexts of higher education. More in particular, it aims to identify and analyse higher education institutions' responses to the challenges of Europeanisation, internationalisation and globalisation and the (supra)national contexts, the organisational settings, and the policies and activities aimed to support these responses.

The first phase of the project focuses on national policies for internationalisation of higher education in the various countries (Austria, Germany, Greece, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and the United Kingdom) as well as on European-level policies in this area. This work concerns in fact a pre-study of contextual factors which are expected to determine the policy context for the responses of higher education institutions to the challenges of Europeanisation, internationalisation and globalisation, which will be studied in the second phase of this research project. These results will be published in a next issue in this series.

We would like to thank the European Commission for its financial support to this study, respondents in all countries for their kind willingness to provide information, Kelly Coate for language editing and Monique Snippers for technical and secretarial support.

The editors

Foreword

by Bernd Wächter

Internationalisation of higher education is the key concern of the Academic Cooperation Association (ACA). ACA is a membership organisation made up of agencies with the task of supporting the international activities of their countries' education and training institutions. They organise and finance international exchanges of students and faculty and they support curricular internationalisation. Increasingly, they are also involved in international activities classified in this book as serving competitive rather than cooperative ends, such as marketing and recruitment. And, of course, most of them are directly implicated in the delivery of the European Union education and training programmes, in which they play the role of "national agencies". For the reasons stated above, ACA was obviously delighted to be approached by the editors of this volume with the request to publish the present book in the *ACA Papers on International Cooperation in Education*. The publication ties in perfectly with the thematic orientation of the series. All publications in the series have a bearing on internationalisation, and two of them, *Internationalisation in Higher Education* and *Internationalisation in European Non-University Higher Education*, both published in 1999, are directly dedicated to the topic. Perhaps most importantly, the present volume actually has a direct predecessor in ACA's research history. In 1997, under the editorship of Marijk van der Wende, ACA members produced *National Policies for the Internationalisation of Higher Education*, which was published by the Swedish ACA member Högskoleverket.

A comparison with this earlier publication reveals that much has changed in internationalisation in Europe since 1997. No doubt, most countries included in the 1997 publication already had a national policy on higher education internationalisation – or what they thought constituted one. Internationalisation, for a long time a marginal issue in higher education policy, was already then starting to become more important. But it was at the time perceived as "an issue apart", as one dissociated from higher education policy as such. Reading the present volume, the impression is that internationalisation policies are becoming mainstreamed, i.e. "part and parcel" of higher education policy. Not only has internationalisation become part of higher education policy as such. In a parallel move, its very meaning and concept has undergone important mutations. In its present-day meaning, the concept encompasses a much wider range of developments than was the case in the late 1990s. Looking at the excellent articles in this volume, one is almost tempted to claim that, next to internationalisation having become mainstreamed, "classical" (and hitherto mainly national) higher education policy has become internationalised, and that both of these developments are now referred to as internationalisation. But this is already a conclusion, and a risky one at that. To draw conclusions, however, should be the privilege of you, the readers. I shall therefore end here, leaving to you the pleasure of many new insights.

1. Introduction

Marijk van der Wende

Higher education institutions in Europe are undergoing substantial change of their functions and their organisation. They are in a process of (re-)defining their functions amidst rapidly changing external challenges. These challenges are often termed as (a) the development towards a knowledge economy and society, (b) the Europeanisation, internationalisation and globalisation of the economic, social, political and cultural setting in which higher education institutions have to act, and (c) the development and impact of new information and communication technologies. At the same time, higher education institutions in Europe are also undergoing a process of organisational change towards a stronger emphasis on individual profiles and policies, managerial capabilities, incentive steering, quality assurance and evaluation, accountability and organisational “learning”.

Higher education institutions are generally considered to be more internationally embedded and more internationally minded than other societal institutions. Knowledge is often universal: borders do not bind theories and methods; internationally comparative knowledge is widely considered as indispensable and useful; and world-wide searches for the most advanced knowledge are customary. International mobility and cooperation in higher education can be traced back to the earliest stages of the emergence of the modern university. However, the regulatory framework, the organisation and funding as well as the structure of institutions, programmes and degrees were nationally shaped to a substantial degree at least in the 19th and 20th centuries. Neave (2001) refers in this respect to two centuries of nationalism in higher education. In fact, very few higher education institutions can lay claim to a centuries-old international tradition for the simple reason that two-thirds were established after 1900 and half after the Second World War. The modern university, therefore, is a national institution (Scott, 1998).

During the last few decades of the 20th century, many experts observed a trend towards an increase in the international dimensions of higher education. The search for knowledge across borders became faster paced, due to increasing resources, exploding technological means and improving conditions of transportation. International mobility and cooperation in higher education increased and collaborative and comparative research spread substantially. This trend can be viewed to some extent as internally induced by higher education, but certainly was also strongly reinforced by a changing socio-political environment, since emerging new technological, economic and social challenges for higher education obviously were not bound by national borders either. Both national and supra-national policies for higher

education emphasised a clear linkage between measures to support the internationalisation of higher education and the growing economic and social rationales of higher education activities in general.

Both in empirical and theoretical work in this area, as well as in public debates in Europe, three terms are generally employed to characterise the challenges that higher education is facing in this respect: Europeanisation, internationalisation and globalisation. However, the terms are not used consistently and conceptual frameworks diverge. This notwithstanding, some different points of emphasis can be distinguished.

- ◆ 'Internationalisation' assumes that nation states, i.e. 'societies' defined as nation states, continue to play a role as economic, social and cultural 'systems', but that they become more interconnected and that activities crossing their borders increase. Cooperation between nation states is expanding and national policies put a stronger emphasis on regulating or facilitating border-crossing activities.
- ◆ 'Globalisation' puts emphasis on an increasing convergence and interdependence of economies and societies. In contrast to internationalisation, a de-nationalisation and integration of regulatory systems as well as a blurring role of nation states are taken for granted. The liberalisation of international trade and global markets are often viewed as the strongest move in this direction.
- ◆ 'Europeanisation' is often employed for describing the phenomena of internationalisation on a "regional" scale. Cooperation between EU countries and economic, social and cultural activities crossing their national borders are expanding quickly based on the notion that such cooperation is required for stability and economic growth within the region. Its link to globalisation consists in the fact that this regional cooperation also intends to enhance the global competitiveness of the European region as a whole. And that, although member states remain distinguishable entities, the Europeanisation process is clearly reinforced by the establishment of supra-national political mechanisms, most prominently the European Union, implying a gradual de-nationalisation and integration of certain regulatory systems. This latter trend refers to well-known arguments in the globalisation debate, which point to the fact that convergence and integration are taking place at regional rather than at global level.

Besides the complicated demarcation and often-inconsistent use of these concepts, the complexity of studying the related processes is increased by the dynamics involved in them. In the interaction between the institution and its environment, the concepts of Europeanisation, internationalisation and globalisation are not only used to indicate the changes in this environment (in terms of general trends and resulting challenges), but also the institutional responses to them. In terms of contextual factors, they may be used to identify general trends (e.g. the Europeanisation of society, or the globalisa-

tion of the economy) as well as for specific policies (European policies for higher education, or national policies for internationalisation of higher education). Moreover, the perceptions of the concepts by various actors may differ substantially across countries and institutions.

In this report, we use the term 'internationalisation of higher education' to depict all the policies and activities of governments and higher education institutions aimed at making higher education (more) responsive to the challenges of internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation. In the higher education context, 'Europeanisation' tends to be viewed predominantly as a regional sub-section compatible with activities of a politically and geographically broader scope of 'internationalisation' (Teichler, 1999). 'Globalisation', however, is viewed to be a major paradigmatic challenge to internationalisation, representing a distinct policy agenda (Van der Wende, 2001a; Van Vught et al., 2002).

This project aims to analyse this dynamic interaction between changing international, European and global contexts of higher education and the ways in which governmental policies (at national and European levels) as well as policies and activities of higher education institutions handle these challenges. Furthermore, it aims to identify and analyse higher education's responses to the challenges of Europeanisation, internationalisation and globalisation and the (supra)national contexts, the organisational settings, and the policies and activities aimed to support these responses.

These responses, i.e. the process of internationalisation in higher education, are approached as a process of organisational innovation, change and adaptation in an international and multi-level policy environment. The project seeks to identify factors at the level of (supra)national policies and at organisational level that foster or impede successful internationalisation. We will also analyse the extent to which national contexts and policies, and organisational settings and actions, reinforce convergence or divergence in internationalisation policies and activities of higher education institutions in Europe.

From a theoretical perspective we expect that internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation have an impact on the institutional structure surrounding higher education institutions as organisations. Institutions include formal constraints (rules and regulations) and informal constraints (conventions and codes of conduct); both types of constraints are devised by social actors and shape human interaction (North, 1990). The impact of internationalisation may lead to changes in the institutional structure, which can be categorized as having regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive elements (Scott, 2001). In the context of higher education, the regulative pillar refers to relations between higher education and the state, the steering models (e.g. the extent of institutional autonomy), legislation, and funding arrangements. The normative pillar includes the underlying norms and values of the higher education profession (e.g. ideas around academic free-

dom, or quality), and informal and formal hierarchies (e.g. between different types of higher education institutions). The cultural-cognitive pillar concerns “the shared conceptions that constitute the nature of social reality and the frames through which meaning is made” (*ibid.* p. 57); for example, the dominant higher education policy paradigm in a country (such as the ‘Humboldtian model’), and shared understanding at the discipline level. These changing institutional elements may impact upon the way in which organisations (higher education institutions) operate. Actors, and in particular their perceptions of the proposed changes, are expected to have a specific role in, or are likely to influence, how an organisation responds to changes, especially when it comes to the rate of the adoption of change.

Consequently, the project examines the perceptions of the concepts of internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation by the actors in the field, i.e. those responsible for national higher education policies and those responsible within higher education institutions, related to the actors’ norms, value and belief systems, which represent important elements of the normative structure of institutions. Within this framework, we will also search for major factors of internationalisation as a process of change and innovation, such as the role and relevance of the regulatory relationships between national governments and the European Union on the one hand, and higher education institutions on the other. Particular attention is paid to the multi-level policy context and the way in which multi-level governance processes are taking place, e.g. through ‘mutual adjustment’, ‘intergovernmental negotiation’, and so on. (Scharpf, 2001).

The first phase of the project focuses on national policies for internationalisation of higher education in the various countries as well as on European-level policies in this area. It analyses and compares in selected European countries (Austria, Germany, Greece, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and the United Kingdom): (a) the views and rationales underlying national policies for internationalisation of higher education, as well as (b) the actual policies and regulatory frameworks and means aimed at shaping the international role of higher education institutions, and (c) the extent to which they foster or impede the development and management of internationalisation activities in higher education institutions. This work concerns in fact a pre-study of contextual factors which are expected to determine the policy context for the responses of higher education institutions to the challenges of Europeanisation, internationalisation and globalisation, which will be studied in the second phase of this research project.

From a previous study on national policies for internationalisation in Europe (Van der Wende, 1997, 2001b), it was concluded that there were by then few structured relationships between internationalisation and mainstream higher education policy as developed at the national level. The study also found that economic rationales increasingly define internationalisation poli-

cies and efforts, both at the institutional and national level. Finally, internationalisation was expected to become a more important factor in the definition and development of national higher education policy. The present study provides an opportunity to assess whether internationalisation has indeed become more important and more integrated into national higher education policies, and to review the extent to which the economic rationales have become important during the last few years. These issues are discussed in the final chapter.

In general, the national policy analysis concerns a policy update, building on previous studies of this kind, and focusing in particular on developments over the last five years. The updates on national policies are guided by a number of general assumptions regarding the interaction between levels of governance:

- ◆ National policies for internationalisation are defined by the country's role and position as an international actor (i.e. size, geographic position, foreign and cultural policy, language, etc).
- ◆ National policies for the internationalisation of higher education are part of a broader set of policies meant to steer the national higher education system.
- ◆ These broader policies and the shape of the higher education system (the structural characteristics) may have an impact on the way and the extent to which internationalisation can and will take place.
- ◆ Other areas of national policy (e.g. economic, trade, cultural, migration policies) may influence the internationalisation of higher education.
- ◆ Consequently, both the internationalisation policy as well as the broader higher education policy context can be expected to have an effect on the actual internationalisation of higher education taking place in the country.
- ◆ Also the relationship or interplay between research and education policy at both the European and national levels will have an impact on the internationalisation process at institutional level.
- ◆ There is interplay between policies shaped at the European and at the national level. On the one hand, European-level (including EU) policies are implemented at the national level, on the other hand the national level influences the decision-making process at European level. Consequently, the analysis of the interplay should be made both ways.
- ◆ The influence of the international level on national policy making can also be assumed (e.g. adoption of accreditation systems because of increasing presence of foreign providers and international competition).

The specific research questions to be answered are:

1. What are the views and rationales¹ underlying the current national policy for the internationalisation of higher education? How do they relate to the

¹ Rationales which are usually distinguished are: the political, cultural, academic and economic rational (Kälvermark & Van der Wende, 1997).

- overall/general higher education policy and to other policy areas if applicable? To what extent are they focused on generating more diversity or convergence in this area?
2. What are the current national policies and regulatory frameworks aimed at the internationalisation of higher education? When were they established, how do they relate to previous policies, and what new plans are in the making?
 3. What are the main effects of these policies and to what extent do these current national policies and measures for internationalisation foster or impede the development and management of internationalisation activities in higher education institutions? To what extent do they result in more diversity or convergence in this area?
 4. Which major trends or changes in the national higher education policy context – with an emphasis on the relationship between HEIs and the state – have occurred recently? In what way have they demonstrated an impact on the internationalisation process, or can they be expected to do so? How can this be explained?
 5. How are the national policies for internationalisation and higher education in general related to policies developed at the European level (e.g. EU programmes, Bologna process, etc.)? How are European policies implemented at the national level? To what extent and how does the national policy level affect the European level?
 6. Are national policy frameworks for internationalisation and for higher education in general influenced by the changes in the international context (e.g. increasing competition, GATS, etc.), and if so, how?

These questions structure the national reports presented in this volume. In each chapter, the discussion of these questions is preceded by a short overview of the national higher education system and its internationalisation infrastructure. But first the European context for internationalisation in higher education will be presented in the next chapter, followed by the national reports in chapters three to nine. The final chapter concerns the international comparative analysis of these national policies for internationalisation, as well as a further analysis of the interaction between the national and European policy levels.

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2. Europe

Marijk van der Wende & Jeroen Huisman

2.1 Introduction

This study aims to investigate higher education organisations' responses to the challenges of internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation. As set out in the previous chapter, it is assumed that this process takes place in a complex and diverse multi-level policy context in which European, national and institutional levels can be distinguished, but also interact. In order to understand the responses of higher education organisations to their changing environment, first an analysis will be made of the actual changes in this environment.

This chapter will focus on recent changes in European-level policies directly affecting higher education, i.e. actions and programmes in the area of higher education and in the field of research and development. For both areas a brief overview of the history will be given, followed by a more in-depth analysis of recent (in the last five years) changes that may affect the way policies at national and institutional level are shaped and implemented. Data for this analysis were gathered through official EU documents, reports and evaluations, previous studies, and interviews with staff members of the European Commission. This overview of developments in European policies in higher education concerns a period up to the fall of 2003.

2.2 European-level policies in higher education

2.2.1 Progress and expansion across borders and levels

A well-known symbol for the main achievements of European Union (EU) action in the area of higher education is probably the celebration of the one millionth ERASMUS student in October 2002. But although the exchange of students between EU member states, and later on also with associated countries in Central and Eastern Europe, has been the flagship activity, it has certainly not been the only EU action in this area. In fact, in the last five years, a considerable expansion of policy reach has been undertaken. From an initial focus on mobility and networking at individual level, the next step was to enhance cooperation at curriculum level and policy-development at institutional level. Finally and more recently, initiatives are being taken to develop common agendas for action at the system level. These various phases, and especially the most recent changes, will be discussed below.

2.2.2 Closed national systems²

The European Economic Community, after its foundation in the 1950s, initially addressed educational matters only in the area of vocational training and the transition from education to work, including the professional recognition of qualifications (Neave, 1984). Vocational training was, however, not considered as a priority policy issue. A first Council Decision of 1963 was only followed up with general guidelines in 1971 (De Wit & Verhoeven, 2001). It was also in 1971 that the education ministers of the EC gathered for the first time. In 1976 they decided to set up an information network, as the basis for a better understanding of educational policies and structures in the then nine-nation European Community and established an Action Programme in the Field of Education (Brouwer, 1996; Wächter et al., 1999; De Wit & Verhoeven, 2001). The information network was formalised in 1980 by the establishment of Eurydice (the information network on education in Europe).

When higher education became part of the European agenda in the 1970s, the main objective was to encourage cooperation. Objectives were to enhance contacts between higher education institutions, to promote student mobility, and to improve the possibilities for academic recognition (Brouwer, 1996). It was already in this period that the first programme for student mobility and cooperation was launched. The Joint Study Programmes (JSP), predecessors of the ERASMUS programme, were established in 1976 and remained in operation for about a decade.

The choice of mobility and cooperation was not necessarily the most obvious one. Other options were explored, such as the idea to standardise higher education curricula in order to facilitate the recognition of qualifications. These efforts were not very successful, however, because views between different European countries were too divergent, and most governments objected to a move towards the 'harmonisation' of higher education systems. A consensus was reached that European activities in higher education could only be undertaken under the condition that the variety of national systems was strictly respected (Teichler, 1998).

The traditional pattern of the 1970s consisted thus of closed national education systems, regulated and funded by the states. This reflected the principle that the particular character of education systems in the Member States should be fully respected, while co-ordinated interaction between education, training and employment systems should be improved. It was also a period during which Europe was the world's main destination for study abroad.

² The characterization of the chronological phases of European-level policy in higher education is partly based on Haug (2002).

2.2.3 Mobility within constant structures

In the mid-1980s interest in educational cooperation increased. This took place in the context of the EC policies towards the completion of the Single Market by 1992 and the development of 'European citizenship'. The legal basis for Community action in the area of vocational training was extended (Brouwer, 1996; De Wit & Verhoeven, 2001). A second generation of mobility programmes was launched: COMETT, a programme for cooperation between higher education and industry in the field of technology in 1986 and ERASMUS in 1987, followed by a range of other programmes such as DELTA, PETRA, and LINGUA (Wächter et al., 1999; De Wit & Verhoeven, 2001). ERASMUS funded the mobility of students and staff, the creation of university networks in all fields of study, as well as measures to promote and support recognition of study abroad periods (ECTS). It became the EC's flagship programme. In its first year (1987/1988) some 3,200 students were exchanged. In the year 2000/01 this had increased to 111,100. At present more than a million students have studied abroad under the auspices of the ERASMUS programme (EC, 2002a). ERASMUS remained an independent programme until 1994.

The new EC programmes were in many cases also a boost for the development of national policies for internationalisation in the various member states. These policies were in the first instance also mainly focused on the mobility and exchange of individuals (Kälvemark & Van der Wende, 1997). The national structures between which the individuals moved, however, were as such not in question. The subsidiarity principle and the sovereignty of member states with respect to their educational systems formed at the same time the legitimation and the limitation for EC action in this area. Both were laid down in the Maastricht Treaty in the articles 126 and 127 concerning education and training. They clearly stated that the EC will encourage cooperation between member states and will only support and complement policy action at the national level, while fully respecting their responsibility for the content of education, the structure of their education systems, and their cultural and linguistic diversity (Maastricht Treaty, 1992).

It cannot be denied that there have always been certain tensions between intergovernmental and supranational or Community-level decision-making, and between action at the national and the Community level (Brouwer, 1996: 32). Neither can it be denied that the EU programmes, developed by a supranational body, based on incentive funding from a supranational source, had a direct impact on traditionally nation-based institutions (De Wit & Verhoeven, 2001: 193). It can also be argued that the support for student mobility was an indirect means for curricular change, based on a strategy of networking. According to this view, the instrument of student mobility was chosen because it was the only legitimate way of inducing curricular change without disregard of the required respect for the variety of higher education systems

and the control of national governments over them. In this way, mobility and the creation of European networks at departmental level, would over time weaken the national powers of curricular co-ordination and could thus eventually de-nationalise curricula. This view, however, cannot be confirmed clearly, because the European Commission could not pursue such a policy overtly (Teichler, 1998).

The European Commission, with a view to the completion of the internal market by 1992 and the fact that higher education did not really keep pace with that process of integration, launched a debate on higher education in 1991 and published a Memorandum on Higher Education. This Memorandum demonstrated that in the Commission's view, higher education had become part of a broader agenda of economic and social coherence of the Community. Comments from the higher education community objected in particular to the economic rationale. Still, the concrete issues laid down in the Memorandum did not go beyond the traditional areas of EU action: facilitating mobility, cooperation, the role of languages, and the recognition of qualifications.

As shown above, the period between the mid-1980s and mid-1990s was characterised by a strong focus on European integration (completion of the Single Market) and consequently on intra-European mobility, mainly triggered by the launch of the major EC programmes. It is important to note that during this period of intensified intra-European mobility, the picture for extra-European mobility was less successful: Europe lost its position as the world's number one destination for study abroad to the USA.

2.2.4 Increasing the range and level of action and the number of countries

From 1995 on, the ERASMUS programme continued in a next phase as part of a broader "umbrella" programme for general and higher education called SOCRATES (which was implemented from the academic year 1997/98). Although the fundable activities remained virtually unchanged as compared to the previous programme, some important new accents were introduced (Wächter et al., 1999).

- ◆ First a stronger focus was put on the development of European (internationalised) curricula. It was assumed that the curriculum was an adequate level for more in-depth academic cooperation, that European (or internationalised) curricula would better accommodate the joint learning of students from different national backgrounds, and that such curricula would also offer a European dimension to students who do not study abroad.
- ◆ A second reform related to management practice. Instead of contracts with individual co-ordinators of cooperation projects (sometimes up to 100 per institution), the Commission introduced the Institutional Contract, in which each participating higher education institution submits only one

single institutional application, resulting in a single contract including the totality of its EU-funded activities in the area of education. The idea was not only launched to enhance efficiency, but also to encourage institutions to develop an institutional strategy on European cooperation. In line with this idea institutions had to submit a European Policy Statement to outline their main aims and objectives in European cooperation.

- ◆ Third, a growing range of countries, in particular in Central and Eastern Europe, were included in the programme.

The step towards cooperation at the curriculum level proved to be an interesting but a difficult one. The development of curricula at initial or intermediate level or new degree programmes at advanced level seemed to be best embedded in the institutional strategies. The development of such curricula seemed to be indeed an academically challenging activity well beyond the organisation of student mobility. Many innovative, and interdisciplinary approaches were developed. However, the actual institutionalisation of these new programmes (or their acceptance as a new part of the regular curriculum) turned out to be quite difficult. The acceptance of new degrees (usually bachelor's and master's degrees) was especially hindered by great barriers related to national system characteristics (Klemperer & Van der Wende, 2002). At the same time, these problems raised further awareness of the need for more convergence of higher education systems.

The new focus on strategic development at institutional level did not immediately bring the expected shift from departmental to institutional-level decision-making or from incremental decision-making to targeted strategies (Barblan et al., 1998). In fact it succeeded best in institutions that wanted to move into that direction anyway, which was the case only for a small minority (Barblan et al., 2000). In general, there was some re-allocation and specific institutionalisation of the international and SOCRATES-related activities, although at a moderate pace. An increase in institutional committees, central-level decision making and specific administrative units was observed (Lanzendorf & Teichler, 2002). But on the whole, SOCRATES did not have the snowball effect which would lead to a new stage of cooperation within higher education in Europe (Barblan et al., 2000). This state of affairs was observed at a point in time when many institutions of higher education were directing more and more of their attention to globalisation processes, which confronted them with the challenges of competition. This emerging notion of competition formed for various actors another argument for curricular changes towards compatibility with world-wide patterns of degree structures, i.e. the bachelor's and master's degrees, and in fact evoked the Sorbonne and Bologna Declarations initiated by national governments in Europe.

With respect to the national level, it was stated before that the launch of the EU programmes in the 1980s was a boost for the development of national policies for internationalisation. Yet the impact of the new ERASMUS pro-

gramme under SOCRATES on national level policies has not been very remarkable. When the first round of the programme was evaluated (2000), it was found that indeed most countries had a national policy for internationalisation and that the ERASMUS programme was generally found to be complementary to these policies. The national policies focused in general on quality enhancement, the development of a European dimension in higher education, and on an internationally competitive higher education sector (Caillé et al., 2002). The last element refers again to the growing notion of international competition related to globalisation. At the national level, ERASMUS was in principle seen as helpful for higher education institutions to face the challenges of globalisation.

Summarising the above demonstrates that the second half of the 1990s was characterised by two different trends. On the one hand, EU programmes by and large continued their focus on intra-European mobility and cooperation, while at the same time extending the number of countries involved in the programmes and trying to achieve more impact at curriculum and institutional level (with limited success). On the other hand a new reality in higher education emerged. The rapidly growing demand for higher education especially in transition countries was increasingly met by the cross-border (or trans-national) supply of educational programmes and services. A global market for higher education evolved with a pattern of certain countries exporting higher education and others importing it. This market was estimated to have an annual value of 30 billion US dollars in 1999 and the expectations for growth were among other things spurred by the great hopes (and fears) of information and communication technology applications in this area. This trend introduced the notion of international competition and enhanced the economic rationale of internationalisation agendas and activities (Van der Wende, 2001a, 2001b). In Europe, it was the UK which first developed an explicit higher education export and trade perspective, with clear objectives regarding the recruitment of international fee-paying students (Elliot, 1998: 32). Later on, certain other countries (e.g. the Netherlands, Germany, France, Denmark) also geared their internationalisation policies towards more economically driven interests to make their higher education sectors more internationally competitive.

The concurrence of these two trends implied that European higher education institutions had to consider their internationalisation strategies in the light of two contrasting paradigms, that of the traditional (and mainly European) cooperation and that of the new international (or even global) competition (Van der Wende, 2001a). They also had to examine their role and position as European universities in the wider international scene more explicitly (CRE, 1999).

At the national and European levels the increasing international competition led to a growing awareness of the need to strengthen the position of European higher education. The fact that Europe had lost its position as the

world's number one destination for study abroad to the USA (see above) and that the USA proved to be the main player (exporting nation) on the global higher education market were clear warnings. In addition, it became clear that the USA not only gained direct economic but also substantial human resources and R&D benefits from the inflow of foreign students. The awareness of increasing competition formed one of the main arguments for the initiative for curricular changes towards compatibility with world-wide patterns of degree structures, i.e. the development of a European Higher Education Area. These initiatives were presented in the Sorbonne and Bologna Declarations, which will be discussed below.

2.2.5 Convergence towards shared goals

The Bologna Declaration and process

The first initiative towards more convergence between higher education systems was taken by four European countries (Germany, France, Italy and the United Kingdom) in 1998, when they called in the Sorbonne Declaration upon other European countries to join them in an effort to harmonise the architecture of the higher education systems in Europe. The response to this request came as soon as 1999 when 29 European countries signed the Bologna Declaration in which they jointly expressed their aim to establish a European Higher Education Area by 2010. The need behind this initiative to respond to global challenges and international competition becomes clear in the introductory text of the declaration that states: "We must look with special attention at the objective to increase the international competitiveness of the European system of higher education. The vitality and efficiency of any civilisation is measured in fact by the attraction that its cultural system exerts on other countries. We need to ensure that the European system of higher education acquires in the world a degree of attraction equal to our extraordinary cultural and scientific traditions" (Bologna Declaration: 2). The Bologna Declaration states further that in order to establish the European Area of Higher Education and for the promotion of the European system of higher education in the world, the following objectives will have to be attained:

- ◆ adoption of a system of degrees easily readable and comparable in order to promote European citizens' employability and the international competitiveness of the European system of higher education
- ◆ adoption of a system based on two cycles; the first, of three years at least, qualifies one for the European labour market
- ◆ establishment of a system of credits – developing the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) – acquired also in non higher education contexts, provided they are recognised by the university systems as a proper means to favour the widest and most diffused student mobility
- ◆ elimination of remaining obstacles to the effective exercise of the rights to free mobility and equal treatment.

The Bologna Declaration was taken as a key document which marks a turning point in the development of European higher education. It should be emphasised that the Bologna Declaration and following process was a commitment freely taken by each signatory country to reform its own higher education system in order to create overall convergence at European level. It is not a reform imposed upon national governments or higher education institutions. The Bologna Declaration aims at creating convergence and, thus, is not a path towards the standardisation or harmonisation of European higher education. The fundamental principles of diversity and autonomy are respected. The Declaration reflects a search for common European solutions to common European problems (CERC/CRE, 1999).

Clearly the reluctance towards standardisation and harmonisation and the necessity to respect national sovereignty and autonomy are still present. Yet the pressure coming from globalisation and international competition was a lever for initiative at the political level. Besides this external pressure, the experiences from more than two decades of networking have played a role as well (as expected earlier, see section 2.3). The problems concerning different curricular structures and the consequent obstacles for mobility and recognition convinced actors at all levels of the need to take a next step on the pathway of European higher education policy. The fact that the Bologna Declaration was, and could only be, a joint but free commitment taken by national governments (i.e. bottom-up and not legally binding) can be understood from the limited competencies of the European Commission in the area of higher education policy. The role of the European Commission in the process was thus limited at first (as observer of the Follow-up Group), but gradually enlarged during the following process (to full member of the Follow-up Group). Moreover, it actively (financially) supports various activities that are considered part of the Bologna Process. This concerns in particular projects in areas such as quality assurance, the tuning of educational structures and qualification frameworks, and the development of (especially joint) master degrees (EC, 2003a, 2003b; Tauch & Rauhvargers, 2002). In fact a growing concurrence of the Bologna agenda and the agenda of the European Commission can be observed (see below).

The Bologna Declaration led to a wide range of actions at national level in the various signatory countries. With varying scope and pace governments undertook initiatives towards achieving the objectives of the Bologna Declaration in interaction with higher education actors and stakeholders. They focused in particular on the reform of degree systems (i.e. the introduction of the bachelor-master system) and the expansion of ECTS (Haug & Tauch, 2001). The first milestone in the process was the Ministers of Education meeting in Prague in 2001. It confirmed that the key points of the process were:

- ◆ *simplifying the patchwork of higher education qualifications*: Ministers called upon existing organisations and networks such as National Academic

Recognition Information Centres (NARIC) and European Network of Information Centres (ENIC) to promote simple, efficient and fair recognition.

- ◆ *improving mobility within Europe and attracting students from around the world*: Ministers confirmed their commitment to pursue the removal of all obstacles to mobility and agreed on the importance of enhancing (the) attractiveness of European higher education for students from Europe and other parts of the world.
- ◆ *ensuring high standards*: Ministers called upon the universities and other higher education institutions, national agencies and the European Network of Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA), in cooperation with corresponding bodies from countries which are not members of ENQA, to collaborate in establishing a common framework of reference and to disseminate best practice.
- ◆ *lifelong learning*: Lifelong learning is an essential element of the European Higher Education Area. Ministers called on higher education institutions and students to be involved in shaping a compatible and efficient, yet diversified and adaptable European Higher Education Area.

This agenda emphasised some new aspects of the Declaration, in particular the role of quality assurance in ensuring high quality standards and in facilitating the comparability of qualifications throughout Europe. This gave a boost to the establishment of ENQA in 2000. It also encouraged closer cooperation between recognition and quality assurance networks and agencies (i.e. between ENQA and the NARIC/ENICs) (see, for a more extensive discussion of the European developments in quality assurance, Van der Wende & Westerheijden, 2003).

In preparation for the next ministerial meeting, which was held in Berlin in 2003, a third evaluation of the implementation of the Bologna Declaration was undertaken (Reichert & Tauch, 2003). It reported that although general awareness of the Bologna Process has increased considerably, the implied reforms have yet to reach the majority of the higher education grass-root level representatives (academics). In legal terms, good progress has been made. 80% Of the Bologna countries either have the legal possibility to offer two-tier structures or are introducing these, consequently 90% of the higher education institutions have or will have this structure. It is recognised by key actors that enhancing the quality of higher education and the employability of graduates are the two most important driving forces behind the Bologna Process. However, regular and close involvement of professional associations and employers in curricular development still seems to be rather limited. It is stated that: "To do justice to the concerns of stakeholders concerning the relevance of higher education and the employability of higher education graduates, without compromising the more long-term perspective proper to higher education institutions and to universities in particular, may well be the most decisive challenge and success-factor of Bologna related curricula reforms" (p. 11). Furthermore, the report emphasises that in order to ensure

that the implementation of the new degree structures is not done superficially, European qualification frameworks need to be elaborated and quality assurance in Europe should create greater transparency and enough common criteria to allow for mutual recognition of national systems.

At the Berlin ministerial meeting (2003) the number of Bologna signatory countries was extended to 40. In line with the preparatory report, intensification of efforts was decided in the following three key areas:

- ◆ *quality assurance*: By 2005 all countries should have quality assurance systems in place that include certain characteristics, such as a system of accreditation and international participation, cooperation and networking.
- ◆ *two cycle system*: All countries should at least have started the implementation by 2005, and an elaboration of an overarching framework of qualifications for the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) should be undertaken.
- ◆ *recognition*: By 2005 every student should be given an International Diploma Supplement.

Furthermore, the Berlin Communique stated diverse general orientations. On the one hand the social dimension of the Bologna Process was reaffirmed, stating that higher education is a public good and a public responsibility and that in international cooperation academic values should prevail. On the other hand a direct link was made between the Bologna Process and the objectives of the Lisbon council, which have a more economic orientation related to global competitiveness. The latter demonstrate the fact there is indeed a growing convergence between the Bologna agenda and the agenda of the European Commission. Finally, an additional area of action was defined related to the closer linking of the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) and the European Research Area (ERA). Actions should in this respect be focusing in particular on doctoral studies and cooperation networks at doctoral level (Berlin Communique, 2003).

We can conclude that with the Bologna process a greater impact of European-level policy on both the curriculum and system level is being achieved and that it is enhancing the international dimension in national higher education policies (Van der Wende, 2001b). Although the term harmonisation is still unacceptable, national governments have adopted the need for convergence of higher education systems and for shared goals in their policies. At the same time, and despite the active involvement of the EC in the process, the role of the supranational (EU) level has remained formally unchanged. The current EU Treaty states once more that "At European level, education in general and higher education in particular are not subjects of a common European policy: competence for the content and the organisation of studies remains at national level". According to Art. 149, the Community's role is still limited to "contributing to the development of quality education by encouraging cooperation between Member States". Some (mainly legal experts) criti-

cise that the aim of convergence could not formally be adopted by the EC and that as a consequence a parallel process occurred. In their view, the fact that the Bologna process is executed outside the formal EU context implies that there is a potential risk of a loss of coherence with other Community actions. Furthermore, the lack of legally binding measures implies that there are no actual means to co-ordinate the implementation at national level and that individuals cannot derive any formal rights from the process. Finally there is perceived to be a lack of democratic control over the process (Verbruggen, 2002).

New concepts, shifting agendas

As discussed above, the concept of globalisation gained its place in the higher education debate in the second half of the 1990s. It is clear that globalisation cannot simply be seen as a higher form of internationalisation (Scott, 1998). Internationalisation refers to the increasing interconnectedness of national education systems without boundaries between them and/or the authority of national governments over these systems being brought into question. In contrast, globalisation refers to the increasing integration of flows and processes over and through boundaries and does challenge the role of national governments. Furthermore, globalisation is perceived as an external process upon which individual actors and institutions can exercise little influence and is associated with competition. Internationalisation is seen more as a steerable policy process and is associated with cooperation. Internationalisation is therefore often seen as a response to globalisation in terms of cooperation for enhanced competitiveness (Van der Wende, 2002).

With these two concepts different higher education policy agendas also emerged. On the one hand, the European agenda, focused mostly on (intra-European) cooperation. On the other hand, an international agenda of liberalisation of international higher education markets, competition and trade, was expedited by the opening of a new round of negotiations on GATS (including higher education services) by the WTO. In this context, the question can be asked whether the agenda of (mainly intra) European cooperation (including the Bologna process) will indeed be an adequate European response to the wider challenges of globalisation. The agenda of liberalisation not only refers more to competition, but is also pushing higher education as a tradable commodity, challenging the concept of higher education as a public good. The Bologna Declaration and the Prague Communiqué emphasise the cooperation concept and public good arguments exclusively. In that way, they deny to a large extent that competition in higher education also exists within and between European countries and that certain countries deliberately have introduced market mechanisms and competition in higher education as part of new steering concepts (Van Vught et al., 2002).

Competition, however, was clearly there. European universities were increasingly exposed to it and becoming more and more aware of it. It was recognised from within the academic community that competition – long established in Canada and the US – was gaining ground in much of Europe. It became increasingly clear that higher education is indeed a global enterprise, and that the fundamental challenges, especially those created by the new environment of technology, globalisation, and competition are very much the same across nations and continents (Green et al., 2002). The European Commission was also aware and looking for a more coherent response to globalisation. In a commissioned report it was recommended that in order to face the challenges of globalisation, the European Union should further enhance internal cooperation, especially geared towards creating more convergence and transparency (i.e. the Bologna process). At the same time, it should open up towards other countries and regions and forcefully market and communicate the quality of its education to the outside world (Reichert & Wächter, 2000).

The recommendation of opening up to the world was linked to the notion that Europe had lost its number one position as a destination of study abroad in the world and this led to the creation of a major new EU programme, ERASMUS World (or ERASMUS Mundus as it was renamed later on), which will be discussed below. In the meantime, competition as a notion and an argument for action in the field of education has entered firmly into the discourse of the European Commission. In a recent interview the Commissioner for Education and Culture stated that: “Competition between universities is a healthy thing. If our European universities, and I do not only mean those that are world-renowned, but the bulk of them, do not raise the quality of what they offer, then the race – that is already on – with universities arriving from the United States and other continents will be lost” (Forum, 2002).

ERASMUS Mundus

In 2001 the Commission published a report (EC, 2001a) that set out some first steps in responding to new challenges (i.e. global competition) in the education field. It explicitly referred to the market-oriented approaches to internationalisation of the UK, France, Germany and the Netherlands, and to the fact that the USA hosts the majority of foreign students in the world. It concluded that the Community should ensure that its education activities include the international dimension in a more systematic way and that it should give greater visibility to its action in the field in order to promote Europe as a centre of excellence and to attract students seeking an international education. This document formed the basis for the establishment of the ERASMUS Mundus programme, which will become operational in 2004.

The ERASMUS Mundus scheme is intended to strengthen international links in higher education, by enabling students and visiting scholars from around the world to engage in postgraduate study at European universities, as well

as by encouraging the mobility of European students and scholars. The basic features of the programme include a global scholarship scheme for third country nationals, linked to the creation of "European Union Masters Courses" at European universities (here a link with the Bologna process can be observed). These postgraduate courses would involve study at several higher education institutions in different Member States and be distinguished by their European label. The programme foresees the creation of around 90 inter-university networks to provide 250 EU Masters Courses by 2008. Partnerships between EU Masters Courses and third country institutions would also be encouraged. Like the Fulbright Programme in the US, it will help strengthen intercultural dialogue and will communicate national/regional cultures and values more effectively to the rest of the world. The budget for the ERASMUS Mundus project will start with 180 million Euros for the period 2004-2008, as was decided in last meeting of the Education (Youth and Culture) Council on 5-6 May 2003. By supporting the international mobility of 1,000 scholars and 4,200 students (envisaged), ERASMUS Mundus intends to prepare participants from the European Union and its partner countries for life in a global, knowledge-based society (EC, 2003c).

The Lisbon summit and the open method of co-ordination

The challenges related to globalisation and the knowledge-driven economy were in the broader political context also acknowledged by the heads of states or government of the EU countries (The European Council) at their meeting in Lisbon in March 2000. They agreed on the following strategic target for 2010: To become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion. In the view of the Council, these changes required not only a radical transformation of the European economy, but also the modernisation of social welfare and education systems. Therefore it called on the Education Council (the Education ministers of the EU) and the European Commission to undertake a general reflection on the concrete objectives of education systems, focusing on common concerns while respecting national diversity. At the same time, the Council defined a new approach to political co-ordination applicable in areas such as education and training: the 'open method of co-ordination', which has as its main purpose to achieve greater convergence towards the main EU goals by helping Member States to progressively develop their own policies towards them. This provided both the initial impetus and the political means for the preparation and adoption in 2002 of a detailed work programme on the future objectives of education and training systems (EC, 2002b).

This new direction made clear that education was seen as a key factor in achieving success according to the Lisbon agenda. The Barcelona European Council (March 2002) underlined this by pointing out that education was one of the bases of the European social model and that Europe's education

systems should become a 'world quality reference' by 2010. It also demonstrated that the Commission was enlarging its field of operation and policy implementation in education. It openly states now that in addition to areas where article 149 and 150 of the Treaty define the European competencies (see 2.5.1) and in which the EU programmes such as SOCRATES are being implemented, it also undertakes action in the context of the EU on the basis of political cooperation between Member States. This is not based on EU directives but takes the form of recommendations, communications from the Commission, consultations, or other working documents. This form of political cooperation has grown in education and training (including lifelong learning and e-learning) in recent years and has been boosted by the Lisbon summit (EC, 2002b).

The open method of co-ordination is seen by the Commission as a new instrument which will hopefully pave the way for coherent policies in areas such as education where a common policy is not feasible but where there is a real need for a European educational area. While respecting the breakdown of responsibilities envisaged in the treaties, this method provides a new cooperation framework for the Member States with a view to convergence of national policies and the attainment of certain objectives shared by everyone. It is based essentially on:

- ◆ identifying and defining jointly the objectives to be attained
- ◆ commonly-defined yardsticks (statistics, indicators) enabling Member States to know where they stand and to assess progress towards the objectives set
- ◆ comparative cooperation tools to stimulate innovation, the quality and relevance of teaching and training programmes (dissemination of best practice, pilot projects, etc).

This method of common objectives, translated into national action plans, and implemented through consultative follow-up and peer review (pressure) shows overlapping characteristics with the Bologna process. However, the role of the European Commission in it is crucially different.

The new work programme on the future objectives of education and training systems is based on the following strategic goals:

- ◆ improving the quality and effectiveness of education and training systems in the EU
- ◆ facilitating the access of all to education and training programmes
- ◆ opening up education and training systems to the wider world.

These three goals are worked out in thirteen more specific objectives (see EC, 2002b and EC, 2003d).

The Commission proposed five European benchmarks for education and training, which will help to measure progress and support the exchange of

best practices and peer reviews in order to reach the Lisbon target. The three benchmarks most relevant for higher education are that, by 2010:

- ◆ All Member States will secure an overall significant increase (15%) on the total number of graduates in mathematics, science and technology compared to 2000, whilst at least halving the level of gender imbalance among these graduates.
- ◆ Member States should ensure that the average percentage of 22 year-olds in the EU with at least upper secondary education reaches 85% or more.
- ◆ The EU average level of participation in lifelong learning should be at least 12.5% of the adult working age population (25-64).

On 6 February 2003, the Education Council held a policy debate on the adoption of these benchmarks. The vast majority of delegates agreed on the initial selection of benchmarks. The German delegation expressed some concerns with the benchmarking concept, i.e. that no specific criteria could be adopted which would effectively start to harmonise national education policies. The Education Council adopted the benchmarks at its session on 5-6 May 2003 and will now submit them to the Spring European Council in 2004 (Euractiv, 2003a). In July 2003, a first (draft) report of the performance and progress of education and training systems in Europe on the established indicators and benchmarks was published (EC, 2003i).

It is too early to assess the effects of this new method. But the recent developments in European higher education policy demonstrate that convergence (not harmonisation!) and shared goals have been accepted by all actors. And also, that despite its unchanged limited competencies, the role of the EU in this field is being enlarged. This, however, is not accepted by all actors. The European Parliament contests the lack of democratic control over the open co-ordination method and has suggested that it should be anchored in the European Convention. Others point to its weakness in terms of the absence of legally binding instruments with respect to implementation at national level (as is also the case in the Bologna Process) (Verbruggen, 2002).

Consultations and communications

The Commission recently launched a large-scale public consultation on the development of new European programmes in education, training, and youth, which will replace the existing SOCRATES, TEMPUS, LEONARDO and YOUTH programmes when they end in 2006. In its response to this consultation, the European University Association (EUA) has suggested the new programmes should be based on the Bologna Process. This can be seen as another indication of the growing convergence between the Bologna agenda and the actions of the European Commission. EUA also suggested that the divide between education and research should be bridged (EUA, 2003b). This refers clearly to the outcome of the Berlin meeting in terms of seeking a stronger link between ERA and EHEA.

In addition to this, and based on the Council's call for European systems of education to become a 'world reference' by 2010, the Commission opened a consultation in February 2003 on the role of higher education institutions in a knowledge economy (EC, 2003e), designed to launch a debate with stakeholders on key issues for higher education. The consultation is especially concerned with the funding of higher education. The Commission stresses that the growing under-funding of European higher education institutions jeopardises their capacity to attract and keep the best talent, and to strengthen the excellence of their research and teaching activities. A number of areas that need reflection and action are identified:

- ◆ how to achieve adequate and sustainable incomes for higher education institutions, and to ensure that funds are spent most efficiently
- ◆ how to ensure autonomy and professionalism in academic as well as managerial affairs
- ◆ how to concentrate enough resources on excellence, and create the conditions within which higher education institutions can attain and develop excellence
- ◆ how to make higher education institutions contribute better to local and regional needs and strategies
- ◆ how to foster the European Higher Education Area
- ◆ how to foster the European Research Area.

EU and GATS

In 1995 education was included into the WTO's Global Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). However, individual countries have made very different commitments to the various categories of education that are being distinguished. In fact, education is one of the sectors for which WTO members are the least inclined to schedule liberalisation commitments. At present, only 44 countries (counting the EU as one) have made commitments for at least one education sub-sector, which are: primary, secondary, higher, adult and other education. Member countries have in general put slightly more limitations on trade in primary and secondary education than on higher and adult education (Knight, 2003; Sauv e, 2002; see also: www.wto.org). With the aims of reducing trade barriers and gaining better access to foreign educational markets, a number of countries (the USA, Australia, New Zealand and Japan) have put forward new proposals for the next round of negotiations on GATS, which will be concluded in 2005. Traditional higher education institutions are most aware of the fact that cross-border trade in educational services may endanger their position and market monopoly. Their representative bodies are therefore opposed to the further liberalisation of the higher education market and the role of the WTO in this process. National governments are mostly concerned that further liberalisation may undermine their authority and the existing arrangements for public funding of higher education institutions (and their students). However, certain countries also see the opportuni-

ties coming from international competition and an open higher education market. As the European Commission will negotiate with other WTO member countries on behalf of all EU Member States, it started a round of consultations with Member States by mid-2002. This process revealed that most Member States take the position that the commitments already given by the Community are quite sufficient. Some would even like to explore the scope for withdrawing from existing commitments, as they fear for the demise of the public service character of existing education systems. There is general uncertainty about how the GATS rules for the exemption of public services apply or could apply in the future to an evolving and increasingly heterogeneous education sector, in which private operators coexist alongside public institutions and the latter institutions themselves operate in some respects on a basis analogous to private providers. As a result of the consultations, the final position of the EU is that no further concessions will be offered, and that the USA will be asked to take commitments on privately-funded higher education, i.e. to broadly match the EU level of commitments (EC, 2003f). Recently, the EU Commissioner Viviane Reding stated that: "The commitments which the European Union countries have entered into in the GATS are limited to privately-funded education services". And that: "The Commission will not do anything which would undermine values which are widely accepted and shared in Europe regarding such issues as academic standards, social cohesion and equitable conditions of access, the maintenance of cultural diversity, academic freedom or the role of research. [...] It would nevertheless be helpful if the various interests in Members states were to treat the debate on the GATS as a reminder that they, too, need to take account of the growing internationalisation of education in the fields in which responsibility for action lies with them" (EducationNews, 2003).

Education and the European Convention

The preparation of the expansion of the European Union with 10 new Member States in Central and Eastern Europe by 2004 coincides with a process of redefining the role of the various European institutional frameworks. The Convention on the future of Europe was established to draft a future EU Constitution. On 18 July 2003 the Convention submitted to the President of the European Council the 'Draft Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe', intended to replace the existing treaties. The project drawn up by the Convention preserves the traditional form of an international treaty, and its revision requires the unanimity of the Member States. The competences of the European Union have remained virtually unmodified from the previous treaties, but they are now more clearly presented and divided into three categories: exclusive competences of the Union (like commercial policy); competences shared with the Member States (agriculture, transport, environment, social policy); and competences of supporting, coordinating and complementary action (like, for example, in education), which excludes

any harmonisation of the laws of the Member States. The articles related to education are situated in Part III (provisions relating to the policies of the Union) of the draft constitution, under Title III (Internal policies and action), Chapter V (Areas where the Union may take coordinating, complementary or supporting action). Article III – 182, which is to replace the article 149 of the 2002 ‘Treaty Establishing the European Community’ has remained virtually unchanged. The draft treaty has therefore left the legal framework for Community action in the field of education (the Socrates program) as it was before. The Part III refers also to the “open method of coordination” (without calling it so³) in several fields of action, namely social policy, research and technological development, public health, and industry. The draft states that “in close cooperation with the Member States, the Commission may take any useful initiative to promote coordination [...], in particular initiatives aiming at the establishment of guidelines and indicators, the organisation of exchange of best practice, and the preparation of the necessary elements for periodic monitoring and evaluation” (article III -148). The draft treaty does not, however, give any specific provisions for such coordination in the field of education (<http://european-convention.eu.int/bienvenue.asp?lang=EN>). Anticipating its consequences in the area of higher education, the European universities have underlined their fundamental role as autonomous institutions in building Europe and in developing the European social model (EUA, 2003a).

Reflections

European actions in higher education have expanded over the last decades in terms of their reach across policy levels and geographical borders. Increased international competition urged national governments to enhance cooperation in order to achieve greater cohesion between higher education systems, Europe being an obvious level for joint action. The greater need and willingness to cooperate has helped to overcome some of the fears for reduced sovereignty. Reluctance to harmonize and standardize, however, seems to remain at least at the political level. At this point two major processes occur in parallel: the Bologna and the Lisbon processes. They show interesting overlap in terms of their rationales, objectives and methods and further convergence between the two can already be observed. Overlap can also be observed in terms of the mode of multi-level governance these processes represent. Both in the case of the Bologna and the Lisbon Process this can be characterized as “mutual adjustment”, which is described by Scharpf (2001) as the default mode of Europeanised policy responses to increasing interdependence. Here national governments continue to adopt

3 Although some of the working groups on the European Convention (the group on economic governance) had proposed to strengthen or institutionalise the open coordination method, or (as proposed by group on simplification on procedures and instruments) to even assign it a constitutional status (Euractiv, 2003b).

their own policies nationally, but they do so in response to, or in anticipation of, the policy choices of other governments. In the case of the Lisbon process one could additionally observe some aspects of “intergovernmental negotiation”, i.e. coordination of national-level policies by agreements at European level, but where national governments still remain in full control of the decision process and the transformation of agreements into national law and their implementation (Scharpf, 2001). Still, there are also meaningful differences between the two processes. First, the fact that the Bologna process was undertaken bottom-up and the Lisbon process is being led directly by the Commission has implications in terms of perceived ownership. Second, throughout the various periods the EU's main rationale for action has remained an economic one, which is again clearly visible in the Lisbon process and in the recent communication on the role of universities. And although the broad motivations and objectives of the Bologna and the Lisbon processes may be rather similar, there may be divergence between the two processes with respect to this point, given the increased accents on the social dimensions and related public good arguments that occur in the Bologna process. Third, differences also exist with respect to the involvement of actors (i.e. higher education institutions and students are more directly involved in the Bologna Process than in the Lisbon Process) and in the range of countries involved. Finally, the role of the European Union has moved beyond the mobility and recognition issues into the policy field at large. The Bologna process has to some extent facilitated this change. But it has really been boosted by the Lisbon Summit, where the heads of state gave the Commission a mandate to undertake action, without, however, enlarging the Commission's formal responsibility or legal basis for it. Notwithstanding these limitations, the Commission has clearly enlarged its policy ambitions in the higher education area. The achievement of those may become difficult, however, considering the lack of direct policy instruments and may also be particularly challenged by the concurrent enlargement of the Union with ten new countries in Central and Eastern Europe.

2.3 European-level research policies

2.3.1 Internationalisation of science and research

In the literature, three different dimensions to internationalisation of science and research are discerned: the international exploitation of nationally generated knowledge and technology; international technological and scientific cooperation and exchange; and the international generation of knowledge and innovation. UNESCO and OECD data indicate a tendency towards growing internationalisation in all three dimensions (Edler & Boekholt, 2001: 314). The threefold distinction hides actors (European and national) and actions (policies). Therefore we focus below on the European-level research policies.

2.3.2 The early Treaties

In the 1951 and 1957 Treaties research policies (non-communitarian) were visible regarding coal and steel, agriculture and nuclear energy (EURATOM). The 1951 Paris Treaty included article 55, providing the power to support technical and economic research related to the production of steel and coal and occupational health in these industries. In the context of the 1957 Rome Treaty, the Joint Research Centre (JRC, 1958) was established for the execution of research and training activities, particularly relating to nuclear energy.

These early years were particularly dominated by debates on investments and returns to the individual member states. Italy, for instance, was afraid that the selection of the nuclear research centre in Ispra as a European centre would be too much in the advantage of the other member states and to a lesser extent to Italy. Therefore, different JRC-sites were chosen in the 1960s (Karlsruhe, Petten, Geel). Other problems related to finding suitable personnel, meeting the high expectations of the co-operative efforts, and solving technical problems. Restructuring of the JRC in the beginning of the 1970s led to a change in tasks and objectives. Noteworthy is the fact that 70% of the EC research budget in 1978 was spent on energy (5% for environmental issues; 7% for medical and social issues; 6% for research on the competitive advantage of European industry; 2% on raw materials). In the mid 1990s, the JRC was taken up in the framework programmes (Schregardus & Telkamp, 2001).

2.3.3 COST

COST (European Cooperation in the field of Scientific and Technical Research) can be considered as the first attempt to stimulate research cooperation between the nation-states. In the 1960s it became clear that Europe was lagging behind technological developments in the US. In 1964 the Committee for Medium-Term Economic Policy was established to investigate the possible co-ordination of economic strategies of the member states. This Committee set up a sub-committee for Science and Technology Policy (PREST). In 1967, a PREST-report selected seven research areas that were seen as most suitable for European research cooperation. Internal political disagreements slowed down the decision-making process and it took until 1971 before COST emerged. At that time COST was a provisional pragmatic solution: support for a truly integrated research policy at the European level was lacking. COST projects are funded by the member states themselves, only co-ordination and administration costs are paid for by the Community. The Community was also responsible for setting the frameworks for COST, allowing non-member states to participate in COST. In nature, COST projects were mixtures of basic research and technological development.

2.3.4 Community-level initiatives: the Spinelli era

Altiero Spinelli (Commissioner from 1970 to 1976) can be considered the founding father – at least in terms of ideas, less in terms of successful policy implementation – of supranational research policies. He started as the Commissioner for Industry and Research in July 1970. The political context seemed supportive: De Gaulle (representative of the anti-communitarians) had stepped down, and the road was paved for taking up the United Kingdom, Ireland and Denmark in the Community. The 1967 Treaty already led to the integration of the separate Committees and Councils of the Communities.

Spinelli argued that the EC was, given the varied and high-quality industrial, technological and scientific potential, in need of a Community-level research and development policy. The focus therefore was on applied research. A reorganisation of the directorates led to a new DG III, comprising of all agencies related to industrial development, aimed at coupling industry and research. A taskforce for Research and Development was set up to sketch the broad lines for a Community-level research programme. The programme was not intended to replace national research programmes, but to stimulate research that would be difficult to organise at the national levels (e.g. European centres of excellence, trans-national research programmes). A 1972 proposal suggested setting up a Committee for Research and Development (CERD, a type of think-tank of independent experts to advise on the development of science and technology) and also the European Research and Development Agency (ERDA), an agency with substantial autonomy (both financially and in terms of evaluating projects) to support research initiatives. CERD was established in 1973, but the ERDA proposal was not successful. It was stranded in the pre-conference of Permanent Representatives of the Community Members (COREPER). The lukewarm Community feelings of member states (or better the greater importance of national interests) were at that time reinforced by the energy crisis and the following economic crisis.

2.3.5 International cooperation regarding basic research: The Dahrendorf era

Ironically, the expansion of the EC forced Spinelli to focus on industry policies. All research-related issues were transferred to DGXII, under a new Commissioner (Ralf Dahrendorf). According to the latter, research should be less oriented towards industry, but should be seen in the context of cultural development. He pleaded for the emergence of a European Scientific Area, implying a need to increase the mobility of researchers, to strengthen international contacts within the EC and to support networks of researchers. Dahrendorf also supported attempts to establish a European Science Foundation, particularly focusing on basic research. In contrast to Spinelli, Dahrendorf thought research activities could best be carried out by the member states them-

selves, the focus of the EC should be on the co-ordination of these national activities. CREST (replacing PREST in 1973) would be responsible for these co-ordinating activities. CERD (proposed by Spinelli) would play an advisory role. Following a Council meeting in January 1974, four resolutions were accepted, including the participation in the European Science Foundation, the co-ordination of national science and technology policies, an action programme in the field of science and technology and an action programme on forecasting, assessment and methodology (Schregardus & Telkamp, 2001).

2.3.6 EUREKA

American ideas and activities regarding the Strategic Defense Initiative in particular stimulated the debate in Europe on the need for expanded cooperation. At the same time, recent experiences with top-down initiatives (e.g. Concorde) turned out to be less successful than expected. The French took the initiative to support the European technological renaissance, being afraid that the US would cream off the elite of European researchers and firms. The support of Germany however was necessary, which had the positive effect – with hindsight – that the initiative was stripped from rather strong top-down characteristics. EUREKA started in 1985. There were initiatives – from the French side – to integrate EUREKA into the framework programme, but this was prevented by other member states. Because of the political struggles (in which the objections to communitarian research policies were important), EUREKA was in particular characterised by intergovernmental cooperation (also with partners outside the EU, e.g. Turkey, Russia), minimal bureaucracy and a stress on civil production (contrary to military production) near to the market from an economic-strategic perspective. 89 Projects were approved in 1989 with a total budget of 1.6 billion ECU. Most of these were small-scale projects, in which small and medium-sized enterprises were strongly represented.

Through time EUREKA has seen a fall in several indicators: the number of large firms taking part, public funding, and the total cost of the portfolio of projects. A positive sign is the increase in participation of small firms.

2.3.7 Framework Programmes

At about the same time as the EUREKA initiative, the idea of multi-annual framework programmes emerged. In fact, the basic idea was developed under Belgian Commissioner Etienne Davignon in 1982. The need for diversified research and development activities (note the stress on energy research in the late 1970s) called for an encompassing framework that would be the basis for a true communitarian research and technology policy. In addition the pressure of the rapid advances in Japan in the information technology industry was felt. A sophisticated balance had to be found between activities best organised and co-ordinated at the national level and activities at the supranational level. A working group headed by the German research

minister Riesenhuber developed four criteria, on which communitarian action was justified:

- ◆ research beyond the capacities of the individual members
- ◆ research with financial profit if carried out in cooperation
- ◆ research – at the national level – that would contribute to solving transnational problems
- ◆ research contributing to the cohesion of the common market and the unity of European research and technology.

The first framework programme was launched in 1984 and lasted until 1987. The budget was 4,5 billion ECU. Funds for energy research were in that period decreased to 50%.

Davignon's successor, Karl Heinz Narjes, presented a proposal for a European Community for Technology in 1985, a technology strategy that would enable the Community to take full profit from the synergy between national and supranational programs. The proposal implied an important increase to the research budget. The proposal was not accepted and Narjes proposed the Second Framework Programme with a budget of 10 billion ECU. After negotiation, the EC decided upon 5.5 billion ECU. Recently started Community programmes such as ESPRIT (European Strategic Project for Research and Development in Information Technology), BRITE (Basic Research in Industrial Technologies for Europe) and EURAM (European Research on Advanced Materials) were integrated in the Second Framework Programme. Furthermore, a fifth criterion was added: research that would contribute to strengthening the economic and social cohesion within the Community. The most important development was, however, that science and research policy were taken up as explicit objectives of the EEC. The 1987 Single European Act introduced article 130f which gave the Community clear jurisdiction in research and technology development by describing its objectives and by establishing the general framework for implementation and article 130h on the co-ordination of European research and technology development policies. The objective was to strengthen the scientific and technological basis of industry, which would lead to the increased global competitiveness of EC member states.

The Third Framework Programme (1990-1994) was prepared under Filippo Maria Pandolfi. Framework programmes would overlap in the future to allow for efficient financial planning and continuity in research activities. The budget for five years was cut in two, allowing for adjustments halfway through the programme. The number of specific programmes and action was decreased (now fifteen programmes in six actions and three headings).

The Fourth Framework Programme (1995-1998) was prepared under Antonio Ruberti. The Maastricht Treaty stressed (again) the ideas of co-ordination and cooperation and the strengthening of the framework programmes.

According to the Maastricht Treaty the programme concentrated on: research, technology and demonstration projects; cooperation with non-EU members and international organisations; exchange and application of research results; and support for the training and mobility of researchers. The co-ordination of national and Community policies became – following article 130h of the Maastricht Treaty – very important. This article states that the Community and the Member States co-ordinate their activities regarding research and technological development to ensure mutual coherence between Member States and Community policies. A budget of 12.3 billion ECU was reserved. Halfway through the programme, another 700 million ECU was added.

The 1997 Amsterdam Treaty did not change the objectives of the framework programmes and the underlying rationales, but Framework Programmes would be accepted in the future by a majority vote in the Council of Ministers (instead of the requirement of unanimity).

The Fifth Framework Programme (1999-2002) was prepared under Edith Cresson. An important content-related change took place: from a stress on the achievements of technical results to a stress on the solution of social and economic problems. Intentionally, the slogan 'society, the endless frontier' has been used to promote the programme. The Fifth Framework Programme consisted of four themes (quality of life and management of natural resources; user-friendly information society; competitive and sustainable growth; and energy, environment and sustainable development) and three horizontal issues (confirmation of the international role of communitarian research; supporting innovation and the participation of small- and medium-sized businesses; and improvement of the human research potential and the socio-economic knowledge base). The total budget amounted almost 15 billion €.

Through the years much had been achieved in terms of international research projects. But one of the major problems – the gap between the US and Japan on the one hand and Europe on the other – was not solved. In the EU expenditure on research and development (R&D) was still lagging (about 2% versus 3%). Table 2.1 details the government R&D budgets of the EU, Japan and US between 1985 and 2000.

Table 2.1 Government budgeting towards R&D in EU, Japan and US (% of GDP)

	US	Japan	EU-15
1985	1.2	–	1.0
1990	1.1	0.4	0.9
1995	0.9	0.5	0.8
2000	0.8	0.6	0.75

Source: Eurostat: Science and Technology theme 9-5/2001

Compared to the US and Japan, the European Union takes an intermediate position regarding the government budgets for R&D. Looking at expenditure on R&D, the pattern for Europe (EU-15) is different: from 1.99% in 1990 decreasing to 1.87% in 1997 and 1998, then increasing to 1.94 in 2001. Also, the budget of the framework programme was still only 5% of the total input in research in the member states. In addition, the Community and national research programmes could not be seen as complementary. The evaluations of the previous programmes required a different approach in the Sixth Framework Programme.

The Framework Programmes have nevertheless promoted collaboration among different types of institutions and among different countries, and they have also enhanced complex collaboration patterns. There is also some evidence of learning effects and knowledge flows. Economic effects are more difficult to establish, but increasing commercial impacts are highlighted (Luukkonen, 2001).

2.3.8 The European Research Area

Under Philip Busquin, the idea of the European Research Area was launched in 2000. This idea comprised of the following elements (EC, 2000):

- ◆ an optimal use of materials and infrastructure at the European level through establishing centres of excellence
- ◆ creating coherence in the use of government instruments and resources
- ◆ more dynamics in private investments
- ◆ a common scientific and technical reference system
- ◆ the input of more and more mobile human potential
- ◆ a dynamic Europe open and attractive to researchers and investments; and
- ◆ a space with common values.

The ideas were based on worrying developments regarding research: the average research effort and number of researchers were increasingly lagging behind the US and Japan (and thus there is a disinvestment in knowledge production), a trade balance in high tech products were showing (increasing) deficits, and a large proportion of researchers and students were attracted by careers in the US. In short, a call was needed for a policy approach to reinvigorate research in Europe. The EU document suggested a set of actions and instruments to reach the objective, but concrete actions were not yet taken.

The most recent European report on science and technology indicators (EC, 2003f) revealed that the EU produces the highest number of science & technology graduates and postgraduates (PhD) (2.14 million in 2000, compared to 2.07 million in the US and 1.1 million in Japan, and also as a percentage of all graduates: Europe 26%, Japan 21% and the USA 17%). The EU, however, employs fewer researchers (5.4 researchers per 1000 labour force, against 8.7 in the US and 9.7 in Japan). Many of Europe's best brains still prefer to go to North America for better employment opportunities. About 4%

out of the total pool of European human resources in S&T (or, roughly estimated, 400,000 out of 11 million) are working in the US. Nearly 75% of European PhDs would like to go to the US after their PhD. The US is not only attracting a larger number of European researchers, it is also proving capable of retaining them, offering competitive career and employment opportunities. This growing trend must be taken seriously, the report states, since it is generally recognised that the period following PhD graduation is likely to represent the most productive years of a researcher's career. Brain gain to the EU comes from other European countries (50%) and developing countries. It is acknowledged that Europe appears to hold less attraction to North Americans. Foreign S&T students are seen as a key target and factor for the future of European research and development capacity.

The 2000 Lisbon Summit that declared that Europe should develop towards the most competitive region of the world supported the underlying ideas of the European Research Area and consequently the idea of the ERA became the central pillar of EU research activities. Its objective combines three complementary concepts: the creation of an "internal market" in research, a restructuring of the European research fabric, and the development of a European research policy. Specific actions were taken up in the next framework programme. The Sixth Framework Programme (2002-2006), adopted in 2002, introduced two new instruments, already hinted at in the 2000 Towards a European Research Area document: Networks of Excellence (sustainable integration of high quality research capacity, 25% of the research costs to be borne by the EU) and Integrated Projects (consortia of partners co-operate to achieve defined results to be applied to products, procedures and services, 50% of the costs to come from the EU). The more 'traditional' instruments, e.g. the Marie Curie action and existing research projects in the thematic areas, were retained. The human resources and mobility activities (like Marie Curie) were even intensified, with an increase of 50% (to 1,580 billion €) between the 5th and 6th Framework Programmes for human resources in science in order to prevent the brain-drain to other parts of the world (EC, 2003h). The total budget of the 6th Framework Programme is 17.5 billion €. Table 2.2 shows the budgets for the Framework Programmes through time.

Table 2.2 Budgets accorded to the Framework Programme for R&D

Programme	years	financial commitments (in millions of Euros, current prices)	% of Community budget
FP1	84-87	3.7	2.4
FP2	87-91	5.4	3.2
FP3	90-94	6.6	4.0
FP4	94-98	13.1	4.0
FP5	98-02	15.0	3.7
FP6	02-06	17.5	

Source: *Statistics on Science and Technology in Europe, data 1985-1999. Luxembourg: EC*

An intermediate assessment of the achievements (EC, 2002: 7) led to a change in the general objective: to achieve a substantial increase in Member State involvement and the level of mobilisation of national activities; to increase the impact of activities underway; and to consolidate the conceptual and policy framework in which the project is being implemented. Specific ideas were launched e.g. regarding benchmarking of national research policies, the mapping of research excellence, the mobility of researchers, research infrastructures, networking of national research programmes, boosting private investment in research, and creating R&D platforms. The most recent action plan (EC, 2003g) reiterates the developments in the previous documents. However, an important measurable objective was introduced, following the European Council's 2002 meeting in Barcelona: investment in research in the European Union should rise to 3% (now about 1.9%, compared to 2.8% in the US and close to 3% in Japan) of GDP by 2010. About two-thirds of this budget should be financed by the private sector. It presupposes – more than in previous policy documents – the need to foster the coherent development of national and European policies, and the design of a coherent mix of policy instruments.

2.3.9 National and supranational policies

It is noteworthy that national research policies recently (from the Fifth Framework Programme on) are deliberately taking into account developments at the supranational level, which seems to be in line with the intentions of the European Commission. The national case studies to be carried out in the second phase of this project will deal with this issue in more detail; here we mention some examples of the dynamics of national and European policy-making. Selective funding (based on specific research themes, instead of broad disciplinary-oriented questions) has been introduced by national research councils, although this can also be interpreted as relatively autonomous national developments. But the instrument of funding preparatory activities for framework programmes are explicit policies of these research councils which will dovetail with national and supranational research activities. An important argument for dovetailing institutional frameworks is that the challenging task of co-ordinating these institutions will probably better leverage the social-economic aims than co-ordinating research actors.

Also plans to transfer (parts of) national research council funds to the supranational level fit this development. A very recent suggestion of the European Science Foundation is to establish a European Research Council (ESF, 2003). There have already been initiatives to bring funding agencies together to promote common research priorities (European Science Foundation Collaborative Research Programmes, EUROCORES), but the ESF proposal goes further. The European Research Council would be mainly EU-funded (with some national and private contributions) and would carry out the following activities: funding research programmes, supporting individual researchers,

building research networks, supporting research infrastructures, delivering input to research policies, and contributing to the dissemination of science information.

2.4 A preliminary assessment of European policies

Over time we see a gradual development of increasing European-level involvement in research policies. Objectives have changed to some extent, but the general aims have been to contribute to research cooperation in order to eventually improve the European economy and to increase competitiveness (bridging the gap with the US). The idea of competitiveness can be traced back to 1960s policy documents (e.g. Vonortas, 2000). In terms of content, there has been a fundamental shift from funding energy research towards a much broader set of research areas. The instruments also changed considerably, relating to the changing legal frameworks. The Amsterdam and Maastricht Treaties allowed for a relatively autonomous European policy on research. The size of European research efforts is still marginal compared to national R&D efforts (which is up to 5% of total EC budget for R&D, see Luukkonen, 2001: 206).

Regarding higher education, we see a development of a focus on student and staff mobility (first for a small number of countries, but gradually expanding to include other countries) towards a more integrated approach to internationalisation (e.g. the development of European Policy Statements). In the 1990s, the dimension of 'competitiveness' was introduced in the internationalisation debate, co-evolving with the developments of the Sorbonne and Bologna Declarations. In response to the global competitiveness challenges, the European Commission initiated new activities: the Lisbon Process and the ERASMUS Mundus Programme. In terms of legal arrangements, the national governments have always been reluctant to transfer powers relating to higher education to the European level, despite gradual changes over time. The arrangement of the 'open method of co-ordination' may become an adequate mechanism to overcome the nations' hesitance.

Comparing higher education and research developments, there is one noteworthy similarity and two – interconnected – differences. The similarity is that in both areas there is a switch from a co-operative approach (characterised by exchange, mutual curricula and research projects) to a more competitive approach (building a strong European infrastructure for higher education and research), with more leeway for the European Commission to develop policies and implementing instruments (although the regulation hardly changed in the past decade). The differences relate to the timing in the two areas. The first thoughts on the role of Europe as a competitor (to the US and Japan) in research appear in the 1960s, whereas those ideas regarding education only appeared in the 1990s. Related to this, the legal European-level arrangements for co-operative efforts were dealt with much earlier in research than

in higher education. As a consequence, the legal basis as provided in the EU Treaties provides for a relatively autonomous European policy in the area of research, whereas in the education area many restrictions still exist in this respect. This difference in terms of EU competencies is paralleled by enormous differences in budget provision at the European level. The results of these differences clearly show in the various policy efforts and expressions: the link between research and education policy is still very weak. Even within the Lisbon Programme, where the European Higher Education Area (ERA) and the European Research Area (EHEA) are the two most important strategic elements, virtually no line is drawn between them (see EC, 2002b). However, with the new proposals discussed at the ministerial meeting in Berlin, the strengthening of the link between the ERA and EHEA seems to be (back) on the policy agenda, obviously with strong support from the university sector, where research and education functions are historically strongly intertwined.

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3. Germany

Karola Hahn

Internationalisation is high on the agenda in German higher education (HE) and science policy. The topic of internationalisation has become of such central interest that it can no longer be separated from questions concerning the reform of study programmes and study structures, as well as from the reform of the higher education institutions (HEIs) and the entire HE and science system. Most of the internationalisation policies are implicitly or explicitly related to the processes of Europeanisation, internationalisation and increasingly also to globalisation. The mainstreaming of internationalisation is in the sense of widening the frame of reference of planning, and a systematic integration of an international dimension into HE and HE policies has been constantly driven forward in the recent years.

3.1 The higher education system

3.1.1 Basic features, facts and figures

The HE system in Germany has a binary structure (Universities and *Fachhochschulen* – Universities of Applied Sciences). It encompasses 330 HE institutions: 117 Universities, 157 Universities of Applied Sciences and 56 Colleges of Music or Art. Most of these institutions are state owned (more than 2/3), 49 are private but state-approved, and 45 are run by the Churches. A significant majority of students are actually enrolled in the state-owned HEIs (96.9%) while the numbers of enrolments in private and religious institutions still remain *a quantité négligeable* (HRK, 2003).

The increasing access rate of students (relatively to their age group) was slowly developing in recent years from 27.7% in 1998 to 32.4% in 2002 (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2003). In international comparisons, these access rates represent one of the lowest positions of OECD countries, remaining significantly below the average rate of 45% (Wissenschaftsrat, 2002: 20).

Germany is a high-ranking destination for foreign students. OECD statistics point out that 9% of students enrolled at German HEIs are without German citizenship. With this rate of foreign students Germany is in the sixth position of OECD countries (behind Switzerland, Australia, Austria, United Kingdom and Belgium). In absolute numbers Germany ranks in third place as a host country for foreign students, behind the United States of America and the United Kingdom (OECD, 2002: 236-238). The statistics also point out that the actual numbers of non-resident students registered in German tertiary education institutions account for only two-thirds of all foreign students: 67% of international students are those without German HE entrance certificate

(*Abitur*). Thus a significant proportion of international students are 'domestic foreigners' (*Bildungsinländer*) with *Abitur*. They are mainly children of migrant workers and Eastern Europeans of German origin (OECD, 2002: 237).

3.1.2 Public expenditure on HE and R&D

In Germany HE is perceived to be a public good. The HE system is thus to a large extent publicly funded. Nonetheless funding has not been adjusted to expansion in recent decades and HEIs suffer from severe financial constraints.

In 2001 the gross domestic expenditure on education, science, research and development (R&D) in Germany was 187.6 billion € (2000: 183.4 billion €) (BLK, 2003: 3) and accounted for a total of 2.49% (2.48%) of the GDP (BMBF, 2001: 371), up from 2.32% in 1998 (BMBF, 2002d: 227). In comparison to other OECD countries, Germany still spends a below-average proportion of the GDP on education, science, and R&D (OECD, 2002: 161). In 2001, the total expenditure on HE was 17.9 billion € (in 2002 it is estimated at 18.8 billion €, an increase of 4.8%) (BKL, 2003: 15).

The Federal budget for education and research has been increased by about 25% since 1998. The Federal budget of the past two years has been the highest budget for education and research in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany. Special funding programmes (i.e. *Hochschulsonderprogramm* and the programmes within the First and Second Action Schemes) were launched particularly to foster internationalisation.

But the Federal budget only constitutes a minor part of the education and research budget. Most of the *Länder* meanwhile struggle to cope with the demands of their funding systems for HE. Only a few were able to spend substantial additional funds to foster internationalisation.

3.1.3 Actors and steering instruments in internationalisation

As Europeanisation and internationalisation have progressed, the number of actors on the HE policy arena has increased – a phenomenon visible on all system levels. Germany is a Federal Republic, and has sixteen governments of the *Länder* as actors on the *Länder* level. On the national level there are three major governmental actors in HE relevant for internationalisation, and due to the federal structure two further governmental actors that function more or less as horizontal and vertical coordinators (inter-state or state-national coordination).

The Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF) is responsible for HE and research in general. It defines national policy lines and internationally relevant action schemes. In relation to internationalisation, the Federal Foreign Office and the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) are involved in frame-setting and funding international cooperation

and exchange activities. The Federal Foreign Office is in charge of the German cultural relations policy, e.g. the promotion of German language and culture abroad, cooperation in the area of HE and research as well as intercultural dialogue. BMZ is concerned with internationalisation aspects of HE insofar as these topics are part of German development policy. The BMZ focuses on development policy through cooperation in bi- and multilateral programmes, exchange activities, supporting national, institutional, educational and technological development and training as well as offering assistance for developing countries.

The other main governmental coordinating bodies are the Commission for Educational Planning and Research Promotion of the Federation and the States (BLK, acting between the national and the state levels) and the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs (KMK) coordinating HE policy between the sixteen states.

The policy arena of internationalisation of HE in Germany is marked by the increasing number and growing importance of intermediary actors. Besides the HEIs themselves, the most active drivers of the process of internationalisation and internationally oriented reforms are some intermediary organisations. The German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) is a central actor in the internationalisation of HE (and to a lesser extent in science) in Germany. It is one of the world's largest education agencies comprising a total of 233 HEIs and 128 student bodies. It is a powerful setter of agendas and trends, increasingly exceeding its genuine function as a service provider. The other major service organisation for international activities, mainly in the field of research, is the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation (AvH).

Another central driver of internationalisation is a coordinating body, the German Rector's Conference (HRK). This umbrella organisation encompasses 263 member institutions representing most HEIs in Germany. Since the mid-1990s it has promoted internationally oriented reforms of the degree structure, the introduction of the Diploma Supplement and ECTS, and the introduction of internationally standard procedures in quality assurance, such as accreditation and evaluation.

A buffer organisation on the national level worth being mentioned is the Science Council (*Wissenschaftsrat*). It comprises representatives of the Federal and *Länder* governments and the Joint Commission (BLK), as well as representatives of science and the public, and largely contributes to agenda setting.

The newly created Accreditation Council and the six accreditation agencies entered the policy arena in 1999. These agencies are active in the field of accreditation of the newly established Bachelor and Master programmes, which are being implemented in the course of the Bologna process in Germany.

Another active agency is the *Stifterverband für die deutsche Wissenschaft*, a privately funded donors' association for the promotion of sciences and humanities, presenting a joint initiative of industry involving around 3,000 companies, industrial associations and individuals. The Centre for Higher Education Development (CHE) is a private organisation funded by the Bertelsmann foundation, which considers itself to be a 'reform workshop' and promoter of the 'unleashed actor university'. The CHE is also active in the field of internationalisation. The *Stifterverband* and the CHE support entrepreneurial internationalisation and innovation of HE.

The various research promotion agencies (i.e. German Science Foundation, DFG and others) also became central actors in the internationalisation of the HE and science policy arena.

Governance of the HE and science sector is marked by two ambivalent trends: on the one hand we find strengthened institutional autonomy and deregulation, on the other hand there is an increasing influence of nationwide policy making by the BMBF on the *Länder* and the institutions. Both developments are directly linked to internationalisation and globalisation. Institutional autonomy and deregulation are often legitimised with the institution's need to respond flexibly to the changing environment (e.g. international profiling). Nation-wide policy making is derived from the need for coordinated policies in regard to Germany's external relations (supranational policy, global policy, foreign cultural relations, national funding of strategically targeted research policy etc.) (Teichler, 1992).

3.2 Old and new concepts and the changing *Zeitgeist*

Since about the mid-1990s, internationalisation is a central focus of higher education policy and to a certain extent a focus of research policy as well in Germany. We note similar voices within the national government and the ministries of the *Länder*; similar regulations, policies and coordination mechanisms (Higher Education Framework Act, Joint Commission BLK); as well as similar voices and activities within buffer organisations (Science Council), umbrella organisations (German Rector's Conference HRK), support organisations for research and teaching (e.g. German Science Foundation DFG), and organisations specifically for international activities (German Academic Exchange Service DAAD and others).

3.2.1 Views and objectives

In Germany the internationalisation of HE is widely regarded as both a desirable development as well as a 'must'. We can distinguish three main policy objectives that are driving major changes in German HE and science policy. The frames of reference are European as well as global:

- ◆ Fostering the international (European) dimension of the German HE and science sector

- ◆ strengthening the international attractiveness of German HE and science
- ◆ enhancing the international competitiveness and performance of the German HE and science sector.

These main objectives are often addressed by:

- ◆ expanding international activities in general (notably mobility and cooperation)
- ◆ promoting European cooperation and integration, not only through increased cooperation and mobility, but also through integrative measures (e.g. converging programme and degree structures)
- ◆ making German HE a more attractive place for students and scholars from countries outside Europe and increasing trans-national activities to these countries
- ◆ restructuring the steering and management of the HE system in order to provide a better basis for quality of teaching and research
- ◆ supporting excellence within higher education in a close link with internationalisation.

3.2.2 Rationales, concepts and the new *Zeitgeist*

The German policy of internationalising HE and science has been marked by continuity in the sense that it is high – if not on top – of the political agenda. However we can identify certain shifts in concepts and rationales.

On the one hand mainly economically (and politically) motivated efforts are made to widen and deepen intra-European cooperation as well as collaboration with economically relevant regions (i.e. the US) and newly industrializing countries (i.e. Asia and South East Asia).

On the other hand political, cultural and ethical rationales are driving a policy of inclusion for those regions, which are under-represented or which suffer from severe deficiencies or instability (Southeast European Stability Pact, Stability Pact Afghanistan, programmes for cooperation with developing countries).

The policies developed after 11 September 2001 are examples of a more culturally (and politically) oriented rationale. After this event, academic cooperation with the Islamic world was put under new challenges that required culturally sensitive instruments. Immediately after the terrorist attack, the DAAD and the BMZ launched a programme to advocate cultural dialogue with the Islamic world, which was in 2003 broadened into a European-Islamic dialogue and crisis prevention.

Academic rationales often remain implicit, mirroring the general consensus that internationalisation improves academic quality and supports preparation for a globalised labour market for graduates and academics.

The overarching rationale of the recent internationalisation policy is an economic one. This rationale is made explicit in many policy papers and in many

of the policies implemented. It serves as legitimisation for different kinds of measures. With the increasing dominance of the economic rationale in the policy of internationalisation we can even observe a new *Zeitgeist* emerging at national level. The classic concept of internationalisation (cooperation and mobility) is broadened to a concept of 'globalisation mainstreaming', in the sense of streamlining the entire HE and science system to make it 'fit for the global market' and to ensure competitiveness and performance (Hahn, 2003c). To underline the thesis of the shifting *Zeitgeist*, we can refer to the terminology of the recent national policy papers and the strategic orientation of the launched schemes. An increasing number of terms in HE and science policy papers, i.e. *Knowledge Creates Markets* (2001), are derived from the field of strategic management and economics, and we even find terms derived from military terminology. The different sub-programmes are called 'offensives' – unquestionably a military term. The strategic orientation of internationalisation is often strongly nationally oriented in the sense that the frame of reference is the added value to Germany. Internationalisation through exchange for the purpose of mutual benefits is more or less overshadowed by internationalisation through exploitation, or in more neutral terms 'creating added value' on the national level.

Other examples of the new terminology are: the exploitation of knowledge, increasing the value added and creating a competitive advantage, brain gain instead of brain drain, maintaining a visible presence on the global market, and international marketing of the brand 'made in Germany' as a quality label for German HE.

The German HE and science system is functionalised as a *Standort* – a term normally used in the sense of the location or site of industry or the military. We are observing a completely new dimension of *Sachzwang-Politik* which suggests that internationalisation as 'globalisation mainstreaming' is the imperative.

Yet many of the elements representing the new *Zeitgeist* still remain political rhetoric and do not reflect the political reality. If we compare the rhetoric of some policy papers to what is actually done at national and institutional level (e.g. the implementation of the Bologna process, the steps towards the creation of a European Research Area and the streamlining with EU politics as well as the development aid related policies), we still find the overwhelming majority of activities in conformity with the more cooperative approach of internationalisation, driven by a mix of rationales.

We note a coincidence of the 'old' concept of 'internationalisation as cooperation' and a new concept of 'internationalisation by competition'. The national actors tend to present these concepts, their diverging objectives and the measures taken as mutually reinforcing, or at least as not substantially in conflict. The compatibility of the concepts of, on the one hand, internationalisation and Europeanisation as cooperation between more or less equal part-

ners, based on trust, confidence and mutual benefits, and on the other hand that of internationalisation as the mainstreaming of globalisation and enhancement of national competitiveness, is not questioned. There is no overt debate of potential conflicts between the cooperation and competition strategies, or between a European or a world-wide strategy.

3.3 Current German internationalisation policies

There have been a range of policy measures taken in the wake of internationalisation policies, whereby many of these instruments serve more than a single objective and many serve other rationales as well. Some of these measures are not systematically different from those in the past such as:

- ◆ increasing public expenses for international cooperation and mobility
- ◆ offering national programmes to support these activities rather than providing higher education institutions with basic funds to run their own international activities
- ◆ enhancement of framing conditions for foreign students, graduates and scholars
- ◆ reform of legal frameworks fostering internationalisation.

However, many are predominantly or altogether new:

- ◆ staged study programmes and degrees as well as credit systems and accreditation linked to these new programmes
- ◆ degree programmes taught in a foreign language (notably English)
- ◆ international marketing of HE
- ◆ export of study programmes
- ◆ desire for brain gain.

Policy objectives and measures reveal major concerns about Germany's future: how is Germany's situation or how will it be, if Germany does not strive for these objectives and if it does not take these policy measures? There seems to be little concern about too little mobility, cooperation and intra-European transnational activities. There is more concern that: the relationship with the US is imbalanced; too many scholars and students from outside Europe are believed to consider Germany only as a second or third choice; there is too little brain gain; the reduction of barriers to make Germany an attractive site are too slow (promoting German as a foreign language versus English-taught programmes, care for foreigners, structured doctoral training etc.); and there are too few managerial strategies in HEIs to pursue international policies in a targeted way. There is also concern about the lack of international marketing of the strength of German HE and science. These 'too-littles' are viewed in recent years by major policy actors as those activities that might contribute to academic excellence.

The current policies and measures linked to internationalisation in Germany might be characterized as follows:

- ◆ reform intentions at the top, but slow change at the bottom (departments, scholars)
- ◆ national policies match the *Zeitgeist* by claiming to serve internationalisation
- ◆ each critique of single measures (e.g. credits) is pejoratively called resistance to internationalisation
- ◆ all internationalisation measures are claimed to serve quality.

3.3.1 Internationalisation oriented action schemes

The perceived asymmetry in student and post-doctorate flows and the desire for brain gain led to several action schemes which were aimed at (re-)directing mobility flows to Germany. These action schemes contained packages of reforms to strengthen the attractiveness and competitiveness of the German Site for Higher Education and Science (BMFT, 1996).

In 1996, the first action scheme *Strengthening the attractiveness and competitiveness of the German Space for Higher Education and Science* was launched by the DAAD. Its main targets were: the development of attractive study programmes for foreign students; the improvement of academic recognition; the improvement of procedures concerning admission and regulations for entry, residence and work permit of foreign students and scientists; the enhancement of language issues; and the development of an international marketing strategy for German HE.

In 1997, the DAAD implemented an action scheme to enhance the studies of international students at German HEIs (DAAD, 1997). This action scheme encompassed a number of supporting funding schemes e.g. the development of internationally oriented study programmes and international Master programmes.

In 2000, the DAAD launched the second action scheme to strengthen the international competitiveness of the German Space for Higher Education and Science (DAAD, 2000). It had three strands:

- ◆ Strengthening the international attractiveness of higher education and science
- ◆ Creation of hospitable and service-oriented general frameworks for foreign students, graduates and scholars
- ◆ Development of professional marketing of German higher education and science internationally.

3.3.2 Regulatory frameworks

According to the national objectives some of the legal frameworks and regulations were modified in recent years to foster internationalisation or were adapted to the changing global context of HE and science.

Articles 91a and 91b of the Basic Law regulate the joint tasks of the Federal Government and the *Länder*. In recent years, aspects of internationalisation, coordinated international marketing of HE and policy formulation towards GATS were added to the catalogue of joint tasks. As the *Länder* are increasingly affected in their domestic areas of competence through the process of European integration, the rights of the *Länder* to participate directly and actively in matters concerning the EU have been enhanced substantively and formally. The most important step was the insertion of a 'European Article' into the Basic Law (Article 23) subsequent to the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty (KMK, 2001). The legal framework of higher education in the Federal Republic of Germany is provided by the Framework Act for Higher Education (*Hochschulrahmengesetz*). It describes the general objectives and principles of HE and defines the guidelines for reforms in regard to HE and academic research. It forms the frame for the HE laws of the *Länder*. The Amendments in 1998 and 2002 designed major changes in the legal framework which took into account new challenges rising more or less directly from internationalisation and globalisation. The Fourth Amendment of the Higher Education Framework Act in 1998 was targeted at the strengthening of institutional autonomy by deregulation, flanked by a performance-oriented system of financing, the introduction of evaluation of teaching and research and further elements, all together encouraging intra- and international competitiveness and a stronger institutional profiling.

Most of the reforms intended by the revised legislation showed a direct or indirect international frame of reference. An indirect international frame of reference was evident in reforms that were targeted to enhance competitiveness i.e. by introducing international procedural standards in the field of funding, management and quality assurance. A direct international frame of reference was evident in the experimental introductions of the two-tier study structure of Bachelor and Master programmes, ECTS, credit points, modular systems, Diploma Supplements, as well as the enhancement of conditions for international students, graduates and scholars.

The Sixth Amendment in 2002 foresaw two major provisions of international relevance: the experimental phase for the Bachelor and Master programmes had come to an end turning these programmes into a permanent, regular element of the HE system (alongside the traditional structure). The second point was the insertion of a clause to guarantee free tuition for university studies leading to a first degree, or leading to a Master degree in consecutive study programmes.

For the sake of completeness, the legislation of the *Länder* (*Landeshochschulgesetze*) is briefly mentioned here. According to the Basic Law, the *Länder* have legislative power in HE and science policy within the frame laid down in the Federal Framework Act of Higher Education. Most Laws of the

Länder comprise paragraphs on the fostering of internationalisation or international cooperation.

The Aliens Act of the year 1990, regulating German affairs concerning foreigners, is still considered an obstacle to the international mobility of students and scholars. Due to the concerted action of many stakeholders (governmental actors, education agencies, student services, employer's association and union) it was modified and supplemented in 1999 by a new regulation for the practical application of the law. The most relevant aspects for HE policy and internationalisation are the increasing flexibility of the legal regulations concerning entry, residence and work permits of international students, doctoral students and scholars (KMK, 1999: 15ff). The Aliens Act is supposed to be replaced by a new Immigration Law. As a number of other countries offer better opportunities for foreign students, doctoral students and scholars, the planned Immigration Law will increase Germany's international attractiveness by facilitating mobility and handling residences and work permits more flexibly (i.e. extended working permissions for students and graduates and their family members, facilitating immigration for employment purposes).

In 2001, a substantial change and internationally oriented reform has been made in the Federal law for student aid (BAföG). The new law opens opportunities for German students to receive national aid while studying at any state recognized university of the European Union and also non-EU countries (BMBF, 2002a). The reform and the growth in the budget of the national grant scheme can be regarded as the internationalisation of Federal funding policy. It facilitates international mobility for German students with a weaker economic background and thus contributes to the implementation of the Bologna process and to a social dimension of internationalisation.

3.4 Main effects to German internationalisation policies

International activities have multiple causes. They are not monocausally linked to the policies mentioned above. They might emerge bottom-up and they also might be linked to developments outside the area of HE policies, such as the fall of the Berlin Wall or supranational policies and global developments. Nonetheless, it seems appropriate to assume that the German internationalisation policies described above had a strong impact on the elements mentioned below.

3.4.1 International cooperation

In relation to its self-perception as an internationally cooperative partner, Germany defines itself as a core member of the European Union, to a great extent active in intra-union cooperation in the HE and science sector. Since the end of the Cold War, it also positions itself successively as a bridging country between East and West. This had a strong impact on international HE and research cooperation activities during the last decade.

Statistics on the international relations of German HE institutions reveal that international cooperation has grown substantially. While in 1989 German HEIs reported around 1,400 formalised international cooperation agreements (DAAD, 2003a: 11), the database of the German Rector's Conference lists 15,368 formalised collaborations in 2003: more than tenfold in only fourteen years. The regional distribution of international cooperation gives an insight into the structure of international academic collaboration. The progress of European integration leaves its most visible traces in the geographical and political focus of international cooperation. The database of the Rector's Conference reveals a strong orientation towards European cooperation: nearly 80% of all formalised cooperation are intra-European (DAAD, 2003b: 13), and nearly 70% are those with signatory countries of the Bologna Declaration (HRK, 2003). What is striking is the relatively high number of agreements with a relatively small neighbour country, the Netherlands, and with EU candidate Poland. The most frequent extra-European cooperation partnerships are those with the United States of America, followed at a great distance by China. However, quantitative growth has not led to a widely dispersed distribution in international cooperation. Several regions remain blank spots on the cooperation map: Africa almost seems to vanish on the map of formalised international cooperation in German HE and science, and the Middle East is also poorly represented.

The most widely spread form of international cooperation at the level of HEIs seems to be bilateral partnerships, cooperative projects and exchanges. A less widely spread form of international institution-wide cooperation seems to be the entrepreneurially oriented strategic alliances or consortia. On the one hand the German university's cultural tradition lacks entrepreneurial behaviour and strategic planning, but on the other hand inappropriate legal, financial and organisational conditions do not encourage long-term transnational alliances. A trend that seems to be emerging in addition to traditional transnational cooperation is more complex networks, which do not necessarily consider themselves as strategic alliances but as cooperation networks. These networks are mainly regional cross-border networks or thematic networks.

3.4.2 Mobility of researchers and EU funded research cooperation

Statistics of the German Science Foundation on the mobility of German post-docs funded with a research grant, and the participation of German scholars in international congresses, reveal that the US is the most important partner country for academic cooperation (nearly 50% of the grants) (DFG, 2002). The major German foundation to enhance international research cooperation, the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, reports that most of the foreign scholars coming to Germany have European citizenship (43%). In contrast, the largest number of sponsored guest researchers from any one country are from the People's Republic of China, followed by India, the Rus-

sian Federation, the US and Japan (Alexander von Humboldt-Foundation, 2002).

To channel the mobility of researchers to Germany, substantial funds were provided to award prizes to excellent international scholars, and to German scholars who had left Germany for research opportunities abroad. The tremendous size of the budget for a single prize (some exceeding that of the Nobel Prize) is unique in the history of German science policy. The programmes are managed by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation. Until April 2003 the Wolfgang Paul Prize and the Sofja Kovalevskaja Prize has been awarded to 43 scholars mainly in the field of natural sciences. The provision of such highly endowed prizes can be regarded as a new and effective steering instrument of the internationalisation of German science and research policy in the sense of 'brain gain'.

Research cooperation funded by the European Union is increasingly gaining importance in Germany. According to a study of the Federal Ministry for Education and Research, the EU Framework Programmes contribute largely to the integration of German research and economic activities into a common European economic and research area.

The study on German participation within the Fourth Framework Programme of the European Union revealed the following results: while German scholars participate in about 60% of all European research projects, only 14% of the proposals are submitted or coordinated from Germany. Taking into account that Germany's scholars represent a contingent of about 30% of the total number of EU researchers, this proportion is not satisfactory from a German point of view. It is a declared aim of German supranational policy for research to achieve a 20% quota in the German coordination and application rate. To achieve this aim, an information campaign has been started and consultation services have been widely enlarged for potential applicants (BMBF, 2002c).

A recent analysis on the participation of German HE and research institutions within the Fifth Framework Programme of the European Union highlighted that German universities cooperated with HE institutions in 71 countries on more than 5,000 projects. The major cooperation partners were from the United Kingdom followed at a great distance by Italy and France. Cooperation with the neighbour country, the Netherlands, was especially important at fourth rank. Portugal was ranked last.

About 11% of the contracts were made with partners from the new candidate countries. In absolute terms, Poland represents the most frequent partner country in this group (more than double the number of projects with Portugal).

With regard to the thematic priorities of the Fifth Framework Programme, Germany was the most active in projects (in quantity rather than in quality or intensity of the cooperation) in the field of Information, Society, Technology

(IST), followed by Quality of Life; Energy, Environment and Sustainable Development (EESD), Growth of the Human Potential, and Cooperation with third countries and international organizations (INCO) as well as EURATOM.

In 2001, 190 new EUREKA Projects have been awarded grants (total volume of 467 million €). Germany participates in a quarter of the projects (49 projects) and receives a total funding of 52 million €.

Statistics from July 2001 reveal that of the 702 running EUREKA-projects (total volume of 2.2 billion €), Germany participates in 191 projects (679 million €). The main focus of the German EUREKA-projects is in environmental technology, biotechnology, product engineering as well as information and communication technologies.

In regard to more complex research cooperation-networks we should also mention the projects in COST (*Coopération Européenne dans le domaine de a recherche scientifique et technique*). In the framework of the COST programme Germany is participating in 170 of the 185 running projects, which means a participation rate of over 90% (KOWI, 2003).

3.4.3 Foreign students

The total number of foreign students in Germany increased by 23% from 1996/97 (the time of the implementation of the first action scheme to enhance the attractiveness of the German site for HE and research) to 2000/01 (187,027). According to preliminary statistics in April 2003, the number of foreign students is still rising (224,159 enrolments in 2002/03). At the same time as the number of German students decreased between 1996/97 and 2000/01, the proportion of foreign students rose from 8.3% to 10.4%. The estimated proportion of foreign students enrolled in 2002/03 is 11.6% (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2003).

The highest growth rate has been observed in relation to the 'real' foreign students (*Bildungsausländer*) (26% between 1997/98 and 2000/01). There has been a 30% growth rate of (North, West and Central) African students. Students from Eastern Europe nearly doubled in numbers. Two third of all foreign students come from European countries, one fifth is an Asian citizen and 10% are from Africa.

Most of the *Bildungsausländer* are European (55% in total, 25% of all the European students are of East European origin). A quantitative ranking lists the following countries of origin of international students without a German HE entrance certificate: China, Poland, Russia and France.

In 2001 foreign students mainly came from Turkey (12% of all foreign students, but 78% of them with German *Abitur!*). About 5% came from Poland (DAAD, 2002: 10f.). The number of students from North America decreased between 1997 and 2001, a fact that has been leading to political efforts to strengthen German-North American cooperation.

3.4.4 International mobility of German students

International mobility has become a normal option for German students. This development is well documented as the data on the international mobility of German students has been enhanced in recent years.

According to federal statistics the number of German students studying abroad slightly increased by 4% between 1997 and 1999 to a total number of 45,000. Main target countries were the UK, the US, Austria, France and Switzerland. German student mobility to the UK, the US and France increased. The highest growth rate of student mobility in the mentioned time span was observed to Australia (+69%), to Norway (+46%) and to Japan (+31%) (DAAD, 2002: 48-49).

A study from the German Student Service in 2000 revealed that 29% of students in their third year of study or later (*Hauptstudium*) reported having had an international experience (13% through a study period abroad, 13% internship abroad, 6% language course and 5% others, although multiple responses were possible). These numbers signified an increase of about 2% in comparison to 1997. The participation in international mobility varied between the different disciplines: 22% were from philology, cultural sciences and sport, 17% law and economics, 11% natural sciences and mathematics, 10% medicine, 8% social sciences, psychology and pedagogy and 7% engineering. In Germany, the low mobility rate in engineering is considered to be especially problematic with regard to the globalised academic labour market and the Common Market (DAAD, 2002: 50-51).

In regard to the transnational virtual mobility of students (e-learning etc.) it can be stated that the virtualisation of teaching and learning in Germany until now remained more of a component of internal modernisation, innovation and reform than an instrument for further internationalisation.

3.4.5 Student mobility within ERASMUS

ERASMUS still is the most important programme in regard to student mobility in Germany. It has gained and kept a central place in universities' international activities.⁴ Since the implementation of the ERASMUS programme in 1987/88 the number of mobile German students has continuously increased. While there was a double-digit increase in the early years of ERASMUS the increasing rate became flatter in the mid of the nineties. Since the introduction of the institutional contract in 1997/98, the number of German SOCRATES/ERASMUS students rose from 13,785 to 15,872 in 2000/01, up to

4 The following data are cited from the ongoing ERASMUS Evaluation of SOCRATES II in Germany, carried out by Friedhelm Maiworm (*Gesellschaft für Empirische Studien*), Barbara Kehm (*Institut für Hochschulforschung*, Wittenberg), Ulrich Teichler and Ute Lanzendorf, Centre for Research on Higher Education and Work, University of Kassel).

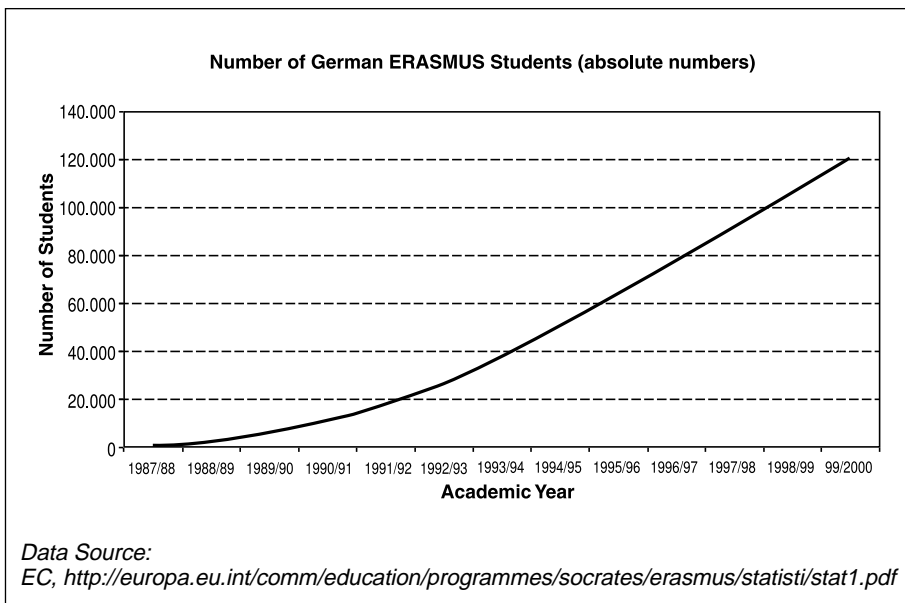
16,626 in 2001/02. The chart below (Figure 3.1) provides an overview of German ERASMUS students from 1987 to 2000.

Compared to the total number of European participants, German students took a share of 20% in the academic year 1987/88 and 14% in 1999/2000. Up to the year 2000, a total of 121,574 German students participated in the ERASMUS-Programme, representing 16 % of all ERASMUS students.

At present Germany remains a sending country: the number of German students attending a European study period is higher than that of European ERASMUS students coming to Germany. The imbalance in student exchanges has constantly decreased in recent years: in 1993/94 there were 70 guest students for every 100 German exchange, in 1997/98 the ratio was 80:100, and in 2001/02 it was 88:100.

Spain, France and the United Kingdom were the country preferences of German ERASMUS students (each receiving about 20% of the mobile German students). These target countries were followed by Italy (8%), Sweden (7%), The Netherlands (5%), Ireland (4%) and Finland (4%). The number of German students going to Central or East European SOCRATES countries is still relatively low but slightly increasing from 424 in 2000/01, to 600 in 2001/02. There are still less German students in total moving to CEE countries than for example to small countries like Ireland.

Figure 3.1 Number of German ERASMUS Students



3.4.6 International curricula

The development of (structurally) internationalised curricula is one of the most visible developments in the internationalisation of German HE. The rising number of programmes is providing empirical evidence of a diversification in study programmes through internationalisation. The database of the German Rector's Conference (HRK) lists 372 international study programmes leading to a first degree, which comprises 4% of all programmes (out of a total number of 9,331 programmes), although the criteria which led to the classification are not mentioned.

The international programmes mainly end in a Bachelor or Master degree or a *Diplom* (FH) – a traditional degree of the *Fachhochschule*. There are also a number of double-degree programmes that combine traditional degrees of two countries (e.g. *Magister-Maîtrise*).

The majority of the programmes are situated in the field of economics, business and management (also with interdisciplinary specialisation) followed by programmes of engineering, natural sciences, mathematics and informatics. Regional studies i.e. 'European studies in ...' are also quite frequent. The titles of the international programmes can lead to the conclusion that interdisciplinarity is one of the most common features of these programmes.

In regard to the study programmes leading to a first degree, the *Fachhochschulen* are significantly more active than the universities. At this level, the *Fachhochschulen* have developed international programmes in order to better position their institutions nationally and internationally (Wächter, 1999).

However, it seems that the internationalisation of curricula is mainly proceeding at the postgraduate level. Nearly 20% of all German postgraduate programmes are internationally oriented, and 95 German HEIs have developed 305 international postgraduate programmes. The universities are the most active in this field.

The concentration of Technical Universities in this field of activity is a strategy to enhance their attractiveness, mainly to foreign students, in order to compensate for the decreasing numbers of German students enrolled in the disciplines offered and to solve the problem of a shortage of young researchers.

The internationalisation of curricula is marked by a diversification through a thematically broader range than traditional programmes and often an interdisciplinary orientation. The international programmes often show a strong link to new fields of professions (e.g. conflict management, biomedical engineering, multimedia, area studies, informatics etc).

3.4.7 Bachelor, master, ECTS and diploma supplement

In recent years the internationalisation of the German HE system has also taken place on the structural level through the establishment of international-

ly compatible study structures and degree systems. The Amendment of the HE Framework Act in 1998 allowed for the experimental introduction of Bachelor and Master programmes. The latest Amendment of 2002 developed the Bachelor and Master programmes into a regular part of the HE system running in parallel to the single-stage study structure leading to a *Diplom*, *Magister* or *Staatsexamen*. A major goal of the Bologna-Declaration has thus only been partly achieved.

In a dynamic, largely decentralised process more than 1,500 Bachelor and Master programmes were implemented at German HEIs. In March 2003, a database of the German Rector's Conference listed 751 Bachelor programmes and 804 Master programmes. Most of the initiatives could be regarded as a bottom-up approach. Insights into the introduction of Bachelor and Master programmes in Germany can be found in a study carried out jointly by CHEPS and CHE (Klemperer et al., 2002). The dynamics of the process are evident in relation to the quantity of the programmes (10 % of all regular programmes).

The numbers of students enrolled still remain marginal (a bit more than 1%), but an increase in new enrolments was noted in winter 2001 (2.7%). At the Masters level the highest enrolment rates are found in engineering sciences. The average rate of enrolments of international students in Bachelors and Masters programmes is similar to that in traditional programmes (about 11%). However, at Masters level in the universities, international students are about 67% of the student population. This high percentage might reflect the international attractiveness of these programmes and the first effects of the efforts to strengthen the German site of higher education and science internationally. The potential to gain more income through tuition fees for Masters courses is one of the less important arguments for the introduction of these programmes.

The introduction of Bachelors and Masters programmes, while first discussed in the context of international developments, entailed more than just a structural change designed to create international interfaces. It became evident that HE policy makers and practitioners hoped to bring about a change in content through structural change (from the reform of study structures to an internationally oriented study reform of the curricular content). Other hopes connected to this reform were the shortening of study periods, the reduction of the drop-out rate, a more professional orientation, the reorganisation of studies, a growing diversity of programmes, upgrading of the universities of applied sciences and the enhancement of their international reputations. This wide range of hopes reveals the mixture of particular interests and deficiencies that are inherent in the German HE system and the new societal demands that are connected to the introduction of Bachelors and Masters programmes (Pasternack, 2001: 101ff).

In German HE institutions ECTS is widely accepted as a system to facilitate credit transfer within the European mobility programmes without making a

deep impact on the study programmes themselves. A survey by the DAAD pointed out that in 1997/98 160 German universities in 700 disciplines were introducing ECTS or had already introduced it (Wuttig, 2001: 15-23).

With the resolution of the KMK in 2000 to make ECTS, credit accumulation and modularisation obligatory elements of the new Bachelors and Masters programmes another dimension was introduced. New guidelines were needed to turn these innovative elements into a regular operative instrument. A joint initiative of the *Stifterverband* and the Centre for Research on Higher Education and Work of the University of Kassel tried to structure the reform processes by working out a memorandum on the introduction of a credit system at German HEIs. This memorandum comprised propositions for a common framework for the enhancement of the organisation of studies and examinations (Schwarz & Teichler, 2000).

The Diploma Supplement, as a further instrument designed to enhance the transparency and recognition of studies and degrees within Europe, should become standard in Germany in the coming years. The HRK has tried to push the introduction of the Diploma Supplement forward by working out a manual, database and software package with standardised forms and text elements for the application of the Diploma Supplement. Although all HEIs have access to these services, the implementation of the Diploma Supplement has been slow up to now, due to an often decentralised examination administration (a coordination problem in multi-subject programmes) and problems in the field of electronic data processing.

3.4.8 German as a foreign language and teaching in English

The German language is often perceived to be a barrier to the international mobility of students and scholars, since English has become the *lingua franca* in science. Thus various efforts were made to overcome this supposed barrier. The teaching of German as a foreign language became a central issue in the programme package designed to strengthen the attractiveness of German HE and science. There was a demand-led increase in language courses for foreign students. An increasing flexibility and transparency of entrance requirements concerning language proficiency was achieved by introducing a centralised, standardised test (in some aspects comparable to the TOEFL-model). This *German as a Foreign Language Test* (TestDaF) serves as evidence of language proficiency for the admission of foreign students at German universities. It can be taken from abroad and gives a more or less detailed impression of different competencies, helpful for the self-assessment of the learner as well as helpful for the receiving institution.

In order to improve foreign language teaching, measures for quality assurance have been introduced i.e. an accreditation and certification system for foreign language provision, UNICert.

The promotion of English-taught courses was a central part of various action schemes to enhance the attractiveness of the German HE system and to increase its international competitiveness. Different motives led to the introduction of English taught programmes: attracting foreign students (compensating for the decline in domestic student numbers, guaranteeing the research base, and attracting future PhD candidates), attracting domestic students (providing students with international competencies) and the introduction of programmes leading to a new degree (Bachelor, Master or PhD).

A recent study supported by ACA mapped the provision of English-Language-Taught-Degree Programmes (ELTDP) in non-English speaking European countries. The study showed that in absolute terms, Germany is the leading ELTDP provider. An overwhelming majority of German ELTDPs are free of charge and the share of foreign students in ELTDP is highest in Germany (Maiworm & Wächter, 2002: 11-15).

The increasing number of degree programmes in English provoked a lively debate on the anglophonisation of German HE. Opponents underscore that this is a counter-development to the politically claimed cultural variety and diversity of languages in Europe. They fear a loss of cultural heritage and demand a further expansion of courses in German as a foreign language.

3.4.9 The export of German study programmes

In 2000, the DAAD launched a new programme to foster German HE export activities (Future Initiative for Higher Education of the Federal government, ZIP). 29 Entrepreneurially oriented export activities were sponsored, ranging from summer schools, to off-shore campuses or centres, modules and entire study programmes. The main geographical focus of the projects was on Asia, Eastern Europe and Latin America: regions that are of economic interest for Germany. Two activities seed funded by the DAAD might be mentioned as exemplary: the establishment of the German University in Cairo and the Foundation of the German Institute of Science and Technology in Singapore (GIST). The Federal export initiative is accompanied by a worldwide marketing strategy for German HE.

Export activities carried out outside the ZIP programme are those of the Distance University Hagen, mainly through its new virtual campus targeted at Eastern and Central European markets as well as to Austria and Switzerland.

3.5 Major trends in the internationalisation of German higher education

In recent years, internationalisation has experienced a substantial quantitative growth (international mobility and exchanges of German and foreign students and scholars, numbers of partnerships and cooperative programmes, participation rate in research projects funded by the EU etc.). We also note

various initiatives to create the framework needed to enhance further internationalisation (legal and structural reforms, the launch of funding programmes etc.). Besides the quantitative growth we can observe several trends and shifts that indicate major changes and developments in the internationalisation of German HE.

3.5.1 Internationalisation mainstreaming as coherent strategy

Internationalisation is increasingly linked to strategic thinking, planning and competitiveness. This is true at all levels of the system. On the national level we find an increasing dominance of strategically motivated internationalisation policies mainly driven by economic rationales. A number of action schemes are bundling different sub-programmes for internationalisation. The strategy paper *Cosmopolitan Education and Research – Innovation through Internationalisation* (BMBF, 2002a) emphasises the strong link between innovation and internationalisation and stresses its strategic dimension. To underline the strategic orientation of internationalisation, policies are increasingly linked systematically to the overall HE and science policy. The missing link between different policy arenas (Van der Wende, 1997) seems to be disappearing to make way for more coherent policy concepts and a more consistent HE and science policy.

This phenomenon is also true for the streamlining of internationalisation policies with that of other affected policy fields, such as domestic politics, migration politics, international relations, regional and structure politics, security politics, economic and financial politics, etc. A growing number of vertically and horizontally mixed working groups, e.g. inter-ministerial, inter-organisational and inter-sectoral working groups, pave the way towards more comprehensive strategies. Broad concerted actions now belong to the political routine.

On the institutional level internationalisation is increasingly regarded as a strategically driven process: moving away from ad hoc and person-centred activities, towards planned and institutionalised activities. New units for the strategic management of internationalisation are emerging at German HEIs. Explicit internationalisation strategies are increasingly formulated.

3.5.2 Globalisation mainstreaming

A visible trend in German policy frameworks and political rhetoric with regard to global developments can be described as 'globalisation mainstreaming'. The frame of reference for proactive initiatives is constantly and systematically widened to a global scale and global aspects are increasingly integrated into policy, planning and a widened field of action. Globalisation mainstreaming is, for example, expressed in Germany's official position towards the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), in the introduction of a nationwide coordinated international marketing of HE, and in the export of study programmes. Germany internalises more and more the marketisation

dimension of HE and its products (from public to tradable good) and the commercial and economic aspects of science and research.

This more competitive and entrepreneurial approach to internationalisation may hint at an emerging globalisation shift of internationalisation.

3.5.3 Quality shift

In Germany internationalisation itself is perceived as a matter of quality. Besides this general perception, we note a new emphasis on different quality related aspects in internationalisation, namely:

- ◆ quality of foreign students
- ◆ quality of international partners
- ◆ introduction of international standard procedures of quality assurance
- ◆ introduction of evaluation of internationalisation strategies
- ◆ German HE and science system as an internationally attractive 'high quality' site.

The perceived decrease of qualified students (i.e. graduate students from the US) and the brain drain of German doctoral students and post-docs in natural sciences and engineering towards the US led to a change of the political agenda of internationalisation in regard to a stronger emphasis on quality aspects concerning the level of studies (graduate and doctorate level) and the origins of the students, doctoral students and junior researchers (i.e. from countries with high quality standards in HE or from economically relevant countries). There is also a new concern with the quality of partners (e.g. creation of networks of excellence).

The quality shift at the level of the study programmes is visible in regard to international standard procedures of quality assurance, namely the introduction of evaluation as well as the accreditation of Bachelors and Masters programmes and the certification of foreign language courses. International parameters are increasingly integrated into evaluation procedures at the departmental level.

Even the internationalisation strategies themselves became part of the quality shift (i.e. the evaluation of internationalisation strategies in the Consortium of Universities in Northern Germany).

The shift from passively 'marketing' German HE (i.e. in regard to its no-tuition policy for foreigners) to the nationally coordinated marketing policy of German HE and science as a 'brand' or a site of high quality (e.g. the initiatives *Qualified in Germany* and *Hi Potentials!*) stands as another example.

3.5.4 Convergence and divergence

The convergence aimed at in the Sorbonne and the Bologna Declaration is far from being achieved by actual internationalisation policies. It can be stat-

ed that the internationalisation of curricula and the introduction of the two-tier study structure with Bachelors and Masters degrees running parallel to the one-tier structure with its traditional degrees is creating more diversity and divergence than convergence. Nominal similarity should not lead to the assumption that there is more structural convergence than before. Indeed, there are more differing models existing simultaneously than ever before. This is not only true in regard to the dichotomy between the old and new degree structure but also in regard to the 3+2 and 4+1 model. Diverging parallel models often exist within the same institution.

A growing diversity can also be observed in the orientation of programmes (research and application, profession oriented programmes within both types of HEIs).

Nevertheless it should be mentioned that the introduction of Bachelors and Masters programmes has led to a blurring of the institutional borders between universities and Fachhochschulen. The fact that the latter are also allowed to offer Masters courses and that their qualified graduates of Bachelors courses are allowed to enter doctoral programmes (under certain conditions) has led to a stronger levelling of institutional differences.

To sum up the trends: we find increasing divergence in the study programmes, their structure, degrees and orientations, and more convergence in relation to the blurring borders between the different types of institutions.

3.5.5 Mainstream internationalisation

An analysis of policy documents does not reveal any particular creativity in German internationalisation policies. It seems that Germany is strongly copying mainstream Anglo-Saxon policies and patterns.

We can hardly highlight any typical German strategy of internationalisation, thus it seems reasonable to speak about 'mainstream internationalisation'. Particularly German features of internationalisation are e.g. its strong linkage to the concerns of reform, that had been in the policy discussions much earlier but could not be implemented at that time (e.g. reform study and degree structure, credit systems and modularisation); its strong linkage to reform issues that have no direct connection to the process of internationalisation (e.g. the introduction of quality assurance mechanisms like evaluation and accreditation); its emphasis on internationalisation as a matter of quality; the pronouncement of the Sachzwang-premise 'internationalisation as only option and inherent necessity'; and the pronouncement of the entrepreneurial feature of internationalisation activities (e.g. exporting study programmes) without being commercial like the Anglo-Saxon competitors.

The strength of the German HE and science system (e.g. its unification of teaching and research, its high quality and diversity, its free tuition policy etc.) does not seem to be activated and developed into a strategic advantage

through internationalisation policies. At the same time, fundamental obstacles to internationalisation are still not sufficiently touched by internationalisation policies, neither at the national level nor at the institutional level (e.g. the reform in curricular content and bureaucratic obstacles in exchange processes).

3.6 German policy in regard to european policies and global developments

The German policy of internationalisation is marked by three parallel strands: strengthening European integration by fostering intra-European cooperation; intensifying international cooperation; and strengthening global competitiveness.

3.6.1 Europeanisation mainstreaming

Germany is strongly supporting the idea of European integration and targets main policy strands to the creation of Europe as a socio-economic entity. Germany was one of the signatory countries of the Sorbonne Declaration in 1998. As the previous examples have shown, Germany contributes largely to integration by the expansion and the enhancement of transnational activities in the fields of cooperation and mobility, as well as in the implementation of the aims agreed upon in the Bologna Declaration and subsequent communiqués, even if some processes are only proceeding slowly (i.e. the implementation of the two-tier study structure and the Diploma Supplement).

The European dimension is increasingly integrated into the HE and science sector in Germany. Empirical evidence of the Europeanisation shift is the widening frame of reference in policy and strategy formulation at the national government level. Political targets defined at supranational level (e.g. Lisbon summit, Barcelona European Council and Bologna Declaration) are leading German HE and science policy more than ever. Yet the Lisbon target of 3% of GDP expenditure for HE and research was not reached in 2003.

There is consensus that common (European) goals are contributing to the excellence and competitiveness of the German HE and science system. The scepticism expressed in the early 1990s about supranational policies affecting the HE sector, i.e. in the *Memorandum on Higher Education in the European Community*, has completely disappeared. There is no longer a debate on the potential loss of national sovereignty in HE and research policy. Even though the formal legal competencies of the EU are still restricted by the principle of subsidiary, the legitimacy of European policies and common goals seems to be no longer questioned.

3.6.2 Internationalisation in German HE and science and the non-European world

Apart from globalisation mainstreaming, the German HE and science policy is largely guided by the concepts of internationalisation as cooperation with

non-European industrialised countries and internationalisation as development policy. Most of the nationally stimulated cooperation activities are embedded in broader political concepts (i.e. the Asia concept of the Government, or the European-Islamic Dialogue). Special attention is paid to academic cooperation with the US, as the US serves as a model in regard to standards in general. The US is also considered the most attractive partner in research, especially in economically relevant fields of research.

3.6.3 Global competitiveness, GATS and brain drain/brain gain

Besides the strengthening of European and international cooperation, major concerns are expressed by many stakeholders within the HE sector about the global competitiveness of the German HE and science system. Global competitiveness is often linked to academic excellence and brain gain but also to a more visible presence of Germany on the global HE market.

The 'globalisation mainstreaming' trend and the striving for global competitiveness can be illustrated by Germany's official position towards the General Agreement on Trade in Services and the emotionally charged brain drain/brain gain debate.

In 1994, GATS included HE as a transnationally tradable service, and formed the legal framework for some of Germany's emerging HE and science policy strands. The EU commitments made in the education sector within GATS are valid for Germany as a EU member country. Germany agreed on commitments in the classification scheme Sector V (Education), Category Higher (Tertiary) Education Services. The commitments were limited to private foreign operators. Other current commitments relevant for Higher Education were made in Sector I Professional Services (research and development) Category C, Social Sciences and Humanities (mode 1-3). Germany did not make use of the option to insert restrictions into the country schedule (specific categories).

The formulation of the German position towards GATS is managed and coordinated by the Federal Ministry of Economics and Labour (BMWA). Other actors on the federal level are the BMBF, the Foreign Office, the KMK, the BLK, the intermediary agency HRK, and the Union for Education and Science (GEW). The latter two both try to push the public debate and to raise awareness of the far-reaching implications of the Trade Agreement. To coordinate debates and policy formulation with the *Länder*, a special ad hoc working group at the Commission for Educational Planning and Research Promotion of the Federation and the States was installed at the end of 2001.

In Germany, GATS and its implications for the HE sector were not topics of the political debates in HE policies until end of 2001 (Yalcin & Scherrer, 2002). As the multi-sector relevance of GATS and its far-reaching implications became evident, the responsible departments from other ministries

were involved in the discussions as well as representatives from the education sector and a number of institutions of civic society.

Up to now German HE politics is marked by an ambivalent attitude towards GATS in education. In the state debates the defensive aspects of the negotiations, in the sense of a protection against non-desired liberalisation (e.g. the intrusion of foreign commercial providers leading to a more competitive situation in regard to state subsidies, and concerns about the quality of services), were of minor importance.

Since the opening of the recent round of negotiations a change in paradigm is emerging. The globalisation of the HE sector and the far-reaching commitments already made in the Uruguay Round shall now be used to examine whether German HE can take an active role in education export outside Europe. The former 'victim' of globalisation (in the sense of the competitive disadvantage of Germany in relation to the aggressive and commercial internationalisation policies of some Anglo-Saxon market leaders) thus should, according to the political will of the government and different stakeholders, develop into a global player. Although the official German position stresses the opportunities of GATS, no further commitments are intended (Hahn, 2003b).

Another internationalisation policy strand is guided by the concept of brain drain/brain gain. It can also be regarded as an expression of the new competitive Zeitgeist. Brain drain was recently the object of emotionally charged and strongly generalised debates in HE and research politics. It had been assumed that Germany suffered from brain drain in regard to highly qualified doctoral students, to post-docs and scholars who mainly targeted Anglo-Saxon countries, particularly the US. This presumed brain drain was perceived as more threatening, given that at the same time a decrease of brain gain from economically important partners like the US and regions like South East Asia was observed. Flows of PhD students as well as flows of qualified scholars obviously were more directed towards the Anglo-Saxon countries, especially the US. Since 1996, the perception of this 'double brain drain' from German and international potentials, even if it was lacking secure empirical evidence, led to a set of policies subsumed under the slogan of strengthening the attractiveness of the German site of HE and research. It was regarded as essential to strengthen personal ties and networks with future elites of relevant countries. The most efficient instrument to reach these goals was seen to be through attracting those with a future high potential to the German HE and research system and to strengthen the alumni links.

A study on the international mobility of graduates to and from Germany revealed that Germany is an above average target country for highly qualified international mobile graduates. The data led to the conclusion that Germany is more likely to be an import country for highly qualified graduates, than an export country. However it was not denied that there could be a brain drain in highly selective sectors of graduates (e.g. in regard to junior re-

searchers, especially in natural sciences or engineering) or into particular target countries like the US. However, as a general trend, a brain drain process could not be confirmed. Nevertheless it was evident that on average more highly qualified graduates from Germany went to the US than to any other European countries (Jahr et al., 2002).

To summarise the European and global perspectives of the internationalisation of German HE and science: the topic of internationalisation is omnipresent in political and institutional debates. It has received central attention. Most of the activities are still cooperation and exchange-based, while competitive and entrepreneurial activities gain ground. The European dimension is widely integrated into activities and planning at institutional as well as governmental level. European cooperation is central in many aspects but the cooperation with the non-European World also plays a prominent role.

Internationalisation policies are driven by diverging and mixed rationales, and are heading for potentially rivalling objectives. However, a stronger coherence between the overall policy for HE and that for internationalisation, as well as a stronger coherence between HE internationalisation policies with those of intersected policy fields, can be observed.

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4. Norway

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4.1 Introduction

Norwegian higher education (HE) policy has increasingly emphasised the importance of seeing the national HE system in its international context. Internationalisation has been put high on the policy agenda, and it is seen as a core instrument to maintain and improve the quality of higher education. In an international context Norway does not loom large in terms of research and higher education. In 1999 Norway's R&D expenditure was around 0.4 percent of the total R&D expenditure in the OECD area, and Norwegian students made up less than 0.2 percent of the world's student body in HE. Norway's approach to internationalisation is thus framed by being positioned in a geographical periphery of Europe and to some extent in the "knowledge periphery" of the world. In the following chapter, the many elements of a policy for internationalisation of HE are described and analysed in a system that has actively sought to incorporate an international dimension in higher education and research.

4.1.1 The basic structure of Norwegian higher education

Norwegian higher education is binary. The institutional structure consists of four traditional universities, six university colleges (offering specialised professional degree programmes), 26 state colleges, two national institutes of arts and a number of private higher education institutions (HEIs).

There are around 175,000 students participating in HE. In terms of student numbers the student body has been practically equally divided between the university and the college sector. The university sector had an estimated total of 83,000 students in 1999 (see Figure 4.1). These institutions carry out research and offer university-level instruction at undergraduate, graduate and doctorate levels, leading to academic degrees. The universities have special responsibility for research training and for basic research.

The 26 state colleges are the result of restructuring 98 public non-university institutions in 1994. They vary in size; from the smallest with 170 students, to the largest with 8,050 students. Around 74,000 students attend these institutions. Most programmes at the state colleges are (para)profession-specific, such as teacher training, engineering, social work, health services, administration, economics, and librarianship. Recently, three state colleges have been granted the right to award doctoral degrees in specific areas, and these institutions also offer a substantial number of study programmes at the masters degree level. Some significant changes in the institutional landscape

Table 4.1 Number of registered students (in 2000)

Type of institution	registered students	
	women	total
University	41,176	75,878
University Colleges	3,291	7,352
State University Colleges*	47,308	73,760
Private institutions*	(unknown)	17,639
National institutes of Arts*	560	760

* *Student numbers in full time equivalents*

Source: NSD Norwegian Social Science Data Series, *Statistics on Higher Education*

of Norwegian HE are probably in the offing since the regulations with respect to what it takes for an institution to be allowed university status have been altered. Following these changes, the number of institutions with university status is likely to increase in the near future as two state colleges have announced their application for university status. In addition, several university colleges and one private HEI have signalled an interest in becoming a university in the future.

The funding of a Norwegian public HEI is predominantly a state responsibility. In 2000, public HEIs had 92% of the total student population and received 98% of the public expenditure on higher education. There are no tuition fees for students in public universities and colleges. Although HE is still very much a state responsibility in terms of funding, the relative share of external funding of R&D in the HE sector has increased since the 1980s. Public sources account for 87% of the R&D expenditure in this sector.

4.1.2 Main actors at national policy level in the area of internationalisation

The Ministry of Education and Research is the central national government body in education. As indicated by its name it combines the responsibility for research and HE and as such the national allocation for HE and research is channelled mainly through this Ministry, i.e. the public funding for all HEIs, the Research Council of Norway and the State Educational Loan Fund (student support). Other ministries also have funds for research and development, but the bulk of funding for research, especially in the HE sector, is channelled through the Ministry of Education and Research.

There are several public agencies under the Ministry, of which one is of particular relevance for the present purpose. In 2002 the Ministry established a central national body for the evaluation and accreditation of HE, NOKUT. NOKUT is an independent government body. The big difference between NOKUT and its predecessor The Network Norway Council is that NOKUT has much more autonomy and cannot be instructed by the Ministry of Edu-

cation other than by law. In addition, quality control in the form of establishing a national accreditation system has become an important task.

Through evaluation, accreditation and recognition of quality systems, institutions and study programmes, the purpose of NOKUT is to control, supervise and enhance the quality of HE in Norway. In addition, it considers individual applications for the general recognition of foreign qualifications. The Norwegian ENIC-NARIC centre also is located within NOKUT, and is responsible for providing foreign institutions and partners with information on the Norwegian educational system and the system for recognition of foreign HE qualifications. It is not yet clear what role this agency will have in the policy process and/or implementation of a policy for internationalisation of Norwegian HE (Stensaker, 2003), but given the emphasis on quality assurance and setting of quality standards especially in the European arena, this agency will in all likelihood become a core actor, also internationally.

The Research Council of Norway is in many respects unique by international standards, as its responsibilities comprise the funding of basic research, applied research and development under one single umbrella. The research council is a very important actor in the internationalisation of Norwegian research and has a well-established portfolio of instruments for internationalisation of research also in the HE sector (with various programs for internationalisation, funding schemes, etc.). The research council represents the national government in several international research strategic arenas.

The State Educational Loan Fund provides student loans and support. As will be shown below, it is a core institution with respect to the internationalisation of HE as it administers the financial support regime that applies to Norwegians who study abroad.

Several other ministries have an interest in HE and research. Ten ministries fund research, including international research cooperation, through the Research Council of Norway. The Ministry of Trade and Industry is the second largest ministry in terms of funding of R&D. The Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its directorate the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) are important especially in the cooperation activities with developing countries.

The Norwegian Council for Higher Education was established in 2000 as an amalgamation of the previous separate councils for the universities and colleges respectively. The Council is a cooperative and coordinating body of the Norwegian Universities and Colleges. Membership is institutional, but the Council also has representatives from student unions. The Council's international interface is substantial, and it is the major non-governmental actor within the international HE arena. The Centre for International University Cooperation was established in 2001 under the auspices of the then University Council and together with NUFU (see below) it is the "international arm" of

the Council for Higher Education, whose mission is to promote the participation of Norwegian educational and research institutions in international cooperation. The Centre organises joint efforts of its member institutions, and manages and develops programmes and support functions for international cooperation. Its activities are linked to and funded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs/NORAD and the Ministry of Education. The Norwegian Council for Higher Education's Programme for Development Research and Education (NUFU) is a programme under the Council for HE set up to promote cooperation between academic institutions in the South and in Norway.

The Council plays a role in the Nordic university cooperation, the European University Association, the European Union, and the Council of Europe's committee for Higher Education and Research. Through its membership in the European University Association (EUA), the Norwegian Council for Higher Education has also been involved in the Bologna process. In addition, the former general secretary to the Council is currently the Head of the European Council for Higher Education.

4.1.3 International policy arenas for Norwegian higher education

There are several international policy arenas where Norwegian actors participate. The number of arenas has proliferated and the actors are diverse and represent several domestic government offices. The most important international policy arenas are briefly outlined below.

Nordic arena: The formal Nordic cooperation dates back to the 1950s. In 1971 the cultural agreement in the framework of the Nordic Council of Ministers between the Nordic countries was established (within NORDPLUS) and forms the basis for cooperation with respect to HE and research. Nordic cooperation centres on academic staff and student mobility mainly through the NORDPLUS programme (established in 1988), and legal agreements that are designed to reduce the formal barriers of student and staff mobility. In 1992, aiming at reaching students that were excluded from the NORDPLUS programme, the Nordic Council of Ministers established NORDLYS. This programme includes twenty-five HEIs within the Nordic countries. In 2003, NOKUT, together with equivalent agencies in the other Nordic countries, also established a Nordic network for quality assurance agencies with the aim of further developing Nordic cooperation in this area, and works for mutual recognition of quality assurance procedures within the region. The Nordic arena has increasingly emphasised the Baltic states as natural collaboration partners.

The European arena: Pan-European cooperation is centred on the Council of Europe and its committee for HE and research (CD-ESR). This committee has two Norwegian representatives, one from the Ministry and one representative from the universities and colleges, i.e. currently a representative from the Council for Higher Education. Norwegian participation in this arena is

basically concerned with mutual recognition of degrees and study programmes, and working with UNESCO on the Lisbon Convention. Although not a member of the European Union, Norway is a full member of the research cooperation and European educational programmes Socrates and Leonardo through the agreement on European Economic Cooperation between the EU and the EFTA (the current agreement signed in 1994). Norway participates currently in the 5th and 6th framework programmes, and the participation in research cooperation has not been a controversial issue, at least no way near as contentious as the issue of membership in the EEC and EU has been in Norwegian politics. The Norwegian contribution to the EU research programmes has become substantial.

Cooperation with the western world is first and foremost connected to collaboration within the auspices of the OECD. Several national institutions send representatives to the various sub-committees of the OECD. The main importance for Norway of the OECD is its role as a science and HE policy advisor and the production of statistics. OECD evaluations of Norwegian higher education have attracted much attention in Norway. With respect to Central and Eastern Europe there are several agreements between Norway and countries from this region with relevance to research and HE. In general these are the joint responsibility of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education and Research. These include agreements with Russia, the Barents region, and the Baltic states.

The global arena is increasingly represented by UNESCO/UN and the development aid aspect of HE and research, but also by GATS and HE as a tradable service. The North-South arena has long traditions with respect to including education, but not always higher education. This arena has traditionally been dominated more by NORAD than by the Ministry of Education. However, the Ministry of Education and Research seems to be heading for a more active role in this arena, e.g. in 2002 it took over the national coordinating responsibility for UNESCO.

In addition there are numerous forums for international cooperation in specific research sectors, some of these date back to the 1950s and 1960s (e.g. CERN and SCAR) and even to the beginning of 20th century (International Council for the Exploration of the Sea).

4.2 Policy for internationalisation – the context and the rationale

4.2.1 Policy context

A major national reform effort in HE is currently taking place in the Norwegian system. The work of a government commission (Mjøs-commission) paved the way for this reform. The Mjøs-commission presented its report in 2000, *Freedom with Responsibility – On higher education and research in Norway* (NOU, 2000: 14). The commission's work was followed up in a sub-

sequent government white paper on HE submitted by the Government on 9 March 2001: *Do your duty – Demand your rights* (KUF, 2001), and the reform is referred to as the *Quality Reform*. In the ongoing *Quality Reform* (KUF, 2001) the importance of internationalisation is underlined. Consequently, one of the projects in the preparation of the implementation of the *Quality Reform* was specifically directed at internationalisation. In the national research policy internationalisation has for several years been one of the core issues, and the Research Council of Norway has played a key role in promoting international research cooperation (RCN, 2000; Simmonds et al., 2001). Internationalisation was emphasised again in the latest white paper on research, *Research at the beginning of a new era* (KUF, 1999). Internationalisation had been treated in HE policy documents in the 1980s and 1990s primarily with reference to student mobility. For instance, in 1984 the government issued a white paper on student support systems (KUF, 1984) that had a major impact on the mobility patterns of Norwegian students taking their full degrees abroad. The government white paper from 1991 had a more comprehensive treatment of internationalisation, yet still retained a main focus on student mobility (KUF, 1991). With the introduction of the *Quality Reform* the issue of internationalisation was for the first time pushed to the forefront of the national HE policy agenda, underlining the international dimension of research, teaching and learning.

Do your duty – Demand your rights is a comprehensive reform that affects major aspects of HEIs, national agencies in HE, and the student body. The reform initiatives pertain to the status of institutions and institutional funding models, institutional governance, modes of teaching and learning, student support, as well as the degree structure.

4.2.2 The rationale

The subject of internationalisation features prominently in the *Quality Reform*, both the government commissioned report and the subsequent white paper. Already it is important to notice that the entire reform is set in a tone of “quality improvement” in higher education. As will be amply demonstrated in the following section, internationalisation is framed as a major instrument for the general objective of improving the quality of HE, in both its teaching and learning aspects and its research function. The theme of internationalisation has thus moved to the centre stage in Norwegian HE policy and is seen as an integral part of HE policy. The official rationale is heavily cloaked in a language of quality. Both government policy papers and statements by centrally positioned policy makers see the “why” of internationalisation importantly as connected to an improved quality of national HE and research. In policy documents and statements from policy makers gathered and reviewed for the purpose of this study, the standard arguments for internationalisation are first made with reference to the inherent universalism of HEIs and the notion that ‘knowledge knows no borders’. Second, internatio-

nalisation is emphasised as a way to ensure quality in HE and research. The quality of national HE should be measured by international standards, and not with reference to national standards alone. (Clemet, 2003). The Research Council of Norway also underlined the importance of internationalisation of research as a way for a small country in the research periphery to ensure the quality of its research. This is the underlying rationale for internationalisation found in the most important policy documents, in the Mjøs-commission's report and the government white paper, as well as the major policy documents from the Research Council (RCN, 2000, 2000a and 2000b). Subsequently, the major argument rests on the rationale of academic quality.

However, an economically-oriented rationale is also linked to the issue of quality. Norwegian internationalisation policy acknowledges that investment in HE and scientific research has now become a key factor in international competitiveness where quality is the key to successful participation. Student and teacher mobility as well as international cooperation in research and capacity building increase knowledge amongst all participants and contribute to regional, national and global development. With respect to research, internationalisation is also seen as pivotal for a national R&D system that, because of its size, is dependent on being connected to the international research community. Furthermore the director of the Research Council underlines that internationalisation for Norwegian research is a good way of exploiting limited funds for research, and in that sense he sees internationalisation as a way of taking part in an international 'division of labour' (Hambro, 2003).

It should be underlined, however, that recent developments in internationalisation policy are not based on an entirely new rationale; it is rather that the importance of traditional arguments has been amplified. When it comes to the instruments that have been put forward to promote internationalisation, there are several innovations that also indicate more subtle shifts in value attached to the different ways of internationalising Norwegian HE. So far we have sketched the overarching rationale for internationalisation. The policy for the internationalisation of HE, however, is comprised of a conglomerate of policy areas, and the arguments put forward within these policy subfields vary to some extent. In the following we will go through these briefly and describe the recent changes that have surfaced, especially in the wake of the introduction of the *Quality Reform*.

4.3 Current national policies, policy instruments and regulatory frameworks

4.3.1 Student mobility – shifts in arguments, emphasis and instruments

Student mobility for full degrees taken abroad is an area of policy that has seen interesting and distinct developments during the last ten to fifteen

years. These developments should be read as a combination of changes in policy and regulation, changes in student preferences, as well as changes in the global market for higher education delivery.

The link between social policy and HE as a major part of the welfare state endeavour of the post-war period is an important background for understanding the underlying rationale for HE policy. A major objective of national HE policy was making sure that higher education was distributed across the population, and that access would not be hindered by a disadvantageous socio-economic background, i.e. an equalising of educational opportunity. The main government instrument in HE was the financial support of students. A central institution was set up for that purpose, the State Educational Loan Fund (1947). Central in general HE policy, its role has also been pivotal in government instruments for internationalising HE through its support of Norwegian students who study abroad.

Norwegians have long traditions of studying abroad. In 1811 the first university was established in Oslo, and so for the first time Norwegian students had a national alternative to going abroad for their university degree. However, education within most fields of subjects was not offered in Norway until after Second World War. In the 1950s the practise for support for studying abroad was primarily generated by a serious lack in domestic capacity. As such, a significant amount of student demand had to be absorbed by studies abroad. The relative share of the student body of students taking their full degree abroad was significantly higher in the 1950s (around 30%) than towards the turn of the century (Wiers-Jenssen, 2003). However, given the unprecedented increase in student numbers and a 40% participation rate in HE, in terms of absolute numbers the increase in Norwegian students studying abroad is staggering. Currently there are 12-14,000 students enrolled at a foreign HEI with the financial support of the State Loan Fund. Arguments for support of studies abroad have changed during this period. After the Second World War and until the mid-1980s, the goal of self-sufficiency was often repeated in government proposals and parliament debates. Official policy claimed that support should only be given to study programmes with admission control. Building up national capacity was considered as more important and less expensive. As the capacity of the Norwegian education system increased, the share of students who took their degrees abroad decreased. In 1970, 5.5% of the student body studied abroad. During the 1980s this changed and studies abroad were no longer considered an emergency solution, but an important supplement to education offered by domestic universities and colleges. National HE policy began to view Norwegian students abroad not as a solution to capacity problems, but as a tool for internationalising HE (NOU, 2000). A government white paper from 1984 no longer took as the major rationale the need to supplement national capacity by sending students abroad, and the rules for support for studies abroad changed. Students would be eligible for financial aid

irrespective of national capacity (KUF, 1984). This change in regulation was made with reference to 'academic quality' as Norwegian students would be able to take advantage of opportunities offered abroad. The Ministry's position also saw this type of student mobility as a way of keeping the domestic HE providers 'on their toes', i.e. the competition from foreign institutions would make local universities and colleges more quality-oriented in their higher education provision.

The arguments underlying the support of student mobility as 'free movers' have shifted considerably, yet the basic instrument has remained the same: financial aid to students taking their full degree abroad. The choices made and the preferences of Norwegian students studying abroad have entailed a significant change in the practices of internationalisation, with a remarkable 'change in geography'. As can be seen in Figure 4.2, the impact of the global market on the Norwegian student body seems to have changed the pattern of mobility. During the latter half of the 1990s the number of students travelling to Australia and to tailor-made educational programmes in Eastern Europe skyrocketed. Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic have had a clear increase in the number of Norwegian students during the last years. This is mainly due to special medical or veterinary education tracks for foreigners where study programmes are offered in English or German (Wiers-Jenssen, 1999: 21).

The practices of these students also meant that certain inconsistencies in the policy for internationalisation came to the surface, i.e. the liberal support of international studies that are not promoted as an objective in the official policy for HE. The official policy especially emphasised the importance of encouraging Norwegian students to go to non-English language countries for their studies. There are some special language stipends for students who choose to study in institutions in other language areas, but these have apparently not been sufficiently powerful to direct the student flow in other than the 'Anglo-Australian-American' direction. The new reform attempts to change this practice. It is especially the contingent of students choosing to study in Australia that has triggered the revisions of the support system of the State Loan Fund for students abroad. Domestic universities and colleges are claiming that this 'leakage' represents an unfair competition. The Ministry also acknowledges that there are differences in 'terms of trade', since students have a right to have their study fees that foreign institutions charge refunded by the state, whereas the level of funding for domestic study places are subject to budget limits. The revision of the support system for studies abroad will most likely still be based on a right of students to choose where to study abroad. Yet the most recent proposal from the Ministry (UFD, 2003) suggests that support to cover study fees charged by universities and colleges abroad will partly be given as a loan and not as a grant. The most recent proposal also provides extra financial aid to those who choose to study in non-Anglophone countries.

The government and the other main actors in the sector have heavily promoted student mobility in terms of student exchange programmes. Unlike with respect to free movers, the institutions themselves are partaking in the promotion of this type of student mobility. Such activities are concentrated on the student mobility programmes both within the Nordic countries and in the EU. The State Education Loan Fund provides Norwegian students with grants and encourages students to take part in education abroad. The ERASMUS programme is the most important scheme for Norwegians on short-term study abroad. In 1998 ERASMUS students constituted more than half of the total number of short-term students abroad (SIU, 2001: 4)

The government also sanctions the mobility of students that come to the Norwegian HE system. There are of course natural barriers of an HE system in a very limited language area. Norwegian HE sends out far more students that it receives outside the organised exchange programmes of shorter duration. The relative share of foreign students as percentage of all students is 3.2%, according to the OECD statistics (Education at a Glance, 1998), i.e. lower than the OECD country mean (4.8%). It is also lower than the share in Denmark (6%) and Sweden (4.5%). Many of the incoming students at Norwegian HEIs are students from developing countries that come through various state and institutional programmes.

What we see in terms of shifts in policy emphasis is a definite move away from the strong ideological and financial support of free movers towards:

- ◆ more emphasis on short term study abroad as part of a degree taken at home
- ◆ more emphasis on attracting foreign students to study at Norwegian universities and colleges
- ◆ more emphasis on stimulating Norwegian students to study abroad at higher degree levels (Master and PhD level).

This has resulted in innovations in terms of policy instruments. As part of the new result-based budgeting system that was introduced through the Quality Reform (implemented in 2003), the budget model contains a premium that directly addresses the internationalisation of the student body. Universities and colleges will receive a fixed sum per student they send to foreign institutions as part of their domestic degree, and for those who are connected to either established exchange programmes or bi-lateral agreements between domestic and foreign institutions and of a duration that exceeds three months. The latter is strongly accentuated by the Ministry, but not altogether positively received within HEIs. The Ministry clearly tries to channel internationalisation of the student body as an organised activity, led by the institutions. However, this can be seen as inconsistent with the argument sometimes put forward for this form of internationalisation, especially when it comes to linking staff and the internationalisation of research to students with shorter stays abroad: how the individual contacts of teaching/research staff

are used as a basis for linking good students to good international research groups and institutions. The latter is in most cases an activity that does not run through institutional contracts and formal exchange programmes. There is also an equivalent financial incentive for every foreign student that they attract under the same conditions. Clearly, the Ministry has tried to devise a system that gives incentives to improve the in- versus outgoing student balance. Currently, such a balance is obtained within the ERASMUS programme, mainly as a consequence of the stagnation in the number of Norwegian students going abroad (see Figure 4.1). The incentive scheme is part of the new budget model and applies to all public universities and colleges and does not differentiate with respect to study programmes and institutions with limited potential for attracting international students. The Ministry wants to support organised, institutionally-based student mobility and to make Norwegian institutions more alert to becoming internationally visible and attractive as study places. In practice the greater emphasis on getting a positive or at least an even balance between incoming and outgoing students has caused some grievances within the institutions, as they fear negative consequences when this budget model will be implemented within the institutions.

4.3.2 Internationalising staff

Most of both the arguments and instruments for internationalising Norwegian research and academic staff are in general part of a traditional policy for internationalisation. The Research council (and the councils that preceded the current research council) has for decades organised support systems for mobility of research staff (shorter and longer stays) and for research recruitment staff, be it individually based short or long-term stays, support of sabbaticals and conference participation. It was common in many research fields that a prerequisite for doctoral students who had a grant from the Research Council was that part of their scholarship period would be spent at a foreign institution. The Research Council also administers the big international staff mobility programmes such as the Marie Curie programme of the EU. There is still a considerable policy emphasis on this type of staff mobility. It is seen as a problem that the relatively high mobility of the student body is not matched by an equally high mobility among academic staff at universities and colleges.

The second main type of instrument for internationalising research is of course the Norwegian participation in organised "big science" projects. There is a considerable increase in government funding of such international research cooperation. As part of a government policy for internationalisation of R&D these activities are certainly not new, but it demonstrates a small country approach to the international dimension of research, its emphasis on the importance of being part of international research cooperation, especially in areas that are so costly and "instrument-dependent" that only R&D superpowers can take on the research tasks single-handedly.

During the 1990s, Norwegian integration into the European Economic Area has become very important, not in the least for research, but also for teaching/learning through the participation in the student mobility programmes. The national investment in and commitment to EU research programmes has become a cornerstone in the internationalisation of Norwegian R&D.

The international dimension of academic research is also underlined in the present Quality Reform, especially in connection with the need for documenting research productivity and quality. Here there is considerable emphasis put on the international visibility of Norwegian research, in particular through publications in international journals. There has been a remarkable increase in both the number of Norwegian articles published internationally and the number of internationally co-authored articles. In this sense the policy for internationalisation of research at the level of research performance has been a tremendous success. However, it is hard to ascertain causal links and causal direction when it comes to the internationalisation of research; there are a range of intervening or underlying variables that could serve to blur the picture of policy success. It is, however, fair to assume that at least the practice of internationalisation of Norwegian research has been in line with the national R&D policy.

New elements also seem to be emerging in the area of the internationalisation of research. That is particularly evident when it comes to the emphasis put on attracting foreign research staff to domestic institutions. There is a much stronger emphasis on “importing” foreign academic staff. This is a rather recent addition to the policy agenda, and a specific task force/commission set up by the Research Council of Norway published their report in 2003 suggesting a range of measures to increase the incoming mobility of academic staff (RCN, 2003). A core idea also in the *Quality Reform* is that Norwegian institutions should not only be attractive for foreign students, but also for foreign staff and researchers. Once again there is in the policy for internationalisation this “double link” made between quality and internationalisation: attracting international researchers to Norwegian institutions will improve the quality of research and teaching and provide Norwegian students and research colleagues with a high quality study and research environment that is linked to an international knowledge network. The reform itself, and the report of the Ministry’s internal working group on internationalisation, clearly bring to market the idea of internationalisation at home, also in the sense of increased international presence among teaching and research staff. The instruments that are put forward include working for favourable tax agreements for researchers between several countries (as is the case between Norway and the US), simplifying the regulations for work permits for foreign academic staff, and a more conscious profiling of Norwegian academic research communities. The latter includes using the newly established Centres of Excellence to attract high quality staff from abroad. The Ministry also suggests that the Research Council of Norway should set aside funds that can

be used by the institutions to position themselves internationally (network building and marketing) and funds for international research prizes and so on. However, the major new proposal from the Ministry in this area is also connected to the new budgeting model implemented in connection with the *Quality Reform*: Norwegian universities and colleges will receive a fixed sum per member of academic staff that spends some time at an institution abroad as visiting staff. The same amount will be awarded for each “incoming” visiting staff. The guest period must be a minimum of one week, and connected to an institutional agreement or a mobility programme.

4.3.3 Internationalisation as an institutional responsibility

The institutional responsibility for internationalisation is heavily underlined in the new internationalisation policy, as is illustrated by the following quote from the government white paper *Do your duty – demand your right* (KUF, 2001: 41-42): “It is the Ministry’s view that Norwegian institutions should be in the forefront of academic cooperation and student exchanges between countries. This can be promoted by increasing the priority given to participation in international programmes and exchange agreements between individual institutions. It is seen as a goal that all higher education institutions shall offer students a period of study abroad as a component of the Norwegian degree course. The Ministry will consider whether it is appropriate to require educational institutions to offer opportunities for study abroad to all students who wish it. The Ministry will review the arrangements for fee grants and other additional grants to ascertain whether it is possible to redistribute some of the funds to strengthen the internationalization strategies of Norwegian universities and colleges. (...) In the Ministry’s view it is important that the Norwegian universities and colleges continue to develop their provision of courses held in English. Educational institutions should decide for themselves what provisions they will make in relation to other languages.”

It is a striking feature of the new policy for internationalisation that most of the objectives and instruments are in some way linked to the institutional level and the organised forms of internationalisation. In the reform, the Ministry argues that despite the strong government level emphasis on internationalisation, the policy should not be implemented in a way that questions institutional autonomy (KUF, 2002). A key word in this connection is “profiling”. In general this is accentuated in the entire reform, not only as concerns internationalisation. With respect to internationalisation the Ministry encourages institutions to, for example, channel funds to research groups and communities and study programmes that already have an international visibility or a potential for developing it. This represents in some respects a break with the traditional ways of internationalising Norwegian academic research, as the research performance level seems to a large extent to have determined the geographical direction and ways of international network building, without institutions having high ambitions or any strong instruments to in-

fluence the international profile. The political intention is also to channel the internationalisation of research and teaching/learning through the institutional level. Furthermore, the roles of institutions are emphasised with respect to internationalisation at home, which is one of the targeted areas of the current reform. That includes developing English language study programmes, and special arrangements for staff teaching in English. The Ministry's working group on internationalisation suggests that every disciplinary area should offer an English language programme. The responsibility for making arrangements to support the development of such study programmes is again left to the institutions themselves. All of the above objects apply to all HEIs, no matter their size or profile. However, the Ministry recognises that institutions at present have varying capacities for this type of development work. Consequently, the Ministry is working on a handbook for internationalisation that will be offered as a help for institutions in their efforts to internationalise their activities (KUF, 2002).

Likewise, the Ministry acknowledges that there is also a need for a national level body that can play a role in profiling Norwegian higher education at a system level. The budget proposal for 2004 has made provisions for establishing a national body for coordination and information about international activities, as well as the administration of the major international programmes in HE (UFD, 2003). The idea is that such a body will assist institutions in their various efforts to internationalise their activities.

It must also be noted that internationalisation cannot be a means for Norwegian public colleges and universities to make money in the same way as it is done especially in Anglo-Australian HE. The public universities and colleges are not allowed to charge student fees, and this regulation has not been an object for change in the *Quality Reform*. As such there is not a direct business to be made from attracting students from abroad. But as has been seen, internationalisation has become one way of increasing institutional revenues through the incentive schemes for internationalisation that are included in the new performance-based funding system. Representatives of the Ministry, however, are more than willing to admit that the amounts of money to be earned through these particular incentives are very limited, and they are not intended to cover the full costs of internationalisation. They claim that these elements have been included in the budget model first and foremost to underline the value that the Ministry attaches to the goal of internationalisation. In this respect the internationalisation incentive schemes have a higher symbolic than pecuniary value.

4.3.4 The Nordic dimension

Throughout Europe there are a number of government supported, regional cross-border cooperation programmes in higher education. The Nordic cooperation agreement is one of the most established and successful in Euro-

pe, and is the only regional scheme that can rival in status and effectiveness the student and staff mobility programmes of the EU. The vision for a common Nordic educational market was launched in 1988 long before the European Area of HE emerged as an idea. The most significant instruments for establishing such a market has been the mobility programme NORDPLUS, and the Agreement on access to HE. The latter agreement was first signed in 1994 and gives applicants from other Nordic countries access to HE on equal terms as domestic applicants. The agreement dates back to the agreement on cultural cooperation from the 1970s when the Nordic educational community was regarded as an important supplement to the common Nordic labour market that has existed since 1954 (Sivertsen & Smeby, 2001: 4). The Nordic dimension is thus not only part of a policy for internationalisation of HE, but also an element for strengthening the joint Nordic dimension in the Nordic societies in several areas. Thus at the national level Nordic cooperation has a distinct rationale, while at the same time Nordic cooperation is seen as an integral part of internationalisation of higher education (Maassen & Uppstrøm, 2004).

The Nordic dimension of a policy for internationalisation of HE is uncontested and given a high priority (KUF, 2001: 38). Nordic cooperation has been strongly emphasised, but is in a somewhat precarious situation, as the attention at times has been shifted towards the European arena. Similarly, the motivation and interest in Nordic cooperation is not at the same level in all the Nordic countries. Traditionally Norway has been a strong supporter of Nordic cooperation, also in the area of HE. The main arguments for Nordic cooperation are first of all the historical and cultural ties between the Nordic countries. Between Norway, Sweden and Denmark, the Nordic language area is seen as a natural stimulator for cooperation, with the exception of the Finnish language area and Iceland where language is a barrier for cooperation. The Nordic languages create a natural “educational community” within the Nordic countries. Furthermore the Nordic countries have had a similar approach to higher education policy with an emphasis on equality in access, and no fees (Sivertsen & Smeby, 2001: 26-27). The quality of HE in the Nordic countries has made cooperation natural and attractive. Norway’s position as a non-member of the EU also has served to underline the importance of Nordic cooperation. The coming enlargement of the EU has been an additional impetus for forming a strong Nordic block through close cooperation with the other Nordic countries (Maassen & Uppstrøm, 2004). The arguments for the NORDPLUS mobility programme in particular illustrate how the Nordic dimension is based on a mixture of geographical (closeness), cultural (the Nordic identity), political (common democratic traction), and social (equality and welfare) arguments. Despite the initial link made between the common Nordic labour market and the common market for HE in the Nordic countries, the economic rationale for Nordic cooperation does not feature prominently. Furthermore the Norwegian government does not see Nordic cooperation as

an area where a commercial economic dimension can or should be introduced (Maassen & Uppstrøm, 2004: 7).

However, Nordic cooperation has not been unproblematic. Student mobility within the Nordic area is asymmetrical and has therefore caused tensions. This has especially surfaced as a problem in the health care sciences. For instance the Danish medical schools have felt the pressure from especially Norwegian and Swedish applicants, and Denmark has had a special quota for Norwegian medical students, preventing these study places from being “swamped” by Norwegians. Recently the Danes have proposed to demand that Swedish and Norwegian students speak Danish before allowing them to study medicine in Denmark. The Nordic Council's Culture and Education and Training Committee is deeply concerned about this proposal. The Committee stresses that this method of limiting the number of applicants and drop outs runs contrary to the Nordic ideal of promoting inter-Nordic linguistic understanding and does not correspond to a democratic view of, and policy for, languages in the Nordic Region. The Committee points out that the Nordic Language Convention gives Nordic citizens the right to use their own Nordic language when dealing with the authorities in all of the Nordic countries.

4.3.5 Cooperation with developing countries

In the Norwegian policy context, the North-South dimension has traditionally been part of the policy for internationalising HE. However, this policy issue is ‘a world apart’, especially in the following two ways. First, the arguments and underlying rationale are rather different from the general policy for internationalising higher education, especially in its 1990s and 21st century version. The arguments are less quality focused, and accentuate internationalisation as a peacekeeping and globally responsible activity. Second, this is an arena involving a rather different set of actors. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its directorate for development aid have been the major actors, together with the Centre for International University Cooperation. As there is a certain shift in responsibility for North-South to the ‘sector ministry’, i.e. the Ministry for Education and Research, this issue might change its status and policy profile in the future.

Relations between Norwegian institutions and institutions in the South have existed for years. In fact, on the Norwegian scene HE and research have been the only segments of the Norwegian education sector directly involved in institutional capacity building and national development in the South. The national educational authorities, including the current minister of education and research, support and even praise the sector for its commitment and substantial contributions academically, but also economically, regarding student and teacher mobility, curriculum development, education and research.

In terms of incoming students, students from the South are dominant. Thus, development aid gives important contributions for increasing the number of

incoming students to Norway. Studies in Norway are being made attractive for non-European students who are placed under the umbrella of development aid. Other international students are limited in numbers (SIU, 2001: 6). The HEIs are also more involved with bilateral agreements with institutions from the South. These activities mirror the interests of Norwegian foreign policy and the emphasis on nation building through peace, democracy and sustainable development. Programmes like NUFU, the NORAD Fellowship Programme, Quota Programme for students from developing countries as well as bilateral cultural programmes, and other institutional exchange programmes are all important elements in the relationship between North and South within higher education.

The position of the current government is that there may be good arguments for both redefining/refining programmes as well as allocating more money for these purposes. However, no explicit decisions have been made yet. Norwegian development aid policy sees education as the most important measure in eliminating poverty, thus naming education as “job number 1”. Higher education and research is mentioned as a part of this job (Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2003).

A new dimension in the relationship between North and South is the Joint Statement signed in June 2002 by the Nordic Education Ministers and International Development Ministers to enhance cooperation and encourage Nordic joint actions in relation to education and development in the South. There is a strong political will to invest in the South, it is also of high symbolic value to the current government. The Christian Democratic party is heading the cabinet and development aid has been one of the flagship issues for this party for decades.

4.4 Major trends and changes: system level indicators

As part of the national policy reform in higher education, the Ministry has put increasing emphasis on the need for HEIs to document their activities, and this applies also to the area of internationalisation. Universities especially have followed up these signals, and/or developed a parallel interest in documentation. Consequently, there is some information available on the development of practices of internationalisation, or indicators of internationalisation. In the following sections, some indicators are presented that can shed light on significant developments in the Norwegian system when it comes to the international dimension, including the conclusions from recent evaluations of the Norwegian participation in the Socrates and Leonardo programmes. We also refer to data from NIFU about relevant aspects of internationalisation that are part of a major survey on the attitudes and practices of university staff. However, these relationships should not be judged as being causal. In some areas there is a likely link between changes in regulation and policies and practices, in other areas such a link seems much more tenuous.

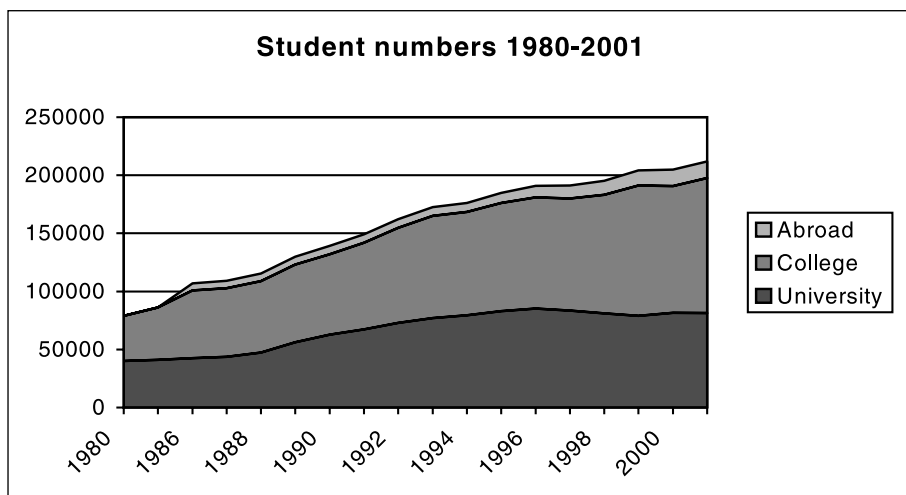
4.4.1 Internationalisation of the student body

In 2001 about 7% of the Norwegian student body were enrolled in a foreign institution. This does not count the number of students participating in exchange programmes or shorter periods, but refers to the number of “free movers”. As we can see from Figure 4.1, the number of students studying abroad as free movers has been increasing.

Norway is a net exporter of students and hence a net importer of HE and has a higher share of students abroad than most European countries including the Nordic countries. The Norwegian student flows are characterised by a high number of students taking their whole degree abroad. There are some differences according to fields of learning: the share of Norwegian students going abroad is highest within technology and economics. Within the arts, the social sciences and the humanities the share is also quite high.

Figure 4.2 indicates a major change in the geographical travelling patterns of these students. In addition to the traditional destinations for Norwegian students, Australia and Eastern Europe have in recent years managed to attract a considerable number of Norwegian students.

Figure 4.1 Number of students in Norwegian HE 1980 to 2001 by sector



The Norwegian participation in the Socrates and Leonardo da Vinci-programmes has recently been evaluated from the Norwegian side (see Wiers-Jenssen & Smeby, 2001; Vabø & Smeby, 2003). When it comes to the student exchange dimensions in these programmes, a central finding is that Norwegian participation in Erasmus has stagnated during the last four years: fewer Norwegian students have traveled abroad as a part of their study (Vabø & Smeby, 2003: 12).

Table 4.2 Number of Norwegian students abroad by region 1958/59 – 2001/02

Region	1958/59	1968/69	1978/79	1988/89	1995/96	2001/02
Nordic countries	1,609	185	1,651	1,916	2,312	2,397
Western Europe	3,572	3,030	2,006	3,046	5,035	5,759
Eastern Europe				20	259	1,123
US	511	365	508	2,101	2,109	1,669
Asia					14	57
Latin America						63
Australasia					72	3,854
Africa					25	42
Others	3	33	158	333	86	75
Total	5,695	3,613	4,323	7,416	9,912	15,039

Source: *The State Education Loan*

Table 4.3 Number of outgoing and visiting Erasmus students by host country

	Norwegian outgoing students		foreign visiting students	
	2000/01	2001/02	2000/01	2001/02
Austria	31	23	62	57
Belgium	29	29	54	42
Germany	137	130	262	299
Denmark	49	55	24	30
Spain	176	194	118	135
France	169	128	132	171
Greece	10	13	6	22
Italy	47	43	128	115
Ireland	18	32	4	7
Netherlands	88	112	91	120
Portugal	11	20	20	26
Sweden	35	28	19	8
Sweden	17	9	13	14
United Kingdom	190	154	47	54
Total	1,007	970	980	1,100

Source: *Vabø & Smeby, 2003.*

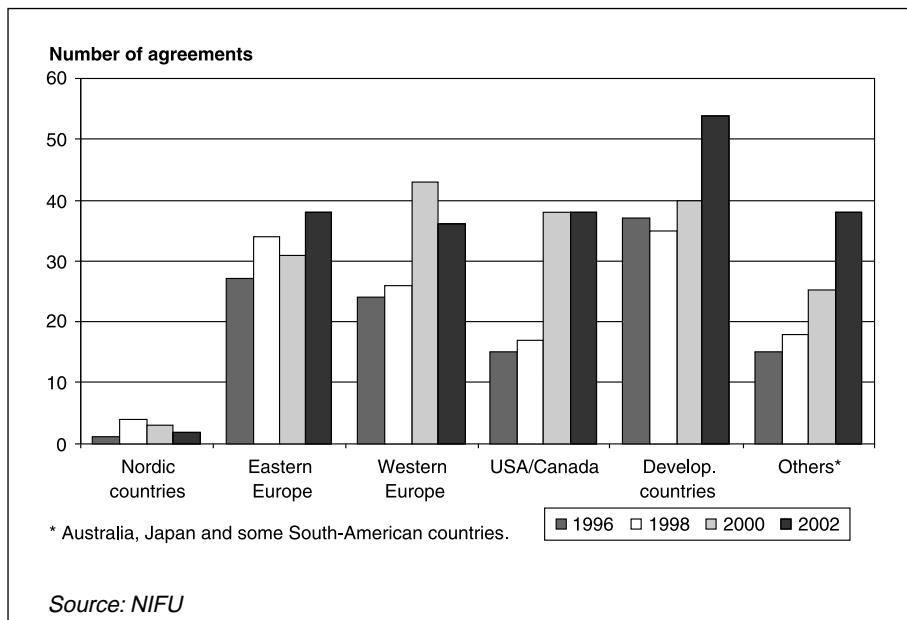
As illustrated in Table 4.2, there is stagnation also between 2000/01 and 2001/02 in the number of Norwegian students who travelled abroad. Norway has participated in the Erasmus programmes since 1992, and the stagnation

in the number of Norwegian students participating in the programme may seem surprising. Norwegian participation peaked in 1995/96 with 1,212 Norwegian students travelling abroad (Wiers-Jenssen & Smeby, 2001: 75). This could be a consequence of the growing popularity of studying abroad as a 'free mover' during the last four to five years (especially to Australia) and that Norwegian HEIs have established exchange agreements with institutions outside the EU. Also the old degree structure were perceived as an obstacle in that some students had problems finding programmes that could be combined with the Norwegian degree system at the undergraduate level (Wiers-Jenssen & Smeby, 2001: 69). However, in general, there seems to be a reasonable balance between the number of Norwegian students traveling abroad and the number of foreign student coming to Norway as part of the ERASMUS programme.

4.4.2 Internationalisation of higher education institutions

Both at the system and institutional level there is a considerable increase in the formalisation of international research and higher education cooperation. As indicated in Figure 4.3, there is a significant increase in the number of agreements that Norwegian universities have with institutions and other parties outside the country, especially with universities and colleges in developing countries.

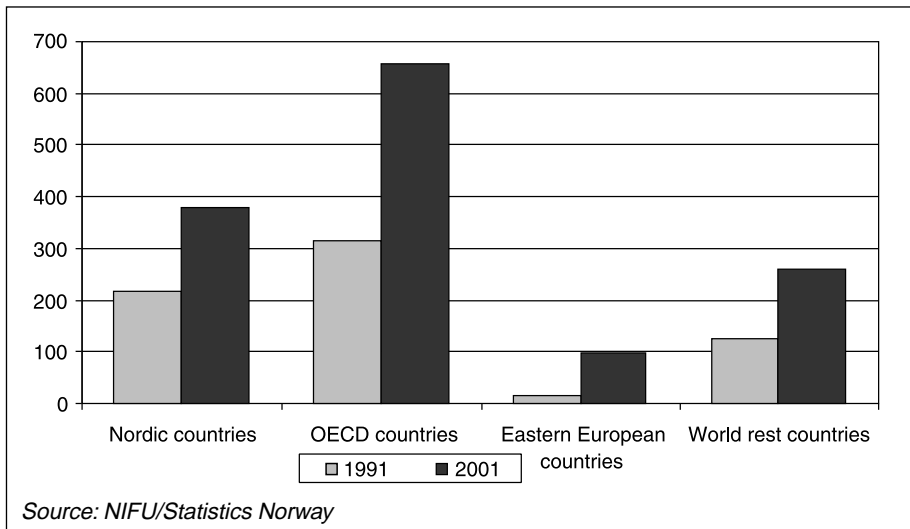
Figure 4.2 Bilateral agreements on international research cooperation 1996-2002



In the evaluations of Norwegian participation in the Socrates and Leonardo programmes, huge variations between Norwegian HEIs were disclosed concerning how such programmes were prioritised. Several institutions have a lack of study programmes available in English (Wiers-Jenssen & Smeby, 2001: 69), and weak administrative and organisational structures resulting in a lack of continuity and competence in handling the exchange programmes (Wiers-Jenssen & Smeby, 2001: 70). A possible effect of limited institutional capacity to handle the many EU programmes available is that the Erasmus programme seems to dominate the agenda, while higher education participation, for example in the Leonardo programme, seems fairly absent (Vabø & Smeby, 2003: 30).

In 1991, 10% of academic staff at Norwegian universities had a first registered citizenship in a country outside Norway. In 2001 this share increased to 16%. The geographical distribution of foreign staff is seen in Figure 4.4.

Figure 4.3 Foreign academic staff by first registered citizenship in 1999 and 2001



4.4.3 Internationalisation of academic research and university staff

Internationalisation of university funding

Increasing internationalisation of research is also noticeable in the funding structure of universities. Foreign sources represented about 170 million NOK in the HE sector in 1999, in 1997 this was estimated at 130 million NOK. This increase can for the most part be ascribed to funding from the European Commission (60 million NOK in 1997 and 105 million NOK in 1999) The Nor-

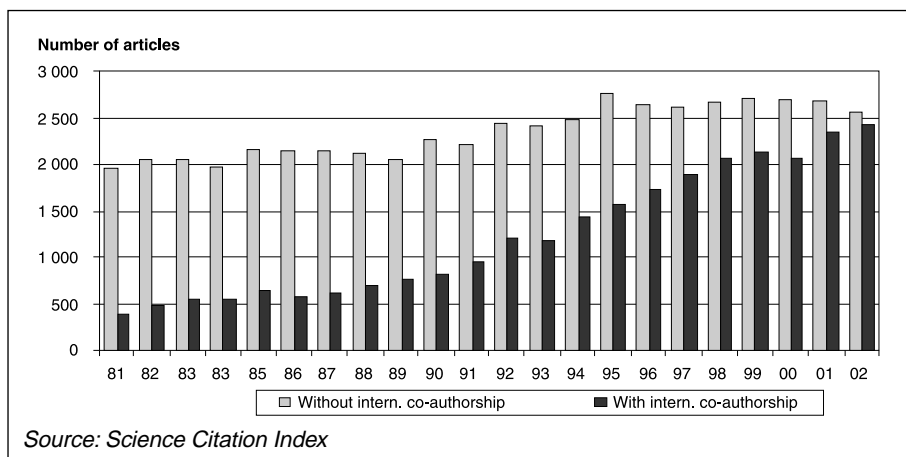
dic Council of Ministries is another considerable source of funding with 30 million NOK in 1999 in the university and college sector

The total expenditures on R&D at Norwegian universities increased by 27% from 1991 to 2001, while external funding increased by 52%. Funding from abroad showed a 375% increase, mainly due to increased EU funding. In this respect Norwegian universities and colleges have taken advantage of the new international funding opportunities, yet such funding is still only 3% of total R&D expenditures in 2001.

Internationalisation at the research performing level in the university sector

Data from the Institute for Scientific Information (ISI) show an overwhelming increase in the number of articles written in the world. The ISI data also reveal that internationalisation of Norwegian science has developed at a tremendous speed during the last twenty years (see Figure 4.5). While 16% of all Norwegian scientific articles comprised by the ISI database in 1981 had international co-authorship, the share had increased to 49% in 2002. This could indicate a quite remarkable change in the international orientation within Norwegian universities. Bibliometric data thus provide some of the clearest indicators of Norwegian internationalisation of research. The changes are however part of an international trend.

Figure 4.4 Norwegian articles with/without international co-authorship 1981-2002



Norwegian researchers have changed their regional orientation slightly from 1992-1996 to 1998-2002. The largest share of articles is written with European researchers and the share increased from 48% to over 50% in the second period. The share of articles written with other Nordic researchers decreased somewhat and the share of articles written with North-American

researchers also fell. Research cooperation within the EU framework programme has probably been very important to this development. This has, in other words, been a development highly supported by the policymakers. The total share of articles written in cooperation with researchers outside North America and Europe was 8.3% between 1992-1998, this share had a minimal increase to 8.9% between 1998 and 2002. This could indicate that the Europeanisation of policy has a parallel also in the practices within Norwegian universities. There is a decline in the relative importance of North America and no significant increase of cooperation with researchers outside Europe and North America.

Figure 4.6 shows the share of faculty members having research collaboration with foreign scientists. The development regarding geographical orientation is slightly different from the patterns for international co-authorship shown in Figure 4.5. The figures do not cover exactly the same periods or regions, but still the same relative decline of cooperation with North America and the increase of European cooperation can be found. Consequently it seems that research collaboration with Nordic researchers and the rest of the world increases even though this cooperation does not include a corresponding increase of co-authored articles.

Data on research collaboration among faculty members show, not surprisingly, that Norwegian researchers undertook far more travels abroad in 2000 than in 1981. Research collaboration is increasingly directed towards regions outside North America, the orientation is both European and global.

Figure 4.5 Percentage of faculty members having research collaboration with foreign scientists during the period 1989-1991 and 1998-2000, by geographical region.

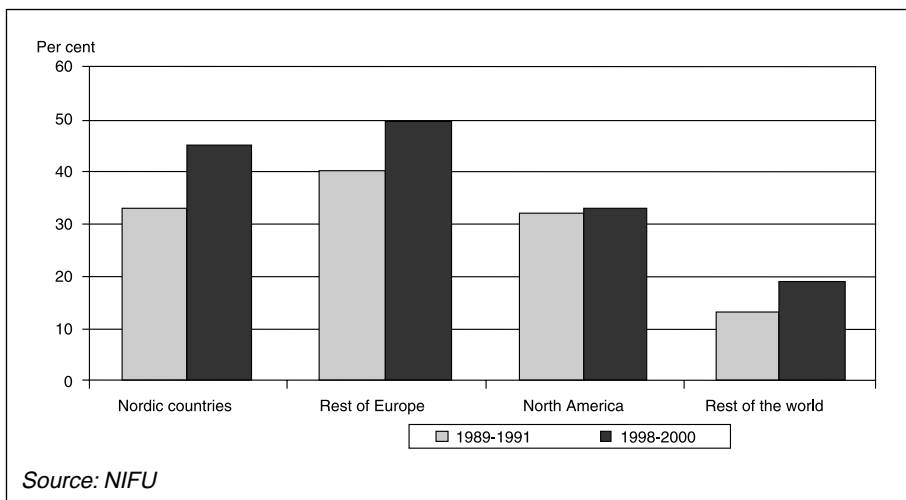
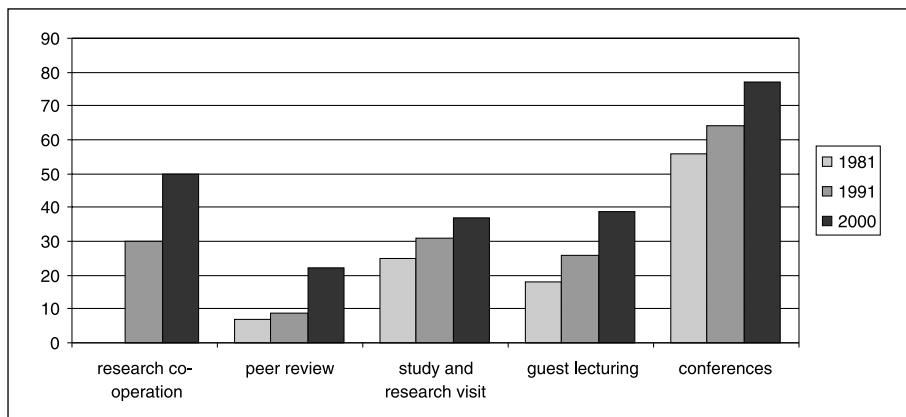


Figure 4.7 shows that all types of professional travel increased from 1989-91 to 1998-00. Despite the rapid development of electronic publishing facilities and computer communication, personal contact seems to have become increasingly important (Trondal & Smeby, 2001). International travel among Norwegian researchers is mainly related to conferences and research collaboration.

Figure 4.6 Percentage of faculty members who undertook at least one journey abroad



Exchange programmes related to the academic staff

While Norwegian student participation in the Erasmus programme seems to have stagnated since the mid-1990s, the teacher exchange part of the programme seems to be more attractive, at least in the last couple of years. The rather low participation rate of the academic staff in the Erasmus programme has been explained by a lack of awareness of this possibility, but also that the teacher exchange programme has been perceived as something that should be combined with the student exchange part. Thus, traditionally teacher exchange has taken place in connection with new student exchange agreements, and as a way to getting acquainted with the new partner (Wiers-Jenssen & Smeby, 2001: 64). The most popular host countries were in 2001/02 Germany and the United Kingdom.

4.5 Relation with European policy level

4.5.1 Turn towards Europe

The Europeanisation of HE policy has up until the last few years been most noticeable in the area of national research policy. The internationalisation of research has meant that Norwegian sources of R&D funding do not merely fund domestic research, but also send their funds abroad for international

research cooperation. There has been a noticeable internationalisation of policy in the sense that Norwegian Ministries have increased their level of funding for international research cooperation. Moreover, financial data indicate that there has been a turn towards the EU in the research funding from the national government, both directly over the state budgets and the budget of the Research Council. The national research policy constitutes a major framework for Norwegian higher education institutions; especially since the funding of research activities are primarily a national responsibility. The Norwegian government's funding of EU research programmes outgrew the level of contributions to other European research organisations or programmes, such as EMBL, COST, EUREKA, CERN and ESA. This represents a major structural and policy shift for the university sector. In this area there have been discussions about the relationship between national and European policy instruments, and whether the turn towards the EU research policy represents an undesirable move from a focus on academic research to an emphasis on innovation policy, and whether European programmes should represent 'synergy or substitution'. Yet 'the commitment to Europe' has been maintained and uncontested. The significance of a European dimension, when it comes to the educational function of universities and colleges, is not noticeable in the same way. Yet, as will be illustrated below, it does represent an important arena also when it comes to students and teaching activities in the HE sector.

4.5.2 Harmonising degree structure and reducing barriers in higher education

Through the implementation of the *Quality Reform*, all study programmes at Norwegian colleges and universities are being organised according to a Bachelor/Master system. There are some exceptions within some of the professional studies, but in general Norwegian HE has been undergoing rather profound changes through this reform from 2003. The question of whether this aspect of the reform should be seen as the Norwegian way of implementing the Bologna process cannot be answered at present. The theme of harmonising degree structures internationally has played a significant role in the current reform. However, it could be argued that the Bachelor/Master structure has also been introduced as a means to solve other and more "domestic" problems in the former diversified degree structure.

First, the former six-year structure (4+2) was perceived as quite costly for the Norwegian society, and a change towards a Bachelor/Master structure implied a reduction in the total study time of one whole year (reducing governmental spending). In the white paper introducing this reform, the Ministry of Education argued, amongst others, that a more efficient use of public resources was one of the factors that counted in favour of the change in degree structure. Problems of low efficiency among Norwegian students also resulted in a relatively high average age of students at graduation. By

changing the degree structure, and establishing a closer link between teachers and students (through tutoring, team-work, follow-up), it was argued that issues of quality and efficiency would go hand-in-hand (KUF, 2001: 34).

Second, in the original report from the Mjøs-commission, the primary rationale for changing the degree structure was the lack of national flexibility that the old “conglomerate” degree structure entailed. There is ample reference to the Bologna process when the issue of degree structure reform is discussed, but the commission concluded on the basis of international comparisons that Norwegian HE was better off than many of the other European countries when it comes to international compatibility. The major “deviance” in the former degree structure was with respect to the long higher degree offered at the universities. Also, the former system limited the students’ freedom to choose between study programmes and institutions during their studies (KUF, 2001).

Even the establishment of both the new accreditation system in Norway and the new independent agency for HE, NOKUT, could be questioned as being a direct response to the Bologna process. Several domestic issues could be linked to this establishment. In the Mjøs commission, arguments in favour of establishing a system of accreditation were related to an ongoing process of academic drift in Norway, with several of the state university colleges intending to become universities. The Mjøs commission launched the criteria for obtaining this status (five master degree study programmes, and four doctoral education programmes), and suggested that the responsibility for checking the criteria should be given to an independent body (NOKUT) (NOU, 2000: 348, 357). The fact that institutional accreditation is given a very prominent place in the accreditation system, contrary to the more common system of accrediting study programmes in Europe, suggests that national policy issues have influenced the process quite strongly (Stensaker, 2003: 15). Moreover, it was also argued in the Mjøs commission that a system of accreditation would treat public and private HE more equally and that private HEIs needed a system that could respond more rapidly in issues of recognising new study programmes (NOU, 2000: 354). This argument can be related to the old system for authorising new study programmes in Norway, where private HEIs traditionally had to apply to the Ministry for establishing new study programmes even at undergraduate level.

However, in general the domestic agenda was accompanied by references to the Bologna process, and developing more fine-grained conclusions as to the role of the Bologna process requires further investigation as to how this process has been translated into the Norwegian context and traditions through the Quality Reform. The tentative conclusion is that national priorities seem to have been a strong driving force for introducing the Bachelor/Master system. However, no matter what the driving forces behind the introduction

of the Bachelor/Master structure, or the introduction of an accreditation system in Norwegian higher education, the result is obvious. Norwegian HE has through these reforms become much more “internationally transparent”. For example, the current political interest in treating public and private HE more equally through the establishment of NOKUT is a process that could open Norwegian HE to more foreign cooperation and competition i.e. through the establishment of foreign private HE providers.

An area where international harmonisation is more easily detected is related to the rather strong ideological support of the use of European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) in Norwegian policy. All HEIs are expected to actively use ECTS to reduce the barriers for student mobility. Along with the introduction of the Bachelor/Master degree structure, it will be easier for the institutions to use this system, because all of the study programmes will have been assessed according to a credit point standard. Also, in order to make it simple and more transparent for foreign HEIs and employers, the Ministry decided that all HEIs are to issue a Diploma Supplement as part of the standard diploma. The Supplement is in English and describes the individual study programme. As such, issues of international and European compatibility and recognition of degrees, as well as issues of harmonisation, will probably remain on the policy agenda for quite some time.

Through the changes introduced in the Quality Reform, introduction of the bachelor/master degree structure, use of ECTS and of a new standardised grading system, and the establishment of NOKUT, the Norwegian government is seen as having implemented most provisions of the Bologna Declaration (European Commission, 2003: 54).

4.6 The global market for higher education – WTO/GATS, the Norwegian position

Trade in education services has been going on for years, and some nations are holding large market shares. Norway is a large importer of education services considering Norway’s 16,000 students abroad. That was definitely a strong incentive for the government to play an active role in the ongoing WTO/GATS negotiations.

The government position on this issue is illustrated by the following quote from the Minister of Education: “The process of globalization in our time is challenging, but has also led to great possibilities. Seeking an international oriented profile in our educational systems, while at the same time retaining the national values and identities, may form the basis for creating new partnerships and opportunities in learning, and enriching the global capacity building and cultural exchange. Through selective strategies, we should strive to secure that opportunities in education and training are made available to all people. While respecting national policy objectives and the importance of public education systems, we shall seek to exploit the great poten-

tial, maximise the benefits, and minimise the possible disadvantages of increasing the world trade in education services. (...) The Norwegian Government recognises that education to a very large extent is a national function, even though most countries permit private education to coexist with public education. Accordingly, private education and training will continue to supplement, and not displace, public education systems. Norway emphasizes that primary and secondary education shall not be included in these negotiations (Clemet, 2002).

Based on this statement from the Ministry of Education and Research, the Norwegian government seems more 'free trade friendly' in the area of HE than the EU. It is fair to say that from the point of view of the Ministry of Education, trade in HE services is seen as positive in the sense that it exposes Norwegian HE systems to healthy competition. The public debate has been at times rather heated, with the student unions being particularly negative towards the inclusion of HE in the GATS agreement. Also other voices in the university and college sectors articulate concerns, as they see including higher education in the GATS agreement as a commodification of the sector and particularly detrimental to developing countries.

The recent developments when it comes to globalisation of educational services included a proposal from Norway to the UNESCO General Conference in October 2003. This proposal argued for the need to develop a global system for quality assurance, and that Norway wants UNESCO to take a leading role in the process of establishing such a system. The aim of the proposal is, in line with the rather large number of Norwegian students abroad, that the quality of study programmes must be ensured across national borders, and that a global quality assurance system would provide students with better information guiding their future choice of study. The proposal also emphasises the possibilities for developing countries to benefit from the opportunities of a more global market for education.

In the GATS negotiations, seven countries have so far addressed claims towards Norway in the educational area. These claims are mostly related to access to the Norwegian higher education market and to offer study programmes and lifelong learning schemes independent of whether such programmes lead to publicly recognised degrees and exams. However, most claims are open for the possibility that Norwegian authorities can control foreign providers when it comes to quality and consumer protection. The Norwegian response to these claims is not yet known. However, an indication of the strong Norwegian interest in the globalisation of HE is not least that Norway hosted an OECD/World Bank Forum on trade in educational services in November 2003. In this Forum, issues of quality assurance were also high on the agenda. If one relates this to the Norwegian UNESCO proposal, it seems that issues of quality assurance currently are the most important when globalisation is on the Norwegian policy agenda

4.7 Conclusions

The main conclusions can be summed up in the following way:

- ◆ Norwegian policy for the internationalisation of HE is enveloped in a language and rationale of quality, and in this sense internationalisation is no different from the other major elements of policy for the HE sector at present.
- ◆ There is no doubt that the saliency of the policy issue has increased significantly during the latter part of the 1990s and especially during the last three years. The issue of the internationalisation of HE has been broadened and is no longer synonymous with student mobility.
- ◆ The Norwegian case is the story of a traditional approach to internationalisation that was in the hands of the state, the individual students and the research performing level, whereas the institutions in HE were absent. The role of universities and colleges with respect to actively and strategically promoting internationalisation of their activities is now being stressed in government policy. Official policy accentuates heavily the need to channel internationalisation through the institutions and through organised activities, programmes and bilateral agreements.
- ◆ The official policy is at present aiming to redress the imbalance between outgoing and incoming students, and the number of students taking full degrees abroad and students taking short-term periods of study.
- ◆ The North-South issue is an important area, but in several respects 'the odd one out'.
- ◆ The impact of the new global trade in HE could be noted primarily for its impact on discussions and to some extent on the behaviour of the many free movers. Quality assurance is currently high on the political agenda when issues of globalisation are addressed in Norway.

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5. The United Kingdom

Gareth Williams & Kelly Coate

5.1 Introduction

Until 1992 the UK system was binary, consisting of universities with considerable academic and financial autonomy on one side, and a public sector consisting of polytechnics and higher education colleges (subject to external financial control and considerable outside academic tutelage) on the other. The 1992 Higher and Further Education Act merged the two sectors. Separate higher education funding councils were set up for England, Scotland and Wales, and in Northern Ireland higher education became the responsibility of the Northern Ireland government. All HEIs obtained a similar autonomous legal status to the universities and all public funding for HE courses became the responsibility of the relevant higher education funding council.

Academically the sharp distinction of the binary divide has evolved into a much more nuanced and diversified system. The principal activities of the sector are similar to those of many other countries but the portfolio of these activities differs very considerably between each university and college. Some generate the majority of their income from research and full-time research training, and at the other extreme the effective core business is the provision of second chance opportunities for older people who attend courses part-time. Thus, any statements about the “higher education sector” in the UK must always be hedged with reservations.

The autonomy of all HEIs is a strongly entrenched historical feature of British higher education. Universities have traditionally been legally independent entities and any influence that governments have had over their strategies and management has been indirect through exhortation and the incentives of public funding, which did not begin in a serious way until 1920 and only became the largest source of university income in the 1940s. From the nineteenth century each university has had a charter that set out its legal basis. Provided the university kept within the statutes and ordinances set out in the charter and did not break the laws of the country, its own governing body was able to enter into contracts with the government or any private agency and set its own curricular structures and research priorities. Furthermore this legal separation of universities and the state is reinforced by a powerful convention that the government does not intervene directly in the affairs of any individual university, even in financial matters. Acts of Parliament extended this financial and academic autonomy to all higher education institutions in 1988 and 1992. Thus the government can influence the political and economic climate in which universities operate and it can bribe them to behave in particular ways, although universities and colleges legally have the option of

ignoring the government's wishes if they are willing to accept the financial consequences. In practice between the 1940s and the 1980s the state became such a dominant provider of funds for the universities that its control was almost as pervasive as in countries in which universities are administered directly by the state as a public service. However, the culture of university autonomy has remained extremely powerful. Since the early 1980s the proportion of university and college income provided by the state has declined from an average of about 80% to approximately 40%, and this instrument of control has thus become much weaker.

Such considerations are particularly important in any consideration of public policy with respect to the international aspects of HE, as since 1980 universities have received virtually very little public subsidy for the recruitment of foreign students or any other international activity. Thus internationalisation, globalisation, and even to a large extent Europeanisation are, in England, largely a matter for individual universities. At the national policy level internationalisation is rarely mentioned except in a rhetorical or exhortative manner, or to provide some additional funds for activities that the government particularly wishes to support. The interviews with members of government agencies revealed a considerable interest in the international activities of universities and colleges, and the provision of some limited hypothecated funding to promote particular ventures such as strategic alliances between British universities and those in some other countries, but there are very few attempts to influence or regulate their international or European activities. This was particularly apparent in the discussions about the Bologna process. The government has a clear policy interest but there has, so far at least been no attempt to modify degree structures to take account of the proposed European Higher Education Area and it is seen as ultimately a matter on which individual universities will take their own decisions.

There have been some examples of direct intervention of the state during the past two decades. For example, the 1998 Act of Parliament on financing higher education set an upper limit to the fees universities can charge their first degree UK and other EU students. But, despite claims by some UK academic observers, such interventions are very limited compared with most other European countries and any university is free to opt out of them if it is willing to forgo public funds. There is no limit to the fees that can be charged to students from outside the EU or to any postgraduate students. Some postgraduate courses, e.g. the MBA in popular institutions such as the London Business Schools and the London School of Economics, charge very high fees to both UK and foreign students.

Ultimately, however, in the context of globalisation and in comparison to its European counterparts, perhaps the most important cultural inheritance of higher education in the UK is its long history of exporting education overseas. In the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century British uni-

versities performed a role linked to the country's imperial mission: at first to develop what was seen as progressive cultural attitudes among the indigenous colonial populations, but by the 1950s and 1960s to prepare leading members of their populations for national independence. The University of London External Programme began offering quality-controlled education to many colonial and Empire countries from 1858, and by its peak in the 1950s there were 70,000 undergraduate students enrolled worldwide (Shepherd et al., 1999). Universities in many parts of the world became established through association with London University. The Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU) began its activities in 1913. The UK remains one of the most popular countries for international students because of the demand for learning via the medium of the English language and the perceived quality of the higher education system (Bruch & Barty, 1998: 20).

The autonomy of UK universities and their long-standing involvement in internationalisation has meant that there are few specific or explicit government policies concerning the further internationalisation of higher education. As Elliott (1998) has noted, the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) has exhibited a reluctance to use the rhetoric of international co-operation in the same way as many other developed countries (Elliott, 1998: 33). He further suggests that the government has not seen the need to make statements about internationalising HE; in 1992 the (then) Department of Education stated that the government's aim was to "embed the European dimension in the daily practice of all HEIs without being specific about the means" (Elliott, 1998: 36). More recently, however, there have been a number of indications of international awareness in HE policy, mainly in relation to economic competitiveness and related responses to international influences such as EU regulations and free trade initiatives. This chapter provides an overview and analysis of the implicit government agendas concerning the internationalisation of HE.

5.2 The administration of higher education in the United Kingdom

The UK system is, in fact, four different systems (England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland). These systems are linked and have a common historical basis, but since 1992 they have been subject to four separate administrations and there are several indications of divergence in such matters as student fees, grants and loans, and the teaching quality assurance system. This chapter is based mainly on the English system, which is by far the largest of the four, but the terms 'UK' and 'British' are used in respect of issues that either are common or where there is little difference between the four jurisdictions.

In England the government department with overall responsibility for higher education is now known as the Department for Education and Skills (DfES). Scotland has its own Education Ministry and Wales and Northern Ireland

administer their universities and colleges under the jurisdiction of their own elected assemblies. That of Northern Ireland is temporarily in abeyance. Another central government ministry with a major voice in higher education is the Department for Trade and Industry (DTI), which is responsible for the budgets of the research councils that contribute about 10% of the funding of universities and target their grants very much on national policy priorities. The Department for International Development (DfID) also plays a significant part in overseeing many links with developing countries though its higher education work is largely incidental to its core focus on international development. The Department for Foreign Affairs has a longstanding interest in the contribution higher education can make to the advancement of the country's foreign policy interests. Until the last two decades of the twentieth century this was implicit rather than explicit, but recently there has been a distinct foreign policy input into higher education policy. Other ministries, such as Health, Defence and Environment and Rural Affairs (formerly Agriculture) have particular involvement in higher education that involve their areas of activity.

The links between the DfES and its equivalents in Scotland and Wales are mediated by Higher Education Funding Councils. In particular they distribute the main government financial allocations. The members of these bodies are chosen by the government to be representative of the interests of the main stakeholders in higher education and they are responsible for implementing the broad thrusts of government policy but otherwise they are independent. Their main function is to protect individual universities and colleges from political interference.

The Quality Assurance Agency (QAA), after several years of evolution, is an independent agency owned by the HEIs (through UUK, the vice-chancellors committee). The QAA has clear legal commitments to make certain information about teaching quality to authorised government agencies. These commitments include the audit of teaching quality in courses offered overseas, which will be discussed in a later section.

Finally, the role of the British Council is important to any discussion of the international activities of British higher education. The British Council is the principal government agency involved with promoting the international relations of universities and colleges, which reports to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. It too has a quasi-autonomous status.

5.3 Views and rationales

The economic rationale underpins the prevailing government agenda with respect to the UK HE sector's response to globalisation. In Europe, the UK has taken the lead in the development of an explicit export and trade agenda for HE (Van der Wende and Huisman, 2003: 5). The internationalisation of HE tends, in government rhetoric, to "be equated with the commercial

challenge of and response to the economics of globalisation” (Elliott, 1998: 41). As Scott (2002: 2) also suggests: “the general consensus is that, in order to survive and thrive in the G-world, universities will have to become not only more entrepreneurial but also more commercial”. Through a series of White Papers on competitiveness since 1993, the government has promoted the role of education in producing a highly qualified workforce able to compete on a global level. One of the more explicit aims has been to create the “best qualified” workforce in Europe (see, for example DTI, 1993).

In 1997, the Dearing Report published the results of the government’s National Committee of Inquiry for Higher Education (NCIHE, 1997). Again, the economic rationale behind thinking at the national policy level was clear: “The recognition that UK HE is a major export industry in its own right, that it underpins international economic relations and that it needs to perform and be judged internationally, informs nearly all Dearing’s thinking and recommendations. One member of the committee, asked in a seminar about the committee’s neglect of the political, cultural and educational rationales for internationalisation, made it clear that they had hardly entered into the committee’s thinking at all” (afterword by Clive Booth in Elliott, 1998: 42).

The Dearing Report recognised globalisation as a major influence on the labour market and economy of the UK, and argued that higher education will have an important role in producing knowledge and technical skills for global corporations. Higher education will “become a global international service and tradable commodity” (Peters & Roberts, 2000: 129) in the future scenario pictured by Dearing. The Secretary of State for Education and Employment, David Blunkett put similar ideas forward in a major and widely circulated speech in February 2000: “The powerhouses of the new global economy are innovation and ideas, creativity, skills and knowledge. These are now the tools for success and prosperity as much as natural resources and physical labour power were in the past century. Higher education is at the centre of those developments. Across the world, its shape, structure and purposes are undergoing transformation because of globalisation. At the same time, it provides research and innovation, scholarship and teaching which equip individuals and businesses to respond to global change. World class higher education ensures that countries can grow and sustain high skill businesses, and attract and retain the most highly skilled people.....There is no doubt that globalisation and the arrival of the knowledge economy have intensified the competitive pressures on higher education institutions. Learning has become big business” (Blunkett, 2000).

This rationale has been reinforced in the recent government White Paper on the Future of Higher Education (DfES, 2003a), a major policy steer of the sector. The White Paper suggests that competition from other countries is increasing, and concern is expressed that on an international level the participation rate in UK HE is proportionally lower than in many developed coun-

tries. A particular concern of the White paper is how to recruit and retain the best researchers internationally (DfES, 2003a: 16).

It is sufficient to reiterate that the dominant policy perspective in relation to the globalisation of HE is to increase the economic competitiveness of the UK, and to continue to exploit the global market for higher education. UK government policy is not the sole driver of such trends: Knight (2002: 3) suggests that “economic rationales are increasingly driving a large part of the international or cross border supply of education”. Similarly, as Bennell and Pearce (1999) note, international economic advantage is increasingly linked to knowledge-based sectors, prompting the reconceptualisation of HE into a tradable service. However, the economic rationale, and certainly the rhetoric, seems to have been pushed further in the UK than in any other country, except possibly Australia.

5.4 Cooperation and competition

5.4.1 Managing the system

We have highlighted the economic imperatives that dominate the international policy agenda. However, when the implementation of national policies is examined in detail a more confused picture emerges. National agencies also work to promote the academic interests of UK HE at an international level. Agencies, such as the Higher Education Funding Council for England offer an overview of the UK government’s concerns that at least in part tend towards international cooperation rather than economic competition. To give an example, the policies of the International Collaboration and Development Office of the HEFCE are summarised. This office was established in the middle of the 1990s, and at first worked mainly in a responsive mode, responding to interest from overseas in learning about the operation of British higher education, but has subsequently become more proactive. HEFCE now has three broad aims in its emerging international strategy:

- ◆ learning from other countries
- ◆ supporting national systems development
- ◆ facilitating opportunities for international collaboration and development.

The positive objective of learning how other countries manage their HE systems is a relatively recent strategic development: there is a growing concern with international comparisons and benchmarking. There is particular interest in comparisons with other OECD countries. Current main strategic interests are how other OECD countries perform in:

- ◆ increasing and widening participation
- ◆ achieving excellence in learning and teaching
- ◆ enhancing excellence in research
- ◆ contribution of higher education to the economy and society.

Supplementary interests include:

- ◆ improving university management
- ◆ supporting governance and leadership
- ◆ excellence in delivery of subsidiary activities (such as community service and links with the business community)
- ◆ e-learning – networking and sharing communication systems between national HE systems.

Supporting national systems development is still driven partly by the interest many other countries have long shown in the operation of the British systems of HE. As such it is seen as contributing to British diplomacy and its economic and political interests. However, recently it has begun to be seen as a two-way activity and learning from other countries is also an important part of this agenda. There is a tendency to focus especially on countries with which there are particular diplomatic, political, economic or academic links. There is close cooperation between HEFCE and the British Council (see below): the Department for Education and Skills and the Department for Trade and Industry are also involved.

Facilitating opportunities for international cooperation and development is the third strategic aim. These opportunities have, until recently, been treated as very largely the province of individual universities and their staff and students, with the British Council in a supporting role. However, many academic links are now seen as matters to be supported nationally. One example is a recent link of the UK Joint Academic Network (JANET) with its Chinese counterpart, CERNET. These activities also boost the research output of the UK, another important aspect of international collaboration.

Research and development

Growing public policy concern with higher education as a business is exemplified by the increasing involvement of the Department for Trade and Industry (DTI) in the sector. In a 2001 report the DTI noted that the UK produced 8% of the world's scientific research papers, but stated that "there are signs of a relative lack of awareness of HEIs towards business and industry, although UK HEIs are probably comparable with other countries". The UK supplies science and engineering graduates well above the EU mean, and scores well on all performance indicators related to education, particularly as the leader for lifelong learning. Public expenditure on R&D lags behind the EU mean (Cordis, 2002). Trade Partners UK, an agency of the DTI, has reported that the Higher Education and English Language Training (ELT) sectors each contribute in excess of £1 billion in exports annually to the UK economy, that ELT is showing continued signs of growth, and that "with only 1% of the world's population, the UK conducts 5.5% of the world's research" (DTI, 2001).

The DTI designates priority countries with which the UK higher education sector, through HEFCE, is asked to develop and maintain relations. Among

the current priority countries that HEFCE is collaborating with are China, Brazil, South Africa, India, USA, Japan, Thailand, Indonesia, France and Ireland (Middlehurst, 2002: 17). A practical example of the DTI interest in higher education was the establishment of the Cambridge-MIT Institute (CMI), a limited company owned jointly by MIT and Cambridge. It was established in July 2000 with a controversial £65.1 million grant from the Treasury, and is managed by the DTI. The primary objective of CMI is to transmit MIT's expertise in enterprise to UK universities.

A key issue in the background at present but potentially very important for the international role of UK higher education is the liberalisation of trade in services. A powerful economic reason for cooperation with the country's European partners is that GATS negotiations on their behalf are being conducted through the European Union. Although there may be economic reasons to liberalise the HE sector, the European Commission has not included education in the latest round of GATS negotiations (Davis, 2003). The DTI has indicated that the impact of any future liberalisation on education would be limited (Uvalic-Trumbic & Varoglu, 2003). However, the recent White Paper (DfES, 2003a) opens the potential for the liberalisation of trade agreements on research by encouraging the further commercialisation of knowledge production. An even more differentiated HE system with a smaller number of research-led universities, as suggested in the White Paper, is already a concern of GATS critics as a possible outcome of trade liberalisation (Knight, 2002). At the time of writing, however, the EC has not yet made a decision on research in the current GATS negotiations (Davis, 2003). It is believed by some that British higher education, because of its long established competitiveness in international markets, could benefit from greater liberalisation of trade in academic and research services. The position of the UK government and of representative university bodies seems to be to maintain a "watching brief".

Academic and cultural benefits

The academic and economic rationale of international trends are underscored by the substantial economic gains of international activities. In recent years the recruitment of foreign students to institutions in the UK, the opening of overseas campuses and the franchising of courses in colleges in other countries has largely been a means of generating income, with the occasional mention of the academic benefits that follow. The figures in Table 5.1 below suggest that in some cases the very survival of leading academic institutions is dependent on students from overseas, showing a clear link between economic and academic benefits for UK HE institutions. It has been estimated that in 2002 international students in the UK spent £13 billion off-campus and generated an estimate of about 22,000 full-time jobs (UUK, 2001).

However, recruitment of foreign students and other international activities are not driven solely by narrow economic considerations. There is a long tradition

in Britain, as in many other European countries, of using higher education to promote what is seen as progressive thinking in science and culture and also as an instrument of foreign policy and international relations. The Foreign and Commonwealth Office and its agent the British Council have a long-standing interest in many aspects of the international work of higher education institutions. The aims of the British Council are to enhance the reputation of the UK in the world, through fostering relations with other countries in the areas of the arts, education, English language teaching and science and technology.

The British Council (BC) has offices in 109 countries worldwide. It has a staff of 7,300 and an annual expenditure of about £430 million of which in 2000/1 £141mn was a grant from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. The Council's work includes running information centres; promoting British education and training; working closely with governments and NGOs on reform and good governance and demonstrating the innovation, creativity and excellence of British science, arts literature and design. The BC also runs an English Language Assistant programme, whereby third-year undergraduates or recent graduates teach English in overseas schools and colleges. Approximately 2000 students participate every year in this programme. It also coordinates visits to the UK for senior policy makers and HE managers from many countries, who are interested in sharing knowledge about quality assurance, entrepreneurship, and other funding issues. A high percentage of the academic staff of British universities becomes involved in some aspect of the Council's work at some point in their careers, undertaking lecture tours, organising training seminars overseas or for visitors to Britain, taking part in consultancy projects organised under the aegis of the Council or receiving official and academic visitors studying some aspect of British higher education policy, management or practice. The Director of Higher Education at the British Council claimed that these initiatives are not driven solely by economic concerns, but are aimed at enriching and internationalising UK HEIs.

Another dimension of the work of the Council is the Chevening Scholarship scheme. These scholarships, funded by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and administered by the British Council, are prestigious awards that enable overseas students to study in the United Kingdom. Scholarships are offered in over 150 countries and enable talented graduates and young professionals to become familiar with the UK and gain skills which will benefit their countries. The Chevening programme currently provides around 2,300 new scholarships each year for postgraduate studies or research at UK HEIs.

A scheme with rather similar intentions is the Overseas Research Students Awards Scheme funded from government sources but administered by Universities UK (UUK, formerly known as the Committee of Vice-chancellors and Principals, CVCP). This scheme pays the difference between the home

student fee and the overseas student fee for research students who are judged to be particularly able. The ORS Awards Scheme was set up by the Secretary of State for Education and Science in 1979 to attract high quality students to the UK to undertake research. The only criteria for the awards are outstanding merit and research potential; other factors, such as financial status, ethnicity, nationality, gender, age, proposed field and institution of study are not taken into account. About 1,000 new ORS awards are made annually and since the average length of tenure of a student holding an award is about three years there are at any one time about 3,000 research students with awards. It is significant that the ORS scheme was initiated by the Department for Education and Science and is administered by the universities. The rationale for the scheme is, at least in part, academic: to attract excellent research students to British university departments, some of which depend to a considerable extent for their research and financial viability on the contributions made by research students from overseas.

In terms of individual HEIs, the priority they give to international cultural exchange is a matter of their own determination, although they may be more or less influenced by government exhortations and incentives in this regard. Depending on each institution's historical links and mission statements, the extent to which they value the cultural benefits of international activities varies enormously. Knight (1995) has identified stages along a continuum in which HEIs may develop their approaches to internationalisation. These are:

- ◆ the 'activities' approach: becoming involved in international activities such as student exchanges or technical cooperation
- ◆ the 'competency' approach: emphasising the skills, attitude and knowledge that can accrue through internationalisation
- ◆ the 'process' approach: fostering integration between cultures
- ◆ the 'ethos' approach: an institutional ethos based on the valuing of other cultures (Bruch & Barty, 1998: 28).

It is difficult to have a clear picture of how each university in the UK situates itself on this scale. For example, many postgraduate courses might be dependent on overseas students, yet the extent to which the ethos of their courses is one that values cultural exchange is largely unknown. Many staff who work closely with international students are low in the institutional hierarchy, and there has been little research into the cultural impact of internationalisation in UK universities.

There are some organisations and institutions taking an interest in the experiences of international students and the ways in which institutions have responded to their increased presence through curricular developments or other activities. The 'internationalisation' of the curriculum is not a monolithic phenomenon. There are undoubtedly large variations between what it means to 'internationalise' the curriculum in different subject areas, and the uneven pattern of student recruitment from countries around the world means that

some 'cultures' have a more significant impact on HEIs than others. Yet little is known about what the cultural impact is within individual universities. A recent review of the unpublished evidence suggests that there is a lack of awareness as to what happens with international students and how institutions support them (Leonard et al., 2003). This suggests that the economic rationale of international student recruitment can take priority over any cultural or academic rationale, most likely, Leonard and her colleagues claim, to the detriment of students and staff.

The review of the unpublished literature in this area has uncovered a number of MA dissertations and doctoral theses written by international students in the UK that investigate the experiences of international students, usually focusing on students from the author's own culture. Many of these small-scale projects have tended to focus on the "challenges and problems" faced by international students in their UK institutions, and often adopt fairly critical perspectives on their experiences. There is little research on institutional perspectives and national policies on international students (Leonard et al., 2003). The cultural integration of international students into UK institutions is a complex phenomenon, and there is much more research to be done into this area.

International development

One indication of an ethos of cooperation in international activities is the support of education in developing countries. Although these activities often stem from former colonial ties, there are also new priorities in developmental aid identified by the government. The international development activities of higher education institutions are mainly initiated and funded by the Department for International Development (DfID), and managed on behalf of DfID by the British Council. Examples of recent projects involving UK higher education include: Capacity Building in the Ministry of Education, Jordan; Educational Improvement Project Latvia (curriculum development); Human Resource Development Project Namibia (to improve vocational education); and Regional Academic Partnerships in Central and Eastern Europe. Other recent projects have been conducted in Nigeria, Egypt and Pakistan.

Another important development activity is a scholarship scheme established in 1959. The Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan (CSFP) was initiated by the Conference of Commonwealth Education Ministers, and has grown to be a prestigious scheme for international study and professional development around the world. Over 21,000 awards have been made since that time, with the primary objectives being mobility and the exchange of ideas and knowledge, particularly between developing and developed Commonwealth countries. The majority of awards are for postgraduate study (mainly doctorates), through a partnership between the home and host country. In the UK, funding for the awards is provided by DfID and the FCO, with

the ACU acting as Secretariat and student welfare support provided by the British Council.

At the Conference of Commonwealth Education Ministers in 2000, on the theme Education in a Global Era: Challenges to Equity, Opportunities for Diversity, the Conference encouraged participating countries to offer a diversity of types of awards. In response, the UK is now offering Fellowships for academic staff in developing countries as an opportunity to update their skills through a study visit to the UK, and a split-site doctoral programme in which students from participating developing countries spend one year of their doctoral programme in the UK. The objectives of the UK contribution to the CSFP is to develop future leaders, share expertise, and help develop some of the worlds poorest countries. There were 603 awards made by the UK in 2000/01, with targets to increase the number of awards to those countries in the bottom one-third of the UN Human Development Index.

5.4.2 Main effects of recent policies

Student mobility

As already mentioned, UK universities and colleges have a long history of recruiting foreign students and of providing HE in other countries. The UK is the second largest exporter of higher education and the fourth largest importer (Uvalic-Trumbic & Varoglu, 2003). Over the past two decades, the numbers of international students (including EU domicile students) studying in the UK has increased by about 90%. A substantial, though paradoxical, boost to the international activities of British universities was given in the early 1980s when the government, as part of its drive to reduce public expenditure, removed all public subsidies with respect to students who were recruited from countries outside the European Union. The long-term effect of this was that universities came to see foreign students as paying customers and they were able to charge whatever fees they thought the market would bear. At a time of severe financial stringency and sharply reduced expenditure per UK student from public funds, foreign student recruitment changed from being a peripheral activity performed as a public service function, to a major mainstream marketing process.

From the mid-1980s onwards the number of overseas students in UK universities grew spectacularly. Between 1990-1994 alone, UK universities attracted a 153% increase in international student enrolments (Welch, 2001: 479). This coincided with, and was partly driven by, the need for universities to diversify their funding streams. Financial stringency at home also encouraged universities to seek funds from a variety of foreign sources ranging from research to endowments and donations from alumni and other friends overseas. All universities and many non-university higher education institutions now have an international development office (the name varies between universities) which is responsible for promoting the recruitment of students and

generating other income from overseas. In some major institutions, for example the London Business School and the London School of Economics, the majority of students are from overseas.

In 1999, the Prime Minister launched a drive to encourage HEIs to further increase the international student population, and the government relaxed visa restrictions in order to encourage growth. At the launch of this campaign, the *Prime Minister's Initiative*, Tony Blair drew attention to the economic benefits of international student recruitment, stating that "the institutions, their students and our economy will reap considerable awards" (British Council 1999: 1). The increase is predicted to continue, and the British Council has recently published a forecast suggesting that the international student intake may double again by 2025. If this prediction is accurate, nearly one quarter of all students in UK HE would be from overseas in twenty years time, which may result in an international student market so large that it starts to shape government policy in new directions (Tysome, 2003: 8). Table 5.1 provides a recent overview of international student statistics.

Table 5.1 Overseas students in UK: Top ten sending countries 1999/00

	postgraduate	first degree	other	Total
Greece	14,420	15,910	820	31,150
Republic of Ireland	4,055	6,565	2,890	13,510
China	6,885	3,165	2,045	12,095
Germany	4,765	5,350	1,255	11,370
Malaysia	3,285	6,500	225	10,005
France	3,915	4,695	1,340	9,950
USA	5,325	1,620	2,480	9,425
Hong Kong	3,220	4,690	430	8,335
Japan	3,135	2,010	1,325	6,470
Spain	2,275	2,700	885	5,860

Source: UKCOSA 2002: 6

As can be seen above, the Asian market is important for the UK; and there is fierce competition with Australia and the USA for this lucrative source of income. Recent predictions about the international student market from IDP in Australia have received much attention in the UK: by 2025, the IDP report estimates that there will be seven million mobile students globally, two-thirds of which will come from Asia. However, in the late 1990s, several HEIs in the UK were greatly affected by the economic problems of several South East Asian economies. The London School of Economics and the University of Nottingham, for instance, had not developed 'secondary markets' in their long-term international student recruitment strategies, and both potentially faced financial losses in 1997 when their dependence on the Malaysian stu-

dent market was at risk. Subsequently, universities dependent on particular student markets have developed risk strategies and second markets to obviate global crises, such as the recent SARS threat.

There are very wide variations between institutions in the recruitment of international students. Table 5.2 shows the number of students from overseas in the top ten receiving universities. At the other end of the spectrum there are many higher education institutions with no, or very few, foreign students. There are certain institutions within the HE sector that receive little or no income from overseas students paying the full overseas tuition fees. These tend to be the colleges of higher education and some of the specialist institutes.

Table 5.2 Institutions with over 2000 overseas domiciled students 1998/99

Rank order	institution	number of international students	% of all overseas domiciled students in UK HEIs
1	The London School of Economics & Political Science	4,938	2.3%
2	University College London	4,538	2.1%
3	The University of Oxford	4,524	2.1%
4	The University of Strathclyde	4,267	1.9%
5	The University of Manchester	4,236	1.9%
6	The University of Cambridge	4,211	1.9%
7	Middlesex University	4,152	1.9%
8	The University of Birmingham	3,480	1.6%
9	The University of Leeds	3,334	1.5%
10	The University of Sheffield	3,330	1.5%

Source: HESA

Table 5.3 shows how dependent a number of leading HEIs are on the overseas students market. It shows the percentage of students who are from overseas in the ten institutions that are most dependent on this market. It is worth noting that all of these HEIs are perceived as leading university institutions and that eight of the ten are in London, suggesting that that HE sector in London has already taken on a global role at least in this sense. This is a result partly of the historical background mentioned earlier and partly from the extreme financial stringency that British universities have experienced during the past twenty years.

Table 5.3 Percentage of international students in the top 10 receiving universities

Rank order	institution	% of international students	Total number of students
1	London Business School	63.8%	1,176
2	The London School of Economics & Political Science	63.3%	7,805
3	London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine	54.6%	689
4	The School of Oriental and African Studies	45.4%	3,910
5	Royal Academy of Music	41.8%	588
6	The University of Essex	36.8%	7,208
7	The University of Manchester Institute of Science & Technology	31.8%	6,785
8	Imperial College of Science, Technology and Medicine	30.2%	10,110
9	Wye College	29.7%	976
10	Royal College of Music	29.4%	503

Source: HESA Statistics Focus, 2000.

It is also of interest to note, in the context of the present study, that Greek domiciled students are by far the largest group of non-UK domiciled students in the UK (See tables 5.1 and 5.4). They comprise roughly 14% of all international students studying full-time and are present in all but fifteen HEIs. Over 25% of Greek domiciled students are studying engineering and technology, compared to 14% of other non-UK domiciled students and 7% of UK domiciled students.

Table 5.4 Institutions with more than 500 full-time students from Greece 1998/99

Institution	% of overseas students who are Greek	% of EU students who are Greek	total number of students
The University of Essex	39.0%	71.8%	5,470
The University of Portsmouth	33.8%	53.8%	12,420
Middlesex University	21.9%	38.6%	16,060
University of Luton	40.3%	66.9%	8,040
The University of Surrey	27.3%	56.3%	6,760
Coventry University	24.6%	40.3%	11,870
The University of Sunderland	41.4%	61.8%	9,740

Source: HESA Statistics Focus, 2000.

Most of the research data available on student mobility relates to the recruitment of international students to the UK, and European mobility in particular. It has not gone unnoticed that whilst the UK is one of the major recruiting countries of international students, the numbers of UK students opting to study in other countries is comparatively low. Indeed, the UK threatens to disrupt the 'balance' of student exchanges between European countries, which is one of the objectives of EU mobility programmes. Compared with some other EU countries, the participation of UK HEIs in ERASMUS has been low. Figures on ERASMUS participation rates between 1997-2000 suggested that about 34% of eligible institutions in the UK were participating (Maiworm, 2000). In 1997/98, the UK was the origin of about 12% of mobile ERASMUS students, but it was the host country for about 24% of students from other participating countries. In absolute numbers, this means that the UK hosted about 21,000 ERASMUS students and sent about 11,000 (Maiworm, 2000). The UK government seems concerned with the impact of this imbalance, as the HEFCE has recently commissioned a research project investigating UK students' mobility in Europe. The principal aim of the project, to be undertaken by a team of migration specialists, is to investigate whether UK students are at a disadvantage in comparison with EU students because they lack the skills (particularly language skills) that are a benefit of study abroad.

Virtual mobility

Another important means of exporting higher education is through the validation of courses in other countries. There are limited sources of data on this trend; however, a research project undertaken in 1997 investigated the extent to which UK HEIs were involved in validating courses overseas (Bennell & Pearce, 1999). The study showed that the total enrolments on courses validated by 84 UK universities were just over 100,500 in 1996/97, including 18,000 students registered for University of London External degrees. Due to the under-reporting of this type of information, which seems to be a persistent problem (see QAA, 2000), the figure is deemed by Bennell and Pearce (1999) to more likely to have been about 140,000.

Although research is limited, a rapidly growing number of students are remaining in their own countries while undertaking foreign qualifications, and the UK has been particularly successful in developing overseas' validated courses. The arrangements for these collaborations can take a number of forms:

- ◆ Through distance education provision
- ◆ Twinning arrangements between partner institutions, or branch campuses
- ◆ Franchising arrangements
- ◆ Off-shore institutions
- ◆ International institutions (IAU, 2002).

During the 1990s, the UK HE sector witnessed a substantial rise in the number of students undertaking UK validated courses in their own countries, particularly between 1994-1997 (Bennell & Pearce, 1999). The former polytechnics were at the forefront of this movement, having aggressively begun to validate courses abroad, often through franchises (Shepherd et al., 1999: 3). In contrast, many of the old, established universities reported no involvement in the overseas provision of courses.

Academic links with overseas institutions are largely concentrated in South East Asia, with Hong Kong, Malaysia and Singapore dominating the market, and China emerging as another major market (Bennell & Pearce, 1999: 12). Most of the provision is vocational in orientation, with business, computing and accountancy predominating at undergraduate level, and MBAs accounting for most of the postgraduate enrolments. These trends reflect demands of the South East Asian economies that these countries are at present unable to meet on their own. However, it is difficult to find accurate and current information on the involvement of UK universities in other countries.

When a UK university accredits an institution in another country to award UK degrees, the Quality Assurance Agency (QAA) audits the courses in the accredited institution. The QAA's objectives in auditing overseas partnerships are to ensure that quality assurance systems are in place and that the UK's global reputation is protected (see QAA, 2000). Recently the QAA raised concern over the Open University's system for ensuring quality in its accredited courses in other countries (Baty, 2003). There has subsequently been some debate as to whether the most efficient means of providing transnational education is through this type of accreditation.

The University of London's External Programme eschews these concerns through its unique and long established system of awarding degrees. The External Programme is completely self-funded through students' fees. There are currently 32,000 students registered for External programmes in 187 countries. The University only offers the course syllabus and an examination by University of London examiners, and it is up to the student to find tutors or make arrangements with institutions in their own countries in order to study for the degree. As the University of London does not teach the courses or franchise the courses, and does not receive government funding, it is not subject to QAA audits. The value to the students is the reputation of a University of London degree, which the University has a strong interest in maintaining.

The Observatory on Borderless Higher Education (OBHE) does track some of the international activities of HEIs, and recently published their own survey of universities with branch campuses in other countries that recruit local students. The UK is not as advanced as the US in setting up branch campuses: the OBHE found just three UK universities with branch campuses recruiting local students. The University of Nottingham and DeMontfort University both

established branch campuses in Malaysia in 2000, and the DeMontfort University Business School opened a branch campus in South Africa in 1996 (OBHE, 2002). There are other types of transnational HE arrangements. The Indian School of Business based in Hyderabad for example, was established in association with the Kellogg School of Management, the Wharton School and the London Business School, but is not considered to be a branch campus of these institutions.

The branch campus model of transnational higher education could prove to be an interesting contrast to online developments, most of which are at post-graduate level. The branch campuses are providing local students the opportunity to study for their first degrees at overseas institutions without leaving their own country. An OBHE briefing note (2002) on branch campuses suggests that there is a huge demand for undergraduate studies in Asia that will not be met through distance education. Branch campuses also offer an alternative to franchising, validating or accrediting courses overseas, which have often caused difficulties for the participating UK institutions.

Borderless education, or the online provision of higher education through the new knowledge media, is much discussed as a key aspect of globalisation (Eisenstadt & Vincent, 1999). The development of global mega-universities that deliver distance education to new student markets are leading some commentators in the UK to predict a radically different, virtual future for HE. Cooper (2002: 2), for example, suggests that the borderless future, driven by the diversification of income for HEIs, widening participation, new technologies, commercialisation and internationalisation, will demand a paradigm shift in HE.

However, although the Open University in the UK has been a major contender within the global market other UK HEIs have been much more limited in their response to the opportunities offered by new technologies. An OBHE survey in 2002 found that the virtual future might be distant: about 76% of responding UK institutions (33) claimed that their courses had either no online presence or only a trivial or modest presence. The numbers of students who are studying online across the Commonwealth are concentrated in a small number of institutions. The UK data suggests that about 10% of the total student population is studying online, but the Open University accounts for a large proportion of these. Seven HEIs in the UK accounted for 75% of the international student population studying online, and international online students represented about 11% of the total international student population. This survey data suggests that online learning has had the most impact on campus, rather than at a distance (OBHE, 2002). There is also some concern that e-learning currently disenfranchises large parts of the world where the necessary technology has not yet been established. Furthermore, the national character of much vocational and professional education provision may work against a completely borderless future for HE (Becher and Trowler, 2001: 3).

A related trend has been the development of international collaborations between universities and commercial partners in the provision of distance education. Consortia involving UK institutions include Universitas 21, UK eUniversities Worldwide (which received about £62 million from the UK government between 2001-2004), and the Global University Alliance (GUA). The advantages of collaborating with overseas partners are the increased access to worldwide student markets, tapping into the expertise of the other partner institutions, and the economic benefits of sharing the costs. However, there is some indication that these alliances have not yet brought the promised rewards to UK institutions. The University of Glamorgan in Wales, for instance, joined the GUA and has been disappointed with the results, leading the Pro Vice Chancellor to comment that, in general, “the truth is that none of the consortia that have been established to date have yet shown success from their endeavours”. He identifies the factors that have slowed progress:

- ◆ overestimation of the current state of the market for e-learning worldwide
- ◆ problems in organising quality local support for e-learning programmes
- ◆ underestimation of technical problems
- ◆ channel conflicts with existing international agreements
- ◆ intellectual property issues (Cooper, 2002: 13).

5.5 Relationship between European and national policies

The UK is, of course, a signatory to the Bologna Agreement. However, in comparison with several other European signatories, Bologna has not yet made a significant impact on higher education policies in the UK. In some respects, the English HE system already falls closely into line, but there are anomalies, as admitted in the recent UK National Report that went to the Berlin 2003 meeting of European Ministers (DfES, 2003b). The basic course unit in England is the three year first degree, typically followed by a one year, full-time masters course. The UK has its own national credit system, and many, possibly most, universities and colleges now use a credit system for bachelors and masters degrees. The degree is obtained by accumulating the requisite number of credits and some credit transfer from other institutions is usually possible, though the university awarding the qualification always insists that the great majority of credits are taught by its own staff. Some individual universities use ECTS for international student mobility purposes. As with most other countries with their own national credit systems, the UK has not yet established the use of diploma supplements, but is considering their implementation. There are other examples of divergences from the requirements of Bologna that may require negotiation in the near future.

There are, for example, many two year and four year initial courses. Also developing over the past 25 years are some ‘long’ integrated courses that last one year longer than the traditional three-year Bachelors degree, particularly in business administration, mathematics, sciences and engineering.

In addition, the 2003 White Paper made no mention of Bologna, and recent government proposals may conflict with the Bologna Declaration. The government intends to formalise and expand the two-year undergraduate qualification system. These will be programmes of two year Foundation Degrees, and the funding of further expansion of student numbers up to 2010 is intended to be confined entirely to students doing Foundation Degrees. These degrees will be similar to Associate Degrees in the US, but they are intended to have close links with employment. Although Europe has accepted Foundation Degrees in principle, the government does have some concern that Bologna could become a straightjacket that constrains the HE system. Thus, although the basic three-year bachelor degree will fit readily into the proposed Bologna framework, both the foundation degrees and the masters degrees will require considerable negotiation.

After the masters there is a conventional PhD requiring three years study based almost entirely on production of a thesis and an oral examination. However, two recent changes which are relevant in an international context are the introduction of a considerable formal, generic research training element into many PhD programmes (this is often much appreciated by students from overseas), and a rapid expansion of professional doctorates. The professional doctorates are programmes of study related to a particular profession (such as education and engineering). These require considerable understanding of research and scholarship relevant to the profession, and the production of written work plus a thesis focused on professional practice as well as the academic ideas which underpin it.

In relation to Europe, it is arguably the case that the politicians and senior university managers in the UK have historically tended to view the rest of Europe as following the lead of the UK, while the UK has been more influenced by developments in the US. This tendency has been apparent in relation to the UK response to the Bologna process. Bologna is not yet making a significant impact in terms of changing policies or practices, and initially the UK response was based on the assumption that it would not require major changes in the its HE system. The gradual realisation that the 3+1 model in the UK might fall short of the longer 4+2 degree programmes in Europe is now receiving more attention. It is also worth noting that the recent British public debate about the EU has not fostered a propitious climate for Europeanisation.

As far as European links are concerned there has traditionally been very little direct HE policy interest. The general feeling has been that there are few national UK HE objectives that are of purely European interest, and it has been seen as a matter for individual universities and colleges. But in the last four to five years HEFCE has taken a leading part in establishing a new high level HE Policy Forum, which is intended to be both responsive and proactive in relation to developments in individual European countries. Competitive-

ness and its advantages constitute a big item on its agenda but there are many other interests. HEFCE has also recently taken the lead in establishing an OECD study of financial management in HE in OECD countries. Eight national reports and a synthetic report will shortly be published. A high level Europe Forum has recently been established to keep European issues under review: inspired in part by the debates surrounding the Bologna declaration and its successor proposals.

5.6 Quality assurance and standards

The development of quality assurance mechanisms and international standards have played a key role within global HE trends in the past few decades. Room (2000: 105) suggests that the “globalisation of higher education systems is proceeding apace, and that standard-setting at international level is becoming of major importance”. Quality and standards are linked, in so far as the credentials that HEIs award are quality standards. There are both national and international stakeholders in the assessment of quality and the safeguarding of standards, and both convergence and divergence in their interests. In this section, we are particularly concerned with current policies and regulatory frameworks, and the interplay between national and international trends.

Although the Anglo-Saxon tradition is associated with upholding the principle of academic freedom, the move to a mass HE system has resulted in a more well-defined role of the state in shaping regulatory frameworks. UK governments have become key stakeholders in quality assurance and standards in HE. “Public funding of HEIs has become more conditional upon HEIs meeting certain standards, delivering specific programmes and undertaking strategic planning” (Room, 2000: 108). The quality of standards in HE is now regulated by the QAA, mainly through benchmarking statements, qualifications frameworks, teaching quality assessment exercises, and, more recently, audits of institutional quality assurance mechanisms. Teaching quality assessment outcomes have not been directly tied to funding, except for a relatively small scale venture in Scotland. The 2003 White Paper, however, has earmarked extra funding for university departments deemed to be “teaching excellence centres”. Considerable interest is shown in the work of the QAA by visiting academics and academic managers to the UK. Within the country there are mixed feelings about whether it is an agency that might be imitated in other countries or a top-heavy bureaucratic model to be avoided at all costs.

The QAA has recently taken a strong interest in the courses run by British universities and colleges in other countries. The main driver of this interest is the concern that poor quality courses in these organisations will lower the reputation of British higher education generally, particularly through accreditation arrangements, whereby UK universities allow institutions that do not

have degree-awarding powers to award their degrees under a financial arrangement. This practice recently has caused concern through a QAA audit of an accreditation arrangement between the Open University and a Danish college. The QAA was critical of the OU's accreditation business, the OU Validating System, which accredits about 100 institutions worldwide. The chief executive of the QAA publicly stated that the widespread practice of accreditation was a "historical anomaly", and that the practice risked compromising quality and damaging Britain's reputation for excellence (Baty, 2003).

The QAA cannot operate outside the UK unless it is conducting an audit of overseas links or partnerships through which UK higher education qualifications are awarded. However, since 1997, the QAA has undertaken more than 100 audit visits of overseas partnership links with UK institutions. All reports of audit visits are published on the QAA website. The QAA has also issued Guidelines on the Quality Assurance of Distance Learning, and it reviews the distance provision of UK institutions as part of its regular activities. There are also many professional and regulatory bodies, such as the Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors, that are active in accrediting programmes in other countries (Middlehurst & Campbell, 2003).

5.7 Review of major trends

Higher education may play a unique role within the new global economy, both as a major arena of international trade (even more so if GATS is extended to the HE sector), but also, perhaps optimistically, as a potential means of contributing to a more democratic and equitable society. For instance the UK government has emphasised the importance of widening participation in higher education as part of its social inclusion agenda. The HEFCE has therefore been studying trends in the USA and other countries in terms of widening participation, although the UK has concerns with "raising aspirations" are not identical to US concerns. Whether higher education is part of the problem or part of the solution is not clear-cut: the shifts towards the marketisation of HE may not be advantageous to certain socio-economic groups. In terms of international student mobility trends, there are indications that the numbers of African students are declining in the UK, which may be the result of economic factors and government priorities. Therefore the 'equitable' access to HE services globally and nationally is not guaranteed.

Yet the economic impact of international activities in HE has received and continues to receive much attention. The former Committee of Vice-Principals and Chancellors (now UUK) published a report in 1995 on this subject, with substantial data on the economic contribution of educational activities. The report ranked the top countries that supplied students to the UK alongside the top countries for the export of merchandise from the UK. There were 25 countries on both lists, prompting the comment that time spent studying in the UK helped generate "goodwill towards UK plc" (CVCP, 1995). The main

trade union for university academic staff, the Association of University Teachers (AUT), responded to increased international activities by publishing guidance on ethical issues (AUT & DEA, 1999). The AUT argued for ethical engagements in international collaborations, and for higher education to take seriously its responsibilities in the alleviation of world poverty and illness.

To summarise some of the current, major trends in globalisation and HE in the UK, the government's over-riding concern with economic competitiveness is largely driving the agenda. As the government cannot directly intervene in the activities of HEIs, it is instead rewarding successful competition within the global market and encouraging 'global levels of excellence' in core activities such as knowledge transfer and research. Recognising that not all HEIs can be 'globally excellent' in each of their core activities, universities are expected to develop collaborative partnerships with other institutions. The Cambridge-MIT partnership is a high-status example, though a recent Parliamentary report has suggested that it may be in trouble. Also, many partnerships will be regionally based rather than international. However, the government is keen for universities to exploit international markets and maintain the international standing of UK HE. Europeanisation is seen as important to the extent that it conforms to this agenda, but otherwise as a policy issue it has so far been, to a large extent, a sideline.

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6. Portugal

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6.1 Overview of the Portuguese higher education system

The Portuguese higher education system has a considerable degree of diversity. It is a binary system with universities and polytechnic institutes and with public and private institutions.

Since the early 1980s, governmental policies were directed at expanding higher education and the participation rate increased from about 7% in 1974 to about 40% in 1998. The country's difficult economic situation after the 1974 Revolution has led to the emergence of a private sector of higher education. Probably this was the reason why most of the expansion of the Portuguese higher education system was initially the result of the government's decision to encourage the development of private higher education institutions.

The government, in 1989, by lowering the requirements for entering higher education promoted a massive increase in demand thus creating market conditions for fast development of private institutions. In the academic year 1991/92 the number of new vacancies at private institutions became larger than the number of new places at public institutions.

From 1998 the government became more concerned with quality than with quantity, and more demanding conditions for access to higher education were again introduced. These conditions, associated with a sustained decrease in birth rates produced a sharp decrease of the number of candidates to higher education, shrinking the market for private institutions. The total number of vacancies offered by the public sector is now approaching the total number of candidates, thus creating large difficulties of recruitment for the private sector.

A prospective analysis of the number of students in secondary education (Amaral & Teixeira, 1999) shows that due to the decrease in birth rates over the last two decades the number of candidates to higher education will continue to decrease for at least the next ten years creating a crisis that may force the collapse of many private institutions. Caught in their own game of political lobbying for the uncontrolled creation of new private institutions and the approval of new study programmes, private institutions have started to blame the government for not having resisted those pressures and allowing for the continuous development of the public sector.

In the new game of "market-like" competition for students private institutions have everything to lose: they are more expensive for students, their recruitment is very local and their social prestige is not very strong.

Over the last decades, governments have promoted the internationalisation of the system, on the one hand by supporting the development of higher education in the former Portuguese speaking colonies, and on the other hand by creating closer links with foreign higher education institutions, namely those of the EU countries. The 1960s and 1970s policy for the career development of academic staff (every year a large number of young academics were given scholarships for obtaining PhD degrees in the best universities abroad) has contributed to support this policy.

6.2 Views and rationales underlying the current national policy

Kälvermark and Van der Wende (1997) distinguish four different rationales that underlie national policies of internationalisation of higher education: the political, cultural, academic/educational and economic rationale. In the Portuguese case, the predominant rationales are basically the political, cultural and more recently the economic rationale.

The process of internationalisation can be regarded as the result of improving quality and reorganising the system, and it assumes particular importance at this stage of the system's consolidation and adaptation. In order to better understand the development of the process of internationalisation one should mention the fact that in 1968 the government established a policy of grants, which: "... allowed the training of a significant number of academic staff at postgraduate level in countries like United Kingdom, the USA or France. The changes introduced to the academic staff careers structure in 1979/80 and the salary increase based on the exclusive dedication option in 1987 made it possible for holders of postgraduate degrees to make a career in higher education teaching and research and to be involved in research projects with foreign institutions" (Eurydice, 2000: 451).

The political rationale for internationalisation is based on the perception that "it is not possible to vindicate the quality of the education system isolated from the international, and in particular the European, context" (Ministry of Education, 1999: 47).

The cultural rationale is rooted in the Portuguese language as one of the most spoken all over the world and in the cooperation with Portuguese speaking countries: "After some difficulties in relations between Portugal and its ex-colonies just after the independence of these countries, relations have progressively improved and Portugal and Portuguese higher education institutions have significantly increased their cooperation with these countries" (Eurydice, 2000: 451).

Cooperation with countries where Portuguese is the official language (Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, São Tomé e Príncipe, the so-called PALOPs, and East Timor), strongly contributes to the internationalisation of Portuguese higher education. Portugal is the first choice of most students from the former African colonies when they consider studying abroad.

The opposite situation exists in the rest of Europe, where Portuguese is one of the least widely taught and widespread languages, which is a serious hindrance for attracting students to Portugal, in the scope of European mobility programmes. In the 2000 report of the ERASMUS unit of the SOCRATES National Agency (The Portuguese participation in ERASMUS – 1987/1999), this linguistic issue is pointed to as a barrier to the mobility of European students to Portugal. To overcome it, the Portuguese HEIs have been promoting language courses for incoming students, and Portugal has been an active participant in the intensive language preparation of ERASMUS students project by organising intensive Portuguese language and culture courses.

More recently, there is a trend of increasing importance of the economic rationale, as a basis for the emergence of a competitive paradigm in higher education. The economic rationale may involve: "... generating income from international activities, but national-level economic arguments are also at stake. This is most clearly seen in strategies for the recruitment of foreign students" (Van der Wende, 2001: 251).

In Portugal, the profit argument is not valid, as institutions do not make a profit by teaching students from the former colonies. Consequently there is not yet a shift from the cooperation to the competition paradigm.

However, there are economic arguments linked to other policy areas such as quality management. To guarantee levels of quality adequate to the labour market's needs in an increasingly competitive and global economy the focus is on the adoption of internationalised criteria to improve the quality of the system. As stated in the programme of the government (1995-1999): "It is important to increase the national commitment to higher education in order to meet the demands of the country – which is in a crucial phase of its development –, by fulfilling standards of qualification and motivation compatible with the construction of the European Union, promoting higher levels of qualification, recognising and rewarding the quality and competitiveness of the higher education sub-system, aiming at increasing internationalisation, thus answering the demands of the Portuguese population (...) It is also necessary to guarantee the participation of the most qualified by establishing proper incentives for dedication, commitment and excellence in order to attain quality levels of teaching comparable to international standards" (Programme XIII Constitutional Government).

One can identify in the Portuguese HE system a relationship between internationalisation and quality of education. Van der Wende (1996: 15) studying this relationship has distinguished three different dimensions:

- ◆ the quality (assurance) of internationalisation activities as such
- ◆ the contribution of internationalisation to the improvement of the quality of higher education in a broader sense
- ◆ the international aspects of quality assurance (systems) in higher education.

Arguably, these different dimensions are present in the development of Portuguese HE as internationalisation started as a means to promote quality and to develop new areas of knowledge and scientific research. Therefore internationalisation “is becoming a central strategic issue at the institutional level and an important dimension in national higher education policy” (Van der Wende, 2001: 250).

Simão et al. (2003) consider internationalisation a good instrument to promote quality at very different levels (teachers’ and students’ performances, professional careers, teaching/learning methods, curricular development and increment of the critical mass as result of studies aiming at comparing and exchanging good practice models) and to establish new areas for research.

6.3 Current policies and regulatory frameworks aimed at internationalisation

Following the Portuguese membership of the (then) EEC in 1986, one can identify national objectives associated with European education: free circulation of people and the role of higher education within the European context and its challenges – social cohesion and economic development in an enlarged European Union, and development of research and technology in competition with USA and Japan (Veiga, 2003).

Portuguese HE has specific aspects that make it more difficult answering these challenges and removing the barriers to internationalisation. Graça Carvalho, Director of GRICES (International Office for Science and Higher Education), which reports to the Minister of Science and Higher Education, identifies several problems or barriers to mobility (Interview with Graça Carvalho):

- ◆ low internal mobility of Portuguese students due to the difficulty in establishing cooperation links among the Portuguese institutions
- ◆ low mobility of international students due to the lack of attractiveness of Portugal in the European context (linguistic barrier – most undergraduate courses are taught in Portuguese)
- ◆ administrative and legal instruments that hamper free circulation of people (foreign services, social services)
- ◆ need to reform the fiscal system in order to create incentives for investments in higher education and research.

In this context she advocates: “We should act to promote excellence and to eliminate these barriers in a very short period of time. We have created some inter-ministry groups to deal with questions related to social services and foreign services, in order to create synergies which will lead to a much more attractive system. The other problem we have is the funding of higher education and research” (Interview with Graça Carvalho).

In April 2003, the Ministry of Science and Higher Education published a policy paper entitled *A Quality Higher Education*. This document is part of the public debate on the main aspects of the higher education system, such as its structure, access of students, institutional governance, funding, autonomy and regulation, and research. The policy paper assumes lifelong learning as the new paradigm for defining a degree structure that would promote mobility of students (national and international), comparability of qualifications and employability of graduates, bearing in mind the quality of teaching. Thus, the policy areas directly connected with the internationalisation of Portuguese HE are:

- ◆ quality evaluation and accreditation allowing for the definition of criteria of transparency and comparability with the other European countries' higher education systems
- ◆ a strategy that would make more flexible the mobility (vertical and horizontal) of students
- ◆ a research policy (which should include a closer relationship with the private sector) that would increase the participation of Portuguese research centres and universities in international projects
- ◆ reinforcement of cooperation with PALOP countries and East Timor.

The Law 1/2003, approved on 6th January, deals extensively with the quality of higher education, and creates an accreditation system, but does not make explicit reference to the internationalisation of Portuguese higher education.

The Europeanisation policy of Portuguese higher education goes along with the European Union policies, which also provides its main financial instruments. This is evident from the statement of the GRICES director: "With the new strategy of mobility to be developed under the framework of Erasmus Mundus, the concepts of e-learning and distance learning, linked to the idea of life long learning would allow a plan of action. (...) With the Erasmus Mundus I can claim for flexibility and efficiency (...)" (Interview with Graça Carvalho).

The European Union has set for 2010 an ambitious target of 3% of the GDP for investment in research activities, 2% coming from the private sector and 1% coming from public sources. This EU target will influence the Portuguese internationalisation policy for research, even if it is far beyond the immediate economic capacities of the country. At present Portugal invests only 0.85% of the GDP in research, with a private sector contribution of only 0.2%. Part of the research investment is supported by European structural funds, a contribution that is guaranteed only until 2006. After 2006 the state will probably need to compensate for the loss of those funds, thus creating further difficulties to meet the targets of the economic stability pact.

Future efforts for increasing public and private contributions for research and development will run in parallel to efforts to attracting alternative funds. These can come from the European Union through participation in the

framework programmes for research and development. With this objective in mind a programme has been established at national level creating incentives for researchers willing to submit proposals to the 6th framework programme (Interviews with Ramôa Ribeiro and Graça Carvalho).

Ribeiro also considers that although the Portuguese scientific community in some areas is well known and has a very good reputation, some links with international organisations, such as CERN and ESA, need to be worked out to improve the visibility of Portuguese researchers.

Until 2000, the education component of the higher education institutions budget was allocated from the Ministry of Education while the research component was allocated from the Ministry for Science and Technology. At present, a single Ministry – Ministry for Science and Higher Education – is responsible for both teaching and research activities. This creates the opportunity to try to integrate strategies and define goals more clearly.

The policy for information and communication technologies (ICT) in Portugal is being established under the framework of the programme for the information society (2000-2006) funded by structural funds from the EC and aims at disseminating the information and knowledge society in Portugal. This initiative will be connected to the e-learning programme of the EC, aimed at developing education and training system based on ICT. Participation at institutional level will determine changes in open and distance learning. The most recent ICT project is the electronic university based on the idea of a virtual campus for implementing online services for students in all Portuguese universities. Since this process is more centred on competition than cooperation, one can say that globalisation in the field of ICT is the driving force for innovations in policies and the organisation of Portuguese higher education.

6.4 Main effects of internationalisation policies

Portuguese internationalisation policies intend to promote in the institutions, teachers, students and researchers an attitude favouring participation in internationalisation activities. Considering the autonomy of higher education institutions, those policies aim to create opportunities for the development and management of these activities. This is clearly stated in the 2002 Activities Report elaborated by GRICES: "The Institute's activity (...) was focused in international cooperation actions aiming at creating opportunities for the scientific community, national and international, to meet and to work together, through the administration of several international agreements in the areas of science and technology. Through the implementation of GRICES, higher education emerged as a new area of activity to be added to the other areas..." (GRICES Activities' Report, 2002).

According to Teixeira et al. (2003), Portuguese higher education institutions, especially public universities, have strengthened their institutional autonomy

during the last thirty years, which makes it almost impossible to introduce top-down changes suggested by the European Union or determined by the national government without their agreement through negotiation. Higher education institutions are responsible for the curricular organisation of study programmes. Therefore, European programmes such as ERASMUS, TEMPUS, PHARE and ALPHA do not immediately give rise to curricular changes, as institutions can decide whether they adhere to them and how they are going to develop and manage the internationalisation activities embedded in them.

Van der Wende and Huisman (2003), when referring to the stronger focus of the SOCRATES programme towards the development of a European (internationalised) curricula, state that: "The step towards cooperation at the curriculum level proved to be an interesting but a difficult one. (...) Many European, innovative, and interdisciplinary approaches were developed. However, the actual institutionalisation of these new programmes (or their acceptance as a new part of the regular curriculum) turned out to be quite difficult" (Van der Wende and Huisman, 2003: 4)

This statement describes what happened in Portugal, where according to Teixeira et al. (2003) the influence of these programmes was diffuse and thus far they have not produced any visible, concrete and systematic results. However if 'direct' cooperation at curriculum level has not been very successful, the support for student mobility did have an important impact: Students' mobility provided a source of information that is being slowly integrated by institutions, thus leading to more flexible attitudes on curricular organisation. At the same time, institutions have been forced to establish new administrative and academic structures dealing with student exchange.

Another example of the exercise of institutional autonomy is the establishment of an ECTS type credit system by some institutions as a result of their participation in European programmes. This was an initiative of the institutions without the need of legal imposition and may be seen as a response to Europeanisation, insofar as it allows for credit accumulation and transfer, as a tool for mobility.

This last statement gives a clue towards explaining the contribution of internationalisation policies to convergence in higher education institutions. On the one hand all the Portuguese higher education institutions tend to develop their internationalisation strategies in order to be able to participate in the EU programmes, thus converging towards certain common issues. On the other hand, the mobility of students, teachers and researchers is a very important source of information on good practices of curricular organisation and organic structure that eventually are "copied" by every institution. The establishment of new administrative and academic structures for student exchange is a good example of convergence between all Portuguese higher education institutions.

6.4.1 Mobility: trends, patterns, and geographical focus

Based on the premise that mobility of teachers, students and researchers can be an adequate indicator of internationalisation, then Portuguese higher education is each year becoming more international, because the mobility of students, teachers and researchers, especially within Europe, is increasing. The main reason for this increase in mobility has been the EU mobility programmes, which provided grants to support at least part of the mobility costs. This is primarily the case of the ERASMUS programme, later integrated into SOCRATES, and also of the LEONARDO and other SOCRATES actions. Although it can be argued that “on the whole, SOCRATES did not have the snowball effect which would lead to a new stage of cooperation within higher education in Europe” (Van der Wende and Huisman, 2003: 4), the promotion of the mobility of teachers and students has helped to open Portugal towards Europe, and has provided a rationale for the internationalisation policies.

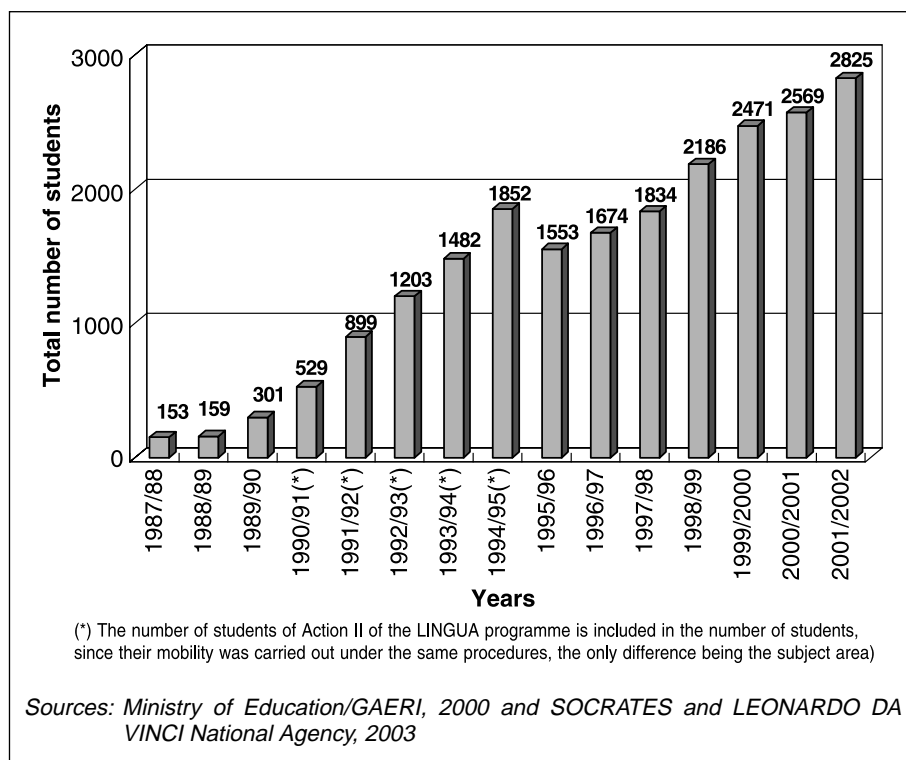
Student mobility

The data on outgoing Portuguese students within the framework of ERASMUS shows (Figure 6.1) that their number has consistently increased, from 153 in 1987/88 to 2,825 in 2001/02, with the exception of 1995/96 when there was a decrease relative to the preceding year. Portuguese students have a stable pattern of preferences with Spain, France, Italy, Germany and the United Kingdom being the major destination countries. This is probably due to both linguistic and cultural aspects as well as economic ones. Spain is the neighbour country, which means low travel costs and the absence of a real language barrier. The UK, France and Germany are Portuguese references in the higher education area and Italian is a Latin language. The preferred disciplines in terms of enrolment are the social sciences, engineering and technology, and languages and philological sciences.

The number of incoming students under the ERASMUS exchange programme has also increased steadily (1,382 in 1997/98, 1,754 in 1998/99 and 2,236 in 1999/2000), being more or less equivalent to the number of outgoing students. The main countries of origin of these students were Spain, Italy and France, which can be explained by geographic and cultural proximity.

Recently students have enrolled as normal to follow a full study programme, and not under one of the temporary EU exchange programmes for mobility. The OECD has published data (years 1998 and 2000) on the number of Portuguese students enrolled in tertiary education in other countries as a percentage of the total number of students that are enrolled in this level of education in Portugal. The total percentage in 2000 was below 3%, the first country of destination being France (0.8%), followed by the UK (0.6%), Germany (0.5%), Spain (0.2%) and USA (0.2%) (OECD, 2002), the results for 1998 being quite similar (OECD, 2000). These statistics can perhaps be explained by Portuguese immigration.

Figure 6.1 Number of Portuguese students in the ERASMUS programme



The OECD data shows that in 2000 the total number of foreign students enrolled in Portugal was about 1% of the total student population, the main countries of origin being Switzerland (0.3%), Belgium (0.2%), France (0.2%) and the UK (0.1%) (OECD, 2002). Data for 1998 is not consistent with the above results as they show a very strong participation of students from Luxemburg (5.6%), a result that needs to be seen with suspicion despite the large Portuguese emigration to that country (OECD, 1998).

Teacher mobility

The SOCRATES programme is the main origin of the mobility of Portuguese higher education teachers, and the total enrolment has been rising since 1997/98. The majority of these teachers have chosen Spain, France, Germany, the UK and Italy as preferred countries of destination, which are the same countries chosen by the students. This is not surprising as the choice made by professors certainly influences the choices of the students.

Researcher mobility

The Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT) linked to the Ministry of Science and Higher Education awards grants for postgraduate and post-doctoral studies in Portugal or abroad, and is the main source of the mobility of researchers. As this programme is partly financed through the framework programme, Portugal is considered both a host country for incoming students and the country of origin of outgoing Portuguese researchers. The available data comprises the total number of PhD, post-doctoral and other types of grants awarded until 19th May 2003 to both outgoing Portuguese researchers and to incoming foreign researchers.

The available data on the Portuguese researchers that leave the country to study abroad show that a large percentage has until now chosen the USA (21%) and the UK (37%) as preferred countries for postgraduate studies. More recently Spain is also emerging as a major destination country. The President of FCT referred to this new trend: "We have a large number of post-graduate students with scholarships... (...) namely in the UK, which is the country with more scholarships, followed by the United States and at present France and Spain on equal footing, and this is a new development. Until recently the Portuguese would not go to Spain, probably because of some rivalry between the two countries, etc." (Interview with Ramôa Ribeiro).

The President of the FCT also considers that the choice of the countries for PhD studies is largely influenced by tradition. He refers to the case of the UK, where universities have a long tradition regarding PhD studies, which probably can explain the choices of Portuguese researchers: "However, in the case of PhD degrees tradition counts a lot. The British universities have an enormous tradition and consequently many academics from Portuguese universities have obtained their doctoral degrees in the UK" (Interview with Ramôa Ribeiro).

The data also shows that the type of grant awarded influences the preferred scientific areas of outgoing Portuguese postgraduate students. In the case of PhD grants, Portuguese researchers have mainly chosen the social sciences (25%) and the natural and environmental sciences (23%). For postdoctoral students, the most relevant areas are the natural and environment sciences (36%) and the exact sciences (24%). For other types of grants, social sciences (24%) and exact sciences (29%) are the most chosen areas. These latter grants represent only a small percentage for medical sciences. For the fields of science & technology management and research in consortium, the number of grants is negligible whatever their type.

Foreign researchers who have chosen Portugal as their host country for postgraduate studies come from a large number of different countries, the most common being Brazil (especially for researchers with a PhD or other types of grant) and China (especially in postdoctoral studies). France, Spain and Russia

– in each case depending on the type of grant the students have – are also home countries of a significant percentage of the incoming foreign researchers.

The scientific areas chosen by incoming postgraduate students show a variation over time, although in medical sciences their participation (in percentage) is rather low independently of the type of grant awarded. Nevertheless there are in general important differences between the types of grants awarded. For PhD grants, engineering and technology (40%) is the most popular area, followed by social sciences (15%) and exact sciences (12%). For postdoctoral grants, exact sciences becomes the most popular choice (34%), closely followed by engineering and technology (32%), with natural and environment sciences occupying third place (23%), and all other areas enrolling less than 10% of all researchers. The other types of grants are quite well divided across the different scientific areas, exceptions being the already mentioned medical sciences and the science & technology management and research in consortium (these last two with null percentage whatever the type of grant).

The Gulbenkian Foundation is an important source of grants for outgoing students, awarding an average of thirty grants each year, in subject areas that include the social sciences, exact sciences, human sciences and life sciences. The USA is the first choice, followed by the UK. Germany and France were also countries chosen by a relevant percentage of students in the years 1999 and 2000, but the trend seems to be the option for the USA or the UK as host country, probably due to the prestige of some of their universities, especially for postgraduate studies. Another possible explanation lies in the fact that the Gulbenkian Foundation gives preference to the USA in order not to overlap with other programmes, which in general avoid the USA due to longer duration of studies and higher costs.

The Gulbenkian Foundation has also a short duration grants programme (maximum three months), which finances visits of Portuguese students to other countries in the scope of their research work (on average around 100 grants per year).

The Marie Curie Fellowships, available under the 5th Framework programme for Community activities in research, technological development and demonstration (1998-2002), which will continue to be available under the 6th Framework Programme (2002-2006) are an additional source of funding for postgraduate activities. However, at least in the Portuguese case, the Marie Curie Fellowships play only a minor role in the promotion of the researchers' mobility and consequently in the internationalisation of the national system of higher education.

6.4.2 Cooperation with and mobility from developing countries

According to Van der Wende (2002: 2) "the process of de-colonization in the 1950s and 1960s resulted in new forms of mobility and cooperation aimed at the development of a new intellectual stratum in the former colonial nations".

In Portugal the de-colonization happened only during the early 1970s, and since then the country has felt a particular responsibility towards the development of its former African colonies, and more recently also East Timor. This sense of responsibility is translated in the Portuguese external policy and includes a particular concern with education and training of their young people as well as their top administrative staff. According to one of our interviewees, the main goal of this policy is giving those students adequate education and training and then trying to enable them return to their own countries, where they can be fundamental building stones of development. “The Portuguese foreign policy towards scholarship holders from PALOP countries is to encourage them to return to their home country, as it represents an additional help to development, and we have to maintain this relationship. (...) to ensure that Portugal is the first host country for students from Portuguese speaking countries and that it remains their first choice. But also to ensure that most of them return to their countries trained to play a socially useful role” (Interview with Graça Carvalho).

There are three special regimes for access to higher education of PALOP students (depending e.g. on the educational background of the student) that provide special earmarked vacancies, both in public and private higher education institutions. The number of successful candidates has been increasing steadily since 1998. This trend confirms the efforts of the Portuguese government to help in the qualification of human resources and the important role that cooperation with and mobility from developing countries plays in the internationalisation process.

The majority of African students have come from Cape Verde, a trend that was very accentuated during the last two years. The preferred subject areas were engineering and technology, social sciences, business studies and management sciences, law and medical sciences. Although this panorama has not changed dramatically over the last four years, it is worth noticing that in 2001 and 2002 the percentage of students enrolled in engineering and technology increased from 18% to 25%, and the percentage of enrolments in law and medical sciences decreased, becoming approximately equal to the percentage of students in education and teacher training.

Besides the existence of the three special access regimes, the Portuguese government also awards some grants to undergraduates. There are also programmes that award grants to citizens and residents of the PALOP countries who are willing to do postgraduate studies – master and PhD degrees – as well as a programme to support the postgraduate fieldwork of Portuguese students that are doing research on African studies.

Several bilateral cooperation agreements have been established, namely with Cape Verde and Mozambique to promote research cooperation with these developing countries. A bilateral cooperation agreement has also been signed with Brazil.

The Gulbenkian Foundation also plays an important role by annually awarding grants for PALOP students, both for undergraduates and for postgraduate specialisation. Over the last four years, the grants were mainly awarded to undergraduate students (about four times the number of grants awarded to postgraduate students), their total number being quite stable over time. The grants were mainly awarded to students of social sciences, business studies and management sciences, medical sciences, law and engineering and technology, and this pattern has been quite steady over all the years considered.

6.4.3 The mobility effect: brain gain/brain drain

Due to the increasing mobility of students, teachers and researchers from and to the country, we can speak of a brain drain situation. In fact, and according to one of our interviewees, it is a goal of the Portuguese government that undergraduate and postgraduate Portuguese students that make part or all their studies abroad return to the country, contributing to its own development. Nevertheless it is recognised that the presence of Portuguese students and researchers abroad also contributes to the internationalisation of Portuguese higher education and especially of its research, namely by contributing to the easier establishment of networks. The president of FCT considers that it might be useful for some researchers to stay in the host country to establish links. However the majority should return and there are several programmes that support their integration in the private sector. Integration in the public sector is more difficult because budgets of universities do not allow for the integration of a sizeable number of researchers: "I believe that it is important that some of our PhD holders remain abroad. It is even very important (...). It is much easier to establish relationships with research groups where those Portuguese PhDs are integrated than with those where there are no Portuguese. However, it is evident that most of them should return to Portugal, as we are making an investment in them, so it is important that they return. It is also true that there are programmes aiming at the integration of masters and PhD holders in enterprises and in the scientific system..." (Interview with Ramôa Ribeiro).

The director of GRICES mentioned also the need to attract the best students from other countries, namely from China and India: "We would very much like to have conditions for attracting the Portuguese who are abroad, and we need to create those conditions. There are, for instance, several Marie Curie initiatives that are very interesting for this purpose. On the other hand, we would like to attract the best students from India or China. And we would like to see them following their careers in Portugal, in Europe. (...) So we have to attract the Portuguese who are abroad following their careers there, and to attract students, good students from all over the world." (Interview with Graça Carvalho). The Ministry of Science and Higher Education wants to create mechanisms allowing Portuguese institutions to become more competitive,

namely by allowing them to pay additional salaries to reward scientific excellence and to hire well reputed foreign scientists for teaching and research.

6.4.4 Main effects of the internationalisation of research

In 1995, the XIII Constitutional Government created a Ministry of Science and Technology, with the main goal of promoting scientific research in Portugal, increasing its quality and relevance and promoting Portuguese international cooperation in this domain. It is worth noting that at that time the Portuguese scientific and technological system, especially at the structural level, was less developed than those of most European countries.

In the framework of this new Ministry, an Institute for International Scientific and Technological Cooperation (ICCTI) was created, with the objective of creating conditions for the development of one of the Ministry's priorities, namely the "evaluation, reform and expansion of the Portuguese scientific and technological system and the reinforcement of its ties with the international scientific and technological community and with the Portuguese society" (ICCTI Activities' Report, 1998: 1). Its mission included: "Management, orientation and coordination of the international cooperation activities, supporting the Ministry of Science and Technology in all activities relating to the participation of Portugal in the areas of Science and Technology as EU member state, and orientation of the national representation in the international bodies in these areas" (ICCTI Activities' Report, 1998: 1-2).

This idea of supporting internationalisation is again reinforced by ICCTI in 2001: "The activity of the ICCTI aims preferentially at answering the demands of the scientific community (national and international), in order to guarantee appropriate conditions for meetings and work by using opportunities created from diverse international agreements. In this sense, the activity of ICCTI is mainly focused in the preparation of regulation instruments of internationalisation and in creating opportunities for scientific cooperation." (ICCTI Activities' Report, 2001: 1)

The Portuguese internationalisation policies – in the present case for the research and technological system – tend to foster the development and management of internationalisation activities in the scope of the research centres themselves, most of them being organic units integrated in higher education institutions. The activities of the ICCTI essentially covered three large domains (ICCTI Activities' Report, 1998):

- ◆ the Portuguese participation in the EU science and technology programmes, namely in the framework programmes
- ◆ the development of scientific and technological or cultural relationships in the framework of bilateral agreements, with special emphasis in bilateral cooperation with Portuguese speaking countries
- ◆ the participation of the Portuguese scientific community in large laboratories and international organisations with confirmed relevance for science

and technology, and the participation in international or multilateral scientific programmes and networks besides those of the EU.

In 2002 ICCTI was replaced by GRICES but its main activities were continued. In what follows an overview will be given of European and bilateral cooperation and the participation in international laboratories and institutions. The president of FST considers that: "Consequently, we are indeed internationalised from the point of view of our scientific community. There are some international relationships that must develop through some specialised international organisations such as CERN, or ESO (...). And we need also to use the bi-lateral agreements that exist at the level of some countries. (...) And we must recognise that there are some people of great quality among the young people that we train." (Interview with Ramôa Ribeiro).

European cooperation

The Framework Programmes have been a very important and relevant means for promoting the internationalisation of the Portuguese scientific and technological system. The ICCTI states that they are a "privileged base for accessing international knowledge networks and, on other hand, for connecting national institutions to the technology international market" (ICCTI Activities Report, 1998: 5). This was confirmed by the interviews: "... our first objective is Europe and the framework programmes. At present a new framework programme, the 6th framework programme is being implemented and it is a great challenge for Portugal" (Interview with Graça Carvalho) and "It is important that we participate more and more in the framework programme... if for no other reason, because we are now facing a decrease of the structural funds and we need to obtain alternative funding from the state budget, private companies and also the European Commission through the framework programme" (Interview with Ramôa Ribeiro).

Under the 4th Framework Programme, more than 800 institutions participated in a total of 992 projects (290 were enterprises, in 470 projects). Portuguese institutions were project leaders (ICCTI Activities Report, 1998: 5) in 108 of them.

Under the 4th Framework Programme in 2001, Portugal submitted 2,220 proposals, and signed 479 contracts divided by the following specific programmes: 80 in Quality of Life, 79 in Information Society, 157 in Sustainable Growth, 74 in Energy and Environment, 10 in Nuclear Energy, 27 in International Role, 8 in Innovation and SME's and 44 in Human Potential. Contracts were signed with 135 higher education institutions, 116 research centres, 159 private organisations and 69 with other types of beneficiaries. The contracts signed in 2001 enabled the establishment of 4,631 cooperation links between Portugal and other countries, 4,082 of them with EU countries (with special relevance for the UK, Germany, France and Italy) and the others with candidate and associated countries (Commission of the European Communities, 2003).

By September 2002 Portugal had participated in approximately 900 projects signed, divided by the following thematic programmes: 30% in Information Society, 22% in Sustainable Growth, 14% in Quality of Life, 14% in Environment, 9% in Energy, 7% in Human Potential, 3% in International Cooperation and 1% in Innovation. Considering the type of beneficiary, the data indicates that 30% were higher education institutions, 32% were enterprises, 21% were non-profit private institutions, 9% was the State and 8% were other types of beneficiaries.

Other European programmes and initiatives in which Portugal participates and co-operates are the European Platform of Clinical Tests in the areas of AIDS, Malaria and Tuberculosis and CRAFT (Cooperative Research Action for Technology). Portugal is also a participant in the EUREKA initiative; as all EUREKA projects have to be developed between national entities associated to foreign enterprises or entities, this initiative plays a special role in internationalisation (ICCTI Activities Report, 1998: 6).

Bilateral cooperation

Bi-lateral cooperation results from Scientific and Technological Cooperation Agreements between Portugal and other countries; Cultural Agreements, coordinated by the Camões Institute of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which includes interchanges of researchers; and Protocols and Agreements with science and technology institutions in other countries (ICCTI Activities Report, 1998: 7).

The GRICES 2002 Activities Report noted that this type of cooperation has allowed for an interchange of researchers through about thirty agreements established with foreign institutions or countries (there were more than 500 applications with an approval percentage of 73%; in 2001, more than 500 applications were received, 85% of them being approved; in 2000, again 500 applications were received, about 430 being approved). The most significant exchanges over recent years have been with France and Brazil. Under the Cultural Agreements, 43 scientific interchange missions were funded (in 2001 this number was 53 and in 2000 it was 40) (data collected in the Activities Reports of ICCTI, 2000 and 2001, and of GRICES, 2002).

Participation in international laboratories and institutions

In the last fifty years several large international laboratories have emerged, contributing to new scientific perspectives by making available instruments, observation means and scientific infrastructures whose costs exceed the financial possibilities of a single country.

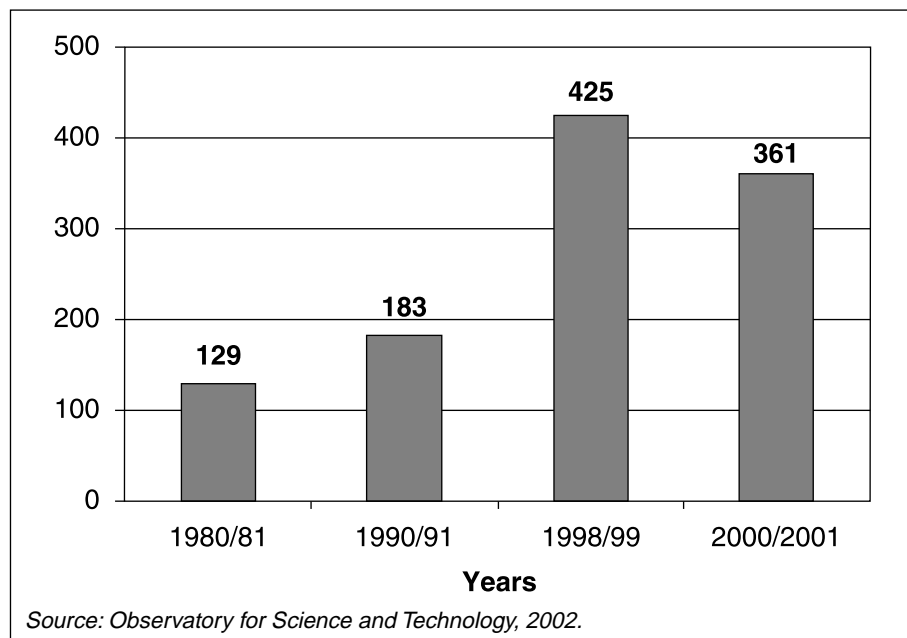
These laboratories need the participation of scientists from many countries in order to develop their scientific potential. Since joining CERN in 1985, Portugal has developed a sustained policy of participation in the activities of

the majority of these international institutions (ICCTI Activities Report, 1998). Nowadays, Portuguese participation includes the CERN, EMBC, EMBL, ESA, ESO, ESRF, ESF, COST, CYTED, CGIAR and INVOTAN Commission.

The numbers of Portuguese scientific publications in co-authorship with institutions of foreign countries increased from 1990 to 2001, with a small decrease in the last year (Observatory for Science and Technology, 2003). The major percentage of these publications (considering the total number from 1981 until 2001) resulted from cooperation with institutions from England, USA and France.

Finally we present the number of doctoral degrees completed abroad and recognised in Portugal, which is also an indicator of the degree of internationalisation of Portuguese research. From 1980/81 to 1998/99 this number almost tripled. However, in 2000/01 the number slightly declined (Figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2 Number of doctoral degrees concluded abroad and recognised in Portugal from 1980/81 until 2000/01



6.5 The policy context – major recent trends and changes

The major changes in the Portuguese higher education system occurred in the last thirty years, after the April 1974 Revolution. It is true that 25th April 1974 is in all aspects a milestone in recent Portuguese history, and the major

trends and changes in the Portuguese higher education system, namely its massification, diversification (both by implementing a binary system and by allowing the emergence of a large private sector) and scientific and technological development only took place after the demise of the dictatorial regime of Salazar.

During the period immediately after the 1974 Revolution “the political pendulum swung violently to the extreme left”, but: “... as the revolutionary fire died down and integration into the European Union emerged as an attractive possibility (integration of Portugal dates from 1986), soon the pace was set towards a ‘normalisation’ process along a convergent path with the other European countries”(Amaral and Carvalho, 2003:1)

This convergence towards Europe made the country move from a model of state control towards a model of state supervision, as happened in almost all other western European countries. In 1988 the University Autonomy Act was passed and in 1990 it was the time for the Statute and Autonomy of Polytechnic Higher Education Institutions Act, both conferring a considerable degree of autonomy to public higher education institutions. Nevertheless: “These acts clearly contain those elements of hybridism that characterise the participation of the government through the Ministry in charge of higher education as the main regulator of the system” (Amaral & Carvalho, 2003).

Despite the almost complete administrative and financial autonomy of private institutions, they are considerably less autonomous than public universities in other issues such as pedagogical autonomy (Amaral & Carvalho, 2003).

Expansion and massification of the system was another recent change. With an increasing demand from students completing secondary education and with some artificial mechanisms inducing demand (namely the 1989 elimination of minimum requirements to enter higher education), the system was forced to expand, increasing enrolments in public institutions and promoting the emergence of a large private sector.

The fact that the public sector could not answer the explosive increase in demand, combined with legislation allowing teachers of public institutions to teach simultaneously in private institutions, and lack of control over quality helps to explain the fast development of the private sector. The government supported this development as it allowed an increase in the number of vacancies in higher education (satisfying the growing pressures from the society) without an equal increase in public expenditure. Under these conditions it is no wonder that the private sector has developed very fast and in an unbalanced way, either in the scientific areas of the degrees awarded – basically the development was based upon the multiplication of degrees in scientific areas such as management, law, economics, human sciences, all characterised by low investment and running costs, or its geographical localisa-

tion in the country – most private institutions were established in Lisbon and Porto, thus giving rise to a distortion of the higher education system as a whole.

One very recent change, which may have an impact on the internationalisation of the higher education system, is the systematic decrease in the number of candidates to higher education over the last years. This decrease was indeed a surprise to higher education institutions fully committed to a strategy of expansion, and is now giving rise to a very difficult situation, especially for the private institutions, but also for public polytechnics and even for public universities located in the interior of the country. This situation may act as a stimulus for higher education institutions to start looking for different “clients”. These may be international students. This will demand an effort from the institutions, which can obviously be helped by the state, in order to promote themselves and their degrees in other countries.

A recent document published by the Ministry of Science and Technology establishes that higher education institutions are entitled to define the level of the fees to be paid by foreign students, while for national students institutions they can only set the level of fees between a minimum and a maximum value established by the Ministry. This of course excludes special situations that result from international agreements of the Portuguese state (such as the ERASMUS programme, EU students and students protected by bilateral agreements). This measure could in a certain way contribute to a greater effort of the institutions to promote their degrees in other countries, trying to enrol a larger number of foreign students.

It is not going to be easy, because of cultural and linguistic issues, and also because students increasingly prefer higher education institutions close to their parents' home. And of course, success will also strongly depend on the excellent reputation of the degrees, something that not every institution can offer.

In Portugal the relationship between HEIs and the state follows a model of state supervision, which confers on the institutions a considerable degree of autonomy. This means that steering institutions towards increased internationalisation might be difficult. However Portuguese HEIs, despite their autonomy, or because of that same autonomy, are very aware of the importance of the internationalisation process and have been making efforts in order to become more international. They participate in the EU programmes on higher education, they are making efforts to ensure their degrees are compatible with the ECTS system, they have institutionalised special units in their organic structures to deal with international issues and they are starting to think how to get more foreign students beyond those coming through the standard mobility programmes. Some of them are even launching graduate and postgraduate programmes together with foreign institutions, especially those from Portuguese speaking countries.

6.6 The relationship with policies developed at the European level

6.6.1 Implementation of European policies

European policies are one of the most relevant inputs for the definition of Portuguese higher education policies for internationalisation. The implementation of European policies is an assumed priority at the highest level in the Ministry of Science and Higher Education and its agencies. One of those agencies is the FCT, which is responsible for the implementation of science and research policies and for funding the research units established in the higher education system. The other agency is the GRICES, which has responsibility for implementing the internationalisation policies for Science and Higher Education, and for being the liaison between the Ministry and the higher education system.

The National Agency for European Programmes is responsible for the management of decentralised actions under the SOCRATES and LEONARDO programmes. The Ministry of Work and Social Security and the Ministry of Education also participate in this structure, together with the Ministry of Science and Higher Education.

One can identify a strong convergence of interests between policies developed at national level and policies developed at European level. It's important to understand: "[that in] the process of international convergence of higher education systems, one cannot ignore neither the dynamics of globalisation and the hegemony of neo-liberal discourses and policies (Torres & Schugurensky, 2002) nor the role of national governments in trying to establish the conditions that will allow the national economy to prosper and the nation to be part of the winners of the game of globalisation" (Amaral, 2002: 9).

6.6.2 Implementation of the Bologna process

As in many other European countries, the Bologna process has been the opportunity for heated debates and for the emergence of diverse proposals aimed at adapting the Portuguese higher education system to the new degree structure and criteria of transparency and comparability that result from the Bologna declaration.

At present the Portuguese higher education system is a binary system of universities and polytechnics. Polytechnics award a two-tier degree: *bacharelato* (three years) and one or two additional years (equivalent to *licenciatura*) and universities award the *licenciatura* (four to six years) and all post-graduate degrees (*mestrado* and *doutoramento*).

There is no consensus on the duration of the first cycle. While the Council of Rectors wants four years to be the minimum duration of the first degree (traditionally *licenciaturas* are four to six year degrees), the Council of

Polytechnics is strongly in favour of a three-year first degree (the traditional length of the bachelor degree).

The national opinion is also strongly divided on the new degree structure. While some people propose to eliminate the degree of bacharel, others prefer to eliminate the degree of licenciatura, and others want to eliminate the degree of mestrado. Recently, there were proposals for defining two different mestrados: one year at universities and polytechnics and two years only at universities.

There is also strong disagreement on the duration of the two cycles (from three to six years for the first cycle and one or two years for the second short cycle).

Also, there is no consensus on the criteria for defining which institutions can confer the degrees. Some propose a clear separation of universities and polytechnics with the latter being limited to the first cycle, and eventually the short mestrado. Others consider that the type of degrees an institution is entitled to confer should not be determined by the designation of the institution (university or polytechnic) but by the institutional capacity, eventually in result of an accreditation system.

Changing the degree structure is not easy because the present structure was defined in the Fundamental law on the education system, an Act of Parliament, and any change will need another Act of Parliament. This explains why so far none of the Portuguese HEIs have taken steps to change their programmes following the Bologna declaration.

The government has recently presented a proposal of a new Fundamental law, but other political parties in opposition have reacted by presenting alternative proposals. Given the fact that the present Minister resigned in October 2003, it is difficult to guess what the final law will look like.

6.7 The influence of the changes in the international context

According to the director of GRICES, the Portuguese position regarding the GATS proposals is very much against the idea of considering higher education a tradable commodity. The Portuguese government also intends to safeguard the specificities of national language and culture, and recent legislation contains provisions against franchising education activities.

Following the Lisbon declaration on mutual recognition of diplomas there is a system for automatic recognition of foreign doctoral degrees, which however excludes recognition of degrees conferred under franchising activities.

In November 2002, the National Evaluation Council also made a statement containing several recommendations, such as:

- ◆ increasing public awareness about transnational education
- ◆ revising the national regulation framework in order to define the basic requirements for recognition of HEIs
- ◆ including transnational education under the framework of the national evaluation agencies
- ◆ promoting the internationalisation of evaluation teams and defining a “code of good practice” at national level
- ◆ implementing the diploma supplement
- ◆ defining the national position along the concerns expressed.

Finally, the new 1/2003 Act forbids franchising activities, namely the establishment of education institutions operating under franchising.

6.8 Conclusion

From the present analysis it is possible to state that Portugal is committed to the internationalisation of its higher education and research system.

One cannot forget that by history Portugal is an emigration country. On the one hand the government supported with grants the training of its postgraduate students in countries such as France, United Kingdom and Germany; on the other hand the labour force went abroad seeking better life conditions. After integration in the EU the Portuguese economic situation improved and at present there are earmarked vacancies in higher education for special kinds of students (sons of Portuguese emigrants and the students coming from the Portuguese-speaking African countries). There are also European students coming to Portuguese HEIs for a short period of time and not enrolled in the system. The European programmes give Portuguese students the most important opportunity for mobility.

It is worth mentioning the co-operative relationships established with all the countries that were former Portuguese colonies. Several special programmes and agreements exist between Portugal and these countries with the main goal of supporting their cultural, economic, technological, scientific and educational development. In this context, there are both special places in Portuguese universities and polytechnic institutes, public and private, for students coming from these countries, as well as several grants programmes to support the costs of mobility. Obviously it should be mentioned that in this context the language is a very important issue in order to promote the internationalisation of the Portuguese higher education system (in all these countries Portuguese is the official language).

There is a great effort to make Portuguese higher education more international through the participation in programmes launched at European level, specially the SOCRATES programme. It can be concluded, by the analysis of the data collected, that this effort is leading to some visible effects and results. Nevertheless, Portugal has some characteristics that make the inter-

nationalisation of its higher education system problematic. One of them is obviously the language, as Portuguese is one of the least spoken and known languages in Europe. Another important drawback is the fact that it is not a rich country and the costs inherent to the mobility of students, teachers and researchers are not easy to support, even with the financial help of the grants from the available programmes.

Thus, one can identify the cultural/linguistic issues that play an important role in the internationalisation process of higher education. On the one hand Portuguese is important to attract people from former colonies, and on the other hand English is becoming the lingua franca for communication in international scientific community. The balance between these two alternative poles needs to be managed by the organisations at institutional level in consonance with their internationalisation strategy. Under this framework the process of Europeanisation that will lead to changes with the implementation of the programme ERASMUS World will be very interesting to analyse. With the adoption of this programme the institutions to raise funds for their master courses will have to correspond to certain demands such as the use, at least, of two languages spoken in the member states. One should also mention that this possibility of obtaining European funding for the master courses could be connected to the decrease of responsibilities of the state for post-graduate studies.

Recently an effort has been made towards the internationalisation of the Portuguese research and technological development system, as Portugal can develop its scientific research only through cooperation with other countries. Therefore, the Portuguese participation in the European programmes is becoming a priority because higher education institutions should increasingly ensure diversified funding sources.

In that sense Portugal is now an active participant in the majority of the important European laboratories, having also bilateral and multilateral agreements with large number of countries within and outside Europe. Besides this international cooperation, the scientific system is periodically under quality evaluations made by international experts, and some incentives to innovation have been put in place. Portugal is also trying to establish cooperation agreements with countries such as China and India, where it had a quite important presence some centuries ago. The recent sharp increase in the number of Portuguese researchers has created a reasonable critical mass in some fields of study, thus contributing to future research development. Nevertheless it must be said that it is still very hard for Portuguese research centres and their researchers to find partners in the national industry, which is obviously a barrier to the development of the scientific and technological system.

To conclude, the processes of Europeanisation, internationalisation and globalisation of Portuguese higher education and research can be regarded more as reaction than anticipation. Thus, those processes can be conceived

as a lever (McBurnie, 2001) to introduce changes. In this respect the Ministry of Science and Higher Education states that: "The educational policy defined by the XV Constitutional Government is based on issues and concerns expressed by other European countries, namely: autonomy, funding and quality control. Under this framework the European Union programmes and the Bologna process are opportunities for reform and for improvement of quality in education and research, but not as an instrument used to achieve the quality in higher education" (Interview with Pedro Lynce).

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7. The Netherlands

Anneke Luijten-Lub

7.1 National policy for the internationalisation of higher education

The internationalisation of higher education (HE) in the Netherlands is increasingly a part of mainstream higher education policy and activities of the higher education institutions (HEIs). This is, for example, shown by the reform of the system into an internationally more common, two-cycle system. International developments, such as increasing competition, globalisation and the Bologna Declaration are addressed in the current national HE policy. The main underlying rationale of the policy for internationalisation of Dutch HE since the 1990s has been the economic rationale. Since then, a sharper distinction has developed in the national policy between the short-term and long-term economic benefits of the internationalisation of HE; for example the recruitment of students for institutional income, generating short term benefits, and for compensating for national shortages in particular sectors, which generates more long term benefits as part of the human resources strategy. Several effects of the policy are already quite clear. An example is the reform of the higher education system as well as the increase in student mobility over the last few years.

7.2 Introduction: Overview of Dutch higher education

The main types of institutions in the Dutch HE system are the *hogescholen* and the universities. The Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences is responsible for the governmental policy for this sector, although other Ministries are also involved. Other national actors that play a role are several advisory councils, buffer organisations and, particularly in relation to internationalisation, an intermediary organisation, Nuffic.

Higher education institutions (HEIs)

The Dutch HE system is a binary system with *hogescholen* and universities. The *hogescholen* are responsible for higher professional education, whereas the universities are responsible for academic teaching and research. In 2002, around 326,000 students were enrolled in 50 *hogescholen*, and 182,000 students were enrolled in fourteen universities. Almost all Dutch students are studying in either a public or government-dependent HEIs (see also Huisman, 1999; OECD, 2003a). In 2001, 90.8% of all students at the *hogescholen* were studying at government-dependent HEIs, and the remaining 9.2% were studying at a public hogeschool. In the same year, 68.6% of Dutch students in the universities were studying at government-dependent HEIs, and 31.3% at public institutions (OECD, 2003a: 269). Precise statistics

on student enrolments at private, independent institutions are not available, but are low compared to the enrolment at the other types of institutions. Over the last 10 years, the numbers of students at the *hogescholen* have been increasing. The numbers of students at universities dropped in the mid-1990s, but has since then increased again (see Table 7.1).

Table 7.1 Number of students by type of institution

Type of institution	1992	1995	1998	2000	2002
University	187,430	177,400	160,480	168,150	181,890
<i>Hogeschool</i>	263,500	272,170	290,530	315,300	325,950

Source: CBS, 2003

The HEIs derive income from three so-called *flows of funds* and tuition fees paid by the students (Table 7.2). The first *flow of funds*, provided by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences⁵, represents the core funding of the HEIs, consisting of a block grant (lump sum). It is allocated in proportion to the teaching, research and related activities by the HEIs. The first flow also contains a number of specific allocations, such as the compensation of unemployment benefits, which are paid by the institutions themselves to laid-off staff members. In practice, the HEIs can spend the grant at their own discretion provided the legal tasks are performed adequately.

The second *flow of funds* consists of project-based public payments for research, which are allocated by the Dutch Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) and the Royal Netherlands Academy of Science (KNAW). The third *flow of funds* represents the income generated by the HEIs through contract research and teaching. Finally, students are required to pay a tuition fee for education at both types of institutions. The fee is equal for both institutions and the income from tuition fees represents some 6% of the total income of the universities and about 18% of the income of the *hogescholen*.

Table 7.2 Sources of funds of universities and *hogescholen*, 2002

Source of funds	universities	<i>hogescholen</i>
Block grant and other core funds (first flow)	66%	74%
Research council grants (second flow)	5%	–
Contract teaching, contract research (third flow)	23%	8%
Tuition fees	6%	18%
Total	100%	100%

Source: Boezerooy, 2003

⁵ The agricultural institutions, one university and six *hogescholen*, receive their grants from the Ministry of Agriculture

A programme will receive public funding provided that it is accredited by the recently installed National Accreditation Organisation (see below).

Of particular interest to the internationalisation of Dutch HE are the thirteen Institutes for International Education. These institutes were set up in the 1950s as part of the cooperation policy for development with the former Dutch colonies, for example Indonesia. The Institutes for International Education are only for international students, who are mainly young professionals from developing countries. Their objective is to contribute to the development of the home countries of the students by professional training and capacity building. The Institutes for International Education have been offering courses taught in English since the early 1950s. The institutes have since then developed a broader profile, including students from a wider range of developing countries, who do not all receive scholarships. Table 7.3 gives an overview of the recent number of students at these institutions.

Table 7.3 Number of students at the main Institutes for International Education

Institute	1999	2000
MSM	727	593
ITC	896	922
HIS	305	383
ISS	245	263
IHE	1,876	2,060

Source: Ministerie van OCW, 2002

Since these institutes were formerly independent and not linked to universities, international students have not participated in regular Dutch HEIs and have not had an influence there. As a consequence, the regular HEIs had little experience with international students until the 1990s. However, current policies are aimed at integrating the Institutes for International Education with the universities. Two institutes have recently entered a partnership with a university.

The Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences provides a lump sum subsidy to these institutes. Other funding comes from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, through student grants and funding of specific projects. However, these grants have recently been opened up to students from developing countries studying in any HEI. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is involved in the Institutes for International Education.

In addition to the public institutions described above, there are several private, approved institutions of higher education, most of which provide professional education and training. These institutions also fall under the Higher Education and Research Act (WHW). Compared to enrolments at both public

and government-dependent institutions, enrolment at private institutions is low. The range of private institutions includes traditionally Dutch institutions, but also some foreign institutions such as Webster University and Phoenix University.

7.2.1 Governmental actors

Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences

As already indicated by the name, the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences (MOCenW) is responsible for governmental policy for both HE and scientific research. Each year the budget for the coming year is drawn up, as part of the total national budget. Priorities are laid out in the budget. Furthermore, every four years the Ministry draws up the Higher Education and Research Plan (HOOP). During the policy formulation process advisory councils such as the Education council (*Onderwijsraad*) and the Advisory Council for Science and Technology Policy (AWT) make recommendations to the Ministry. Moreover, several buffer organisations, for example the Association of Universities in the Netherlands (VSNU), the Association of Universities of Professional Education (HBO-Raad) and the National Student Union (LSVB), are consulted during the process. The next HOOP will appear in 2004.

In the steering philosophy of the Ministry, the HEIs are autonomous actors. Since the mid-1990s, the government has been working on deregulation and increasing the autonomy of the HEIs. This philosophy of 'steering at a distance' is reflected in the lump sum funding of the HEIs, leaving the HEIs to make decisions on spending. Furthermore, since the first 'purple' coalition (1994-1998) competition in the public sector has been stimulated by the Dutch government, introducing the idea of HE as a market and accepting private providers in the HE market (Van der Wende, 2002). The Ministry sees to the right conditions for the HEIs to work in and sees to the quality of the education provided; quality and access for all students need to be ensured according to the national higher education policy.

The general steering philosophy can also be recognised in the policy for the internationalisation of HE. For example, in the document *Kennis: geven en nemen* (Knowledge: give and take, MOCenW, 1999) an explicit choice for self-direction by the HEIs is expressed. The HEIs themselves can decide upon their international profile. Again, the Ministry sees to the necessary conditions for the HEIs to allow them to work as freely as possible, enabling them to make their choices without any obstacles.

The Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences has a separate directorate, which is responsible for the internationalisation of HE. However, more and more, internationalisation is becoming part of the mainstream policy concerning HE. The general directorates for the *hogescholen* and the universities,

of which there are plans to merge, are increasingly involved in policy-making concerning the internationalisation of HE. An example of this is the implementation of the new two-cycle system (Bachelors and Masters programmes). This system was introduced, at least in part, as a response to the Bologna Declaration and the implementation was mainly the responsibility of these general directorates.

Other ministries involved

Several other ministries are more or less involved in internationalisation. These are the Ministries of Foreign affairs, of Economic Affairs, of Justice, of Social Affairs and of Agriculture.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has traditionally been involved in the internationalisation of Dutch HE. The Institutes for International Education were the responsibility of this Ministry, as they were part of the cooperation policy for development. Furthermore, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is responsible for the general national foreign policy. The policy for the internationalisation of HE must be in line with the general national foreign policy. The same holds true for the national policy concerning European affairs. The Ministry of Education needs to confer about this topic with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Finally, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has many contacts abroad through its consulates and embassies that are useful in the internationalisation of Dutch HE. For example, with their help, information on Dutch HE can be communicated more easily in foreign countries.

The Ministry of Economic Affairs is involved in the internationalisation of HE mainly in two ways. First, this Ministry has the final responsibility for the negotiations on GATS. Second, the Netherlands Foreign Trade Agency (EVD) is assisting in the promotion of Dutch HE abroad. The agency has many foreign contacts and expertise in promoting the Netherlands abroad. Higher education is part of the promotion of the Netherlands as it is currently performed by the EVD.

The Ministry of Justice bears responsibility for visas and residence permits. Applying for these documents is sometimes complicated and expensive. Recently, the Ministry increased the prices of visas, as part of the increasingly strict Dutch immigration policy, which led to heavy protests in the academic community. The visa application process has become what some refer to as a 'mobstacle': a mobility obstacle in the internationalisation of HE.

The Ministry of Social Affairs has the responsibility for working permits for foreigners and is sometimes involved in specific issues, for example issues concerning the employability of graduates.

Finally, the Ministry of Agriculture is responsible for HE in the agricultural sector. This Ministry thus shares the responsibility for HE with the Ministry of Education and is involved in the national HE policy.

7.2.2 Other national actors

National actors that have not yet been discussed are several buffer organisations and Nuffic, an intermediary organisation. There are several organisations responsible for the interests of the different groups of institutions offering HE. These organisations are consulted in the policy-making process and they try to influence the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences in their decisions.

The Association of Universities in the Netherlands (VSNU) represents the universities, whereas the Association of Universities of Professional Education (HBO-Raad) represents the *hogescholen*. PAEPON is the organisation for the private education institutions not funded by the government. Finally, the Federation of Institutes for International Education in the Netherlands (FION) represents these institutes.

Nuffic, the Netherlands Organisation for International Cooperation in Higher Education, is an intermediary between the Dutch organisations for HE and the international community. Nuffic thus plays an active role in the internationalisation of Dutch HE. The organisation was established in 1952. The main aim of Nuffic is “making education accessible all over the world, especially in countries where educational infrastructure is lagging behind”. The main areas of activity are cooperation for development, the internationalisation of HE, international recognition and certification (ENIC/NARIC), and the marketing of Dutch HE. Examples of activities of Nuffic are the execution of Dutch scholarship programmes, funded by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the administration of the SOCRATES/ERASMUS programme (Nuffic, 2003b).

7.3 Rationales for internationalisation

The main rationale underlying the current policy for the internationalisation of HE is economic. This has been the main rationale since the 1990s. The economic rationale underlying the policy for the internationalisation of HE reflects the general national HE policy, aimed at deregulation, more competition and autonomy for the HEIs. Before 1991, the academic rationale was dominant. Both the academic and cultural rationale are still present in the current policy, mostly accompanying the economic rationale.

7.3.1 A short history

The rationales regarding internationalisation in the recent past have been analysed by Van Dijk (1997). He concludes that the rationales in the mid-1990s were mainly economic and to some extent academic, political and cultural.

He stated that apart from cooperation for development through educational activities, particularly through the Institutes for International Education, “traditionally there was no strong international orientation in Dutch higher educa-

tion” (Van Dijk, 1997: 159). However, since the appearance of an OECD-review in 1985 on the subject of the internationalisation of Dutch HE, this has changed much, as will be shown in the following paragraphs.

At that time, motives for internationalisation included the need for an international attitude among academics and students, improving the quality of education and better preparing students for their future jobs. At the beginning of the 1990s, a change in the internationalisation policy was visible: “The philosophy behind these new aims seems to be the long term competitiveness of the Dutch national economy more than the quality and competitiveness of higher education, which is considered to be a precondition for future economic relations and prosperity” (Van Dijk, 1997:160).

7.3.2 Current rationales

Currently, the economic rationale is still the dominant underlying rationale for the national policy for the internationalisation of Dutch HE. The distinction between short-term and long-term economic benefits of the policy is becoming increasingly apparent in the policy documents. A sharper distinction is developing in the national policy between recruiting students for institutional income generation (short term) and for compensating for national shortages in particular sectors (long term, human resources strategy).

The economic rationale is foremost in the marketing and promotion of Dutch HE in foreign countries. This is one of the main issues in the policy for the internationalisation of Dutch HE (MOCenW, 1997, 2000, 2001a). The marketing of Dutch HE, focused on attracting foreign students, serves several goals. First, the short-term objective of attracting (fee-paying) students is to generate income for the HEIs. Second, a long-term objective is that the graduates are expected to become ‘ambassadors’ for the Netherlands, who can be useful in future international business and trade relationships. Another long-term objective that is currently much discussed is the contribution of international students to the research capacity of the Netherlands, in particular in fields such as science and technology. Both fields have relatively low student enrolments in the Netherlands.

Another dimension of the economic rationale is that the internationalisation of HE prepares Dutch students for their future roles in the international knowledge economy as well as the international labour market and international aspects of their future jobs. Needless to say that throughout the policy for the internationalisation of HE, emphasis is placed on student mobility and exchange. Moreover, the general national policy is aimed at making Dutch HE as attractive as possible for foreign students, allowing HEIs to compete on the international market. The objective of introducing the new two-cycle structure is to make it more open and flexible. Openness and flexibility are seen as necessary conditions to market Dutch HE abroad (MOCenW, 1997, 2000, 2001a).

The academic and cultural rationales also play a role in the Dutch policy for the internationalisation of HE. These rationales are often combined with the economic rationale. For example, the quality of HE in relation to internationalisation is important. In order to be competitive on the HE market, education needs to be of good quality (MOCenW, 2001a), and international competition is thus expected to contribute to the quality of education. Moreover, internationalisation and an international orientation of HE itself can also help to improve the quality of the education. Quality assurance is also taken up in an international fashion. From a cultural perspective it is stated that the “intercultural experiences of citizens increase mutual understanding and social cohesion” and Dutch government subscribes to the importance of social cohesion, which was stressed at the Lisbon Summit of 2000. In *Unlimited/borderless talent (Onbegrensd Talent, MOCenW, 1997)* it had already been stated that internationalisation should become an integral part of the other activities of HE organisations, and in *Education for world citizens (Onderwijs voor wereldburgers, MOCenW, 2001)* it is repeated that enlarging the possibilities for students to get an international experience is still a spearhead.

A more internationally oriented HE system can be achieved in several ways. First, international experience can be gained through going abroad, as will be discussed in a following paragraph. International experience can also be obtained at home, for instance by meeting foreigners on exchange in the Netherlands. Furthermore, internationally oriented instructors, adequate education in foreign languages and cultures, as well as acquiring intercultural competencies offer opportunities to obtain an internationally oriented education, without actually going abroad (MOCenW, 2001a: 7).

7.4 Current national policies

In 2002 the Dutch HE system was reformed to a two-cycle system of Bachelors and Masters programmes. The introduction of this new system was partly in response to the signing of the Bologna Declaration. Together with the two-cycle system, accreditation as the new form of quality assurance was introduced. These system reforms show that responding to international developments is increasingly becoming part of mainstream HE policy in the Netherlands.

The national policy for the internationalisation of Dutch HE is aimed at the marketing of Dutch HE, promoting mobility and exchange, establishing consortia and the use of ICT. Specific countries have been chosen with which to co-operate. This policy reflects the economic rationale that was discussed in the previous paragraph.

7.4.1 System reform and international orientation

The signing of the Bologna Declaration provided the opportunity to introduce the Bachelors and Masters system in Dutch HE. The objective of this new

system is to make Dutch HE more open and flexible. With the introduction of the new system, several other changes were made. First, the *hogescholen* can now officially offer Bachelors and Masters programmes. Prior to Bologna, the *hogescholen* often co-operated with HEIs from the UK in offering Masters programmes. Unlike the Masters offered by the universities, most of the Masters offered by the *hogescholen* will not be publicly funded and are not academic degrees, but professional degrees. However, after an initial phase of two years the new accreditation system (see below) will allow *hogescholen* to submit programmes for accreditation as academic degree courses. Second, 'topmasters' were introduced, allowing universities to offer special programs of very high quality for selected Dutch and foreign students. Third, differential fees have been introduced. HEIs can charge differential fees to non-EU-students. It is currently being discussed whether differential fees should be charged for "topmaster" programmes. Fourth, teaching in a foreign language has been made easier, which should help to make the regular programmes more accessible to foreign students. In the Netherlands, there was already a relatively high number of HEIs offering English taught programmes: the minimum estimate was 28.3%, against an average in other European countries of 15.8% (Maiworm & Wächter, 2002: 26). Fifth, ECTS will be implemented. This should also help in the internationalisation of Dutch HE, although a nation-wide credit system already existed (based on study loads of 40 hours). In the first year of the introduction of the Bachelors and Masters system, 82% of all programmes started to replace their old programmes with Bachelors and Masters programmes (Education Inspectorate, 2003).

Accreditation as the new system for quality assurance in HE has been introduced alongside the Bachelors and Masters system. Previously, Dutch HE already had a system of quality assurance, in which it worked together with Flemish HE. Every five to six years, a study programme or a research programme was evaluated by a committee of independent peers. This committee gave requested and unsolicited recommendations, however, these were never binding. With the introduction of accreditation, a new organisation for the accreditation of Dutch HE, the National Accreditation Organisation (NAO) has been set up and began its work in January 2003. The new accreditation system will also regulate the access of foreign providers to the Dutch HE market. To be officially acknowledged (but not funded) by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences, and thus obtain the right to grant official Dutch degrees, the programmes offered by these providers need to be accredited.

Good quality of education is perceived as a necessary condition to achieve the international profile aimed for in Dutch HE and to be able to market HE internationally. Consequently, accreditation should be based on international criteria. For this purpose, cooperation has been established with other European countries using accreditation systems.

A specific cooperation agreement has been established with the Flemish Community. A treaty was signed in September 2003, arranging the implementation of a joint accreditation organisation, which will perform accreditation services in both countries.

Furthermore, the Netherlands is leading the Joint Quality Initiative. "The joint quality initiative is an informal network for quality assurance and accreditation of bachelor and master programmes in Europe" (Joint Quality Initiative, 2001). This initiative is a spin-off of the Bologna process and twelve countries have now joined the initiative. One of the main outcomes of the Joint Quality Initiative so far is the 'Dublin descriptors'. The group has developed descriptors on which Bachelors and Masters degrees are awarded to students. The participating countries have developed a basic common understanding of what a Bachelor and a Master degree is. Discussions on testing the common descriptors through pilot projects have been started.

The above shows that responding to international developments, as well as the internationalisation of Dutch HE as such, are increasingly part of mainstream HE policy in the Netherlands. Mainstreaming is also taking place in the HEIs, which is shown by an example from statistics on the ERASMUS programme. A relatively large part of the total of financial resources for student mobility grants and for activities linked to international policies came from the HEIs' own funds (Teichler, 2002: 65).

7.4.2 International marketing

As stated before, an important aspect of current Dutch internationalisation policy concerns the positioning or marketing of Dutch HE. This policy is in particular aimed at marketing in China, Indonesia, Taiwan and South Africa.

Important for the marketing of the Dutch HE system is providing information about the system to potential students. Several ways of providing the information are being used by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences. The help of Nuffic, Dutch embassies and Dutch institutes in foreign countries⁶ abroad has been sought. Cooperation with the Ministry of Economic Affairs has been established. This implies for instance that rectors of HEIs are included in foreign trade missions.

Foreign offices have been set up in different countries to promote Dutch education. The first Netherlands Education Support Offices (NESO) was set up in 1997 in Jakarta (Indonesia) with the help of Nuffic.

Later, similar organisations were set up in Beijing (China) and Taipei (Taiwan). The NESOs work closely with other Dutch agencies, such as embas-

⁶ Dutch institutes abroad exist in Athens, Cairo, Paris, Florence, Rome, St. Petersburg and Tokyo. They serve to support Dutch scholars abroad.

sies, consulates and business support offices of the Economic Information Service. "The NESOs will make it possible for the universities and other higher education institutions of the Netherlands to establish and maintain direct and more intensive contact with institutions, staff and students in the countries in question" (Nuffic, 2003a).

7.4.3 Mobility and exchange

Incoming mobility

Attracting foreign students serves three purposes (MOCenW, 1997: 36):

- ◆ Setting up relations with economically important countries for the Netherlands through alumni of Dutch organisations
- ◆ Stimulating the international environment for students at Dutch universities and *hogescholen*
- ◆ Generating income through fee-paying students.

Below, mobility and exchange for which financial support (grants) are available will be discussed.

The three main Dutch scholarship programmes for educational programmes in the Netherlands are the Huygens programme, the Delta programme and the Regular scholarship programme. The provision of these scholarships is often linked to the cooperation policy with foreign countries. Each year, the Huygens programme offers around 175 outstanding foreign students an opportunity to study for a period of between three and ten months at a Dutch university or hogeschool or at one of the eligible research institutes in the Netherlands. Huygens scholarships are meant for students who are nearing completion of their studies or have recently graduated. Table 7.4 gives an overview of recent numbers of scholarships and budgets involved.

Table 7.4 Number of Huygens scholarships and budget

Year	number of scholarships	budget
1999/00	174	€ 1,570,080
2000/01	172	€ 1,515,626
2001/02	173	€ 1,515,626
2002/03	184	€ 1,633,609

Source: BISON, 2002

Two-third of the Huygens scholarship programme is available for seven of the priority countries that have been pointed out in the policy (Indonesia, China, Japan, South Africa, Czech Republic, Hungary and Russia), which reflects the previously mentioned link between this programme and the foreign cooperation policy.

This link is also apparent in the Delta programme, with which, through the use of scholarships (see Table 7.5). HEIs can attract students in the countries that have been singled out in the marketing policy (China, Indonesia, Taiwan and South Africa).

Table 7.5 Number of Delta-scholarships and budget

Year	number of scholarships	budget
2001/02	757	€ 2,350,582
2002/03	858	€ 3,127,700

Source: BISON, 2002

The regular scholarship programme (Table 7.6) which is mainly used by students studying at one of the Institutes for International education, is the largest both in number of scholarships as well as budget.

Table 7.6 Number of regular scholarships and budget

Year	number of scholarships	budget
1998/99	1,116	€ 15,822,308
1999/00	1,181	€ 15,882,308
2000/01	1,213	€ 15,882,308
2001/02	1,177	€ 15,882,308
2002/03	1,255	€ 15,882,308

Source: BISON, 2002

The ERASMUS programme is the main funding opportunity for foreign students to come to the Netherlands. The number of incoming students has increased over the last five years, with a total of 6,141 incoming students in 2001 (EU, 2003).

In 2002, on the basis of reports from within certain HEIs, concerns were raised regarding the legality of governmental funding for certain categories of foreign students. In some cases where students were only enrolled part of the course duration time, the institution would register them as full time and would have received corresponding funding. In the media as well as in parliamentary discussion, emphasis was placed on certain *hogescholen*, although the universities were also included in the investigation by the Ministry of Education. The final investigation of the illegalities is still underway.

Outgoing mobility

The Ministry of Education stimulates outgoing mobility. Financial aid is provided through scholarships and the general student support system.

Scholarships available to Dutch students are, amongst others, the Japan prize winners programme, the *Visie* scholarship and ERASMUS scholar-

ships. The Japan prize winners programme (JPP, Table 7.7) offers selected Dutch students the opportunity to attend courses combined with an internship in Japan.

Table 7.7 Number of JPP-scholarships and budget

Year	number of scholarships	budget
1998/99	18	€ 893,947
1999/00	18	€ 893,947
2000/01	15	€ 916,636
2001/02	15	€ 916,636
2002/03	18	€ 520,155

Source: BISON, 2002

Visie scholarships (Table 7.8) are provided to new entrants, without previous experience in HE, who want to pursue a full education in one of the EEA-countries. Interestingly, not many students have applied for this scholarship, although their number is growing. One of the reasons for this could be that the scholarship is not well known amongst new entrants. Another reason might be that the rules to apply for the scholarship are rather strict and that the scholarship is not a decisive factor in choosing to pursue an education abroad. Most students go to the UK, where tuition fees are rather high. The financial burden is substantial and the *Visie* scholarship is low in comparison to this burden, which means that the scholarship is not likely to be a deciding factor (MOCenW, 2001b: 37).

Table 7.8 Number of *Visie*-scholarships and budget

Year	number of scholarships	budget
1998/99	30	€ 115,260
1999/00	70	€ 268,638
2000/01	80	€ 326,268
2001/02	109	€ 614,418
2002/03	157	€ 1,396,118

Source: BISON, 2002

The ERASMUS programme is the main funding opportunity for Dutch students going abroad. Many Dutch HEIs participate in the ERASMUS programme and use their own funds next to the EU grants to stimulate participation (Teichler, 2002: 65). In 2002/03 there was a budget of € 3,428,753. The number of Dutch students going abroad with the help of ERASMUS is steadily increasing over the last few years. In 1999, there were 4,418 Dutch ERASMUS students.

As long as a Dutch student is registered at an HEI, he or she will receive student support from the Dutch government, even when studying abroad. In practice, students who go abroad for part of their education mostly use this regulation (MOCenW, 2001b: 5).

The Dutch government thus provides scholarships to both incoming and outgoing students. In 1997 a change in this policy was visible. There was a development from a more generic policy towards a more specific policy, which also translated into more attention on the quality of education (MOCenW, 1997: 41-43). For instance, some scholarships are only available for selected (outgoing) students. The idea is to become more selective, e.g. with respect to academic performance of students and/or specific fields of study. Finally, it has to be mentioned that there are little, reliable, statistical data on internationalisation available, including statistics on students going abroad.

7.4.4 Conditions for mobility and exchange

The Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences has been trying to create the right conditions for mobility and exchange. Besides providing scholarships and other financial aid, this means obstacles to student and staff mobility should be reduced. Many of these barriers are based outside the educational domain. The Ministry therefore consults on a structural basis with the relevant ministries to remove these obstacles. Examples are the difficulties with recognition of diplomas, residential and working permits and adequate information on Dutch HE. The first obstacle is taken up in the Bologna process. The second obstacle, permits, are the subject of recent debate. In 2002, the Minister for Immigration and Integration raised the fees for permits, which resulted in heavy protests from, amongst others, the VSNU and Nuffic. Third, provision of information on Dutch HE is part of the marketing policy.

Finally, the expansion of the regulation on student support has recently been studied. The study proposed that Dutch students should be provided with student support while studying abroad, even if not registered at a Dutch HEI. But this should only be possible under certain conditions. For instance, the quality of education in the foreign country should be similar to the Dutch education for which student support is available.

7.4.5 Consortia and ICT

Two topics that received little attention so far are the consortia in HE and the use of ICT. Consortia seem adequate instruments to attract students and strengthen the competitive position of Dutch HE on the international market. ICT can be used in internationalisation and attracting new students.

Dutch HEIs are actively involved in several consortia with different objectives that serve different purposes. For example, the University of Twente is partici-

participating in the European Consortium of Innovative Universities. This consortium was set up with internationalisation in mind, as is made clear on the website of ECIU: "In the 1990s a number of progressive European universities decided to join forces in the European Consortium of Innovative Universities (ECIU). With the world becoming increasingly globalised, the universities felt a need to engage in a strong European strategic network in order to benefit from each other's best practices, to address jointly some of the pertinent issues of higher education in Europe and to master the challenge of an ever increasing international market in research and education" (ECIU, 2003).

Other Dutch HEIs are members of for instance COIMBRA, UNICA, IDEA, and the League of European Research Universities. As part of the internationalisation policy, the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences has supported the establishment of consortia among Dutch *hogescholen*, in order to strengthen their operations abroad.

The use of ICT in the internationalisation process is fairly new. A recent report on the use of ICT in HE shows that "in the Netherlands using ICT for serving international students is only moderately important at present, with somewhat higher expectations for the future" (Collis & Van der Wende, 2002: 41). As such, Dutch HEIs demonstrate a high level of ICT infrastructure and use of ICT for general teaching purposes. However, a strategic orientation towards diverse target groups, e.g. international students and lifelong learners, is still weak, as was also demonstrated by other studies (see Lub et al., 2003). It seems that the general marketing policy is not (yet) connected with the marketing strategy of the Dutch HEIs.

In the national HE policy, there is little attention for the role that ICT might play in HE in general and in internationalisation in particular. However, the SURF foundation has recently initiated a debate on the relationship between ICT and internationalisation (SURF, 2003). It has various international contacts such as EKMA (the European Knowledge Media Association), Educare, EUNIS (the European University Information Systems) and JISC (the Joint Information Systems Committee).

7.4.6 Cooperation with foreign countries

Cooperation with foreign countries is important in the Dutch policy on the internationalisation of HE. The geographical areas, or clusters of countries, distinguished in the Dutch national policy are, from close to home to far away, the neighbouring countries, transition countries, marketing countries, overseas territories and countries of origin of 'new' Dutch citizens.

7.4.7 Cooperation with neighbouring countries

The Dutch government initiated the neighbouring countries policy at the beginning of the 1990s. The object of the policy concerning neighbouring

countries was to realise an 'open higher education area'. Full and unconditioned mobility should be possible in this area. Four considerations and interests were given for stimulating cooperation with the neighbouring countries of the Netherlands (MOCenW, 1997: 22 and 48):

- ◆ The area concerned is special in Europe. A total of 45 million people live here and, both relatively as well as absolutely, there are large numbers of research institutes, universities and professional colleges in this area.
- ◆ Through greater coherence in the region, the partners can learn from each other's strong points. Cooperation can be shaped on a complementary basis and advantages in scale can be achieved in the border areas, which would otherwise be difficult to reach.
- ◆ The preconditions for strengthening coherence are present: the geographical distance is little and the cultural kinship high.
- ◆ In the long run, cooperation could lead to more choice for students in this area; for the organisations involved this could lead to administrative cooperation and for the authorities it could lead to the tuning of policies. The authorities could also learn from each other's problems and solutions. The region on the whole could be strengthened within Europe.

The policy started with bilateral cooperation with Flanders and the German *Länder* Nordrhein-Westphalia, Lower Saxony and Bremen. It has since then developed into multilateral cooperation as well, but it seems that in practice most relationships are of a bilateral nature (Westerheijden & Klemperer, 2002). Bilateral relations also seem to be more successful in terms of lowering the thresholds for cooperation (MOCenW, 1999: 27). Under the flag of the neighbouring country, and with financing from the neighbouring country policy, several projects in Dutch organisations were implemented. An example of such a project is ENOTIS, the Enschede Osnabrück Technology, Innovation and Studycenter, which was set up by the Saxion *Hogeschool* and the *Fachhochschule* Osnabrück (see Westerheijden & Klemperer, 2002: 10-12).

In 1999, the neighbouring countries policy was expanded to include France and Great Britain as well. Cooperation with these countries has been set up mainly as bilateral cooperation (MOCenW, 1999). This cooperation needs to be seen in the light of broader EU cooperation; good contacts with these two countries are helpful in areas other than HE as well. The importance of cooperation with our neighbouring countries is again underlined in the policy document *Onderwijs voor wereldburgers*.

In order to achieve the cooperation and mobility aimed for, it has been important to exchange information on the educational systems involved and agree between the authorities on subjects such as providing student support to students in the other countries. By 1999 two joint study guides had been published and a third one was on its way. The study guide will be published on the internet, and should encourage students and staff to go abroad. In *Kennis: geven en nemen* it was (again) stated that an inventory should be

made into the current legal and institutional obstructions to mobility (Ministerie van OCW, 1999).

Possible unwanted outcomes of this policy also need to be taken into account. For instance, the choice to study abroad might not be based on a positive motive, but on the fact that there are few opportunities for certain types of study in the home country. One example is the Dutch students who are not accepted at a Dutch medical faculty, and who then decide to pursue their studies at a medical faculty in Flanders. In addition, student mobility turned out to be the least successful part of this policy. The geographical proximity of the foreign institutions did not appeal to the Dutch students (Beerkens & Van der Wende, 1999: 42).

On the whole, the cooperation with Flanders has evolved the most. A good example is the new Dutch accreditation system and the organisation responsible for the accreditation, the Netherlands Accreditation Organisation (NAO).

The neighbouring countries policy was evaluated in 1999 and 2002. The main conclusion of the evaluation in 2002 was that the policy was successful. The majority of the projects were completed successfully and the participants were mostly content about what was achieved (Westerheijden & Klemperer, 2002: 60). Since most goals that had been set for this policy beforehand have been achieved, the neighbouring countries policy has subsequently received less attention. There is less funding available for this policy than in earlier years.

7.4.8 Transition countries

The transition countries Czech Republic, Slovenia, Poland and Hungary are priority countries in the Dutch internationalisation policy (MOCenW, 1999: 35). The Russian federation is also part of this cluster of countries. Aid to the Russian Federation is given in the area of policy development and implementation. The cooperation with the other countries is also aimed at improving the higher education system in these countries. Cooperation with these countries can nowadays be seen in the light of their entry to the European Union. Their entry into the EU has also made cooperation with these countries more accessible for Dutch HEIs, e.g. through SOCRATES.

7.4.9 Marketing countries

The Netherlands wants to distinguish itself as an attractive country for study. Indonesia, South Africa and Japan have been given priority in exporting knowledge since the start of this policy. Other Asian countries, such as Taiwan and China, are now included. The main reason for this is that Asia is perceived as a large new market with, potentially, students with great purchasing power (MOCenW, 1999: 10). In particular the relation with Indonesia and South Africa may be complex, as with these countries – which are

part of the Dutch colonial past – aid and development cooperation has been in place for long. The introduction of such new strategies focused on marketing and recruitment could be perceived by those countries in a somewhat reluctant manner.

7.4.10 Overseas Dutch territories and migrants' countries of origin

A final group of countries, at which Dutch national internationalisation policy is aimed, are the overseas Dutch territories and migrants' countries of origin.

The Dutch kingdom consists of three countries: the Netherlands, the Dutch Antilles and Aruba. Each country has its own governmental responsibility. The Netherlands co-operates with and supports the two other countries. Part of the core of the cooperation scheme with the Antilles and Aruba are educational activities (Ministry of Internal Affairs, 2003). In the field of HE, support is provided in order to improve the HE systems of these countries. Additionally, methods for preventing 'brain drain' from the Antilles and Aruba to the Netherlands are important. Students in the two countries receive funding for several programmes in their own region by the Dutch state, just as they would if they were studying in the Netherlands.

Nowadays there are around three million people living in the Netherlands who were not born in the Netherlands or of whom at least one parent was born in a foreign country (CBS, 2003). The main countries of origin are Turkey and Morocco. Cooperation with these countries is sought to acquire a better understanding of their culture. This should help to better educate the persons originating from these countries who participate in Dutch education, and thus provide equal opportunities for both natives as well as non-natives. However, this policy is particularly aimed at compulsory education.

7.5 Policy effects

Both international developments as well as Dutch governmental policies have had several effects on Dutch HE over recent years. First, under the influence of the Bologna Declaration, the Dutch HE system has been reformed. Second, the outcomes of the Lisbon Summit in 2000 are currently finding their way into Dutch HE policy. Third, governmental policy is having an effect, as is shown by two recent evaluations of the neighbouring countries policy and the marketing policy. Finally, available statistics on internationalisation show that some changes in Dutch HE have taken place over the last years.

7.5.1 General policy

First, the Bologna declaration opened up the window for change in the Dutch HE system. A change in the Higher Education Act was made in September 2002, introducing Bachelors and Masters degrees. Interestingly, most Dutch

universities had already decided to implement Bachelors and Masters programmes even before the new law had been approved by the parliament. The HEIs have seized the opportunities following from the introduction of the new system. For example, they are exploring the possibilities of setting up joint curricula with foreign partners and are intending to provide their regular master programmes in English.

Second, the Lisbon benchmarks are being evaluated in relation to the current governmental policy and budget, to see if adjustments in these are needed. The *Detailed work programme on the follow-up of the objectives of education and training systems in Europe* (Council of the EU, 2002) is also being used as input for new policy at the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences.

Third, evaluations of both the neighbouring countries policy (2002) and the marketing policy (2003) have recently been carried out. The evaluation of the neighbouring countries policy concluded, as mentioned above, that the policy was successful. Effects are visible in the area of joint curricula, recognition of credits and some staff and student mobility. As a result of many of the projects initiated under the remit of the neighbouring countries policy, durable (administrative) relationships have been established, so that it is likely the policy will have long-term effects. The critical success factor according to the evaluation was the organisation of the project, especially the commitment of project coordinators and individuals in the organisations involved. The evaluation further showed that the complexity of projects where three countries were involved was often too great. The differences in administrative and educational aspects were easier to deal with when only two countries were involved (Westerheijden & Klemperer, 2002: 61-62).

The evaluation of the marketing policy shows that the promotion of Dutch HE in the chosen countries is well under way. The infrastructure for marketing has been well established through the NESOs. The number of incoming students from the countries involved has risen. Overall, the evaluation of the marketing policy is positive, but further fine-tuning in the implementation of the policy is necessary. Several recommendations have been made, such as the position of the policy in the broader knowledge society and the brain drain/gain discussion; foreign students can contribute to the research capacity in particular fields such as science and technology.

7.5.2 Student mobility

It is difficult to find firm, quantitative data on the internationalisation (of students) in the Netherlands that show the effects of the policy. Data is only available starting at the end of the 1990s and the figures provided by the different sources vary substantially. The sources used here are the statistics of the ERASMUS programme, the BISON-monitor (Monitor of International Mobility in Education) and the OECD education database.

The number of incoming ERASMUS students has increased over the last few years. In the academic year 1998/99 there were 5,752 incoming ERASMUS students, and in 2001/02 this increased to 6,141 (EU, 2003, see Table 7.9).

The number of Dutch students going abroad through the ERASMUS programme increased until 1995. The number then dropped, but subsequently increased again. The Dutch HEIs themselves have invested in this type of mobility. In 1998, almost 25% of the funds for student mobility grants came from institutional funds. Compared to other countries in the ERASMUS programme, this is relatively high, only Finnish HEIs investing a larger percentage (Teichler, 2002: 65).

Table 7.9 Number of ERASMUS students

Year	number of outgoing students*	number of incoming students*
1990/91	1,969	
1992/93	3,290	
1995/96	5,180	
1996/97	4,132	
1997/98	4,190	
1998/99	4,332	5,752
1999/00	4,418	5,896
2000/01	4,161**	5,839**
2001/02	4,244**	6,141**

Source: *: EU, 2003, **: *Bison Monitor*, 2002

The statistics show that in the Netherlands there are more students coming through the ERASMUS programme than going out. In the BISON monitor (2002) all the students enrolled in international courses, ERASMUS students and students with Regular Scholarships (Institutes for International Education) are specified. The total number of incoming foreign students, at both the *hogescholen* and the universities, has increased according to the statistics used in the BISON-monitor, as is shown in Table 7.10.

If other programmes, such as the programmes at the Institutes for International Education are included, the total number of foreign students studying in the Netherlands is much higher. In 2001/02 there were 29,789 students (5.9% of the total), including ERASMUS students and students in the Regular Scholarship programmes.

In the BISON monitor the mobility and other international experiences of Dutch graduates of the *hogescholen* and the universities are included. In these statistics, mobility and international experiences through internships, studying or a combination of the two have been measured (Table 7.11). These figures state that, on average since 1996, 28% of the *hogescholen* graduates and 39% of the university graduates have been mobile.

Table 7.10 Total number of higher education students and registered foreign students

Number of students	1998-99	1999-00	2000-01	2001-02
<i>Hogescholen</i>	290,530	305,810	315,300	323,590
Universities	160,480	164,010	168,150	174,300
Total	451,010	469,820	483,450	497,890
Foreign students <i>hogescholen</i>	6,212	6,325	8,127	10,068
Foreign student universities	7,215	7,513	7,983	8,822
Foreign students total	13,427	13,838	16,110	18,890
% foreign students <i>hogescholen</i>	2.14	2.07	2.58	3.11
% foreign student universities	4.50	4.58	4.75	5.06
% foreign students total	2.98	2.95	3.33	3.79

Source: *Bison Monitor 2002*.

Table 7.11 Number of foreign students and domestic students abroad

Year	foreign students	as % of enrolment	domestic students abroad
1995			11,870
1998			9,427
1999	13,619	2.9 %	15,251
200	14,012	2.9 %	12,447
2001	16,589	3.3 %	11,792

Source: *OECD Education database, 2003b*

According to the OECD statistics, in recent years the Netherlands has had, very roughly, the same number of students coming in as going out, although it seems that the difference between incoming and outgoing students is growing, with more and more students coming in and fewer Dutch students going abroad (Table 7.12). Compared to other countries, the Netherlands has a low percentage of foreign students. The Dutch percentage of foreign students is below the OECD average of 4.8% (1999) and 4.9% (2000).

Table 7.12 Number of foreign students in Dutch HE by continent of citizenship

Year	Africa	North America	South America	Asia	Europe	Oceania spec.	Not spec.	Total
1999	2,311	329	1,077	3,180	6,639	35	48	13,619 (2.9%)
2000	2,409	308	1,021	2,941	7,256	41	36	14,012 (2.9%)

Source: *OECD Education database, 2003b*.

The OECD statistics furthermore show that most foreign students coming to the Netherlands come from other European countries. The second largest group are students from Asia. This could be the result of the Dutch policy, but the statistics of other European countries show a similar pattern.

Comparing the statistics available from the different sources, it is evident that these vary considerably. According to the BISON monitor, in 2001 almost 6% of the total student population were foreign students, whereas the OECD statistics state that only 3.3% of total enrolments are foreign students. For outgoing mobility, the difference is even greater, with the OECD statistics showing around 3% of students in 2001 going abroad, yet the BISON monitor indicating that an average of over 30% of Dutch graduates had international experience. However, it has to be noted that the statistics in the BISON monitor also include ERASMUS students and other types of mobility, whereas the OECD numbers do not.

For the future, it is expected that more Dutch students will go abroad for a full programme. With the introduction of Bachelors and Masters programmes in the Netherlands, it is expected that students will take the opportunity to do a Masters degree in a foreign country.

7.5.3 Staff mobility and internationalisation of research

First of all, it has to be noted that it is even more difficult finding data on staff mobility and internationalisation of research than reliable data on student mobility. In the Netherlands staff mobility and internationalisation of research are not being monitored, which means that data of international sources, mainly the EU, must be used.

The government policy aimed at the internationalisation of research has comparable goals to the government policy aimed at the internationalisation of higher education and is executed along three lines: bilateral cooperation; participation in European research organisations; and participation in European research framework programmes

First, bilateral cooperation in research is organised in a similar way as cooperation in education, with priority given to similar countries. Second, participation in European research organisations is sought through Dutch research organisations, for example the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO). This organisation is active in several international bodies, such as the European Science Fund and the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (NWO, 2003). Third, according to the latest figures on EU programmes, 582 Dutch teachers went abroad in 1999/00. In total 12,129 teachers of all participating countries went abroad in the same academic year (EU, 2003). The statistics of the EU programme for Research and Technological Development, which offers the main opportunities for temporary mobility of researchers within Europe, with a total of 1,299 researchers mobile in 2001, show that the Netherlands is one of the main receiving coun-

tries (10%). Other main receiving countries are the UK (30%), France (15%) and Germany (13%) (Van der Wende & Middlehurst, forthcoming).

Information on participation in European research and development projects shows that there were 1,436 contracts with Dutch organisations in 2001 (EC, 2001). Dutch researchers have participated in one-third of all projects in the 5th Framework Programme. Furthermore, a relatively high percentage of Dutch organisations have been the research co-ordinator of research projects in the 5th Framework programme. Themes in which the Dutch organisations are most active are multimedia; innovative products; processes and organisations; sustainable mobility and intermodality; global change, climate and biodiversity; cleaner energy systems; and economic and efficient energy for a competitive Europe (Advisory Council for Science and Technology Policy, 2002).

The international orientation of Dutch researchers is furthermore shown by the many publications in English by Dutch researchers. Recently, the Royal Academy of Art and Sciences has even expressed concerns on the decreasing use of the Dutch language in humanities, behavioural and social sciences (Committee Dutch as scientific language, 2003).

7.6 Relation with the European policy level

Several developments on the European level have had an influence on Dutch HE. First, the recent reform of the Dutch HE system took place through the impact of the Bologna declaration. Second, the follow up of the Lisbon summit of 2000 is making an impact on Dutch HE policy. Furthermore, Dutch HEIs participate in the ERASMUS programme and the Research Framework Programmes. These developments and programmes are discussed in the following paragraph.

7.6.1 Bologna Declaration

The system reform that took place in 2002 came about under the influence of the Bologna Declaration. As mentioned earlier, the main motive for the Dutch government to implement the two cycle Bachelors and Masters system is that this new system is perceived as an essential condition for a modern and internationally oriented HE system (MOCenW, 2000). The new degree structure is intended to make the Dutch HE system more flexible and open, so that the anticipation of new societal developments, such as internationalisation, globalisation and ICT developments, is simplified. The system should be flexible enough to meet the needs of students of all ages and open enough to allow Dutch students to study abroad, as well as allowing foreign students to enter the Dutch system (Lub et al., 2003).

7.6.2 Lisbon process

The outcomes of the Lisbon Summit in 2000 and its follow up meetings and documents, such as the objectives report (2002), are influential to Dutch HE

policy. The Lisbon benchmarks are being examined in relation to current government policies and budgets in order to see if adjustments need to be made. The Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences stresses that the benchmarks are not legally binding, but recognises the pressures resulting from these benchmarks.

Furthermore, acquiring intercultural experience and competencies are important aspects of the government's policy. The attention given to these aspects needs to be seen in the light of the Lisbon Summit where the importance of social cohesion was stressed: "Intercultural competencies of citizens increase mutual understanding and social cohesion" (MOCenW, 2001a).

7.6.3 ERASMUS programme

The participation of Dutch HEIs in the ERASMUS programme is relatively high with a participation rate of over 50%, compared to an average of 39.8% (Teichler, 2002: 31). The study by Teichler furthermore shows that investments of the funds of the Dutch HEIs are relatively high. Many Dutch students use the ERASMUS programme to go abroad and even more students are coming to the Netherlands through this programme, but it was also shown that other forms of mobility are important as well. In addition, in the Netherlands, ERASMUS is not really perceived as a key element of European awareness and cooperation in teaching and learning (Teicher, 2002: 78). Apparently there are other ways and programmes to achieve this.

The government's education policy supports mobility through ERASMUS and shows interest in the other ERASMUS projects that are aimed at cooperation in the EU and learning from each other. If necessary, the Ministry provides (financial) support or sets up adjacent policy. An example of this type of policy is the neighbouring countries policy.

At the start of the ERASMUS programme, the HEIs needed to set up their own internal organisation structures, for which the Ministry of Education had subsidies available. Nowadays, this support is no longer necessary and the ERASMUS programme does not lead to any visible changes in the Dutch HEIs, as confirmed by the outcomes of the ERASMUS evaluation. According to Teichler's study, only 17% of the Dutch HEIs perceived an impact of ERASMUS on the innovation of teaching methods in their institution, which is below average. It is not yet clear what influence the new ERASMUS Mundus programme might have on Dutch HE. It is possible that this new programme will take over some parts of the current government policy, which might then be terminated or adjusted.

7.6.4 Research Framework Programmes

The participation of Dutch research groups in the 6th Framework Programme is financially supported through NWO, the Netherlands Organisation for

Scientific Research. Twenty research groups received financial aid when preparing their applications for the programme. This support will be evaluated during the summer of 2003 and on the basis of this evaluation a decision will be made on whether to continue this type of support (NWO, 2003). Furthermore, the statistics (see above) showed that Dutch researchers are already relatively active in European research programmes.

7.7 Influence of the international context

7.7.1 Growing competition

In Dutch HE there is an increasing awareness of the growing competition in the higher education market, which is reflected in the current rationales underlying governmental policy. The Ministry of Education, Culture and Science tries to facilitate the HEIs in competing in the market. Competition in HE and fair treatment by the government of all education providers, including commercial providers, has been on the governmental agenda for a long time. Higher education was one of the subjects of the public sector-wide MDW project (marketisation, deregulation and quality of law), which has made proposals in this area.

The Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences encourages competition in higher education, as long as it takes place within the boundaries of the right framework and under the right conditions. The Ministry wants to guarantee access for all to HE as well as guaranteeing a good quality of education. Competition on the higher education market, open markets and trade in education are part of current national debates, but this has not resulted in new regulations. Perhaps the 2004 *Higher Education and Research Plan* will provide new information on this subject. Competition and cooperation seem to go together in Dutch HE policy. Dutch policy is preparing for increased competition and, quite often, cooperation is a means to do so. For example, competing for and attracting students on the Asian market is sought through cooperation in the NESOs.

7.7.2 GATS

The Ministry of Economic Affairs is the co-ordinating ministry where it concerns the negotiations on the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). For the time being, the GATS agreements are not expected to have any direct consequences for Dutch HE, as HE is mainly publicly funded and is perceived to be a public service. Furthermore, commercial providers are already allowed in Dutch HE. For example, Webster University opened a campus in the Netherlands in 1983 and the University of Phoenix has been active in the Netherlands since the end of the 1990s. The Ministry has stated that HE is not a part of the GATS negotiations as these agreements are aimed at private services, and HE is a public service. Furthermore, in the

latest negotiations no new promises have been made so far on the subject of education and the Netherlands are not planning to expand the current agreements on education. The Netherlands subscribes to the EU standpoint on GATS.

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8. Greece

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8.1 Overview of the system: Structure and policies

Consecutive legal structure-related reforms, in the period 1965 to date, have led to a major reorganisation of Greek higher education (HE). The once traditional, 'closed' three-level education system comprising primary, secondary, and tertiary levels has changed into a two-level system, in which basic education (primary and secondary) and post-compulsory education dominate.

These developments are coupled by a process by which HE has acquired a more 'open', fluid, dynamic and partially unregulated character and consists of a formal and a non-formal sector. New types of institutions and programmes of study have been added alongside the traditional ones, with an increasing blurring of the boundaries between HE and post-compulsory education, as well as between formal and non-formal education. Currently three different types of institutions offer HE: universities – AEI; technological education institutions – TEI; and the so-called centres for free studies – CFS. Non-formal HE comprises institutions that offer various forms of lifelong and continuous education, and the CFS, offering a variety of degree courses, including degrees of foreign universities, not recognised by the state.

8.1.1 Universities (AEI)

Universities are public institutions and by the Constitution their establishment is the prerogative of the state, meaning that there are no private universities.

Universities are self-governed (not completely autonomous) public legal entities. The Ministry of Education (MoE) sets the regulatory framework for the operation of higher education institutions (HEIs), in terms of legislative action, and initiates the guidelines, the design and, partially, the implementation of educational policy.

Table 8.1 Number of university students and graduates

Academic year	Students	1 st degree graduates	Master's	doctoral
1996-97	244,970	22,770	846	740
1997-98	253,915	21,309	1,555	728
1998-99	266,103	21,154	1,354	796
1999-00	276,902	22,784	2,275	1,049

Source: Euridyce Database: MoE, Operational Research and Statistics Branch, 2001

Since 1996 MoE's policy provides for the expansion of and free access to HE. Currently there are 19 universities (240 departments) plus the Hellenic Open University (operating since 1999). The number of new entrants has doubled in recent years. The trend towards a mass HE system has become especially prominent since 1997/98 (see Tables 8.1 and 8.2.).

Table 8.2 Number of faculty members and admin/technical staff at universities

Academic year	Faculty		Assisting technical staff		administrative staff	
	Total	tenured*	Total	permanent	total	permanent
1996/97	9,587	7,593	2,216	2,202	3,351	2,360
1997/98	9,794	7,999	2,200	2,176	3,885	2,713
1998/99	10,038	8,260	1,994	1,937	3,719	2,603
1999/00	10,459	8,027	1,949	1,923	3,560	3,049

Source: Eurydice Database: MoE, Operational Research and Statistics Branch, 2001.

* Includes tenured faculty member (DEPs) as well other teaching personnel.

Until 1992 universities offered two cycles of studies: a first four-, five- or six-year cycle leading to the *Ptychion* or Diploma and a second cycle leading to the Doctorate. Since 1992, universities, aided by state funding, developed formal structures for Postgraduate Study Programmes (PMS) leading to a degree equivalent to a Master. A total of about 213 PMS operate, organised on a departmental, inter-departmental or inter-university level. They have strengthened collaboration among Greek universities as well as collaboration of Greek universities with foreign HEIs, primarily European.

8.1.2 Technological education institutions (TEI)

Law 1404/83 introduced TEIs (based on the Anglo-Saxon model) into the HE system. The Law unified the (until then) extremely diversified system of professional and vocational training, partially under private control, and brought it into the public sector and under state supervision. Currently fourteen TEIs operate in Greece. Until recently TEIs did not offer postgraduate programmes of study. According to the recent legal-structural reform TEI may offer PMS organised jointly with (Greek or foreign) HEIs (see Table 8.3).

Table 8.3 Number of students/graduates and teaching/administrative staff at TEI

Year	Students	graduates	tenured faculty	contract faculty	assistant and admin. staff
1996/97	101,206	8,623	2,456	4,100	1,399
1998/99	116,106	9,452	2,593	4,490	1,512
1999/00	129,683	9,301	2,636	5,050	1,488

Source:

Eurydice Database: MoE, Operational Research and Statistics Branch, 2001 Athens

8.1.3 Centres for free studies (CFS)

CFSs traditionally offered exclusively technical and vocational training leading to a Certificate of Studies. In the last decade, as a result of the liberalisation of the education market and the implementation of GATS agreements, the services offered by CFSs has diversified.

CFSs offer a variety of options: foundation courses, Bachelor degrees, Master degrees and PhDs. These are mainly offered through franchising agreements with foreign universities (mostly British, but also French and American)

Under Greek Law, CFSs operate as commercial enterprises. The degrees obtained are not valid for public sector employment in Greece. They are however recognised in most European countries. Most of the CFSs are generally acknowledged to be of very dubious reputation. However, a few have acquired a reputation in the labour market in certain fields of study, such as Business Administration and Marketing.

8.2 Rationales for internationalisation

The policy choices and the prevailing rationales for internationalisation are related to the historical specificities of Greece. It is a country of the (semi)periphery, which received developmental aid well into the 1970s, and has since gradually repositioned itself in the hierarchy of countries through economic development and integration in the EU.

During the 1950s and the 1960s the major agents of internationalisation of education were international organisations (Unesco, OECD, the World Bank, the US government and foundations) which funded, within the technical aid framework, policies affecting the structure of education.

The rationale thus promoted legitimised the development of the vocational training sector at the expense of the reorganisation and development of the university sector; this rationale has facilitated a state policy of sending young graduates abroad for postgraduate studies. The demand for HE qualifications has resulted in a progressive increase in outward mobility of Greek students

The traditional state internationalisation policy had a different orientation. Since its re-institution in the 19th century, the state functioned as an educational and cultural centre for the large number of Greeks outside its borders. Well into the 20th century universities reproduced in most fields of study accurately and speedily the knowledge that was produced outside Greece and served the national interests through the production of a national discourse and the formulation of an attraction policy aimed at the training of an administrative, professional and political elite of ethnic Greeks to be educated in Greece and then re-channelled to the countries of origin. Until the end of WWII, the relation of the state to ethnic Greeks was analogous (although in no way similar) to the relation of countries to their (former) colonies.

The attraction policy for ethnic Greeks decayed in the post-war period, when state and society faced the dissolution of long established ethnic communities in the Middle East, the Balkans and Eastern European countries (Egypt, Albania, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Union). Although the division of Europe during the cold war and the integration of Greece into the western block minimised the state's ability to support ethnic communities in Eastern block countries, ethnic Greeks never stopped seeking the protection of the Greek state. Traditionally, admission policies (despite the limited national resources, the increased and pressing internal demand for HE and the policies proposed by international organisations) regulated through quotas the access to HE of ethnic Greeks returning to the homeland.

The 1980s and the 1990s were characterised by the entrance of Greece in the EU and the political developments of 1989/90, the breakdown of the Soviet block and the 'opening up' of Eastern Europe to the West. These changes have contributed to the Europeanisation of HE through participation in EU programmes and the development of policies that contributed to the fostering of Greece's relations with neighbouring Balkan countries and ethnic Greeks living in South-eastern European countries and the former USSR. The rationale that facilitated the entrance of ethnic Greeks was applied to the admissions of migrant Greeks. As migrant Greeks are considered persons of Greek origin, now second, third and fourth generation migrants are domiciled all over the world (mainly in Europe, Australia and the US). Migrant Greeks may have Greek, foreign or double citizenship and nationality.

These developments have shaped the rationales for internationalisation along two axes. Under the influence of the international organisations, dominant until the mid-1970s and in the context of Europeanisation since the 1980s, the state promotes cooperation with European countries and the US, in order to learn from technologically advanced countries and to develop its scientific infrastructure. Traditionally, cooperation policies, based on an educational and cultural rationale are manifest in the:

- ◆ sending policy intended to aid graduates and young scientists to study abroad

- ◆ foreign scholarships offered to Greeks by foreign governments, US foundations and international organisations
- ◆ bilateral exchange agreements and cultural and scientific cooperation.

Today cooperation evolves through the EU policy framework and bilateral agreements. In the traditional internationalisation policies, the cultural and political rationales prevailed on the receiving end, where the state ensured/regulated the access:

- ◆ of ethnic and migrant Greeks and
- ◆ of foreign nationals, in fulfilment of its obligation to offer technical aid to developing countries within the UNDP framework.

Prevailing rationales for internationalisation are educational and cultural and to a lesser extent political. The economic rationale (recently introduced) has not found fertile ground, since education is regarded as a public good and responsibility, and is public and free. The situation regarding fees for foreign students is as follows: by Law foreign full course undergraduate students are requested to pay fees. All foreign students apply and receive an exemption. So in practice HE is free for Greeks and foreign nationals alike.

8.2.1 Competitiveness of higher education

Traditionally, the competitiveness and standing and performance of universities were judged in principle by the substantial number of professors and/or researchers in foreign universities and institutes and by the (high) number of Greek students studying abroad. Universities were proud of the fact that their graduates were of a standard high enough to successfully follow postgraduate or doctoral programmes in mainly very prestigious foreign universities. The outward mobility of free movers, which came as a result of the numerus clausus policy, was coupled by a state scholarships (sending) policy, to further train talented graduates abroad. As a consequence and through their connection to Greek (as well as ethnic and migrant) scientists and researchers working abroad, universities developed and maintained close relations to the origins of new knowledge.

Although policies related to internationalisation are as old as the education system itself, the debate concerning the international positioning, performance and competitiveness of Greek universities is rather recent, and developed as a response to the European and international debate about the role of the university and the creation of a European Higher Education Area, and a European Research Area. The proliferation of the CFS has also spread discussions on internationalisation and globalisation processes and their implications.

Presently, the discourse focuses around the necessity of individual academics' participation in international research and educational networks. Such participation is fluid, flexible and changeable. It is considered as proof of the relation of academics to the knowledge production process, and of their

good standing and reputation among an international peer group. Although risking the danger of over-simplifying the situation, it could be said that 'active' academics, developing international collaborations, seem to be worried and motivated by the belief that a future EU-initiated evaluation will lead to a new, (mostly) unchangeable and institutionalised hierarchy of departments, institutions, fields of study and education systems across EU countries, depriving them of their individual access and participation in the international knowledge production.

8.2.2 Brain drain, brain gain or brain exchange

It is generally accepted that the outward mobility trend has resulted in brain drain, given that a substantial number of students and researchers were and still are studying and working abroad. The MoE has a policy for Greek students who transfer to Greek universities from universities abroad. The transfer is affected following examinations in student numbers proportional to the new entrants. This policy will be discontinued in 2004-2005. The decision reflects a shift from a brain drain/brain gain perspective towards a more equalising 'brain exchange' perspective.

The attitude towards brain drain appeared to change as the perspective concerning the mobility of human capital changed. In the 1960s and 1970s brain drain was considered to be a negative (but unavoidable) side effect of educational exchanges and the technical aid process. When the state was (re)organising its administrative and economic infrastructures, the modernisation process could be seen as endangered if the highly qualified personnel were lost to the country. At that time, however, economic development was seen as related to cultural and political ends, and the ability of the state to create and control a strong national economy was seen as indispensable for its survival. Today it is accepted that the conditions of survival have been reversed and therefore the (survival of the nation) state depends on its ability to integrate in an international economy. This 'revisionist' perspective accentuates the positive effects of 'brain exchange' or of a reverse brain drain procedure, when qualified personnel will return to the country providing access to new technologies and know-how (Neave, 1994).

Most 'metropolitan' countries were late in accepting such a perspective (Neave, 1994: 9). It appears though that in Greece this situation was realised much earlier, due to dependency conditions: "... and you see what the benefit is when they bring back the knowledge they acquired abroad. In this way, on one hand, we resolve the endogenous problem of unemployment, and on the other hand, we have people abroad all the time that are in touch with the advances in their scientific fields" (OPEK, 1983: 33).

It may be added that the large number of Greeks working abroad as faculty members and researchers has been considered by some as an advantage of Greek over other European universities: "The discovery of suitable teach-

ing personnel was and is the main problem of new European universities. This problem is much smaller for Greek universities, as they can attract teaching personnel from a large pool of Greek scientists that make a successful career abroad" (OPEK, 1983: 55). Indeed universities were successful in that respect.

8.3 Internationalisation policies

8.3.1 Access policy

Admissions to undergraduate studies are centrally determined, regulated (the most important regulations are Laws 2525/97 and 1351/83, Presidential Decree 86/200, Ministerial Decision B3/3925 (GG 876/1998) and Ministerial Decision D2/3265/14-9-2000) and based on MoE decisions on the number of students admitted to each department every year. Almost always the number of places offered fails to cover the demand. Candidates are allocated to the department of their choice on the basis of achievement. Admissions to postgraduate programmes of study and/or doctoral studies are decentralised and the institutions are the loci of control of the decision-making process. This indicates very clearly that the more academic and scholarly levels are considered the prerogative of the academy (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides and Papadiamantaki, 2000a: 20-21).

Undergraduate studies

There is a policy to admit candidates, in specific proportions over the number of students, for the following groups: EU students, other foreign students, ethnic and migrant Greeks, Cypriots, ethnic and migrant Greeks holding Greek scholarships and foreign nationals holding Greek scholarships.

Quotas set by the MoE, which vary by field of study, regulate the number of ethnic or migrant Greeks and Cypriots. Foreign nationals are admitted related to achievement and proportionately according to their country of origin on the conditions that they have adequate knowledge of the Greek language and they hold a secondary education certificate that allows them access to HE of their country of origin.

Postgraduate studies

According to Law 2083/92 ethnic and migrant Greeks as well as foreign students enroll in postgraduate programmes provided that their undergraduate degrees are equivalent to the Greek ones. For this purpose a decision of the Inter-University Centre for the Recognition of Foreign Degrees (DIKATSA) is required. PMS appear to receive an increasing number of foreign students, especially from Balkan countries, who consider that studies in Greece offer certain advantages (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides and Papadiamantaki, 2000b).

8.3.2 Scholarships

The state scholarships policy is realised through:

- ◆ IKY which offer scholarships for the study of Greek nationals abroad, and for the study of ethnic Greeks, Cypriots and foreign nationals in Greece and
- ◆ Greek Ministries, (such as The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Ministry of Economics and the MoE), which offer scholarships to ethnic Greeks and foreign nationals in the framework of the UNDP programme.

8.3.3 Promotion of the Greek language and culture

The Ministry of Culture has developed, since 1998, a policy for the subsidy of chairs/departments of foreign universities and institutes that promote Greek history, language and culture. Currently, 111 departments in the American continent (i.e. Canada, the US and Latin American countries) are subsidised by the Ministry of culture, including departments in some very prestigious US universities, such as Stanford and Harvard.

The MoE, whose budget is restricted in comparison to the budget of other ministries, from time to time subsidises specific projects of foreign university departments. In 1996 it founded the Centre for the Greek Language, to promote Modern Greek. The Centre developed a method for the teaching of Greek as a foreign language as well as a certification system for competence in the use of the Greek language. These courses facilitate the entrance into HE of ethnic and migrant Greeks as well as foreign nationals who are not fluent in Greek. Aiming at the promotion of Greek culture and language, the Centre for the Greek Language organises a database (still under development) of foreign departments/universities that offer courses of Modern Greek, alongside courses on Ancient, Byzantine and Modern Greek Culture, History and Language. Currently, 255 institutes and university departments have been located worldwide offering courses in Modern Greek.

8.4 Policy effects

8.4.1 Free mobility patterns

Free mobility patterns of incoming undergraduate students are influenced by the access policy of the MoE. Traditionally, a large number of Cypriots and ethnic and migrant Greeks (mainly from Germany, Belgium and the US) are admitted to HE. This policy is related to the traditional role of the state and the education policy for ethnic and migrant Greeks. The pattern has changed slightly since 1992, when the number of Cypriots became smaller, upon operation of the Cyprus University.

The foreign nationals originated mainly from developing countries of the Middle East or Sub-Saharan Africa. Very small numbers of Western Europeans came for full studies in Greece. The traditional policy choices appear

related to foreign policy. The Middle East is a region with which Greece has traditional cultural and historical ties. The trend from Sub-Saharan Africa is surprising, given that Greece never maintained close relations with this region. It should be noted though that the OECD has had a policy for the area since the 1950s. Therefore it appears that the admittance of candidates from this region is related to the obligations of Greece as a donor country granting technical aid.

Since the 1990s, upon the breakdown of the Soviet block and the development of migration patterns towards Greece, there are growing numbers of students (both ethnic Greeks and foreign nationals) from neighbouring countries (Albania and Bulgaria) and former USSR countries. Table 8.4. gives an overview of free-moving students in recent years.

Table 8.4 Special category students enrolled in HEIs

Institution/category	2000/01	1999/00	1998/99
AEI – foreign nationals	1,740	1,463	1,419
AEI – ethnic/migrant Greeks	3,247	3,145	2,944
AEI – Cypriots	6,418	5,387	4,430
AEI – subtotal	11,405	9,995	8,793
TEI – foreign nationals	440	455	234
TEI – ethnic/migrant Greeks	1,023	2,271	1,686
TEI – Cypriots	1,561	1,372	766
TEI – subtotal	3,024	4,098	2,686
Total	14,429	14,093	11,479

Source: MoE, Operational Research and Statistics Branch, 2003.

Since the 1980s there have been no national statistics on outward student mobility. OECD data (OECD, 2002) indicate that a large number of Greek students (13% of those enrolled in HE) study abroad. A significant number of Greek students study in the UK, Germany and France. The trend reflects both the traditional internationalisation rationale that acknowledges the high standard of studies in these countries and recent transnational education activities and export of education services towards Greece (especially in the case of the UK).

8.4.2 Scholarships

The State Scholarships Foundation – IKY

For the last three years (2000-2003) IKY has offered annually:

- ◆ 40 scholarships for doctoral studies or postdoctoral research to foreign nationals and/or ethnic/migrant Greeks originating from Western Europe, US, Canada, Australia or Japan

- ◆ 90 scholarships for doctoral studies or postdoctoral research to foreign nationals and/or ethnic/migrant Greeks originating from Balkan countries, Central or Eastern European countries, Asian, African or Latin American Countries
- ◆ 60 scholarships for summer courses for foreign nationals or ethnic/migrant Greeks originating from countries of Central or Eastern Europe or from Greek speaking areas of the former USSR.

The total number of scholarships offered by ministries varies every year. In the 1990s the state expanded its scholarships policy targeting ethnic Greeks and foreign candidates originating from Balkan, Central and Eastern European countries, within the framework of UN and EU policies for the support of countries in transition from a centrally planned to a market economy.

Current data is considered confidential, but information from MoE officials suggests that since 1997/98 the number of scholarships offered by Greek Ministries, especially the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Economics, increased substantially. Such information is corroborated by trends suggested by older data (Table 8.5).

Table 8.5 Scholarships granted by Greek ministries

Year	Foreign Affairs	Economics	Education	___*	total
1988/89	37	1	13		51
1989/90	64	12	13		89
1990/91	91	12	13		116
1991/92	77	12	12		101
1992/93	67	9	10		86
1993/94	93	23	5	17	138
1994/95	49	27	27		103
1995/96	66	22	16		104
1996/97	59	42	16	18	135
1997/98	199	104	15		318
Total	802 (64.6%)	264 (21.3%)	140 (11.3%)	35 (2.8%)	1,241

* Scholarships not related to IKY's Scholarship Programme, but granted by IKY, due to MoE's budgetary limitations.

Source: Papadiamantaki, 2001.

The geographic spread of scholarships granted by ministries reflects the trend that since 1992 an increasing number of scholarships are offered to ethnic Greeks and foreign nationals from Balkan and former USSR countries (Papadiamantaki, 2001: 276).

8.5 The effects of the EU policy level and the international context

Until 1981, academic exchanges (student and staff) were initiated on the basis of bilateral Cultural Agreements or Agreements of Scientific Coopera-

tion (concluded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) and the resulting exchange programmes (realised by the MoE). In 1985-1995 the following developments prevailed: internal reorganisation and expansion of HE; promotion of the Europeanisation of HE due to the participation in EU research and programmes (Erasmus/Leonardo/Socrates etc.); and the increasing internationalisation of students as a result of the increasing number of unsuccessful university applicants who went to study abroad, increasingly to European countries and primarily to England (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides and Papadiamantaki, 2000b: 68-70). Greece's integration in the EU introduced new processes for academic exchanges through participation in exchange programmes and European research networks. A new development introduced by EU policies is the direct communication of Greek HEIs with their foreign counterparts, without state mediation. Furthermore the establishment of Jean Monnet courses influenced the content of courses in Greek universities.

8.5.1 Academic Exchanges: Curriculum Development and Mobility Patterns

The launch of Erasmus/Socrates influenced the traditional mobility patterns and increased the number of foreign students (especially the number of Europeans) in HE (see Table 8.6).

Table 8.6 Mobility trends towards Greece (All categories, undergraduate studies)

Year	special category students	of which foreign nationals	approved scholarships	total full course foreign students	approved Erasmus mobility	total mobility	% of new entrants
1988	2,812	408	51	2,863	220	3,083	7.2
1989	3,136	400	89	3,225	437	3,662	8.7
1990	3,208	550	116	3,324	849	4,173	9.8
1991	3,067	545	101	3,168	1,507	4,675	11.1
1992	2,910	573	86	2,996	1,791	4,787	11.4
1993	2,911	467	138	3,049	2,486	5,535	12.9
1994	3,064	452	103	3,167	3,110	6,277	13.8

Source: Papadiamantaki, 2001, based on data from (a) the Data-Processing Directorate of the MoE (b) Erasmus Directories 1988-1995.

Socrates/Erasmus Programme

Until 1995, outgoing Erasmus mobility had a higher profile than incoming mobility. Since 1995, incoming and outgoing mobility tend to be balanced (West et al., 2001: 6-7) and approved incoming mobility towards Greece increases continuously (Tables 8.7 and 8.8).

Table 8.7 Approved mobility/incoming Erasmus students

Country	1988-89	1990-91	1992-93	1994-95	total Erasmus students
Belgium	13	85	147	235	853
Germany	53	145	261	480	1,654
Denmark	3	36	34	56	231
Spain	3	57	130	266	785
France	45	127	358	473	1,815
Italy	26	75	178	328	1,063
Ireland	3	14	57	87	285
Luxembourg	0	0	1	1	5
Netherlands	10	70	144	203	757
Portugal	1	26	46	106	302
England	63	214	386	599	2,151
Austria	0	0	14	78	143
Switzerland	0	0	1	32	48
Norway	0	0	4	36	62
Sweden	0	0	23	66	147
Finland	0	0	7	64	99
Total	220	849	1791	3110	10,400

Source: *Erasmus Directory, 1989-90 to 1994-95, Commission of the European Communities, Task Force: Human Resources*

Besides mobility agreements, a range of innovations were introduced in Greek universities as a result of Socrates activities, such as:

- ◆ European dimension (subjects related to European history and civilisation, economics and law in the European Union, and to the progress of European political union) introduced into courses
- ◆ Free language courses for incoming and outgoing Erasmus students
- ◆ Supervision and teaching in languages other than Greek. However, it is important to note that this issue is peripheral to the interests of most universities. Whether courses will be offered in another language is a matter for each department's academics. Their attitudes vary concerning instruction in a widely spoken European language, as a means to attract incoming (Erasmus and full course) foreign students (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides and Papadiamantaki, 2000c: 7).

Jean Monnet chairs

Jean Monnet chairs have been established in a number of university departments in recent years to reinforce and disseminate the European dimension in university studies. Since 1990, programmes in law, economics, social and political science departments were enriched by courses with a European content, and new departments of international and European studies have been established. The extension of European studies was largely achieved owing to the Commission's programme of Jean Monnet chairs.

Table 8.8 Demands for student places in Greek HEIs: Socrates

Country	1997/98	1998/99	1999/00	total
Belgium	189	208	235	632
Denmark	82	113	116	311
Germany	874	906	998	2,778
Spain	459	469	541	1,469
France	682	681	722	2,085
Ireland	48	40	44	132
Italy	485	528	551	1,564
Netherlands	206	199	193	598
Austria	103	120	126	349
Portugal	143	144	155	442
Finland	216	248	258	722
Sweden	141	141	156	438
UK	652	533	505	1,690
Iceland	4	6	9	19
Norway	43	53	63	159
Czech rep.		13	58	71
Hungary		6	36	42
Romania		101	161	262
Cyprus		17	66	83
Bulgaria			21	21
Estonia			1	1
Lithuania			6	6
Poland		7	51	58
Slovakia			3	3
Slovenia			3	3
Total	4,327	4,533	5,078	13,938

Source: Education, Training and Youth and TAO Erasmus Statistics for the years 1998-99, 1999-2000

8.5.2 Internationalisation of research structures

Research structures assumed their present form in the 1980s. In the period 1982-1985 the legal framework for research was established and a Ministry for Research and Technology and the General Secretariat for Research and Technology (GSRT) were instituted. In the case of Greece, universities conduct the larger part of research. The research activities of universities resulted in the creation of autonomous research institutes (EPI), as well as affiliated research centres and/or institutes within university departments. According to unpublished data, approximately 50% of research funds are directed towards HEIs, whereas in most European countries the percentage of research funds directed to HEIs varies between 17 and 27% (see Table 8.9).

Table 8.9 Distribution of funding for research by type of agent

Country	state	HE	Enterprises	other
Austria*	8.9	35.0	55.9	0.3
Belgium**	3.8	27.3	67.4	1.5
Denmark	15.4	22.2	61.9	0.4
Finland	13.6	20.0	66.0	0.5
France	20.2	17.3	61.2	1.4
Germany	14.6	17.9	67.5	0.0
Greece	23.4	50.6	22.6	0.4
Ireland	7.4	18.6	73.3	0.7
Italy	20.7	26.1	53.2	0.0
Netherlands	17.1	27.3	54.6	1.0
Portugal	24.2	40.0	22.5	13.3
Spain	17.4	32.7	48.8	1.1
Sweden	3.5	21.5	74.8	0.1
U K	13.7	19.6	65.4	1.3

* Data refer to the year 1993 ** Data refer to the year 1995

Source: Chrysakis, 2003.

The total funds allocated to R&D do not exceed 0.5% of the GNP, whereas in most European countries R&D funds are approximately 2.8% of the GNP (Chrysakis, 2003: 6).

EU programmes enhanced the effects of national policy. They offered to interested academics (departments and universities) an opportunity to pursue research, brought out the research potential of universities and fostered the research activities of universities. The participation of HEIs in European and other international programmes contributed to the already heightened interest for research.

8.6 Responses to the European and international context

Until recently, response to EU policies was a matter regarding the HEIs. It can be argued that in the past the MoE responded ad hoc to the challenges posed by the EU and the international context. Recently, practically everything happens as a result of MoE's initiatives and is linked to the active participation of the responsible Ministry official in the initiatives for HE developed at the EU level.

8.6.1 Europeanisation: Bologna process and Lisbon strategy

It appears that recent changes in EU policy, such as the creation of a European Higher Education Area and a European Research Area, and the determination with which the EU pursues the Lisbon strategy, have intensified the

interest of the MoE in the development of more explicit policies, to consider related structures and policies as high priority issues, and facilitated the formulation of a policy to simultaneously foster the Europeanisation of HE and alleviate pressures resulting from the liberalisation of the education. This shift can be seen as related to:

- ◆ a steering model involving supervision of HEIs by the MoE that requires state intervention (legal reform) for the implementation of current EU policy
- ◆ an active and imaginative academic currently occupying the position of Secretary of HE, in conjunction with a more active role undertaken in the context of the Greek EU presidency in the spring of 2003.

These changes resulted in a state policy for Europeanisation and a gradual reform of HE. The structure-related phase of the reform provided policies for the unhindered access to HE, the expansion of HE and the differentiation of services provided by the institutions and included the repositioning of technological education (TEI) (two-tier system implemented about two and a half years ago). This phase is now almost complete: the necessary laws (on access to HE and the repositioning of TEI) have been passed and are currently implemented and the expansion and reorganisation of the system is well underway through implementation of a comprehensive education policy framework (EPEAEK, 2002) encompassing EU objectives and co-funded by the EU. Currently Greece's HE system comprises two cycles in accordance with the requirements of the Bologna process as refined in the Prague Communiqué.

A second phase of the reform is currently at the planning stage of the development of a quality assurance mechanism, provided for by the Bologna process and the Lisbon strategy. Evaluation and assessment of HE is viewed as a prerequisite for the promotion of Europeanisation and an asset for internationalisation processes.

Influenced by EU policies, the MoE in turn attempted to influence and redirect EU policy. This is apparent in the conclusions of the Bologna Follow-up Seminar, co-organised by the MoE, the Centre for Educational Research and the Greek Presidency of the EU, which stated that: "although the participants noted the increasing trend towards global competition in HE, they reaffirmed that the main objective driving the creation of the EHEA and the internationalisation of HE on a global level, (i.e. the Lisbon strategy) should be based on academic values and cooperation between different countries and regions of the world" (Bologna Follow up Seminar, 2003: 1).

Furthermore, the current strategy of the MoE can be seen as fostering and redirecting the Europeanisation pattern by introducing policies clearly meant as outcomes in the Bologna Process. An interview with a key actor in the process indicated that this is well under way. The conclusion of the agreement for Joint MA degrees between Greek and French universities, which

provides for the termination of franchising agreements of French universities with Greek CFSs, can be seen as an unprecedented and 'model-setting' policy, especially if one takes into consideration that a similar agreement between Greek and German universities is envisaged. Furthermore, collaboration has been announced at the undergraduate level of an elite French (technical) Grande Ecole and the Technical University of Athens.

The proposal for a postgraduate (Masters level) degree of one year focusing on the same subject as a corresponding undergraduate degree appears to be a way of harmonising in line with the Bologna process. According to information from a top MoE official, the final draft of the framework law on the evaluation of HE will contain the above proposal, reviewed by the universities and the Rectors Conference and recommended to go through, with some adaptations. Furthermore the same law will provide the framework for joint postgraduate degrees between Greek and foreign universities and the development of postgraduate programmes taught in foreign languages.

Evaluation and quality assurance

The MoE's current policy is focusing on the institutional framework for the assessment and evaluation of HE, as a prerequisite for quality assurance and comparability of HE systems. To achieve the quality assurance objective, an expert group to assist the MoE in the spatial and strategic planning for HE and a documentation centre providing data for HE have been established.

The assessment and evaluation of HEIs is a highly sensitive issue, which has met with opposition in the academic community. In 1992-1995, the MoE passed a law regarding evaluation. The law provided for a Council to implement the assessment and evaluation processes, the members of which would be appointed from a catalogue of candidates prepared by the Rectors' Conference. The opposition of academics was so intense that the Rectors' Conference did not prepare the catalogue of candidates. The law was never implemented.

Recently this negative climate appears to be gradually changing due to the development of a bottom-up policy, through which institutions are actively encouraged and supported to participate in evaluation. During the first phase of EPEAEK (1995-2000) the MoE promoted the participation of institutions, on a voluntary basis, in assessment and evaluation:

- ◆ Since 1995 six Greek universities supported by the MoE participated in the Institutional Evaluation Programme of the EUA. "...After the issue was finalised, some academics said that they voted for it because they believed it would never materialise" (interview with Kladis).
- ◆ In 1996/97, a pilot project for the evaluation of HEIs was implemented for one AEI and one TEI. The project was carried out within the framework of the *European quality evaluation programme for HE*.

- ◆ For the period 1998/99 the MoE set up a quality assessment programme for HEIs, funded under EPEAEK I. The number of institutions and departments that participated was impressive: seven AEIs (42 departments/programmes of study) and five TEIs (31 departments/programmes of study).

The objective of these initiatives was to assist the development of a quality evaluation culture throughout the HE system. The involvement of a substantial number of HEIs in international or national evaluation on a voluntary basis has helped change the climate. It is estimated that about ten out of the nineteen universities and 45 out of the 240 university departments have participated in an evaluation procedure.

In March 2003 the MoE submitted to the Rectors' Conference a draft law for the establishment of the National Council for Quality Assurance and Assessment of HE (NCQAA). The Minister is expecting to pass the relevant law by the end of 2003. The MoE emphasised the relation of the NCQAA to the European policy on quality assurance and stressed that the law is an outcome of:

- ◆ an analysis of European quality assurance systems, supplemented by opinions of international experts and adjusted to the specificities of Greek education
- ◆ the experience gained by the evaluation of HEIs, departments and programmes
- ◆ the suggestions offered by HEIs.

The Council will have the following competencies:

- ◆ preparation of a four-year programme for the quality assessment of HE
- ◆ appointment of external evaluators and organisation of seminars to familiarise the institutions with quality assurance
- ◆ analysis and evaluation of the results of quality assessment
- ◆ organisation of a databank to follow-up the assessment process and offer statistical data concerning HEIs.

8.6.2 Globalisation: GATS and the international context

Greece participates in GATS as an EU member and is bound by the common trade policy. During the previous GATS round EU member states made commitments only in the private education sector, so that the distribution of subsidies remained the prerogative of national governments.

The position of the MoE is that the overall issue of the GATS negotiations should be approached from the perspective of its compatibility with the European strategy aiming at the establishment of the EHEA in the context of the Bologna Process. The issues concerning liberalisation of HE should be dealt with in the context of the internationalisation process of HE, i.e. from an education and not from a trade perspective. This is corroborated by the conclu-

sions of the follow-up seminar of the Bologna process, which took place during the Greek Presidency of the EU. The MoE adopted a position to consider education a public good and a public responsibility. In the proceedings of the seminar it is stated "...[the participants] reaffirmed the commitment of the Prague Communiqué for considering HE a public good and ...stressed that any (GATS) negotiations about trade in education services must not jeopardise the responsibility of financing the public education sector. They further stressed, that recognition agreements and the right of countries to implement quality assurance mechanisms should not be put in question" (Bologna Follow up Seminar, 2003: 1)

The MoE is against any further liberalisation in HE and considers the potential inclusion of the privately funded HE in the GATS negotiations as a negative development. The Greek Minister of Education suggested that the Commission should not consent with this development and stressed that Greece cannot accept such a development for Constitutional and other reasons.

Two issues appear to be of major importance for Greece. First, the fact that it is not possible to distinguish between the separate activities originating from the private and the public sectors in HE in order that the private sector activities will be affected by GATS and not the public. The question raised by the EUA on the implications of such a concession is a shared concern. Secondly, the liberalisation of private HE services may exert significant pressures on the national HE systems and the respective policies even in countries where the existence of private providers of HE services are prohibited.

This second point reflects a problem that already exists: the franchise cooperation between foreign universities and enterprises already described as CFS. According to the Greek constitution HE is offered exclusively by the state and hence it is prohibited for HE services to be offered on a private basis. The (above) private enterprises are not recognised as HE entities and the use of the title of HEI by them is a penal offence. Consequently, the period of studies offered in Greece by the above enterprises is not recognised and the degrees offered are not recognised as well. The problem for Greece is obvious: if private HE services were to be liberalised, this position would be viewed as a typical "obstacle of trade" and, as such, would have to be removed. But such a request could never be accepted by Greece. There is one more reason for Greece to make specific reference to the above problem. The central message derived from the international conference on GATS (Washington, May 2002) was that only the third mode of supply needs to be addressed through GATS negotiations. The third mode is described as 'commercial presence' and includes among other arrangements the franchising agreements with local institutions. Therefore, Greece has serious reasons to be sensitive, concerned and cautious on this issue (Greek Ministry of Education, 2002).

Joint degrees between Greek and foreign universities

Since 2001, the MoE developed an active policy to curb the effects of the liberalisation of education, fostering simultaneously the Europeanisation of HE. This policy promotes the establishment of joint postgraduate degrees (MA) between Greek and foreign universities, as a replacement for franchising agreements between foreign HEIs and CFSs. The top official at the MoE decided to investigate ways to stop the proliferation of franchising, and to proceed by providing viable and worthwhile international collaborative alternatives.

MoE's Secretary for HE undertook the initiative to contact French and German universities with a view to develop joint Master's degrees with Greek universities. This was an attempt to overcome difficulties in bilateral relations between Greece and France, which arose as a result of franchising of French universities by CFSs and the policy of no recognition of degrees obtained through studies in CFSs. The difficulty arose when DIKATSA (Inter-University Centre for the Recognition of Foreign Degrees) addressed a letter to French Universities collaborating with CFS asking them to clarify which degrees were granted following full course studies in France and which were granted following studies in Greece in collaboration with CFS. French universities did not comply with this request and DIKATSA decided that it would not grant equivalence to any degrees obtained by these French universities. He proceeded by approaching Greek universities that already had some form of cooperation with French universities and the French Ministry of Education. Currently the two Ministries have reached an agreement, which foresees the operation of (initially) three MA programmes, the first of which received its first students in September 2003.

This initiative has the unprecedented characteristic of being the only case where an MA programme is the initiative of the MoE and not a university department initiative, since there is no other case of an MA programme being initiated by any process other than the process of faculty members-department-university senate-Ministry approval. The strategy is clear in that it includes the institutional and the legal frameworks that operate in decision-making and funding in the respective countries.

According to the same top official, discussions are well underway for a similar investigation with the appropriate German authorities, i.e. the Association of Rectors and the universities. It is not clear whether there will also be a resolution with the UK (where the major problem of franchising in Greece is concerned) since in the UK decisions are taken at the university level without the direct involvement of government departments (interview with Kladis).

Response of the social partners

What has become clear is that the MoE is the initiator and the main actor of the above activities geared to promote Europeanisation. The MoE not only

heads this initiative, but is its main supporter. The social partners involved in the policy-making cycle (i.e. HEIs, staff and students) oppose both the framework law for quality assurance and evaluation as an institutionalised activity. Such policy is viewed as related to the comparability, attractiveness and competitiveness of HE, and has resulted in opposition to policies on the implementation of the Bologna process and the Lisbon strategy, which are seen as degrading the status of the public university and promoting the liberalisation of the education.

It is characteristic that, recently, the academics' professional association (POSDEP) acquired significance due to the heightened frictions and tensions in the HE sector resulting from institutional demands, as well as policies related to the Bologna process, for example evaluation of HE and the repositioning of TEI in the education system. The key actors involved in policy for the university sector are the MoE and academics, which rarely opt for collective action. Traditionally the professional association of academic staff (POSDEP) rallied only a small percentage of academics, due to its extremely left-wing political stance and the provenance, social background and composition of academic staff. In the recent (2002) elections for a new POSDEP leadership, participation of academics in the procedure was raised by 65% in comparison to previous elections. POSDEP adopted a militant stance against proposed reforms to face internationalisation and globalisation pressures and asked for the absolute isolation of Greek HE from the Bologna process (interview with Kladis).

In a recent announcement POSDEP declared that it refuses to accept "the neo-liberal orientation of the university sector and commercialised knowledge". Such a development is seen as a result of GATS agreements, World Trade Organisation policies and the Bologna process, which will eventually lead to the degradation of the public university. Given the opposition to the implementation of the Bologna process, POSDEP currently assumes the role of a collective actor representing academics in Greece. It should be noted that not all academics oppose the implementation of policies related to the Bologna process. This is clear in the participation of key academics and/or the Rectors' Conference representatives in the international fora related to the Bologna process. However those who oppose Bologna are expressing their views openly in public (Yetimis and Zontiros, 2000a, 2000b).

The professional association of TEI scientific teaching personnel (OSEP-TEI) equally opposes institutionalised evaluation. The association rallied the majority of TEI scientific personnel around the most controversial issue, the implementation of EU directive 89/48 concerning the repositioning of the TEI in HE. Although the status of scientific teaching personnel was to be upgraded, long debates (and strikes) were held regarding two main points of friction related to evaluation (and hence to the demands for quality assurance and competitiveness):

- ◆ the request for evaluation of the programmes of studies offered in the TEI and
- ◆ the demand for the upgrading of the qualifications of the scientific teaching personnel, few of which have completed doctoral studies.

Finally, the student body is rather apathetic in view of these developments. Currently, the student movement is weak, in comparison to the militant movement that actively participated in the reforms of the 1980s. Although student unions are active and vote regularly for the election of a presidency of the National Students' Association (EFEE), they have not been able to agree on the voting results and to elect a presidency in the past twenty years. Greek student unions do not participate in the activities undertaken by European and international student unions concerning the Bologna Process. It is characteristic that only small numbers of students rally in an act of protest, outside the meeting places where developments concerning Bologna are discussed.

The social partners' opposition poses difficulties in the development MoE's Europeanisation policy, as it seems that a prerequisite for a successful educational reform is the support of the faculty members of the HEIs. This is important to bear in mind since the establishment of a quality assurance procedure appears to be a precondition for both the further development of joint degrees, either at the undergraduate or the postgraduate level, and the provisions for future EU policies regarding the European Higher Education Area.

8.7 Patterns and impact of internationalisation of higher education

There is widespread agreement that internationalisation comprises many aspects, such as student and teaching staff mobility, development of academic and institutional networks, compatibility of curricula and programs of study as well as changes in the organisational structure of HEIs (Neave, 1994; de Wit, 1995). A multitude of collective actors are involved both in the internationalisation process and the development of policies on internationalisation.

In the case of Greece, internationalisation can be analysed on the basis of the different discourses and representations offered by the different actors that influence the policies for (and hence the patterns of) internationalisation. Since the 1950s it is possible to discern four different phases of internationalisation of the education system and discursive shifts in the positions adopted and the policies promoted by the various agents. The following phases may be defined:

- (a) 1950-1975, the phase of opposing internationalisation frameworks
- (b) 1975-1985, the phase of integration in the group of developed countries
- (c) 1985-1995, the ad hoc Europeanisation phase
- (d) 1995- to date, the active Europeanisation phase.

8.7.1 Phase 1: two opposing internationalisation frameworks

The first phase began with the end of WWII and the civil war and ended with the collapse of the junta and the restoration of democracy in 1975.

The whole period is characterised by discrepancies in education policy, resulting from the parallel existence of two opposing internationalisation frameworks and the inherent tension between the 'traditional national discourse' based on a rationale that prevailed during the 19th and early 20th centuries and the 'modernising policy framework' promoted by international actors that appeared as the main internationalisation agents of the period. The two policy frameworks provide different and contrasting representations or definitions of the national interest.

The traditional national discourse focused on the obligation of the state to protect and serve the educational and political needs of its own people, i.e. Greek nationals and ethnic Greeks across the world. Within such a discourse the international system was represented as closed and competitive, and the national interest was seen as better served by protecting and supporting the state's territorial, political and cultural space. It was the state's interest and obligation to formulate a policy that treated ethnic Greeks preferentially.

The modernising policy framework, promoted by major internationalisation actors, i.e. Unesco, OECD and the World Bank, etc, interpreted the international system as open and cooperative. According to this opposing discourse, the national interest was better served by the country's modernisation and its integration into the group of economically developed countries, under the auspices of the OECD and the political security offered through participation in the western block.

Elements of the traditional national discourse survive in an education policy choice that facilitates the entrance of ethnic Greeks in HE, through recognition of qualifications obtained abroad and (high) quotas ensuring places for them in HE. This is as a social protection policy, implemented within the borders of the Greek state for 'refugees' who return to the homeland; on the other hand, the issue of support to the ethnic Greeks that remain in their ancestral homes (i.e. outside the borders) is silenced.

The modernising rationale, promoted by international organisations, which views education policy as a means to foster economic development, prevails. The implementation of the modernising policy is funded as technical aid. Greek post-war governments chose to accept all offers of technical aid.

The orientation towards the development of technical and technological education was supported by all political parties, despite the fact that parties in the centre and the left were opposing technical aid. Many dynamic sectors of the education system (e.g. KATEE later on TEI) and fields of study were designed and funded in the 1960s primarily by international organisations. It

should be noted that the technical aid programmes were mainly designed with minimal participation of Greek officials or experts (Pesmatzoglou, 1995: 53; Papadiamantaki, 2001: 95-100).

The most permanent influence of these policies and of the modernising discourse can be seen in the internalisation of the idea that HE, due to the country's positioning at the bottom of the hierarchy of developed countries, could not but provide very limited support to basic research and the production of (new) knowledge. Consequently, the modernising framework can be seen as related to the *numerus clausus* policy for entry at the university level, which initiated the trend of outward mobility of Greeks for studies abroad. The ideas promoted in the 1960s have profoundly influenced post-graduate students, researchers working abroad, academics and state officials for many years and affected education policy in a way that led to the development of a passive (or defensive) internationalisation pattern.

8.7.2 Phase 2: initial integration in the international system

During the second phase (mid-1970s to mid-1980s) the modernising discourse assumed prominence as a result of the entrance of Greece into the group of developed countries (OECD). HE opened up to foreign students, as Greece concluded an agreement with the UN to become a donor of technical aid, joining the UNDP programme. Bilateral cultural and scientific agreements were aimed at the development of the international relations of Greece with its partners and allies. The policy was formulated through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and implemented by the MoE.

The inherent tension between the two opposing internationalisation discourses was echoed in the policy choices of the state and influenced the mobility patterns towards Greece.

On the one hand the MoE, in fulfillment of the obligations undertaken, accorded, on the basis of a low quota, a number of places to foreign nationals. At the beginning of the period incoming students were from Sub-Saharan Africa, in line with the OECD policy for this region. In the 1980s, in an attempt to adjust the flow of foreign students to national foreign policy considerations, a good part of these places were accorded to students of Middle Eastern origin.

On the other hand the policy framework based on the traditional discourse was modified and re-directed to cater to the needs of (second, third and even fourth generation) migrant Greeks, whose migration was now considered permanent. Due to this discursive shift, the state granted access to HE to children of migrant Greeks, many of them foreign nationals, who had received non-Greek secondary education and who possessed foreign school-leaving certificates. This situation leads to the formation of special categories of students, i.e. these of Foreign Students of Greek origin, Greeks living abroad

and Cypriots along side the category of foreign students (of non-Greek origin). Furthermore it is interesting to note that the legislation of the period avoided the use of the term 'ethnic Greeks' and referred to 'Greeks who are living abroad'.

The hesitation to accept large numbers of foreign students of non-Greek origin in HE must be seen in relation to the mainstream education policy of the period, which focused on regulating the number of university entrants as a result of limited resources in a free public university system, and on regulating the number of graduates entering the labour market, and therefore, centres primarily on *numerus clausus* for undergraduate study (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides, 1997).

The *numerus clausus* policy appears related to a strong internationalisation impact, in the sense that candidates to the university entrance examination who fail tend to study abroad, take repetitively the entrance examination, or find other solutions at home offered by the CFSs. The mid-1980s witnessed the initial boom of many CFSs, which as a result of the liberalisation of education, started offering foreign university courses, providing an alternative to Greek nationals who failed the university entrance examinations.

The *numerus clausus* policy contributed to the internationalisation processes of education in other countries, especially the ones at the top of the hierarchy of developed countries (US, England, France and Germany). As it has already been pointed out, the extremely high demand of Greek society for university qualifications coupled by the *numerus clausus* for undergraduate studies created a transfer of extensive numbers of unsuccessful candidates abroad (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides, 1997). The increasing number of Greek students abroad has contributed to the internationalisation of the student body, and of Greek society as a whole.

8.7.3 Phase 3: Europeanisation and the reconciliation of the opposing frameworks

During this phase (mid-1980s through the 1990s) the modernising discourse was mediated, complemented and redirected by EU policies, which influenced primarily the institutional level and to a lesser extent state policies.

The mainstream state policy still concentrated on alleviating social pressures, related to the increasing social demand for university education. The policy debate focused on the issue of *numerus clausus* for undergraduate study, which prevailed, despite the fact that for the third time, after the decades of the 1960s and the 1970s, policies were introduced to increase the number of new entrants in HE (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides, 1997). The MoE's policy provided for the expansion and internal reorganisation of HE, comprising the development of middle level (Masters) postgraduate studies.

The impact of internationalisation and the liberalisation of education was very strong, so that in this period candidates who failed the university entrance examinations again either studied abroad or followed foreign university programmes at CFS.

The EU discourse on the role of education for European integration is echoed in Greece, but it is not explicit; it is neither embraced, nor coupled by an explicit policy for Europeanisation. EU policies, taking note of the principle of subsidiarity, are directed at the institutional rather than the state level. However, one would have to agree with Teichler (1993: 13), that the EU encourages the development of the European dimension in the national curricula. Hence, the EU indirectly fosters the convergence of HE and the denationalisation of the curricula, trying to turn the inter-European variation into inter-European differentiation.

HEIs, mainly universities and to a much lesser extent TEIs, respond to the challenges posed by the EU policy, and follow a rather individualised path to Europeanisation, as the path is conducive to the development of initiatives on the part of individual academics. The academics interested in promoting EU policies represent a percentage (10-15%) of the faculty in each department. Therefore at the university level few concrete policies for Europeanisation are formulated. This can be seen as a direct effect of EU policy during the first phase of the Erasmus project (1987-1995) when funds related to the programmes were allocated to academics coordinating them.

The inauguration of the second phase of Socrates, which linked the funding of student mobility schemes to the development of a European Policy Statement (EPS) by each university, was a factor that further promoted the Europeanisation of the institutions. On initiation of Socrates II, institutions were requested both to develop a more concrete policy and to (re)form institutional structures for the centralised administration of EU programmes (as for example Departmental and University Erasmus Committees or International and/or European Relations Offices) (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides and Papadiamantaki, 2000b). On the negative side one should note that certain academics were not able (or willing) to incorporate particular exchange programmes in the institutional contract, and were discouraged by this development and abandoned existing, very successful mobility schemes.

The internationalisation policies developed by the academics can be seen as contributing to a differentiation of the mobility patterns of foreign students towards Greece. Firstly, more European students came to Greece for part-time studies as a result of the EU mobility programmes set up mostly due to the incentive of academics. Secondly, the increased numbers of foreign students that appear to enrol in postgraduate programmes of study (PMS) – a level that is not subject to quota restrictions and where the decision for the admission of candidates is taken at the department level – can be seen as related to internationalisation policies developed by the academics (at the department level).

State policies, nevertheless, are influenced by EU policy to a lesser extent. The following are the major impacts of Europeanisation on state policy:

- (a) The EU facilitated the speedier development of Masters level studies, noticing however that the process was already initiated long before at the state level.
- (b) As a result of the EU-inspired discourse debates are initiated on the structural reform of HE, concerning the repositioning of TEI, as well as the first attempts to develop an evaluation culture through participation in and encouragement of evaluation of individual departments/institutions.
- (c) Last, the EU policy for the support of Eastern European countries during their transition to a market economy, enabled Greece to formulate a scholarships policy for ethnic and foreign nationals originating from Balkan and Eastern European countries, using the EU institutional framework. This provided an opportunity to finally reconcile two opposing policy frameworks and to re-institute to some extent the traditional ties of the Greek state with ethnic Greek communities in former eastern block countries.

During this phase the pattern of Europeanisation could be described as active and ad hoc. The Europeanisation of HEIs occurs mainly as a result of the efforts of individual academics, which appear as major internationalisation actors.

8.7.4 Phase 4: a state policy for active Europeanisation

The current phase of internationalisation of HE appears related to the formulation of an explicit EU discourse on the role of education concerning European integration and policy for the development of a single social area, i.e. the unified EHEA and ERA. Given the Greek steering model of HE, the issues raised by the EU as expressed through the Lisbon strategy (i.e. attractiveness and competitiveness of the EHEA) and the Bologna process (i.e., evaluation and comparability of European HE systems and institutions) are addressed at the state level and have to be answered by a new national discourse.

The MoE appears to embrace the EU discourse, retaining a few reservations, related to state regulation of education and the influence of the international context. This shift in the national discourse and MoE's practice is a new development. The MoE presents for the first time an explicit, very active policy for Europeanisation, instead of primarily responding to internationalisation and globalisation pressures, contributing to what can be called passive internationalisation.

The current strategy of the MoE can be seen as an attempt to curb the effects of the liberalisation of education market and GATS agreements, while fostering and redirecting the Europeanisation pattern not only in Greece but in other European countries (i.e. France and Germany) as well. An interview

with one of the key actors indicates that this is well under way. In such a case, the conclusion of the agreement for Joint MA degrees between Greek and French universities, which simultaneously provides for the termination of franchising agreements of French universities with Greek CFSs can be seen as an unprecedented and 'model-setting' policy, especially if one takes into consideration that a similar agreement between Greek and German universities might be pursued.

The new discourse acknowledges Europeanisation as an independent and dynamic process that provides an alternative to pressures related both to internationalisation and the liberalisation of education. However, this new discourse, perhaps due to the fact that it is not yet fully developed, has led to an opposition between the MoE and the social partners on certain issues, especially the repositioning of TEI and the evaluation of HEIs. The development of Europeanisation policies that provide for the harmonisation of the education system to EU directives, and the debate on the issues raised through the Bologna process, are resisted by the majority of the HE community, i.e. faculty members of AEI and TEI, professional associations and, to a lesser extent, students.

This situation appears to be gradually changing, and the academic community appears to hesitantly embrace the Ministry's views. However, the professional associations of faculty members of AEI and TEI oppose some developments related to the Bologna process and in unison with the Greek society support a commitment to free and public university education, that would guarantee not employability in the narrow sense, but also the professional rights of HE graduates (Yetimis and Zontiros, 2000a). It is also to be noted that students oppose the Bologna process, as they are afraid that a three-year first cycle of studies followed by a two-year second cycle will undervalue the level of (free and public) undergraduate studies.

Safeguarding the existing four-year undergraduate programmes is regarded as a goal related to social and democratic rights to education. The academics and the students alike are sceptical and concerned that the Bologna process will lead to a downgraded undergraduate level for all and an upgraded Masters level for a limited few, which threatens the social and democratic right to free education.

According to information from a top MoE official, the final draft of the framework law on evaluation will contain a separate article, in which a proposal to accommodate some Bologna requirements will be incorporated. It should be noted that the proposal for one-year postgraduate degrees has been reviewed by the universities and the Rectors Conference has recommended that it should go through, with some adaptations. Furthermore the same framework law will provide the legal framework for the development of joint postgraduate degrees between Greek and foreign universities and for the development of postgraduate programmes in foreign languages.

During this fourth phase, the EU and the MoE seem to be the main actors of Europeanisation of the Greek HE system. In contrast, the academics, who in the past have adopted positions fostering the Europeanisation of HE, appear to adopt (individually and collectively) a stance that questions the related policies as they have been formulated within the Bologna process.

The attempt to formulate active policies during phases three (institutional level) and four (state level) can be seen as related to the repositioning of Greece within the hierarchy of developed countries, especially since its integration in the EU, and the development of a new modernising discourse that acknowledges both the necessity of a cooperative, regional, reflexive European policy and the capacity of local, national, individual and collective actors to influence the policy process at European level.

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9. Austria

Elsa Hackl, Thomas Pfeffer & Helga Eberherr

9.1 Short description of the Austrian higher education system

Traditionally, the Austrian higher education system had a higher proportion of foreign students and an appointment rate of foreign professors also at a rather higher level compared to most other countries. This indicates the great importance of internationalisation for tertiary education in Austria. However, before going into detail on the issues of internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation, it is necessary to give an overview of the Austrian higher education (HE) system.

9.1.1 Three higher education sectors

For a long time the HE system in Austria has been a federal monopoly, exclusively provided by state universities. Only in the mid 1990s when the Fachhochschule sector was established as an alternative to the university sector, the traditional interpretation of the Austrian Constitution (that HE is not only a federal responsibility but has also to be offered by federal institutions only) began to change. Since that time the relationship between the state and higher education institutions (HEIs) have become even more distant and in 1999 a law providing for the establishment of private universities passed Parliament.

Table 9.1 Higher education sectors in Austria in 2001

	Public universities	<i>Fachhochschulen</i>	Private universities
Institutions	18 (a)	19	5
Students			
Absolute	184,237	14,338	858 (b)
% of total enrolment	92.8	7.2	0.4
New entrants			
Absolute	23,112	5,232	339 (b)
% of total new entrants	81.5	18.5	1.2

a Number 19, the Danube University Krems offers postgraduate programmes only and is generally not included in statistical data for regular degree students.

b Data for private universities are incomplete, figures for one institution are missing

Source: *bm:bwk 2002a, 2002b.*

The establishment of the two new HE sectors in the 1990s was accompanied by the introduction of new funding and steering models, which will be described below. Since its introduction, the professionally-oriented *Fachhoch-*

schule sector has become increasingly important. Currently it enrolls 18.5% of the new entrants to HE, and is to expand its share of new entrants to one-third by 2005. The private university sector is too new and too small to have played a relevant role during the last years. As a consequence, HE in Austria is predominantly offered by public universities.

The following sections will concentrate on the public university sector, due to its size and since it constitutes the historic and general basis for the Austrian HE system. The *Fachhochschule* sector will be used for contrasting this picture and to demonstrate a new steering approach in the public sector. Only in relation to a few aspects will we refer to the private sector as well. The post-secondary professional programmes, such as the teacher training colleges or the colleges for social work, will not be dealt with since in Austrian statistics and documents (in difference to those of the OECD) they do not figure as part of the HE system.

Public universities

Public universities used to be institutions of the Federal Ministry with little responsibility of their own and have been regulated by detailed laws. All universities are subject to a single organisational law and, in principle, are organised in the same way. Staff are mainly civil servants. Universities have received their earmarked resources from the federal budget. Everybody with a higher secondary school leaving exam has been allowed to enrol at any university of his or her choice. There has been and still is, in principle, no other access regulation. Currently, most of these topics are subject to reforms. Although change has been going on for the last few years, most of the traditions have prevailed to a large extent.

Austria has six comprehensive universities, six specialised universities, six small universities for art and music, and one university for postgraduate education. Two-thirds of all students attend universities in Vienna.

Fachhochschulen

A professionally-oriented non-university sector was created in Austria only in 1993 – late in comparison to most other European countries. The organisation of this sector differs remarkably from the university sector. The Federal Government still takes upon much of the financial burden and funds the courses on a per capita basis. But there is an independent body, the *Fachhochschulrat*, that evaluates and accredits the study programmes. Apart from one minor exception, all of these programmes are provided by institutions, which are based on public or private law, such as associations and limited companies. However, the partners of these are usually public bodies like provinces, municipalities or social partners. These public bodies provide the infrastructure and are supposed to complement federal funding.

The first ten programmes started in winter term 1994/95; in winter term 2001 there were 14,338 students in 19 institutions offering programmes in technology, economics and business, tourism, social work and media. By now, there are *Fachhochschule* institutions in all Austrian provinces.

Private universities

In 1999 a law providing for the accreditation of private universities passed Parliament. Some small, private institutions had already been operating in Austria. Some religious institutions were based on contracts with the Vatican, others had been ignored by the government. Therefore, in some way, the Act on the Accreditation of Private Universities adjusted the legal situation to reality. At the same time, the new law met the demand of those, mainly industrialists, who had begun to consider HE as a marketable good. Based on this law (and similar to the *Fachhochschule* sector), an accreditation agency was created. The task of this agency was to hinder an unrestricted foundation of private universities and to safeguard minimal standards. The law explicitly excludes federal funding but explicitly allows support by regional governments or municipalities. It does not distinguish between for-profit and not-for-profit institutions.

Under this law, five institutions have been accredited until 2001, one of which has lost its accreditation again in 2003. Three of these universities predominantly provide programmes for management and business administration, one is offering courses in catholic theology and religious instruction and one is in the medical field. In 2002, two additional institutions were accredited, one for management and one for medicine.

9.1.2 Participation in the higher education system

In Austria, entrance rates to HE and the proportion of HE graduates in the workforce have been lower than in most other OECD countries. In 2001, 26.1% of the age group entered HE, and about 8.2% of the work force graduated from HE.

In 2001, 37.3% of the age group graduated from upper secondary school with a qualification for entrance to HE (*Matura*). Of these, 45.6% gained their *Matura* at higher secondary schools of general education, and 55.4% at vocational schools. In Austria, the dominant sector of upper secondary education is the vocational one where more than 80% of young people get their secondary education. Only one-third of these students attend schools that lead to a *Matura*.

9.1.3 Public expenditure on higher education

HE in Austria is mainly funded from the federal budget. Its share of the budget constantly increased from 1990 and was still increasing slightly

during the last three years. In 2002, the HE budget accounted for 1.1% of the GDP, which was slightly less than the previous two years but it still corresponded to the average of the OECD countries.

The greater part of the federal expenditure on HE (74%) goes to the twelve universities, while 7% is spent on the universities of art and music, and 3% on *Fachhochschule* institutions. 16% is devoted to student support and to the promotion of research and cannot be directly assigned to one of the HE sectors (bm:bwk, 2002a).

9.1.4 Research

The R&D policy of the Federal Government is increasingly seen as a question of national competitiveness and therefore informed by international comparisons, mainly with a narrow focus on the European Union and a broader focus on OECD countries. These comparisons are additionally stimulated by efforts of the European Commission to institutionalise benchmarking activities.

The major goal of Austrian R&D policy is to raise the expenditure on R&D from 1.9% of the gross domestic product (2001) to 2.5% in 2006. During the last years the EU average R&D percentage of the GDP fell while Austria experienced a slight rise. Therefore there was an approximation of Austria's percentage to the EU average. But Austria still lags behind the OECD average, and even more behind some countries of comparable size (e.g. Sweden 3.8%). There exist several reasons for the current rate of R&D expenditure. The private sector only contributes 57.6% of the total sum (18.6% come from abroad, only 39.0% from domestic companies). Another problem is a structural lack of technology-oriented industries. This is accompanied by a continuous specialisation in research areas with a small potential for growth.

To increase R&D expenditures under conditions of restricted federal budgets, the government aims to increase the contributions of private industries. For this purpose, tax relief for investments in R&D has been introduced. Further goals are to foster risk capital and the foundation of technology-oriented companies. Federal funding will be reallocated to technologically highly innovative projects. The Federal Government additionally wants to develop a national research profile and to attract research-intensive industries from abroad. Part of this profile will be an improved attractiveness of study programmes in sciences and in technology. To reach the stated goals, the government regards an improvement in human resources to be necessary. In this context, the promotion of women in R&D is to be one measure. In addition, the incoming mobility of research personnel will be facilitated (bm:bwk et al., 2003).

9.2 Views and rationales for internationalisation

We can distinguish between a policy of internationalisation and the internationalisation of HE policy. The policy of internationalisation refers to the way

in which Austria is positioning itself amongst others. The internationalisation of HE policy refers to the use of developments outside Austria as a frame of reference for national policies and reforms. Of course, both aspects of internationalisation are interrelated.

9.2.1 The policy of internationalisation

At the end of the 20th century, Austria's HE policy was still marked by the changes and catastrophes of the first half of the last century: the loss of the imperial hinterland, forced mass emigration and the persecution of scholars and scientists during the Nazi regime, and the damages caused by two world wars. Since having lost its former position in the scientific world, Austria has been cultivating an anachronistic self-image of scientific importance (Leidenfrost et al., 1997). As an OECD study observed in 1988, this led to an 'isolation complex' in Austria, which hindered the country from finding 'a place in the new political grouping' (OECD, 1988).

In the 1970s, there were political attempts to counteract and to overcome these retrospective and introspective patterns. Since 1972, the official, tri-annual report of the Ministry to Parliament on HE (*Hochschulbericht*) has devoted a chapter to 'International Relations'. At that time the rationale for international cooperation was the conviction that Austria can learn much from the experience of other countries, especially in science and research. At the same time, it needs not to be overlooked that for many regions Austria can be a donor and should not withdraw from this responsibility (bm:wf, 1972).

More profound political initiatives for internationalisation took place in the early 1990s. The planned access to the EC and the collapse of Communism in Austria's neighbouring Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries in 1989 led to serious debates about Austria's place in Europe. The Coalition Government in general, and the responsible Minister for Higher Education and Research in particular, welcomed the political opportunities offered by these historical changes. Two major policy goals for internationalisation in HE were set and actively promoted at this time: the accession/participation in the European area for research and HE, and the enhancement of cooperation with CEE countries.

Later governments and responsible ministers were less devoted to policies of internationalisation. The ministerial bureaucracy continued to follow these goals, e.g. by pushing forward the integration of Austria into the European area for research and HE. But it did so without much political guidance or support. Internationalisation policy became more reactive again, more a concern of individual administrators than of politicians.

9.2.2 The internationalisation of higher education policy

In many aspects, Austria has followed international trends in HE policy. In the early 1970s the first great expansion started. Later on, in the 1980s and

1990s, as in other countries too, new topics became important in HE policy, such as quality assurance, diversification or the crisis of federal budgets. Experiences from other countries were valuable sources for the government for designing its reform plans. While the reforms in the 1970s mainly drew from the German system, the reforms in the 1990s transferred ideas from a more Anglo-Saxon context to Austria, like institutional autonomy, managerialism and market driven steering approaches (Pratt, 2004).

National demands for HE reforms coincided with (and were enhanced by) preparations for the accession to the EC. Austria wanted to participate in the European research and HE programmes. This triggered a second, big reform cycle at the beginning of the 1990s. Thus, to a large extent the internationalisation of HE policy resulted from the EU accession. From 1990 onwards, working programmes of the successive governments and coalition agreements contained chapters dealing with HE and research in the context of EU activities. For example, they declared an intention to adapt national research programmes to the EU (Federal Government, 2000) and to implement the EU's goal to raise the research budget to 3% by 2010 (Federal Government, 2003). In relation to HE, programmes to bring the Austrian professional education system in line with European standards were announced – which resulted in the foundation of the *Fachhochschule* sector (Federal Government, 1990) and the adaption of dentists' education to the relevant EU directive (Federal Government, 1996). In the government programme of 2003, there is a basic commitment to the goals of the Bologna declaration.

The current, ongoing reform cycle in Austria's HE system is closely linked with European developments. Yet it has gained a dynamic of its own and goes beyond the urge to harmonise with European standards. Strategic goals are formulated at the European level, but not consistent HE policies for individual countries. However, these strategic goals raise the public awareness for an international framework of reference. In the most recent years, the argument of internationalisation was used as a lever for fundamental reforms on the national level, emphasising competition and culminating in the ambitious marketing idea of an Austrian world-class university (*Weltklasseuniversität*).

9.2.3 Rationales for internationalisation

Increasingly the goals of HE policy, as argued for by governments, have an international perspective. Yet there are different rationales for internationalisation. The model suggested by Van der Wende (1997) can be used to assess the interplay of various rationales for the Austrian internationalisation policy in HE. The described change of focus in Austria from internationalisation towards Europeanisation could easily be explained as a mere substitution of one political rationale by another one, which would not make much difference in the proposed model. However, a different point of view is suggest-

ed here. Since European integration is predominantly perceived as an economic project, where HE must contribute to integration into the common market, this change of focus can be interpreted as a shift from a political to a more economical rationale. This is in line with other general trends of HE policy, which currently favour economic arguments (e.g. cost efficiency) to the disadvantage of political ones (e.g. democracy, equal opportunities). Similarly, we see a shift from a more holistic, cultural rationale (e.g. international understanding, responsibility) to a more specific, vocational education rationale (e.g. achievement, quality, accreditation).

9.3 Current national policies and regulatory frameworks

9.3.1 Infrastructure

The Ministry of Education, Research and Culture

In 1991, a new section for Scientific Research and International Affairs in Research (*Sektion für Wissenschaftliche Forschung und Internationale Angelegenheiten – Bereich Wissenschaft*) was founded, succeeding the former section for Research. While before international cooperation had been the responsibility of some smaller lower level units, now the topic of international affairs in research and HE had become more prominent. The new section is mainly responsible for the realisation of the European area for research and HE and for coordinating international affairs in research. Partially, it has to coordinate its agenda with the section for universities and *Fachhochschulen*.

Austrian Exchange Service

The growing importance of internationalisation and the pertinent changes in the Ministry required corresponding innovation on the operative level of student and faculty consultancy and programme management. Since the late 1980s in particular, most administrative work has been transferred from the Ministry to the Austrian Exchange Service (ÖAD) or to the individual HEI.

The ÖAD was founded as an association of all Austrian universities. In 2000, the ÖAD General Assembly was extended with two new members, the Austrian *Fachhochschulkonferenz* (the association of the providers of *Fachhochschule* programmes) and the Steering Committee of the Teacher Training Colleges (*Bundesleitungskonferenz der Pädagogischen Akademien*). On behalf of the Federal Ministry for Education, Research and Culture and of the Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the ÖAD is responsible for managing a wide range of scholarship and exchange programmes for students, scholars and scientists. It also acts as the national agency for the SOCRATES and LEONARDO programmes.

The ÖAD has expanded its service in the last few years as a response to the increased international cooperation in education and research. Its growing

importance can be demonstrated with staffing figures. In 1997 the ÖAD had a staff of 50 and in 2002 of 118 (ÖAD, 2002).

Coordination of universities and Fachhochschule institutions

- ◆ *Universities: Forum Internationales der Rektorenkonferenz*
The main aim of the forum for international affairs of the Austrian Rectors' Conference is to serve as a platform for debate and for exchange of experiences concerning specific measures to promote cooperation in international activities. Members of this committee are the responsible vice-rectors of the universities.
- ◆ *Fachhochschulen: Ausschuss für internationale Angelegenheiten*
In 2002, the *Fachhochschulkonferenz* set up a similar group, the Committee for International Affairs. It is composed of the agents for international affairs at the *Fachhochschulen*.

Both bodies promote the transfer of know-how within their sectors and develop suggestions for the Ministry and for the ÖAD with respect to internationalisation policies.

Bureau for International Research and Technology Cooperation (BIT)

The BIT was founded in 1993, in cooperation with and as an initiative of the Federal Government and the Chamber of Commerce, with the aim of promoting the participation of Austrian enterprises and research institutions in international R&D initiatives, especially in the EU research programmes and EUREKA.

Federal Institute for International Transfer of Education and Training (BIB)

The BIB was established in September 2001 to support education, science and training by facilitating its involvement in export projects. It links up exportable aspects of the Austrian education, science and training system with export interests on a project basis.

9.3.2 Student support

There are various student support mechanisms in force for in- and outgoing students.

Outgoing students

- ◆ *General study grants*
Initially, only students studying at Austrian universities were eligible for a grant on a means-tested basis and a successful academic record. However, since 1992, students who spend a period of studies abroad may also continue to receive the grant, previously for two terms abroad, now for four terms. These amendments are a response to the exigencies of the ERASMUS programme.

- ◆ **Subsidies for study abroad**
The Federal Government subsidises ERASMUS students abroad, in addition to their ERASMUS grants. There are also scholarships and programmes of the Federal Ministry for Education, Research and Culture for outgoing postgraduates, foreign language courses, scholarships for unpaid internships at international and supranational organisations (e.g. UNO, EU) and for a range of joint study programmes.
- ◆ **Cooperation with Central and Eastern Europe**
There are various cooperation activities between Austria and CEE countries and universities. Apart from bilateral cooperation with Slovakia, the Czech Republic and Hungary, one of the most important programmes for Central and Eastern Europe is the CEEPUS programme (Central European Exchange Programme for University Studies), established in 1993 as an Austrian multilateral regional initiative. The first period ended in 2000 but was extended until December 2004, with the option of further prolongation. In 2001/2002 there were 62 networks with a total of 462 institutions involved. Instead of transferring funds, CEEPUS has an internal currency of 'scholarship months'. Each country pays its incoming students and teachers and has to offer at least 100 scholarship months per academic year. (CEEPUS office, 2002).
- ◆ **Austria's participation in EU programmes**
Austrian HEIs began to participate as 'silent partners' in ERASMUS at the beginning of 1989/90. Participation in European educational mobility and research (COMMETT II, SCIENCE, SPES) programmes marked the beginning of a qualitative new phase of internationalisation characterised by their multilateral and European dimensions (Leidenfrost et al., 1997). Austrian participation in ERASMUS grew steadily and quickly from 855 outgoing Austrian students in 1992/93 to 3,077 in 2000/01.

Incoming students

- ◆ **Study grants for students and young researchers from abroad**
When the ERASMUS programme replaced bilateral agreements on student exchange with EU countries, the Austrian government cancelled paragraphs on student exchange or scholarship provisions in bilateral agreements, generally. Instead, the Ministry for Education, Research and Culture established four scholarship programmes for foreign students/graduates and junior academics. In the academic year 2001/02, about 140 scholarships were awarded in the framework of these programmes to students, graduates and academics of about 30 countries, more than two-thirds of these to natives of Southern and Eastern Europe.
- ◆ **Developing countries**
Traditionally, cooperation with developing countries was organised in a considerably different way than other internationalisation policies in HE. This was due to the fact that this type of cooperation was regarded as

part of the overall development aid policy which was mainly funded by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. The main regions that Austria's development aid policy had been focusing on since the early 1990s were the Sahel Zone in West Africa, East Africa, South Africa, the Himalaya-Hidukush region and Central America. Following international trends towards sustainability and quality control in development aid policy, Austria aimed to achieve visible effects in the respective countries.

When general tuition fees were introduced in 2001, they were expected to have negative effects for students from poorer countries. To reduce these effects, the refunding of tuition fees (approx. 5.8 Million € per year) was introduced by the Ministry of Education, Research and Culture.

◆ South Eastern Asia

Another new ÖAD activity is to administer the newly established technology scholarships for South Eastern Asia for which graduates and post-docs from Indonesia, Thailand and Vietnam are eligible.

9.3.3 Migration regulations

In 1993, a new Act on Residence was introduced. It asked both students and visiting researchers to prove they had adequate funds to finance their living costs. According to the (ÖAD, 2000), this requirement is the largest handicap for foreign students, especially for students from developing countries, and actually led to a significant reduction of their number. The Act of Residence also contained quota regulations to limit migration from certain countries. In trying to facilitate academic mobility, in 1997 a new Act on Foreigners withdrew some restrictions and exempted students and researchers from quota regulations. Additionally, since January 2003, non-EU/EEA students who possess a valid residence permit to study also have a limited working permit. Researchers from non-EEA countries who apply for a residence permit for longer than three years have to sign an 'integration agreement' which obliges them to attend German courses. Students and visiting researchers who want to stay for longer than six months have to present a health certificate.

9.3.4 Access and tuition

Access

Since the 1970s, there has been free and open access to public universities. Generally speaking, every Austrian citizen holding a higher secondary school leaving exam is entitled to enrol at any Austrian university of his or her preference. Only universities of arts and music may require entrance examinations. Universities may limit places for non-EU foreigners if there is a lack of places. Practically, only a small proportion of study programmes have restrictions for foreign students, the rest offer free access.

In contrast to public universities, *Fachhochschule* institutions can require entrance examinations which apply both to Austrian and to foreign students. Based on a per capita funding and clear performance contracts with the Ministry, rationing of study places is comparatively easy for *Fachhochschule* institutions.

Tuition

While studying at public universities had been for free for Austrian citizens until 2001, foreign non-EU students generally were obliged to pay a tuition fee of about € 290 per semester. However, there were several exemptions from this rule. In actuality, only 5% of all foreign students paid tuition in 1989 (bm:wf, 1990). One can assume that students from industrialised, non-European countries were the only ones to pay for studying in Austria, and administrative costs are said to have exceeded generated incomes.

In 2001, the Federal Government introduced tuition fees for both the university and the *Fachhochschule* sector. Students from EU/EEA countries and from Switzerland have to pay € 364, the same amount as Austrians. All other foreigners are generally obliged to pay double that amount. Again, there exist several exceptions. There is no tuition for students who participate in mobility programmes, for refugees or for students from countries where there are mutual agreements not to charge fees. The last criterion mainly applies to Eastern European reform countries and to Turkey. Students from developing countries have to pay tuition, but may have their fees refunded.

9.4 Main policy effects

9.4.1 Incoming students

The higher education system

Domestic data show a slightly higher proportion of foreign students in Austria than OECD data. This difference is caused by the fact that Austrian data (see Table 9.2) concern only academic degree courses (*Magister*, bachelor, master or doctoral). OECD data, on the other hand, also include professional programmes, such as teacher training colleges, colleges for social work, or postsecondary programmes at vocational higher secondary schools which normally show lower mobility rates. OECD statistics therefore indicate a slightly lower participation rate of foreign students in Austria. According to OECD calculations, the proportion of foreign students in Austria was 11.6% in 2000, well above the average of 4.9%. In this ranking, Austria takes a third place, behind Switzerland (16.6%) and Australia (12.5%) (OECD, 2002).

According to Austrian data, there was a remarkable decline in total enrolments between 2000 and 2001. This effect was caused by the introduction of tuition fees in 2001, which led to a decrease of total enrolments at univer-

sities (20.2%) and universities of art and music (3.0%). Apart from this recent decline there has been a continuous expansion of HE. Parallel to this expansion, enrolments of foreign students have grown even quicker, which means an increase of their percentage.

Table 9.2 Total enrolments and foreign students (in %) by higher education sector

	1990		2000		2001*	
	total	foreign	total	foreign	total	foreign
Public universities	193,479	9.6%	229,247	13.4%	184,237	14.8%
Research	186,607	8.7%	221,505	12.6%	176,724	13.8%
Art and music	6,872	31.9%	7,742	38.0%	7,513	38.5%
Fachhochschulen	–	–	11,743	3.5%	14,338	3.4%
Private universities	–	–	–	–	858	49.5%
Total	193,479	9.6%	240,990	12.9%	198,575	14.1%

* winter term 2001: preliminary figures

Source: calculated from *bm:bwk 2002a, 2002b*.

Universities

Traditionally, the number of students from abroad has been high in Austria. In 1970, 15.9% of all students at universities came from abroad. In the middle of the 1970s, the OECD reported that foreign students in Austria are 13% of the total student population – a higher proportion than any other European country. The principle of free access protects this unique foreign participation (OECD, 1976).

In the 1980s and 1990s foreign participation did not keep pace with the increased numbers of Austrian students. The percentage of foreign students at universities dropped to 9.3% in 1980 and to 8.7% in 1990. However, this trend changed in the 1990s. While the expansion of the university sector slowed down, the participation of foreign students started to grow again, up to 13.8% in 2001. This development has several aspects and one main explanation.

The largest share of foreign students comes from Western Europe, especially from two countries: Italy contributes 23.6% and Germany 16.9% of all students from abroad. Most of the Italian students in Austria are members of the German speaking community in Southern Tyrol. For students from Germany, Austria traditionally has been a convenient place to study abroad, as Germany and Austria share the same language and have similar HE systems. So, it is fair to say that about 40% of all foreign students come from only two countries. Although the absolute numbers of students from all Western European countries grew slightly until 2000, their percentage decreased constantly.

The proportion of students coming from non-European, industrialised countries has not been too impressive. Absolute numbers slowly grew until the mid 1990s, then rather declined. Austrian universities seemed to become less attractive for students from these regions.

Central and Eastern Europe is the only geographic region which constantly and quite impressively increased its percentage of students in Austria throughout the 1990s, from 7.7% to 31.8%. This enormous expansion was caused by the political changes in 1989, which led to reforms and to an opening of the respective countries.

A comparatively smaller growth in absolute numbers and a decrease in percentage can be observed with Turkish students.

The largest decline can be observed in the numbers of students from developing countries. Not only was there a decline in students from developing countries as a percentage of all foreign students, but their absolute figures also decreased. Since the mid-1990s, this group has been reduced by more than one-third. The decrease was caused by a changing legal framework for foreigners that continued to become more restrictive during the 1990s, and by the introduction of general tuition fees, even if they are reimbursed to students from poorer countries.

Universities of arts and music

Compared to the university sector, the proportion of foreign students (38.6% in 2001) at universities of arts and music has always been far higher. Austrian universities of arts and music have historically been world renowned. In a trend similar to the universities, their share of foreign students grew massively in the 1990s. Here, as well, the reason can be found in political developments in Central and Eastern Europe. Six CEE countries are represented among the ten countries with the highest percentage of students at Austrian arts and music universities as follows: Hungary (8.8%), Bulgaria (5.1%), Slovenia (4.2%), Croatia (3.7%), Poland (3.1%) and Yugoslavia (2.8%). Remarkably, there are also three Asian countries among these ten countries: Korea (7.2%), Japan (5.8%) and China (3.8%). However, here too, Germany sends the highest number of students, at 24.1%.

Fachhochschulen

With the exception of a small peak in 1998, the participation of foreign students (3.4% in 2001) at *Fachhochschule* institutions is comparatively low and stable. Although the sector as such has been very successful, there are several structural handicaps for internationalisation, e.g. lack of critical size combined with deficits of infrastructure, tight regional connections and locations in small towns mostly remote from big cities, a limited variety of subjects, and a feedback dilemma, since internationalisation seldom shows short-

term rewards (Pechar, 2003). By far the biggest share of all foreign students comes from German speaking environments such as Germany (41%) and Northern Italy (14.5%). The next important countries of origin are Hungary (7.0%), Croatia (2.9%) and Turkey (2.9%).

Private universities

The statistics on foreign students in the private sector are based on figures from four out of five institutions only. At 46% of the entire sector, the statistics are impressive, but misleading. In two of the universities (one for theology, the other in the medical fields), foreign students are about 10% of the total student population. In contrast, in two other private universities that focus on management and business studies, foreign students are 74% and 80% of the total, of which 68% and 77%, respectively, are students from non-EU countries.

9.4.2 Outgoing students

The ratio of students studying abroad in relation to total enrolments in the home country varies widely. Austria with 4.4% lies slightly above the OECD average of 4.1% of home students studying abroad. If one combines the percentage from OECD sources with enrolment data from Austrian sources, the following picture emerges. Western Europe is by far the most important geographic region of destination for Austrian students going abroad, especially Germany (57%) and the UK (11%). The second most attractive category are industrialised non-European countries, especially the USA (8%). These data illustrate two major trends among Austrian students who study abroad. One is a focus on the German-speaking neighbourhood, the other is a strong interest in English-speaking countries. Still, these figures have to be handled with care, since Eastern European and developing countries are not included in these data.

29% Of the total of (estimated) 10,628 outgoing Austrian students are supported by Austrian grants and European Union mobility programmes, and 19% are sponsored by ERASMUS. While many Austrian students can benefit from being supported by these programmes, there is also significant student mobility independent from such funded programmes.

9.4.3 Staff

Incoming staff

Academic staff mobility is one aspect of the internationalisation or Europeanisation of HE systems. There are 'open' systems where professors and other staff members are welcomed and there are 'closed' systems where, even when the free movement of the labour force is guaranteed, academic staff members from abroad are rare. Traditionally, Austrian HE has not been a closed house. Nevertheless, it has not become more open during recent years.

An increase in appointments of professors – both returning Austrian nationals and foreigners – was an explicit policy goal in the 1970s and 1980s. Austrian universities were thought to have an inward looking attitude; so in addition to limiting internal appointments (*Hausberufungen*), appointments of foreign professors were regarded as a means to modernise universities. In 1990 the Ministry even commissioned a study (Mrkvicka, 1990) to investigate the reasons why foreigners did not accept professorial posts at Austrian universities. At this time the percentage of non-Austrian nationals was about 25% of all appointments, or, if returning Austrian nationals were included, more than 30%. During the 1990s, Ministerial reports discussed this issue. In 2002 about 14% of all university professors were originally non-Austrian citizens, of which 80% of these were from Germany.

In relation to visiting professors from EU-countries, there was a decrease in 2000 in public universities of about 15% compared to the previous year. Visiting professors constituted about 6% of all faculty (bm:bwk, 2002c).

In relation to all staff in R&D (not just university staff) the Ministry of Education, Research and Culture and the Ministry of Traffic, Technology and Innovation anticipate a growing demand for human resources in R&D. The main reasons for this anticipated demand are demographic developments and the goal to further increase the technological and research potential in Austria. To increase Austria's attraction for scholars from abroad, reforms of regulations on employment, social security, pension schemes and residence permits are thought necessary (bm:bwk et al., 2003).

Outgoing staff

In 2000, 5% of the academic staff at public universities went abroad for a minimum period of three months, a percentage slightly higher than the previous year (bm:bwk, 2002c). Additionally, the success rate of Austrian applications to the EU IHP programmes (Improving the Human Research Potential and the Socio-economic Knowledge Base) has increased and currently is near or above the average in most categories (EC, in: bm:bwk, 2002a). Both sources indicate a strong interest of Austrian scholars in going abroad.

Still, there is need for action on several levels, both to increase mobility of Austrian researchers and to reduce brain drain. Structurally, it is thought necessary to set up a *Researcher's Mobility Portal Austria* and to connect mobility centres up to a network. Legal regulations, especially in the area of the employment of university staff and related topics, like social security and pension schemes, are currently changing (e.g. the civil servant status of academic staff is a hindrance for the transferability of pensions).

9.5 Major trends in the national higher education policy context

For more than a decade now, Austrian HE has been under constant reform. Several fundamental reforms in the university sector are still to be im-

plemented. The following description of Austrian HE reform reflects the status quo of the first half of 2003.

In part, these reforms were triggered and intensified by the Austrian accession to the EU. But they were also motivated by other factors, such as the increase in student numbers and financial stringency in public funding. The agreement of the Coalition Government of 1990 underlined this need to curb costs and to bring Austrian HE in line with the EU.

9.5.1 Diversification

One of the differences between Austria and most other European countries was that Austria did not diversify its HE system in the course of the expansion at the end of the 1960s and 1970s. Instead, higher secondary vocational education was expanded. It was expected that these programmes would curb access to universities. Graduates of these programmes went into the types of jobs which were filled with HE graduates in other countries. When preparing for EU accession, this difference was increasingly perceived as a problem as the graduates of these vocational programmes might encounter disadvantages in a European labour market. Hence, the agreement of a coalition government of 1990 announced the establishment of *Fachhochschule* institutions in order to bring the Austrian vocational education in tune with EU standards (Federal Government, 1990).

Private universities were envisaged by the agreement of a coalition government of 1996 and additionally the role of the state in HE was reduced. Both policies can be seen as steps towards internationalisation, since they were designed in anticipation of international developments. In addition, these new sectors increased the pressure on the public university sector to accept and implement reforms. From a situation at the beginning of the 1990s, when the public university sector had an exclusive role in Austria and international competition was little developed, public universities nowadays face competition both internationally and (even more strongly) from within their home country.

9.5.2 Autonomy and management

When the *Fachhochschule* sector was established in the mid-1990s, the close ties between universities and the Ministry were questioned. For various reasons it became gradually accepted that HEIs need not necessarily be part of the state administration but should be separate institutions and steered differently. Therefore the Act on the *Fachhochschule* sector of 1993 broke the traditional relationship between the state and HEIs and stipulated that the new institutions were to be separate legal entities.

The government's programme of 1990 also set as one of its objectives to increase universities' autonomy and to establish business-like structures for

enhancing their quality, efficiency and financial transparency. The first drafts of a new organisation act based on the working programme of 1990 envisaged more far-reaching changes than were eventually achieved by the new University Organisation Act of 1993. This Act enabled decentralisation and many decisions were shifted from the Ministry to the universities. Still, universities remained federal institutions, bound in budget and personnel administration by the relevant federal regulations. The Act was not implemented simultaneously at all universities but successively, first at the smaller institutions and finally, in 2000, at Vienna University. By then, a new act on universities was already in preparation. According to this Act, which is presently being implemented step by step, universities are legally separate institutions, although based on public law. From 2007 onwards, universities will enter performance contracts with the Ministry that define their profiles and budgets, and a university board acts as supervisor and decision maker in major issues. University staff are to be employees of the relevant HEIs and no longer civil servants or federal employees. The increased institutional autonomy entails that the internal organisation of universities changes and becomes business-like, necessitating an increase in the associated competences of the rectors. The total transformation process will take several years, but the major steps are presently being taken.

9.5.3 Funding

Limited financial capacity of the federal government was one of the main driving forces for reforms in the HE system. The erosion of the state monopoly on HE was accompanied by the search for new funding sources. In the case of the *Fachhochschule* sector, the Federal Government for the first time shared the financial responsibility for HE. Per capita funding from the Federal Government only partly covers the actual running cost. The *Fachhochschule* institutions, which are most frequently owned by local and regional authorities, provide funding for the rest, covering all investments at the same time. It comes as no surprise that politicians are pleased with the success of this comparatively cost-effective sector.

In the case of the universities, the improved legal capacity for each institution should provide a better means to raise third party funding. While federal funds decline, the funding mechanisms are changing. In 2004, global budgets will substitute earmarked funding. Currently, the Ministry is preparing the legal framework and its own administration for negotiations which will lead to the first performance contracts for universities in 2007.

For three decades, it had been possible to study at universities for free. In 2001, the government changed this situation by introducing tuition (€ 364 per semester) to contribute to the federal budget. Universities had to collect these fees and hand them over to the Federal Ministry of Finance. From 2004, this income will be kept within the university.

9.5.4 Study programmes

In 1997 the University Studies Act (UniStG) passed Parliament. The objectives of this law were to increase flexibility in changing courses and programmes and – as has been the case with former reforms – to shorten the actual duration of studies as in Austria, similar to some other European countries, the actual time spent by students to gain a degree far exceeds the legally fixed period. The UniStG laid down the courses to be established and required a review and re-establishment of the complete range of degree courses within a period of ten years. In addition to degree courses, the UniStG included non-degree courses and – newly established by the Act – postgraduate courses, i.e. programmes leading to the degree of a Master of Advanced Studies (MAS) or a Master of Business Administration (MBA). The latter are the result of demands for international activities and compatibility raised by universities, in particular in postgraduate and continuing education. The European Credit Transfer System was legally introduced and in 1999, as a result of the Bologna declaration, the Act was amended so that a three-cycle system, i.e. bachelor, master and doctoral programmes, could be developed. The University Act 2002 also incorporated regulations concerning university studies and shifted decision-making competencies to the HEIs.

The institutional arrangement in the *Fachhochschule* sector is based on the functional differentiation among three parties (Pfeffer, 2004). The Ministry is responsible for decisions on location and funding, the *Fachhochschule* institutions for organising and providing study programmes and the *Fachhochschulrat* for accreditation and quality control. *Fachhochschule* institutions develop proposals for study programmes and have to apply for accreditation and for funding from two distinct institutions. This arrangement guarantees more transparency and vitality than the traditional, and often stressful, arrangement in the university sector where much was decided by the ministerial administration.

9.5.5 Quality assurance

Until the 1990s, input (ex ante) control was exercised mainly within the Austrian HE system. This general pattern has been changed by the foundation of the *Fachhochschule* sector and of the private university sector. In both cases, independent accreditation agencies award accreditations for a limited period, which makes periodic reassessments necessary. These agencies participate in several international networks and initiatives for quality assurance.

In the university sector, things changed with the introduction of the UniStG 1997 and the 1997 Evaluation Decree (EvalVO). UniStG 1997 asked for a periodical reformulation of curricula and for the involvement (vaguely) of external feedback in this process. The Evaluation Decree provided for the establishment of performance assessment procedures in teaching and research at universities, aimed at both individuals and organisational units. For

the assessment of research units international experts have to be involved. Universities were asked to use the outcomes of these evaluations in their decision-making processes.

Since the University Act 2002 gave more autonomy to universities with respect to courses and programmes, the question of quality assurance gained additional importance. A current initiative is the establishment of an Austrian agency for quality assurance, which will offer its services to the whole tertiary sector. The quality assurance agency will be a body of private law that will be independent both from government and from individual institutions. Internationally this agency will seek to join the European Network for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA) and to cooperate with other quality assurance agencies.

9.5.6 E-learning

Apart from investments into basic infrastructures, the first reaction of Austria's HE policy to the growing importance of e-learning was to contribute to international awards, like the European Academic Software Award (since 1994, in collaboration with Germany, France, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and the UK) or the *Medidaprix* (since 2000, in collaboration with Germany and Switzerland).

In addition, subsidy programmes for the development of course content were established. In 1998 and 1999 the programme for multimedia teaching material (*Multimediale Bildungsmaterialien*) spent €1.5 million on nineteen projects, and from 2000-2003 the programme for new media in teaching at universities and *Fachhochschulen* in Austria (*Neue Medien in der Lehre an Universitäten und Fachhochschulen*, NML) spent € 8 million on 25 projects. Both funding schemes worked on a competitive basis, with international expert committees selecting from applications (bm:bwk, 2000).

NML also marked a shift towards a more comprehensive policy approach for e-learning in higher education. Through a framework concept, its aims are to support innovations in teaching (e.g. internationalisation of study materials), improve contacts among HEIs, and facilitate easier access to education. The initiative itself became linked to eFit (www.efit.at), a platform of the Federal Ministry to co-ordinate IT projects in all education, science and culture sectors. eFit is one of the Austrian responses to eEurope, the initiative of the European Commission, which was presented to the Council at the Lisbon summit in 2000.

9.6 Relation with the European policy level

Generally speaking, Austria rather welcomed European HE policy incentives. In addition to the Community's mobility programmes, the process that was launched by the Sorbonne Declaration of 1998 is the most comprehensive

policy measure at the European level in the field of higher education. It will be dealt with below, as well as with Austria's reaction to the Lisbon process. There is only one point of disagreement, Austria's method of restricting the access of EU students to Austrian universities, which is currently under review at the European Court of Justice.

9.6.1 Bologna and ECTS

Austria's engagement with the Bologna Declaration and its participation in the process may serve to illustrate the country's policy making by European or international pressure and image. From the beginning, the Austrian Ministry has been an active supporter and great advocate of the Bologna Process. Similar to other countries, this joint European action was seen to provide a chance for the Austrian government to build support for reforms that encountered internal opposition (Hackl, 2001). Austria's engagement in the Sorbonne follow-up working group which prepared the Bologna Meeting and was set up during the Austrian presidency and the reform process that followed the Bologna Declaration both support this view.

Immediately after the Bologna Declaration was published in 1999, the Act on University Studies of 1997 was amended and provisions for a new degree structure (bachelors, masters and doctoral degrees) as well the application of the European Course Credit Transfer System (ECTS) were introduced. The immediate reaction of the Austrian government to developments at the EU level was due to the fact that the envisaged introduction of Bachelors degrees fitted well into Austrian government's efforts to shorten the duration of studies. Some observers suspect that the introduction of Bachelor programmes will finally also provide the possibility to limit open access to Bachelor courses and to apply a selective entrance procedure for post-graduate courses and/or to charge higher fees for these programmes.

The new study architecture was not instantly implemented in the *Fachhochschule* sector. In this sector, study courses are very well structured and have a fixed and limited duration of studies. Hence the government saw no need to reduce their length. Only the lobbying of the *Fachhochschulkonferenz* entailed that the relevant Act was changed too, and Bachelors courses are also provided in the *Fachhochschule* sector (Pechar, 2003).

To implement the Bologna Declaration a separate unit has been set up in the Austrian Education Ministry (Hackl, 2001) and various conferences were held. In addition, a national follow-up group consisting of representatives of the Ministry and other responsible authorities (Rector's Conference, *Fachhochschulkonferenz*, the Austrian Students' Union) was established. A special Austrian Bologna website disseminates information.

The Ministry prepares the reports that are due in the course of the Bologna Process. It set the following goals for the implementation of the Declaration:

by 2006, 50% of all courses for beginners are to be bachelor courses and 50% of all courses are to apply the ECTS. Also, from 2006, 50% of all graduates as well as 10% of the academic staff each year should have spent a semester abroad. In autumn 2003 an evaluation agency is to be established, and the Diploma Supplement was already made legally mandatory in 2002.

In May 2003, the second national follow-up report was published (bm:bwk, 2002c). It noted that by May 2002 nine Bachelor programmes had been established, and 95 out of 321 programmes had applied the ECTS. In 2000/01, the study abroad rate in a single year of study was 1.2% for university students, and the study abroad rate during the total duration of studies was 27.5% for university graduates. In addition, 522 members of staff, i.e. almost 5% of all Austrian teaching staff, spent a semester abroad and about the same number of foreigners taught at an Austrian university. The report observed sharp declines in student mobility in 2000. The number of outgoing students funded by the Ministry, and the number of incoming ERASMUS students, declined to 51% and 53% of the previous year respectively. There is no explanation yet for these developments.

9.6.2 Lisbon process

The Ministry of Education welcomed the achievement orientation of the Lisbon process and the five benchmarks suggested by the European Commission. International comparisons seemed to offer a good opportunity to present the successes of Austria's education system. Compared to the rest of Europe, Austria ranks well in some of these benchmarks, especially with respect to the school system:

- ◆ According to the OECD-PISA study, Austria has one of the lowest rates of low-achieving 15 year olds in basic skills. The rate of those with reading deficits is 14%. Austria wants to cut this number by 50%, which is far more than the 20% suggested by the EU.
- ◆ Austria already has the lowest rate of early school leavers (10.3%) in Europe.
- ◆ 79.3% complete upper secondary education, which ranks fifth in Europe and is well above the EU average of 65.7%. Austria aims at raising this figure to 85% by 2010.
- ◆ To halve the level of gender imbalance among graduates in mathematics, science and technology, as suggested by the EU, is an ambitious goal for Austria, since the current ratio of males:females is 4:1, the second highest in Europe. To increase the number of female graduates is an issue – even if some Austrian representatives seem more concerned about the methods of calculating this indicator.
- ◆ Austria also agrees with raising the participation rate in lifelong learning to at least 15% of the adult working age population, as suggested by the EU.

9.6.3 Restricting access of foreign students

When preparing for the European Economic Area, which simultaneously was a preparation for Austria's accession to the EU in 1995, Austria slightly adapted its open access policy. Since several years ago, only those students from abroad were allowed to enrol in courses at an Austrian university who could prove to have access to the same course in their home country. This regulation was especially aimed at those students from Germany who could not get access to a study place in their desired field of study (e.g. medicine) because they did not fulfil the requirements of the *numerus clausus*. This German form of access control is based on the grades of the school-leaving exam. An Austrian *Matura*, according to the Austrian administration, is both an access requirement as well as a 'study place voucher'. Therefore to exclude students from Austrian universities who encounter barriers to study in their domestic countries due to *numerus clausus* requirements is officially regarded as non-discriminatory by the Austrian administration.

Currently, this regulation is under review at the European Court of Justice for being discriminatory, as it treats students from other European countries differently to Austrian students. Austria's position in this case is that the issue is not covered by the remit of the EU. The EU, however, is thought to have a good chance of success.

9.7 Influence of the international context

The previous sections discussed the role of international activities and cooperation traditionally in Austrian HE policy, and with the shift in importance and concentration on the Europe Union that took place at the beginning of the 1990s, some years before Austria's accession. The focus of the Austrian Ministry on Europe Union programmes and policies in HE have continued since then, with the exception of increased cooperation with Central and Eastern Europe due to the transformation in those countries.

Only during the last two or three years has a new phenomenon emerged, namely an increased market orientation in HE and, consequently, a debate about the extent to which Austrian HE should be exposed to international competition. This discussion was launched – as in other countries, too – by critics of GATS during the present Doha Round. A decade ago, the negotiations leading to the establishment of GATS in 1994 did not produce any reactions from the education sector.

In Austria, GATS became effective on the same day as the country's accession to the European Community. Hence Austria was not an EU-member when GATS was negotiated and therefore differs from other EU-countries with regard to its commitment. What is different now in relation to the early to mid-1990 negotiations is that in the meantime Austria has become an EU-member state. It is therefore participating in and bound by EU decision-making (Article 133 Committee) and a common trade policy.

The EU and its member countries made commitments in all sectors of education, but they qualified them in such a way that they concern private education only and that the distribution of subsidies remained an unbound prerogative of national governments. Austria made commitments in primary, secondary and adult education but not HE and it did not make a qualification to exclude public education. Therefore during the present negotiations Austria is engaging in renegotiating its commitments in education to include the EU qualifications. The question is whether, as an exchange for inserting a qualification to its commitments, Austria will have to include HE as well. So far the government has excluded such a step. The government's working programme of 2003 underlines its intention to curb any further liberalisation in health, education, water supply, art and culture.

However, this declaration of the Austrian government contradicts its engagement for exporting education by founding in 2001 a federal institute for international transfer of education (BIB). It is also inconsistent with present reforms and policy measures in HE that stress business-like management and are geared towards competition.

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10. International comparative analysis

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10.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to compare the recent changes in national policies for the internationalisation of higher education (HE) as described in chapters 3 to 9. To this end, an international comparative analysis is made regarding the main issues for investigation at the national levels as described in chapter 1. This includes the views and rationales underlying policy choices for internationalisation; the actual policies, regulatory frameworks and means aimed at shaping the international role of higher education institutions (HEIs); their effects, and the extent to which these policies foster or impede the development and management of internationalisation activities in HEIs. Furthermore, major trends or changes in the national higher education policy context – with an emphasis on the relationship between the state and HEIs – are analysed. Finally, the comparison focuses on how national policies relate to policies and developments at the European and wider international level.

As was stated in the introductory chapter, previous research in this area indicated that economic rationales increasingly define internationalisation policies and efforts, and that internationalisation was expected to become a more important factor in mainstream HE policy making at national level (Van der Wende, 1997, 2001a). One of the aims of the present study was to assess whether these trends have actually persisted.

10.2 Views and rationales

10.2.1 Background

National policies for the internationalisation of HE are powerfully influenced by history and geographical location. They intersect along many dimensions with other areas of politics and social, cultural and economic policy.

Of the seven countries taking part in this study, the United Kingdom, Norway and Portugal face the Atlantic seaboard, Germany and Austria are at the geographical centre of Europe bridging the east and west of the continent, Greece is a Mediterranean state and Norway is a member of the Nordic bloc of countries with their strong historical and cultural links. In the Netherlands, Portugal and the UK, links with former geopolitical spheres of interest retain an influence on their current HE policies, while the Greek diaspora influences student and staff mobility. Germany and Austria share the same language and there is a long tradition of student and staff movement between the two

countries. The English language has become the *lingua franca* of scientific and business communication, at least as dominant as Latin was at the birth of European universities a thousand years ago.

Such historical and political legacies and geographical constraints still influence HE policies and practices. However, the explosive growth of global communications and the radical political changes of recent decades have subjected HE systems to common pressures and there are frequent and increasing exchanges of information between all seven countries in the study. The main international political pressures that have impinged on the HE systems of the seven countries have been the increasing closeness of the countries of the European Union and emergent pan-European cooperation, the disintegration of the former communist bloc, the intensification of global economic competition, reluctance of governments to increase public expenditures on HE in pace with the demands made upon it, and concern about the regions of the world that are falling behind in the race for economic and social advancement.

10.2.2 National and international drivers of policy change

There are two distinct and, to some extent, opposing rationales for internationalisation policies in higher education – competition and cooperation. In the preceding country chapters the competition-cooperation dichotomy question is much discussed. Both can be a way to respond to the pressures of globalisation and internationalisation. As suggested in chapter 1, competition is often associated with globalisation and cooperation with internationalisation. Internationalisation refers to the increasing interconnectedness between national education systems, in which borders and national authorities are not questioned; internationalisation is perceived as a steerable policy process. Globalisation involves the increasing integration of flows and processes over and across borders, transforming the spatial organisation of social relations and transactions, and is perceived as an external process that cannot be influenced by HE (Van der Wende, 2002: 49). Competition is frequently associated with the English speaking countries, while cooperation is becoming more linked with continental Europe (see for example: Van der Wende, 2001b; Van Vught et al., 2002). Amongst the seven countries in the study it is the UK where international competition as the basis of much recent HE policy and practice is most explicit. The UK chapter concludes by stating that the government's over-riding concern with economic competitiveness is largely driving the agenda.

Various commentators make the distinction between globalisation and internationalisation very explicit. According to the Greek report, globalisation can be seen as primarily related to an economic trend towards the liberalisation and commodification of education, involving privatization and export and import of education services, new managerialism and increased competi-

tiveness. Internationalisation can be seen as a process that promotes convergence of higher education institutions, such as mobility (of academics and students), co-operation in teaching and research, joint curricula, joint programmes of studies, etc.

Although a distinction can be made between policies that aim to improve the international competitiveness of the national HE system and those that focus on improvement of the system through engagement with HE in other countries there are some ambiguities in this interpretation. For example, a major underlying policy aim in Austria is to bring the Austrian vocational education system in tune with European standards. This could be an end in itself or it may have the underlying purpose of making the system more competitive with foreign rivals.

However, and in line with expectations based on earlier research (see above), in most of the seven countries in this study, policies based on international competition in HE and responses to it are increasing. In Austria, for example the government has established an accreditation mechanism, which may be interpreted as a shift to a higher education policy that is marked by international competition rather than by co-operation. The Netherlands shows interest in competing in the HE market, especially in Asia, and Norway's government perceives international competition as an opportunity for enhancing quality and innovation. Nevertheless, interest in cooperation is also apparent. Competing and cooperating often go hand-in-hand. The Dutch are trying to attract and compete for Asian students, but in the national policy it is claimed that this is also part of cooperating with the countries concerned.

In Germany international co-operation still forms the core process of the German higher education and science policy on internationalization. There are many collaboration agreements between German and foreign HEIs and German HEIs are participating in strategic alliances and networks. There are several joint study programmes and double degree programmes. On the other hand, the international marketing of German HE and sciences is a new steering instrument in German HE and science politics. A more strategic approach to internationalisation was introduced in the second half of the 1990s. Future plans indicate that Germany is working to establish branch offices of HEIs abroad.

In the UK, there is a long tradition of using higher education as an instrument of foreign policy and international relations. The aim of the British Council in large part is to enhance the reputation of the UK in the world through fostering relations with other countries in the areas of the arts, education, English language teaching and science and technology. It should also be noted that the UK was one of the first signatory countries of the Bologna Declaration and the earlier Sorbonne Declaration which started the process of establishing a European Higher Education Area.

Europeanisation is seen by most of the authors as part of the internationalist cooperative agenda but it is clear that in many cases collaboration within Europe is also intended to be a means of strengthening European higher education and European economies especially in relation to the United States. According to the final communiqué following the September 2003 meeting of Ministers responsible for higher education, Ministers take into due consideration the conclusions of the European Councils in Lisbon (2000) and Barcelona (2002) aimed at making Europe the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion and calling for further action and closer co-operation in the context of the Bologna Process.

Within the broad class of policies to improve competitiveness, another distinction that can be made is between policies that are directed at improving the competitiveness of the national HE system itself (to recruit fee paying students from other countries or to compete for international research projects for example) and those in which strong universities and colleges are seen as major contributors to successful performance of the national economy as a whole. The national reports include many examples of both of these policy rationales. Many examples of concerns about the international image of a country's universities appear in the national reports. The German report states that in international comparisons German doctoral studies are often said to lack structure and transparency. This fact is increasingly interpreted as a disadvantage in international competition and attractiveness of the German site for HE and science. In the Austrian report it is said that during the past two or three years a new phenomenon has emerged, an increased market orientation in higher education and, consequently, discussion about the extent to which Austrian higher education should be exposed to international competition. The Greek consider that the debate about the international positioning, performance and competitiveness of Greek universities is a recent response to the European and international debate about the new role of the university. And finally the Norwegian case study indicates that from the point of view of the Ministry of Education, trade in higher education services is seen as positive in the sense that it exposes Norwegian higher education systems to a healthy competition.

Similar extracts could have been taken from other national reports, though it is interesting that in the UK it is only in the past five years that 'learning from other countries' has appeared as a specific interest of the Higher Education Funding Council International Development and Collaboration Office.

Higher education is also seen as having a role in increasing national economic competitiveness generally. For example, at the beginning of the nineties, a change in the internationalisation policy of Dutch government is visible. The philosophy behind these new aims seems to be the long-term competi-

tiveness of the Dutch national economy more than the quality and competitiveness of higher education. Norwegian internationalisation policy acknowledges that investment in higher education and scientific research has now become a key factor in international competitiveness. The UK policy states that the powerhouses of the new global economy are innovation and ideas, creativity, skills and knowledge. These are now the tools for success and prosperity as much as natural resources and physical labour were in the past century. Higher education is at the centre of these developments (UK Government policy statement, 2000 quoted in national report).

10.2.3 GATS negotiations

There are outspoken optimists, and maybe even more pessimists in Europe of the implications of GATS for higher education. The proponents see GATS as possibly “accelerating the influx of private and foreign providers of higher education into countries where domestic capacity is inadequate” (Knight, 2002). The opponents, however, are “concerned that liberalisation may compromise important elements of quality assurance and permit private and foreign providers to monopolise the best students and most lucrative programmes” (Knight, 2002). This difference of view was apparent in the reported interchanges between the UK and French representatives at the Berlin ministerial conference over the wording in the final communiqué of the statement that “in international academic cooperation and exchanges, academic values should prevail”. It is thought that in part the exchanges reflected differences of view over the possible implications for HE of GATS agreements if economic competitiveness is recognized too explicitly as a driver of reform.

The opponents and proponents are also visible in the country chapters. The debate is the extent to which international HE transactions are seen as the exchange of tradable commodities as opposed to promoting the international advance of scholarship and culture. It is relevant to note that the individual member states of the EU are not playing a direct part in the negotiations concerning GATS; the EU negotiates for them. Also, in several countries, the view on HE and GATS is formulated in policy documents written under the responsibility of the ministries of economic and trade affairs. This may well influence the views reported in some of the country chapters. How it may affect the implications for HE of the final outcome of the GATS negotiations is not yet clear. In general some countries see GATS as a ‘lever’ for their own national policies, whereas other perceive it more as a threat to the integrity of their HE systems.

10.2.4 Development cooperation

Assistance to HEIs in developing and transition countries is a separately identifiable strand of HE policy in most of the seven countries in the study. The involvement of HEIs with developing countries is usually linked to gene-

ral development aid policies and as such typically come under the umbrella of the ministry with responsibility for international development.

They can conveniently be split into three policy areas:

- ◆ general concern with the economic development of the poorest countries
- ◆ interest in the modernisation of countries affected by the collapse of communism at the beginning of the 1990s
- ◆ historical connections with certain parts of the world.

There are European Union policies with respect to the first two of these and universities in all seven participating countries take part in, for example, TEMPUS programmes. Interest in development aid as a general policy aim is expressed most strongly in the Norwegian report. Relations between Norwegian institutions and institutions in the South have existed for years. These activities mirror the interests of the Norwegian foreign policy and the emphasis on nation building through peace, democracy and sustainable development. A new dimension is the Joint Statement signed in June 2002 by the Nordic Education Ministers and International Development Ministers to enhance co-operation and encourage Nordic joint actions in relation to education and development in the South. There is a strong political will to invest in the South, it is also of high symbolic value to the current government.

In Germany also the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development ... focuses on development policy through cooperation in bi- and multilateral programmes, exchange activities, supporting national, institutional, educational and technological development and training as well as offering financial assistance etc. for developing countries.

Concerns with the modernisation of HE in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) are particularly mentioned in the Austrian, German and Dutch reports and it is made clear that this is seen as an aspect of much broader policy concerns within these countries. Transition countries such as the Czech Republic, Slovenia, Poland and Hungary are priority countries in the Dutch internationalisation policy. The Russian federation is also part of this cluster of countries. Aid to the Russian Federation is given in the area of policy development and implementation. The co-operation with the other countries is also aimed at improving their higher education. The co-operation with these countries can nowadays be seen in the light of their entry to the European Union. Their entry into the EU has also made the co-operation with these countries more accessible for Dutch HEIs, e.g. through SOCRATES.

In Germany, geographical focus outside the EU lies in the cooperation with central and east European countries and countries of the former Soviet Union. Similarly in Austria, there are various cooperation activities between Austria and CEE countries and universities. For the last ten years, Austria has funded cooperation in science and education with Slovakia, Czech

Republic and Hungary and even set up a multilateral programme for the CEE region, called CEEPUS.

The Netherlands, Portugal and the UK retain a feeling of commitment to, and strong links with, third world countries with which they have historical links, usually former colonies.

Such links are most pervasive in the UK, whose Commonwealth is a voluntary association of 54 sovereign states making up 30% of the world's population. The Commonwealth Secretariat runs an active education programme, the aims of which are promoting sustainable development, poverty reduction, human rights and the advancement of democracy. The Association of Commonwealth Universities aims to advance international cooperation and understanding in HE, to provide information to universities, to promote mobility of staff and students between Commonwealth countries, and to assist members in developing the capacity of their human resources.

In the Portuguese case, where decolonisation was far more recent, cultural links remain strong. The cultural rationale is rooted in the Portuguese language as one of the most spoken languages all over the world and in the cooperation with Portuguese speaking countries. Over the last decades, governments have promoted the internationalisation of the system by supporting the development of higher education in the former Portuguese speaking colonies. In Portugal the decolonisation happened only during the early 1970s, and since then the country feels a particular responsibility towards the development of its former colonies, namely Cape Verde, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and São Tomé e Príncipe, denominated PALOP's (African Countries with Portuguese as Official Language), and more recently also East Timor. This sense of responsibility is translated in the Portuguese external policy and includes a particular concern with the education and training of their young people as well as their top administrative staff.

The Netherlands has a number of similar historical links. Holland provides support to improve the HE system of the Dutch Antilles and Aruba. Additionally, ways to prevent 'brain drain' from them are being explored. Students from these jurisdictions receive funding for several programmes by the Dutch State, just as they would if they were studying in the Netherlands. The historical legacy of the Netherlands, however is broader and more complex. In particular, relationships with Indonesia and South Africa may be complicated, as with these countries, which are part of the Dutch colonial past, development aid and co-operation has existed for a long time. The introduction of new strategies focused on marketing and recruitment could be perceived to be happening in a somewhat reluctant manner.

In general it is apparent from the seven reports that historical, cultural and linguistic links remain a strong influence on the international activities of uni-

versities and colleges. Apart from those which result from former colonial policies it is clear that there are, for example, particular links between universities in Germany and Austria, that Norway is influenced by its membership of the Nordic bloc, that Greece makes special efforts to recruit students and staff from the millions of Greeks who are living abroad, and the UK institutions have special links with those in the United States as well as with the English speaking countries of the Commonwealth.

10.3 Regulatory frameworks and policies for internationalisation

10.3.1 Ministerial responsibilities for higher education

In all the countries participating in this study the ministries of education play a leading role in HE policy but the name of the ministry varies widely: the word 'education' is supplemented variously by words such as 'science', 'research', 'culture', 'employment', or 'skills'. Indeed it is possible to draw some inferences about the way HE is perceived in a country at a particular point in time by the words that follow 'education' in the name of ministry mainly responsible for it.

Other ministries with roles affecting international policy in HE are those responsible for foreign affairs, economics, finance, trade and industry, home affairs and economic development aid. The Netherlands report provides a list of the ministries involved in that country and, allowing for slight differences in the organisation of government, this list could be replicated in most of the countries. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has traditionally been involved in the internationalisation of Dutch higher education. The policy for the internationalisation of higher education must be in line with the general national foreign policy. The same holds true for the national policy concerning European affairs. The Ministry of Economic Affairs is involved in the internationalisation of higher education mainly in two ways. First of all, this Ministry has the final responsibility for the negotiations on GATS. Secondly, the Netherlands Foreign Trade Agency (EVD) is assisting in the promotion of Dutch higher education abroad. The Ministry of Justice bears responsibility for visa and residence permits. The Ministry of Social Affairs has the responsibility for working permits for foreigners and is sometimes involved on specific issues, for example issues concerning employability of graduates. Finally, the Ministry of Agriculture is responsible for higher education in the agricultural sector.

Below the level of national ministries of education there is a wide range of agencies that have an interest in various aspects of the international affairs of universities and colleges. At the centre there is usually a branch of the ministry of education with specific responsibility for implementing government policy for HE. In addition most countries have an agency responsible for advancing their cultural and HE interests abroad – for example, the

Austrian Exchange Service (ÖAD), the Centre for International University Cooperation in Norway, the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), the Netherlands Organisation for International Co-operation in Higher Education (NUFFIC), the British Council, and the International Office for Science and Higher Education (GRICES) in Portugal. One indicator of the changing perceptions of the international role of HEIs is that several of these agencies are now assisting in the recruitment of fee paying foreign students and helping universities to secure international research and consultancy contracts.

For example from 1997 onwards DAAD has implemented a variety of measures to improve the competitiveness of German universities abroad and the British Council is heavily involved in overseas student recruitment and assisting British universities to bid for international projects. In the Netherlands, the main areas of (NUFFIC's) activity are development co-operation, internationalisation of higher education, international recognition and certification and the marketing of Dutch higher education.

10.3.2 Internationalisation and quality assurance regulation

Internationalisation, and particularly Europeanisation, are seen as important drivers of quality improvement in national HE systems. A recent player on the regulatory scene in all the countries is an organisation concerned with quality assurance or quality improvement. While this agency is primarily driven by perceived needs to enhance the quality of programmes of study for indigenous students, there are important international dimensions. The ministerial communiqué following the 2003 Berlin conference declared that: "The quality of higher education has proven to be at the heart of the setting up of a European Higher Education Area. Ministers commit themselves to supporting further development of quality assurance at institutional, national and European level. They stress the need to develop mutually shared criteria and methodologies on quality assurance". And also that by 2005, all countries should have quality assurance systems in place that include certain characteristics, such as a system of accreditation, certification or comparable procedures, and international participation, cooperation and networking.

There is widespread interest in international agencies that disseminate information about the quality assurance activities in other countries. Germany is making use of international comparisons and benchmarking as guidelines for quality in German education and research and in Norway internationalisation is beginning to be seen as a way of ensuring quality in higher education and research. Similarly in Portugal the political rationale for internationalisation is based on the perception that it is not possible to justify the quality of the education system isolated from the international, and in particular the European, context. Portugal is establishing mechanisms of quality evaluation and accreditation that would allow the definition of criteria of transparency and compa-

rability with the other European countries' systems. The Dutch report recognises that quality improvement is important to improve the economic competitiveness of the HE system. Quality of education is important to a competitive higher education system and international agreements on accreditation and quality assurance need to be reached. In the UK the QAA (Quality Assurance Agency) has recently taken a strong interest in courses run by British universities in other countries. The main driver is concern about the effect of quality deficiencies on the worldwide reputation of British higher education.

Other countries are more concerned about the quality and integrity of their own universities and colleges being threatened by unregulated competitors from other countries. In Austria a 1999 law permitting the establishment and accreditation of private universities provided for quality control of HEIs from abroad, which were increasingly expected to set up branches in Austria. A similar concern is illustrated by the Greek experience of Centres for Free Studies which operate not as education institutions but as commercial enterprises. They are subject to the authority of the Ministry of Trade and are not considered part of the higher education system. However, they currently offer study programmes that lead to Bachelors and Masters degree franchising agreements with foreign universities.

There is obviously a major dilemma to be faced in the regulation of cross border provision of HE that will grow with the expansion of online education, and would be exacerbated if the GATS agreement of trade in services were to be extended to include higher education. It is clearly desirable to ensure that the education (and research) provided by universities from outside the country meets the same quality standards as those within the country, but it is also important that the regulatory agencies do not simply protect deficiencies in the home institutions by discriminating against foreign providers.

10.4 Policy instruments and effects

Specific policies for the internationalisation of HE traditionally include instruments such as student programmes for academic mobility and cooperation. Until the last quarter of the twentieth century 'internationalisation' of higher education largely meant student mobility, mostly on an individual ad hoc free mover basis. Today, student mobility trends remain a significant indicator of internationalisation. Besides, 'virtual mobility' is increasingly taken into consideration, as internationalisation is fostered also through distance education, validation of qualifications in other countries, branch campuses, joint degrees and/or collaborative provisions, all policies that do not require the physical mobility of students. According to recent OECD data (OECD, 2002) student mobility has increased significantly in the period 1995-2001 in most OECD countries. Table 10.1 specifies these data for the countries included in this study.

Table 10.1 Foreign students by host country (1995-2001)

	1995 Number	% of enrolment	1998 Number	% of enrolment	2001 Number	% of enrolment	Change in % 1995-2001
Austria	25,175	10.8	28,447	11.5	31,682	12.0	+25.9
Germany	154,536	7.2	171,150	8.2	199,132	9.6	+28.9
Netherlands			13,619	2.9	16,589	3.3	
Norway	11,158	6.4	5,750	3.2	8,834	3.7	-20.8
Portugal	6,140	2.0			11,177	3.0	+82.0
UK	156,977	8.7	209,554	10.8	225,722	10.9	+43.8
Total OECD	647,612		712,166		856,733		+32.3

Source: OECD Education database (data for Greece not available)

The general trend of increasing student mobility is also observed in Europe. In fact, Europe still hosts more foreign students (more than 850,000 in 2001) than the United States (547,000 in 2000/01). The market share of the UK, Germany and France together (36%) is already larger than that of the United States (30%). However, slightly over 50% of the mobile students in Europe are from within the region, and this intra-regional mobility is also the fastest growing component (Van der Wende & Middlehurst, forthcoming).

Table 10.2 provides an additional insight into the balance of incoming and outgoing student flows per country. It shows that Austria, Germany, the Netherlands, and in particular the UK receive more students than they send out. For Norway the opposite is the case. OECD countries receive on average 1.98 students for 1 student sent abroad.

Table 10.2 Number of foreign students per domestic student abroad in tertiary education (2001)

	Foreign Students	Domestic students abroad	Index
Austria	31,682	11,531	2.75
Germany	199,132	54,481	3.66
Greece		54,812	
Netherlands	16,589	11,792	1.41
Norway	8,834	14,072	-1.59
Portugal		10,838	
United Kingdom	225,722	25,195	8.96

Source: OECD Education database

Note: Foreign students refer to foreign students studying in OECD countries only

Read: in 2001, Austria received 2.75 foreign students for 1 domestic student sent abroad

10.4.1 Types of student mobility

It is possible to identify several distinct categories of mobile students:

- ◆ free movers who register for the whole of a degree (or other) programme at a university outside their home country (see Tables 10.1 and 10.2)
- ◆ exchange students who remain registered at their home university but take one or more modules of their courses at a university in another country (e.g. ERASMUS students, see Table 10.3)
- ◆ non-mobile students who remain physically in their own country and study for a degree enrolled at a foreign university. Globally this type of 'virtual' mobility (or trans-national education) has expanded rapidly during recent years.

Despite the substantial mobility of exchange students under the ERASMUS programme (see table 10.3), over four times more of the student mobility in Europe takes place outside this framework (free movers).

Student mobility to Germany and the UK has a long history. The British report states that the United Kingdom has a long history of exporting education overseas. In the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century British universities performed a role linked to the country's imperial mission: at first to develop what was seen as progressive cultural attitudes among the indigenous colonial populations.

Student mobility towards other European countries increased in the decolonisation period (1950s and 1960s), as the responsibilities towards developing countries and former colonies were assumed. In the Netherlands, Institutes for International Education were established in the 1950s and have been offering courses taught in English since then. They were set up as part of the cooperation policies with the former Dutch colonies and their objective has been to contribute to the development of the home countries of the students. Austria became a significant host country for foreign students in the 1970s, when foreign students made up 15.9% of the total student population in 1970.

For another group of countries (Norway, Portugal and Greece) outgoing mobility patterns were initiated in the 1950s, as a result of the sending policies of the governments that were unable to respond to the internal demand for HE services. Norway developed an outward mobility tradition in the 1950s and the outward trend was prominent until the 1970s. At present one can note a move away from the strong ideological and financial support of free movers towards more emphasis on short term study abroad as part of a degree taken at home and more emphasis on attracting foreign students to Norwegian universities and colleges. In Greece, outward mobility towards the US, the UK, Germany and France was initiated in the post-war period and created a tradition that is still very strong. This sending policy was influenced by the policies of international organisations and driven by the objective of integrating Greece in the international system. In the case of Portugal out-

going mobility in the 1960s and early 1970s was mainly for postgraduate studies (PhD training). The Portuguese report, summing up mobility patterns in Portugal, states that one cannot forget that by history Portugal is an emigration country. The government supported with grants the training of its postgraduate students in countries such as the US, France, United Kingdom and Germany. After its integration in the European Union the economic situation improved and at present time under the framework of the internationalisation of higher education policies. There are earmarked vacancies in higher education for special kinds of students, sons of Portuguese emigrants and students coming from the Portuguese speaking countries. In other words, Portugal fosters internationalisation by receiving students from former Portuguese colonies with which historical and cultural ties exist.

Since 1980 the amount of cross-border movement of students has increased by a serious magnitude. Intra-European mobility was fostered through the inauguration of organised mobility programmes, especially the ERASMUS programme, which affected, to varying degrees, student mobility patterns in European countries, providing thus a strong fostering of internationalisation across EU countries.

Table 10.3 ERASMUS student mobility: actual numbers of students sent and hosted by country

	Hosted	Sent	1997/98 ratio
United Kingdom	20,938	10,582	1.98
Netherlands	4,939	4,171	1.18
Germany	10,991	13,785	0.80
Norway	818	1,071	0.76
Portugal	1,382	1,834	0.75
Austria	1,744	2,438	0.72
Greece	994	1,431	0.69
Total Europe	86,248	86,263	1

Source: Teichler, 2002.

ERASMUS is an important programme for stimulating student mobility in most of the seven countries; in Germany and in Portugal it is even the most important programme for student mobility. The participation rates of HEIs in the ERASMUS programmes differ strongly per country. Portugal (23% of eligible institutions), the UK and Austria (both at 33%), score low compared to the other countries in the study (scores between 55-68%, average score for Europe is 38%) (Teichler, 2002). Furthermore, the UK is hosting almost twice as many ERASMUS students as it is sending out (see Table 10.3). Recently, the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) has commissioned a study on this subject, to investigate whether UK students are at a disadvantage in comparison with EU students (see also 10.5.4). The

Netherlands is receiving slightly more students than it is sending out. In the other countries the situation is reversed.

The countries also have their own mobility schemes, which are sometimes combined with the ERASMUS programme, such as in Austria, where the federal government subsidises ERASMUS students abroad, in addition to their ERASMUS grants. National schemes can also be in place to stimulate types of mobility other than the ERASMUS programme. For example, the Dutch Visie scholarships support Dutch students who want to pursue a degree programme in one of the EU or European Economic Area (EEA) countries. In Norway the Loan fund has been in place for many years, making it possible for Norwegian students to enrol in a foreign HEI with financial support of the Loan Fund. Norway also supports students to study in other Nordic countries through NORDPLUS. Another example of such regional cooperation and mobility is a result of the Dutch 'neighbouring countries policy' with adjacent German Lander and Flanders.

In the 1990s the EU, responding to the dissolution of the eastern block, launched a policy for educational cooperation and exchanges with transition countries. This policy fosters internationalisation as it promotes university relations between members of the EU and Central and Eastern European countries and influences mobility patterns at the national level. For some countries mobility flows from CEE countries acquired extreme importance. Austria reports that the percentage of foreign students from Central and Eastern Europe quadrupled throughout the 1990s. In the case of Greece, EU policy fostered internationalisation, as it helped re-institute long severed links with ethnic Greek communities in the Balkans and former Soviet block countries.

It can be argued that the fostering of internationalisation as (a) the development of mobility patterns across countries and over time, (b) the formulation of sending policies of domestic students, and (c) the formulation of attraction policies for foreign students can be seen as related to the interplay between the country's positioning in the international sphere, its status as a donor or recipient of developmental aid, its status with respect to the structural relations with other countries (e.g. former colonies) and its level of economic development, affecting a capacity to develop a national HE structure to respond to the (national) social demand for higher education.

10.4.2 Issues in student mobility

Student mobility has been given new 'global' policy relevance as a result of the increased marketisation of higher education. Whereas until the 1980s the recruitment of foreign students was largely undertaken for social, political, cultural and academic reasons, the national reports show that economic and financial issues are now seen as an integral part of HE policies. The economic rationale is manifest in two distinct but complementary processes: (a) policies aiming at the attraction of foreign students for the purpose of genera-

ting income for HEIs (b) the provision of transnational education through 'off-shore' activities, mainly through franchised or distance learning courses.

In Europe this shift was first experienced by the UK, which in 1980, as part of a wide-ranging policy of public expenditure reduction, withdrew all public subsidy to institutions with respect to students from outside the European Community. A result of this budget reduction policy was an important fostering of internationalisation, since the recruitment of students from abroad increased dramatically as universities marketed themselves competitively to compensate for the money they had lost. The UK is most concerned about its role as a provider of higher education for students from overseas. Government policy has been to encourage HEIs to recruit increasing numbers of international students.

Austria introduced differential fees in 2001; foreign students from non-European industrialised countries (about 5% or less) pay double. Portugal introduced differential fees more recently. In the Netherlands generating income through fee-paying students is one of the reasons given for attracting foreign students. Additionally there is a national human resources interest. The shortage of students in science and technology is expected to be compensated by attracting foreign students. Germany charges no tuition for courses leading to a first degree providing a career qualification or to follow-up post-graduate degrees. It is claimed that this non-tuition policy may enhance the attractiveness of the German HE system to international students. However, other German observers contend that this policy is – due to a failure to tap new sources of income – hindering universities from implementing internationally oriented reforms and activities. A tuition-free policy is also followed by Greece, where according to the current rhetoric education should be viewed as a public good and a public responsibility.

The growing demand for HE is increasingly met by the cross-border or transnational supply of educational programmes and services. Transnational education is basically offered through franchised courses usually involving institutions from more than one country and mostly driven by commercial interests. Among the seven countries in this study the UK has taken the lead in promoting the export of education services and appears prepared to follow its own independent course on this issue, as the dominant policy perspective is to increase the economic competitiveness of the UK and continue to exploit the global market. This is supported by the view that politicians and university managers view the rest of Europe as following the lead of the UK, while the UK has been influenced by developments in the US.

Export of education services is also considered an indispensable part of the German policy. However the German NPU states that German HEIs lack an entrepreneurial tradition and culture and operate under a legal framework that restricts active engagement in entrepreneurial 'off-shore' activities. The Netherlands is equally open to the provision of trans-national education. The

Dutch policy on 'international positioning' selected a number of target markets for its HE export, including Indonesia and China.

Africa, Latin American and in particular Asian countries, including Taiwan and China, are targeted by the UK, the Netherlands and Germany. The priority accorded to Asian countries seems to be related to the fact that Asia is perceived as a large new market, whose students have potentially great purchasing power. In these cases marketisation and entrepreneurship are seen as going hand in hand with internationalisation.

On the negative side it should be noted that several franchised courses have faced recognition problems in some countries. For example, two 'importing' countries, Greece and Portugal, have legislated against the recognition of degrees obtained under franchised arrangements. One can only assume that non-recognition of degrees might impede internationalisation. Having said that, it is important to add that quality assurance is very important since anything else would create a concern about internationalisation at all costs (see also 10.3.2).

10.4.3 Mobility of academic staff and researchers

International staff mobility has always been an integral constituent of higher education. Long before the advent of performance indicators the number of lecturers and professors from other countries and the ability of academic staff in the country to obtain appointments abroad have been regarded as an indicator of the vitality of its universities and colleges. Formal data on this aspect of internationalisation are hard to obtain.

Broadly staff mobility can be classified as belonging to one of the following forms:

- ◆ recruitment of staff from other countries
- ◆ long term detachment of academic staff to posts in other countries
- ◆ joint appointment of academic staff by universities in different countries
- ◆ staff exchange in the context of EU programmes, for teaching (see Table 10.4), research, cooperation networks, etc.

Table 10.4 Teacher mobility under SOCRATES by sending country (1999/2000)

United Kingdom	1,259
Netherlands	582
Germany	1,528
Norway	150
Portugal	362
Austria	310
Greece	318
Total Europe	12,129

Source: SOCRATES Education and Training website.

Few countries were able to provide concrete and secure data concerning the mobility patterns of researchers. However, indications exist that the US is still the first choice of postgraduate students and researchers. In the case of Germany existing contacts with the US are cultivated and new ones established. The continued importance of the US as the destination country for the training of postgraduate students is confirmed by the Portuguese report. A large percentage of Portuguese researchers receiving a grant have chosen to study in the United States. Greece also reports a long established tradition of training postgraduate students in the US. For Germany important research partners (outside the EU) are located in the former Soviet Union as well as in Central and East European countries. According to statistics of the EU programme for Research and Technological Development, the main receiving countries for mobile researchers in Europe are the UK (30%), France (15%) and Germany (13%), while the Netherlands is currently becoming a main receiving country (it received 10% of researchers in 2001).

Patterns of participation in the EU Framework Programmes for RT&D reveal that in some countries (such as Portugal and Greece) EU research policies are fostered and complemented by national research policies, and provide significant funding as well as an incentive for the creation or further development of national research structures. Norway reports the Europeanisation of its research and a decline of the relative importance of North America. For Portugal, the several Framework programmes were and are a very important and relevant means for promoting internationalisation of the Portuguese scientific and technological system. In countries with already established research structures, scientific cooperation at the EU level has been further fostered through the activities of national organisations aiming to support participation of national research teams in EU research projects. In Germany, research by the Federal Ministry for Education and Research shows that the EU Framework Programmes contribute largely to the integration of German research and economic activities into a common European economic and research area. In Austria and the Netherlands HEIs wanting to participate in the Framework Programmes are promoted through the (subsidised) help of national agencies.

Although the intrinsic value of the mobility of postgraduate students, researchers and academic staff is not questioned per se in any report, there is ambivalence in many countries between recognition of the benefits of mobility and concern about the loss of highly qualified scholars/researchers to the HE systems and research laboratories of other countries. The Dutch report remarks that the discussion on the position of the marketing policy needs to be seen in the broader knowledge society and the brain drain/gain discussion; foreign students can contribute to the research capacity in particular in fields such as science and technology while according to the Austrian report there is need for action on several levels, both to increase mobility of Austrian researchers and to reduce brain drain.ers and to reduce brain drain". The

intrinsic dilemma is perhaps best expressed in the Portuguese report. It states that it is a goal of the Portuguese government that graduate and post-graduate Portuguese students, who make a part or the totality of their studies abroad, return to the country, contributing to its own development. Nevertheless it is recognised that the presence of Portuguese students and researchers in higher education and research institutions all over the world also contributes to the internationalisation of Portuguese higher education and especially of its research, namely by contributing to an easier establishment of networks.

10.5 Trends and changes in the HE policy context

In the various countries changes in the national higher education policy context have led to structural reforms affecting the capacity of the HE systems to respond to internationalisation and globalisation challenges.

10.5.1 Restructuring, convergence and differentiation

In general a trend towards restructuring (the introduction of bachelor and master programmes) and diversification of programmes (including joint degree programmes, non-degree and lifelong learning courses) can be observed. For example in Austria the University Studies Act (UniStG) was passed in 1997: The objectives of this law were to increase the flexibility for changing courses and programmes and to shorten the actual duration of studies as in Austria. The UniStG provides for a review and reestablishment of the complete range of degree courses within a period of ten years. In addition to degree courses, there are non-degree courses and – newly established by this Act – postgraduate courses, i.e. programmes leading to the degree of a Master of Advanced Studies (MAS) or a Master of Business Administration (MBA). And in the UK where besides the debate concerning the introduction of shorter two year first degree programmes, still under consideration, two recent changes appear which are in fact relevant to the international context: (a) the introduction of a considerable formal, generic research training element into many PhD programmes and (b) the rapid expansion of ‘professional doctorates’.

The Bologna Process has become a major driving force for the restructuring of degree systems, aiming for more convergence of degree structures in Europe. In all countries this process is seen to foster internationalisation (see 10.6). At the same time, the trend of diversification at both undergraduate (shorter first degree programmes) and graduate (new types of mainly professional programmes) level is evident.

10.5.2 Privatisation and cross-border providers

In various countries where the internal demand for HE services intensified, national policies were reformed to allow for the creation, expansion or regu-

lation of a private HE sector alongside the public one. In Portugal, with an increasing demand from the students completing secondary education and with some artificial mechanisms introduced to induce demand (namely the 1989 elimination of minimum requirements to enter higher education), the system was forced to expand, increasing enrolments in public higher education institutions and promoting the emergence of a large private sector. The rapid expansion was fostered by political lobbying for uncontrolled creation of new private institutions and the approval of new study programs. The establishment of 'market-like' competition for students will influence future developments. In this game, private institutions have everything to lose: they are more expensive, their recruitment is very local and their social prestige is not very strong. The Austrian report indicates that in 1999 a law providing for the accreditation of private universities passed Parliament. Some small, private institutions had been operating in Austria already. Some religious institutions were based on contracts with the Vatican, others had been ignored by the government. Therefore, in some way, the Act on the Accreditation of Private Universities adjusted the legal situation to reality. At the same time, the new law met the demand of those, mainly industrialists, who had begun to consider higher education as a marketable good. Based on this law (and similar to the *Fachhochschule* sector), an accreditation agency was created. The task of this agency was to hinder an unrestricted foundation of private universities and to safeguard minimal standards. The law explicitly excludes federal funding but explicitly allows support by regional governments or municipalities. It does not distinguish between for-profit and not-for-profit institutions. In contrast, in Greece, the internal demand for higher education qualifications and the marketisation of education services led to the creation of a highly problematic and unregulated 'informal' private education sector, as by constitution, the provision of higher education is the exclusive prerogative of the state. Consequently, the provision of franchised courses/validated degrees is possible only through collaboration of foreign providers with commercial enterprises, not recognised as educational organisations, whose operation is unregulated from an education point of view.

10.5.3 Increased institutional autonomy

As part of the new public management movements of the 1990s there has everywhere been some shift towards governmental 'steering from a distance'. Effectively this means that there is more discretion by the institutions in the ways they implement national policies. In the UK universities have traditionally been legally independent entities and any influence that governments have had over their strategies and management has been indirect through exhortation and the incentives of public funding, but in recent years the government has begun to set far more stringent conditions to the provision of public funding. Any funding universities receive from government for international students or research projects is explicitly targeted. In the

Netherlands the steering philosophy of the ministry assumes that the organisations are autonomous actors, that can adequately respond and anticipate social developments. Germany, a federal country, has an additional complication in that the main responsibility for implementing HE policy rests with the seventeen *Länder*. The cooperation of the *Länder* at national level is the responsibility of the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the *Länder* (KMK). In Greece the universities are fully self-governed, but not completely autonomous, legal entities of public law, under the supervision of the MoE. In Austria HE was traditionally a federal government responsibility and it maintained quite detailed management control of them: Only in the mid-nineties when *Fachhochschulen*, alternatives to universities in higher education, were established, the traditional interpretation of the Austrian Constitution providing that higher education is a federal responsibility and hence has to be offered by federal institutions only, began to change. In Portugal the University Autonomy Act dated from 1998 and a similar Act for Polytechnics dated from 1990 conferred considerable autonomy to public HEIs. This means that steering institutions towards internationalisation might be difficult. These examples all indicate that the practical implementation of European, international and global policies with respect to higher education depend very much on a sense of partnership between institutions and national governments.

The trend towards increased institutional autonomy is in many cases paralleled by intermediary organisations or networks, located at decentralised levels besides the central (governmental) level, with flexible connections between them. In many cases such structures have existed for some time. In Norway, there is currently a proposal being developed for establishing a national body for co-ordination and information about international activities, as well as the administration of the major international programmes in higher education. Such structures are clearly seen as contributing to internationalisation, either directly in the cases where their function is the support of internationalisation, or indirectly in the cases where their role is in general the support and/or coordination of groups of HEIs.

10.5.4 Language policies

A special emphasis should be given to language as a factor closely related to the development of internationalisation policies. Language may foster internationalisation trends as a means of attraction of students from countries with cultural and linguistic affinities, or it may be seen as a barrier to student mobility in countries where less spoken languages are used. Furthermore, English is clearly becoming the *lingua franca* for communication among the international academic community. National policy responses to this trend vary by country. In one group of countries, such as the Netherlands and Norway, national policies encourage institutions to offer courses in English in order to attract foreign students and to foster internationalisation.

Other countries adopt a mixed and more reserved position towards the anglophonisation of European HE. In Germany for example, teaching in English is a largely debated topic. Internationalisation leads to a growing demand or increasing need to provide courses in German as a foreign language for international students, graduates, scholars and guest lecturers, but also to teach in English, the *lingua franca* of 21st century science and to publish in English. The increasing anglophonisation of German higher education is regarded as a counter-development to the politically claimed cultural variety and diversity of languages in Europe. Critics fear a loss of cultural heritage and demand an expansion of courses in German as a foreign language. According to the German report one cannot identify in Germany a coherent language policy. Some funding schemes are promoting a further anglophonisation in the provision of degree programmes, but we do not find a national or federal policy for further education for teaching staff or a human resource development policy for the provision of English taught courses (or courses in another foreign language) neither for enabling academics to publish in English.

In Greece, too, mixed policy trends may be noted. On the one hand the MoE promotes joint masters' degrees between Greek and French universities and is about to pass a law to provide for the legal framework for the development of these programmes. On the other hand promotion of the Greek language is seen as part of the broader internationalisation policy and the Greek State subsidises a number of departments offering modern Greek language courses abroad. This policy is complemented by the development of a standardised method for the teaching of Greek as a foreign language and the relative test attesting levels of competence in Greek, which caters to the needs of foreign and ethnic Greeks that study for full course degrees in Greece. The Greek admission policy has been shaped in a way that facilitates the incoming mobility of groups with which Greece has cultural and linguistic ties, namely ethnic Greeks from the Balkans and former USSR countries and Cypriots. At the institutional level, teaching in languages other than Greek is an issue peripheral to most universities. Whether courses will be offered in another language is a matter of the department and the academics. The attitudes of academics vary concerning instruction in a widely spoken European language, as a means to formulate an 'attraction' policy for incoming (Erasmus and full-course) foreign students.

According to the Portuguese report it is worth mentioning the co-operation relationships established with all the countries that were former Portuguese colonies. Obviously it should be mentioned that in this context the language is a really important issue in order to promote the internationalisation of the Portuguese higher education system (in all these countries Portuguese is the official language). On the other hand mobility towards Portugal from other European countries is hindered due to the fact that Portuguese is one of the least spoken and known languages all over Europe. Teaching in a foreign

language is not an option for undergraduate courses as most incoming students are from Portuguese speaking countries which limits teaching in a foreign language to some postgraduate courses.

In the case of Austria the biggest share of foreign students comes from two countries: Italy and Germany. Most of the Italian students in Austria are members of the German speaking community in Southern Tyrol, who are treated equal to Austrian students and for whom even a special programme (Italian law at Innsbruck university) had been established. For students from Germany, Austria traditionally has been a convenient place to study abroad, due to the same language and to a similar higher education system.

Finally, mobile Norwegian students prefer to study in countries where courses are given in English or German. The impact of the global market on the Norwegian student body changed the pattern of mobility. During the latter half of the 1990s the number of students travelling to Australia and tailor-made educational programmes in Eastern Europe skyrocketed. Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic have had a clear increase in the number of Norwegian students during the last years.

In the Netherlands, the system reform of 2002 loosened regulation with respect to teaching in a foreign language. Prior to this, already a relatively high number of HEIs were offering English taught programmes, especially at master's level.

In contrast the prominence of English as a *lingua franca* seems to hinder outward mobility from the UK. According to the UK report it has not gone unnoticed that the numbers of UK students opting to study in other countries is comparatively low. A study has been undertaken to investigate whether UK students are at a disadvantage in comparison with EU students because they lack the skills (particularly language skills) that are a benefit of study abroad.

10.6 The relationship between European and national policies

Several assumptions on the relation and interaction between European policies and national developments were presented in chapter 1. The findings in the national reports generally confirm this interplay, which at present mainly concentrates on the impact of the Bologna Process at national level. A general introduction to the Bologna process was provided in chapter 2, where it was noted that the Bologna Declaration led to a wide range of actions at national level in the various signatory countries. However, the stage of the process of implementation of the Declaration differs among the countries. Some countries have been quick to highlight the potential benefits of signing the Bologna Declaration. In the Netherlands and Austria, the Bologna Declaration has resulted in a re-structuring of the HE system to comply with the two-cycle Bachelor and Master structure. In contrast, in the UK the Declara-

tion is not yet making a significant impact in terms of changing policies or practices. Here the current system has been thought to broadly comply with the Bologna recommendations. But gradually, the debate is starting, and it is realised that the current degree system does not fit one on one with the ideas postulated in the Bologna Declaration. For example, the proposed two-year foundation degrees do not easily fit in the two-cycle structure, 3+1 or 3+2 model as it is now emerging around Europe. The Portuguese and Greek reports both state that Bologna has led to much internal debate and disagreement. Whereas in most countries the debate is on how the Declaration should be implemented, and in some cases on how it relates to the other national initiatives or problems, the debate in Greece is different. The Greek professional and trade union association of the university academic staff (POSDEP) has asked for the absolute isolation of Greek HE from the Bologna process. POSDEP has a negative orientation towards all reforms to face internationalisation and globalisation pressures. They fear that this will eventually lead to the degradation of the public university. Nevertheless, the Greek Ministry of Education is introducing policies clearly meant as outcomes in the Bologna process. Also in Portugal the Declaration has led to heated debates.

Even if the decision to implement Bachelors and Masters programmes has been taken by a government, the way this is implemented can also differ greatly. In the Netherlands the Bachelors and Master programmes have fully replaced the old programmes, in Austria a steady growth plan of introducing the new programmes is foreseen and in Germany, Bachelors and Masters programmes are introduced in parallel with the old programmes.

Clearly, in implementing European policies at national level, national aims are pursued as much as increasing opportunities for internationalisation. The reforms following the Bologna Declaration can therefore not be attributed solely to this Declaration. Some reforms were initiated prior to the Declaration and often countries have used the Declaration as a 'lever' for national policy and to solve national problems. For example, in Norway, the theme of harmonising degree structures internationally can have played a significant role in the current reform. However, it is likely that the B/M-structure has been introduced as a means to solve other and more 'domestic' problems in the former very diversified degree structure. Another example is Austria, where the government already wanted to shorten the long duration of studies. Some observers furthermore suspect that the introduction of Bachelors programmes will also provide the possibility to introduce selection on entry to Bachelor courses and postgraduate studies and charge higher fees for these programmes. The expectancy to solve these problems with the implementation of the Declaration might explain the fast reaction as well as the active support for it by the Austrian government. Germany is also hoping that the introduction of Bachelor and Master programmes will lead to shorter study periods, as well as the reduction of drop-out rates, more professionally

oriented study programmes, reorganisation of studies, a growing diversity of programmes, an upgrading of the *Fachhochschulen*, and enhancement of their international reputation, to name only a few of the motivations.

In most of the countries, the implementation of the Bologna Declaration is accompanied by the introduction of the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS). ECTS was mentioned in the Declaration, but only as an example of a possible credit system. But, as Reichter & Tuach (2003: 91) assert, "it is clear that no other European system is emerging". Austria legally introduced ECTS in 1999, but it is not used everywhere. A growth-model to introduce ECTS in all courses is foreseen. In the Netherlands ECTS became the compulsory national credit system when Bachelor and Master programmes were officially introduced in 2001. The Netherlands already had a compatible credit system before ECTS was introduced. In other countries, such as Germany, Greece, Portugal and the UK, ECTS is often being used by the HEIs, but is not nationally enforced by the government. In the case of Portugal and the UK, ECTS is used alongside the national credit system. Furthermore, in many places, ECTS is still only used for student exchange and credit transfer. In Norway all higher education institutions are expected to actively use the European Credit Transfer System as a tool to reduce the barriers for student mobility. In Greece 27 out of 33 HEIs use ECTS, for student mobility purposes. In the UK some individual universities use ECTS for student mobility purposes. In Portugal the establishment of an ECTS type credit system may be seen as a response to Europeanisation, insofar as this system allows for credit accumulation and transfer, and it is a tool of a mobility strategy. The idea of using ECTS as an accumulation system for all students, not just for the mobile ones, was already contained in the Bologna Declaration (Reichert & Tauch, 2003: 93).

Finally, the implementation of the Bologna Declaration has given rise to the implementation of accreditation as a new system of quality assurance. For example, the Netherlands has passed a law introducing the accreditation of HE together with the law on Bachelor and Master programmes. Along with several other countries, such as Austria, Germany, Norway and the UK, the Netherlands is involved in the Joint Quality Initiative, which is an informal network for quality assurance and accreditation of Bachelor and Master programmes in Europe.

10.7 Lisbon process

The influence of the Lisbon Summit and its follow up process are not yet entirely clear. Not all the participating countries in this study have reported on this issue. The initial responses show a positive stance towards the process. The benchmarks and indicators are in many cases perceived as a way of showing the strong and weak points of the educational systems of the countries involved.

10.8 Conclusions

It is apparent from this study that internationalisation of higher education is entering a new phase. No longer is it mainly about student and staff mobility, though these remain important. Rather as a key activity in the knowledge society HE is becoming a key player in a wide range of international relations policies. With respect to our initial research questions (see chapter 1), the main findings of our comparative studies of national policies may be summarized as follows. In general, the trend towards more economically oriented rationales for internationalisation is persisting and in the UK especially it now appears to be the dominant driver. Most of the other countries in the study are moving in a similar direction but more slowly.

However several distinctions need to be made. First, economic rationales may be related to the aim of improving the international competitiveness of the HE sector itself or, as a result of the importance of HE for the knowledge economy, to the aim of enhancing the international competitiveness of the national economy. Second, different approaches and models are chosen to achieve these aims, ranging from straightforward competition to European-wide international collaboration to help improve the performance of European universities generally. There are many forms of international interactions between these two extremes, for example, bilateral arrangements between countries and between universities and development assistance to third world and to transition countries. In the view of many actors, the competitive form can be related to the concept of globalisation and the collaborative form to the concepts of internationalisation and Europeanisation. Tensions between these two concepts are visible particularly in discussions of the GATS issue.

Regulatory frameworks, especially degree structures and quality assurance mechanisms are being adapted to take international issues such as professional mobility and European Credit Transfer into account. Consequently, the links between internationalisation policies and mainstream national HE policies are becoming stronger. The impact of the Bologna Declaration on this process is undeniable, although progress towards the establishment of the Bologna qualifications framework is uneven across countries and is often linked to internal political pressure to reform degree structures. A consequence is that a certain convergence (i.e. of degree systems, credit and accreditation frameworks) can be observed at system level. However, as implementation of European frameworks is a country responsibility and defined by national contexts, constraints and priorities, diversity may remain or even be reinforced.

The importance of language in international HE policies is shown in most of the reports. In part this appears through specific links that depend, at least in part, on linguistic similarities, e.g. Greeks dispersed all over the world, Portuguese-speaking countries on other continents, but also and of growing

importance, the emergence of English as the principal international language. Universities in several of the countries taking part in the study are establishing programmes, especially at postgraduate levels, that are taught, in whole or in part, in English.

The increasing impact of both internationalisation and globalisation is a challenge for the policy views and options of national governments. Quality assurance, funding, and deregulation (privatisation and liberalisation), need to be reconsidered while taking into account both the consequent opportunities for internationalisation of the country's own HEIs, as well as the potential effects on the position of foreign institutions in the country.

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