Bernd Wächter, Queenie K.H. Lam, Irina Ferencz (eds.)

Tying it all together

Excellence, mobility, funding and the social dimension in higher education

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Contents

Introduction

Bernd Wächter
Academic Cooperation Association

There are books – as well as conferences – galore which focus on internationalisation of higher education and international student and staff mobility. There is also no shortage of studies and events dedicated to 'world-class universities', or to 'excellence', to use trendy jargon. Gatherings and investigations which address issues of funding of higher education and social issues and 'inclusiveness' are likewise not in short supply. The problem with all of these endeavours is that they are usually being addressed only separately or, so to speak, in isolation. This is a problem, because the 'single-issue view' captures only part of reality. In the 'real life' of higher education, they do not have a separate existence; they are intricately inter-related. From this, the Academic Cooperation Association (ACA) concluded that, in order to do justice to the above named themes, one would need to explore their 'inter-relatedness', the relationships in which they stand to each other, and discuss them together. This is what this publication is about, and likewise the wider project out of which it evolved. Hence the title: "tying it all together".

The project in question was carried out in a 13-month period starting in October 2011. It was made possible through a generous grant from the European Commission, under the "Accompanying Measures" of the Lifelong Learning Programme. The project was led by ACA, but received important input from eminent higher education experts from Europe and beyond. As already indicated, it made the attempt to tie together four themes which are usually discussed only in isolation, i.e.

- internationalisation and, in particular, international mobility;
- the 'social dimension' of higher education, or, to put it differently, social inclusion and wide access;
- 'excellence' in higher education, also referred to with terms such as 'world-class'; and
- funding of higher education.

To give up the single-issue perspective and deal with all of the above together was, admittedly, an experiment and turned out to be quite a challenge. One of those involved in the endeavour, Sir Peter Scott, rightly called it a bit of a "mouthful" in the Guardian newspaper. Trying to tie all these themes together, we looked into their respective relationships and dealt with questions such as the following:

- can a university both cater to disadvantaged groups, i.e. to practise social commitment, and be at the same time 'world-class'?
- What is the link, if any, between internationalisation and funding? Is internationalisation a means to improve an institution's funding base, or is it mainly a costly luxury?
- Is a lack of funds always and only a disadvantage, or could it also act as an incentive for radical reform?

The project produced two main 'outputs', to use modern parlance. One was the international conference *Tying it all together. Internationalisation, excellence, funding and the social dimension in higher education*, which was held from 10 to 12 June 2012 in the Finnish capital Helsinki. This event, which drew an audience of around 300 from Europe and elsewhere in the world, was co-organized by Finland's Centre for International Mobility (CIMO) and hosted by the University of Helsinki. The second result of the project is the present publication. Not counting this introduction, it consists of nine articles, which explore the 'inter-relations' between the four main themes. Five of these papers had been produced as 'concept papers', which were submitted to the conference participants prior to the event. In the lights of comments and discussions at this event, the authors later revised them. These are the articles by Ulrich Teichler, Eric Beerkens, Dominic Orr, Thomas Estermann and Enora Bennetot Pruvot, and Bernd Wächter. The four remaining papers, by Sir Peter Scott, Joan Dassin, Rolf Hoffmann and Sijbolt Noorda, are based on presentations at the conference, which were later developed into articles.

Sijbolt Noorda's paper is the first one in this volume. His theme (what European higher education needs) provides the background for the other contributions, thus extending beyond the four conference themes. Noorda tries to identify long-term trends (or "long waves", as he calls them), in order to predict the future shape and challenges of European higher education. The first one of these is enrolment. Will it continue to rise, as it has done in the last century, or is there a limit to enrolment growth? He finds it less than evident that the trend will simply continue, especially since more and more graduates devalue tertiary degrees on the labour-market. The second trend he identifies, and which he is sure will continue, is the global competition over highly talented students (and staff). Third, Noorda is convinced, in its present form as an overregulated "nationalized industry", most of Europe's universities will neither be globally competitive nor will they find convincing solutions to the grand challenges of our days. Fourth, in the field of research, he sees a pressing need to bring the academic and the corporate world closer together. Noorda's fifth area of scrutiny is the future of 'human capital' in academia. He sees it as less than evident that higher education will manage to remain an at-

tractive employer in terms of pay and conditions for the 'best and brightest', who might seek out possibilities elsewhere.

The article of *Ulrich Teichler* bears the title *Excellence and internationality of higher education* and looks at the relationship between internationalisation, excellence and employability. Since the empirical knowledge base is stronger on the issue of student mobility than other aspects of internationalisation, the paper mainly concentrates on the links between international student mobility and 'excellence' as well as employability. Drawing on an extensive body of knowledge, also from his own research over a period of 40 years, Teichler finds that there is no strong link between mobility and excellence. Study abroad unsurprisingly improves students' distinctly international skills and knowledge, such as the mastery of foreign languages, intercultural competence and knowledge of foreign countries, but only to a much lesser extent does it also lead to better progress in academic study and competences. Teichler also makes it very clear that differences in the achievements of mobile and non-mobile students, where they do exist, could be due to the fact that students who go abroad are already a positively select group, and not so much to progress made because of the foreign environment. Mobility also does not seem to be the "magic tool for highly successful careers". However, formerly mobile students tend to have "more international careers" than their non-mobile counterparts, i.e. they find work which allows them to make use of their international skills.

Dominic Orr's contribution has the telling title *Mobility is not for all*. Orr traces the relationship between international mobility and inclusion (or the lack of it). Using the results of the *EUROSTUDENT IV* publication and the Steeplechase project as an empirical basis, his focus is on temporary (or credit) mobility. Of the 70% or so of students who in the EUROSTUDENT IV surveys stated they neither planned to go abroad nor had been so far, there was a high share of 'non-traditional students', i.e. older ones, part-timers or students from lower socio-economic strata. Looking into obstacles to mobility, EUROSTUDENT IV found that the by far biggest one is linked to insufficient funds. Four fifths of all students claimed that they were short of the necessary financial means. The second biggest obstacle was the feared separation from family and social networks, such as family, partners and friends. The third most often named hurdle, a loss of income from a job, also relates to the financial issue. Recognition, on the other hand, a constant concern of governments and the European institutions, was seen by only one third as a deterrent. However, Orr's perhaps most important finding is that we have no answer to the question why so many students do not feel they are very much hindered by external conditions, but still have no inclination to study abroad.

Bernd Wächter also addresses the 'social dimension', though he goes beyond mobility. He qualifies the discourse on the 'social dimension' as rather 'woolly'. Tracing back the present discourse on the issue to the Bologna Process in general and the Prague Ministerial Meeting (2001) in particular, he identifies the different elements and dimensions which form part of the access and inclusiveness agenda, among them socio-economic status, ethnicity and migrant background, disability, age and gender. Since no indicators for the social dimension have been agreed on, and since truly comparable data exist only in some areas, attempts to evaluate progress (or otherwise) on the social agenda leave many questions open. This notwithstanding, most experts share the verdict that the social dimension has so far been more of a rhetorical than a real success of the Bologna Process.

Eric Beerkens also explores the social dimension, but that of internationalisation. More in particular, his paper covers three aspects: the social dimension of the international (foreign) student experience, access to international learning experiences (i.e. to study abroad), and the "social risks" of internationalisation. Many of his findings tie in with those of Dominic Orr. Like Orr, he mentions a "loss of self-determining agency" (loss of networks, bewilderment in a new strange environment) as a problem, though not as a deterrent for going abroad, but as a problem for those who are already there. And also in line with Orr, Beerkens identifies many social barriers to mobility, even though he claims that social selectivity in the Erasmus Programme has recently decreased. Amongst other risks of internationalisation, he identifies the tendency of globalisation and global competition to make countries and higher education institutions more self-centred ('national') and pursuing their own interest, rather than cooperating. He also analyses the risk and opportunities of brain drain and brain circulation.

Rolf Hoffmann addresses the issues of excellence and inclusion in US higher education today and in a historical perspective. Starting from strictly meritocratic but still highly selective origins, he provides a short history of America's ascent to mass higher education, highlighting the crucial role of "college" (particularly the Community College with its Associate degree) as a part of the "American Dream". However, he also identifies problems. Ethnic minorities are underrepresented (except Asians) amongst students and graduates, and Hoffmann is wondering if this tendency can be reversed at all at tertiary level, or if it is more effectively addressed earlier, in schools. The participation of women is no longer a problem, but that of males has become one. The cost of study has risen sharply in the last decade; so have funds made available for grants and loans, but not at the same speed. Student debt threatens to become prohibitive, and might well put an end to near-universal college access and thus an important dimension of the "American Dream". The back

side of all social threats is the ever-increasing dependency of US research on the inflow of foreign PhD students and postdoctoral fellows.

Joan Dassin paints a fascinating picture of one of the most daring attempts to reconcile social disadvantage and academic achievement. With reference to the Ford Foundation's International Fellowships Program (IPF), she finds that social inclusion and excellence as "necessary, achievable and compatible goals". Over a 10-year period, the IFP has funded over 4 000 students with a total of $ 280 million for study in close to 50 host countries. The basic formula: select the best-achieving and the most socially committed from among the disadvantaged groups from around the world. Excellent individualised preparation and close tutoring are part of the success formula, which produces very high graduation and return rates, lasting social commitment as well as good employment records. Crucial for the effectiveness of the programme is that "disadvantage" is not defined in the same way across countries. For groups which are disadvantaged or discriminated against in one country might not be in the next one. Therefore, selection in the IPF is decentralised, i.e. carried out at country level. The IPF is a good example for Sir Peter Scott's thesis (see further below) that our four themes do not naturally "hang together", but that positive action may bring them into a state of synergy.

The paper of *Thomas Estermann* and *Enora Bennetot Pruvot* looks at the issue of funding strong higher education institutions at times of scarce public funds. Based on the European University Association's EUDIS study, the paper argues for a diversification of income streams to better survive difficult times. An over-reliance on direct public funding, which still constitutes the bulk of the average European university (if there is such an animal), is not an adequate risk management strategy, the authors argue. They expect that so far small segments of a university's income – from donations and EU funds – will increase in importance. In reaction to decreasing state funding for teaching, tuition fees might have to be raised substantially (or first be introduced in those countries which do not know them). But this will of course raise the cost of higher education for the 'consumer' (student), with detrimental effects from a social perspective. Indeed, the authors fuel this concern, stating that the social dimension is not reflected in most public funding formulae, and that institutions, eager to stay financially sound, will revert to higher fees.

Sir Peter Scott, who was the final keynoter at the Helsinki conference, also has the last word in this volume. Even though not intended as a set of conclusions from the conference, his contribution can still be read this way: he tries to "tie it all together". He is asking the central question if the four themes of this publication are only "loosely stitched together", or if they are really interrelated. And, if so, of which kind are the relationships between them? Is there

a relationship of mutual reinforcement and synergy, or are we rather dealing with tensions. Sir Peter Scott gives two answers, one pessimistic, the other one hopeful. In the pessimistic analysis, the tensions prevail. To be on top of the heap does not go together with catering to the disadvantaged, and to the local and regional communities. To be international (in the sense of a 'global player') almost excludes social concerns. And to be well-funded almost automatically means being expensive – and thus out of reach of the poor. But this is only one part of the story, the one with the underlying logic of a "zero-sum game", Sir Peter maintains. He insists that over-specialisation rarely works in the 'real world' outside of academia, and he raises the question why it should be different inside. Social intervention might well create the conditions for a happy cohabitation or even marriage of the different issues. But for this to work, higher education has to be freed from the grip of the market and 'positive action' needs to be taken, he concludes.

What European higher education needs (to realize)

Sijbolt Noorda
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Introduction

"Universities are among the oldest still existing institutions in this part of the world". This is what university people love to say and hear. Yet it may be the best sleeping pill for university leadership. Our job is not about dreaming of past glory, but about future use, to the benefit of future graduates and sustainable societies. The second best sedative is the status of public universities. They are here to stay. They belong to the institutional core of European societies, recognized by public law. University people simply cannot imagine that they and their institutions would not be around anymore.

In reality the future of universities is not at all easy to secure. This paper describes five relevant and significant challenges that European higher education is facing and will be facing in the years to come. All of them are situations and developments that require full engagement, while they are quite pertinent to higher education institutions and cannot be denied nor avoided. They are events and phenomena of global character and not confined to the European Higher Education Area. *Mutatis mutandis* they are relevant to all universities worldwide. In this paper, however, I shall be focussing on the impact upon European institutions and their specific European formations. It is about future challenges and their impact with a specific focus on what European higher education needs to accomplish. Europe should be actively responding to these calls for engagement.

In this day and age of the 'knowledge society' and the 'knowledge economy', it is very tempting to think that higher education will of course have a bright future ahead of it, that of course conditions for higher education will remain stable or even develop favourably. I am not so sure about this. In recent years I have noted quite a few developments that bring into question the rosy picture of knowledge societies in Europe. In this paper I will be describing five such developments. All of them are not just momentary developments, but relevant trends or long waves that at least deserve the attention of those of us who are in leadership positions in European higher education. They are:

1. the long wave of growing participation in formal education
2. the growing global competition for graduates in the labour market
3. European higher education as a nationalized industry

4. the long wave of research within or outside universities
5. the future of human capital in academia

Each of these five trends is relevant to European universities, presents a major challenge and leads to uneasy questions. They require strategic responses, not short-term reflexes. Universities typically have long lifelines. It is in the nature of education and research to require time to get established and to develop. In education and research relevant change is never a matter of months or one or two years. Relevant change takes time, time to grow and time to bear fruit. Universities therefore must be looking rather far ahead, be minding long waves in society.

Long waves: Growth in enrolment

To find out which are the key issues we are facing, we must be looking for long waves in society, education and research. In the year 1 000 the per capita GDP was about the same everywhere, though somewhat higher in Asia than in Latin America. A millennium later the average per capita GDP is much higher and the differences are much greater, the North American average being about 18 times higher than in Africa. How did this happen? And why did China lose its first place, which it still held around 1500, to Europe? This is an interesting example of a very long wave. We do not have to go into this one in detail.[1] The general explanation is interesting enough. Winners were winners thanks to innovation and optimization – the best use of available skills and (raw) materials – in open societies, open to new explorations and developments, and welcoming migration.

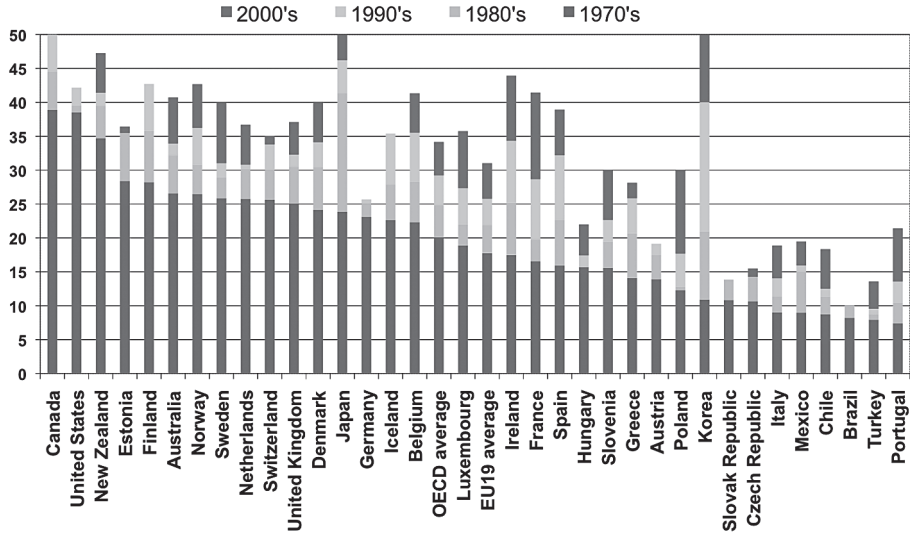
History repeats itself, but in a different way. So we cannot just go by established tradition or follow well-known recipes. We shall have to look ourselves for what might be relevant long-term trends now, and be looking out for new long waves ahead of us. In my view the most relevant recent long wave began at the turn of the 20th century. *"At the dawn of the twentieth century the industrial giants watched each other cautiously. The British sent high-ranking commissions to the United States and the United States sent similar groups to Britain and Germany. All were looking over their shoulders to see what made for economic greatness and would ensure supremacy in the future. (….) Earlier delegations focused on technology and physical capital. Those of the turn-of-the-century turned their attention to something different. People and training, not capital and technology, had become the new concerns."*[2]

[1] For more on this, see: Van Zanden, J. L. (2009). *The Long Road to the Industrial Revolution.* Leiden.

[2] Goldin, C.K. (2001). The human capital century and American leadership: virtues of the past, *NBER working paper* 8239.

This new concern led to higher enrolments in formal education, first primary education and then secondary education. After World War II this trend reached tertiary education. From then on one can observe fast and continuously growing enrolments in higher education, first in the United States (US), later in Europe.

Figure 1: Growth in university-level qualifications, approximated by the percentage of the population that has attained tertiary-type A + B education (OECD, 2007[3])



For the Netherlands this century long drive towards higher education can be summed up in a single number: 3 000 university students at the beginning of the 20th century, 3 000 full professors in Dutch universities at the end of that century. The drive towards broad access has been a great success. Highlighting the numerical success is, however, easily misleading. Reaching a high participation rate is only part of the story. With higher overall enrolments gradually a growing variety of students in terms of qualifications and competences (posing educational challenges) came about. Later to be followed by a decreasing demand for graduates in the job market and a decreasing added value of the academic degree for the average graduate, which in turn results in a strong drive among 'the best and the brightest' towards outstanding qualifications, hoping to make and mark a difference in the labour market.

[3] OECD (2007). Education at a Glance, Paris.

A growing variety of incoming students in terms of qualifications and competences requires a multi-layered, differentiated offer in tertiary education, in order to be really serving all, in a made to measure manner, to avoid failures (at school or in the job market) and inefficiencies (for students and institutions), and to offer good fits (one size does not fit all, also in education) and stimulate academic climbing (rather than let many students reach too high by only offering one type of higher education). At the same time we are seeing a decreasing demand for graduates in the job market. Gone are the days when graduation meant high level job security.[4] Education, education, education is not enough, the development of the job market is equally important (see frictions and tensions between supply and demand in countries like Turkey, France, Egypt, Greece, Spain, etc.). These tensions are not only about quantities. In many cases we see a qualitative imbalance.

With higher overall enrolments and a decreasing added value of an academic degree 'the best and the brightest' – and those who think they are – are going for outstanding qualifications hoping to be making a difference to their prospects in the job market. One should not forget that whereas tertiary education has the general function to enable graduates to participate in modern societies (its civil society function), it also is one of the most important predictors of individual future careers. Education may be seen as the all-purpose key to success[5], with most participants making safe choices (reaching just high enough, yet not taking unnecessary risks). For those who want to distinguish themselves, average qualifications are not sufficient. They will be looking for more special schools and distinctions.

So what should Europe do? In the first place there is a clear need to create and defend more variety in higher education in terms of curricula, programme length, institutions, skills, study styles. European higher education definitely must cater for the needs of a range of different cohorts of students, e.g. by offering short, two-year programmes in higher education with a dual exit (one to the job market and one leading further in academia), vocational schools of different types, undergraduate programmes German style and Anglo-American style, integrated graduate schools, PhD+ programmes. Secondly, higher education should be more aware of and more involved in long-term labour market dynamics.[6] For decades, the main strategic objective was to attract

[4] Brown, P., Lauder, H. and Ashton, D. (2011). *The Global Auction: The Broken Promises of Education, Job and Incomes.* Oxford.

[5] On the idea that more of the same is always better – whatever the cost, see Wolf, A. (2002). *Does education matter? Myths about education and economic growth*. London.

[6] Universities must realize that they have a major responsibility in preparing graduates for future job markets. They may need to take a very different view on their relationship to job markets and their role in co-creating job market developments (meanwhile remembering that the graduate job market is by no means homogeneous: local, national and global at least).

more students to higher education. This of course was and is making sense in times of growing demand for graduates. One should, however, not simply extrapolate from past trends to future dynamics. A straight education-education mantra will certainly lead to over-supply and mismatches.[7]

Both issues, however, are more easily described and put on the agenda than handled. The variety issue is particularly tricky because it connects to matters of established traditions, school reputations and academic drift. I shall get back to that aspect later on. The labour market connection is a difficult one because in this domain predicting and planning are difficult. Past trends and results do not guarantee future success. Yet in both cases complexities cannot justify negligence. In the interest of their future role in European societies higher education institutions will have to get involved. The long wave of more formal education we have been witnessing for so long must be modified in order to remain sustainable and manageable, salutary and efficient.

Global competition for talent on the labour market

One of the important factors impacting graduate labour markets is globalisation. This impact is felt both by recruiters and by candidates. Ambitious students begin to build up their portfolio from day one, preparing themselves for international competition; ready to move wherever attractive opportunities may lie in store for them. International business is constantly on the move, establishes branches led by market relevance and recruits its graduate employees worldwide. International not-for-profits are doing the same. This is resulting in an increasingly international labour market, going by international standards of performance and qualifications. This global recruiting of course depends on the supply of internationally visible and findable candidates with reliable and comparable qualifications and schooling. And that's why and how globalisation is promoting and underscoring reputation issues in the world of higher education. This is best illustrated in the business school sector where for decades already schools and their graduates are being measured and ranked by international weights and measures.[8]

"We class schools, you see, into four grades: Leading School, First-rate school, Good School, and School", Evelyn Waugh wrote in 1928.[9]

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[7] See Newby, H. (2008). The Challenge to European Universities in the Emerging Global Marketplace. In L. E., Weber and J. J., Duderstadt (Eds). *The Globalization of Higher Education.* London – Paris – Genève ("…do the choices of millions of students in thousands of universities add up to supplying the needs of the labour market?", p. 60).

[8] See Noorda, S. (2011). Future Business Schools. *Journal of Management Developments*, *30* (5), 519-525.

[9] Waugh, E. (1928). Decline and Fall.

Why is it that reputation and ranking are so important in teaching and learning? Education is a positional good. If (almost) everyone is attending school, the best way to make a difference is to get access to a high-ranking school. Education is a key selection tool. So in all competitive segments of the labour market reliable performance measuring of educational outcomes is essential. For selection purposes knowing about relative reputation is quite meaningful information. This is already true on a regional scale and nationwide. Globalisation only broadens the field and underscores the benefits of a great reputation that is internationally valid and visible.

In Europe, especially in continental Europe, ranking schools is a recent phenomenon. Until, say, 20 years ago, nobody bothered about it. Higher education was considered to be a national system of institutions performing at comparable levels and holding similar positions in public assessment. If there were differences, they would most often not be based upon or expressed by formal rankings and comparisons, but rather be traditional, subjective and/or partial in nature. And in almost all cases such differences would only matter and be deemed relevant within national boundaries.

It is against this background that European universities must now meet the challenge of how to succeed in international competition and be visible for students and recruiters worldwide. Will Europe see its ambitious students go abroad to maximize their potential or will at least a couple of dozen of European universities be attractive enough to appeal to European and non-European students with global ambitions? It is an objective that is certainly unattainable as long as it is an objective that most, or even all European universities hope to achieve. It may be within reach, however, for some.

What would it take? How can at least some European universities get a solid position in the global recruitment and career schemes? How can they become ‘truly world class places with high attraction value’, fit for success in global competition? Is it doable in mid-size countries to be heading for one or two positions among the worldwide top-20 and trying to establish a presence in at least three continents? As most of us are public institutions we have limited room and freedoms to manoeuvre in the global playing fields. European universities are unable to create an international presence the way some of the leading private American schools can. So what can we do?

Firstly, it is essential to define a clear institutional profile and stick to it (aping models or competitors outside your league is very unproductive). Secondly, for those of us entering world championship competition it is important to select your own weapons (in terms of niche, culture, style and academic performance), to strengthen your position by cooperation with peers, and make yourselves visible. Thirdly, these select European universities must connect

to the international graduate job market. Traditionally they have strong national positions, with solid reputations as main suppliers to the national job market. Yet they will not gain a similar position in the international labour market simply by extrapolation. Actively seeking cooperation with international employers and offering relevant high quality international study programmes to selected students are among the key strategies that these schools must embrace.

European higher education as a "nationalized industry"

European higher education can be characterized as a nationalized industry in a mixed national-international setting. Operating within national borders, and more importantly within national legal systems of regulating access and funding, European public universities are facing global challenges with their arms and legs bound. They are often unable to attract students and staff in competition with the world leaders in their sector. So what choice do they have? Opt out of the global race? Or practice differentiation at home to be able to compete worldwide? Like leaving most of regional and national higher education to one or two groups of institutions and allow and enable a third group to truly compete worldwide.

In a way this is the real test of the will and ability of European higher education to differentiate between various profiles and missions of individual institutions and/or groups of institutions. Without adapting to global conditions and requirements, European universities will have to content themselves with a purely national role. And in a purely national role universities cannot possibly be the kind of locomotive of the knowledge-based economy that national politics at least rhetorically want.

It's not just the business model or the regulatory framework that show the limitations of nationalized universities (in the present form). Also in terms of content (in education and research) global issues and open resources should be defining programmes and modes of delivery and work. It is remarkable how slowly the great planetary challenges of this century (in terms of energy, food, biotechnology, water, healthy aging, social sustainability, etc.) are redefining our classrooms, and the way we organize them. I see this as another test of the will and ability of European countries to adapt to global challenges.

Is there reason for optimism about the results of such tests? So far, there are few indications that European nation states can be serious about internationalizing their national higher education policies. Just look at the poor record of European Union's member states. The Lisbon agenda sets clear targets for Europe's future labour market and its competitiveness in innovation and

skills. The diagnosis was clear. So was the agenda. Yet none of it has been realized. Back home the diagnosis seemed far-fetched and the required actions too costly in a national context.

Or look at the case of out-of-country students. Most national systems have been rebalancing their attitude towards foreign students, making them pay full cost for their education (Germany being the most important exception thus far). These very same national systems know that they are (at least partly) depending on foreign imports of qualified workers and career-long linkages with foreign students who once came to study.

Or look at the case of very limited student mobility. Student mobility or rather international experience is a minority phenomenon. In Europe it is largely between states within Europe (like in the US) and mainly between neighbouring countries. The average European university in its teaching, learning and programming in no serious way reflects global developments and the need to get involved.

Will Europe's nation states allow and enable public universities to re-invent themselves in such a way as to not only serve their regional and national 'clients', but also become global players? Will they remember the time that many national corporations had to become multinationals to successfully stay in business worldwide? In a similar vein at least part of the nationalized higher education system must be granted the international leeway they need. This is, by the way, not a call for altruistic policies. It is in the well-conceived self-interest of the nation involved. Politics must accept that international orientations are not a nice but expensive luxury item but essential, if universities are to be global players.[10]

Research within and outside universities

In addition to teaching and learning, and the dynamics of the graduate labour market, the dynamics of research development, both inside and outside universities, offer further significant challenges, above all to research-intensive universities in Europe.

Research is highly valued in terms of smart results, essential to innovative business and product development. At the same time it has high costs, both in terms of time and uncertainty. No wonder that since the 1980s private corporations have substantially downsized their long term, risky research establishments. To a large extent they decided, implicitly or explicitly, to rather rely on the results of research efforts of others elsewhere.

[10] See Noorda, S. (2011). Die Internationalität der Hochschule: Luxusware oder im Ernst? *Freiburger Universitätsblätter, 194*, 131-137.

Pre-competitive, long term research today is mainly to be found in universities, independent publicly funded research institutions and other not-for-profit places. For decades already this domain has been doing well in terms of growth of operations and quality of performance. It is, however, to a very high degree dependent on the public purse and fluctuations thereof.

While in earlier days corporate research and not-for-profit research functioned largely side-by-side (with personal connections being the strongest links between them), since the 1980s both domains got connected in new ways. Private corporations and public institutions created all sorts of structural and semi-structural cooperatives, and both sides learned to deal with intellectual property issues. Governments were keen on this kind of value for money and invented stick and carrot schemes to stimulate direct linkages between publicly funded research and corporate applications. Gradually the triple helix of innovation-oriented relations was taking shape.[11]

For many years already individual European nation states (at least some of them) and the European Union have clearly recognized this long-term development by substantial investments in research and by programmes connecting and reconnecting the research community and the business world. An additional important driver of these policies is the grand challenges. They represent broad fields of promising or threatening trends, like sustainable energy and reliable food chains. A parallel trend is the fragmentation of research activities (in start-ups, spin-offs and research-intensive SMEs) and the creation of open research communities (largely connected in the digital world only).

European research-intensive universities find themselves in the centre of modern societies and future-directed businesses. At the same time they are struggling to adapt their traditional ways of organizing research, in terms of planning, peer leadership, academic independence and integrity, and last but not least, in terms of sustainable funding. It is not easy to keep one's balance, integrity and freedom in situations where direct impact and golden solutions are key issues. This is especially tricky under unfavourable fiscal conditions and in global competition.

Within the limitations of the present paper I cannot possibly go into these and a variety of other items on the European research agenda. I do make an exception for one aspect, the human resource issue. This is my next and last subject.

[11] Leydesdorff, L. (2011). The Triple Helix, Quadruple Helix, … and an N-Tuple of Helices: Explanatory Models for Analyzing the Knowledge-Based Economy? *Journal of Knowledge Economy, 3*, 25-35.

Future of human capital in academia

The last challenge I have chosen to present may be the most treacherous one, in the sense of being deceptively simple. It is evident that good, qualified people are key to good performance, and such is the significance of the human capital agenda to universities.

Everyone knows the performance of schools, research institutes and universities is largely depending on the quality of people working there - this is so evident that we often forget about it. We are even taking it for granted that we will always have good people qualified and willing to work at our institutions. Are we indeed sure that we are getting the right kind now and/or that we shall be able to get them on board in the future?

In my view the question whether in future years academia will hold sufficient attraction for new generations of teachers and researchers cannot be overestimated. If there is one important market academia is operating in and depending on, it is the career market of young talents. Success or failure in this market has significant impact indeed. In many countries one can already observe what might happen to academia. Schools and universities with a largely regional role find it hard to recruit the right kind of university-trained teachers. Teachers have gone down on the ranking list of professional careers. Similarly in some countries for a variety of reasons experts in specialist fields of science, engineering and the humanities are becoming scarce. Apparently there is an unbalance between efforts and rewards. Also universities with a global ambition and agenda find it hard to compete successfully with the big players, not only to recruit their teachers, but in general to recruit their world-class human capital.

In a labour market that is paying high wages for top skills in domains like corporate management and legal services, it is not evident at all that a substantial portion of the best and the brightest will continue to opt for teaching or for research and university careers. Traditionally intrinsic drivers and individual passion for science have motivated such career choices. It remains to be seen (and the signs are not all positive) if this will be the case in the decades to come.

The key challenge to globally competitive European universities will be how to attract and retain talented young researchers (not just the home grown type), how to bring about competitive tenure track recruitment of key academic staff, and how to realize up or out schemes for mid-career faculty mobility (to enhance faculty dynamics in order to stay attractive for new generations of talented people).

European higher education can be proud of its great history. At essential junctures universities have taken new roads and been champions of new developments. In many cases European universities have been leading the way. History, however, holds no guarantee. New challenges require new responses, and new courage. Some time ago, I read a fascinating historical study[12] on success and failure factors in the American chemical industry. It became clear to me that key factors were not at all stable over time. In fact they changed dramatically. At the end of the day, adaptability (the ability to change) proved to be the main success factor.

[12] Ashish A., Landau, R. and Nathan, R. (Eds.) (2000). *Chemicals and Long-Term Economic Growth*. New York.

Excellence and internationality of higher education

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Internationalisation – a major theme and policy thrust

The growing role of an ambiguous phenomenon

Higher education is international more or less by definition in adhering to *the principle of borderless generation, dissemination and search of/for new systematic knowledge*. However, as higher education tends to be national in governance, curricula, degrees and provisions of quality control and as there are many other national, regional and local contexts and mechanisms that affect higher education (see the discussion of the nationality and internationality of higher education in Kerr, 1990), *targeted efforts are needed to ensure that systematic knowledge flows across borders at ease*, if internationalisation of higher education is viewed as one of the priority goals of higher education and research policy. Both the high appreciation of internationality and the tensions between national and international thrusts in higher education are by no means new (see for example Neave, 2002). However, "internationalisation" became a key issue of the higher education policy discourse in Europe only in the 1990s.

The more "internationalisation" turned into a key issue, the more inflationary became the use of this term or of related terms. Therefore, any analysis of the actual role played by internationalisation in the overall development of higher education has to identify what is actually meant: what is understood as being "international", what notion of development is implied in the term "internationalisation", and how this term is placed vis-à-vis neighbour or overlapping terms, notably "globalisation" and "Europeanisation".

The various meanings of "international" in higher education

Various analyses have shown that "international" and "internationalisation" in higher education might comprise a broad range of issues (de Wit, 2002; van der Wende, 2001; Altbach and Teichler, 2001; Teichler, 2004; Knight, 2008). The author of this contribution argues that notably five themes are on the agenda when internationalisation is addressed (Teichler, 2010):

- *Physical mobility*, notably of students, but also of academic staff and occasionally administrative staff as well, is obviously the most visible international activity, and it is in the forefront of programmes aiming to promote internationalisation. Thereby, a broad range of activities is

comprised, e.g. student mobility for a short period within a study programme or for the whole study programme and scholar mobility for attending conferences, visiting research partners abroad and longer stays in other countries for research purposes, and even migration and international professional mobility.

- *Recognition of study achievements across borders* is a second major theme which, naturally, is clearly linked to the first one: are the results of learning in one country accepted as equivalent to that which is expected to be learnt in another country, if persons are mobile at the beginning of their study, during the course of study, upon graduation or in later stages of learning and work, and what endangers and facilitates such acceptance?

- *Other modes of transfer of knowledge across borders* have been less in the focus of recent public debates, but certainly together have a stronger weight than physical mobility of students and scholars: e.g. international knowledge transfer through media (printed publications as the traditionally open mode of transfer within and across countries, patents as an example of knowledge transfer with financial constraints, virtual communication for varied purposes, and "transnational education" as modes of transporting study programmes across borders). In this framework, physical mobility is discussed only as one of the various modes of collaboration and exchange of information among scholars.

- *Internationality in the substance of higher education*, paradoxically, is least often discussed, but possibly the most salient issue: For example foreign language learning, comparative analysis, analysis of border-crossing phenomena (e.g. international law) and "international education".

- *International orientations and attitudes*, or, in contrast, national orientations and attitudes of the actors, the students and possibly the academics are a major issue. For example, various programmes for the support of student mobility were established with the hope, in mind or officially declared, that cognitive enhancement would be accompanied with attitudinal change: growing "global understanding", more favourable views of the partner country, a growing empathy with other cultures, etc.

In addition to these five themes, two others are often referred to in the context of debates on "internationalisation", although these are only loosely related to it:

- *The similarity or heterogeneity of national systems of higher education* plays an ambivalent role in this respect. On the one hand, a variety of national higher education systems, for example, are considered ben-

eficial in order to provide mobile students with the opportunity to learn from contrast and thus to develop a more reflective mind and a better understanding of diversity. On the other hand, for example, the Bologna Declaration called for structural convergence of higher education systems in Europe, as a means of facilitating intra-European student mobility, amongst other reasons.

- Finally, internationalisation is underscored as an *argument for almost any higher education reform*. No matter whether one discusses the steering of higher education systems, the management of higher education institutions, quality and relevance of research and study programmes, efficiency of the utilisation of resources or other topics: higher education should be improved in those respects in order not to fall behind in world-wide competition and to be successful by "international standards". Top quality is called "world class", efforts for quality enhancement are viewed as part of "global competition", and regional and national approaches are often seen as academically less demanding, though some experts claim that the divides between "regional", "national" and "global" are vanishing.

"Internationalisation" – trends or leaps?

Altogether, we note a public discourse not on *"internationality"*, but rather on *"internationalisation"*, i.e. on "-sation", which hints at a trend towards "more". And this trend tends to be viewed as altogether positive; it signals that there was a problem in the past, there is an opportunity for improvement, and there are trends facilitating the grasping of this opportunity.

In fact, the European debate, intensified since the 1990s, has a strong positive undercurrent: internationalisation is expected to serve peace and mutual understanding, quality enhancement, a richer cultural life and personality development, the increase of academic quality, technological innovation, economic growth and societal well-being. This does not mean, however, that negative elements are not also visible: additional burdens and costs for the individuals and higher risks as far as success is concerned, more efforts for academic and administrative support on the part of the institutions, misunderstandings and new mistrust, chauvinistic attitudes and – last but not least – "brain drain" (e.g. Wächter, 2006).

Internationalisation of higher education has become so much the focus on policy discourses in higher education, because the development is often viewed *not merely as a trend, but rather as a leap* forward: Student mobility in Europe has developed from an exotic into a normal option, and international

policies at country or institutional level are not anymore marginal in addressing separate activities, but have become central or "mainstream" in paying attention to how general policies and activities affect international dimensions and how international policies and activities affect dimensions of higher education as a whole (see Teichler, 1999).

Internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation

When higher education issues are discussed at a supra-national level, three terms are most often employed in Europe: international, European, and global or, if references are made to a trend or a policy direction, we talk of internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation (cf. the overviews in Blumenthal et al., 1996; de Wit, 2002; Wächter, 1999). The uses of these three terms are similar in two respects (Knight, 2006; Scott, 1998; van der Wende, 2001). First, all three terms are addressing border-crossing phenomena; second, they might refer either to the changing context which poses a challenge for higher education or to phenomena within higher education itself.

The uses of the three terms, however, differ in two respects. First they vary in their main meanings: internationalisation tends to address an increase of cross-border activities amidst more or less persistent national systems of higher education. Globalisation, in contrast, tends to assume that borders and national systems as such get blurred or might even disappear. Europeanisation is a regional version of either internationalisation or globalisation.

Second, specific issues tend to be linked to the *wider use of the individual terms*: internationalisation is often discussed in relation to physical mobility, academic cooperation and academic knowledge transfer, as well as in relation to international education. Europeanisation is frequently addressed with reference to cooperation and mobility. Beyond that, the term Europeanisation also covers such issues as integration, convergence of contexts, structures and substance (European dimension, European culture, European Higher Education Area) or to segmentation between regions of the world ("fortress Europe"). Globalisation is often associated with competition and market-steering, transnational education, and with commercial knowledge-transfer (Sadlak, 2001).

One might ask, *how internationalisation and globalisation relate to each other*: are they opposites? Do they express degrees of difference on a continuum? Or are they related to each other dialectically in a way that every border-crossing leads to something of a crumbling of borders, and that every global pressure leads to a national border-construction?

The *popularity of the terms changes over time*: Since the late 1990s, we note a growing popularity of the term "globalisation" in Europe as well as in other

parts of the world, almost replacing the term “internationalisation”. “Global” is often employed merely to depict supra-national trends and policies related to marketisation, increasing supra-national competition as well as the growth of trans-national education and commercial knowledge transfer. It seems to be used without any concern to whether these trends and policies are really related to a blurring of borders. Often, “global” could be substituted by “supra-national”, “world-wide”, or “world competition society”.

Internationalisation – a means for what?

The salient issue of impact

“Internationalisation” has been such a popular issue in higher education in recent years that observers of this discourse might draw the conclusion that internationality is a goal of higher education in its own right, and not a “means” for other “ends”. Certainly, there are discussions about the growth of international activities whereby growth is hailed explicitly or implicitly as desirable without any explicit reasoning why such a growth is desirable.

Such a use of “means” as almost “ends” is not confined to “internationalisation” in the higher educational policy debate. Another striking example is the demand voiced in the Lisbon Strategy of 2000 for increased research expenditures for the purpose of making Europe the most “competitive economy” of the world. “Competitiveness” in this case appears almost like an end in itself, even though bank managers and clochards might be equally competitive. Competitiveness, in reality, can only be understood as a means to an end – in this case technological progress, economic growth and societal well-being.

Yet, we note an intensive debate about the impact of internationalisation. And this is by no means surprising, because internationalisation of higher education became a popular issue just at a time of an increase of “evaluation” activities, growing pressures for “accountability”, increased “strategic” reasoning and activities – i.e. a growth of “output and outcome awareness” in higher education. As a consequence, *internationalisation of higher education constantly has to be justified with respect to desirable “ends” of higher education*, even though it meets with more favourable eyes generally than most key moves and trends in higher education (e.g. higher expectations as regards the relevance of higher education or the increasing managerial power at higher education institutions).

Expected results of internationalisation

Most analyses of the impact of international policies and activities in higher education rely on a frame of reference which could be called the *“intended”*

or "expected" results. In the domain of research, this could be a rapid transfer of academic knowledge or the borderless collaboration of the best scholars of the world for the purpose of generating breakthroughs of new knowledge. In the area of student mobility, it could be the fostering of visible international competences, the enhancement of international understanding, the strengthening of communication skills, the increase of comparative reasoning.

As a rule, such analyses of the impact of internationalisation, however, try to examine both, the possible specific results of international learning and research for international knowledge and competences (e.g. knowledge and understanding of other countries and comparative insights), and the possible results beyond, such as knowledge and competence enhancement in general (e.g. the number of publications of mobile scholars as compared to non-mobile scholars or the competence level of mobile students in general as compared to non-mobile students) (see Kehm and Teichler, 2007; Knight, 2008; see also various contributions in Teekens and de Wit, 2007). Actually, we do not find a clear borderline between specific objectives and achievements of internationalisation on the one hand and broader ones on the other hand. For example, enhancing communication skills can be viewed as a general objective, but might be more in demand and more successfully fostered in relation to international communication.

The contribution of internationalisation to the achievement of overarching goals

The role internationalisation plays in higher education in general cannot be grasped sufficiently if the view is limited more or less to the objectives internationalisation is most likely to contribute. Rather, one has to address *the role internationalisation plays with regards to the goals which higher education is expected to pursue in general*.

Such overarching goals might be phrased in *secular terms* in the discourse of the function of higher education: the generation, dissemination and preservation of systematic knowledge, truth, fostering of most demanding cognitive knowledge and competences, innovative and critical thinking, etc. In recent years, we note a boom in the use of *terms aimed at summarizing the objectives generally beyond specific functions and activities*. Undoubtedly, the most popular terms in recent years have been: "quality", "employability", and "excellence".

The major aim of this contribution is to discuss the role of "internationality" for the recently most frequently stated objective of higher education in general, i.e. *"excellence"*. However, the contribution of internationality to "quality" and "employability" will also be discussed, because this helps put the

link between internationality and excellence into perspective. Is "excellence" relatively closely linked to "internationality", or are we looking at a relatively loose tie?

Student mobility – the most suitable area for examining the impact of internationalisation

Ideally, we could aim in this contribution at addressing the impact of all the internationalisation policies and activities in higher education on "excellence", and this in comparison to the impact on "quality" and "relevance". However, we will *limit ourselves to the impact of student mobility*. This focus seems to be appropriate for four reasons.

First, over the years most attention has been paid to student mobility in the higher education policy discourse on internationalisation of higher education. It is a frequent and a visible phenomenon, and it is often considered to even be the core element of internationalisation of higher education.

Second, there is more *information available* on student mobility and on the impact of student mobility than on any other thematic area of internationalisation in higher education. More statistical data on the frequencies in this domain are available, and they are often employed as indicators for internationalisation than otherwise. Even if these data are very deficient, as will be discussed below, it would not be possible to argue that the information base on academic mobility or any other issue of internationalisation is similarly strong as the information base on student mobility. Moreover, there is a wealth of analyses addressing the functioning and the impact of student mobility, whereas analyses on other thematic areas of internationalisation – some interesting attempts notwithstanding (see Byram and Dervin, 2008; Dervin, 2011) – are scarce.

Third, obviously student mobility *can be affected strongly by targeted policy measures* at international, national and institutional level – financial support and financial barriers, cooperation schemes, visa and admission regulations, organizational assistance of mobile students, curricular approaches, recognition mechanisms, etc. Thus, student mobility is most often the objective of strategic reflections and target measures to strengthen internationalisation and its potential benefits.

Fourth, the impact of international student mobility has persisted to be *a theme between high hopes and substantial critique*, i.e. ranging from the expectation of substantial cultural, academic and professional value for the mobile students to the concerns about quality loss in the learning processes

and about "brain drain". Therefore, the issue of benefits and possible drawbacks of internationalisation is especially fascinating with respect to student mobility.

From the outset, attention has to be paid to the well-known fact that the expected impact and the realized impact of student mobility are clearly *distinct between different modes and directions of student mobility*. Notably, we have to point out the different character and function of *"vertical" mobility*, on the one hand (i.e. from a country of inferior to a country of superior academic quality), and *"horizontal" mobility* on the other (i.e. movements between countries and institutions of roughly the same academic quality). Also, we must make a distinction between *"degree" mobility*, on the one hand (i.e. studying a whole programme in another country), and *"temporary" (or "credit") mobility* on the other hand (i.e. studying a period of a programme in another country and in most cases returning afterwards to the country of prior study).

The focus of the subsequent analysis will be on the impact of temporary, horizontal mobility – the core of both the support for student mobility by the European Commission – notably ERASMUS (cf. European Commission, 1994) – as well as of the aimed for increase of intra-European student mobility in the framework of the Bologna Process (cf. Wächter, 2008; Teichler, 2009). But reference will also be made to other modes and directions of student mobility.

The analysis will primarily address the situation in *Europe*. We have to bear in mind that internationalisation policies and activities are by no means highly similar across Europe (see Kaelvemark and van der Wende, 1997; Huisman and van der Wende, 2004, 2005; Kehm and de Wit, 2006; Knight, 2006; Wächter, 2011). Also, notions of quality, employability, and excellence differ. Yet, there are interrelations between the national discourses and the European-wide discourses to such an extent that we can identify – in comparison with views and activities in other world regions – a certain "European corridor" of concepts and activities.

The discourse on quantitative trends of student mobility worldwide

Implicitly assumed benefits of student mobility

In summarising policy statements, expert conferences, publications and other features of the public discourse on student mobility, we observe the enormous attention being paid to the quantitative development of student mobility. Thereby, growth of student mobility is viewed implicitly or explicitly as *beneficial, in principle, in two respects*; first, in contributing to the en-

hancement of more or less *all competences that higher education aims at enhancing in general* (e.g. understanding of academic theories and methods, acquisition of academic knowledge and the foundation of professional knowledge and skills, ability to call into question the established knowledge, basic competences of reasoning and problem-solving, and "personality") and, second, in fostering the specific *competences relevant for international interaction* (e.g. foreign languages, comparative and international knowledge, international understanding, coping with foreign environments, and international communication).

Prevailing thrusts in descriptions

Many descriptions of student mobility trends take the available international statistics as the appropriate information without any explicit discussion and obviously without any awareness in most cases whether the characteristics of these data and notably the biases of the statistics might have an influence on what we actually perceive as a "map" of mobility and what we consider as the "value" of student mobility (cf. the critical accounts of data in Kelo, Teichler and Wächter; 2006; Teichler, Ferencz and Wächter, 2011). We might characterize the dominant approaches as follows:

- Most descriptions focus on *absolute quantitative growth*. The number of foreign students worldwide has increased – according to the international statistics collected over a long period by UNESCO and subsequently in collaboration with OECD and Eurostat – from about 200 000 in the mid-1950s via more than one million in the late 1980s (cf. Cummings, 1991; Barber, 1992) to more than three million in recent years (cf. UNESCO, 2009; OECD, 2010). Less attention tends to be paid to the fact that the overall number of students worldwide has grown at a similar pace and that the rate of foreign students among all students has remained more or less stable at about two percent.

- Most descriptions *do not make distinctions between levels of programmes and degrees* (see for example Eurostat and Eurostudent, 2009; Commission of the European Communities, 2010). Available data, however, suggest that the rates of foreign students vary dramatically according to levels of study programmes and degrees. They are higher in the area of higher education than in other tertiary education, and they are higher at the master than at the bachelor level. Among doctoral candidates, they appear to be even ten times as high among all other students (see European Commission, 2007).

- Most descriptions *talk about "mobility", but actually refer to* the readily available statistics on *"foreign students" and "study abroad"*. The more

migration and professional mobility across borders grow, however, the less a student's citizenship differing from the country of study is a suitable indicator of mobility for the purpose of study. Recent estimates suggest that one quarter of foreign students in Europe have lived in the country of study already prior to enrolment. Moreover, one tenth of mobile students is not foreign, but has returned to the country of citizenship for the purpose of study or has changed citizenship in recent years (see Teichler and Ferencz, 2011). Only recently efforts have been intensified on the part of the national and international data collecting agencies to collect data on genuine student mobility alongside data on foreign students (ibid.; see also Lanzendorf and Teichler, 2003; Richters and Teichler, 2006).

- Most descriptions of mobility trends do not take into account that the international statistics are *not meant at all to include temporary student mobility*, i.e. the type of student mobility which is clearly the top priority of all policy efforts to increase intra-European student mobility.

- Finally – and related to the previous issue – most descriptions of mobility trends based on the available statistics *do not make any distinctions* (and cannot do this due to the character of the statistics) *between the major sub-groups of mobile students* and their substantially different rationales and effects, i.e. between degree mobility and temporary mobility, as well as between "vertical" and "horizontal" mobility (cf. the definitions above).

- Reports on trends of international mobility of students employ most frequently sub-divisions according to *country*. We often note presentations of two ranking lists of countries: (a) major hosting countries of foreign students, and (b) countries with high numbers of students who study abroad.

Results typically pointed out

In most cases, ranking lists are presented in absolute numbers. Accordingly, (a) the US have been the number one host country of foreign students for decades, and (b) China has in recent years had the highest number of students studying abroad. Less attention is paid to relative numbers: While only about three percent of students in the US are foreign, the respective share is about 20% in Australia and Switzerland. While less than one percent of Chinese students study abroad, there is a large number of countries with a rate above 10%.

The US is often referred to as the most *"attractive"* country for foreign students (one wonders why absolute rather than relative figures are taken as indicating "attractiveness". Is Switzerland, for example, less attractive for foreign students than the US?). The term "attractiveness" employed in this context

implies on the one hand that the foreign students consider studying there as valuable for enhancing their competences in all the ways international student mobility might be effective. On the other hand, study in a certain country is viewed as valuable for various context factors of studying abroad, e.g. widespread knowledge of the country's language, low cost, living in a safe environment, offering good services for students, and providing ample opportunity for employment after graduation. Thus, "attractiveness" might be correlated with perceived "quality", but it is by no means identical to quality.

China, India and other countries with high absolute numbers of foreign students are often referred to as academically and economically *emerging countries*. Study abroad is seen as valuable, because higher education at home is not viewed, on the one hand, as qualitatively on equal terms to study in many other countries, but, on the other hand, also as not so low that students would face enormous difficulties when moving to countries with higher academic quality. Rather, the economy and the level of academic development are seen as sufficiently strong in these emerging countries that a sizeable number of students have the financial means for studying abroad and the educational system is viewed as sufficiently good that many students have a chance to succeed in academically more demanding environments abroad.

As will be discussed below, the rate of foreign students is employed as an indicator of a world-class university in one of the two most popular worldwide rankings. In this framework, the rate of foreign students is viewed as indicating a high reputation in terms of excellent academic quality of study provision, while other aspects of "attractiveness" are neglected.

The discourse on quantitative trends of student mobility in Europe

Emphasis on mobility and mobility rates

Reports and discussions about student mobility within Europe tend to differ strikingly from reports about worldwide student mobility. Notably, the former are more likely to refer to relative figures, i.e. "rates" rather than to absolute figures. They also address more often genuine mobility rather than foreign students and study abroad. They often make a distinction between foreign students from other parts of the world (as an indication of "vertical mobility") on the one hand and intra-European mobility (as mostly indicating "horizontal mobility"), on the other. They also often make a distinction between temporary mobility and mobility for the whole study programme. Finally, outwards mobility is often viewed in Europe as an indication of the quality of study the students of the respective home country experience.

First, *relative figures* are more often used in the European discourse on mobility. It is not customary, for example, to argue that study abroad in Italy (with 57 000 foreign students) is more attractive than in Belgium (with 47 000) (both figures for 2007). Rather, study abroad is seen as being more attractive in Belgium with a rate of 12% foreign students than in Italy with a rate of less than 3% (see Bürger, Ferencz and Wächter, 2011).

Second, the Bologna Declaration of 1999 called for the introduction of a Bachelor-Master structure of study programmes and degrees across Europe as a means of making study in Europe more *attractive for students from other parts of the world* (see the overall discussion of the aims and of the results of the Bologna Process in Kehm, Huisman and Stensaker, 2009; CHEPS, INCHER and ECOTEC, 2010; Sursock and Smidt, 2010; Curaij, Scott, Vlasceanu and Wilson, 2012). From this perspective, the rate of students from outside of Europe is viewed as a criterion of attractiveness. The respective rate of foreign students from outside Europe was 12% in the United Kingdom, eight in France, five in Germany and almost four both in Belgium and Switzerland in 2007 (Bürger, Ferencz and Wächter, 2011). Again, interpretations of data suggest that the views of the quality of study provisions in the respective country play some role in the choice of the host country of study abroad, but other factors might be much more crucial (see European Commission, 2006).

Actually, the available data suggest that the number of students with non-European nationalities studying in Europe more than doubled between 1999 and 2007. Half of this growth can be attributed to a push effect, i.e. an increase of the overall number of students world-wide by more than 50%. This would leave half of this growth as indicating a success of the Bologna Process, i.e. a growing attractiveness of higher education in Europe (see Teichler, 2012).

Third, the European discourse is more often focused on *genuine student mobility*, i.e. mobility for the purpose of study. For many years, only a minority of European countries collected data on foreign mobile students, but the collection of such data spread substantially in the first decade of the 21st century. For example, the proportion of incoming foreign students among all students was registered in the UK as 14.9% in 2007, which compares with 19.5% of all foreign students (i.e. including 4.6% foreign non-mobile students). The respective data were 14 and 16.7% in Austria, 14 and 16.5% in Switzerland, and 9.1 and 11.3% in Germany (Bürger, Ferencz and Wächter, 2011).

Emphasis on temporary mobility and the event of outwards mobility

Fourth, we note a widespread interest in Europe in information on the relative frequency of *temporary border-crossing mobility*. As international statistics do not consistently cover temporarily mobile students and do not make a

distinction between degree-mobile and temporarily mobile students among those covered in the data sets, statistics of student mobility within ERASMUS (see Ferencz, 2011) are often taken as a substitute. The admittedly incomplete information available, however, suggests that temporary student mobility outside ERASMUS is by far more widespread than degree mobility within Europe.

Actually, the data available suggest that intra-European mobility has at best only slightly increased in the first decade of the Bologna Process. There is no indication of a more substantial increase than in earlier decades. Thus, the aim of the Bologna Declaration to increase intra-European mobility seems not to have been attained. The author of this contribution, however, argues that there was, from the very outset, no reason to believe that the creation of Bachelor-Master degree structure across Europe would lead to a substantial increase of intra-European student mobility, because the structure of study programmes and degrees was not amongst the major barriers to student mobility identified in the relevant studies in the 1990s (see Teichler, 2012).

Fifth, *outwards mobility* to another country is more highly appreciated in Europe as a sign of the quality the students of the respective home country experience than in the respective world-wide discourse. This has been expressed, for example, in many analyses of the ERASMUS student mobility, which have considered reciprocity of inwards and outwards student flows as most desirable. And this has been underscored in the most recent communiqués of the ministers responsible for higher education in the European Higher Education Area.

The Leuven Communiqué of 2009 went a step beyond earlier discussions. It came to the conclusion that the most valuable measure for intra-European mobility was the *event of outward student mobility in the course of study*, i.e. the proportion of students having spent a period of study or an internship abroad in the overall course of study. Accordingly, the highest possible impact of student mobility is indicated by the proportion of students gaining international experience in the course of their study. The Leuven Communiqué set a respective target of 20% on average across European countries for the year 2020.

Various efforts have in the meantime been made to measure the event of outwards mobility in the course of study. The first report in this respect referred to the percentage of actual students having been abroad (Eurostat and Eurostudent, 2009). This, of course, undercounts the event of student mobility, because many of the still-enrolled students might become mobile between the time of the survey and the time of graduation. Second, the most recent Eurostudent survey reports both the proportion of actual students having been mobile and of those considering to study abroad at a later stage – an

approach which certainly, as the authors argue themselves, over-counts the event of student mobility because many of those stating an intention will not become mobile in the end (Orr, Gwosc and Netz, 2011). Third, graduate surveys have been taken as a source for the identification of the event of student mobility in the course of study, even though graduate surveys do not exist for all countries and mobility might not be defined consistently. An analysis of recent graduate surveys in various European countries came to the conclusion that the 20% target has been already achieved or is close to be achieved in some European countries: more than 20% of graduates from Dutch higher education institutions, more than 20% from Norwegian universities, about 20% from Austrian universities and almost 20% from German institutions of higher education. But the respective quotas are only five percent or less in Italy, the United Kingdom and Poland (Schomburg and Teichler, 2011), and they are unlikely to grow to 20% by the year 2020. Still, even in countries with a very low proportion of outwards student mobility, the appreciation of temporary study in another country as a measure for increasing valuable competences seems to grow (see for example British Academy and University Council of Modern Languages).

To sum up: the discourse on student mobility in Europe takes for granted that border-crossing activities are valuable in enhancing the range of competences fostered by higher education in general and in enhancing international competences. Thus, mobility is viewed as contributing to quality, relevance, and eventually excellence. However, in comparison to the discourse on world-wide student mobility, there are relatively cautious views in associating high border-crossing mobility in Europe more or less automatically with high academic quality. This is understandable, because mobility within Europe is widely viewed as “horizontal”, i.e. as movements between institutions and programmes of a similar level of quality.

Student mobility and “quality”

The current quality discourse: mistrust in the overall quality and trust in the quality of international experience?

It is generally assumed that student mobility within Europe has not merely expanded gradually over the decades, but that it has made a big leap forward, turning it from an exceptional activity to a normal option around 1990. ERASMUS, the EU programme for temporary student mobility in Europe created in 1987, is widely regarded as a “success story” in contributing to such a leap. And this cannot be explained without noting that the quantitative spread has been based on the *trust that student mobility has, as a rule, a desirable impact on the mobile students’ competences*. Notably, the frequent initiatives in

Europe for the recognition of study achievements of mobile students underscore that it should be possible to have a high degree of trust in the qualitative value of study in another country (see the overview on the recognition discourse in Teichler, 2003).

It is interesting to note that this trust in the desirable impact of student mobility spread at a point in time when measures of evaluation or so-called "quality assurance" spread in higher education, i.e. measures considered necessary because trust had faded that quality in teaching, learning and research would be safeguarded in the routine processes in higher education in combination with an "input" steering of quality through the mechanisms of governmental support for higher education. *Ironically, trust in the quality of study abroad spread at the same time as the quality of higher education in general declined.*

Concerns as a starting point of the quality debate

Quality became a – or even *the* – keyword in the higher education policy discourse during the 1980s. This was most visible in the public debates about quality deficiencies and in measures establishing assessment systems in higher education, which were collectively labelled in the debate as "quality assessment" or "quality assurance" (see the overviews in Westerheijden, Brennan and Maassen, 1994; Daniel, 2001).

Concern about "quality" of higher education in general grew for various reasons:

- The rapid *expansion of student enrolment* was viewed increasingly as endangering the quality of teaching and learning at least in some sectors of higher education and on the part of some students. Nobody expected that the average quality of higher education could be safeguarded given the transition from "elite" to "mass" higher education and given the increase of diversity of students' motives, prior competences and future life prospects. Rather, altogether quality enhancements could be expected only as a combination of continuous high quality of the knowledge and the competences of the "old" students alongside the quality enhancement of the "new" students as compared to education and training of their predecessors below the level of higher education.

- It is generally assumed that higher education institutions, study programmes as well as the academics teaching the students became more *diverse* in the process of higher education expansion. As a consequence, a certain type of institution, a single institution or a certain degree as such was less and less viewed as an indicator of a certain quality level. Rather growing diversity called for new "maps" or "yardsticks" of quality that measure distinctions within sectors of the higher education system.

- The view gained ground that the *quality* of research in Europe might not be able to compete successfully with research in the US and Japan. This led to both calls for increased funding of research in Europe and for ways of examining and enhancing the quality of research.
- Trust in the effectiveness of the prevailing *modes of steering in higher education* – both at macro and institutional level – declined, and a new system of strong management, widespread assessment and evaluation activities and increased incentive steering emerged.
- Governments felt more strongly pressured to justify public expenditures and, in turn, expected from higher education institutions to be more visibly accountable for their activities and the results of these activities.

As already pointed out, the increasing student mobility met with an enormous degree of trust, as being a worthwhile activity. However, the increasing evaluative activities of that period touched also upon student mobility in terms of increasing calls for evidence that student mobility in fact had a desirable impact (see Kehm and Teichler, 2007). Notably, the processes and the results of ERASMUS became a major topic of evaluation studies (see Teichler and Maiworm, 1997; Teichler, 2002; Janson, Schomburg and Teichler, 2009; CHEPS, INCHER and ECOTEC 2008; Bürger and Lanzendorf, 2010), since this was such a large and visible programme and since national governments expected the European Commission, more strongly than national bodies, to demonstrate the success of their activities.

Notions of quality

It should be noted that *the term "quality" has not been employed consistently* in this period of increasing assessment and evaluation activities in higher education in Europe and that is not consistently used at present. Generally, quality is assumed to be a term that remains completely fuzzy when efforts are made to define it, but, this notwithstanding, it is believed to be highly appreciated, because inherent claims of high or low quality of certain phenomena meet with a high degree of consensus (cf. the discussion of the term in Brennan, 2007; Westerheijden, 2007; see also other articles in Cavalli, 2007).

We note at least three logically distinct uses of the term "quality" (Teichler, 2005):

- According to *academic and other dimensions*: quality could mean high achievement according to academic theories, methods and clarity of analysis on the one hand (i.e. "quality" versus "relevance"), and according to any aim of academic endeavours (e.g. including technological, economic and social relevance), on the other.

- According to *common or diverse criteria*: one could assume, on the one hand, that criteria of quality are common, at least within a discipline, and that one could therefore sort any achievement as high and low, or one could assume, on the other hand, that there is a diversity of objectives and performances in higher education. In the latter case, one could aim at establishing "qualities"; in evaluation processes, one could ask, for example, whether programmes show "fitness for purpose" rather than "fitness of purpose".

- According to *level of quality*: quality could refer either to standards or even minimum standards, or to exceptionally high standards, i.e. to "excellent" quality according to the jargon spreading in the early years of the 21st century.

Moreover, we note that the totality of activities of assessment and improvement of institutions, programmes etc. is often called "quality assurance", as pointed out above. This holds true, even though it might entail – expressed in more specific terms – both "quality" and "relevance" assurance.

In looking at the analyses of the impact of temporary "horizontal" student mobility, we note that the assessment of "quality" is undertaken as a rule with the help of *ratings*. Formerly mobile students themselves, their teachers, mobility coordinators, general mobility experts or employers are asked to state their view in an aggregated form. Formerly mobile students might be asked and non-mobile students as control group; formerly mobile students might be asked to compare themselves to non-mobile students; other actors and observers might be asked to compare mobile to non-mobile students. The question might address the degree of improvement during the study period abroad or the knowledge and competence after the study period abroad or at the time of the award of the degree.

Most studies of that kind (see the above-mentioned studies on ERASMUS as well as, for example, Papatsiba, 2006; various articles in Byram and Dervin, 2008; Dervin, 2011) turn out relatively similar results for temporary student mobility in Europe.

- Formerly mobile students are viewed as *slightly superior* to formerly non-mobile students *regarding specific academic knowledge and competences* (e.g. knowledge in physics), as well as *regarding general academic knowledge and competences* (e.g. "generic competences"), and finally regarding various non-subject related "key skills" (e.g. problem-solving ability). In this context one has to bear in mind, however, that mobile students seem to be a slightly "positively select" group, i.e. slightly superior academically prior to the study period in other coun-

tries. Therefore, the more positive competences at the time of graduation *might be in part a selection effect* and only to a smaller extent the impact of learning and experience in another country.

- Formerly mobile students are viewed as *clearly superior* to formerly non-mobile students *concerning visibly international knowledge and competences* (knowledge on other countries, foreign language proficiency, international understanding, intercultural communication, etc.).
- Occasionally named as areas of clear superiority of formerly mobile students are "general" and "key" competences, on the one hand, and specifically international ones, on the other hand, e.g. comparative thinking, reflection of diverse solutions, communication with diverse persons, etc. For example, the major effect of ERASMUS has been identified as "learning from contrast".

In the first major ERASMUS evaluation, the paradox has been pointed out that mobile students consider their "academic progress abroad" on average higher than academics abroad during a corresponding period abroad, while their study achievements abroad are only recognized as corresponding to about three quarters of achievement of study at home (Teichler and Maiworm, 1997). Less than 100% recognition is by no means surprising, because many mobile students report that they take fewer courses abroad, face language problems, take some courses which are not optimal for them, and face various adaptation problems. This suggests that temporary study abroad is not without academic losses in some respects, but that the *positive "quality"* (e.g. "learning from contrast", improvement of reflection, etc.) *outweighs the negative one*.

Student mobility and "employability"

"Employability": the tension between the objectives of quality and relevance

In the first decade of the 21st century, the term "employability" gained enormous momentum in the European public discourse about the desirable objectives of study programmes in higher education. While the term "quality" often is used, as pointed out above, for all desirable objectives and results of study, the term "employability", in contrast, underscores the *notion that quality as such does not safeguard professional utility of study*. Efforts are called for to find targeted ways of making study more useful for subsequent employment and work. While the increasing emphasis on "quality" in the public discourse indicates an increasing mistrust, i.e. a conviction that the normal activities in higher education are not enough to safeguard or improve quality,

the growing reference to "employability" also indicates a spreading mistrust, but from a different point of view, i.e. the conviction that quality in higher education does not safeguard or does not necessarily improve competences for desirable employment and work after graduation:

- "Employability" gained momentum for various reasons (cf. the summary of the debates on the links between higher education and employment in the framework of comparative studies on graduate employment in Europe in Teichler, 2007a; Allen and van der Velden, 2001).
- The view spread that graduates from higher education institutions have experienced in the *process of higher education expansion* more a *protracted process of finding a job* or the right job, and that they have found it more difficult to find *positions and work tasks which "match" their competences and their level of educational attainment*.
- Also, the view is shared widely that those types of skills become increasingly important for professional success which are not directly aimed at in higher education.
- Further, many experts and observers assume that *rapid changes* on the labour market and in the professional work tasks might widen the gap between study and subsequent work tasks, because higher education faces increasing difficulties in catching up with this dynamism.
- Moreover, the term "employability" is often used to express the criticism *that higher education is "inward-looking"* (at academic quality) and that it does not take seriously its students' future prospects.
- Finally, "employability" gained currency because *"output awareness"* and *"outcome awareness"* have grown in the context of all factors named above which have led to a spread of evaluation activities.

In principle, higher education is expected to teach students to understand and master the academic theories, methods and knowledge domains, contribute to cultural enhancement and personality development, build the foundations of competences needed for subsequent work and other life spheres, and foster the ability to challenge prevailing practices. Thereby, we take for granted that the curricular thrusts as regards preparation for subsequent professional work might vary substantially by discipline, type of higher education institutions and individual study programme, without calling into question the overall set of objectives.

The term "quality" is, as a rule, positively connoted in higher education; it is the incarnation of what academia is striving for. "Employability" often is seen as in conflict with academic thrusts: as accepting possible questionable

quality, if this is useful for graduates, and strongly gearing attention to the expected utility of knowledge (even though knowledge is viewed in academia as potentially relevant, if it is not geared from the outset to utility).

The term and the meanings of "employability"

As has often been pointed out, the term employability is misleading in various respects. It is not true that graduates from higher education face major risks of getting employed at all. Moreover, measures to help students in this respect do not address issues of educational attainment and "employment" (e.g. position, salaries, pension rights, etc.), but rather links between the substance of learning and the substance of "work". The author of this paper considers "professional relevance" to be the more appropriate term for this discourse (see Teichler, 2007b). The tone of the term notwithstanding, the "employability" discourse calls for a reflection of the consequences of curricula and teaching and learning modes in higher education on the subsequent professional situation and possibly other life spheres (cf. Bennet, Dunne and Carré, 2000; Knight and Yorke, 2003).

As a matter of fact, the term "employability" is *associated with various calls for change* (see Teichler, 2007b):

- to do more what employers expect,
- to take a more active role in the job search and placement process,
- to increase elements of direct professional experiences within the period of study (internships, etc.),
- to increase professional knowledge acquisition in the study programme, to create new specialized programmes along further professional specialisation,
- to foster applied knowledge,
- to give more priority to professionally relevant competences which cannot be fostered easily in the process of academic learning (for example communication skills and problem-solving abilities),
- to accept the not so ambitious elements of education and job tasks as normal facts of life, etc.

The professional impact of student mobility

The relationships between the "employability" thrust and student mobility are not so clear. We might disentangle three perspectives:

- *"Employability" as curricular thrust*: as a rule, it is not expected that temporary study abroad is more strongly directed towards the goals of "employability" than study "at home".
- *"Employability" as whatever helps to improve employment*: analyses in this framework simply aim to establish if formerly mobile students have more successful careers than formerly non-mobile students.
- *Links between visibly international learning and visibly international careers*: analyses of international careers and international work tasks of formerly mobile students.

Analyses regarding the latter two issues can in part rely on *"objective measures"*, e.g. employment status, occupational categories, income, and country of employment – in this case of formerly mobile students. But *ratings* by graduates (in the framework of general graduate surveys or surveys specialised on formerly mobile students), teachers, mobility coordinators, employers, and the like also play a substantial role.

Most studies of this sort (see for example Jahr and Teichler, 2007; Wiers-Jensen, 2008; Janson, Schomburg and Teichler, 2009; van Mol, 2011; Teichler, 2011a) show that *careers of formerly temporarily mobile students in Europe are only slightly more successful* than those of formerly non-mobile ones. Again, even this moderate difference might be partly due to the fact that mobile students are a slightly select group in terms of academic competences and "cultural capital". Moreover, a recent study came to the conclusion that this advantage decreased over the years and that graduates in the most recent surveys do not consider their income superior to non-mobile students (Janson, Schomburg and Teichler, 2009).

As regards general elements, however, some studies have shown that formerly mobile students note *somewhat of an advantage in the job search* process. This confirms other studies suggesting that international experience is a positive signal for employers – notably for jobs which require some international competences.

Temporary study abroad obviously has the *strongest professional impact in leading to visibly international jobs and work tasks*. Formerly mobile students clearly more often report than formerly non-mobile students that cooperation with other countries, the use of foreign languages and contacts with persons from diverse cultural backgrounds are part of their job assignment. Last, but not least, formerly mobile students differ most strikingly from formerly non-mobile students in *getting employed abroad or being sent by home country employers* for professional assignments abroad. In sum, most issues of student mobility are not closely linked to the issues discussed in

the "employability" debate. Moreover, temporary student mobility does not turn out to be the magic tool for highly successful careers. However, study experience abroad is enormously important for visibly international careers. Thus, international experience is an important element of the "horizontal" diversity of study.

The "excellence" discourse

The meaning of "excellence"

In recent years, terms gained prominence which focus on the top of whatever is considered valuable in higher education. The public discourse has recently increasingly focused on "rankings", and, in this context, on top positions in ranking orders, on "elite" higher education, on "world-class-universities", and, indeed, on "excellence". In the subsequent text, we will refer to this as the "excellence" discourse, because it is obviously the most widely accepted term in the academic profession (see de Corte, 2003), even though not a single of these terms became the clearly dominant one in public debates.

The "excellence" discourse differs from the "quality" and "employability" discourse in underscoring the importance of the top, i.e. the exceptional height of what is considered to be desirable. Not surprisingly, "excellence" became such a popular notion that an inflationary use of this term can be observed; for example, an organisation specialised on teaching within a specific discipline demanded for the whole discipline: "Students should be provided with excellence in education …" (Societé Européenne pour la Formation des Ingénieurs [SEFI] and Board of European Students of Technology [BEST] 2012).

Moreover, the attention in the "excellence discourse" is clearly focussed on the single higher education institutions and, possibly in addition, on the countries with a high number of top universities. In contrast, the discourses on "quality" and "employability" often address the discipline, the individual study programme and possibly the country, but relatively rarely the individual institution of higher education as a whole.

Notions of "world-class universities"

As all other policy discourse, the proponents of the "world-class university" or "excellence" thrust are not a conceptually homogeneous group (see for example Sadlak and Liu, 2007). Still, most experts analysing university rankings come to the conclusion that a relatively homogeneous understanding drives the interest in and the justification of global rankings. The following elements are named most frequently (see Kehm and Stensaker, 2009; Hazelkorn, 2011; Shin, Toutskoushian and Teichler, 2011; Kehm, 2012):

- a view that that top universities define their role increasingly globally;
- a belief that relatively fierce competition between universities and actors within universities, who become increasingly entrepreneurially oriented and extrinsically motivated, contributes to the enhancement of desirable processes and output of academic work;
- the assumption that excellent academic work is not to be described in absolute, but rather in relative terms: excellent academic achievements of a scholar or a group of scholars are not very good, etc., but rather better than those of others;
- a conviction that academic work – in a single country or world-wide – leads to altogether more desirable results if the academic elite is highly concentrated at a few universities;
- correspondingly a view that the individual university is the carrier of quality; this calls for steep vertical stratification: Accordingly, the quality of academic work of individual academics and research groups is strongly influenced by its institutional context, i.e. the specific university;
- a notion that excellence at the top matters for academia and for the knowledge society: "flagships" and "skyscrapers" are more important than a "mass knowledge society";
- a conviction that vertical differences in "quality", "reputation", etc. matter, whereas horizontal variety (for example in research paradigms and curricular thrust) are at best of secondary importance, if not negligible;
- a belief that steep vertical inter-institutional stratification is productive, while intra-institutional diversity is of questionable value;
- a notion that criteria for an exceptionally good university are more or less common worldwide;
- the assumption that high academic quality of research and high utility of research for the "knowledge economy" are closely linked;
- a view that research is clearly the driver of high academic quality and that a high research quality of a university is, as a rule, an appropriate indicator for the quality of teaching and learning.

There is a plethora of publications and a controversial public discourse on rankings, "world-class universities" and the prevailing notions of "excellence" in higher education. The advocates of rankings hail their contribution to "transparency" and the stimulation of valuable competition while they con-

sider the frequently addressed methodological weaknesses as surmountable. In contrast, most critics consider the methodological problems as endemic weaknesses and interpret rankings not as transparent analysis of the existing higher education system, but rather as a targeted policy to reshape higher education through distorted information towards the ideology underlying the rankings and thus aggravate the distortions inherent in their notions. Some critics go even further and argue that rankings, contrary to their stated objectives, actually undermine the meritocratic logic of the higher education and research system (cf. the overview on critical observation in Teichler, 2011b).

It is widely assumed, however, that rankings meet with relatively high acceptance in the academic world. Rankings show universities on the top which also are viewed on the top according to conventional wisdom without employing such quantitative ratings. The view is widely held that an institution has a strong symbolic value and is likely to influence the resources and conditions of academic work. And many academics are prone to pay so much emphasis on vertical diversity that they underutilise the potentials of horizontal variety. And they are prone to elite notions of the relationships between knowledge and society. It is not surprising that rankings capture the attention of the academic world. It is an open question, though, whether all the above underlying beliefs are appropriate. It is also questionable if the quality of top institutions is a good indicator of the academic quality of an entire national higher education system. And it is finally an open question whether a "knowledge society" is served well if all attention is concentrated on the processes and output of top higher education institutions.

Mobility and "excellence"

Student mobility as an indicator of "world-class"

It is generally assumed that the most "excellent" universities in the world are well known all over the world and contribute to academic knowledge beyond borders. Yet, of the two most often named world-wide university rankings, one does not comprise any mobility indicator at all (the Shanghai Jiao Tung rankings), and the other one puts a weight of only 10% on the proportion of foreign academics and the proportion of foreign students (Times Higher Education) (see the overview in Shin, 2011).

The reason for including foreign staff and foreign students into the list of indicators of "excellence" is obvious: as already discussed with reference to the term "quality", the proportion of foreigners is often interpreted as indicating "attractiveness", and the attractiveness – of a higher education institution or a higher education system – depends to some degree on the presumed quality.

But rankings of the proportion of foreign students in individual countries show that the link between academic reputation and the share of foreign students is not very close. For example, a study on Germany (DAAD, 2009) shows that highest proportions of foreign students tends to be reported by small higher education institutions with a specific international thrust (such as institutions with mandatory study periods abroad in all or most of the study programmes). And the attractiveness of the university's location seems to play a role as well. Finally, the above named ranking addresses internationality only in terms of incoming staff and students, but not in terms of international experience of the home country staff and students.

Impact of mobility on "excellence"?

One might not only ask – as the "attractiveness" argument suggests - if a high degree of internationality is the result of excellent teaching and research, but if internationality in turn increases or reinforces excellent teaching and research. We must note that no systematic studies are available on this issue with one possible exception. In 2007, the European Commission commissioned a study which was originally intended to explore the contribution of the ERASMUS programme to "excellence" in higher education in Europe. In specification of the above, the project was expected to examine the extent and nature of the contribution of ERASMUS to "quality improvement", "the modernisation of higher education institutions", "the development and innovation of teaching and research" and the development of a "stronger European dimension to higher education" (see CHEPS, INCHER and ECOTEC, 2008).

In the communication between the representatives of the European Commission and the authors of the study agreement was reached "that for the purpose of the study the term 'excellence' should be understood … as 'quality, openness and internationalisation'." This meant that the focus on "excellence" was substituted by a focus on varied levels of "quality" and according to varied substantive thrusts: "All the activities are equally important in making Europe a leading knowledge economy and society. The diversity in higher education institutions and missions is regarding as a particular European strength in global competition. Therefore, the aim of the study was to explore the role ERASMUS plays in enhancing higher education according to diverse perspectives and correspondingly diverse criteria of quality" (Vossensteyn, Lanzendorf and Souto 2010, pp. 16-17).

This turn from an envisaged project on ERASMUS and "excellence" towards a project on the various benefits of ERASMUS is by no means an indication that the original aims of the project eroded by coincidence in the process the project's implementation. Rather, ERASMUS had at its outset not been a

project for the "top" of higher education, but rather a project for "mass higher education": mobility was to reach those which had not been reached when student mobility was rare and elitist. Under those conditions, all that made sense was to analyse the contribution of ERASMUS to "quality" in various respects, rather than to "excellence".

The study came to the conclusion that institutional leaders and mobility co-ordinators have a more positive view of the impact of ERASMUS than those responsible for curricula and student mobility at the departmental level. Similarly, ratings were more positive in humanities and social sciences than in science and engineering. Finally, judgements were clearly more favourable in Central and Eastern European countries than in Western European countries. A very strong impact of student mobility was stated regarding the generally visible international elements of higher education as well as the national and international visibility and attractiveness of the institution, whereas views were more cautious regarding quality enhancement in general, e.g. teaching and learning modes, support systems for study or enhancement of evaluation (Bürger and Lanzendorf, 2010).

Concluding remarks

"Internationalisation" of higher education has been viewed very positively in recent years. As a consequence, the spread of "internationalisation" as such is often viewed as indicating that progress has been made in higher education in the direction of the aims usually associated with internationalisation.

At times of increasing evaluation activities, such an argument was not enough to justify all the efforts needed in order to enhance internationalisation in a targeted manner. In-depth analyses were considered necessary in order to establish the impact of internationalisation.

The examination of available material, however, shows that many analyses are available on student mobility and its impacts, while analyses on other dimensions of "internationalisation" are scarce. Therefore, this contribution has focused on the impact of student mobility.

Student mobility can be viewed as having certain genuine potentials, and the actual impact can be analysed vis-à-vis such potentials. There are certainly potentials as regards visible internationality, such as foreign language proficiency, knowledge and understanding of other countries, and coping in an international environment. There is also the widespread assumption that internationalisation has a valuable wider spin-off, for example in the form of learning from contrast, understanding people from different backgrounds, enhancing communication skills, etc.

As internationalisation is viewed as highly valuable in higher education in general, it makes sense to examine its benefits with regard to the major objectives which higher education is to serve. In recent decades, the expected impact of higher education has often been discussed with respect to three over-arching popular terms: “quality, “employability”, and “excellence”. Therefore, this contribution has aimed at establishing what available studies say about the impact of student mobility with regards to the objectives referred to by these terms.

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Mobility is not for all: An international comparison of students' mobility aspirations and perceptions of barriers to temporary enrolment abroad

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Introduction[1]

This paper is motivated by the common finding in research on short-term enrolment abroad – that mobility is not for all. This finding gives rise to calls for a greater equality of opportunities for students to go abroad during their studies. Such calls are motivated by the claim that student enrolment abroad has both benefits for the personal development of participating students, for higher education provision in the host institutions and for society as a whole. The paper, therefore, seeks to provide comparative data on the mobility aspirations and behaviour of certain groups of students. It will also look at the perceived barriers to mobility for students who do not plan to have a period of enrolment abroad. These issues have often been looked at before with a particular focus on the social background of students. The perspective of enquiry will be expanded by looking at other attributes of students and at selected study-related conditions.

This paper is written as a general review paper within the context of current policy discussions at European level. Its starting point is the policy discussion within the European Higher Education Area as expressed particularly by the recently published Mobility Strategy 2020. At the same time it will only focus on one type of mobility: temporary enrolment abroad during a study programme at bachelor or master level. The main data set used for analyses will be EUROSTUDENT IV and its further elaboration for the smaller scale cross-country comparison Steeplechase. Since this data set surveys students currently following a study programme, it provides an appropriate source with which to look at plans for mobility and currently perceived obstacles to being mobile. The paper will close with some considerations for policy development and research questions for further investigations in this field.

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Current policy objectives for study periods abroad

Encouraging students to undertake a period of their studies abroad is a cornerstone of European higher education policy. This goal was already set down in the Bologna Declaration from 1999 and is evident in the recent European Commission initiative "Youth on the Move" from 2010 and the Mobility Strategy 2020 "Mobility for Better Learning" launched at the Bologna Ministerial Conference in Bucharest in April 2012 for the European Higher Education Area (EU, 2010 and EHEA, 2012). Benchmarks have been set for the share of students which strive for one in five students to have undertaken a study-related period abroad before graduation (Teichler, Ferencz, & Wächter, 2011). Many countries also had or have followed suit in setting their own national targets for mobility (ibid).

This concerted push for mobility suggests two main assumptions behind policy initiatives on European and national level:

There is a general agreement on the benefit of study-related periods abroad both for the individuals involved, but also for society (or parts of it, e.g. the labour market) in general. These justify national and European policy initiatives and measures to promote mobility amongst students.

A recent comparative study on mobility strategies led by the Academic Cooperation Association (ACA) (Ferencz & Wächter, 2012) finds a strong convergence of agreement on the benefit of international mobility across countries and regions. Participation in outgoing mobility programmes will strengthen the future employability of young people, support their personal development, enhance language skills, increase cultural sensitivity and foster young people's development as active citizens. These benefits have also been emphasized in the new Mobility Strategy for the European Higher Education Area, which is an addendum to the Bucharest Communiqué from the Ministerial Conference (EHEA, 2012):

> "High quality mobility pursues educational goals such as enhancing the competences, knowledge and skills of those involved. It contributes to expanding and improving academic collaboration and dissemination of innovations and knowledge within the EHEA, further internationalizing higher education systems and institutions and improving them through comparison with one another, promoting the employability and personal development of the mobile people and strengthening the cultural identity of Europe. Mobility is essential to ensure high quality higher education and it is also an important pillar for exchange and collaboration with other parts of the world."

Furthermore, there is an assumption that a large share of students should graduate having had this experience, but that this share will remain a minority (e.g. 1 in 5) of the total population.

Under the then European Commissioner for Education and Culture Jan Figel, an expert group was charged with the responsibility to investigate how to make "…learning mobility an opportunity for all" in 2008. The expert group recommended that a target of 50% would be ambitious, but feasible (High Level Expert Forum, 2008). Both Germany and Austria currently have the policy objective of 50% of all graduates having been abroad. However, in most countries the national targets are orientated more closely to the Bologna and European Commission benchmarks of 20% or 1 in 5 students (Ferencz & Wächter, 2012). This means that a significant share of students will not have this experience. This leads on to the question of which students have this opportunity and which do not.

The two challenges, which emerge for these goals and from the assumptions behind them, are:

- To assure that unnecessary barriers to mobility are removed, so that a large share of the student population can take part in international mobility during their studies.
- To assure that every student has the same opportunity to go abroad and that participants in mobility programmes are drawn from all parts of the student body.

This means looking at mobility behaviour and particularly possible mobility barriers both in general but especially for any differences in barriers by student attributes.

Policy recognition of barriers to study periods abroad

This has already been recognized in recent policy documents. The most recent of which is the Mobility Strategy 2020 (EHEA, 2012). Drawing both on discussions within the Bologna Working Group during the period 2009 and 2012 (BFUG, 2012) and on the results of the Bologna Process Implementation Report (Eurydice, Eurostat, & Eurostudent, 2012), the Strategy responds to various barriers in the name of the ministers responsible for higher education (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Mobility barriers and associated measures

Common barrier to study periods abroad	Measures proposed in EHEA Mobility Strategy (excerpt)
• Recognition of periods abroad at home institutions of higher education and possibility to integrate study period abroad into home curriculum	• "We call on higher education institutions…to create mobility-friendly structures and framework conditions for mobility abroad"
• Information availability on benefits of and provisions for studying abroad	• "We want to increase mobility through improved information about study programmes." • "We will improve the communication of the individual, institutional and social benefits of periods spent abroad."
• Foreign language capability of students	• "As a prerequisite for mobility and internationalisation, we support the teaching of foreign languages at all levels, starting from primary education."
• Funding support for mobile students	• "[We intend] to expand mobility funding and to enable a wide-reaching portability of grants, loans and scholarships…"

Source: Excerpts from EHEA, 2012

Furthermore, the ministers state: "We will give extra attention and opportunities to under-represented groups to be mobile and recognize the importance of adequate student support services to this end." In this, the ministers recognize that the intensity or influence of the barriers may be different for different student groups and that this has resulted in under-represented groups missing out on the opportunity to undertake mobility periods abroad. This is important, since the rationale for supporting mobility is that it has benefits beyond those accrued to the individuals themselves. Therefore, it must be a central aim of policy to dismantle barriers to mobility for all student groups.

Sources of comparative data on mobility barriers

At present there is only little comparative evidence on possible and real barriers to study periods abroad. This is also recognized by the ministers. They state "reports and further efforts will be made to improve the availability of comparable data on the issue in order to promote policy learning" (EHEA,

2012). This statement contains the recognition that comparable data will enable countries to compare and contrast their practices in relation to mobility and, thereby, to learn more about the phenomenon and also to find ways of improving the national situation. This is a strategy taken by both the European Commission and the Bologna Follow-Up Group in their efforts to improve the frequency and accessibility of mobility periods abroad.

In order to investigate the characteristics of students, who undertake mobility periods abroad, and indeed to better understand the barriers to mobility as perceived by non-mobile students, surveys have to be used. The surveys may be of students currently within the higher education system, who can only give information on what has happened to them (i.e. the event) until the point of the survey, or of graduates, who have completed their study programme and can therefore give information on their complete study period retrospectively (see Teichler 2012 for a more in-depth discussion).

The advantage of graduate surveys is that they can collate information on the complete "study career" of a person. This means, for instance, that they can provide information, which can be used to calculate a total mobility rate of all graduates, no matter when these people actually went to study abroad. Since a graduate is also likely to be in the labour market at the time of surveying, these respondents can also say something about the (perceived) value of the period of study abroad for their ensuing careers. The disadvantage is that the period of mobility is in the past. The real forte of a student survey is that it is possible to investigate both mobility behaviour and mobility plans within the context of a student's socio-demographic characteristics (e.g. age, social background) and their current study framework (e.g. sources of income, overall weekly workload). Since plans and ultimate decisions for mobility are influenced by the current study framework, this type of data can be very relevant for policy development and for more in-depth discussions on how to reduce mobility barriers for different types of student.

Currently available comparative data sources on mobility barriers are listed in Appendix 2. Due to the appropriateness for the current research questions and the knowledge of the data source by the author, the ensuing analysis will be based on the EUROSTUDENT IV data set and its further elaboration for this topic area in the smaller-scale comparative project entitled Steeplechase.

The EUROSTUDENT data set for an analysis of mobility plans and behaviours

The EUROSTUDENT data set from the fourth round of the project covers representative samples of a cross-section of students from 25 European coun-

tries. Overall around 120 thousand students were surveyed in the year 2010 or 2009. The target group for the samples is:

- Students in ISCED 5A programmes (bachelor, master and all other types of national programmes at ISCED level 5A) at "normal" higher education institutions offering programmes at ISCED level 5A (specialist higher education institutions such as military academies are excluded).
- Students who currently have a permanent residency in the respective country and who have completed their prior education in the respective country, independent of their national citizenship.
- The data set includes both full-time and part-time students and distance students, provided that they are not enrolled at an institution providing distance education only (such as the Open University in the United Kingdom or the FernUniversität Hagen in Germany). This is because it wants to provide an overall picture of the general student population in the countries surveyed.

Student respondents are asked about their study-related experience abroad. That means that the EUROSTUDENT sample focuses on outgoing mobility for a short-term period (i.e. less than a full degree) abroad. The analyses focus, further, on short-term enrolment abroad. This is for a policy-focussed and an interpretation reason. Firstly, enrolment abroad is a clear focus of European and national policy (e.g. the Erasmus programme) and, therefore, it is expedient to focus the analysis on this study-related activity (EHEA, 2012). Secondly, different types of study-related periods abroad (e.g. language courses, internships and enrolment) involve different framework conditions, motivations and interaction with the host country (Orr & Riedel, 2009) and, therefore, it is helpful for the interpretation of mobility behaviour to focus on one type of study-related activity.

Furthermore, in order to understand better mobility behaviour, plans for mobility and the possible barriers, which inhibit people from planning and realising mobility, it is useful to divide the student population into three distinct groups:

- Students, who have already realized a period of enrolment abroad at the time of being surveyed (*Group A*).
- Students, who have not yet been enrolled abroad, but who are still planning a period of enrolment during their study career (*Group B*).
- Students, who have not been enrolled abroad and who do not plan a period abroad during their study career *(Group C*).

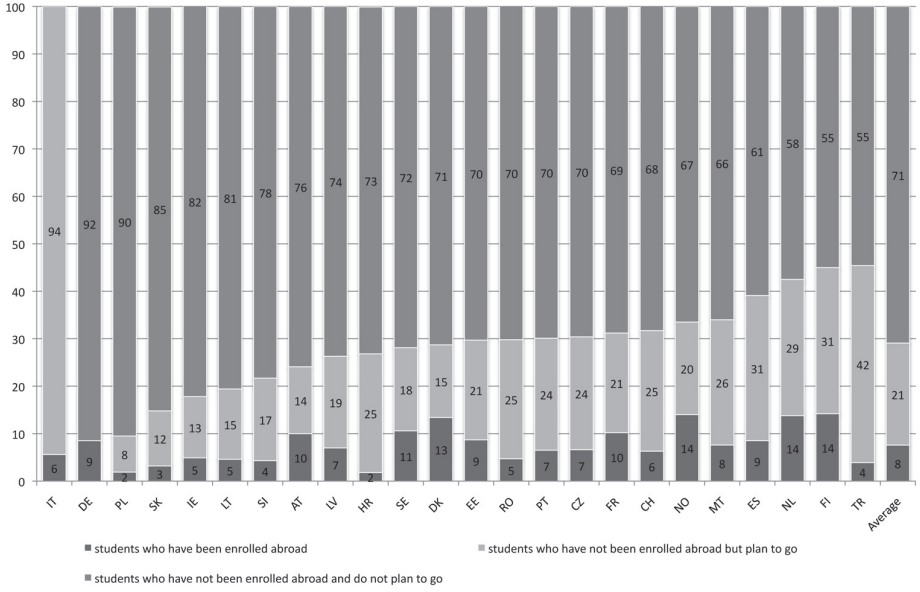
A scheme, which summarizes this focus of the ensuing analysis within the context of international student mobility, is provided in the Appendix 1.

The Steeplechase project follows the recommendation of the authors of the EUROSTUDENT report to focus on country studies with fewer countries, but with more in-depth analyses, in order to better understand the phenomena or trends highlighted in the aggregated EUROSTUDENT data set. The project brings together five research teams from Austria, Switzerland, Germany, the Netherlands and Poland to re-analyse their national survey data collated within the framework of EUROSTUDENT on the issue of mobility behaviour, plans and (perceived) barriers. The data sets from EUROSTUDENT and Steeplechase will now be used in parallel in the ensuing analysis.

Mobility reserve and aspiration gaps

Figure 2 shows data from the EUROSTUDENT project on students' enrolment abroad. The bottom set of values are for students, who have already been enrolled abroad. The values range from below 5% of students in many of the Middle Eastern European countries and Turkey to well above 10% for the Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands. However, this data is for a cross-section of students, and students can still go abroad at a later stage. Indeed analyses using the Steeplechase data set, covering the smaller group of countries, confirm this assumption of the greater likelihood to have been abroad the further a student progresses through his/her studies. Of more interest, therefore, is the share of students still planning to enrol abroad, which can be seen as a type of 'mobility reserve.' If students still planning to enrol abroad are able to realize their plans, then the share of students having enrolled abroad is likely to range from between 20% and 40%. Naturally, not all of those planning enrolment abroad will actually go abroad. However, many of these students will be simply waiting for the right moment and/or the right conditions in their studies.

Figure 2: Student enrolment abroad and plans for future enrolment during studies in %



Source: EUROSTUDENT IV, I.1. No data: E/W. No data for plans for enrolment abroad: DE, IT.

In the context of the discussion on how important enrolment abroad is, it is remarkable to note the very large share of students in Europe, who apparently have no aspiration or at least no plans to enrol abroad. In this case, the shares range from 60% and 80%. In other words, at least in the countries Lithuania (LT), Ireland (IE), Slovakia (SK) and Poland (PL), less than 1 in 5 students aspires to enrolment abroad.

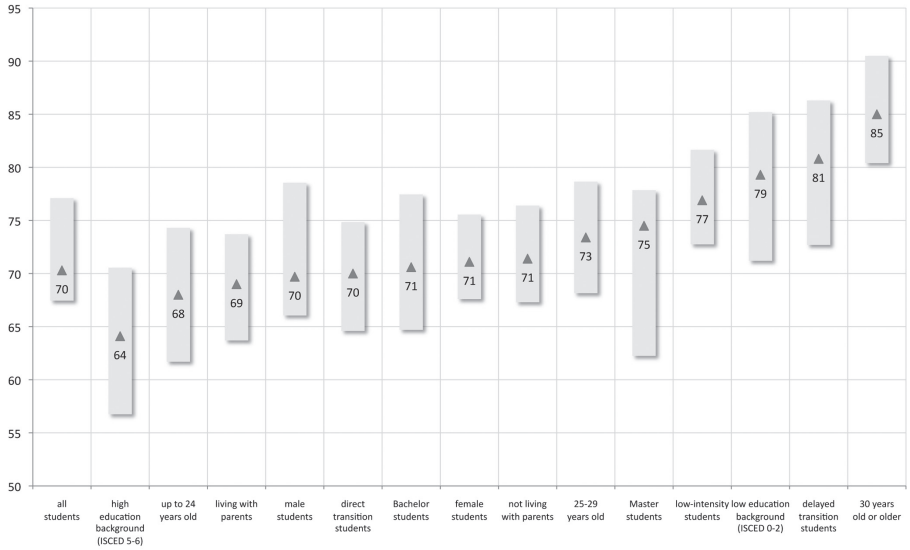
For the majority of countries, however, the European benchmark of 20% appears reachable, in terms of quantity, but the question becomes more important regarding which students do not aspire to go abroad for their studies and whether there is a systematic difference between these students and others.

Figure 3 focuses on the group of students who have not been abroad and do not plan to during their study career and provides data by student characteristics. In order to get an insight into the relevant student groups for European policy and practice, the values shown in the chart below (and the subsequent charts) are averages for the EUROSTUDENT countries (in this case for 23 countries). Since there are differences between countries, we use quartiles to highlight the range of shares between the countries compared. The value shown in Figure 3 is the median (i.e. the half-way point between the values

of all countries) and the boxes around the median are set using the first and third quartiles (i.e. the highest value of the bottom 25% of the countries and the lowest value of the top 25% of countries).

Figure 3: Share of students who have not been enrolled abroad and who do not plan a period abroad during their study career (Group C) by student attributes

Median (triangle), 1st quartile (bottom of box) and 3rd quartile (top of box)



Source: EUROSTUDENT IV, I.1. and I.3. Countries in comparison: AT, CH, CZ, DE, DK, EE, ES, FI, FR, HR, IE, LT, LV, MT, NL, NO, PL, PT, RO, SE, SI, SK, TR. Not included E/W, IT. Some missing data if too few cases in national sample.

Figure 3 shows that on cross-country average 70% of students do not aspire to enrolment abroad, with a central range of shares between 68% and 77% for half of the countries (i.e. between the 1st and 3rd quartile of countries). Values within this range can be found for students not older than 24 years old, living with their parents and who have entered higher education almost directly from secondary school (so-called direct transition students). Indeed, these characteristics describe pretty well the profile of the average European student.

However, students from a high social background (measured here using their parents education attainment) appear to be less likely to belong to this group, despite there being a large range of difference between countries. In contrast, it is students from so-called non-traditional student groups who are most

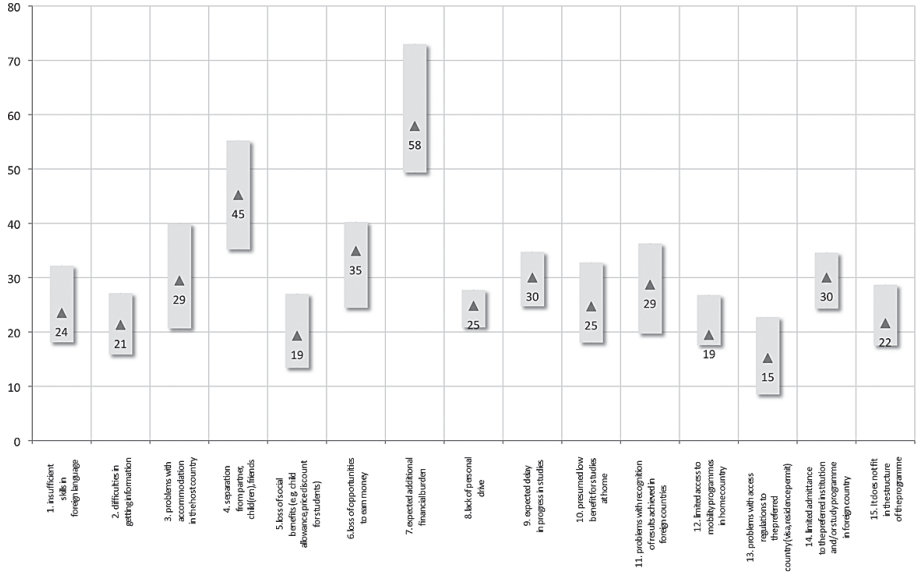
likely to belong to this group of students with no enrolment plans abroad: students, who study part-time (i.e. low intensity students), who come from a low social background, who did not enter higher education directly after completing secondary schooling (i.e. delayed transition students) and students aged 30 or older.

Mobility barriers

What are the factors which hinder students in going abroad or even planning to go abroad? Figure 4 presents data on the perception of obstacles for this group who have not been enrolled abroad.

Figure 4: Share of students who have not been enrolled abroad (Group B and C), who perceive certain items to be an obstacle or a big obstacle to enrolment abroad

Median (triangle), 1st quartile (bottom of box) and 3rd quartile (top of box)



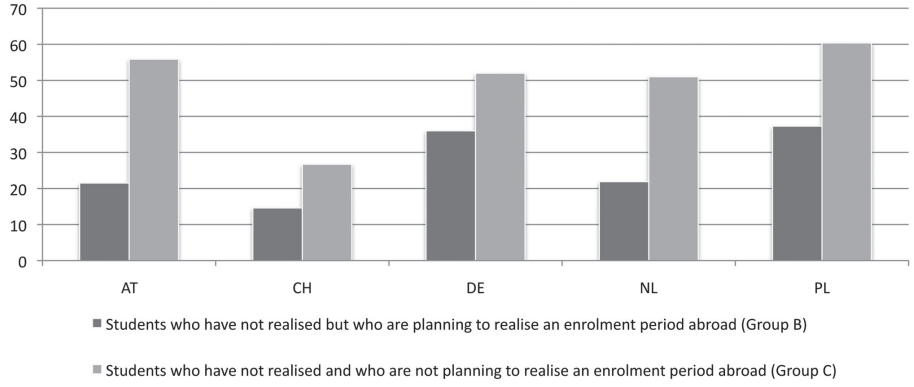
Source: EUROSTUDENT IV, I.8. Countries in comparison: AT, CH, CZ, DE, DK, EE, ES, FI, FR, HR, IE, LT, LV, MT, NL, NO, PL, PT, RO, SE, SI, SK, TR. Not included E/W, IT. Some missing data if too few cases in national sample. Students were asked to express whether they see a condition as being an obstacle on a 5-point scale ranging from big obstacle to no obstacle.

Well over one half of all students in almost all countries determine the "expected additional financial burden" to be either an obstacle or a big obstacle.

Indeed only one fifth of students see this as little or no obstacle (23% median, not shown here).

The perceived importance of this obstacle is also confirmed in the recent Bologna Process Implementation Report (Eurydice, Eurostat, & Eurostudent, 2012, pp. 165-166) and this explains the statements in the Bologna Mobility Strategy, which call for an expansion of mobility funding (EHEA, 2012, p. 3).

Figure 5: Share of students, who have not yet been enrolled abroad, assessing separation from partner, children and friends to be a (big) obstacle



Source: Steeplechase data set

The second most frequently mentioned condition – which appears not to have been picked up explicitly by policy makers (see Fig. 4) – is "separation from partner, children and friends". This condition refers to the social context of a person and can be seen as inhibiting their opportunity and/or motivation for going abroad. On cross-country average 45% of students see this as an obstacle or a big obstacle. It is, however, interesting to note that a relatively large share of students (38% median, not shown here) do not see it as such. This highlights clear differences between types of students. Indeed, preliminary analyses of the Steeplechase data also show large differences between the group of students, who have not been enrolled abroad, but are planning to (Group B) and those who have not been enrolled abroad and are not planning to (Group C). Looking only at those students, who have not been enrolled abroad and do not aspire to, we see that the share of students, who consider separation from their social context to be a (big) obstacle, rises to over 50% - see Figure 5.

Additional analyses using logistic regressions also show that – for the five countries investigated – students perceiving separation from their social con-

text a (big) obstacle are less likely to be planning enrolment abroad. These are important insights for policy considerations, since it will be very hard to change or alleviate the effects of this concern.

In the EUROSTUDENT IV report (Orr, Gwosc & Netz, 2011), the authors show that financial concerns are the top obstacle followed by separation from friends and family in most EUROSTUDENT countries (ibid, p. 175). In the Scandinavian countries, the top issue is separation from friends and family and the authors surmise that it is related to the older age profile of Scandinavian students. These students will tend to be less independent and more socially embedded.

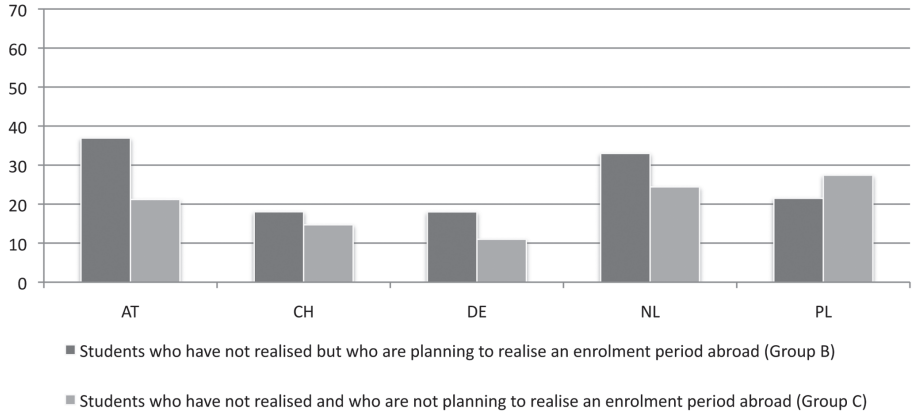
A further issue related directly to the social context of a student is the "loss of opportunities to earn money", expressed by around one third of all students. A large share of students, 44%, says that this is a small or no obstacle (not shown here). This again highlights the differences between students. Across Europe around 40% of students work regularly during their study semester and this cross-country average increases to 50% for students from low social backgrounds. Furthermore, the EUROSTUDENT IV reports states that this latter group of students appears particularly dependent on this source (ibid, p. 97f.).

Besides financial and social-context issues, around one third of students are concerned with study-related factors. These are expected problems with recognition or results achieved in foreign country and, closely related, expected delay in progress in own studies. It is remarkable that these issues remain despite these points being at the centre of the Bologna Process structure reform programme for the past decade, with the implementation of bachelor's and master's degrees and credit point systems across Europe.

Finally, there is the issue of difficulties in getting information. In cross-country average, 21% of students consider this a (big) obstacle. It is interesting to again compare the sensitivity to this issue between the two students groups, who have not yet been enrolled abroad, using the Steeplechase data set. For four of the five countries, Figure 6 shows that the share of students considering information concerns an important obstacle is higher for those who are planning to be enrolled abroad. This suggests that for a large share of these students the rough plans are made, but students require further information in order that they can be transformed from "mobility reserve" to realized mobility.

Both the EUROSTUDENT IV data presented in Figure 3 and additional data from the Steeplechase analyses point to high social background affecting the likelihood of belonging to the most mobile student groups (i.e. Group A and Group B). It is therefore interesting to look at the perception of mobility barriers by social background (here as above measured by educational attain-

Figure 6: Share of students, who have not yet been enrolled abroad, assessing difficulties in getting information to be a (big) obstacle



Source: Steeplechase dataset

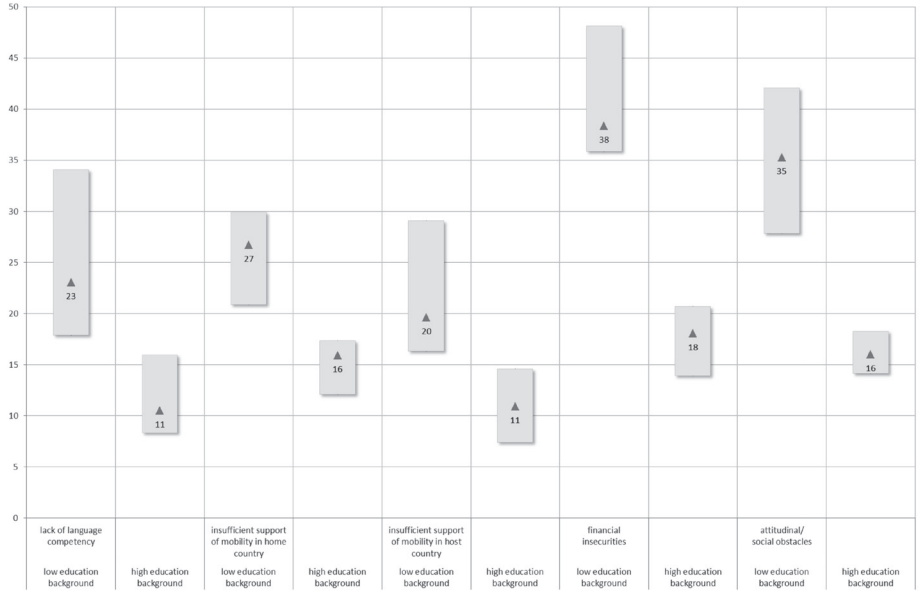
ment of students' parents). Figure 7 shows the share of students perceiving a particular group of items as being a (big) obstacle.[2] In every case, the share of students expressing a concern about a particular obstacle is higher (often twice as high) for students from low social backgrounds (low education background of parents) in comparison to students from high social backgrounds (higher education background of at least one parent).

For instance, the share of students from low education backgrounds perceiving lack of language competency a (big) obstacle is at least – in three-quarters of countries – 18% (1st quartile), whilst the median for students from higher education backgrounds is at most – in three-quarters of countries – 16% (3rd quartile). This pattern is visible for almost all the item groups. On the basis of this result, it is no surprise that students from low social backgrounds are underrepresented in temporary enrolment abroad.

[2] The 15 items on potential mobility barriers in Figure 4 are amalgamated into five theme-related groups for this analysis: lack of language competency (item 1), insufficient support of mobility in home country (items 2, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15), insufficient support of mobility in host country (items 13, 14), financial insecurities (items 3, 5, 6, 7) and attitudinal/social obstacles (items 4, 8).

Figure 7: Share of students who have not been enrolled abroad (Group B and C) who perceive certain item-groups to be an obstacle or a big obstacle to enrolment abroad by social background*

Median (triangle), 1st quartile (bottom of box) and 3rd quartile (top of box)



Source: EUROSTUDENT IV, I.10. Countries in comparison: AT, CH, CZ, DE, DK, ES, FI, FR, HR, IE, IT, MT, NL, NO, PT, RO, SE, TR. Some missing data if too few cases in national sample. *Students from low education backgrounds = students, where neither parent has an educational attainment above ISCED 2/lower secondary schooling; students with high education background = students, where at least one parent has an educational attainment at level ISCED 5-6/tertiary education.

Concluding remarks

This paper has shown that achieving the European benchmark of 1 in 5 students having experienced study-related mobility abroad is very feasible – even if only short-term enrolment abroad is taken into account. It has suggested that some of the concerns of students planning to enrol abroad can be alleviated relatively easily in order to turn them into students having enrolled abroad. For this it has especially pointed to the obstacle of difficulty in getting information.

However, it has focused on mobility aspirations and whether students plan to enrol abroad during their studies or not. The analyses in the previous sections have shown that there is a higher likelihood of students from low social backgrounds not to be planning such an enrolment abroad than for students from

high social backgrounds. Students from certain groups and especially those from low social backgrounds appear to be hindered in undertaking mobility by a conflation of material concerns, limited opportunities for going abroad related to their social context and by socio-cultural sensitivities. Some of these are related to students' financial situation, to the way they tend to study and to who these students are (especially their social milieu).

These analyses have shown that it is not just low social background, which reduces the likelihood of planning enrolment abroad, but also studying part-time, having had a delayed transition into higher education and/or being aged 25 or older. It is clear that these categories overlap, as students from low social backgrounds tend to display these same characteristics (Orr, Gwosc, & Netz, 2011, p. 59). Indeed, effective national and institutional strategies for the recruitment of students from low social backgrounds will tend to focus on these characteristics in order to provide appropriate study conditions for this student group (Orr, 2012 and Orr, forthcoming).

Therefore, a critical discussion of mobility behaviour must differentiate between the framework conditions, which are disadvantageous for certain types of students and can be changed and those, which are common for certain types of students and would not be easy to change through policy or practice. The most pervasive barriers to mobility highlight these two sides of the coin.

- On the one side, concern about the cost of enrolment abroad could be positively affected by providing more funding support and/or more information on the real costs of enrolment abroad.
- On the other side, the issue of separation from partner, children and friends is about social context and personal – probably financial and caring-related – dependencies, which cannot be changed from the outside. In this case, further considerations could be made on how to provide a 'mobility window', which is more appropriate for these students (e.g. shorter structured periods of enrolment abroad).

The socio-cultural aspect is suggested by a direct comparison of the perception of mobility barriers between students from low social backgrounds and those from high social backgrounds. Across the board – irrespective of the individual barrier – more students from a low social background see barriers as obstacles or big obstacles to mobility than those from high social backgrounds. This socio-cultural element might be reduced somewhat through more targeted information campaigns, as ministers suggest (EHEA, 2012).

There are two main reasons why it is important that more attention is paid to providing appropriate opportunities for enrolment abroad to these so-called non-traditional students:

The group of 'non-traditional' students is expected to grow: Across the board, there is an expectation that the common profile of students will change within the next decade. A recent paper from the EU on its modernisation strategy states, for instance: "[T]he group of school leavers from which higher education traditionally recruits is shrinking. Therefore, Europe needs to attract a broader cross-section of society into higher education, including disadvantaged and vulnerable groups, and deploy the resources to meet this challenge." (European Commission, 2011). That is to say that the non-traditional students will increasingly become the normal students and the currently observable problems will affect a larger share of the student population. It is remarkable that separation from partner, children and friends is seen most frequently as a major obstacle in the Scandinavian countries, where students tend to have an older age profile and are more likely to come from low social backgrounds (Orr, Gwosc, & Netz, 2011). This highlights the very fact that widening participation in one part of the study programme for certain types of student, does not automatically alleviate problems in other parts for the same group.

The expectation of social justice from public policy: Since mobility abroad has (again) become such a focus of European and national policies for "better learning" (EHEA, 2012) in higher education, it is important to assure it is accessible to all. As the recent Bologna Process Implementation Report recognizes (Eurydice, Eurostat, & Eurostudent, 2012), there is a difference in participation rates of different student groups and: "If left unchecked, increases in mobility rates may lead to a new dimension of social disparity" (ibid, p. 13). Public policy must recognize, and is, recognising the significance of this development.

Improving mobility participation in terms of numbers and a better representation of the student types in higher education is clearly about creating the right framework for the right student. This should increase and broaden both the 'mobility reserve' in the student population (i.e. those aspiring to go abroad) and facilitate the conversion of this group into students who actually undertake enrolment abroad. Much more comparative research is needed to understand the effects of certain framework conditions on mobility behaviour. It is important to focus research on the question of why students do not aspire to go abroad and what would have to be changed to, at least, raise aspirations in this direction. Additionally, research should pay attention to the growth of certain groups – especially the 'non-traditionals' – in the student population and how they progress through their studies. This will provide information relevant for explicitly targeting them through new mobility initiatives.

For those who do not participate – and this is likely to remain the majority of students – other methods of integrating the international and European

dimension into their learning experience must be sought (e.g. “mobility at home”). This is an important educational and socio-cultural goal. As Jean-Philippe Restoueix from the Council of Europe stated at the Bologna Ministerial Conference in Bucharest in April 2012: “How can a person understand the world, if he or she hasn’t studied abroad?” This is an enlightenment ideal, which is no less important to higher education today.

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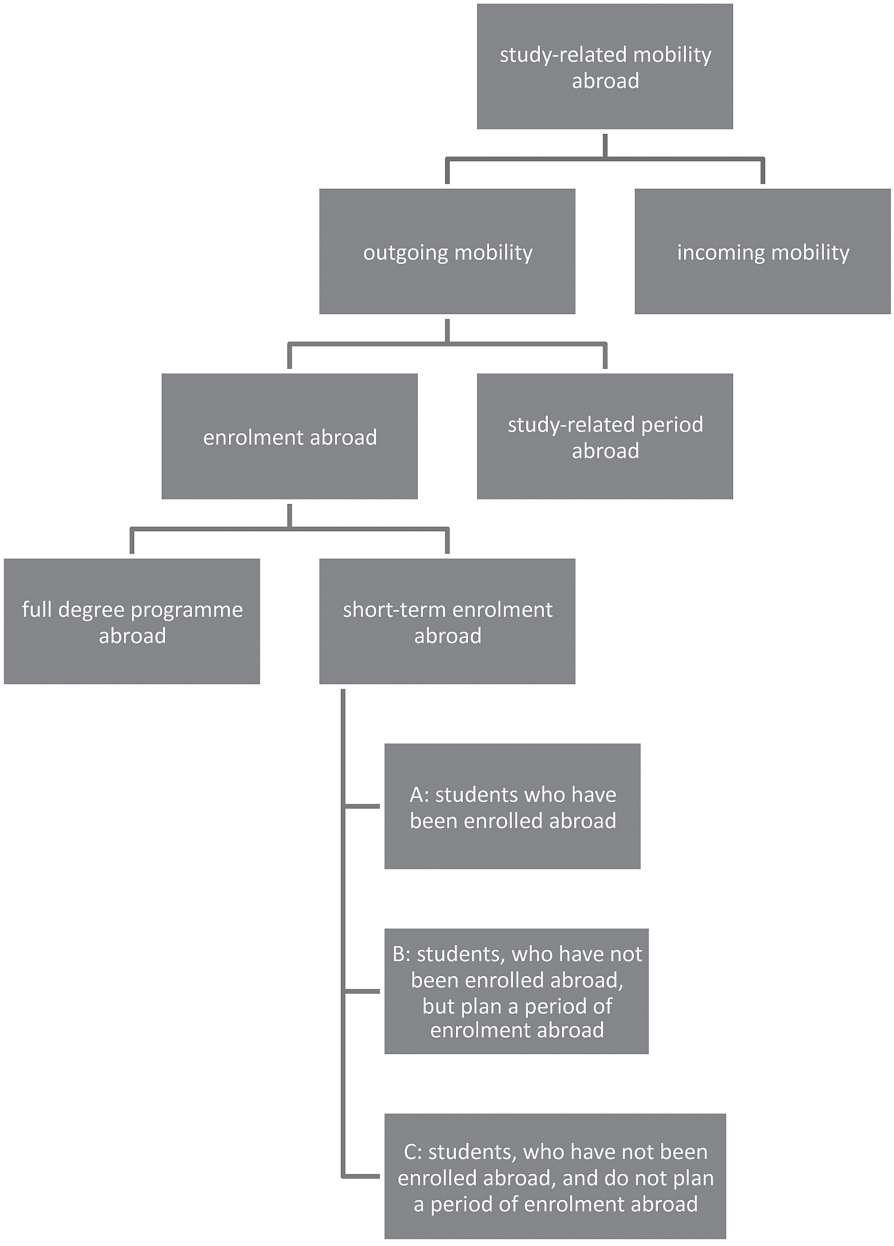
Appendix 1

Scheme for analysis of enrolment abroad



Appendix 2

Comparative data sources related to mobility behaviour and mobility barriers in Europe

Type of study and data source	Brief description of most current data set
Graduate surveys	
EMBAC	A secondary analysis of national survey data published in 2010 (Schomburg, 2010). It collates country graduate reports. Comparisons between countries are, however, difficult due to a lack of central conventions.
Reflex / Hegesco	A comparative study, results of which were last published in 2009 (n.n., 2009 & Allen & van der Velden, 2007). It compares 20 countries on the basis of national surveys, with most surveys carried out in 2005 and referring to the study year 2000.
Student surveys	
Flash Eurobarometer on Youth on the Move	A centralised comparative study published in 2011 (Gallup, 2011). It uses phone interviews with nationally representative samples of young people (aged between 15 and 35) living in the 27 EU Member States, as well as in Croatia, Iceland, Norway and Turkey to investigate young peoples' mobility in a broad sense.
EUROSTUDENT	A comparative study published in 2011 (Orr, Gwosc & Netz, 2011). It compares 25 countries on the basis of national surveys, with most surveys carried out in 2010 and referring to same study year. It focuses on temporary study-related periods abroad.
Steeplechase	This is a re-analysis of the national data sets collated within the framework of EUROSTUDENT (Orr, Netz & Gwosc, 2012). Final results are not yet published. It compares 5 countries on the basis of national surveys, with most surveys carried out in 2010 and referring to same study year.

The “social dimension” in higher education: Reflections on a “woolly” concept.

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Introduction

We owe the term ‘social dimension’ to the Bologna Process (see further below), but the underlying idea is, of course, older. Already in the 1960s and 1970s, similar aims were high on the agenda. Inclusiveness concepts such as “equality of opportunity”, equity and fairness, and “democratisation” of higher education and the end of the “ivory tower” were much debated goals. And even in periods when social concerns did not top the agenda, many countries pursued inclusiveness policies of one sort or another, usually focusing on economically weaker groups. One may thus be tempted to conclude that not the concept, but only the term ‘social dimension’ is new. This is the case, and yet it is not.

Forty years ago, conditions were different, as were the exact issues under discussion. Even though a palpable expansion of higher education was underway in most developed countries, and talk about “massification” was in abundance, access rates were still a fraction of what they are today. This almost automatically translated into considerably higher social selectivity than today. The discourse of the 1960s and 1970s was also much more driven by the idea of social justice than today. The idea of fairness has, of course, not lost anything of its centrality to this very day, but it is today often complemented by economic considerations. The mantra behind this economic rationale is that higher tertiary participation rates are producing more knowledgeable and skilled workers, who in turn contribute to more innovation and higher economic output.[1]

In most European countries, ethnic minorities and, especially, migrants were not yet a firm part of the inclusiveness agenda. In most of Western Europe, anyway in countries without a colonial past, the big wave of immigration had only recently started, with the recruitment of manual labour from Southern Europe and Turkey. The immigrants were expected to return ‘home’ after a period as “guest workers”, and they themselves thought they would. It took some time until these – usually young – immigrants had children of their own (or their fami-

[1] Perhaps this is the reason for the widespread acceptance of the goals of the ‘social dimension’. Its aims can be shared by those with left-leaning convictions, for whom it is essential to protect and promote the less fortunate in society, but also by unsentimental neo-liberals, whose concern – if not God – is growth, and who regard the so far underrepresented groups as ‘knowledge reserves’ so far not used.

lies followed them), and therefore, their relative success in the school and higher education system became a matter for discussion only a generation or two later.

Other concerns of a social sort, such as gender or handicap, were already earlier on the agenda. What was less of a concern at the time were 'age' and 'older learners'. Even though the United Kingdom (UK) already had a word for older students ("mature students"), and although the 1960s and 1970s saw a big debate about what was at the time labelled "continuing education", its real impact in tertiary education was very limited, and it was anyway only half as ambitious as the movement for 'lifelong learning' today (about the impact of which one may also harbour doubts). Likewise, there was little talk of the recognition of (informally or non-formally acquired) prior learning, which today for many is an important instrument to achieve inclusiveness.

Recent history: The Bologna Process

The social dimension had not been mentioned in the original Bologna Declaration of 1999 (nor in its predecessor, the Sorbonne Declaration of 1998). It entered the Bologna Process at the Prague Ministerial Summit of 2001, very much on the initiative of representatives from the European Student Union (ESIB, today ESU), who also successfully fought for a pledge to higher education as remaining a "public good".[2] It reappeared in the Berlin Communiqué (2003), which stated that "the need to increase competitiveness must be balanced with the objective of improving the social characteristics of the European Higher Education Area", i.e. as an element to balance out a feared over-orientation on market forces. But the social dimension did not acquire any centrality until the Bergen Ministerial Meeting (2005), where it was referred to as a "constituent part" of the European Higher Education Area and, again, a "necessary condition" (i.e. a counter weight) for the attractiveness and competitiveness of the European Higher Education Area. The Bergen Meeting also set up a working group on the social dimension (and mobility), which elaborated for the first time a quasi-definition for the objective of the social dimension later adopted in the London Communiqué (2007). Ministers in London also asked for the social dimension to become part of the regular stocktaking exercise, which first happened in 2009. The Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve Ministerial Meeting (2009) agreed that "each participating country will set measurable targets for widening overall participation and increasing participation of underrepresented groups", to be reached by 2020. To the author's knowledge, this has not happened so far, displaying a lukewarm and ambivalent attitude towards the idea and, more so, its implementation.

[2] The Prague Ministerial Meeting marked the beginning of a process of widening of the Bologna agenda. Therefore, the 'social dimension' did not remain the only extension of the scope of 'Bologna'.

Definition, scope, elements and means

The London Ministerial Meeting (2007) provided a near-definition of the social dimension, as we said above. It agreed on the demand that “the student body entering, participating in and completing higher education at all levels should reflect the diversity of our populations”. This is, of course, not a definition in the strict sense, but one is implicit in it. The main messages of this are:

- The social dimension in higher education can be seen as fully achieved if all social groups in society are represented amongst the student body with exactly the same share that they form of the overall population (or the relevant age group, one would suppose). Behind this stand, ideas of proportionality and, ultimately, justice and fairness.
- The ‘definition’ does not only cover equitable ‘access’ of these various groups to higher education, but also ‘retention’ (i.e. progress in studies), and ‘completion’ (i.e. graduation).

Despite these attempts at definition, the concept (or ‘construct’) of the social dimension remains fairly ‘fluffy’. For which elements and groups are seen to be part of the social dimension (and which not) varies between countries – and often individuals. If it will not be possible to agree on quantitative indicators soon, debates on the issue are likely to move in circles rather than ahead and they might ultimately implode, not because the matter would have been settled, but because the actors would have exhausted themselves and would not see any chance of the debate becoming conclusive.

Target groups

Groups and descriptors mentioned as relevant in a social-dimension context comprise:

- *Socio-economic status:* this is probably the most commonly applied dimension. It relates to parental income (or wider financial means) on the one hand, and to the highest educational qualification attained by parents, on the other. In the overwhelming majority of countries, participation in higher education is socially selective – to different degrees. In the context of inclusion policies, the aim is therefore pursued to increase access of students from lower socio-economic strata.[3]

[3] In principle, increased access by all, not just by the less-represented, can be expected to contribute to increased access of under-represented groups, too. Exactly for the reason that higher education participation is socially selective today, and the more favoured socio-economic strata form the bulk of enrolment, any growth in access and participation is likely to be fuelled mainly from students of less advantaged background.

- *Ethnicity and migrant background:* this element of the social dimension has, as already indicated earlier, probably become more important in most European countries over the past decades, with the second and third generation of immigrants reaching an age where they could – potentially – attend higher education. Since immigrant background and socio-economic status are, with exceptions, highly correlated, higher education participation of the respective groups is often low and their access to higher education in most countries a – at least rhetorical – policy priority.
- *Handicap:* this group consists of a range of persons with a 'disadvantage', which is seen as preventing them from participation in higher education, or at least making it more difficult for them than others to undertake tertiary studies. Physical (and, more rarely, mental) disabilities figure high amongst them. Single parents are another sub-group with a handicap, as are – potentially – persons in employment.
- *Age:* older or "mature" students – often in employment, but some also economically inactive – are another group often mentioned in documents on the social dimension. As pointed out in a recent study of Eurydice (Eurydice 2011, p. 21), the national definitions of "mature students" differ widely. By many countries' standards, where a mature student is one over 23 or 24 years, Norway has an over-representation of older students: almost half of all students are 25 years or older.
- *Gender:* equal representation of male and female students (in accordance with their share of the population or relevant age group) has long been an aim of many governments in Europe. Historically, this translated into demands for an increase in participation of women. As will be seen later, the situation has now changed, with females outnumbering males in most European countries. This is an example for the fact that that social dimension policies have to grapple with moving targets. An under-represented group today could be overrepresented in the future, turning the former minority into a majority.

Instruments and means

In order to help bring about more socially inclusive and balanced participation in higher education, a number of means and measures are being employed all over Europe. The following brief overview is selective, presenting only the standard repertoire.

In line with the belief that a lack of financial means presents one of the steepest hurdles for participation especially of students from lower social-eco-

nomic strata, *student aid* plays a big role as a means to ease the entry into higher education of the less privileged. The support systems in place take many different forms, such as grants (not-to-be-paid-back scholarships) and (usually subsidized) loans. Some national support systems are means-tested and thus only provide for the needy, while others (prevalent in the Nordic countries) are available for the entire student body. On top of such direct aid to students, there are indirect forms of support. Tuition-free or tuition-low participation is one such form, tax benefits for parents of students another. Both are contributions from the public purse to students.[4]

Improvement of access through more flexibility and recognition is another means. This includes the recognition of prior learning – non-formal and informal – as well as flexible study paths, for example by means of the “provision of part-time studies, courses at non-traditional times, distance learning, short-cycle degrees, modularisation of the study programmes and elective courses” (CHEPS, INCHER, ECOTEC, 2010, p. 53).[5]

Student services have widely come to be considered as an important means to improve overall retention and graduation rates, but would appear to be particularly vital to ensure the study success of social-dimension-relevant groups. Next to practical support (student housing, canteens, etc.), these services include help for different groups in the form of, for example, guidance and counselling for educational and career matters, psychological help, as well as special support - for students with disabilities (cf. CHEPS, INCHER, ECOTEC, 2010, p. 53).

Impact assessment[6]

How far has European higher education progressed – if at all – in the implementation of the social dimension goals? For a number of reasons, it is difficult to assess the impact of the Bologna Process on the social dimension of European higher education.

[4] If general tuition-free or low-tuition policies are really favouring the access of the socio-economically disadvantaged and other minorities, is a matter of debate. Many have argued that making everybody pay the same – nothing – actually favours the children of well-to-do parents.

[5] The idea behind these – mainly organizational – measures is that bureaucratic obstacles are at the root of the problem of participation of the less represented groups. The very term “access” already implies that everybody seeks tertiary study and is only hindered by obstacles in realising it. This way of arguing, and the particular anthropology which goes with it, is common to many EU and national strategies in Europe, also in other areas, such as international student mobility. The author, anyway, remains agnostic about the issue. These obstacles possibly, indeed probably, play a rule, but there is no empirical evidence whether they do or do not and to which extent.

[6] The text in the following section closely follows that of an earlier assessment of the Bologna Process in which the author was involved. Cf. Wächter, Bernd and Wuttig, Siegbert (2011), *The Bologna Process: Stocktaking and Prospects*, European Parliament Briefing Note.

- A stated objective and quasi-definition of the social dimension has only been specified in 2007, and no specific indicators and measurable targets have yet been agreed. As long as this does not happen, we cannot expect comparable measurable results.
- Related to this, there is a lack of data, and especially of comparable ones, for almost any conceivable indicators governments might eventually agree on.
- Social issues have influenced national higher education policies in many Bologna countries before the adoption of the Bologna Declaration (as we pointed out earlier), and it is therefore difficult to attribute the present state of affairs solely or even mainly to the Bologna Process.
- The social dimension is, in comparison to 'clear-cut' elements such as the new degree architecture or the introduction of credit point systems, a heterogeneous (if not amorphous or 'woolly') concept, which complicates the measurement of progress.

In their overall assessment, Rauhvargers, Deane & Pauwels (2009) found that the social dimension is so far more of a rhetorical than a real success of the Bologna Process. Rauhvargers et al. found that almost all Bologna countries pursue policies of "participative equity", but that only a minority of them systematically monitors progress in this area. Moreover, they concluded that most countries lacked a coherent strategy on the social dimension, which would integrate social concerns with other Bologna aims, in the area of lifelong learning, flexible learning paths and the recognition of prior learning, for example. Overall, their verdict was that there was still "a long way to go before the student body entering, participating in and completing higher education at all levels will reflect the diversity of populations in the EHEA".

Overall participation

Other evaluation reports relate some encouraging developments, too. Some countries participating in the Bologna Process report substantial increases in overall participation rates (i.e. irrespective of social origin). One of the most recent studies (Eurydice, 2011) finds that overall participation has increased among the group of 18-34-year-olds in the EU-27 by 2.6 percentage points between 2000 and 2008, from 12.3 to 14.9 (Eurydice, 2011).[7] This is a percentage rise of 21.1. In some European countries (among them Cyprus, Lithuania and the Czech Republic), growth was much higher, above 50%, while

[7] EURYDICE 2009 uses the age segment of 18-34-year-olds as a reference, which explains the low participation rates. It is more usual to take the group of 18-24-year-olds as a reference, which automatically increases values.

there was relative stagnation in others (for example Germany). It must also be noted that growth in participation elsewhere in the world, and particularly in emerging economies, was considerably stronger (cf. Altbach, P.G., Reisberg, L. and Rumbley, L.E., 2009), but from relatively low levels and due to a catch-up effect. It is, in any event, doubtful and also too much to expect, to attribute these developments in overall participation (mainly) to the Bologna Process. The countries with the strongest growth – in the centre-east and the south of the continent – are amongst those with relatively low participation shares only a decade back. There was a need of expansion – irrespective of the creation of the European Higher Education Area.

Socio-economic background

The Bologna Process Independent Assessment of CHEPS, INCHER and ECOTEC (2010) records progress in the participation of students from lower socio-economic backgrounds, but comes to the overall conclusion that participation in higher education remains socially selective. It concludes that “in most of the Bologna systems (…), parents’ educational level (and occupational status) is a strong determinant of participation in higher education. People whose parents have lower educational attainment are underrepresented in the vast majority of the Bologna systems for which information is available.” (CHEPS, INCHER and ECOTEC, 2010, p. 59). A year earlier, Rauhvargers, Deane and Pauwels (2009) had already come up with similar findings, and had summed them up in the strong phrase that it is still not the “ability to learn, but the ability to pay” which determines participation in higher education. Only one source known to the author paints a somewhat more optimistic picture. A joint report of Eurostat and Eurostudent finds that “young people from low educational backgrounds have better chances than their elders did in the past” (Eurostat, Eurostudent, 2009, p. 12).

Ethnic and immigration background

The author is not aware of any – Europe-wide – studies on the relationship between ethnic (or immigration and minority) background on the one hand, and access to, participation in and graduation from higher education, on the other (although there are certainly some at the national level).[8] This might also be due to a lack of comparable and meaningful data across country borders. Who is classified as a minority in one country might not be in the next one. Whatever the reasons, little of a soundly empirical nature can be said about the participation in higher education of the various groups of immigrants and

[8] EURYDICE (2011) reports encouraging developments from Norway. 38% of all second generation immigrants in Norway (age group 19-24) attended higher education, while the share of the total population of Norway (in the same age group), was only 30%.

minorities. Common sense and anecdotal evidence strongly suggest that these groups are very strongly underrepresented. But this inspired guess is all we can offer.

Gender

This category, gender, is quite revealing with regard to the 'concept' of the social dimension: even though neutrally phrased, what was originally meant were "women", and their relative abstinence from higher education. This – female underrepresentation – was a defining characteristic of enrolment at European higher education institutions for a very long time. But this has changed now (as far as the student body is concerned, not among staff). In terms of gender participation, Rauhvargers, Deane & Pauwels (2009) and CHEPS, INCHER & ECOTEC (2010, p. 58) note that female students are now equally presented (or in some countries overrepresented).[9] In a more recent study (Eurydice, 2011, pp. 16-19), the full picture emerges. Across the EU-27, over 55% of the student populations are women, and the tendency is rising. Women are especially highly represented in 'occupation-oriented programmes' where they make up 80% in Poland and close to 70% in the Czech Republic. They are still the minority, though, in advanced degrees and in the STEM subjects, but the way the authors cling to this fact smells almost of desperation. Males could in fact become the largest single problem group in higher education in the nearer future.

Disability

As was already the case with ethnic and immigrant background, a single European concept of disability does not exist, and it might be due to this fact that we have no comparable data across Europe (indeed, from what the author found, virtually no data at all) on the access, retention and graduation of disabled students. In the absence of such, the body of literature, in a somewhat piecemeal way, depicts examples of good practice, barrier-free access to buildings and other "reasonable adjustments", to learning environments and to equipment. Overall, however, and without saying it so clearly, the Eurydice report of 2011 finds little evidence of strong and consistent national efforts to facilitate the access and the retention and study success of handicapped students.

Age

Problems were also reported regarding the participation of 'mature' students, i.e. those beyond the traditional age cohort of 18-24-year-olds. Those could

[9] This trend seems to be far more advanced in other countries, as Rolf Hoffmann details in his article on US higher education in the present volume. It appears males have now become a new problem group in US higher education.

be of 'working age' (whether actually employed or not) or 'senior citizens' (in retirement). In the Bologna Independent Assessment, the very low rate of enrolment of this group is seen as, to quite some degree, linked to the still underdeveloped recognition of informally and non-formally acquired knowledge and abilities, and to very practical problems to combine work and studies (lack of part-time provision, shortage of courses at 'non-traditional times' (evenings) and the lack of other flexible learning modes. CHEPS, INCHER and ECOTEC (2010), anyway, point out that the share of students who entered higher education through the recognition of prior learning was under 1% on average and nowhere exceeded 15%. This is consistent with the last two Trends Reports of 2007 (Crosier D. et al.) and 2010 (Sursock, A and Smidt, H.), according to which lifelong learning remains at the periphery of institutional strategic development and curriculum development, with very slow progress, despite the prevalence of lifelong learning rhetoric in the Bologna Process and in national debates. Beyond any doubt, rigid access rules are undesirable: but the question is also how many are really prevented by them from realising their wish to attend higher education, and how many have no such wish at all, having found something more worthwhile to do.

Guidance and counselling

In order to enhance retention (and graduation), some form of guidance and counselling is available in most countries participating in the Bologna Process, most commonly in relation to educational, psychological and career issues (as well as for disabled students). But only in one third of all countries examined does the Bologna Process Independent Assessment find such services widespread and of good quality (CHEPS, INCHER & ECOTEC, 2010).

Funding and student support

The same study finds high funding levels for social dimension purposes (high direct financial aid, low student payments for study and high public investment in higher education) in a small number of counties in the north-west of Europe, while the situation was the opposite in most countries in the south and south-east of the European Higher Education Area (CHEPS, INCHER & ECOTEC, 2010). This ties in with findings of earlier exercises, in which the Nordic higher education systems usually came out on top with regard to state investment into universities and colleges and to direct student aid (and did not, at the time, charge tuition fees).[10]

[10] For a description of the Norwegian model, see Wächter, B., "Norway", *European and national policies on student mobility in European higher education*, pp. 145-163. ACA is now embarking on an exploration of state grant and loan systems in all EU countries, which should shed further light on student support systems: The study is expected to come out at the end of 2013.

Conclusions

The social dimension, in its present-day incarnation in the context of the Bologna Process, has two main drivers. The first, and more obvious, is a drive for social justice, for equal opportunity of the weaker. Its logic, to borrow a phrase from the context of the United States, is that no one, or as few as possible, are "left behind" (or, in our context, barred from entry into higher education). In this incarnation, the social dimension is the counterweight to other, more globalisation-embracing and competitiveness-leaning elements of the Bologna agenda. The second driver, less obvious at first glance, is the attempt to create knowledge-intensive societies, by educating more people than hitherto at tertiary level, and thus ultimately enhancing economic growth and material well-being. This hybrid nature has made it palatable to left-leaning or Rawls-inspired circles and to neo-liberal, market-embracing audiences alike. Perhaps this is the reason for its "rhetorical success". About its success as a policy, i.e. its implementation, empirical evidence is patchy at best, and the overall impression is that the social dimension is more talked about than put in place.

Despite the agreement on a definition at the London Ministerial Meeting of 2007 – that access to, retention in and completion of higher education should mirror the social composition of society (or the relevant age group) –, the concept remains 'woolly'. This is not so much due to lack of definitional precision, but due to the fact that disadvantaged groups are not always the same across countries. This applies in particular to ethnic and cultural minorities, as well as immigrants.

The latter is one of the difficulties in the way of measuring progress on the inclusiveness agenda. Another one is that the fact that no indicators to measure progress have so far been agreed on. This will not be easy at all, but it is necessary, for the debate on the social dimension will collapse at some time, if it does not get solid empirical fuel soon.

As is the case with some other Bologna Process and European Union items, such as student mobility, the 'discourse' on the social dimension is underpinned by strong beliefs. Students who do not become internationally mobile are faced with insurmountable obstacles, which stand in the way of realising the mobility dream they no doubt must have. Young people from lower socio-economic backgrounds or from minorities must surely want to enter higher education, but some barriers stand in their way. That a student might not want to become internationally mobile and that a young person might not want to take up tertiary studies, is not foreseen in this particular 'anthropology'. Hence the strong focus of European Union and Bologna policies on technical remedies, such as recognition of prior learning, of courses taken and credits earned in another country, and so on.

But the social dimension is also an indicator of social change. Take the example of gender disparities in higher education participation. ‘Gender’ used to be a polite neutral term for women. But the tide has turned. Women are, overall, now clearly more represented in higher education than men. This is most likely not a result of societal encouragement, even though this is surely part of the picture, but of changed gender roles in society at large. This notwithstanding, the social dimension would need to turn its attention to this potential new problem group in higher education, males.

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The social dimensions of internationalisation: Social risks and responsibilities

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Introduction

Addressing "*the* social dimension" of internationalisation in higher education meets with the same problem as talking about internationalisation in general. At a first glance, it seems clear what we are talking about. A closer look, however, reveals that this concept can be interpreted in many different ways. With regard to internationalisation, some claim that we are in the middle of a global process of re-thinking it. And if we do not even agree on what internationalisation really means, it is even more difficult to speak of a single social dimension of this multifaceted process.

In this paper, the social dimension of internationalisation is approached from three different angles. First, the social dimension of the international student experience is addressed and particular attention will be paid to the relationship between the social dimension and academic performance. A second social dimension that the paper will analyse is the extent to which international learning experiences are accessible to students with different backgrounds. A third angle from which we approach the social dimension of internationalisation is the extent to which the internationalisation of higher education brings along global social risks, with a particular focus on skilled migration and the commodification of knowledge. In the last section, we will reflect on these social dimensions in order to identify some pressing issues in the current phase of internationalisation of higher education and to sketch scenarios for the future development of international higher education.

What is social dimension?

The social dimension of the international student experience

Social has to do with "equality" and "egality". Society should provide equal opportunities for individuals and this also means that we should guarantee an environment in which (domestic as well as) international students can live and learn and fully exploit their capabilities. A recent body of literature on these issues was published by Simon Marginson, Erlenawati Sawir and other colleagues from Melbourne University. In their research programme they focus on 'International Student Security', which they define as "the maintenance

of a stable capacity for self-determining agency" (Marginson et al., 2010). For international students, the capacity for self-determining agency is challenged by several factors: moving from one country to another itself, living in or between multiple social networks simultaneously, being immersed in another culture, and language and having a considerable information asymmetry compared to fellow (domestic) students.

The capacity for self-determining agency is related to the students' embeddedness in social, cultural and individual networks in and around the university. Marginson et al. (2010) find major problems in Australia, in particular related to language issues, financial difficulties of students, loneliness and isolation, and discrimination and personal safety. The social dimension of internationalisation from this perspective is mainly about two issues: (i) the social and academic integration of international students within various networks and about (ii) the (equal) rights of international students to participate in these networks.

Social and academic integration

For governments and institutions hosting international students, the students' well-being has not been on top of the priority list. With an increasing marketisation and commercialisation of international higher education, governments and institutions have approached international students as consumers and, with that approach, the focus came to be on consumer protection measures. This came with an emphasis on information about content and on the validation of quality in the international higher education market and has led to a growth of national and international public and private accreditation bodies and to a proliferation of rankings as a way of informing students about quality (and prestige).

One might say that the focus has been on attracting students from abroad, not so much on educating them and giving them a valuable student experience. With more young students studying abroad and more diversity in the sending countries providing this education and student experience might create considerable challenges for governments, institutions, teachers and others. With this the social dimension and the well-being of the students becomes more important as well as the question of who is responsible. Is it the responsibility of the single student? Or do institutions and even governments have obligations in this?

Of course one might say that there is an inherent moral obligation for host governments and host institutions to care about the well-being of students, disregarding the impact on the institution or country. In this sense, universities have the obligation to contribute to a comfortable, safe and secure envi-

ronment. There are, however, also indications that providing such an environment and facilitating social embeddedness has clear benefits for the image of a host institution or country. The incidents concerning Indian students in Australia and the negative impact on subsequent enrolments (AEI, 2010), for instance, have made security and well-being important issues in Australia. As an indirect effect, the well-being and safety of international students also became a matter of economic importance.

In addition, there is an increased pressure for universities to be efficient and to increase performance and it is often assumed that academic performance on the one hand, and the level of a student's well-being on the other, show a positive correlation. Tinto's model of student retention, for instance, claims that whether a student succeeds or drops out can be explained by their degree of academic and social integration, which can both be seen as process with a strong social dimension. This model was applied, for instance, by Severiens and Wolff (2008) and by Wilcox et al. (2005). They confirmed the positive relation between social factors like "feeling at home", "connectedness to fellow students" and "support of friends", as having a positive effect on study success and retention. Rienties et al. (2011) have tested the relation between social and academic integration and academic performance for international students in the Netherlands. They observed that there are substantial differences for this relationship between "Western" and "non-Western" international students. Non-Western students score lower on academic and social integration than other students. They have more adjustment problems, leading to lower personal and emotional well-being. In terms of academic performance, they score equally well as domestic students, but less well than Western international students. Abe, Talbot and Geelhoed (1998) confirm that adjustment issues are indeed more severe for international students whose home culture is more distant from the host culture.

In general they find that academic success is primarily determined by academic integration of the international students, in particular academic adjustment. Academic integration refers to issues like academic, social and personal/emotional adjustment and attachment. Academic adjustment is displayed by positive attitudes toward academic goals and academic work, by motivation to learn, and by a sense of satisfaction with the academic environment (Baker & Siryk, 1999). This and other studies (e.g. Mannan 2007) also found negative relationships between performance and social integration for specific cases. This was explained by the compensatory relationship between academic and social integration, whereby too much time spent on extra-curricular activities lead to less time spent on academic activities.

What can be concluded from the literature on academic/social integration and student performance is that good academic integration of international

students is likely to have a positive effect on performance. The relationship with social integration is less linear. For universities this also means that they have a clear stimulus for improving the academic integration of students, domestic as well as international. Obviously, looking at the growth in the offerings of student support services in modern universities, the importance for student support is recognized (although stronger developed in some parts of the world than others). Nevertheless, some services need to be created in order to serve international students, while others need to be adapted to the increasing (cultural) diversity of the student population.

Supporting the integration of international students in academic settings – in the classroom, on campus, in student associations, etc. – thus becomes crucial for international student performance. Language is a very important vehicle in this integration process. Language barriers can negatively impact students‘ well-being and their ability to adjust to academic life and learning in a foreign country (Barratt & Huba, 1994; Sawir, et al., 2011). In the English speaking countries, this means better English language support for international students. In non-English speaking countries offering English-taught programmes, however, eliminating language barriers in social and academic interaction means more than supporting international students in their English language skills. It also means offering them the opportunity to master the host country’s language in order to facilitate interaction on campus and in the wider social environment. It might also mean that domestic students need easier access to English language support in order to facilitate intercultural interaction in the classroom.

Other student services also need to adapt to the growing diversity in the student population. Misra and Castillo (2004) for instance emphasize the need to recognize cultural differences in stress management and argue that this also has implications for mental health providers in the university. Career support services need new knowledge in order to advise international students. Housing support obviously is different in many countries for domestic students versus international students. International students need support on visa issues, while domestic students don’t, and so forth.

In order to be and remain attractive to international students, to let them perform optimally and to take advantage of the diversity in the classroom and on campus, institutions should not neglect the well-being of their students and incorporate the goal of social and academic integration in their academic and internationalisation policies. The goal of academic and social integration can even be part of pre-departure preparation programmes. By connecting students online and by preparing them for other academic cultures and teaching methods, adjustment issues might be avoided or at least students will be more prepared for them. Integration can also be strengthened during the

programme at the host institution. Westwood and Baker (1990) for instance point to the benefits of a peer programme where international students were matched with home students. They showed that students participating in the peer programme had higher overall achievement rates and lower drop-out rates. The authors hypothesised that these students were able to gain more critical information about how to function in the new society and the unwritten codes of the local culture.

Equal treatment and inclusion

Another aspect of the social dimension is the right of international students to be treated equally to domestic students and have access to all facilities and opportunities that domestic students have. Sometimes equal treatment is obstructed by national regulations. Most obvious in this respect are the differences in tuition fees between domestic and foreign students, or in case of Europe between students from within and outside the European Economic Area (EEA). The justification for differential fees from a national perspective (or in case of the United States (US), from a state perspective) is that domestic students (or their parents) pay indirectly through taxes and that the public will benefit indirectly from a highly educated population. This argument is less valid for the distinction between EEA and non-EEA students. From a legal perspective, differentiation – or in terms of European Law – *discrimination* between domestic and foreign students from EEA countries is not allowed. From a social perspective one could criticize the fact that some countries charge differential fees for "different foreigners". The same can be said for student support. While under certain conditions European Union (EU) students can receive financial student support, in other EU countries, this is not possible for other foreign students.

Other financial disadvantages for international students are a result of not having access to certain types of support. For instance, students are often excluded from discounts on public transport or from certain types of healthcare facilities. In addition, they normally do not have equal access to the labour market because of their study visa regulations (Nuffic, 2008).

Other obstacles to participate fully are not of a financial nature, but result from language differences, especially in such countries where the language of instruction might be different from the national language (which is the case for many English-taught programmes in non-English speaking countries). Do international students have access to all the information and facilities that domestic students have? Can they participate in university governance? In many universities, they might formally have the same rights, but because of language obstacles they are *de facto* excluded. If policy documents and meeting notes are not in English, if meetings of the university council (or

other participatory bodies) are conducted in the home language, many international students will be excluded from university governance. In countries like the Netherlands – with the highest relative number of English-taught programmes in Europe – this has already caused problems.

Access to international higher education

Many see higher education as something that should be accessible to everyone intellectually capable. Access should be meritocratic, not dependent on financial means or on origin. Clearly, the level of access to higher education differs between countries and is dependent on many variables, not just financial ones like tuition fees or financial support. Our interest here is not so much on access to higher education in general, but in access to an international higher education experience. To what extent is international higher education and internationalized higher education accessible to all social groups? What do we know about the socio-economic backgrounds of mobile students in Europe and globally?

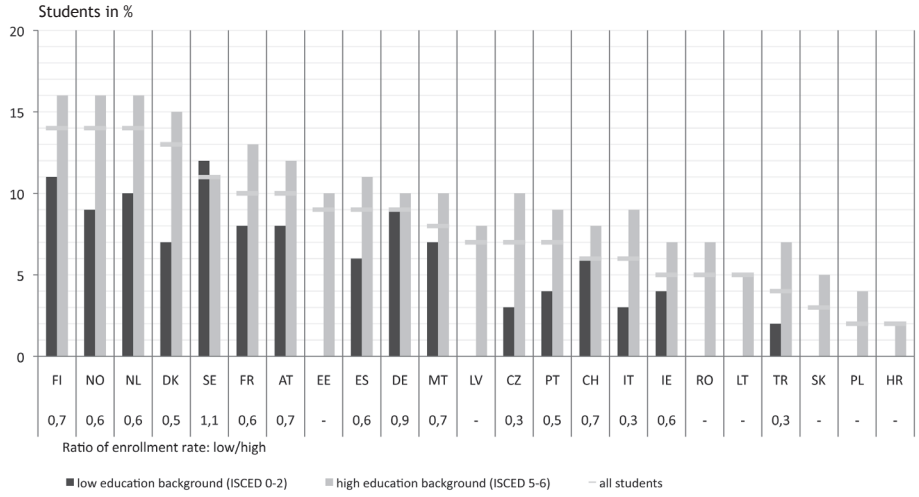
Access to short-term mobility

Orr et al. (2011) observe that foreign enrolment in Europe is in many cases socially selective. This is also the case in those countries where access to higher education in general is rather equitable (e. g. Finland, Switzerland, Ireland and the Netherlands). They observe that students from low social backgrounds:

- are underrepresented in the population of students who have been enrolled abroad;
- are less frequently planning to enrol abroad than their peers from higher social backgrounds;
- are more frequently discouraged to go abroad by obstacles such as financial insecurities and (perceived) language difficulties.

These numbers refer to students already enrolled in higher education in their home country and going abroad for a study period, not a full degree. In a study by Wiers-Jenssen (2011), social selectivity is confirmed for Norwegian students. Students with highly educated parents are more likely to go abroad for a degree or exchange programme than students with parents that have not had higher education. Especially those students that have lived abroad or that have parents who lived abroad, more often have an international education experience. This finding is confirmed for students from Finland, Iceland and Faroe Islands (Saarikallio-Torp and Wiers-Jenssen, 2010). Both studies also show that it is more likely to have an international career – in terms of location, travel or use of foreign language – for students who have been internationally

Figure 1: Students enrolled in Erasmus by social background (Orr et al., 2011: 174)



mobile in their study career. The finding that an international higher education experience increases the probability of employment abroad was also one of the conclusions of a 2008 study by Parey and Waldinger. They find that studying abroad increases the probability of working abroad by about 15 to 20%, suggesting that studying abroad is an important driver of later migration.

Krzaklewska and Krupnik (2006) also find that highly educated parents are overrepresented with Erasmus students. This over-representation was higher for Central and Eastern European (CEE) students than for Western European students. While 57% of the Western European students had one or two parents with a higher education degree, this was the case for 69% of the CEE students. In their survey, however, there is no over-representation of higher than average salaries for the case of Erasmus students. While almost 40% of the non-Erasmus students had parents with a higher than average salary, for Erasmus students the share was only 30%.

Based on a survey of over 15 000 students from 2004/2005, Souto Otero finds that access to the Erasmus programme has widened, even though socio-economic obstacles still exist (Souto Otero, 2008). Erasmus students are more likely to come from households with parents in high-level occupations than the incidence of these occupations in the general population would predict. Erasmus students thus come largely from privileged socio-economic backgrounds. Around 60% had one or two parents working as executives, professionals or technicians. For the whole student population, this was 40%. In the 1997/1998 survey of Erasmus students this share was

higher (68%). In 2004/2005, around 58% of the Erasmus students had at least one parent who had experienced higher education, whereas this was slightly higher (60%) in the 1997/1998 survey. Reporting on parental income, the students indicated that 37% of them had a higher or considerably higher than average family income. In the 1997/1998 survey this was 47%.

The European Commission proposal for the new *Erasmus for All* programme acknowledges that access to international higher education should be widened. It looks for wider access predominantly by providing more study abroad opportunities to more students. Whether the increased budget for additional Erasmus scholarships will be approved by the member states, however, remains to be seen. At a time where many universities are facing budget cuts by their national governments, this is all but a sure thing. The Commission also tries to provide wider access by setting up a loan scheme for master-level degree study abroad. This measure can be seen primarily as a reaction to the unwillingness of most of the member states to make student financial support portable for their students. Through the loan scheme, the opportunity for students to pursue a master's degree abroad will become more accessible for European students.

We conclude that – at least for Erasmus students – the socio-economic background still matters, but that its effect is decreasing. Research on US study abroad students also indicates that participation in study abroad programmes is linked to race, ethnicity, and socio-economic background (Dessoff, 2006, Mazon, 2009). With increasing diversification in US higher education and increasing financial pressures on students this is likely to be sustained. It is, however, not just a financial issue. El-Khawas (2003), for instance, argues that many low-income students do not receive the same information from their parents that other students do and that these students miss out on the critical social and cultural capital that helps engender a greater awareness of international education opportunities.

The 2005 report of the Lincoln Commission acknowledged this and recommended that the diversity of study abroad students should be one of the hallmarks of the *Lincoln Study Abroad Program*. The commission considered it essential for the success of study abroad that the demographics of undergraduate students abroad be similar to those of the domestic undergraduate student population and to increase the proportion of study abroad students who are enrolled in community colleges, minority-serving institutions and institutions serving large numbers of low-income and first-generation students.

Access to degree mobility

The studies above refer to short-term or credit mobility within Europe and the US. They do not say anything about degree mobility and about student flows

outside Europe and the US. While the background of credit-mobile European students is fairly well documented, this is not the case for degree-seeking students globally. One might expect degree mobility, and especially South-North and East-West degree mobility, to be even more skewed towards the higher socio-economic classes in the sending countries. After all, only a small share of the more than four million international students are supported by full scholarships and at the same time tuition fees are introduced or raised in many receiving countries and are frequently higher for international students (compared to domestic or – for Europe – EU students; see Table 1). The OECD (2011) argues that tuition costs do not necessarily discourage prospective international students as long as the quality of education provided is high and its likely returns make the investment worthwhile. Still, in choosing between similar educational opportunities, cost considerations may play a role, especially for students from developing countries.

Table 1: Structure of tuition fees (OECD, 2011: 324)

Tuition fee structure	Countries (OECD and other G20)
Higher tuition fees for international students than for domestic students	Australia – Austria[1] – Belgium[1,2] – Canada – Czech Republic[1,3] – Denmark[1,3] – Estonia[1] – Ireland[3] – Netherlands[1] – New Zealand[4] – Russian Federation – Turkey – United Kingdom[1] – United States[5]
Same tuition fees for international and domestic students	France – Germany – Italy – Japan – Korea – Mexico[6] – Spain
No tuition fees for either international or domestic students	Finland – Iceland – Norway – Sweden

1. For non-European Union or non-European Economic Area students.
2. In Belgium (Fl.), different tuition allowed only if institutions reach 2% of students from outside the EEA area.
3. No tuition fees for full-time domestic students in public institutions.
4. Except students in advanced research programmes, or students from Australia.
5. At public institutions, international students pay the same fees as domestic out-of-state students. However since most domestic students are enrolled in-state, international students pay higher tuition fees than most domestic students, in practice. At private universities, the fees are the same for national and international students.
6. Some institutions charge higher tuition fees for international students.

A study by Mozzarol and Soutar (2002) shows that financial costs are a very important decision factor in choosing the country or institution for study. They show that for many Taiwanese, Indians, Chinese and Indonesians this is an important pull factor. However, for most students it does not turn out to be the most decisive factor. Social factors, like safety, low racial discrimina-

tion and the presence of students from the same country are generally seen as more important.

The fact that costs play a major role in the decision to study abroad makes it an important determinant for access to international higher education. The rise of the upper middle class in countries like China, India, Brazil or Indonesia enables more and more students from those countries to study abroad. Many international students however, are still dependent on financial support. This support can come from the host countries as well as from the home countries.

Host country support for international students has shifted away from political and social to more economic rationales. The major programmes in the second half of the twentieth century focused on building future political relations – often in the context of the Cold War and since the 1990s also in the context of spreading liberal democratic values – and building capacity in less developed countries. The programmes of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century seem to be more economically focused. With the rise of knowledge societies and knowledge economies and the consequent rise of the economic value of knowledge, providing public funds in order to attract international students is legitimised in the context of skill shortages. With the increasing emphasis on the so-called war for talent, it is likely that financial support from the host countries will shift from need-based to merit-based and consequently might narrow access, especially for the less privileged in less developed countries. Obviously another social risk of this skills race is the brain drain from developing to developed countries (this issue will be discussed in the next section).

One of the ways for “Western” institutions to contribute to the widening of access to (international) higher education is by establishing branch campuses abroad or offering other types transnational education (twinning, programme articulation, franchising). Moving institutions and programmes instead of students – in theory – decreases the costs of international higher education. This, however, has proven to be a sensitive issue for national governments and in many cases the access of foreign providers also comes with many national safeguards. Nevertheless the phenomenon of branch campuses has made for instance an Australian or British degree in Malaysia much more accessible than it used to be. However, critics claim that it is not the international education from, for example, Nottingham or Monash that is on offer, but local education with the Nottingham and Monash brand names. Countries like Malaysia, Singapore, China, Indonesia, India and the Gulf States have – albeit cautiously – opened up their systems to foreign providers in order to create more capacity and be able to provide more quality education to more students. Although the absorption capacity is relatively small, it is a growing trend.

Increasingly, many emerging countries are also experiencing skills shortages themselves. In their case it is not so much because of a declining or ageing population – on the contrary –, but because they cannot (yet) offer enough quality education themselves. Countries like China (*CSC Scholarships*), Indonesia (*DIKTI scholarships*) and Brazil (*Science without Borders Programme*) are now funding many of their students to acquire the necessary knowledge and skills abroad and apply them in the country's economic and science system upon their return. With the growing understanding that an increase of the knowledge base is key to a country's success, many emerging economies now send many of their best students overseas.

Global social risks and benefits

The social dimension of internationalisation also needs to refer to the macro-level implications of internationalisation. Societies are not by definition national. To some extent we can even talk of a "global society". The internationalisation activities undertaken at one location on this globe have repercussions in other places. Inherent in the process of globalisation is that action undertaken by a particular national government or particular organisation might have an impact far beyond national borders. Likewise, internationalisation activities undertaken at particular universities on this globe will have an impact on universities, tertiary systems and societies in other countries. Shaping internationalisation is thus not just a matter of adapting your institution to the influx of students from abroad, it is also a matter of taking into account the wider consequences of these student flows and exchanges. The social dimension in this case is all about the question whether we feel responsible for the higher education of others in our community and whether this concept of community transcends national borders.

In this respect, we can observe a paradoxical situation: while *globalisation* leads to the weakening of national borders and national authority, higher education, science and innovation increasingly become a driver of the *national* competition state. In the transition from the welfare state to the competition state (Cerny, 1997), states and organisations are involved simultaneously in a race to the top and a race to the bottom in order to sustain their competitive advantage in the global economy. This requires a perspective in which states are the main actors and act on a basis of rationality. According to this rational perspective, globalisation of the world economy does not diminish the role of the nation state but fundamentally alters its functions. In a Hobbesian world of all against all, the role of the state is dominant, even if – paradoxically – its sovereignty might be waning. But authority is rationally being transferred upwards, downwards and sideways in order to position a nation in the global economy. Globalisation from this perspective is not a matter of external im-

position, but a matter of self-interest pursued by sovereign nation states. While in the welfare state, the nation state's function was to insulate certain key elements of economic life from market forces, in the competition state, it has pursued increased marketisation in order to make economic activities on the national territory more competitive and contribute to the national wealth in international and transnational terms (Cerny, 1997: 258-259).

Internationalisation in an age of sovereign nation states focused strongly on issues like capacity building and mutual understanding. In an age of globalisation and the rise of the competition state, the focus shifts towards goals of national self-interest, like skilled migration and direct and indirect economic benefits of international education. This shift has taken place in countries in Europe and countries like Australia, New Zealand and the US. Higher tuition fees for foreign (or non-EU) students are considered justified because these students have not contributed to the tax base of the country, which funds most of the public higher education systems. These countries increasingly shift from need-based recruitment of international students to merit-based recruitment. Higher education systems are increasingly seen as one of the main drivers of the national knowledge economy. Sustainability and the tackling of so-called global challenges are prominent in the mission statements of universities and in the policy papers of national (and European level) governments. But here also, sceptics might raise the question whether this is due to social – or even idealistic – reasons or whether it is merely another expression of the innovation race between nations in an attempt to strengthen their knowledge economies and improve their competitive position in the global economy.

A situation has emerged where we witness increased internationalisation, in terms of global flows of students, in terms of research and educational cooperation, in terms of institutional strategies, etc., in order to strengthen national higher education and innovation systems. This development is not a problem in itself. It does, however, raise questions about the extent of our social solidarity, for instance with respect to the issues of brain drain and capacity of developing nations to develop their higher education systems and the risks associated with the commodification of knowledge.

Brain drain

Considering that many OECD countries state that the attraction of highly qualified skilled workers is an important goal of their higher education internationalisation policy, one might expect a worsening of the brain drain from developing to developed countries. In a World Bank study on the international migration of skills, Kuznetsov (2006) concluded that knowledge had become an integral part of the global economy and that therefore the mobility of the highly skilled has increased. Developing countries see their

best human resources leave in order to find better economic opportunities. A contrasting view is that the emerging highly educated diaspora plays a vital role in the development of local economies. Not just through remittances, but also through trade, foreign direct investment, research cooperation and knowledge transfer. Saxenian (2006) illustrated this process for the Chinese, Indian and Taiwanese diaspora in Silicon Valley, who contributed significantly to the development of areas like Hsinchu, Shanghai, or Bangalore.

In order to avoid the risks of skilled migration, sending countries have different policy options. Gribble (2008) refers to them as "retain, return and engage". They can try to retain students, but for this they will need to expand access to and the quality of their own higher education systems, and through this minimise the push factors for international student brain drain. Another option is to provide incentives for international graduates to return home after their studies. These can be financial incentives, but the availability of high-skilled jobs and a strong academic environment can also be pull factors to make international graduates return. Obviously, the willingness to return is highly dependent on the political and economic stability of a country. The third option Gribble provides is "engage" or the "diaspora option", referring to the contrasting view above. Sending countries need to establish enduring links with their knowledge workers abroad, keep them informed and engaged about domestic opportunities and stimulate them to invest, trade and exchange knowledge. For domestic universities, academics abroad can function as bridges between the domestic and foreign universities, therewith strengthening research cooperation and knowledge exchanges.

Clearly, the right mix of policy options – and the ability to implement the policies – depends on the situation of the sending countries. The extent of skilled migration varies in different countries and so do the policy responses. Docquier et al., (2007) find that emigration rates decrease with population size and that they are higher in countries with religious fractionalisation and political instability, countries which are located in particular in Sub-Saharan Africa. They also find that the lower the natives' level of schooling, the greater is the brain drain. This explains why poor regions such as Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia experience increased outward migration. But does the size of these flows say anything about the social risks and benefits of skilled emigration? Docquier's research (2006) suggests that a limited but positive skilled emigration rate (between 5 and 10%) can be good for development. Nevertheless, the current spatial distribution of the brain drain is such that many poor countries are well above this level, such as sub-Saharan African and Central American countries.

Some major sending countries of international students have the possibility to implement a mix of policy options. China for instance is applying such a

mix of policies (see also Constant et al., 2011). It is rapidly expanding its own higher education system, it is providing opportunities and scholarships for Chinese students to study abroad, and it attempts to repatriate some of its most talented graduates and academics. Incentives are sometimes financial, sometimes in the form of providing research opportunities. But incentives are not only aimed at repatriation, they are also aimed at engagement and knowledge exchange, for instance through incentives for Chinese academics abroad to provide guest lectures, attend conferences or participate in research cooperation and academic exchanges. Through such arrangements, the Chinese diaspora creates benefits for both China and for the receiving countries (Yang and Welch, 2010).

Although countries like China, and also Brazil and India, might be in a position to implement such a mix of policies in order to benefit from brain circulation, for the least developed countries this proves to be more complex. They find themselves in a vicious cycle: they cannot curtail the outflow of skills until they develop economically, politically and academically. At the same time, the loss of these skills itself acts as a major constraint on achieving this growth.

In conclusion, international student flows can bring social risks as well as benefits, for receiving as well as sending countries. However, the social risks for the poorest countries in particular can be severe and it is a responsibility of both sending and receiving countries to reverse a situation of unidirectional brain drain to one of brain circulation.

Commodification of knowledge

Knowledge is becoming one of the major production factors in the global knowledge economy. Because of this, market assumptions are extended to knowledge and ideas, they gain economic value and become a global commodity. What is valued is the creation and dissemination of that type of knowledge which improves the nation's competitiveness (Slaughter and Rhoades, 2004). Knowledge is increasingly treated as an intellectual property and therewith the free circulation of knowledge is hampered. The main fears of the critics of this process are that this commodification will harm the long term development of knowledge and that the pressures for commodification create a differential impact on different types of universities, both within national boundaries and between countries (Naidoo, 2003).

The concern about the short-lived character of current knowledge policies is very apparent in national and European discussions on research and innovation at a time of economic crisis. For instance, in the new Dutch innovation policies, scientific research is increasingly drawn into the economic realm and

means are distributed on the basis of their short- or medium-term economic impact. In the discussion towards *Horizon 2020* and towards *Erasmus for All*, economic and labour-market relevance gain priority. Although this might be seen as a correction to the "ivory tower age" of the university, we need to acknowledge the global risks of such a shift. Although knowledge was seen as the ultimate public good (retaining or increasing its value, also after it is shared) increasingly, knowledge has a price. This has as a consequence that it is made available to some, but not to others. Since science is a system that depends on the accumulation of bodies of knowledge through the free exchange of ideas, real science might become an elite activity. Access to newly acquired knowledge and the facilities to add to this knowledge base are very much limited to elite universities in developed as well as developing countries (although more limited). The core concern, however, is that this body of knowledge will be less available to society as a whole and will circulate more and more in a closed system of elite – or so-called "world-class" universities and R&D intensive businesses.

The shift to more economically relevant knowledge also has an impact on the type of knowledge – in disciplinary categories – that we are willing to invest in. Simply stated, one might say that in addition to a shift from mode 1 to mode 2 knowledge production, there is also an increased emphasis on those disciplines that are economically interesting, i.e. which focus on certain emerging technologies expected to hold a strong potential for future application. These hot spots of science can currently be found in fields like nanoscience, biotechnology, energy research, information technology and materials science. The application of the scientific findings resulting from this research are believed to form solutions for the current grand global challenges, such as food security, ageing, energy, climate change, etc.

The answers to these global grand challenges are especially looked for in the natural and medical sciences, and in engineering. Some social and behavioural sciences and particularly the humanities are therefore struggling to secure a position in the big national and European research programmes. The societal and economic benefits of these disciplines are difficult to make explicit and to quantify.

It is the task of universities as well as national and international governance institutions to see to it that scientific knowledge does not become trapped in global networks of world-class universities and international business, but will trickle down to national and global society as a whole and to see to it that also the socially and culturally relevant disciplines retain a major role in the global science system. Only then can the risks of the commodification of knowledge be curtailed and global society can benefit from scientific findings and applications.

Pressing issues in the internationalisation of higher education

Addressing the social dimensions of the internationalisation of higher education – as we did above – exposes several dilemmas. It becomes clear that internationalisation brings along both social risks as well as benefits. The first dilemma is how to balance internationalisation in such a way that benefits become optimal. Secondly, it exposes the dilemma of who is responsible for whom and especially the tension between national and global solidarity. A third issue is the direction in which we are heading, or in other words, setting the objectives of internationalisation in an era of globalisation.

The benefits and risks of globalisation

Globalisation connects people, students, universities, higher education systems and accelerates the flows of people and ideas between them. The internationalisation of higher education is a response to these globalizing forces and brings benefits as well as risks for universities. Global science has been one of the first systems to benefit from the increased interconnectedness, which obviously is not strange since science itself has been one of the main "globalisers". The new opportunities to collaborate and exchange ideas globally have been an important cause of the immense scientific progress in the last century. Although higher education commentators and researchers have been critical of the consequences of globalisation, we must acknowledge that both higher education and scientific research have benefitted enormously from the process. The critical perspective on globalisation's consequences for higher education, however, points particularly to the way this process was shaped in the last two or three decades. In this respect, the term globalisation has been treated almost like a synonym of neo-liberalisation and marketisation. With international education becoming an important new economic activity in some countries and with the increased commodification of scientific knowledge, this neo-liberal approach indeed has been apparent in higher education as well.

Although a neo-liberal approach has been dominant, this is not necessarily the only way for globalisation to develop. Because of this pre-occupation with the neo-liberal nature of some aspects of globalisation, the benefits and positive impacts of globalisation have moved to the background. It is exactly the acceleration of globalisation which has enabled universities to put the international and intercultural dimension high on the agenda. Because of the multicultural nature of states and the international nature of business, science, politics and other sectors, universities became one of the most important actors in preparing the population for such a new situation.

Balancing the risks and benefits of globalisation will be crucial for universities around the world. At this point, this might mean that universities and national governments need to find ways to counteract the negative impact of increased commercialisation of international higher education. The welfare and well-being of international students and the accessibility of international learning experiences need to be protected against short-term economic interests. Recently, an expert committee of the International Association of Universities (IAU) produced a statement addressing the values, but also the possible adverse effects of internationalisation, such as the dominance of the English language, the pursuit of so-called world-class universities, the preoccupation with prestige and reputation in order to score well in global rankings and unethical practices in student recruitment because of the emphasis on quantity over quality (IAU, 2012). Dealing with these risks and turning them into benefits for international students is an important challenge for contemporary universities that pursue a sustainable position in global higher education.

Who is responsible?

A second issue is best illustrated by the question: who is responsible? Many countries have long lived with the notion that nation states are responsible for the education of their citizens. Our understanding of higher education as a public good also links the responsibility of higher education to the public sphere and therewith to the nation state. To fund public goods we are frequently dependent on taxation and taxation is often the exclusive right of nation states (or sub-national and supranational governments). This is also the case in higher education. In the early phases of internationalisation, and especially in Europe, exchange of staff and students were the main vehicles for internationalisation. Because of the reciprocal nature of exchanges, this did not present a problem in terms of who was responsible for whose education. With the exchange of persons came the exchange of financial responsibility.

With the partial shift in Europe from credit mobility to degree mobility - in particular after the implementation of the Bologna Declaration - and with the growth of degree mobility on a global scale however, the question arises of who is financially responsible for the higher education of incoming students. Within Europe, or rather, within the European Higher Education Area, the last decade has shown an increasing asymmetry in student flows. Through the European principle of non-discrimination and the resulting equal treatment in terms of tuition fees between domestic and EEA international students, systems with lower than cost covering tuition fees also finance the higher education of other European students. In most of the European member states, tuition fees are indeed far lower than the real costs or are non-existent. As

long as student flows are fairly reciprocal this does not present problems. In Europe today, this, however, is not the case and therefore countries like Sweden and the Netherlands are showing signs of protest against the equal fees. Obviously this issue should not be neglected but should be discussed in European higher education. It is a fundamental issue questioning whether solidarity is nationally defined or on a European scale. In this discussion however, also the benefits for domestic students, universities, labour markets, and societies as a whole should be taken into account.

The question of national versus European or global solidarity is fundamental since it addresses the very way we view our world system. Do we see it as our responsibility to educate students irrespective of their nationality or are universities predominantly accountable to the tax payers of the country in which they are located? Is higher education a public good, and if so, is it a national public good or a global public good? And if it is a global public good, who is responsible for the provision of this good? The social dimension from a global perspective might therefore be contradictory to the social dimension in a national context. The current financial pressures on universities and national higher education systems make this dilemma even more pressing.

Where are we heading?

Taking these issues into account, the ultimate question is "where are we heading"? How social will international higher education be in ten years or so?

Will international learning experiences be available only to the happy few and does that lead to the emergence of a transnational intellectual network of global academic, business and political leaders? Considering that parents' education and socio-economic background still remain important predictors for foreign study and foreign exchanges, this is not an unlikely scenario. In developing countries and emerging economies, an international higher education experience is often still limited to the elite layers of society. In Europe and the US, exchanges and study abroad are becoming more accessible for students from lower socio-economic backgrounds, but they are still underrepresented. In order to keep this network of global leaders accessible to all capable students, scholarships or other means of financial support need to be available to those that could otherwise not access international higher education. And universities need to put more effort in providing the right conditions for them to integrate and adjust socially and academically.

Rather than – or at least, additional to – sustaining such a transnational elite network, universities and governments should make the international dimension of the tertiary learning experience available to many. Internationalisation is not just about creating elite networks but it is most of all about global

intercultural interaction for all. For universities, this means that internationalisation penetrates all layers and all structures of the university and that an internationally and inter-culturally diverse student population is exploited fully in academic life. In international education circles this is referred to as comprehensive, mainstream, or embedded internationalisation. In order to make an international learning experience available to many, to provide a conducive academic and social environment for students – international as well as domestic – and to implement internationalisation measures in a globally sustainable way, this type of internationalisation will be a necessity. However in a time where the claims on the university seem to be expanding continuously, and budgets are not growing on an equal basis, this creates an enormous challenge for most universities. Nevertheless, it is a challenge that needs to be met by those institutions that really want to incorporate a social, international dimension in their mission.

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Excellence and inclusiveness in American higher education

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The United States' (US) higher education fundamentally differs from all national European higher education systems, both in terms of its history and its philosophy. It was established and grew in a new social context of an emerging nation based on immigration, unparalleled in the traditional nation states in Europe. Hence, equity and inclusiveness in education, one would assume, in this 'new world' would have to be major factors driving growth and integration based on the notion that scholarship and knowledge foster enlightenment and the creation of a humane society that would distinguish itself from the elitist education system prevailing in Europe at that time. Has this expectation been met by reality?

History

A view at the beginnings of higher education both in Europe and in the US is helpful in understanding the rationales that led to these different landscapes on both sides of the Atlantic. In Europe, the roots of higher education date back to the 9th and 10th centuries with Christian church seminaries slowly opening up to the public as *scholae publicae*. A law school in Bologna, founded in 1088, was most likely the first public institution of higher education in Europe. The foundation of the first schools (or departments) – usually initiated and financially supported by national royalty (and often controlled managed by the clergy) – dates back to the early 13th century. They offered theology, law and medicine, and with the growth of institutions into fully fledged universities by the end of the 14th century they had established colleges, *facultates* (schools or departments), and a three-tier degree system of *bacchalaureus*, *licenciate*, and *magister* (master), a degree reserved for academic teachers only who were to be promoted to a doctor. By the 16th century, a dense network of universities as we know them today spanned continental Europe, institutionally supported by their nation states and/or the catholic church, and serving the educational goals of the clergy, the nobles and the few and chosen academic elites.

Colonial colleges

The first post-secondary educational institutions in colonial New England were founded in the 17th century, namely the 'New College' in 1636 in Cambridge, MA, (better known as Harvard College, and later Harvard University), and in Virginia the college of William and Mary in 1693. From the early 18th

century onwards, more new colleges (also named schools, academies and seminaries) were established, among them some of today's leading universities, such as Yale (1701), UPenn (1740), Columbia (1754), Brown (1764), Rutgers (1766) and Dartmouth (1769).

Little more than 1 000[1] students were enrolled in altogether 23 institutions by 1 800 which shared an education philosophy that was fundamental in their creation, setting them apart from the very beginning from contemporary European institutions in the 17th and 18th century:

- they were modeled on traditional British colleges, awarding a bachelor's degree after several years of college to students who mostly lived on campus;
- they offered a broad liberal arts curriculum designed to educate young ministers; and
- they were mostly financed (and strongly influenced) by various church denominations (Puritan, Church of England, Presbyterian, Baptist, Dutch Reformed, Moravian), with only a few non-sectarian institutions, so "that the youth may be piously educated in good letters and manners, and that the Christian faith may be propagated."[2]

Few of the students could afford to pay for college already then - it is estimated that between one quarter and one half had to rely on charity funds provided by donations, and already then had institutions to devise policies to attract non-affluent students through tuition discounts and fellowship schemes.[3]

In 1778, Thomas Jefferson, the third President of the US and later (1819) the founder of the first (non-sectarian) state college, the University of Virginia, introduced a bill "for the more general diffusion of knowledge" stating that there should be "free elementary education for free [i.e. non-slave] male and female children", followed by free secondary education for the best young males and even free college (at William and Mary) for the top 20 graduates of this group.[4] He wanted US colleges to educate citizenry and produce a skilled workforce for America's growing democracy to "prevent the mob from ruling". This was a surprisingly progressive view (to promote free education and include female children, at least), particularly when seen in the larger context of a very 'exclusive' social environment in those days[5]:

[1] Cf. Bowen, Kurzweil and Tobin (2005).

[2] Cf. Kaufman (2009).

[3] Cf. Bowen, Kurzweil and Tobin (2005).

[4] Cf. ibid.

[5] Cf. ibid.

- it was generally assumed that 'learned' and 'labor' classes had different educational needs,
- with only 10% of students coming from non-learned backgrounds,
- only 2% of all families could have afforded to send their children to college (at a rate of US$ 90 at Columbia, then already one of the most expensive colleges in the country),
- women and minorities were ineligible for admission.

The rise of modern universities

But the educational needs of young Americans in a rapidly growing immigration country changed, and so did the missions of institutions. In 1862 Abraham Lincoln signed the first Morill Land-Grant College Act to "donate Public Lands to the several States and Territories which may provide Colleges for the benefit of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts". Other Land Grant Acts followed, providing the foundation for (and mission of) the modern US state university systems: with a broadened curriculum including agriculture, engineering, mathematics and sciences, social sciences and professional training, they catered to the rising demand for trained professionals and skilled workers in a nation emerging as a new global player in the 20th century. In addition to these newly created state higher education systems, new institutions – public and private – were built, adding to the institutional diversity that has made the US higher education system so attractive for today's international students.

The end of the American Civil War brought freedom to slaves. In order to provide some access to higher education for this minority, so-called 'black' colleges and universities were established, with a very limited scope of academic disciplines offered, such as Howard University in Washington, DC in 1867 ("for the education of African-American clergymen…") or Fisk University in Nashville in 1866, a 'normal school' for teacher's education.

The formation of today's US higher education system

While the system expanded, access still remained limited for some. Not only did black students have access mostly to specialized institutions only, women's higher education too was mostly happening in women's colleges; not before World War I did their number reach "relative numerical proportionality (to men) in higher education enrolment".[6] The first empirical study on the demographic background of students in the US was conducted by Edgar Reynolds in 1927 at 55 higher education institutions. The results are reveal-

[6] Cf. ibid.

ing with regard to how exclusive higher education access still was in 1927: the highest percentage of students was from families headed by proprietors, farm owners and professionals (i.e. the 'learned' society), the lowest from miscellaneous trades and labor; the highest family income was found in students from women's colleges, followed by men's colleges and state universities, and the lowest in co-ed institutions. Almost all students were native born (i.e. no first-generation immigrants in these colleges).

The third and most profound impact on US higher education had the introduction of the G.I. Bill after World War II to provide millions of formerly enlisted soldiers with an education and a professional perspective. The Truman Commission in 1946 recommended

- a nation-wide significant expansion of community colleges providing two years of tuition-free (!) schooling for students seeking terminal degrees in vocational and technical fields;
- new federal grants-in-aid and scholarship program supporting 20% of non-veteran undergraduates (need-based);
- a new fellowship program with up to 30 000 grants of $ 1 500 per year (need-based);
- to remove all quota systems and all questions on application forms relating to race, religion, color or national origin.[7]

By paying each GI-turned-student all costs for tuition and books and a subsidy for room and board the bill also opened US higher education to students from the middle and lower classes who earlier could not afford to pay for education in a traditional college. A *college degree* became the equivalent of the American dream, and a whole new category of higher education institutions was built on this promise – the associate (or community) colleges. In the 1960s, 45% of all US high school graduates enrolled in colleges[8], totalling four million enrolled students/year – at a time when in European countries like Germany only 6% of an annual age cohort passed the exams (Abitur) that entitled them to enroll in a German university, with not even all of them opting to do so. While European universities were still highly selective, seeing themselves as the main pillar of an elite-forming old-fashioned education system (teaching a few, hand-picked 'high potentials' to become future leaders in academe and society) 'college' in the US had become the means for every able citizen to gain a broad and solid knowledge for the labor market,

[7] Cf. ibid.

[8] Cf. ibid.

a "ticket to a better life".[9] But has this dream – 'college' being the gateway to mainstream society and equal opportunity – come true today for all 'able citizens', regardless of income, ethnic background, gender or family history?

US higher education: the status quo

In the US there are two main roads to higher education, following 12 years of high school education, the associate (or community) colleges offering a two-year vocationally oriented degree, and the four-year bachelor college, be it as separate institutions, be it the college of a master-level institution or a research university. They are part of more than 4 400 post-secondary institutions classified by the Carnegie Foundation (2009) into the following categories:

- 281 Doctoral/research institutions (6.5%)
- 666 Master institutions (15.4%)
- 765 Bachelor institutions (17.7%)
- 1 811 Associate colleges (41.8%)
- 807 Special focus institutions (18.6%)

The 281 doctoral/research institutions – and only these – are research intensive and can generally be considered as equivalent with European 'full' universities. They offer the complete range of college education (a four-year bachelor's degree), master programs and doctoral degrees in at least 25 academic disciplines.

Most master institutions – private or public – focus more on education than research: they offer college education (four-year bachelor's degrees) and professional master programs. Only very few run selected doctoral programs, most of which are professional doctoral degrees. Based on their mission, many of them would be considered equivalent to the German *Fachhochschulen*, for example.

Bachelor institutions ('colleges') and associate (or community) colleges comprise more than 60% of all higher US education institutions, providing multiple paths to enter higher education and options to stay: they allow enrollment at any age, transfer between both types of institutions at any time of study, accreditation of degrees earned on the associate level by most four-year state institutions, and interim work on the labor market to earn a living (or tuition).

[9] Kaufman, 2009.

Thus, the formal gate into higher education in the US is far more open than in many European state systems, and far more flexible. Is this flexibility used by high school graduates, and does it foster inclusion in a country where 35% of the population is of non-white origin?

Student enrollment

Although only 41% of all US institutions are public institutions, the majority of post-secondary higher education is delivered by these institutions: almost four fifth of all US tertiary-level students attend public institutions.

The US population currently stands at about 310 million. More than three million US students graduate from high school every year, and about 60% of these enroll in college, the majority in two-year institutions. Of these 60%, only about two thirds will eventually finish college, leading to a total of 35.4% of the US population currently with a higher education degree. Of these, the majority leaves the system with an associate or bachelor's degree as final qualification (25% of the US population), only few have a (mostly professional) master's degree (7%), and only 1% graduate with a doctorate.

Very generally speaking, the student pyramid is steeper in the US than in many European countries: relatively more students enter higher education in the US, but relatively fewer leave with a higher degree. Two thirds of all US students currently enrolled (20 million altogether in all 4 400 institutions) are part-time students and only about half eventually complete a four-year bachelor program within four to six years – primarily as a result of the need to work part-time for a living. The majority (three quarters) of all college graduates who have received a two-year or four-year degree pursue professional careers outside academe. They do not continue school.

Access and inclusiveness[10]

While these accumulated means across the US population show that access as such is possible for – and achieved by – the majority of the population (and this is certainly a tremendous achievement of the American society), a more differentiated view reveals a somewhat different picture, in particular for students from ethnic minorities which comprise about 35% of the US population.

[10] This section draws heavily on Bowen, Chingos and McPherson (2009).

Preparedness for college

High school graduates' readiness for college – or 'preparedness' – in the academic fields of English, mathematics, reading and sciences (taken as an indicator of suitability for college), reveals substantial differences between students from different ethnic backgrounds. While 41% of students with Asian backgrounds were seen as ready for college, the percentage among whites was 31, and it was only 11 among Hispanic and Latin and a mere four among black and Afro-American high school graduates. Asian high school graduates, although the smallest group in absolute numbers, were thus judged to be better prepared for college than those from any other ethnic group.

A similar difference can be observed in SAT scores (measuring the academic performance of high school graduates in one standardized test across the nation in the fields of critical reading, mathematics and writing). While the US average is 500 per discipline, it varies depending on discipline between:

- 519 and 591 for students of Asian origin,
- 516 and 536 for students of white origin,
- 443 and 467 for students of Hispanic origin,
- 420 and 429 for students of black origin.

Thus, preparedness for access, measured by absolute and relative indicators, shows that for some students access to higher education poses a more substantial obstacle than for others, depending on their ethnic background.

Enrollment

It is not surprising, therefore, that a similar observation – albeit a positively surprising exception – can be made for the actual enrollment in higher education institutions. Compared to their demographic share of the US population, students with an Asian background over-proportionally enroll in tertiary education, whereas Hispanic students are, in relative terms, 'under-enrolling'.

The higher-than-expected enrollment of black students may indicate that decades of 'affirmative action' in primary and secondary institutions in the US have finally paid off, with regard to the motivation and perseverance to pursuing post-secondary education. Over the last decades, the gender balance too has reversed. Today, 57.1% of all tertiary students are women, leaving young males as the new gender 'minority' in American society.

Table 1: Enrollment by ethnic group

Group	Enrollment by group (absolutes)	Percentage of total enrollment	Percentage of US population
American Indian	207 917	1.0	0.9
Asian	1 337 671	6.5	4.8
Black	2 919 826	14.3	12.6
Hispanic	2 546 710	12.5	16.3
White and others	12 730 780	62.2	65.4
Foreign	684 807	3.2	n.a.

Source: College Board, 2011

Institutional selectivity

Are different enrollment rates related to rigid institutional selectivity at the college level as is often publicly claimed?

Only few – not more than a handful – of the top research universities accept fewer than 20% of all applicants; this is mostly out of sheer necessity: a huge number of applications of high school graduates with appropriate academic credentials from all over the world flood these institutions annually, while they can provide only a certain number of placements for freshmen classes. In fact, most of these world-class institutions claim to apply need-blind admission in college to maintain their academic excellence and reputation; they provide fellowships for those in need, and they try to maintain a balance of ethnic backgrounds, gender and students from disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds in their undergraduate student body that reflects the reality of the American society. All other indicators suggest that selectivity is very low in most other institutions[11]:

- only 10% of tertiary institutions reported accepting less than half of their applicants,
- one-third of public four-year colleges accept more than 75% of their applicants, and
- almost all community colleges have no selectivity policy at all – everybody can enroll.

[11] Chronicle of Higher Education Almanac (2011-2012).

Attainment

Some student populations from different ethnic backgrounds not only enroll at a lower rate than expected, they also complete college to a lesser degree than expected, compared to their share of enrollment: black students receive only 10.4% of all degrees, Hispanic students 8.4%. The majority of these two groups receive their degrees from two-year or four-year institutions, whereas Asians and foreign students primarily opt for master's, professional and PhD degrees as their final qualification in higher education.

With regard to institutions, the highest bachelor graduation rates can be observed in private non-profit institutions (67%) and public four-year institutions (58%), the lowest in for-profit institutions (19%). Even in private non-profit colleges (the typical American 'liberal arts college') that pride themselves to provide the best undergraduate education and formation of the students' personality (at the comparatively highest cost) students from diverse backgrounds do not fare as well as the majority of the student body does. The attainment rate of black and Hispanic students in these institutions is 20% lower than the rate of Asian and white students. Why is this so? What are the factors influencing preparedness, enrollment and attainment rates to such an extent?

Costs

College comes at a cost, unlike in many European countries. The problems students faced 200 years ago in the US are still a prevailing factor today when deciding whether to embark onto higher education. While almost all institutions – private or public – do charge tuition and other fees, their level differs widely. Associate colleges, mostly public institutions supported by the state and attended by students living in the vicinity, charge on average around $ 2 500 per year (excluding room and board). Tuition, room and board for public state-funded colleges (or undergraduate education in public universities) amounts to around $ 12 800 on the average per year[12]; private colleges (mostly 'liberal arts' colleges) cost an average of $ 32 000.

At the same time, the annual medium income of a US household was about $ 50 000[13]; ten years ago it averaged $ 44 000. Tuition grew much faster than income over time: Since 2007, the ratio of college tuition and other fees to medium household income has almost tripled, from 9% in 1977 to 25% in 2010.[14]

[12] Cf. US Department of Education, NCES (2011).

[13] Cf. US Census (September 2011).

[14] Cf. US Department of Education, NCES (2011).

Costs for college over lifetime have become a tremendous burden for the average US family over the last years[15]: they made up more than half, on average, of the income for low income families in the US, one quarter for medium income families and still one fifth for families earning up to $ 112 000 per year, twice the medium household income (see Table 2):

Table 2: Share of college cost of total annual income

Annual income in $	College cost as share of annual income in 1990	College cost as share of annual income in 2000	College cost as share of annual income in 2007
Up to 40 000	45%	47%	56%
Up to 73 000	22%	25%	29%
Up to 112 000	16%	18%	21%

Source: Chronicle of Higher Education Almanac (2011-2012)

However, the medium annual household income says little about substantial differences between groups from different ethnic backgrounds in the US – and different loads on their pocket when going to college –, ranging from $ 32 000 (Black) and $ 37 000 (Hispanic) to $ 54 000 (White) and US $ 64 000 (Asian).

It is furthermore noteworthy that[16]

- students (age 18 to 24) from the wealthiest families are overly represented amongst bachelor graduates. 80% of all bachelor's degrees in the US are awarded to students from families with an annual income of $ 65 000 or higher.
- students from the wealthiest quartile of the population have by far the highest attainment rate (82%), followed by students from the upper middle quartile (36%), the lower middle (17%) and the lowest quartile (8%).
- in the last decade, the biggest increase in the attainment rate was found in the highest quartile (from 50% to 82%), while the lowest quartile saw no gain at all in the past 20 years.

[15] Chronicle of Higher Education Almanac (2011-2012).

[16] Digest of Education Statistics (2010).

In conclusion: given the substantial costs of a first degree in the US it is not surprising that even the traditional middle class family faces substantial financial challenges today if it sends their children to college. More disturbing, though, is the fact that for many low-income families and/or first generation students it has become a major – possibly un-surmountable – obstacle to 'go to college' at all. Hence, community colleges, with low costs and close to home, have become a major alternative as the gateway to knowledge and participation, in particular for students from not-so-privileged backgrounds: 8% of all US PhD graduates first entered higher education at community colleges. It is the institution for many to receive their first – and often only – degree.

Student support

The US government is well aware of these educational challenges which students from underprivileged backgrounds face at an alarmingly rising rate. For many decades, the *Pell Grant* program and the US Government *Student Loan* program specifically addressing higher education students have been the main tool to enable equal higher education opportunities for those who could otherwise not afford to enroll in college. The *Pell Grant*, like some other smaller federal grant schemes, is a need-based grant intended to cover part of the actual costs at college. There are also federal loans, but they come with an interest rate of 3.4% for college and 6.8% for graduate education and need to be paid back after graduation.

As a result of rapidly rising educational costs, the US government (in 2011) has doubled its allocation for the Pell Grant program over the last decade: it spent $ 28 billion in 2011 to support 7.7 million students, compared to 3.3 million supported in 1999.

Altogether (including the various student loan programs) the federal and state governments invested about $ 130 billion in 2009 on grants and loans to enable students from lower income families to attend college – or to keep them in college by subsidizing their own contributions earned through part-time work. But the gap has been widening nevertheless: costs grew faster, and the cost coverage share of *Pell Grants* for students attending college declined over the last 10 years to only 34% in public four-year institutions. This means that low-income students today need to cover 66% of their college costs from their own pocket.

This explains why 60% of all students are enrolled as part-time students in the US: they have to work on the side to afford college, stay longer in college or leave college before graduation, and hence have lower medium attainment rates. It is safe to assume that the poorer the family in the US, the larger is the unmet need for financial aid.

Student debt

Given the high costs incurred over lifetime, does 'college' still pay off?

The current US employment data show a direct inverse relationship between last degree earned and unemployment – the higher the degree, the less likely one becomes unemployed. Furthermore, the higher the degree, the higher the first annual income after graduation, ranging from $ 32 000 for a high school degree holder to $ 116 000 for someone who graduates with a professional degree (see Table 3 below).

On the other hand, an estimated 60% of bachelor graduates (and 50% of graduate students) borrowed to fund their education, thus accumulating an average debt (undergraduate) of $ 22 700.[17] Debts vary between degrees, and can reach substantial amounts for master's, PhD and professional degrees.

Table 3: Median annual male income and debt

Type of qualification	Median annual male income in $	Median debt in $
High school	32 000	
Some college, no degree	4 000	
Associate	44 000	
Bachelor	56 000	22 000
Master	71 000	40 000
PhD	92 000	60 000
Professional	116 000	100 000

Source: College Board (2011)

Given that the average time for completion of a (professional) master is two to three (in the case of full-time students) and for a PhD is five to nine years (depending on field), students today begin to weigh their options very carefully: an expensive degree (or simply an expensive college) accruing a high debt over time and income not earned while pursuing this degree, against a lower degree many years earlier in life (at less or no debt). Higher education in the US has become so expensive – almost unaffordable for some – that it is not surprising that other options than the obligatory higher education degree have become part of the mainstream discourse for the future of bright young students from underprivileged backgrounds in the US.

[17] Cf. College Board (2011).

Excellence and inclusiveness – beyond college

The top tier of US research universities is among the most successful higher education institutions in the world. They not only excel in all international rankings, they also form a league of their own with regard to the quality of their research (measured by quality indicators), their high level of teaching (they are annually flooded by college applications from all over the world), and their resources, which average more than twice the annual budget of a top European institution. Combined, they account for the immense attractiveness that has transformed the US higher education system into the most successful host for the more than 3 million internationals students today. The US is still the single largest host country worldwide, with 18% of all globally mobile students choosing a US institution. But is this academic excellence beyond college still home-made?

Recruitment

International students today represent half of all graduate enrollments in engineering, mathematics and computer sciences combined, and one-third in the physical and geo-sciences combined.[18] It is safe to assume that they successfully competed against national applicants, they have a high attainment rate and – more importantly for US R&D –, a high 'stay rate' (an estimated 80% initially plan to stay, according to a NSF study) 95% of foreign graduate students in the STEM disciplines (sciences, technology, engineering, mathematics) receive institutional fellowships from their graduate school, usually from revenues the universities received through tuition fees in the same institution's undergraduate college. Unlike international college (undergraduate) students, international graduate students do not bring money, they bring knowledge, curiosity, and academic excellence, and they excel through graduate school and many will later do so as post-docs in the US. Their share of PhDs received rose to 33% in 2008[19], while at the same time the number of PhDs altogether hardly grew. They contribute to a diverse student body with multi-ethnic backgrounds, primarily from Asia and Europe (60% of the international students are from Asian countries, 15% from Europe).

A similar observation can be made when looking at the population of researchers and scholars in the US. In 2007, there were overall 21.6 million scientists and engineers in the US, of whom 2.3 million (or 16%) were foreign-born. Again, the majority of these came from Asia (half) and Europe (one fifth) and from among those, the majority were from the UK, Germany and Russia.

[18] Cf. Bowen, Kurzweil and Tobin (2005).

[19] Cf. NSF (2008).

Most of these scientists and engineers immigrated between age 18 and 34, assumingly as students, graduate students or post-docs.[20]

To conclude, the US increasingly shares a substantial problem – the lack of young academics – with competitors elsewhere in the world. Therefore, worldwide recruitment, in particular in the STEM disciplines, has become the major supplier of knowledge workers to US higher education, substituting for a lack of qualified (or willing) candidates bred by their own college system back home, and filling niches left open by students who did not make it through the system – not few of these, one must state, for financial reasons only.

Study abroad

The study-abroad rate of US students is the lowest of almost all western industrialized countries, with not more than about 2% of the student population venturing abroad. Most of these are college students, and two thirds of these do not even enroll abroad – they participate in short-term group excursions lasting not longer than four weeks, guided by their teachers, for credit, to mostly European destinations that provide them with some impressions on culture, language and typical customs. These programs are expensive, and increasingly arranged (and billed for at commercial rates) by professional study-abroad providers.

Hardly any data exist on the participation of first-year students or students from different ethnic backgrounds in study abroad programs: one author of a PhD thesis has focused on this subject in 2010, and he states that 82% of study abroad students are of Caucasian (i.e. white) origin, while only 6.6% are of Asian, 5.9% of Hispanic, 4% of Afro-American, and 1.5% of multi-ethnic origin.[21] If these numbers are representative, one cannot but conclude that the participation of 'minorities' in study abroad is clearly below their share in the overall student population. Indirect evidence supports this: IIE's latest *Open Doors* statistics show that by far the smallest number of study-abroad students (7 000 out a total of 265 000) come from 'associate colleges' – exactly the type of institution which make up almost half of all higher education institutions, and the type of institution where most students from diverse backgrounds get their first (and sometimes only) degree.

Several efforts have been made to address this problem, among them on the federal level through the *Fulbright Program*, one key mission of which is to foster diversity both in the US and abroad, and the *Gilman Scholarship*, established in 2006, which "…aims to decrease the participation gap in

[20] Cf. ibid.

[21] Adriano (2010).

study abroad by providing scholarships to low-income students that receive financial aid through the Pell grant…"[22] The German Fulbright Commission has devised a new summer school program, with funding raised from its German alumni and other foundations in Germany for underprivileged students from the US and from Germany. Selected 'future leaders' from diverse backgrounds participate together in a summer school organized by a US or a German university, respectively, to learn about the 'other' culture, language, academic and student life and opportunities to study abroad. This new feeder program, originally based on a pilot program run by the Department of State for European nationals, has an enormous impact on these students: not only do they begin to reflect their role and identity back home from a new point of view, they also are more likely to participate in longer exchanges after return.

Institutions too are well aware of this gap between expected participation rate and the real world for students from underprivileged backgrounds, a dilemma that throws a shadow on most institutions' pledge to foster inclusiveness and equal opportunity. Some have come up with innovative approaches to increase the number of participating students from diverse backgrounds, such as Goucher College, which introduced a 'Goucher voucher' in 2005, a cash contribution for those of this group who enroll in a study abroad program. Another initiative was started by Emory University and the University of Georgia: Their new Broadening Horizons Program is intended to increase the number of minority students in study abroad programs.

Conclusion

Over time, US higher education has been a major driver of inclusion and equal access in society – not necessarily to observe the constitutional mission, but certainly to reach and maintain a high level of academic and professional quality for the benefit of the nation's wealth, growth and (in earlier times) expansion. Supplying the labor market with skilled workers has been the predominant *raison d'être* of institutions since the 1860s, and thus set them apart from missions of traditional European universities. Access for everybody who was skilled for this educational opportunity was and remains crucial for the global success of the US economy and its knowledge-based society. Higher education plays an important role, and hence the current system is one of the most flexible 'systems' in the Western hemisphere, with every possible option or educational track open for every capable student. Were it not for the Community Colleges, a group of more than 1 800 'gateway-to-higher-education' institutions found almost nowhere else in the industrialized world, 8% of todays US PhDs would not have made it into the

[22] ibid.

system, and the majority of low-income students would never have been able to enter tertiary education at all, for financial reasons mostly.

But, despite of the opportunities, throughout history inclusiveness has been a subject of concern. In colonial times, slaves and women were excluded from higher education. Waves of immigration fostered diversity, and the growing number of minorities remained an underrepresented part at higher education institutions over time, but with increasingly differing participation rates. Women not only reached proportional participation rates in the early 20th century, primarily through the advancement of an own category of women's colleges, they now are the majority gender, with almost 60% – raising the question if boys and young men should not be targeted now with earmarked integration efforts in higher education.

Throughout history, data show that students from poorer families had a harder time to participate in higher education. Today, students from socio-economically underprivileged backgrounds, and in particular black and Hispanic students, are less prepared for college, have lower SAT scores, enroll under proportionally despite institutions' fairly low selectivity, and are less likely to finally earn a degree, and if so, on average a lower one than students from affluent backgrounds. This development appears to continue, or even deepen, despite an enormous effort of the federal government to provide financial support through grants and loans to stem the tide. Is it then the quality of primary and secondary education at home that is crucial for success, more so than later efforts to cope with already existing differences? Is it not the social environment, the very early exposure to good pre-schools and schools, mentor systems that complement school's efforts to support those in need of learning help, and the early detection and nurture of talent that are instrumental in shaping the options for a child to embark on the higher education route?

Cost of college is the second most important obstacle to success (and apparently always has been in US history). Costs by far outpaced the share of family income available for college education. Today, the individual states' allocation to 'their' higher education systems makes up not more than about 20% of the actual budgets of these institutions. These, in turn, need to operate more and more like private competitors, raising tuition fees at a much higher rate than the income of their constituency has risen. This business model for public higher education is not likely to work in the future (and certainly not serve the original public mission), if costs and debts over a lifetime cannot be balanced anymore. It could, ultimately, put an end to the 'American Dream' for some, and in particular for some minorities whose demographic share has been on a sharp rise – a development that is found in some European countries as well.

While almost all internationally renowned institutions in the US see inclusiveness and diversity as a core element of their mission, they have to use those tools available to balance these goals and maintain their academic excellence. Recruitment as a major tool to enhance intellectual revenue creates diversity, mainly because in core disciplines students from abroad (primarily Asia and Europe) who apply at much higher rates and are academically more advanced than comparable peers from US colleges constitute between one quarter and a half of the student body (in the STEM disciplines) today. Diversity indeed, but how home-grown is it, and which opportunities does it offer to US students with diverse backgrounds trying to cope with the socio-economic challenges at home? Internationalisation, if seen as a complementary set of recruitment of foreign excellence and costly commercial study-abroad experiences for college students alone, may serve a somewhat disputable goal.

While colleges and universities in general do not provide fellowship support for the vast majority of undergraduate students, graduate schools have established elaborate and well-endowed fellowship opportunities – paid from the undergraduate revenue of the same institution – to attract excellent graduate students from abroad. College and graduate school thus serve distinctly different goals, even in the same institution. All in all, 88% of all college graduates leave 'their' college (or university) after graduation, even in state institutions where an excellent graduate school is literally next door. Could there be an alternative to the current disparity between these educational and economic strategies within the same institution by having college and graduate school within the same institution working together, with a more concerted effort to both meet the diversity goals and breed excellence in one place within the same institution? Would underprivileged students have a better chance if those that excel were mentored through college right into the institution's graduate school – investing into the best and brightest to both meet diversity standards and academic excellence at home? This is the way many leading European institutions are trying to take, particularly in the STEM disciplines, for the better of the institutions and those students who need support.

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Social inclusion and excellence in international higher education: Necessary, achievable and compatible goals

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Limitations on student mobility

Not surprisingly, proponents of international education agree that student mobility across countries and regions produces significant benefits. At the individual level, these include enhanced future employability, personal development, language acquisition and greater intercultural sensitivity – all seen as advantages in today's globalized labor markets.[1] For the sending societies, the opportunity for the 'best and the brightest' to study at the world's top universities holds the promise that they will return with greater knowledge of diverse languages, cultures and business methods, thus increasing their countries' competitive edge in the interconnected world economy. For the host countries, meanwhile, international students[2] are a fiercely contested source of income. Despite a 5% decline in global market share between 2000 and 2009, from 23% to 18%, in 2010/2011, international students in the United States (US) accounted for an estimated $ 21 billion in revenues (OECD 2011; IIE 2011).

These advantages are borne out by the explosive growth of foreign students at the tertiary level. According to OECD and UNESCO data, the number of foreign tertiary students enrolled outside their country of citizenship more than quadrupled over the past three decades, increasing from 0.8 million in 1975 to 3.7 million in 2009. This rate of growth is even faster than the growth rate of tertiary enrollments. By 2009, the latter had expanded to 165 million students, representing a growth rate of 65% since 2000. In the same period

[1] Apparently some countries do not share this view. The number of Japanese students studying abroad declined by 38% between 2004 and 2009, from 83 000 to fewer than 60 000. Some Japanese students say that overseas study hurts their chances for top corporate positions in Japan, since they are seen as too outspoken to advance in Japan's highly regimented corporate culture (*New York Times* 2012).

[2] The IIE data do not distinguish between "international" and "foreign" students. OECD defines "foreign students" as those "enrolled outside their country of citizenship," regardless of where they reside or were born, as opposed to "international students" who have moved from their country of origin for the purpose of studying. I use the terms "international student" and "foreign student" as they are cited in the respective data sources.

the number of foreign students increased from 2.1 million to 3.7 million, a growth rate of 77% (OECD 2011).

Despite these trends, it is premature to claim that international education is broadly accessible. On the contrary, even within Europe, where a period abroad during university study is a "cornerstone of European higher education policy," (Orr 2012) the benchmark of one in five students having studied abroad before graduation has not been met. Loan schemes that might provide more study abroad opportunities for Erasmus students are threatened by Europe's ongoing economic crisis. In the US, international education organizations have promoted study abroad programs for decades. While the absolute number of US students who studied abroad for academic credit has more than tripled over the past two decades, in 2009/2010 it totaled just over 270 600 or 1.4% of the total US higher education population of 19.8 million students (IIE 2011). At the global level, mobility is exercised by only 2% of students, ten times less than the recommended European one-in-five benchmark (OECD 2011).

Within the highly restricted universe of international higher education, access is further circumscribed by financial factors as well as students' socioeconomic background. Beerkens (2012) observes that foreign enrollment in Europe is still "socially selective," even in countries with relatively equitable access to higher education in general, such as Finland, Switzerland, Ireland and the Netherlands. The educational level of one's parents is a key predictor of the next generation's access to international study. For example, highly educated parents were found to be overrepresented among Erasmus students, with 69% of Central and Eastern European students having one or two parents with a higher education degree. In the US, recent research indicates that race, ethnicity and socioeconomic factors inhibit participation in study abroad programs (Beerkens 2012).

Relatively little systematic research has been done on the socio-economic background of international students coming from outside of Europe and the US. However, there is little need to search for factors beyond financial constraints. The costs of study abroad are higher for international than for domestic students in many countries, including the US, the United Kingdom (UK), Australia and Canada, the major English-language study destinations (Beerkens 2012). Scholarships cover only a small portion of the demand for financial assistance. In the US, nearly two-thirds of international students are self-financed, drawing on personal and family funds. Moreover, from the 2009/2010 academic year to the 2010/2011 academic year, every major source of funding for international students declined except self-financing and foreign government or university assistance. Decreasing sources of support included the US government (-9.5%), US private sponsors (-12.9%),

foreign private sponsors (-25.4%) and international organizations (-10.6%). Even with a significant increase (+32.1%), support by foreign governments or universities accounted for only 5.8% of the total primary sources of funding for international students in the US (IIE 2011).

At the global level, data from 2009 show that higher education flows are still largely unidirectional from poorer to richer countries. More than three out of every four foreign students are enrolled in OECD countries, and almost two-thirds of foreign students in the OECD area come from a non-OECD country (OECD 2011). On the sending side, Asian students comprise the largest group of international students, at 52% of the total in all destinations. At the country level, students from China are by far the largest group, comprising 18.2% of all international students enrolled in the OECD area. In contrast, students from Africa account for only 10% of all international students enrolled in the OECD area (OECD 2011). In 2010/2011 Nigeria was the only sub-Saharan African country among the top 25 sending countries to the US, accounting for a mere 1% of all international students in the country (IIE 2011).

Framing the equity issue

If educational mobility is "not for all," (Orr 2012) and global education flows are still marked by disparities among countries, what are the prospects for greater social inclusion in international higher education? Moreover, can more diverse socio-economic groups participate in international higher education without a concomitant "loss" of academic excellence? What would such participation look like, and what types of institutional and financial support would it require?

The experience of the *Ford Foundation International Fellowships Program* (IFP), described below, demonstrates that social inclusion and academic excellence are necessary, achievable and compatible goals in international higher education. Results based on selection, placement and academic attainment of IFP Fellows show unequivocally that members of groups underrepresented in higher education can achieve success in a variety of educational systems. In addition, by targeting fellowships to candidates committed to development and social justice, IFP demonstrates that educational opportunity is an important path not only to individual advancement but broader social change.

The IFP design was based on two key principles. First, it presumed that access to higher education – at home as well as in international settings – is important for both fairness and efficiency. These qualities, in turn, are the cornerstones of social development. The Background Statement of the World Bank project on "Equity of Access and Success in Tertiary Education" quotes

the philosopher John Rawls in substantiating this position. “In justice as fairness,” Rawls argues, “social unity is understood by starting with the conception of society as a system of cooperation between free and equal persons.” An equal opportunity to participate in higher education, especially at the international level, is a powerful way to reduce inequality and increase social cohesion in societies marked by high degrees of social inequality. As the World Bank statement concludes: “A talented, low-income student who is denied entry into tertiary education represents a loss of human capital for the individual person and for society as a whole,” leading to “under-developed human resources and a resulting shortfall in the capacity to capture economic and social benefits” (World Bank 2012).

IFP’s second underlying principle is a corollary to the first. Interventions to increase social inclusion in international education must focus not only on access but also on retention and completion. Lack of academic success could reinforce prevailing stereotypes and contribute to the erroneous perception that only elite students from privileged family and educational backgrounds will benefit from international study. In fact, research shows a “strong correlation between tertiary education enrollment and family background,” leading to the inescapable conclusion that “purposeful action” is required to break the “cycle of inequity” (World Bank 2012). But once that cycle is broken, students from underrepresented groups must succeed academically, in order to refute the assumption – implicit in many arguments against affirmative action policies – that they are incapable of success and therefore do not warrant any compensatory measures.

IFP: promoting social justice through higher education

Since 2001, we have had the extraordinary privilege to test the viability of an international scholarship program based on social justice concepts and dedicated to academic success for its participants. Moreover, we sought, in the long run, to enhance the Fellows’ capacity to contribute to social justice in their home countries and communities. Highly experimental in both design and implementation, the program was intended as a demonstration project. It was funded for a specified time, a decade, and carried out in the world’s major developing regions. The purpose was to benefit a large but finite number of Fellows and also to derive lessons about educational access, academic excellence and the ways in which equity-based scholarship programs could have a positive impact on individuals, institutions and communities. These lessons, in turn, would be shared with other scholarship providers, universities, scholars and education policy makers seeking to increase social inclusion in their own programs and institutions.

Approved by the Ford Foundation in November 2000 with an allocation of $ 280 million,[3] the program awarded a total of 4 320[4] fellowships for post-graduate study to students from Russia and 21 other countries and territories in Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America in 187 selections held between 2001 and 2010.[5] As of early June, 2012, 3 532 IFP Fellows had successfully completed their fellowships at 538 universities in 47 host countries, while 788 Fellows are currently enrolled at 212 universities in 29 host countries.

Recruitment and selection

The major challenge for IFP was to recruit academically qualified candidates drawn from targeted "equity groups" who had also demonstrated social commitment and leadership capacity. This combination of selection criteria was critical to the program's overall social justice vision. To determine their specific target group(s), the program's International Partners (IPs) – organizations receiving Ford Foundation grant funds to carry out the program in different countries[6] – utilized census and household survey data, sociological analyses

[3] The grant to the International Fellowships Fund (IFF) for IFP was the largest single grant in the history of the Ford Foundation. In 2006, the Foundation pledged up to $75 million in additional funds to IFF, allowing IFP to award approximately 820 additional fellowships beyond the original projection.

[4] Net of 125 Fellows who withdrew or whose fellowships were terminated during the fellowship period.

[5] Fellows are selected from the following countries and territories: in Africa, Ghana, Kenya, Mozambique, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa, Uganda, and Tanzania; in the Middle East, Egypt and West Bank/Gaza; in Asia, China, India, Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam; in Latin America, Brazil, Chile, Guatemala, Mexico, and Peru; and Russia.

[6] IFP 22 "International Partners," (IPs) technically sub-grantees of the International Fellowships Fund (IFF), implemented the program in the various countries and regions. The IPs include:
· Africa America Institute, Johannesburg, South Africa and Maputo, Mozambique;
· AMIDEAST, Cairo, Egypt, and Ramallah, Palestine;
· Asian Scholarship Foundation, Bangkok, Thailand;
· Association for Advancement of Higher Education and Development, Kampala, Uganda;
· Association of African Universities, Accra, Ghana;
· Carlos Chagas Foundation, São Paulo, Brazil;
· Center for Educational Exchange with Vietnam, Hanoi;
· Center for Research and Higher Studies in Social Science, Mexico City;
· Center for Research on the Mesoamerica Region, Antigua, Guatemala;
· Economic and Social Research Foundation, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania;
· Indonesian International Education Foundation, Jakarta;
· Forum for African Women Educationalists, Nairobi, Kenya;
· Institute for International Education/China, Beijing;
· Institute of International Education/Latin America, Mexico City;
· Institute of International Education/Russia, Moscow;
· Fundación Equitas, Santiago, Chile;
· Pathfinder International, Abuja, Nigeria;
· Philippines Social Science Council, Manila;
· United States India Educational Foundation, New Delhi; and
· West African Research Center, Dakar, Senegal.

and assessments of national education systems. These data indicated which groups and communities were least likely in a given country or region to have gained systematic access to higher education. Factors such as place of birth, current residence, parents' educational level and family income, as well as evidence of discrimination based on age, gender, race and ethnicity were taken into account. Once the target group(s) had been identified, the IPs designed recruitment strategies to inform these groups about the program and encourage them to apply for the fellowships. Thus target group identification was based on the specifics of each local context, rather than on a "one size fits all" definition.

Data collected between 2003 and 2010 by the Center for Higher Education Policy Studies (CHEPS), based at the University of Twente in the Netherlands, indicate that IFP successfully recruited and selected candidates from social groups with limited access to higher education. Even though specific target groups varied across countries, certain indicators are valid predictors of limited educational access at the global level. Data on the socio-economic background of selected finalists[7] from the 2010 selection, for example, show that the majority of selected finalists were born in small cities/towns or rural areas; had parents with low levels of education; and considered their families to earn below average income. Longitudinal data collected between 2003 and 2010 show that these indicators are consistent over time. During that period, 68% of selected finalists were born in small cities/towns or rural areas; 82% indicated that their father had no higher education; and 73% indicated that when they were 16 years of age, their families had incomes below the national average.

[7] Approximately 95% of all selected finalists advanced to full Fellow status. Fellow status was granted after a selected finalists was "endorsed" by the IFP Secretariat in New York and received and accepted a university admission.

Table 1: Socio-demographic background of IFP finalists selected in 2010 by home region, %

	Latin America	Africa	Asia/Russia	Total
Birth Place				
Metropolitan	13	13	4	9
Urban	30	26	20	25
Small city/town	33	24	39	32
Rural	24	37	37	34
Highest educational degree of mother				
No educational degree	27	40	17	27
Primary school	46	26	29	33
Secondary school	21	17	41	27
Higher education	5	13	11	10
Other degree/education	1	5	2	3
Highest educational degree of father				
No educational degree	11	24	7	14
Primary school	52	25	24	32
Secondary school	26	25	45	33
Higher education	9	22	22	18
Other degree/education	3	5	3	3
Parental family income at Finalist's age 16				
Below average	93	75	73	79
Average	6	23	26	19
Above average	1	3	1	2

Source: Enders and Kottmann, 2011a

CHEPS also collected data on the selected finalists' experiences with social injustice – an indirect way to measure marginalization or social exclusion. On a scale from 1 'not at all' to 5 'to a high extent,' a significant percentage of selected finalists in 2010 reported poverty, coming from/living in a remote or rural area, and ethnicity as the major reasons for their experiences of social injustice. Gender, political discrimination, and race were also frequently mentioned factors. Despite regional variations, these indicators also remained consistent over time. Between 2004 and 2010, selected finalists repeatedly

cite poverty, coming from or living in a remote or rural area, and ethnicity as the basis for their own personal experiences of injustice.

Table 2: Experiences of social injustice of IFP finalists selected in 2010, by home region, %*

	Latin America	Africa	Asia/ Russia	Total
Poverty	65	51	49	54
Coming from/living in a remote or rural area	35	35	37	36
Ethnicity	46	27	22	31
Gender	37	28	27	30
Political discrimination	30	23	20	24
Race	41	18	13	22
Violence/war	20	22	21	21
Coming from/living in a politically unstable region	17	22	19	20
Religion	6	14	16	13
Sexual orientation	9	14	13	12
Other	26	38	21	27

* Answer categories 4 and 5 on a scale from 1 ‘not at all’ to 5 ‘to a high extent’

Source: Enders and Kottmann 2011a

Country and regional level data confirm that the program successfully recruited and selected Fellows from marginalized groups with limited access to higher education. In Latin America, where ethnicity and race are major markers of poverty and marginalization, approximately 80% of over 1 000 Fellows are indigenous or afro-descendant. In Africa and the Middle East, where women and populations outside the major metropolitan and urban areas have limited options for higher education, almost two-thirds of nearly 1 450 Fellows come from rural areas or small cities and towns, and just under half are female. In Asia/Russia, where rural poverty remains prevalent despite massive urbanization, almost three-fourths of just under 1 900 Fellows come from rural areas or small cities and towns. A significant number belong to ethnic, linguistic, and religious minorities. These include Tibetans and Uighurs in China, Khmers, Chams and Edes from rural areas in Vietnam, and Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes from India. Finally, physical disability and gender are also major exclusion factors in many societies. 3.4% of Fellows are persons with disabilities, while 50% are women. The percentage of women selected met our goal of gender parity

at the global level, set in response to varying rates of female participation in higher education throughout the world.[8]

IFP's decentralized selection process was the key to successfully recruiting qualified candidates from the designated target groups. The program's IPs invited academics, civil society leaders and other professionals, usually from the home country but also at times from neighboring countries or other regions, to serve on independent selection committees. Committee members were rotated on a regular basis. The IFP Secretariat provided information on policy guidelines, selection procedures and scoring instruments but each IP organization adapted the generic IFP selection model to its selected target group(s) and national education system.

Committee members reviewed applications, conducted interviews and ultimately selected Fellows at the country or regional level. These individuals were called "Fellows-designate." The final step in the process occurred when the IFP Secretariat – the global policy and planning unit for the program at the global level[9] – "endorsed" the Fellows-designate, questioning only those whose profiles differed from the program's global guidelines.[10] The Secretariat sent the few 'non-endorsed' cases back to the local committees for further explanation or replacement by alternates. To ensure transparency, no IP staff member or Ford Foundation representative participated in the selection decisions.

This multi-layered selection process enabled IFP to draw on extensive local knowledge of widely disparate societies while maintaining the program's global identity. Once the target groups had been determined, the multiple review stages implemented in each country allowed for a comprehensive assessment of each individual candidate. Working together, the IPs and selection committee members decided how performance on the global selection

[8] From 1970 to 2009 female participation in higher education increased from 8 to 28%, exceeding the growth rate for men that rose from 11 to 26% during the same period. By 2009 the Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) was higher for women than men in North America, Western Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, Central and Eastern Europe and East Asia and the Pacific. The Arab States show parity, while sub-Saharan Africa and South and West Asia have GERs favoring men (Calvi 2012).

[9] Based in New York City, the IFP Secretariat is responsible for management of the International Fellowships Fund (IFF), an independently incorporated supporting organization to the Institute of International Education (IIE). IFF is the primary grantee of the Ford Foundation for the International Fellowships Program (IFP). The Fund acts as a global operating foundation, making institutional grants to support the International Partners that implement IFP at the country and regional level.

[10] After endorsement by the IFP Secretariat, "Fellows-designate" became "Fellows-elect," advancing to full Fellow status only after accepting an admission to a graduate study program (see note 7, above).

criteria would be assessed and compared in their particular setting. To measure academic achievement, for example, the program required that candidates hold a bachelor's or equivalent degree but did not establish a uniform cut-off for grade point averages or class of degree. Similarly, social commitment and leadership capacity are highly dependent on social context and could be demonstrated in diverse ways in numerous situations. Indicators for these criteria were developed and adapted to each country or region, with some changes occurring over time as the IPs and committees gained more experience with the program.

The CHEPS data on selected finalists show that IFP successfully identified candidates from the target groups who met all three program-wide selection criteria. Despite regional variations, nearly all selected finalists in 2010 held the required degrees; had demonstrated social commitment in their paid professional or voluntary work in areas such as education, community development and children, and youth and family; and reported leadership experience in community based organizations, student organizations, families and extended families, NGOs, and other similar arenas. These figures vary somewhat over time but the totals reported between selections held in 2003/2004[11] and 2010 indicate that nearly all those selected met the program's universal selection criteria, albeit in different ways in different settings.

Table 3: Educational background, social commitment and leadership capacity of IFP selected finalists in 2010, %

	Latin America	Africa	Asia/ Russia	Total
Degree Prior to IFP				
Bachelor's Degree	89	70	68	75
(Advanced) Master's Degree	1	2	25	11
Professional Degree	6	5	4	5
Candidate of Science	1	0	0	1
Other	3	21	2	9
Social Commitment and Leadership				
Social Commitment in Paid Professional Work	78	80	87	82
Social Commitment in Volunteer Work	98	98	88	94
Leadership Experience	96	98	97	97

Source: Enders and Kottmann 2011a

[11] Selected indicators were added to the 2004 Finalists Questionnaires.

A Program for academic success

If the first part of IFP's challenge was selecting Fellows who represented the program's social justice priorities, both in terms of their origins and their commitment to and capacity for leading social action, the second part was enabling the Fellows to achieve academic success in their post-graduate programs. To the maximum extent possible, the program supported activities that would at least partially compensate for the Fellows' lack of previous access to sustained, high quality education.

Early on, IFP recognized early on the critical importance of preparatory or pre-academic training as a way to enhance the academic readiness of Fellows who had the capacity but not necessarily the prior training to succeed in highly competitive post-graduate programs. Taking advantage of the time lag between the award decision and the enrollment cycle in most countries[12], IFP supported tailored individual and small group courses in areas including foreign language instruction, academic writing in the Fellows' own language, research methods, basic statistics, and computer skills for academic settings. Recognizing the importance of English as the dominant international language, English language instruction was offered even to Fellows who planned to study in a non-English language program.[13] In some sites, modules in financial management, intercultural communication and adaptation strategies for international students were included in the pre-academic training package.

Offered by local universities, language and training institutes, as well as individual consultants, these courses varied in length and intensity and were offered through a mix of online and residential methods. For example, computer and research methods courses met for a few weeks in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. In contrast, Fellows from Vietnam who had to master English because of limited options for post-graduate study in Vietnamese participated in five to seven months of English language training in Vietnam. Over 90% of all IFP Fellows participated in some form of in-country pre-academic training. In addition, approximately one-third of Fellows enrolled in bridging programs or other forms of pre-sessional training at their host universities.

Just as pre-academic training helped Fellows to compensate for gaps in their previous training, placement assistance provided by IFP assisted them to enroll

[12] IFP selections typically concluded between March/April and July/August in a given year. Fellows were required to obtain admission to a post-graduate program within one year of selection. Most Fellows therefore initiated their studies in the calendar year following selection, e.g. a Fellow selected in 2010 would begin his or her academic program in 2011.

[13] IFP saw knowledge of English as an "exit benefit" rather than an "entrance requirement." Unlike many international scholarship programs, IFP did not have a universal English language eligibility requirement. The program also provided funds for English language study during the fellowship period.

in full-time post-graduate programs. As a matter of policy, many fellowships are contingent upon acceptance by universities. IFP inverted this practice, first awarding the fellowships and then assisting with placements. Thus the program worked with selected candidates to assess their educational needs and assist them to clarify their research interests and study objectives. Most sites brought in subject area experts for these tasks; often, these individuals had been members of selection committees who were already familiar with particular Fellows.

Once Fellows had defined their academic priorities and selected their preferred study region, the IPs forwarded their dossiers to designated educational service organizations. These included the Institute of International Education (IIE), responsible for placements in North America, the British Council, for the UK, and Nuffic (the Netherlands Organization for International Cooperation in Higher Education), for continental Europe. By submitting applications directly to universities, the "Placement Partners" were able to vouch for individuals whose academic records may have appeared excessively risky due to inadequate preparation in the selected field or low scores on entrance exams, among other factors. For in-country and in-region Fellows, or for cross-regional placements, for example, Mozambican Fellows who studied in Brazil, the relevant IPs acted as "Placement Partners." In countries where IFP did not have any partner organizations, such as Australia and Costa Rica, the universities themselves assisted with multiple placements.

After accepting an admission offer and completing the available pre-academic training and pre-departure orientation, each individual Fellow initiated his or her study period. The IPs were charged with monitoring all active Fellows during the entire study period, a proactive process ranging from approving fellowship renewals and requests for research, professional development and family support funds to interventions in the case of medical and other personal emergencies. The placement organizations were also responsible for emergency monitoring in their respective geographical areas. They interceded directly with the host universities to resolve cases of delayed payments, changes in academic programs, and visa, insurance or health problems. Working together with the IFP Secretariat, this dense network of support organizations provided an important safety net for many Fellows who faced significant challenges in adapting to highly competitive post-graduate programs.[14]

[14] In addition to the usual pressures facing all post-graduate students, nearly 40% of IFP Fellows were older than 35 years of age at the time of application. Most of these Fellows had been out of school for a decade or more after completing their undergraduate degrees. Among the two-thirds of Fellows who studied outside of their home country or region, virtually none had prior international experience. On the financial side, while the fellowship itself was generous, nearly half of IFP Fellows had temporary rather than permanent employment contracts prior to initiating their studies. For these fellows, job security was certainly not guaranteed. Moreover, substantial family support was not included in the benefits package, posing a serious opportunity cost for the many heads-of-household who took up the fellowship.

Tracking academic outcomes

The net effect of the pre-academic training, placement, and multi-layered monitoring services provided by the program for IFP's "non-traditional" student population was overwhelmingly positive. Although it is difficult to attribute specific outcomes to particular components of the IFP "package," data at the aggregate level strongly suggest that the program's comprehensive approach to academic readiness and student support was highly successful. The program tracked three primary sets of indicators related to academic performance: (1) placement and retention rates; (2) placement in degree programs, fields and host countries suited to the Fellows' interests and competencies; and (3) completion/degree attainment rates.[15]

In terms of placement and retention, at the Fellow-elect stage, 220 withdrew or were terminated from the program during the placement process.[16] After initiating their graduate programs, 125 Fellows withdrew or were terminated. This figure represents only 2.8% of the total enrolled Fellows. Although in some cases the exact reasons are difficult to pin down, health and family problems or violations of IFP policies, rather than strictly academic performance issues, led to the majority of these withdrawals and terminations. Placement data show that IFP Fellows gained admissions at both the master and doctoral level and in a wide range of academic fields corresponding to their academic and social justice interests. In keeping with the fellowship's global portability, Fellows enrolled in public and private universities distributed in all major geographical areas, including the Fellows' home regions.

[15] Completion/attainment is defined as successfully completing all academic requirements and earning the post-graduate degree in the program supported by the IFP fellowship.

[16] 55 of the 220 places vacated by terminations or withdrawals at the Fellow-elect stage were filled by alternates.

Table 4: Academic degrees, host regions, fields of study, top ten universities and countries of study

Academic Degrees	**%**
MA & Similar	84
PhD & Similar	16
Academic Fields	**%**
Environment, Health & Applied Sciences	30
Education and Communications	19
Law, Governance & Human Rights	14
Social Sciences	13
Development Studies	10
Arts & Humanities	9
Economics & Business Administration	5
Host Regions	**%**
US & Canada	32
UK	20
Continental Europe	12
In-region	33
Other International	3
Top Ten Universities of Study	**# of Fellows**
University of Hawaii, Manoa (US)	167
Brandeis University (US)	155
University of Birmingham (UK)	145
University of Sussex at Brighton (UK)	95
University of Manchester (UK)	82
Asian Institute of Technology (Thailand)	77
Clark University (US)	77
University of London (UK)	76
Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo (Brazil)	75
University of Leeds (UK)	75

Top Ten Countries of Study	# of Fellows
US	1 344
UK	867
Brazil	328
Spain	252
Netherlands	183
Mexico	174
Russia	151
Thailand	141
South Africa	124
Chile	111

Source: IFP Data 2012

Completion/degree attainment rates are a critical indicator of academic success for the fellowship holders. Despite differences between early and later cohorts, type of degree and location of study, the overall degree attainment rate of more than 3 300 IFP alumni surveyed in early 2012 was 90.9%.[17] Notably, only 0.5% of alumni surveyed indicated that they discontinued their studies completely. This result is verified by the higher completion/degree attainment result of 96.6% found among "early alumni" who concluded their fellowships by the end of 2006. Another notable finding is that women slightly outperformed men in nearly every degree category. Finally, while degree attainment rates for doctoral Fellows were lower than those of master's candidates, this was not unexpected, since the maximum fellowship period was three years. Most doctoral Fellows required other sources of support to complete their degrees.

[17] Questionnaires were distributed to all 3 329 IFP alumni who had concluded their fellowships by the end of 2011. The response rate was 53.1%, representing 1 722 alumni from 22 countries.

Table 5: Degree attainment by cohort and gender, by degree and gender, by study location and gender, %

Early Alumni*			Intermediate Alumni**			Recent Alumni***			Total		
F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T
97.7	95.6	96.6	94.5	91.4	92.8	84.2	85.0	84.6	91.6	90.3	90.9
Masters			**PhD**			**Other degrees**			**Total**		
F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T
94.9	94.2	94.6	74.5	72.9	73.6	86.4	76.9	82.9	92.2	90.3	91.3
Out-of-region			**In-region, but not in home country**			**In-country**			**Total**		
F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T
94	93.6	93.8	92.3	93.3	93.0	83.6	73.0	79.1	91.6	90.3	90.9

Source: Enders and Kottmann 2012

*Early Alumni – Fellowship ended by the end of 2006; **Intermediate Alumni – Fellowship ended by the end of 2009; ***Recent Alumni – Fellowship ended by the end of 2011. F=Female, M=Male, T=Total

Calculating social justice returns

Much of IFP's potential impact would have been vitiated if the Fellows had used the opportunity exclusively for personal advancement. The Ford Foundation's longer-term goal in supporting the program was to enhance the Fellows' capacity to contribute to social justice and development in their home countries and communities. However, these contributions may take years to unfold[18], and it may be difficult to attribute Fellows' future actions directly to the fellowship. Nonetheless, we are currently tracking the large population of IFP alumni on five key sets of indicators: (1) current residence; (2) current employment; (3) social commitment in both paid professional and voluntary work; (4) leadership positions attained; and (5) their own evaluation of their impact on social justice issues. We are also collecting news items, reports, publications and self-reported stories from hundreds of alumni. Both statistically and anecdotally, our information confirms that the fellowship enabled the vast majority of IFP alumni to bring new knowledge and skills to bear on social justice issues facing their home countries and communities. Numerous prizes and awards, testimonies of colleagues and media reports as well as research and publications substantiate the Fellows' reports that they are having an impact on their societies (Enders and Kottmann 2012).

The first challenge in achieving this result was avoiding "brain drain." As international education researcher Philip Altbach concludes in a recent arti-

[18] The Institute of International Education will conduct a 10-year tracking study of IFP alumni starting in 2013 when IFP concludes.

cle, it is premature to conclude that “brain drain” is obsolete and has been supplanted by more equitable “brain exchange” among the highly educated, globally mobile labor force. Just as international student mobility remains largely unidirectional, from developing and emerging countries to wealthier ones, skilled labor flows in the same direction. For example, despite government incentives for returning academics and entrepreneurs, the return rates for Chinese and Indian doctoral graduates in the US have decreased in the past two decades, to 7.4% and 10.3%, respectively. There is considerable variation but high percentages of foreign doctoral graduates from all parts of the world and in all fields remain in the US after completing their studies (Altbach 2012). Recent research by the World Bank shows that “brain drain” or the outflow of qualified professionals to richer countries remains an acute problem in poor countries, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, Central America and island states in the Caribbean (Gibson and McKenzie 2011).

Data from the 2012 IFP CHEPS alumni survey make clear that the program has not contributed to the brain drain problem. In 2012, 82.1% of respondents were living in their home community or country. This included 77.3% of Fellows who studied outside of their home region, 88.5% of Fellows who studied in their home region but not in their home country, and 97.1% of Fellows who studied in their home country. Among the 17.9% of respondents currently living outside of their home country, only 11.5% indicated that they intended to stay abroad permanently.

The survey also shows that IFP alumni are successful in obtaining employment, and that many are continuing professional training or academic study. The alumni are working at home: 90% of those who are employed are working in their home community or home country. More than half are employed in the public sector, with the rest working either in the not-for-profit or the private sectors. They are based in a broad range of governmental and non-governmental organizations at the local, national and international level. The IFP alumni are advancing into leadership positions; as professionals, they remain committed to social justice causes in areas such as education, community development, environmental issues and children, youth and family. The vast majority of alumni report that they are applying the knowledge gained in the post-graduate studies to their professional activities. Based on awards, prizes, promotions, publications and feedback from others, the alumni are confident that they are having a strong social justice impact.

A remaining task for IFP is to systematically compare these results to data from other programs. Our hypothesis, though, is that it will be difficult to find comparable data, much less establish benchmarks as to what constitutes social impact for different fellowship programs. Typical tracer studies report completion, return and employment rates but rarely focus on how individu-

Table 6: Current residence, current main activity, leadership positions, impact on social justice, %

Current Residence by Home Region	**Latin America**	**Africa**	**Asia/Russia**	**Total**
Living in my Home country or community	84.0	79.2	82.9	82.1
Living in another country	15.9	20.8	17.0	17.9
Current Main Activity by Home Region	**Latin America**	**Africa**	**Asia/Russia**	**Total**
Employment and/or Academic Study	91.5	91.1	93.5	92.4
Other Main Activity	8.6	8.9	6.5	7.7
Leadership Positions by Alumni Cohort	**Early Alumni**	**Intermediate Alumni**	**Recent Alumni**	**Total**
Senior Management or Leadership Position	69.0	70.3	57.0	65.8
Current Position Related to Social Commitment	84.8	89.2	89.9	88.3
Applying Knowledge and Impact on Social Justice by Alumni Cohort	**Early Alumni**	**Intermediate Alumni**	**Recent Alumni**	**Total**
Applying Knowledge in Professional Activities*	87.1	83.1	82.7	84.0
General Evaluation of Impact**	82.2	82.2	83.9	82.7

Source: Enders and Kottmann 2012

*Answer categories 4 and 5 on a scale from 1 'strongly disagree/not at all' to 5 'strongly agree/to a very high extent'; **Answer categories 4 and 5 on a scale from 1 'not at all strong' to 5 'very strong'

als affect their workplaces and communities. Indeed, survey methodology appears to be of limited usefulness in this regard, since the information is self-reported. Extensive questionnaires – which would lower response rates – would be necessary to elicit more detailed information on why the alumni felt they were having a strong social justice impact, or how they (or others) felt they were achieving those effects.

Fortunately, IFP has conducted several country-based studies of alumni reinsertion into their home countries, including in China, India and Mexico. These studies, along with numerous individual case histories, document the social justice issues that dominate in particular communities, and how alumni are involved in them. Based on this evidence, we can assert with confidence that many IFP alumni are deeply involved in processes of social change. Not a day

passes when we fail to receive word of some extraordinary achievement by an IFP alumnus – an award, an exhibition, international and national recognition. Nearly always, these individual achievements stem from the Fellows' efforts to transform their communities. The most recent is the Rolex 2012 Award for Science and Health given to IFP Fellow Willis Aggrey Otieno from Kenya.[19]

Conclusion

Many important findings emerge from the IFP experience. Most relevant to the 2012 ACA Annual Conference's holistic theme of "tying it all together," IFP demonstrates that it is possible for a fellowship program to maintain high selectivity ("excellence") while not only tolerating social inclusiveness but also actively seeking it out.[20] Moreover, excellence and inclusiveness need not be lost in a program dedicated to promoting international mobility. On the contrary, with proper support structures in place, individual beneficiaries can achieve academic success (another manifestation of "excellence") in a wide variety of higher education institutions.

These findings have important implications. It will certainly be challenging to match the high level and long period of funding that IFP received from the Ford Foundation. Government agencies that sponsor international scholarship programs, for their part, may be much less open to innovation. Nonetheless, educational institutions and programs that seek greater inclusiveness while maintaining high academic standards can replicate certain relevant elements of the IFP model. First, even universities with limited overseas recruiting budgets should seek to involve local organizations if they aim to reach beyond capital cities and elites in sending countries. The importance of relying on local knowledge and expertise to identify candidates who authentically represent marginalized or excluded groups cannot be overstated.

Second, because academic excellence is achievable but not automatic for "non-traditional" students whose educational backgrounds almost certainly suffer from major gaps, preparation for overseas study in the form of courses in foreign languages, especially English, academic writing, computer skills and various intercultural competencies should be supported for incoming students. These interventions require a relatively low-cost up-front investment but yield consistently high returns. With internet access steadily improving even in remote areas in poor countries, new online delivery systems can be devised to offer in-country preparatory training in a highly cost-effective way.

[19] For the Rolex Award story see: http://www.rolexawards.com/profiles/laureates/aggrey_otieno. Many other IFP Fellow stories are available on the IFP website, www.fordifp.org.

[20] IFP received approximately 80 000 completed applications for 4 338 fellowship slots, a 5% selection rate at the global level.

Third, host institutions can increase their proportion of "non-traditional" international students by adopting more flexible admissions policies, including conditional admissions. Support should not end there, however. Universities should also offer bridging programs and strong academic counseling to participating students, allowing them to make timely transitions into their full-time academic programs as their skill levels improve. As Beerkens points out, universities also need to offer services that support the "social integration" of international students (2012). While all international students benefit from multiple support systems that help them to address practical, cultural and health issues, this need can be particularly acute for students with no previous international experience or financial cushion. Access to reliable health care services is especially important for vulnerable populations who may have previously undiagnosed underlying conditions.

Finally, on the policy level, many countries have established poverty reduction and development as their primary foreign assistance goals. Scholarships awarded under bilateral cooperation programs can directly contribute to these goals, provided that study opportunities are targeted to qualified candidates from marginalized social groups. Our program has demonstrated that such candidates far exceed the number of available scholarships. Even with limited financial resources, embassies or consulates that usually manage these programs can reach beyond the usual elites. Working with local organizations, they can focus on recruitment among poor candidates from urban peripheral or rural areas, racial and ethnic minorities, persons with disabilities and women, depending on the prevailing types of social exclusion. If the selected individuals, in turn, are deeply committed to improving conditions in their home countries, the donor governments will help to mitigate the risk of brain drain and also reduce social inequality in the recipient countries – a major contribution to sustainable and equitable development.

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Funding of higher education: Diversifying the universities' income

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European University Association

Introduction

Financial sustainability is one of the key challenges for Europe's universities today. Despite the tremendous diversity that exists in Europe, higher education systems are increasingly under pressure due to rising student populations, declining public funding and mounting costs of teaching and research activities, and therefore facing the same challenge of designing sustainable funding models.

Since 2006 the European University Association (EUA) has been conducting research on the topic of financial sustainability. The first study on this topic explored the development of full costing in European universities and the ways to improve their capacity to better identify the full costs of all their activities. Maintaining an appropriate degree of diversity in the funding structure is another important step for universities to achieve financial sustainability. This was the focus of the *European Universities – Diversifying Income Streams* (EUDIS) project which EUA undertook with its partners HUMANE (the Heads of University Management and Administration Network in Europe), the Bavarian State Institute for Higher Education Research and Planning, and the University of Bologna.

The EUDIS study builds upon previous work developed by EUA on university financial sustainability and governance, and has involved major data collection in over 27 European countries. Quantitative data were collected through several questionnaires to university representatives and public authorities and qualitative data through site visits to universities and in-depth case study contributions at seminars and conferences.

The first section of this paper aims to provide the reader with an overview of the study, while exploring some of the key findings of this research.[1] It provides a concrete definition of income diversification, analyses its drivers and the current state of play in Europe. It further explores the challenges that universities face today in relation to the way they are funded, the framework conditions needed for a successful diversification of funds, and details a "roadmap" for universities to develop an income diversification strategy. In

[1] The report "Financially sustainable universities II: European universities diversifying income streams" is available on EUA's website: www.eua.be/eudis.

the second section, the paper explores some key concepts of higher education, i.e. social dimension, internationalisation and excellence, from the perspective of income diversification.

Income diversification in higher education

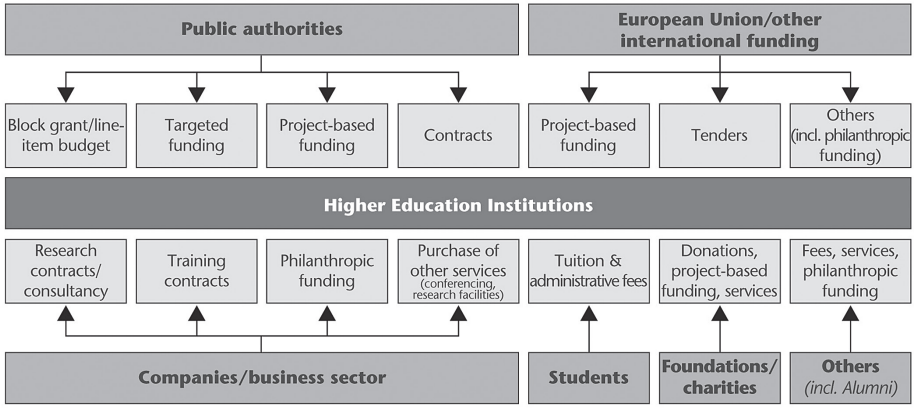
What does income diversification mean in the higher education sector?

In the framework of EUA's work, income diversification is understood as the generation of additional income (through new or existing funding sources) that contributes to balancing the income structure of the institution. It is a tool to achieve financial sustainability, if the conditions in which the universities operate allow and require it. In turn, financial sustainability aims to ensure a university's academic goals are reached by guaranteeing that the institution produces sufficient income to enable it to invest in its future academic activities.

This discussion considers the distribution and diversification of funding sources in general and in particular within the categories of public funding and of additional (other) funding sources. The latter includes income generated from contracts with the private sector (research contracts and education-related activities), philanthropic funding, income generated by the provision of services – rental of facilities, residences, catering, libraries, museums, consultancy... – and income through financial investment activities.

The figure below shows the diversity of entities/institutions from which universities may receive funds and the variety of means through which these funds may be delivered to the universities.

Figure 1: Income sources and funding modalities



Drivers to income diversification

Why do universities seek to diversify their funds?

Universities face external challenges, such as pressures on public budgets, globalisation and internationalisation of higher education, which increase competition but also provide new opportunities for activity expansion. These evolutions also drive institutions to seek additional funding from other sources. Income diversification may be strategically adopted to develop activities responding to new missions, and to reinforce the position of an institution on the local, national or international stage by enhancing its competitiveness.

Risk management constitutes one of the major drivers for income diversification for universities in Europe. The perception that it is necessary to spread financial risks is commonly shared among universities, especially in the light of the consequences of the economic crisis[2] and on the basis of pessimistic expectations regarding future trends in funding coming from "traditional" sources. Developing additional funding streams becomes necessary to mitigate negative consequences of a sudden drop in income or to fuel further growth of the institution's activities.

Universities also tend to approach income diversification as a means to gain more flexibility in their internal financial management, as public funding often comes with complex administrative requirements. Different public funders tend to establish various, and at times incompatible, rules and modalities. Income generated through commercial or fundraising activities is perceived as being comparatively easier to manage and has the advantage that it can be allocated internally without restrictions. Having said that, while some additional income sources do offer this type of flexibility, it is evident that contracts with private partners can be just as demanding as public funding programmes. Often, the private sector works according to funding modalities that limit the company's contribution to partial funding of the contracted activities.

State of play

How are universities funded in Europe?

In Europe, direct public funding continues to be the most important income source for universities, representing, on average, close to three quarters of an institution's budget. Direct public funding mostly comes to the university as a block grant, leaving the leadership with the responsibility of internal allocation of resources. Public authorities tend to resort to funding formulae to

[2] See below "the impact of the economic crisis".

determine these grants, increasingly taking output-based and performance-related criteria into account. In parallel, public authorities use more and more competitive and targeted funding, a trend which has been exacerbated by reduced investment capacities.

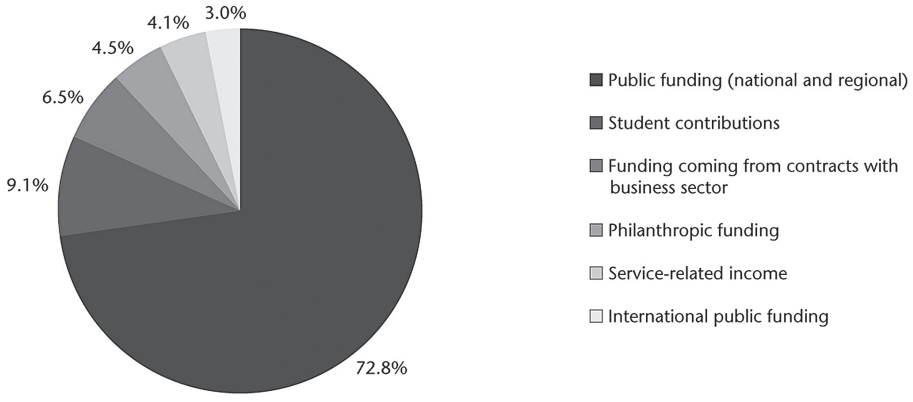
Student financial contributions or fees have the potential to constitute a large income source. Such an income source is considered by those who can charge them as fairly predictable, and therefore give the university the ability to make long term investments. Its importance varies greatly, however, depending on the legal framework in which universities operate. In some countries like England (25% on average) or Spain (13% on average), it represents a significant income source. In many other European countries, although universities can charge fees on selected groups of students, the fee level is often regulated by the state, and therefore in some cases the income from fees contributes only a small percentage of a university's total income. Student populations are often segmented according to academic level or different criteria (national origin, on-campus or distance studies, part-time or full-time, language of classes, etc.), painting a complex picture across Europe. Although different perceptions and traditions exist across Europe on the inclusion of fees in the funding model for higher education, the debate around the balance between fees and student support is gaining relevance in most countries – especially in view of the economic downturn – and will continue to be at the heart of the discussion around funding models for higher education in the coming years. The topic is further addressed in the section exploring the interrelations between funding and the social dimension of higher education.

Additional sources represent almost 20% of the budget of a majority of universities. In some cases, this type of funds amount to between a fourth and a third of the institution's income structure. Contracts with private partners represent the largest additional source with an average of 6.5%. It varies significantly between institutions though, ranging from 1% to 25% of the income structure. Philanthropic funding amounts to 4% of the total income of a university, on average, with some universities generating close to 10% of their income from this source. While universities in the United Kingdom are generally more successful in their fundraising activities, the study also found successful examples in other countries. Foundations are the universities' main partners in this context, but companies and alumni are also getting more involved. Income generated from the provision of services averages 4% of a university's income structure, but the ability to generate such funds is highly differentiated across Europe. Some British universities receive between 10 and 25% of their total income from this type of activities. Financial and staffing autonomy, experience and expertise to provide consultancy or facility-related services play an important role in the institution's capacity to

generate such income. Management of conference facilities, catering and accommodation (including student residences) represent the largest part of this income source, followed by consultancy services, educational services and commercialisation of research results.

International public funding is almost exclusively made up of European funds, such as the Structural Funds, the European research framework programme and the Lifelong Learning Programme.

Figure 2: Average income distribution



The EUDIS study also asked university leaders how they expect the institutions' income streams to evolve in the near future. A clear majority expects public funding for teaching to decrease over the coming years. They also expect to receive more income from more sources and in particular anticipate that the smallest sources (European and philanthropic funding) will grow. Since the proposed budget for the upcoming European research funding programme *Horizon 2020* is significantly higher than that for the previous *7th Framework Programme*, university leaders also see the importance of paying attention to the rules for participation and the proposed funding model, as this will have a significant impact on universities.

Funding challenges

Discussions on funding models must take account of the related challenges that need to be overcome if Europe's universities are to continue to provide high quality teaching and excellent research.

Impact of the economic crisis

EUA has been monitoring[3] the evolution of public funding to higher education since the onset of the economic crisis in 2008. Since public funding represents on average close to 75% of the universities' financial structure, reductions from this source immediately have an important impact on the functioning of the institutions. The continuous feedback that EUA collected from various sources provided up-to-date reports of the situation and highlighted the evolving nature of the effects the economic crisis has had on higher education across Europe.[4]

Public funding is not only diminishing in many countries, but also changing in the nature and form in which it is provided to universities. It is increasingly subject to conditions for its allocation or accompanied with growing accountability requirements. This has given public authorities increasing steering power over universities, which can have counterproductive effects as it can significantly reduce universities' autonomy and their capacity to manage the allocated funds freely. Such developments are worrisome as they can hinder universities' capacity to successfully overcome the crisis. The universities' ability to respond effectively to the on-going economic crisis has largely depended on the level of their institutional and, especially, their financial autonomy.

Critical situations have been observed, as the crisis unfolded, in Latvia, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Portugal and Spain. Generally, these systems have been put under serious pressure, with budget cuts, often exceeding 20%, triggering major changes and structural reforms.

Public funding was cut by up to 15% in England, Scotland and Ireland, as well as in Estonia, the Netherlands and Iceland. England is undergoing major changes at system level. Its higher education system is being re-engineered around a student-centred approach. The move is intended to foster the efficiency of the system. While funding for research is stabilising, teaching funds will be essentially removed as of 2012. This follows previous cuts in 2010 in teaching budgets and in capital funding. The reduction in public funding is meant to be covered by private contributions from students (up to £ 9 000 per year). Under the new system, students would benefit from loans backed by the public authorities, repayable after graduation on an income-contingent basis. While the public authorities have committed to transfer the funds from calculated tuition fees directly to universities, there remains much uncertainty

[3] Updates of EUA's Public Funding Observatory are available at http://www.eua.be/eua-work-and-policy-area/governance-autonomy-and-funding/public-funding-observatory.aspx.

[4] One should note that the varying availability of data, the different ways in which it is calculated and communicated, and the constantly changing situation are significant challenges to this comparative exercise. However, trends can be identified.

as to how this will work and what the consequences for higher education institutions will be over the long term.

In the rest of Europe, universities are often confronted with cuts of up to 10%. Universities in the Nordic countries are generally in a better situation although a common concern (also shared by universities in the majority of European countries) lies with the absence of compensation for inflation and sometimes for pay rises. Previously agreed funding increases were discarded in Belgium and Austria, and disappointment prevails in France, where major funding promises have fallen short of the sector's expectations. In Germany, the picture is mixed, with federal subsidies often compensating for the reduced commitment of the *Länder* authorities. Continued investment remains the exception, as is the case in Norway.

The impact of public funding cuts on the management and functioning of universities is multiple. In many countries, and in particular those most severely affected, staff has been laid off, salaries have been reduced, and hiring freezes have sometimes been put in place. The academic courses offered to students, contact hours, library opening hours and student services have often been reduced. The extent to which students receive subsidies from the public authorities has also been affected. Moreover, budget cuts have also had an impact on infrastructure maintenance.

Increasing co-funding requirements

The increasing trend to resort to co-funding requirements is probably the most underestimated challenge for universities' financial sustainability. Co-funding requires that a university raise a proportional amount of the full cost of the activity or project being funded, from its own budget or from another public or private source. Data from the EUDIS study showed that a majority of universities deal on a daily basis with co-funding requirements, whether for most or part of their public funding. Both European and national public funders increasingly use co-funding requirements by either funding only a certain percentage of the direct costs or just a part of the indirect costs of an activity (especially in competitive funding schemes). This is a threat to the financial sustainability of universities, especially if it affects a significant part of their public funding.

Indeed, co-funding does not necessarily lead to leveraging funds from other sources; in most cases, universities have to resort to using resources from their core budget. The EUDIS survey revealed that 65% of the respondents co-funded these activities from core public funding, while 35% resorted to a mix between public and private funds. The reason for this is clear – it is very difficult to raise funds from private funders to cover a part of the indirect costs of a project whose core activities are already funded. This, in turn, re-

duces the university's capacity to invest in its future, diminishing the amount of "unconstrained" funds available to finance facilities, equipment or staff.

This issue is all the more relevant as there is a strong link between the frequency of co-funding and the degree of diversification. Additional income sources rarely fund activities on a full cost basis. Universities that have been very successful in attracting additional funds through competitive research funding schemes face major problems as a result. Thus, co-funding, originally also intended as an incentive for income diversification, has become a risk which needs to be solved through appropriate funding schemes.

Complex financial management

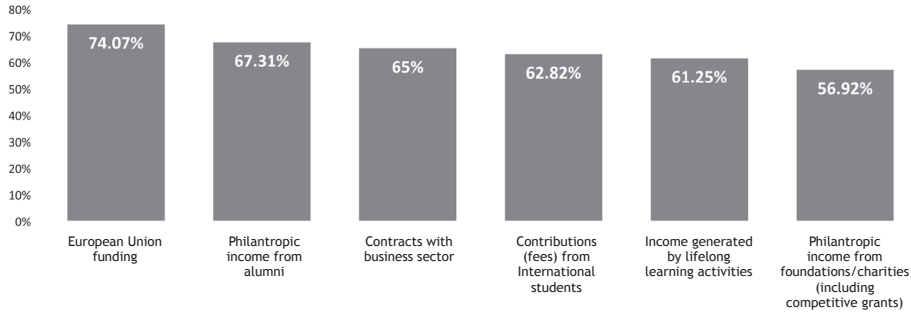
Developing new funding streams often translates into complex financial management. Some universities have well over one hundred different income sources, which have, in many cases, very diverse accountability regimes. The higher education community does not expect this trend to slow down or reverse. On the contrary, the majority of respondents in the project's survey believes that the overall number of sources will increase. Universities therefore need to invest a lot of time and resources on financial and project management if they want to obtain these funds, whose application, contractual, reporting and reimbursement procedures often differ greatly. In reality, "small income sources" can often generate a disproportionate amount of paperwork and administration, which in turn raise the operational costs for universities.

European funding schemes

The European Union offers non-negligible income to many universities, who widely expect to receive more income from this source in the future, although substantial increases of the amounts available are unlikely to occur in the very next years. Competition among universities for this funding will therefore become more acute, in a context where traditional income sources are expected to stagnate or decrease.

European funding schemes are important, but also among the most complex, funding programmes available to universities. *European Structural Funds* and the *Framework Programme for Research and Innovation* are the two main sources of European funds for higher education institutions and present similar characteristics. The diversity of instruments and associated rules, the heavy administrative processes and accountability requirements, as well as the systematic use of co-funding are a major concern for universities considering participation in these programmes. However, in a context of stagnating national funding, not many universities can afford to disregard such schemes, even under unattractive funding models. This, in turn, will broaden the fund-

Figure 3: Income sources most widely expected to grow in the medium term



ing gap of their research activities. The proposed funding model of the upcoming *Horizon 2020* European research funding programme, does not avoid these shortcomings. In the Commission's proposal, published in November 2011, indirect costs would only be reimbursed via a flat rate amounting to 20% of the eligible direct costs, which would continue to undermine the long-term financial sustainability of participating universities.

In some countries, public authorities have developed mechanisms to support universities applying to European funding programmes, for instance by funding the preparation phase of a project or by providing the missing part of the funding. However, if such schemes are not coordinated among member states, they may result in an unlevel playing field for universities across Europe, with some countries providing more comprehensive support than others in the competition. Simplification of rules and procedures and moving towards funding on a full cost basis of these schemes appears to be the only sustainable solution in the long run.

Creating adequate conditions for successful diversification

Public authorities have a key role in supporting universities in their income diversification strategies. Governments need to provide favourable framework conditions and remove barriers that prevent universities from unlocking their full potential. Funders and public authorities in particular, should also set appropriate incentives and support mechanisms to build up the capacity of universities to respond to these new opportunities.

The importance of adequate regulatory frameworks: autonomy

The capacity of universities to generate additional income relates to the degree of autonomy granted by the regulatory framework in which they op-

erate. This relation was tested for the organizational, financial, staffing and academic dimensions of autonomy in the EUDIS study. The data collected revealed that financial autonomy, which is perceived as the lowest of these four aspects, is the one most correlated with the capacity of the universities to attract income from additional funding sources. Autonomy in staffing matters, and in particular freedom in recruiting and setting salary levels of academic and administrative staff, is also positively linked to the degree of income diversification.

However, while policymakers themselves see autonomy reforms as an important driver to foster income diversification, university leaders consider autonomy more as a pre-requisite. Conversely, diversified income structures may also contribute to enhancing the autonomy of an institution, mitigating the risks associated with dependence on a given funder. Additional resources enable universities to invest strategically in otherwise overlooked areas, helping to free institutional priorities from the influence of external objectives.

Universities identify a number of hurdles in their regulatory frameworks that hinder income diversification. Inadequate governance structures and the inability to change them, financial restrictions as to the funding cycle, or inflexible staffing regulations impede universities from exploiting their potential and developing new funding streams.

Funding modalities

Inadequate funding modalities at system level may have a negative effect and create powerful disincentives for universities to seek additional funding sources. An excessive administrative burden, coupled with uncertainty associated with these sources – whether public or private – is one hurdle, which is especially relevant in the context of competitive funding schemes. Simplification of administrative processes and requirements associated with funding programmes is therefore of key importance. Simplification of rules will ensure that both financial and human resources are released from administration and redirected to meet the primary objectives of excellent teaching and research. This should be underpinned by proportionate accountability measures as well as consistent rules and terminology across programmes.

Public authorities also influence income diversification strategies through the modalities under which they deliver funding to the universities. Incentives may include the inclusion of specific criteria in funding formulae, encouraging external funding, or the extended use of competitive funding. It is important though that if such criteria are used to include mechanisms to counterbalance the effects of co-funding, for example to set up top-up grants. Funding formulae may include mechanisms that have a direct, intended effect

(through the inclusion of the amount of external funding received by the institution in the funding formula), or a knock-on effect due to the attraction of international staff and students as a result of success in excellence initiatives.

Smart incentives and support measures

Matched funding schemes

Matched funding schemes, whereby public authorities reward universities for their success in raising funds from the private sector, are an innovative incentive mechanism to foster income diversification. In such a scheme, public authorities may provide funds either to a full or proportional amount to the funds raised from the private sector by the university itself. These additional public funds may be granted to the general budget of the university, without necessarily being attached to the completion of a designated activity. These schemes are or have been used in countries such as Canada, the United States, New Zealand, but rarely in Europe. Only the United Kingdom, Norway and Finland have used such funding incentives. Modalities may be diverse but these measures have often proved their effectiveness in increasing the participation of the private sector in higher education through philanthropic giving. Key principles for success include simplicity of rules, broad definition of university activities and types of donors eligible for matched funding and a guarantee of not reducing core funding. Accompanying tax incentives for the donors and capacity-building funding for universities to develop fundraising instruments and strategies are desirable for an even higher leverage effect.

Development of full costing

Appropriate strategic tools play a crucial role in achieving financial sustainability. Universities must first have a tool that enables them to identify the full costs of all their activities, to assess the degree to which these costs are covered by the funding source, and whether engaging with a given partner results in a profit or a loss for the institution. This should inform the decision without conditioning it: pursuing an activity may be relevant if other sources can be found or if a return of investment can be foreseen in the long term. The information provided by full costing systems also further allows universities to adopt appropriate efficiency measures.

Work on the topic has shown that universities need support to implement full costing systems.[5] And, although this topic is increasingly considered as relevant for higher education in a number of countries, there remains a lack of awareness of the need to support the development of full costing. In this respect, it is cru-

[5] See e.g. EUA's project EUIMA – European Universities Implementing the Modernisation Agenda.

cial that national governments step up their efforts to support the development of full costing systems in order to improve the sustainability of the system.

Support to leadership development and professionalization of management

Leadership, management and skill development matter enormously when developing a successful income diversification strategy, in view of the transforming forces reshaping higher education in the last decade. In order to face the challenges of today and tomorrow, university leaders and managers are required to acquire new skills to engage in new activities and reach out to new partners. At operational level, this also demands the integration of new staff profiles, in particular in the areas of research management, fundraising, human resources, communication and financial management. Public authorities can support this transition by providing, directly or through intermediaries, management development programmes. However, the United Kingdom is the only European country that has invested significantly in the creation of a dedicated structure to promote a culture of organizational learning and to champion examples of excellent governance and management in British universities. Therefore, there is need for national and European funding organisations to step up efforts to support universities in developing adequate training programmes towards this end.

Universities: Roadmap for successful diversification

Universities themselves need to continue working on the further diversification of their income. This requires a proactive approach on several levels. To position themselves in an increasingly competitive environment, universities need to identify their strengths and specificities, allowing them to develop an effective branding strategy. This should be complemented by an analysis of their activities in relation to the potential for income generation. To implement the strategy to good effect, universities will also need to invest in the development and professionalization of their support staff. None of this is possible, though, without the university leadership's experience in and commitment to the process.

Diversification should begin with a strategic analysis of the status quo, the institutional strengths, specificities and opportunities, as well as a scan of the competitive environment. Pre-existing additional income streams should be included in the overall evaluation. Apart from undertaking an appropriate analysis of cost effectiveness and risk of various activities, institutions need to assess the appropriateness of these activities in relation to the universities' missions and culture.

The university leadership's commitment to this process is crucial. The leadership is best placed to project a vision and build the case for diversification activities, as well as engage the broader university community in the process. University leaders also play an important role in shaping the necessary change processes related to diversification, be it a cultural change or an organizational change.

Many activities to increase and generate new income sources need new expertise, which does not necessarily always exist within the institution. Universities may recruit professionals from outside the sector or invest in the development of staff for them to acquire the necessary skills. When external staff is recruited, it is important that they understand the specificities of the research and education environment and are integrated in an established team. Professionalization is relevant on all fronts, including human resources management, knowledge transfer activities, research administration, financial management, etc. A gradual approach to structured development of staff capacity may be best adapted under the current circumstances, considering the fact that the potential to invest in human resources is reduced in times of financial crisis. However, targeted support from governments towards professionalization would have a high leverage effect, given the high relevance of building up professional skills for successful income diversification.

The success of income diversification strategies largely depends on the ability of the institution's leadership to communicate effectively with the university community as well as with external stakeholders. Universities need to reinforce awareness of the range of activities they undertake and the added value they create for society, in order to help potential donors or funders evaluate funding options. External communication should also contribute to reinforcing the image and specific profile of an institution. Communication can also be undertaken at sector level, focusing on the value of higher education for different sectors in the wider economy.

As shown in the EUDIS study, universities that have adopted a broader approach to income diversification have usually introduced, in parallel, structural changes in the institution, such as the creation of specific teams or dedicated structures. Sometimes, there is also streamlining of governance bodies for more efficient decision-making. These change processes are often informed by appropriate tools that provide accounting and costing data. Finally, the leadership, on the basis of all of the above, may introduce appropriate incentive mechanisms into the institutional strategy, focusing on staff or faculty (consultancy credits, income-sharing terms, modalities of spin-off creation).

Interrelations between funding and other key concepts in higher education

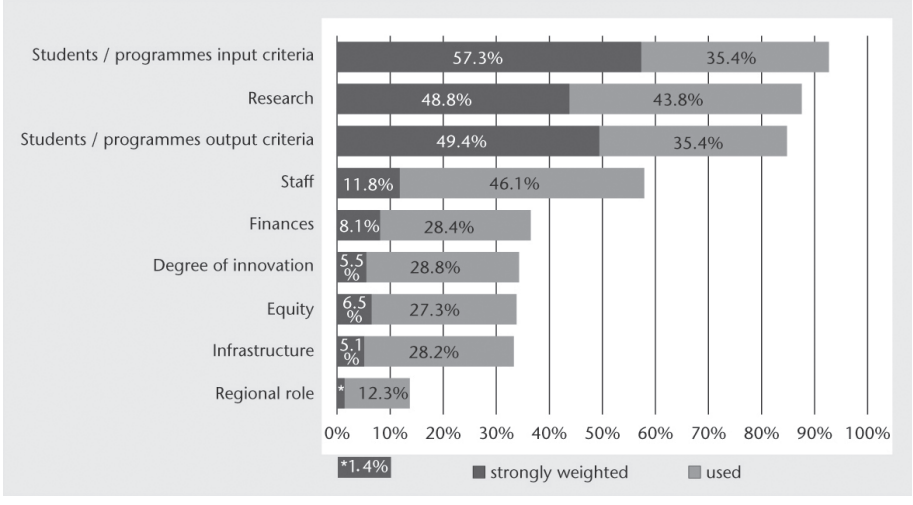
The next three sections give a closer look at the relationships between funding and other major concepts in higher education today, i.e. the social dimension, internationalisation and excellence.

Funding and the social dimension

The social dimension of higher education is primarily considered here in two main dimensions: the concern for reflecting adequately the diversity of a country's population in its higher education system; and the concern for enacting policies aiming at reducing socio-economic obstacles for students.[6]

Financial support promoting student diversity takes different forms. Our work has shown that while there exist additional, targeted funding streams geared towards the achievement of greater student diversity by fostering access to higher education for non-traditional student populations, that objective is less often reflected in the main funding system (i.e. in the funding formula parameters).

Figure 4: Funding formula parameters



The analysis of universities' income structures reveals that financial contributions from students and their families, i.e. tuition fees, potentially constitute

[6] Eurydice, Bologna Process implementation report, 2012, p. 71.

a major revenue source for universities. This analysis raises concern on the effect of fees on access to higher education, and it is therefore important to consider the design of the fee system – that is, the fee structure (which portions of the student population are concerned, differentiated amounts), the modalities of payment (up front or after graduation) as well as the support mechanisms put in place, and their nature (loans, grants, conditional or not, under what criteria). From an institutional perspective, a crucial aspect of the fee system relates to the distribution of this income. It may be channelled directly from the public authorities to the universities (as is the case in the ongoing reform in England) or collected directly from the students. The allocation of the income may also be specifically targeted towards the completion of certain tasks, for instance the improvement of student-related services, or subject to other conditions. In Bavaria, for example, the introduction of tuition fees was accompanied by the requirement that students be consulted on the use of such income by the institution.

Universities tend to have more autonomy to set the level of the tuition fees for non-traditional student populations, who enrol in part-time or evening programmes, for instance. Therefore, the increased focus on the provision of lifelong learning activities by universities may also be explained by the perception that such activities may create additional income for the institutions, in particular where the field is less regulated. However, although these activities may often attract additional income, they rarely generate profit when full costs incurred are considered. A revealing example is that of the Palmenia Centre for Continuing Education in Helsinki, the largest lifelong learning institution attached to a university in Europe and one that has also exported programmes to other countries. In 2010, the income flowing into the Centre covered about 90% of the associated costs.[7] Therefore, when full costs are taken into account, even such a large and well-established institution still does not enable the university to recover all the costs incurred in the provision of lifelong learning activities.

Funding and internationalisation strategies

Internationalisation pervades both the teaching and the research missions of universities. Within the scope of teaching activities, for many European universities, internationalisation translates primarily into the capacity to attract foreign students. For the purposes of this discussion, focused on funding, this section considers exclusively the non-EU/EEA students. Universities in Europe are often given the possibility to differentiate between this group of students and the domestic/EU student population, in particular in terms of tuition fees.

[7] Presentation of Kauko Hämäläinen, Director of the Palmenia Centre for Continuing Education, University of Helsinki, Finland, given during the EUDIS Experts Conference held in Bologna on 13-14 September 2010.

Figure 5: Tuition fees for non-EU bachelor students

Only a few countries today do not charge international students specific tuition fees. Countries that charge fees do so either as a direct policy or through setting specific fees for programmes taught in a foreign language (often English), which concern primarily foreign students. In Sweden, where such fees were introduced in 2011, universities are free to set the fee levels on the basis of full cost coverage. In Finland, the government has initiated a "trial period" until 2014 during which universities will be free to charge higher fees to non-EU/EEA students in master level courses taught in foreign languages. In the Netherlands, where fees charged to national and EU students are limited by a ceiling set by the government, the cap on fees for non-EU/EEA students was lifted in 2006. Therefore, universities can now set their own fees.

The findings of the EUDIS study indicate that fees paid by international students are set separately from the fees for domestic and EU students; because they are often set at a significantly higher level, they represent a noticeable share of the total amount of fees collected – on average about 10%, despite the small headcount of foreign students in most cases. The English universi-

ties typically received higher than average income from international students (sometimes a third or up to almost half of the total amount collected). A related problem, however, is that of (significantly) different price tags for the same "product", i.e. course or programme.

Institutions operating internationally have also recently developed strategies to attract international students (within a specifically targeted region) onto their overseas campuses located in the students' home countries. One of the main causes cited at the origin of this development resides in the aim to increase tuition fee income in the light of reduced public funding at home. The United Kingdom and France are some of the European countries leading the way in this development. However, the financial and reputational risks involved in this type of overseas ventures remain a strong deterrent for many universities in Europe.

Within the scope of research activities, operating in an international environment is the norm, and most European universities benefit from some type of European Commission funding – notably FP7 or funding from the European Research Council. Although these funds have a limited impact on the overall financial structure of Europe's universities, there exist strong variations. In some cases, notably in new member states such as Estonia or Latvia, European funding has contributed to partially offset very significant budget cuts for the sector.

European funds are, however, only one of the international income sources for universities which may also receive funds from internationally operating foundations or foreign research funding bodies. The University of Warsaw, for instance, receives research funds notably from the Swedish Environment Protection Agency or the Howard Hughes Medical Institute in the United States.

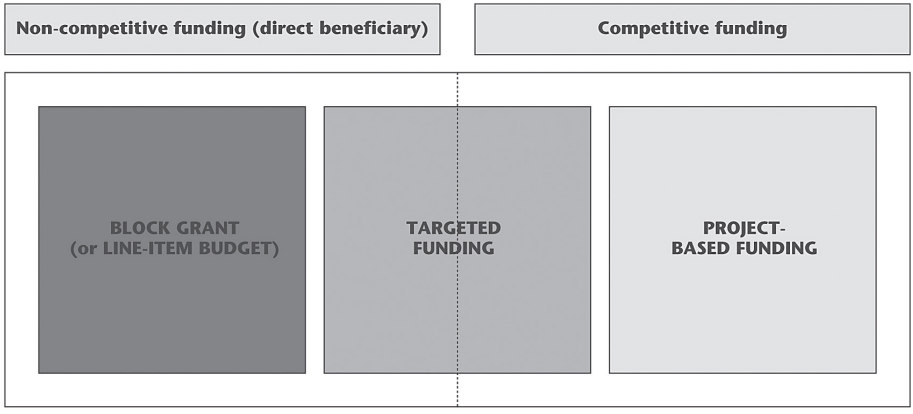
Finally, attracting renowned international staff is another important aspect of universities' internationalisation strategies, also for financial motives. International (especially internationally renowned) academic staff tend to bring with them opportunities for (high-level) international research collaborations and also contribute to attracting fee-paying international students in their fields, thereby attracting additional income for their host institution. In addition, performance-based funding formula tend to reward such approaches by taking into account the volume of international collaborative research carried out or by considering bibliometric indicators which are strengthened by the arrival of internationally renowned staff. On the other hand, the capacity to attract such staff largely depends on the autonomy that the university has in setting competitive salary levels and remuneration packages.

Funding and excellence

Public authorities have recently integrated in a more direct and explicit way the concept of "excellence" in funding models for higher education and re-

search, as it is found in EUDIS. However, the analysis is immediately complicated by the fact that "excellence" is often understood differently and is translated into different forms in funding mechanisms.

Figure 6: Modalities of public funding (simplified)



The more traditional concept of excellence is found in the funding of research, notably in national competitive funding schemes which tend to rely primarily on excellence criteria. Even at European level, where a strong emphasis is put on international collaboration, excellence has been given a new significance as a selection criterion, in particular with the creation of the European Research Council.

Specific schemes, often endowed with significant sums of funding, have been designed in a number of countries with the objective to foster the development of specific areas of excellence within selected institutions, thereby encouraging stronger profiling of universities. This is notably the case with the German "*Excellenz Initiative*" or the more recent "*Initiative d'excellence*" in France and "*Campuses of excellence*" in Spain. These schemes come in addition to the mainstream funding allocation mechanisms to reward promising, large-scale projects and initiatives, in particular research projects that require structured cooperation at regional or national level. Increasingly, funding schemes rewarding excellence also consider teaching-related elements; in Germany for instance, the "*Excellenz Initiative*" was complemented by the "*Teaching Quality Pact*", a federal competition supporting high-quality degree courses at German higher education institutions. One should note, however, the effect of these schemes on universities, and more specifically the extent to which universities have to divert resources from existing activities to the preparation of applications for these funding sources.

Excellence is also increasingly embedded in the so-called performance-based funding allocation mechanisms. In the United Kingdom, the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) governs the allocation of research funds across the country on the basis of the "quality profiles" of research results. The last exercise in 2008 has led to concentration of research capacities and activities in the system. The RAE will be replaced as of 2014 by the Research Excellence Framework, which will focus on output, impact and environment when determining the "quality profile" of the research carried out by universities. It is noted that other countries have also started to adapt the design of their main funding allocation mechanisms along the line of excellence. The extent to which these mechanisms foster institutional diversity may be limited though, in particular when these mechanisms include "excellence" in only one form (for instance, rewarding high output in terms of publications). It is worrisome that public authorities often use a few selected indicators as proxies for performance or excellence, which may result in strategic steering towards a narrow form of excellence.

Conclusions

Although sustainable public funding remains an essential pillar of the financial sustainability of Europe's universities, public authorities also play a key role in supporting income diversification by providing favourable framework conditions, removing barriers and setting incentives. Granting extended autonomy to universities is an essential step forward in this context. The ability to generate additional funding streams hinges on the flexibility and autonomy given to universities to reform their organizational structure, and manage their own financial and staff matters. However, this only creates the background against which public authorities need to provide additional support.

Universities, in turn, need to integrate income diversification in their institutional strategy and must invest in people in order to strengthen their capacities and competences to engage effectively in income diversification activities. This is conditional on the establishment of strong leadership and management.

All actors, including public authorities, private funders, EU institutions and universities, have to foster a culture of trust. It is through trust that it becomes possible for them to work together towards the improvement of the legal and funding frameworks in which higher education institutions operate, and towards the common goal of enhancing the sustainability and efficiency of the European higher education systems.

Tying it all together: Creating strong, well-funded, socially inclusive and international universities

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Introduction

It is always a challenge, in the words of the title, to tie it all together. So no attempt will be made in this contribution to sum up the major themes of the conference, or to extract such themes from the preceding contributions. Instead it will reflect on how international education fits in with all the priorities of universities and higher education systems at the end of the first decade of the 21st century. Much is said and written about privatisation, and fees and the market, about the entrepreneurial university. Where does internationalisation fit in?

Two questions in particular need to be addressed:

- First, are the four topics in the title different ones only loosely stitched together? Or are they different aspects of the same fundamental theme, the characteristics of strong and successful universities in the 21st century? Are we talking mainly about tensions between these four keywords (key ideas)? Or should the emphasis be placed on the synergies between them instead?
- Second, if these words/characteristics are connected, should we put them in any particular order? For example, do we start with the idea of 'strong' universities, and see the other characteristics as subsidiary or secondary – in other words, is being academically excellent or socially inclusive qualities of being a 'strong' university? And, of course, where does 'internationalisation' fit in? Do all strong and successful universities have to engage in 'internationalisation' – or is it optional?

Internationalisation and elites

A key question here is whether a university can be international in its scope and ambitions while at the same time emphasising the 'social dimension' (which is generally taken to be 'code' for reaching out to socially disadvantaged groups and engaging with its local and regional communities)? This does not just apply to internationalisation, of course. Can a university simultaneously pursue academic excellence and social inclusion? Or to take a third contrast: does secure funding require high fees – for all students, home and international?

In many countries it seems that these are seen as either/or choices. So elite universities that have global ambitions cannot afford to care too much about social justice at home. If they ever had any strong commitments to social responsibility in their cities and regions, they now have to abandon these commitments. Of course, they have to be careful how this focus on the global and (comparative) neglect of the local is presented – for public relations and political reasons. For example, University College London (UCL) labels itself 'London's Global University', a label that can be read in at least two different ways – that UCL is a global university that happens to be based in London, or that it represents a key link between the city and the global environment. The ambiguity is useful. But everyone understands the underlying logic – the more global a university aspires to be, the less it can afford to be local. After all, the key attributes of being global are, first, the production of 'world-class' research and, secondly, the ability to recruit international students (who, sadly, are still predominantly drawn from more privileged social backgrounds).

The same zero-sum choice works the same way the other way round. Mass institutions that are focused on teaching rather than research (and which may also have a strong vocational and professional orientation) can never truly become truly global players. This is true even if they are active in the international student market, because this may be interpreted not as a genuine commitment to internationalisation but as a need to fill places left empty by lack of student demand at home. And, of course, the presence of international students does not just fill otherwise empty places; it is also seen as conferring prestige and status.

Why do we persist in this either/or logic? The key reason can be summed up in a single word – differentiation, which is regarded as essential in mass higher education systems. Institutions must evolve their own distinctive missions, based on their own strengths, rather than trying to follow a 'one size fits all' strategy. The growth in popularity of the 'market' tends to intensify this effect. Institutions are now encouraged to search out niches in the 'market', and those that try to do too many different things risk not being particularly good at anything. The strong stay focused. So this kind of thinking – differentiation and 'markets' – encourages either/or choices. It does not really matter that out there in the 'real world' there is remarkably little evidence that specialisation pays off, especially if it is carried too far. It tends to close off opportunities that would be open to more adaptable and comprehensive institutions. That is why most higher education systems tend to be dominated by multi-faculty institutions.

The same remorseless zero-sum logic applies not only to the – probably false – choice between being global and being local (or between internationalisation and social commitment). It is also often applied to the contrast between

excellence and equity. They too get regarded essentially a zero-sum game. Maybe this habit is stronger in Europe than in the United States, despite the repeated emphasis on the importance of the 'social dimension'. Although the expansion of European higher education systems over past half century has been unprecedented, the ties between academic prestige (if not excellence) and social privilege (in terms of student recruitment) have become (if anything) even tighter. In contrast in the United States the links between 'going to college' and the promotion of democratic values means that at least the fiction that excellence and equity are not a zero-sum game has to be maintained.

Much the same applies to the idea of 'strong and well-funded' universities. In many countries there has been a consistent trend towards charging students higher tuition fees (or introducing fees if none were charged in the past). Certainly in England this has been an inexorable process. Not much more than 10 years ago higher education was 'free', i.e. paid for out of general taxation. In quick succession first a Labour and now a Conservative-Liberal Democrat Government first introduced then rapidly increased fees. As a result, from September 2012 onwards students will pay fees of up to £ 9 000 (or € 11 000). In many states in the United States fees in public universities are now matching the levels charged in private universities not so long ago. Even in countries where long-standing political taboos make it difficult for governments to introduce fees the temptation is increasing. The fear of being left behind by this neo-liberal 'wave of the future' is growing all the time.

The results are very predicable. Two in particular must be emphasized. First, higher education is turned into a commodity – and universities into providers of, and traders in, 'knowledge services'. But the exchanges that take place in higher education are infinitely more complex, more multi-dimensional, more humane. So everyone loses. Secondly, there is ever increasing variability of funding between universities. The 'top' universities, often those most prominent on the global stage, are able to charge high fees. Regional and local universities are unable to match them. So the rich get richer, the poor get poorer – and the common purpose of higher education is shattered (if it has not already been destroyed by the rush to 'market', and commodification).

Seen in this light the five characteristics listed in the title of this contribution – strong, well funded, excellent, socially inclusive and international universities – seem destined to be always in conflict. And that, some will argue, is the cruel logic of 21st-century globalisation. There is no escape from that logic. To imagine otherwise is to succumb to 'leftist' sentimentality. Internationalisation is concerned about consolidating global elites not helping the world's poor; about contributing to the development of world cities (or, rather, their prosperous and privileged quarters), the 'clever cities' of the entrepreneurial

imagination, not about bringing aid and development to impoverished regions and countries. The 21st-century world is dividing between global, and mobile, elites and the immobile mass – and a turbulent under-class of economic migrants and refugees who are also globally mobile (although on very different, and far less advantageous, terms).

That all sounds very depressing – because the inevitable conclusion seems to be that the internationalisation of higher education is an elite project, far from the ideals of increasing understanding across nations and helping to develop less favoured countries (ideals to which we are all, instinctively, attached). Instead it is all about wielding geo-political muscle, or importing scarce talent in a remorseless cycle of (in the words of the Bible) 'to him that hath shall be given', or providing the academic cover for increasing profit from international trade.

An "alternative" internationalisation

But there is another way, another perspective on internationalisation – and, if this second account is preferred, the five characteristics in my title are no longer jumbled words or contradictory ideas. Instead they hang together, and offer at least the potential for important synergies between them to be developed. This second account is both more realistic, in terms of what is really happening, and also more humane, even more moral:

Multiple – and multi-dimensional – globalisations

This second account is more realistic because it reflects a more sophisticated account of globalisation. Far too often a rather non-dimensional account has been allowed to dominate political and public discourse – the neo-liberal account seems at times to be limited to the celebration of round-the-clock financial markets and multi-national companies sourcing products as globally and cheaply as possible (despite the accumulation of evidence since the 2008 banking crisis that this is a 'bust system'). Sadly many of the internationalisation strategies of some of our 'top' universities have been developed with reference to this one-dimensional neo-liberal account – in the sense that they emphasize growing market share with regard to international students and applying their research to innovation in high-technology multi-national industry (rather than addressing agendas about human rights or equal opportunities or balanced and sustainable development).

But in practice globalisation is a much more complex idea:

- First, everyone is both 'local', in the sense they have a physical location (however peripatetic), and 'global', in the sense they are exposed to

world culture. And the same applies to universities – so maybe UCL's label as 'London's Global University' is an accurate one.

- Secondly, global knowledge has to be locally sourced (it has to be produced somewhere) – and it also has to be locally applied (in real environments not in cyberspace). That is why that ugly new word 'glocalisation' had to be coined.

Universities, of course, play a key role as mediator between global and local. Many of you will be familiar with Richard Florida's concept of 'clever cities' – not just, or even especially, 'world cities' like New York, Paris or London; not just the proliferating 'Silicon Valleys' like Cupertino and San Jose in California; not just large metropolitan areas like Helsinki but any place where innovation, experimentation and enterprise work together. That idea can easily be applied to the context of internationalisation. Seen in that light, the internationalisation of higher education requires local and regional engagement. Events since 2008 have taught us – the hard way – that successful and sustainable economies need strength in depth; they cannot rely on just a few high-profile (and allegedly dynamic) sectors such as financial services or pharmaceuticals.

Social justice and economic development

This second take on globalisation – and so in the internationalisation of higher education – is also more humane:

First, as has already been emphasized, in the 21st-century world migration is as much a mass movement as an elite experience. A significant proportion of the supposed under-class is as mobile as the global elites, as asylum-seekers, refugees and migrants of all kinds. In both North America and Western Europe it is the non-elite institutions, regional and local universities and colleges that have played as important a role in accommodating and incorporating these people flows and integrating them into their host countries. In many ways their role, and responsibility, is at least as – if not more – important than the role played by 'top' universities in generating global elites. Both are aspects of globalisation – and, therefore, equally significant strands within the internationalisation of higher education.

Secondly, global cultures for all their neo-liberal gloss are essentially hybrid (or, as some prefer, creole). Their outward form may seem to be metropolitan, the panache of global brands and mass media or the dominance of the 'West' in terms of science and intellectual values. But these global cultures have to be interpreted and internalised in local, or peripheral, contexts. And that process of local interpretation then feeds back and radically modifies those

seemingly metropolitan cultures. The result is remarkable creativity. Once again, universities are crucial actors in this process of dialogue.

Finally, of course, global inequalities cannot be consigned to the dustbin of (sentimental or leftist) history. They confront us daily, physically in the shape of geo-political turbulence (war, terrorism and even genocide). These inequalities also challenge us morally. Do we really believe in liberty, equality and fraternity, or social justice, or equal opportunities? Universities have two key roles in this respect. First, they act as agents of national and regional development by training professional workers and by applying their research expertise to social improvement and economic wealth generation. But they must also act as witnesses to truth and guardians of values; they must help develop effective critiques – and 'speak truth to power'. My worry is that this responsibility is sometimes forgotten in the rush to establish ever more elite global 'alliances' and to grab an ever-increasing share of the market in international students.

Internationalisation – and massification

The five-part title of this contribution, therefore, is not just an attempt to cram in as many topics and themes as possible. Instead it offers an opportunity genuinely to interrogate their meanings – and the links between them. The same has been true of this conference. Above all, it creates a space in which greater pluralism can be injected into what can be a decidedly one-dimensional account of the internationalisation of higher education.

The idea of internationalisation needs to be considered both from the 'outside-in' and from the 'inside-out'. What does that mean? Basically that the internationalisation of higher education must be seen in the wider context of globalisation – the 'outside-in' bit. But, as has already been argued, globalisation too must be regarded not simply as a one-dimensional neo-liberal market phenomenon, leading to a single-path approach to the advance of internationalisation in higher education. Instead globalisation must be seen as a multi-dimensional phenomenon, with many aspects and strands (some of which may even be in conflict).

But the internationalisation of higher education also needs to be considered from the 'inside out' – in the context of the wider development of higher education systems. In other words, it is necessary to relate internationalisation and 'massification', that ugly word used to describe the quantitative and qualitative changes that have taken place in all advanced higher education systems over recent decades. But, like globalisation, 'massification' is not straightforward. It contains unambiguously progressive elements – such as

the quantum-leap in enrolments or the gender revolution represented by the remarkable increase in the participation of women. But 'massification' may also contain more ambiguous elements – the consolidation of elite universities, their prestige reinforced but perhaps with a reduced sense of social responsibility; of, if not the over-hyped 'dumbing-down' of standards, at any rate a crisis of resources that may threaten some of the special (and, most would argue, essential) qualities of a university education – the creative space to reflect, to criticize, to grow. So, just as the neo-liberal / market version of globalisation is far too simple, so the standard interpretation of 'massification' is a strand within democratisation may also be too simple.

Conclusion

So this contribution must end on a note of ambiguity. Both globalisation and 'massification', the phenomena that frame the internationalisation of higher education, are multi-dimensional – and, therefore, difficult to describe in straightforward and unambiguous terms. So, it logically follows, the same applies to internationalisation. Yet one thing is clear: internationalisation is a key element in the make-up of modern higher education systems. We are all internationalists now, even if we have very different views of what internationalisation means.

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Internationalisation and international mobility, inclusiveness, excellence and funding are themes high on the higher education agenda. There is no shortage of literature on them, and there are conferences galore devoted to them. But they are usually dealt with in isolation, which leads to a distorting 'single issue' view of higher education. This book – and the conference it emerged from – tried to avoid this mistake. It looks at the 'inter-relationships' between the four issues. Can a socially inclusive and responsible university also achieve academic excellence? Can only rich universities be truly international, or do universities become rich through internationalisation? Is excellence possible without strong funding, or does it presuppose it? These are only some of questions which this volume addresses. The ten contributions developed out of presentations given at the 2012 Annual Conference of the Academic Cooperation Association (ACA). The production of this book, as well as the above-mentioned conference, was supported by the European Commission in the framework of its Lifelong Learning Programme.

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