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HEIGLO

FINAL REPORT

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Higher Education Institutions' Responses to Europeanisation, Internationalisation and Globalisation. Developing International Activities in a Multi-Level Policy Context

HEIGLO

Final report

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Coordinator of project:
Institution Center for Higher Education and Policy Studies (CEPS), University of Twente
Enschede, The Netherlands
Prof.Dr. M.C. van der Wende

Partners:
University of Athens, EL, Georgia Kontogiannopoulou
University of Kassel, DE, Ulrich Teichler
Institute of Education, University of London, UK, Gareth Williams
Norwegian Institute for Studies in Research and Higher Education (NIFU), Oslo, NO, Äse Gornitzka
Center for Higher Education Policy Studies (CIPES), Porto, PT, Alberto Amaral
Institute forInterdisciplinary Studies at Austrian Universities (IFF), Vienna, AT, Hans Pechar

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Preface

Within the Fifth Community RTD Framework Programme of the European Union (1998-2002), the Key Action 'Improving the Socio-economic Knowledge Base' had broad and ambitious objectives, namely: to improve our understanding of the structural changes taking place in European society, to identify ways of managing these changes and to promote the active involvement of European citizens in shaping their own futures. A further important aim was to mobilise the research communities in the social sciences and humanities at the European level and to provide scientific support to policies at various levels, with particular attention to EU policy fields.

This Key Action had a total budget of EUR 155 million and was implemented through three Calls for proposals. As a result, 185 projects involving more than 1 600 research teams from 38 countries have been selected for funding and have started their research between 1999 and 2002.

Most of these projects are now finalised and results are systematically published in the form of a Final Report.

The calls have addressed different but interrelated research themes which have contributed to the objectives outlined above. These themes can be grouped under a certain number of areas of policy relevance, each of which are addressed by a significant number of projects from a variety of perspectives.

These areas are the following:

- ***Societal trends and structural change***

16 projects, total investment of EUR 14.6 million, 164 teams

- ***Quality of life of European citizens***

5 projects, total investment of EUR 6.4 million, 36 teams

- ***European socio-economic models and challenges***

9 projects, total investment of EUR 9.3 million, 91 teams

- ***Social cohesion, migration and welfare***

30 projects, total investment of EUR 28 million, 249 teams

- ***Employment and changes in work***

18 projects, total investment of EUR 17.5 million, 149 teams

- ***Gender, participation and quality of life***

13 projects, total investment of EUR 12.3 million, 97 teams

- ***Dynamics of knowledge, generation and use***

8 projects, total investment of EUR 6.1 million, 77 teams

- ***Education, training and new forms of learning***

14 projects, total investment of EUR 12.9 million, 105 teams

- ***Economic development and dynamics***

22 projects, total investment of EUR 15.3 million, 134 teams

- ***Governance, democracy and citizenship***

28 projects; total investment of EUR 25.5 million, 233 teams

- ***Challenges from European enlargement***

13 projects, total investment of EUR 12.8 million, 116 teams

- ***Infrastructures to build the European research area***

9 projects, total investment of EUR 15.4 million, 74 teams

This publication contains the final report of the project 'Higher Education Institutions' Responses to Europeanisation, Internationalisation and Globalisation. Developing International Activities in a Multi-Level Policy Context', whose work has primarily contributed to the area 'The challenge of socio-economic development models for Europe'.

The report contains information about the main scientific findings of HEIGLO and their policy implications. The research was carried out by seven teams over a period of two years, starting in November 2002.

The abstract and executive summary presented in this edition offer the reader an overview of the main scientific and policy conclusions, before the main body of the research provided in the other chapters of this report.

As the results of the projects financed under the Key Action become available to the scientific and policy communities, Priority 7 'Citizens and Governance in a knowledge based society' of the Sixth Framework Programme is building on the progress already made and aims at making a further contribution to the development of a European Research Area in the social sciences and the humanities.

I hope readers find the information in this publication both interesting and useful as well as clear evidence of the importance attached by the European Union to fostering research in the field of social sciences and the humanities.

J.-M. BAER,

Director

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Abstract

This study shows that actors in higher education perceive globalisation, internationalisation and Europeanisation as external processes representing important challenges to which higher education institutions have to respond. Indeed, this is driving institutions to implement far-reaching changes in their organizations. Two main internationalization approaches can be observed: the competitive (more economically driven and market-oriented) and the cooperation (more academically and culturally driven) approach, although often combinations of the two are made within one context.

Within these approaches, diversity can be observed with respect to the level of education. Undergraduate levels are more characterized by short-term exchange, internships, etc. while at the graduate level more degree mobility, joint and international programmes (often taught in English) can be discerned, as well as activities more bound to the internationalisation of research.

Despite all the research demonstrating the growing importance of internationalisation, and even more the rhetoric in this respect, higher education institutions' behaviour (including their internationalisation strategies) are (still) mostly guided by national regulatory and funding frameworks. For internationalisation in particular, historical, geographic, cultural and linguistic aspects of the national framework are of great importance.

These results indicate that policy formulation should focus on encouraging and enabling higher education institutions to develop and pursue their own distinct internationalisation profiles, based on choices that fit their strengths, particular characteristics, environment and their own steering models (e.g. more or less centralised, more or less competitive approaches). Further deregulation (enhanced institutional autonomy) seems warranted (e.g. with respect to admission, tuition fee and language policies) in order to enable the institutions to be internationally active and more responsive to challenges of globalisation. At the same time, more efficient and effective management of higher education institutions is necessary. Leadership and management are more complex in an international context.

With respect to European policy and regulatory frameworks, a further convergence of regulatory frameworks at the European level is necessary, especially in the areas of degree structures, quality assurance, recognition, etc. The continuation of the Bologna Process will help to create the European Higher Education Area, although the process and the area itself should be better thought through for their consequences for internal and external dimensions of cooperation and competition. In which way(s) can for instance

intra-European cooperation contribute effectively to global competitiveness of Europe as a whole and how does this relate to competition between EU members states? This relationship between European cooperation and international competitiveness also needs to be better understood in the context of the Lisbon Agenda. Further consideration also needs to be given to how this process of convergence at European level relates to deregulation at national levels.

Policies focusing in particular on stimulating the internationalisation of higher education will be more necessary in certain contexts than in others; when incentives and conditions (institutional autonomy) stimulate institutions sufficiently in their internationalisation agenda, such policies may become obsolete. In any case, internationalisation policies should pay adequate attention to activities at the sub-institutional level (like in international research cooperation). Much of the actual internationalisation activities are undertaken at these levels. Policies should differentiate between undergraduate and graduate levels, (e.g. between short and long term mobility of students). And national governments should ensure that internationalisation policies for higher education are not hindered (negative interference) by measures in other policy areas (e.g. immigration policies).

I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. The HEIGLO project

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

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

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

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

2. Objectives and research questions

More specifically, the objectives of the project were to:

- Develop a theoretical understanding and a knowledge base regarding the forces of Europeanisation, internationalisation and globalisation relevant for higher education institutions. The available theories and concepts as well as the major reviews and inventories of the actual conditions were analysed.

- Analyse in selected European countries — Austria, Germany, Greece, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and the United Kingdom — a) the views and rationales for Europeanisation, internationalisation and globalisation underlying national policies for higher education, as well as b) the actual policies and

regulatory frameworks and means aimed at shaping the international role of higher education institutions and c) the extent to which they foster or impede the development and management of internationalisation activities in higher education institutions.

- Analyse in the same European countries a) the perceptions of higher education institutions of the challenges of Europeanisation, internationalisation and globalisation, b) their responses, i.e. actual internationalisation policies and activities and c) the organisational settings in which they are implemented and the extent to which these foster or impede internationalisation.

- Compare the findings from the national studies regarding (a) the extent to which national contexts, policies, organisational settings and actions reinforce convergence or divergence in internationalisation policies and activities of higher education institutions in Europe, and whether and how the existing variety reflects the diversity of tasks and functions of individual higher education institutions in general, and (b) the factors at both national and organisational levels which foster or impede effective internationalisation processes.

- Formulate on the basis of the above recommendations to policy makers at the institutional, national and European level concerning effective policy co-ordination and management in internationalisation of higher education.

3. Key Conclusions

1) Internationalisation of higher education is entering a new phase. Although student and staff mobility remains an important part of higher education international relations, key activities in the knowledge society are now based on a wide range of international relations policies.

2) The trend towards more economically oriented rationales for internationalisation is continuing. In the UK, it now appears to be the dominant driver of higher education internationalisation policy, although other countries are moving, more slowly, in a similar direction.

3) The aim of the economic rationales that are adopted, may be related to:

- Improving the international competitiveness of the higher education sector.

- The importance of higher education for the knowledge economy in enhancing the international competitiveness of the national economy.

4) Different approaches are chosen to achieve these aims, ranging from:

- Competition as a result of globalisation.

- To European wide international collaboration to help improve the performance of European universities generally and as part of a more general trend towards internationalisation and Europeanisation.

5) However, there are tensions between these two extremes that are particularly related to discussions on the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) issue. In addition, there are many forms of international interactions between these two extremes, for example, bilateral arrangements between countries and between universities and development assistance to third world and to transition countries.

6) Regulatory frameworks, especially degree structures and quality assurance mechanisms are being adapted to take into account international issues such as professional mobility and European Credit Transfer. Consequently, the links between internationalisation policies and mainstream national higher education policies are becoming stronger.

7) The Bologna joint declaration of the European Ministers of Education in June 1999 has had an impact on this process. But, progress towards the establishment of the Bologna qualifications framework is uneven across countries and is often linked to internal political pressure to reform degree structures. However, there has been some convergence of degree systems, credit and accreditation frameworks.

8) As implementation of European frameworks is a country responsibility and defined by national contexts, constraints and priorities -diversity may remain or even be reinforced.

9) The importance of language in international higher education policies is recognised. This is partially due to linguistic similarities like Greeks being dispersed all over the world and Portuguese speaking countries on other continents. But, there is also the growing importance of the emergence of English as the principal international language. Universities in several countries are establishing programmes, especially at postgraduate levels, that are taught in whole or in part, in English.

10) The increasing impact of both internationalisation and globalisation is presenting a challenge for national governments. Quality assurance, funding, deregulation, (privatisation and liberalisation) need to be reconsidered while taking into account both the opportunities for internationalisation of the country's own higher education institutions, as well as the potential effects on the establishment of foreign institutions in the country. Impacts and effects on access and local and regional missions of HEIs and their contribution to national agendas will also to be considered.

11) International activity is quite often associated with entrepreneurial types of activities by the institutions, i.e. the desire to generate income. A second major driver is the institutional desire to raise its profile nationally. A third driver is the belief in the intrinsic international nature of much scholarship. Finally in a few cases a sense of responsibility to assist in the development of developing countries motivates the activities.

12) Major explanatory factors for institutional choices are linked to their profile and history, which is clearly embedded in the national context, including the national legal and policy context, geographic location, language and cultural aspects.

13) Actors generally do not differentiate conceptually very strongly between internationalization, globalization and Europeanisation. However, globalization is more often associated with competition and internationalization with cooperation, while internationalization is seen as a broader concept than Europeanisation.

14) In general, two approaches in internationalization can be discerned; one placing internationalization activities in a market competition framework, the other in the more traditional framework of networking and collaboration. In most European countries studied, the approach that favours cooperation in higher education is still prominent. However, a competitive approach in the internationalization of higher education is emerging, and most actors involved acknowledge the changing landscape.

4. Key recommendations

1) Higher education institutions should be encouraged and enabled to develop and pursue their own distinct internationalisation profiles, based on choices that fit their strengths, particular characteristics, environment and their own steering models (e.g. more or less centralised, more or less competitive approaches).

2) Such autonomy requires from the national policy level in particular a further deregulation (e.g. with respect to admission, tuition fee and language policies) in order to enable the institutions to be internationally active and more responsive to challenges of globalisation. At the same time, more efficient and effective management of higher education institutions is necessary as leadership and management are more complex in an international context.

3) A further convergence of regulatory frameworks at the European level is necessary, especially in the areas of degree structures, quality assurance, recognition of qualifications. The continuation of the Bologna Process will help to create the European Higher Education Area, although the process and the area itself should be better thought through for their consequences for internal and external dimensions of cooperation and competition.

4) Correspondingly, the relationship between European cooperation and international competitiveness needs to be better understood in the context of the Lisbon Agenda. Further consideration also needs to be given to how this process of convergence at European level relates to deregulation at national levels. Very little evidence is gathered so far on the medium and long-term impact and effects of an international competitive approach such as the Lisbon strategy.

5) Depending on the context, there will be a need to develop policies that enable the internationalisation of higher education. This is especially where incentives and conditions, like institutional autonomy, stimulate institutions sufficiently in their internationalisation agenda or when they are in danger of closing down unless they can gain other sources of revenue.

6) In any case, they should pay adequate attention to activities at the sub-institutional level like in international research cooperation), and differentiate more between undergraduate and graduate levels, (e.g. between short and long term mobility of students). National governments should ensure that internationalisation policies for higher education are not hindered by measures in other policy areas like immigration policies.

7) As internationalisation takes a more central role in higher education policy, there is a need to know more about its impact on participation, access, equity, funding and quality, particularly to ensure transparency for students as they move from one institution to another. And also to understand the impact of competition driven choices of institutions on their missions with respect to local and regional agendas and to national (and EU) priorities such as widening access and

participation. It is not excluded that tensions between global and international missions on the one hand and local and regional mission on the other may (further) emerge.

8) The knowledge on effective management and leadership of higher education needs to be extended to the international context. There is also a need to know what particular management challenges, requirements and leadership characteristics can be identified as exclusively or particularly relevant in this context and how can senior administrators and leaders be prepared for this?

II. BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES OF THE PROJECT

1. Background

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

2. Objectives

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

In more detail, the objectives were to:

- Develop a theoretical understanding and a knowledge base regarding the forces of Europeanisation, internationalisation and globalisation relevant for higher education institutions. The available theories and concepts as well as the major reviews and inventories of the actual conditions will be analysed.

- Analyse in selected European countries: Austria, Germany, Greece, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and the United Kingdom (a) the views and rationales for Europeanisation, internationalisation and globalisation underlying national policies for higher education, as well as (b) the actual policies and regulatory frameworks and means aimed at shaping the international role of higher education institutions and (c) the extent to which they foster or impede the development and management of internationalisation activities in higher education institutions.

- Analyse in the same European countries (a) the perceptions of higher education institutions of the challenges of Europeanisation, internationalisation and globalisation, (b) their responses, i.e. actual internationalisation policies and activities and (c) the organisational settings in which they are implemented and the extent to which these foster or impede internationalisation.

- Compare the findings from the national studies regarding (a) the extent to which national contexts, policies, organisational settings and actions reinforce convergence or divergence in internationalisation policies and activities of higher education institutions in Europe, and whether and how the existing variety reflects the diversity of tasks and functions of individual higher education institutions in general, and (b) the factors at both national and organisational levels which foster or impede effective internationalisation processes.

- Formulate on the basis of the above recommendations to policy makers at the institutional, national and European level concerning effective policy co-ordination and management in internationalisation of higher education.

3. The two phases

In a first phase, the project undertook an analysis of governmental policies for internationalisation in seven European countries (Austria, Germany, Greece, The Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and the United Kingdom) and of the policies of the European Commission. The second part of the project looks at the implementation of internationalisation in a number of universities and other higher education institutions in the seven countries mentioned above. In other words, it provides the institutional mirror image to the national and European policies.

III. SCIENTIFIC DESCRIPTION OF PROJECT RESULTS AND METHODOLOGY

1. Key concepts

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

During the last few decades of the 20th century, a trend towards increasing international dimensions of higher education was observed by most experts. Search for knowledge across borders extended on a faster pace than in the past, due to increasing resources, exploding technological means and improving conditions of transportation. International mobility and cooperation in higher education increased and collaborative and comparative research spread substantially. This trend can be viewed to some extent as internally induced by higher education, but certainly was also strongly reinforced by a changing socio-political environment, since emerging new technological, economic and social challenges for higher education obviously were not bound by national borders either. Both national and supra-national policies for higher education emphasised a clear linkage between measures to support the internationalisation of higher education and the growing economic and social rationales of higher education activities in general.

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

- "Internationalisation" assumes that nation states, i.e. "societies" defined as nation states, continue to play a role as economic, social and cultural "systems", but that

they become more interconnected and that activities crossing their borders increase. Cooperation between nation states is expanding and national policies put a stronger emphasis on regulating or facilitating border-crossing activities.

- "Globalisation" puts emphasis on an increasing convergence and interdependence of economies and societies. In contrast to internationalisation, a de-nationalisation and integration of regulatory systems as well as a blurring role of nation states are taken for granted. The liberalisation of international trade and global markets are often viewed as the strongest move in this direction.

- "Europeanisation" is often employed for describing the phenomena of internationalisation on a "regional" scale. Cooperation between EU countries and economic, social and cultural activities crossing their national borders are expanding quickly based on the notion that such cooperation is required for stability and economic growth within the region. Its link to globalisation consists in the fact that this regional cooperation also intends to enhance the global competitiveness of the European region as a whole. And that, although member states remain clearly distinguishable entities, the Europeanisation process is clearly reinforced by the establishment of supra-national political mechanisms, most prominently the European Union, implying a gradual de-nationalisation and integration of certain regulatory systems. This latter trend refers to well-known arguments in the globalisation debate, which point to the fact that convergence and integration are rather taking place at regional than at global level.

Besides the complicated demarcation and often-inconsistent use of these concepts, the complexity of studying the related processes is increased by the dynamics involved in them. In the interaction between the institution and its environment, the concepts of Europeanisation, internationalisation and globalisation are not only used to indicate the changes in this environment (in terms of general trends and resulting challenges), but also the institutional responses to them. In terms of contextual factors, they may be used to identify general trends (e.g. the Europeanisation of society, or the globalisation of the economy) as well as for specific policies (European policies for higher education, or national policies for internationalisation of higher education). Moreover, the perceptions of the concepts by various actors may differ substantially across countries and institutions.

In this report, we use the term "internationalisation of higher education" to depict all the policies and activities of governments and higher education institutions aimed at making higher education (more) responsive to the challenges of internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation. In the higher education context, "Europeanisation"

tends to be viewed predominantly as a regional sub-section compatible with activities of a politically and geographically broader scope of "internationalisation" (Teichler 1999). "Globalisation", however, is viewed to be a major paradigmatic challenge to internationalisation, representing a distinct policy agenda (Van der Wende, 2001a; Van Vught, Van der Wende & Westerheijden, 2002).

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

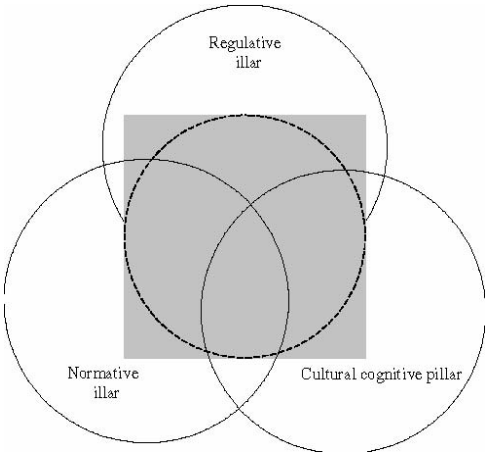
These responses, i.e. the process of internationalistion in higher education, are approached as a process of organisational innovation, change and adaptation in an international and multi-level policy environment. The project seeks to identify factors at the level of (supra)national policies and at organisational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

2. Theoretical perspectives

With respect to a theoretical orientation, we should first recall that there is not any generally agreed conceptual framework for structuring or classifying phenomena of knowledge with respect to internationalisation. It is therefore not possible to build upon earlier theoretical work in this area of research.

The basis of the theoretical framework lies in institutional theory. Institutions are the rules of the game in a society, or more formally, are the humanly devised constraints that shape interaction. They reduce uncertainty by providing a structure to everyday life (North, 1990). Institutions include both the formal constraints (such as rules human being devise) and the informal constraints (such as conventions and codes of conduct); both types of constraints are devised by human beings to shape human interaction (North, 1990). Although North's definitions are widely accepted, it must be stressed that there are many different interpretations of the institutional approach. We will follow Scott's (2001) distinction between the three pillars of institutions (regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive) (see figure 1), his conceptualizations of organizations and operationalise his concepts in the context of (internationalisation of) higher education.

Figure 1. Institutions and organisations



Organisations as open systems have – in order to survive – to adapt to their institutional environments. At the same time, organisations are able to influence the institutional pillars, i.e. bottom-up changes within organisations may impact the wider institutional structure. This impact may lead to changes in the institutional structure, which can be distinguished into regulative (normative and cultural-cognitive elements (Scott, 2001). In reality, the distinction between the three pillars is not always that strict and might sometimes overlap (see figure 1). In the context of higher education, the regulative pillar refers to state -higher education relations and steering models (e.g the extent of institutional autonomy), legislation, funding arrangements, etc. The normative pillar includes the underlying norms and values, i.e. those of the higher education profession (e.g. ideas around academic freedom, good quality education, etc.), and informal and formal hierarchies (e.g. between different types of higher education institutions). The cultural-cognitive pillar concerns "the shared conceptions that constitute the nature of social reality and the frames through which meaning is made" (ibid. p. 57), i.e. the dominant higher education policy paradigm in a country (e.g. the "Humboldtian model"), and shared understanding and taken-for-grantedness at the discipline level. These changing institutional elements may impact the way in which organisations (higher education institutions) operate. Actors, and in particular their perceptions of the proposed changes, are expected to have a specific role in, or are likely to influence, how an organisation responds to changes, especially when it comes to the rate of the adoption of change.

Organisations can respond to changes in the environment with changes in their "building blocks" (i.e. social structure, participants, goals and technology, see figure 2):

- *Social structure*. "Social structure refers to the patterned or regularised aspects of the relationships existing among participants in an organisation" (Ibid.: 17).

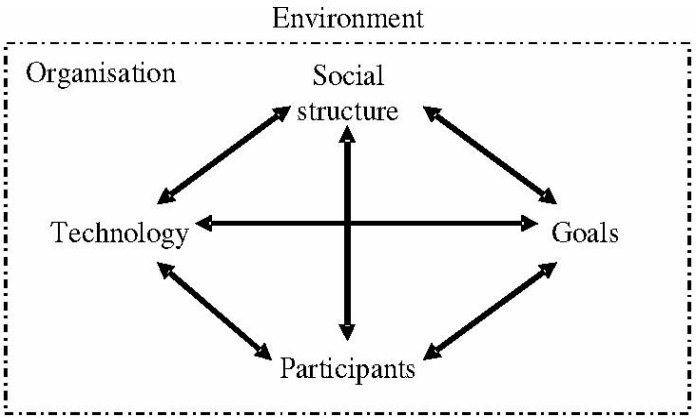
Regarding higher education, important elements of the social structure are the organisation of the main tasks of the organisation, the division of power and authority across different levels, and the level of loosely-coupledness. Dimensions that are taken into account are, for example, centralised or decentralised decision making, marginal or central role of internationalisation, pro-active or reactive.

- *Participants*. "Organisational participants are those individuals who, in return for a variety of inducements, make contributions to the organisation" (Ibid.: 19). An individual can be part of more than one organisation at the same time. These shared members are one possible way of organisations influencing each other. In the context of higher education, the main types of participants are: academic staff, managers/administrators/leaders, support staff and students.

- *Goals*. "Goals are tentatively defined as conceptions of desired ends -ends that participants attempt to achieve through their performance of task activities" (Ibid.: 20-21). Regarding higher education, goals relate to the mission of higher education in general and that of the specific organisation. Many organisations will refer to the handling of knowledge (either refining this through research, or transferring this through education, or both). It should be kept in mind that higher education organisations are service organisations and that the objectives of such organisations are often ambiguous.

- *Technology*. Technology of an organisation is approached broadly. It is not just the pure technology, such as machines and mechanical equipment, which are used in an organisation, it is also the technical knowledge and skills of participants. In the context of higher education, the main technologies are research and education. As Clark (1983: 12) put it: "In varying combinations of efforts to discover, conserve, refine, transmit, and apply it, the manipulation of knowledge is what we find in common in the many specific activities of professors and teachers …. However broadly we define it, knowledge is the material. Research and teaching are the main technologies".

Figure 2. Organisational model (Scott, 1998: 17, adapted from Leavitt, 1965: 1145))



These changes in the building blocks or organisations may for example refer to legislative pressures that may lead to changing goals; changing normative pressures that may lead to changing social structures. Furthermore, each building block can influence one of the other building blocks; changes in one block, can thus be followed by further change in the organisation. For example, a change in goals may require a different type of technology. Participants are expected have a specific role in how an organisation responds to changes, especially where it comes to the rate of the adoption of changes. The perceptions of the proposed changes by the participants are likely to influence the response. It is expected that internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation have an impact on the institutional structure surrounding higher education organisations. This may lead to changes in the institutional structure. These changing institutional elements may impact the building blocks of the organisation. With respect to the last point we explicitly assume that change can happen both ways: changes in institutions may affect the organisations, but organisations may also influence institutions.

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

3. Methodology

3.1. First phase: analysis of national policies for internationalisation

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

From a previous study on national policies for internationalisation in Europe (Van der Wende, 1997, 2001b), it was concluded that there were by then few structured relationships between internationalisation and mainstream higher education policy as developed at the national level. The study also found that economic rationales increasingly define internationalisation policies and efforts, both at the institutional and national level. Finally, internationalisation was expected to become a more important factor in the definition and development of national higher education policy. The present study provides an opportunity to assess whether internationalisation has indeed become more important and more integrated into national higher education policies and to review how the relative importance of economic rationales has developed over the last years.

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

- National policies for internationalization are defined by the country's role and position as an international actor (i.e. size, geographic position, foreign and cultural policy, language, etc).

- National policies for the internationalization of higher education are (an integral) part of a broader set of policies meant to steer the national higher education system.

- These broader policies (i.e. the steering model) as well as the shape of the higher education system (structural characteristics) may have an impact on the way and the extent to which internationalization can and will take place.

- Also other (non higher education specific) areas of national policy (e.g. economic, trade, cultural, migration policies) may influence the internationalization of higher education.

- Consequently, both the internationalization policy as well as the broader higher education policy context can be expected to have a (in) direct effect on the actual internationalization of higher education taking place in the country.

- Also the relationship/interplay between research and education policy at both European and national level, will have an impact on the internationalization process at institutional level.

- There is interplay between policies shaped at the European and at the national level. On the one hand European level (incl. EU) policies are implemented at the national level, on the other hand the national level influences the decision making process at European level. Consequently, the analysis of the interplay should be made in both ways.

- Influence of the international level on national policy making can also be assumed (e.g. adoption of accreditation systems because of increasing presence of foreign providers and international competition).

The specific research questions to be answered are:

- What are the views and rationales[1] underlying the current national policy for the internationalization of higher education? How do they relate to the overall/general higher education policy and to other policy areas if applicable? To what extent are they focused on generating more diversity or convergence in this area?

- What are the current national policies and regulatory frameworks and means aimed at the internationalization of higher education? When have they been established, how do they relate to previous policies, what new plans are in the making?

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

- What are the main effects of these policies and to what extent and how do these current national policies and measures for internationalization foster or impede the development and management of internationalization activities in higher education institutions? To what extent do they result in more diversity or convergence in this area?

- Which major trends or changes in the national higher education policy context – with an emphasis on the state-higher education institutions relationship (the steering model), but if relevant also including other policy areas, have occurred recently and in what way have they demonstrated an impact (fostering or impeding) on the internationalization process, or can they be expected to do so? And how can this be explained?

- How is the national policy for internationalization and higher education policy in general related to policies developed at the European level (e.g. EU programmes, Bologna process, etc.)? How are European policies implemented at the national level and to what extent and how does the national policy level affect the European level?

- Are national policy frameworks for internationalization and for higher education in general influenced by the changes in the international context (e.g. increasing competition, GATS, etc.) and if so how?

These questions structure the reports on national policies for internationalisation of higher educcation which are attached to this report (see Annexes).

3.2. Second phase: institutional responses to globalisation, internationalisation and Europeanisation

To answer the main question for the second phase: *how are higher education institutions responding to internationalization, Europeanisation and globalization*, at least five case studies were performed in each country (36 in total). The selection took into account several (control/background) variables of the HEIs based on the theoretical framework and the aim of representation. The selected HEIs vary with respect to their size, age, their geographic location, their mission, the range of disciplines offered, and the nature of the organization.

This led to a selection of cases that can generally be categorized into five groups:

- Alpha (α) universities: large major national universities that teach and do research in a wide range of disciplines. They are usually among the oldest universities in the country and are located in a major city.

- Beta (β) universities: are younger and mostly smaller than the previous group, but are also involved in both teaching and research.

- Gamma (γ): these institutions are usually more professionally oriented in their teaching and less involved in basic research. Many of them have a regional focus.

- Delta (δ): specialized institutions, involved mainly in one discipline (e.g. arts, business or technology).

- Epsilon (ε): this group comprises the "odd cases" that are difficult to place in the previous groups but were included because they were expected to be interesting because of the particular interest in internationalization (e.g. open university, international institutes).

Starting point for the empirical work was the data previously gathered in phase one of the project on national policies for internationalization. These already describe an important part of the institutional environment of the HEIs. Specific data on the cases was gathered along two lines: organizational data and interviews.

The case study HEIs were asked to provide documents setting out both the main building blocks of the organization and their activities and policies regarding internationalization

(e.g. mission statements, strategic plans, policy documents regarding internationalisation, EPS, etc.). In addition, interviews were held with key players in the HEIs, including academic staff, managers/administrators/leaders, support staff and students.

Individual case study results were first analysed at national level and aggregated results were presented in national reports. These reports first present an introduction of the higher education institutions chosen as case studies for the particular country; followed by an analysis of the views and perceptions of internationalisation, Europeanization and globalisation by the main actors involved; an overview of the actual activities that are undertaken, the effects of internationalisation on the organisation as such, and the relationship with change in the various institutional pillars. Finally, the factors impeding and fostering internationalisation are discussed.

The national reports on the case studies undertaken in the respective countries are attached to this report (see Annexes).

4. Main scientific results on national policies for the internationalisation of higher education

This sections presents a comparative analysis of recent changes in national policies for internationalisation of higher education as described the national reports (see Annexes). To this end, an international comparative analysis is made regarding the main issues for investigation at national level as described in chapter I. This includes the views and rationales underlying policy choices for internationalisation, the actual policies, regulatory frameworks and means aimed at shaping the international role of higher education institutions; their effects, and the extent to which these policies foster or impede the development and management of internationalisation activities in higher education institutions. Furthermore, major trends or changes in the national higher education policy context – with an emphasis on the state-higher education institutions relationship are analysed. Finally, the comparison focuses on how national policies relate to policies and developments at the European and wider international level.

As was stated in the introductory section, previous research in this area indicated that economic rationales increasingly define internationalisation policies and efforts, and that internationalisation was expected to become a more important factor in mainstream higher education policy making at national level (Van der Wende, 1997, 2001a). One of the aims of the present study was to assess whether these trends have actually persisted.

4.1. Views and rationales

4.1.1. Background

National policies for internationalisation of higher education are powerfully influenced by history and geographical location. They intersect along many dimensions with other areas of politics and social, cultural and economic policy. Of the seven countries taking part in this study the United Kingdom, Norway and Portugal face the Atlantic seaboard, Germany and Austria are at the geographical centre of Europe bridging the eastern and west of the continent, Greece is a Mediterranean state and Norway is a member of the Nordic bloc of countries with strong historical and cultural links. In the Netherlands, Portugal and the United Kingdom, links with former geopolitical spheres of interest retain an influence on their current higher education policies while the Greek diaspora has influences on student and staff mobility. Germany and Austria share the same language and student and staff movement between the two has a long tradition. The English language has become the *lingua franca* of scientific and business communication at least as dominant as Latin was at the birth of European universities a thousand years ago.

Such historical and political legacies and geographical constraints still influence higher education policies and practices. However, the explosive growth of global communication and the radical political changes of recent decades have subjected higher education systems to common pressures and there are frequent and increasing exchanges of information between all seven countries in the study. The main international political pressures that have impinged on the higher education systems of the seven countries have been the increasing closeness of the countries of the European Union and emergent pan-European cooperation, the disintegration of the former communist bloc, intensifying global economic competition, reluctance of governments to increase public expenditures on higher education in pace with the demands made upon it, and concern about the regions of the world that are falling behind in the race for economic and social advancement.

4.1.2. National and International Drivers of Policy Change

There are two distinct and, to some extent, opposing rationales for internationalisation policies in higher education – competition and cooperation. In the country chapters the competition-cooperation dichotomy question is often discussed. Both can be a way to respond to the pressures of globalisation and internationalisation. As suggested in chapter I, competition is often associated with globalisation and co-operation with internationalisation. Internationalisation refers to the increasing interconnectedness between national education systems, in which borders and national authorities are not questioned; internationalisation is perceived as a steerable policy process. Globalisation involves the increasing integration of flows and processes over and across borders, transforming the spatial organisation of social relations and transactions and is perceived as an external process to higher education, which can hardly be influenced by higher education (Van der Wende, 2002: 49). Competition is frequently being connected to the English speaking countries, while co-operation is more being linked with continental Europe (See for example: Van der Wende, 2001b and van Vught, van der Wende, & Westerheijden, 2002). Amongst the seven countries in the study it is the UK where international competition as the basis of much recent higher education policy and practice is most explicit. The UK chapter concludes by stating that "the government's over-riding concern with economic competitiveness is largely driving the agenda".

Various commentators make the distinction between 'globalisation' and internationalisation' very explicit. In the words of the Greek report: "Globalisation can be seen as primarily related to an economic trend towards the liberalisation and commodification of education, involving privatization and export and import of education services, new managerialism and increased competitiveness. Internationalisation can be

seen as a process that promotes convergence of higher education institutions, such as mobility (of academics and students), co-operation in teaching and research, joint curricula, joint programmes of studies, etc". Although a distinction can be made between policies that aim to improve the international competitiveness of the national higher education system and those that focus on improvement of the system through engagement with higher education in other countries there are some ambiguities in interpretation. For example a major underlying policy aim in Austria is "to bring the Austrian vocational education system in tune with European standards". This could be an end in itself or it may have the underlying purpose of making the system more competitive with foreign rivals.

However, and in line with expectations based on earlier research (see above), in most of the seven countries in this study countries policies based on international competition in higher education and responses to it are increasing. In Austria, for example the government has established an accreditation mechanism, which "may be interpreted as a shift to a higher education policy that is marked by international competition rather than by co-operation". The Netherlands shows interest in competing in the higher education market, especially in Asia, and Norway's government perceives international competition as an opportunity for enhancing quality and innovation. Nevertheless, interest in co-operation is also apparent. Competing and co-operating often go hand in hand. The Dutch are trying to attract and compete for Asian students, but in the national policy it is claimed that this is also part of the co-operation with the countries concerned.

In Germany "international co-operation still forms the core process of the German higher education and science policy on internationalisation". There are many collaboration agreements between German and foreign HEIs and German HEIs are participating in strategic alliances and networks. There are several joint study programmes and double degree programmes. On the other hand, "the international marketing of German HE and sciences is a new steering instrument in German HE and science politics". A more strategic approach to internationalisation was introduced in the second half of the 1990s. Future plans indicate that Germany is working to establish branch offices of HEIs abroad."

In the UK "there is a long tradition … of using higher education as an instrument of foreign policy and international relations". The aim of the British Council in large part is "to enhance the reputation of the UK in the world through fostering relations with other countries in the areas of the arts, education, English language teaching and science and technology". It should also be noted that the UK was one of the first signatory countries of the Bologna Declaration and the earlier Sorbonne Declaration which started the process of establishing a European Higher Education Area.

Europeanisation is seen by most of the authors as part of the internationalist cooperative agenda but it is clear that in many cases collaboration within Europe is also intended to be a means of strengthening European higher education and European economies especially in relation to the United States. According to the final communiqué following the September 2003 meeting of Ministers responsible for higher education "Ministers take into due consideration the conclusions of the European Councils in Lisbon (2000) and Barcelona (2002) aimed at making Europe "the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion" and calling for further action and closer co-operation in the context of the Bologna Process".

Within the broad class of policies to improve competitiveness another distinction that can be made is between policies that are directed at improving the competitiveness of the national higher education system itself (to recruit fee paying students from other countries or to compete for international research projects for example) and those in which strong universities and colleges are seen as major contributors to successful performance of the national economy as a whole. The national reports include many examples of both of these policy rationales. Many examples of concern about the international image of a country's universities appear in the national reports. The German report states that: "In international comparisons German doctoral studies are often said to lack structure and transparency. This fact is increasingly interpreted as a disadvantage in international competition and attractiveness of the German site for HE and science". In the Austrian report it is said that: "During the past two or three years a new phenomenon has emerged, an increased market orientation in higher education and, consequently, discussion about the extent to which Austrian higher education should be exposed to international competition". The Greek consider that: "The debate about the international positioning, performance and competitiveness of Greek universities is a recent response to the European and international debate about the new role of the university …". And finally the Norwegian case study indicates that: "… from the point of view of the Ministry Education, trade in higher education services is seen as positive in the sense that it exposes Norwegian higher education systems to a healthy competition".

Similar extracts could have been taken from other national reports, though it is interesting that in the UK it is only in the past five years that "learning from other countries" has appeared as a specific interest of the Higher Education Funding Council International Development and Collaboration Office.

Higher education is also seen as having a role in increasing national economic competitiveness generally. For example: "At the beginning of the nineties, a change in the

internationalisation policy is visible. …… The philosophy behind these new aims seems to be the long-term competitiveness of the Dutch national economy more than the quality and competitiveness of higher education". "Norwegian internationalisation policy acknowledges that investment in higher education and scientific research has now become a key factor in international competitiveness". "The powerhouses of the new global economy are innovation and ideas, creativity, skills and knowledge. These are now the tools for success and prosperity as much as natural resources and physical labour were in the past century. Higher education is at the centre of these developments". (UK Government policy statement, 2000 quoted in national report).

4.1.3. GATS negotiations

There are outspoken optimists, and maybe even more pessimists in Europe of the implications of GATS for higher education. The proponents see GATS as possibly "accelerating the influx of private and foreign providers of higher education into countries where domestic capacity is inadequate" (Knight, 2002). The opponents, however, are "concerned that liberalisation may compromise important elements of quality assurance and permit private and foreign providers to monopolise the best students and most lucrative programmes" (Knight, 2002). This difference of view was apparent in the reported interchanges between the UK and French representatives at the Berlin ministerial conference over the wording in the final communiqué of the statement 'that in international academic cooperation and exchanges, academic values should prevail.' It is thought that in part the exchanges reflected differences of view over the possible implications for higher education of GATS agreements if economic competitiveness is recognized too explicitly as a driver of reform.

The opponents and proponents are also visible in the country chapters. The debate is the extent to which international higher education transactions are seen as the exchange of tradable commodities as opposed to promoting the international advance of scholarship and culture. It is relevant to note that the individual member states of the EU are not playing a direct part in the negotiations concerning GATS; the EU negotiates for them. Also, in several countries, the view on higher education and GATS is formulated in policy documents written under the responsibility of the ministries of economic and trade affairs. This may well influence the views reported in some of the country chapters. How it may affect the implications for higher education of the final outcome of the GATS negotiations is not yet clear. In general some countries see GATS as a 'lever' for their own national policies, whereas other perceive it more as a threat to the integrity of their higher education systems.

Development Cooperation Assistance to higher education institutions in developing and transition countries are separately identifiable strands of higher education policy in most of the seven countries in the study. The involvement of higher education institutions with developing countries is usually linked to general development aid policies and as such typically come under the umbrella of the ministry with responsibility for international development.

They can conveniently be split into three policy areas:

- general concern with the economic development of the poorest countries;
- interest in the modernisation of countries affected by the collapse of communism at the beginning of the 1990s;
- historical connections with certain parts of the world.

There are European Union policies with respect to the first two of these and universities in all seven participating countries take part in, for example TEMPUS programmes. Interest in development aid as a general policy aim is expressed most strongly in the Norwegian report: "Relations between Norwegian institutions and institutions in the South have existed for years. … These activities mirror the interests of the Norwegian foreign policy and the emphasis on nation building through peace, democracy and sustainable development…. A new dimension … is the Joint Statement signed in June 2002 by the Nordic Education Ministers and International Development Ministers to enhance co-operation and encourage Nordic joint actions in relation to education and development in the South. There is a strong political will to "invest" in the South, it is also of high symbolic value to the current government".

In Germany also "The Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development … focuses on development policy through cooperation in bi-and multilateral programmes, exchange activities, supporting national, institutional, educational and technological development and training as well as offering financial assistance etc. for developing countries".

Concerns with modernisation of higher education in Central and Eastern Europe are particularly mentioned in the Austrian, German and Dutch reports and it is made clear that this is seen as an aspect of much broader policy concerns with these counties. "Transition countries such as the Czech Republic, Slovenia, Poland and Hungary are priority countries in the Dutch internationalisation policy. The Russian federation is also part of this cluster of countries. Aid to the Russian Federation is given in the area of policy development and implementation. The co-operation with the other countries is also aimed at improving their

higher education. The co-operation with these countries can nowadays be seen in the light of their entry to the European Union. Their entry into the EU has also made the co-operation with these countries more accessible for Dutch HEIs, e.g. through SOCRATES. In Germany "geographical focus outside the EU lies in the cooperation with central and east European countries and countries of the former Soviet Union". Similarly in Austria "there are various activities and cooperation between Austria and Central and Eastern European countries and universities. For about ten years, Austria funds cooperation in science and education with Slovakia, Czech Republic and Hungary and even set up a multilateral programme for the CEE region, called CEEPUS.

The Netherlands, Portugal and the United Kingdom retain a feeling of commitment to, and strong links with, third world countries with which they have strong historical links, usually former colonies.

Such links are most pervasive in the United Kingdom whose Commonwealth is a voluntary association of 54 sovereign states, and the people of the Commonwealth make up 30% of the world's population. The Commonwealth Secretariat runs an active education programme, the aims of which are promoting sustainable development, poverty reduction, human rights and the advancement of democracy. The Association of Commonwealth Universities aims to advance international co-operation and understanding in higher education, to provide information to universities, to promote mobility of staff and students between Commonwealth countries, and to assist members in developing the capacity of their human resources.

In the Portuguese case, where decolonisation was far more recent, cultural links remain strong: "The cultural rationale is rooted in the Portuguese language as one of the most spoken languages all over the world and in the co-operation with Portuguese speaking countries. …Over the last decades, governments have promoted the internationalisation of the system by supporting the development of higher education in the former Portuguese speaking colonies. … In Portugal the de-colonization happened only during the early 70's, and since then the country feels a particular responsibility towards the development of its former colonies, namely Cabo Verde, Angola, Mozambique, Guiné and São Tomé e Princípe, denominated PALOP's (African Countries with Portuguese as Official Language), and more recently also East Timor. This sense of responsibility is translated in the Portuguese external policy and includes a particular concern with the education and training of their young people as well as their top administrative staff".

The Netherlands has a number of similar historical links. Holland provides support to improve the higher education system of the Dutch Antilles and Aruba. Additionally, ways

to prevent 'brain drain' from them are being explored. Students from these jurisdictions receive funding for several programmes by the Dutch State, just as they would if they were studying in the Netherlands. The historical legacy of the Netherlands, however is broader and more complex.. "In particular the relation with Indonesia and South Africa may be complex, as with these countries, which are part of the Dutch colonial past, aid and development co-operation has been in place for long. The introduction of new strategies focused on marketing and recruitment could be perceived in a somewhat reluctant manner".

In general it is apparent from the seven reports that historical, cultural and linguistic links remain a strong influence on the international activities of universities and colleges. Apart from those which result from former colonial policies it is clear that there are, for example, particular links between universities in Germany and Austria, that Norway is influenced by its membership of the Nordic bloc, that Greece makes special efforts to recruit students and staff from the millions of Greeks who are living abroad and the United Kingdom institutions have special links with those in the United States as well as with the English speaking countries of the Commonwealth.

4.2. Regulatory Frameworks and Policies for Internationalisation

4.2.1. Ministerial responsibilities for Higher Education

In all the countries participating in this study the ministry of education plays a leading role in higher education policy but the name of the ministry varies widely: with the word 'education' supplemented variously by words such as 'science', 'research', 'culture', 'employment', 'skills'. Indeed it is possible to draw some inferences about the way higher education is perceived in a country at a particular point in time by the words that follow 'education' in the name of ministry mainly responsible for it. Other ministries with roles affecting international policy in higher education are those responsible for foreign affairs, economics, finance, trade and industry, home affairs and economic development aid. The Netherlands report provides a list of the ministries involved in that country and, allowing for slight differences in the organisation of government, this list could be replicated in most of the countries. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has traditionally been involved in the internationalisation of Dutch higher education…The policy for the internationalisation of higher education must be in line with the general national foreign policy. The same holds true for the national policy concerning European affairs….The Ministry of Economic Affairs is involved in the internationalisation of higher education mainly in two ways. First of all, this Ministry has the final responsibility for the negotiations on GATS (see 6). Secondly, the Netherlands Foreign Trade Agency (EVD) is assisting in the promotion of Dutch higher

education abroad. …The Ministry of Justice bears responsibility for visa and residence permits. … The Ministry of Social Affairs has the responsibility for working permits for foreigners and is sometimes involved on specific issues, for example issues concerning employability of graduates.Finally, the Ministry of Agriculture is responsible for higher education in the agricultural sector.

Below the level of national ministries of education there is a wide range of agencies that have an interest in various aspects of the international affairs of universities and colleges. At the centre there is usually a branch of the ministry of education with specific responsibility for implementing government policy for higher education. In addition most countries have an agency responsible for advancing their cultural and higher education interests abroad – for example, the Austrian Exchange Service (ÖAD), the Centre for International University Cooperation in Norway, the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), the Netherlands Organisation for International Co-operation in Higher Education (NUFFIC), the British Council, and the International Office for Science and Higher Education (GRICES) in Portugal. One indicator of the changing perceptions of the international role of higher education institutions is that several of these agencies are now assisting in the recruitment of fee paying foreign students and helping universities to secure international research and consultancy contracts.

For example from 1997 onwards DAAD has implemented a variety of measures to improve the competitiveness of German universities abroad and the British Council is heavily involved in overseas student recruitment and assisting British universities to bid for international projects. In the Netherlands "The main areas of (NUFFIC's) activity are development co-operation, internationalisation of higher education, international recognition and certification and the marketing of Dutch higher education".

4.2.2. Internationalisation and Quality Assurance Regulation

Internationalisation, and particularly Europeanisation are seen as important drivers of quality improvement in national higher education systems. A recent player on the regulatory scene in all the countries is an organisation concerned with quality assurance or quality improvement. While this agency is primarily driven by perceived needs to enhance the quality of programmes of study for indigenous students, there are important international dimensions. The ministerial communiqué following the 2003 Berlin conference declared that: "The quality of higher education has proven to be at the heart of the setting up of a European Higher Education Area. Ministers commit themselves to supporting further development of quality assurance at institutional, national and European level. They stress the need to develop mutually shared criteria and

methodologies on quality assurance". And also that by 2005, all countries should have quality assurance systems in place that include certain characteristics, such as a system of accreditation, certification or comparable procedures, and international participation, cooperation and networking.

There is widespread interest in international agencies that disseminate information about the quality assurance activities in other countries. Germany is 'making use of international comparisons and benchmarking as guideline for quality in German education and research' and in Norway 'internationalisation is beginning to be seen as a way of ensuring quality in higher education and research'. Similarly in Portugal 'the political rationale for internationalisation is based on the perception that it is not possible to justify the quality of the education system isolated from the international, and in particular the European, context.' Portugal is establishing 'mechanisms of quality evaluation and accreditation that would allow the definition of criteria of transparency and comparability with the other European countries' systems.' The Dutch report recognises that quality improvement is important to improve the economic competitiveness of the higher education system. 'Quality of education is important to a competitive higher education system and international agreement s on accreditation and quality assurance need to be reached.' In the UK 'the QAA (Quality Assurance Agency) has recently taken a strong interest in courses run by British universities in other countries.' The main driver is concern about the effect of quality deficiencies on the worldwide reputation of British higher education.

Other countries are more concerned about the quality and integrity of their own universities and colleges being threatened by unregulated competitors from other countries. In Austria a 1999 law permitting the establishment and accreditation of private universities provided for quality control of higher education institutions from abroad, which were increasingly expected to set up branches in Austria. A similar concern is illustrated by the Greek experience of Centres for Free Studies which 'operate not as education institutions but as commercial enterprises. They are subject to the authority of the Ministry of Trade and are not considered part of the higher education system.' However, they currently offer study programmes that lead to foreign degrees Bachelors and Masters degree franchising agreements with foreign universities.

There is obviously a major dilemma to be faced in the regulation of cross border provision of higher education that will grow with the expansion of online education, and would be exacerbated if the GATS agreement of trade in services were to be extended to include higher education. It is clearly desirable to ensure that education (and research) provided by universities from outside the country meets the same quality standards as those within

the country, but it is also important that the regulatory agencies do not simply protect deficiencies in the home institutions by discriminating against foreign providers.

4.3. Policy Instruments and Effects

Specific policies for the internationalisation of higher education traditionally include instruments such as student programmes for academic mobility and cooperation. Until the last quarter of the twentieth century 'internationalisation' of higher education largely meant student mobility, mostly on an individual *ad hoc* free mover basis. Today, student mobility trends remain a significant indicator of internationalisation. Besides, "virtual mobility" is increasingly taken into consideration, as internationalisation is fostered also through distance education, validation of qualifications in other countries, branch campuses, joint degrees and/or collaborative provisions, all policies that do not require the physical mobility of students. According to recent OECD data (OECD, 2002) student mobility has increased significantly in the period 1995-2001 in most OECD countries. Table 1 specifies these data for the countries included in this study.

Table 1. Foreign students by host country (1995-2001)

	1995		**1998**		**2001**		**change in %**
	Number	% of enrolment	Number	% of enrolment	Number	% of enrolment	
Austria	25175	10.76	28447	11.5	31682	12.0	25.85
Germany	154536	7.17	171150	8.2	199132	9.6	28.86
Netherlands			13619	2.9	16589	3.3	
Norway	11158	6.45	5750	3.2	8834	3.7	-20.83
Portugal	6140	2.04			11177	3.0	82.04
UK	156977	8.66	209554	10.8	225722	10.9	43.79
Total OECD	647612		712166		856733		32.29

Source: OECD Education database (data for Greece not available)

The general trend of increasing student mobility is also observed in Europe. In fact, Europe still hosts more foreign students (more than 850 000 in 2001) than the United States (547 000 in 2000/01).The market share of the United Kingdom, Germany and France together (36%) is already larger than that of the United States (30%). However, slightly over 50% of the mobile students in Europe are from within the region, and this

intra-regional mobility is also the fastest growing component (Van der Wende & Middlehurst, forthcoming).

Table 2 provides an additional insight into the balance of incoming and outgoing student flows per country. It shows that Austria, Germany, the Netherlands, and in particular the United Kingdom receive more students than they send out. For the Norway the opposite is the case. OECD countries receive on average 1.98 students for 1 student sent abroad.

Table 2. Number of foreign students per domestic student abroad in tertiary education (2001)

	Foreign Students	Domestic students abroad	Index
Austria	31682	11531	2.75
Germany	199132	54481	3.66
Greece		54812	
Netherlands	16589	11792	1.41
Norway	8834	14072	-1.59
Portugal		10838	
United Kingdom	225722	25195	8.96

Note: Foreign students refer to foreign students studying in OECD countries only Read: in 2001, Austria received 2.75 foreign students for 1 domestic student sent abroad.

Source: OECD Education database

4.3.1. Types of Student Mobility

It is possible to identify several distinct categories of mobile students: free movers who register for the whole of a degree (or other) programme at a university outside their home country (see table 1 and 2); exchange students who remain registered at their home university but do one or more modules of their courses at a university in another country (e.g. ERASMUS students, see table 3); "non-mobile" students who remain physically in their own country and study for a degree enrolled at a foreign university. Globally this type of 'virtual' mobility (or trans-national education) has expanded rapidly during recent years.

Despite the substantial mobility of exchange students under the ERASMUS programme (see table 3), over four times more mobility in Europe takes place outside this framework

(free movers). Student mobility towards Germany and the UK has a long history. As the British report states: "The United Kingdom has a long history of exporting education overseas. In the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century British universities performed a role linked to the country's imperial mission: at first to develop what was seen as progressive cultural attitudes among the indigenous colonial populations".

Student mobility towards other European countries increased in the decolonisation period (1950s–1960s), as the responsibilities towards developing countries and former colonies were assumed. In the Netherlands, Institutes for International Education were set up in the 1950's. "These … were set up … as part of the development co-operation to the former Dutch colonies. Their objective is to contribute to the development of the home countries of the students. The institutes for international education have been offering courses taught in English since the early 1950s". Austria became a significant host country for foreign students in the 1970s, when foreign students arrive at 15.9% of the total student population in 1970.

For another group of countries (Norway, Portugal and Greece) outgoing mobility patterns were initiated in the 1950s, as a result of the sending policies of the governments that were unable to respond to the internal demand for higher education services. Norway developed an outward mobility tradition since the 1950s and the outward trend was prominent until the 1970s. At present one can note "a move away from the strong ideological and financial support of free movers towards more emphasis on short term study abroad as part of a degree taken at home and more emphasis on attracting foreign students to Norwegian universities and colleges". In Greece, outward mobility towards the US, the UK, Germany and France was initiated in the post-war period and created a tradition that is still very strong. This sending policy was influenced by the policies of international organisations and driven by the objective of integrating Greece in the international system. We can state that in the case of Portugal outgoing mobility in the 1960's and early 1970's was mainly addressed to post-graduation studies (PhD training).The Portuguese report summing up mobility patterns in Portugal states: "One cannot forget that by history Portugal is an emigration country…. the government supported with grants the training of its post-graduate students in countries such as the US, France, United Kingdom and Germany, …After its integration in the European Union the economic situation improved and at present time under the framework of the internationalisation of higher education policies... there are earmarked vacancies in higher education for special kinds of students, sons of Portuguese emigrants and students coming from the Portuguese Speaking Countries", i.e. Portugal fosters internationalisation by receiving students from former Portuguese colonies with which historical and cultural ties exist.

Since 1980 the amount of cross-border movement of students has increased by a serious magnitude. Intra-European mobility was fostered through the inauguration of organised mobility programmes, especially the ERASMUS programme, which affected, at variable degrees, student mobility patterns in European countries, providing thus a strong fostering of internationalisation across EU countries.

Table 3. ERASMUS student mobility: actual numbers of students sent and hosted by country

	Hosted	Sent	1997/98 ratio
United Kingdom	20938	10582	1.98
Netherlands	4939	4171	1.18
Germany	10991	13785	0.8
Norway	818	1071	0.76
Portugal	1382	1834	0.75
Austria	1744	2438	0.72
Greece	994	1431	0.69
Total Europe	86248	86263	1

Source: Teichler, 2002.

ERASMUS is an important programme for stimulating student mobility in most of the seven countries; in Germany and in Portugal it is even the most important programme for student mobility. The participation rates of HEIs in the ERASMUS programmes differ strongly per country. Portugal (23% of eligible institutions), the UK and Austria (both at 33%), score low compared to the other countries in the study (scores between 55–68%, average score for Europe = 38%) (Teichler, 2002). Furthermore, the UK is hosting almost twice as many ERASMUS students as it is sending out (see table 3). Recently, the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) has commissioned a study on this subject, "to investigate whether UK students are at a disadvantage in comparison with EU students" (see also 10.5.4). The Netherlands is receiving slightly more students than it is sending out. In the other countries the situation is reverse.

The countries also have their own mobility schemes, which are sometimes combined with the ERASMUS programme, such as in Austria, where "the federal government subsidises ERASMUS students abroad, in addition to their ERASMUS grants". National schemes can also be in place to stimulate another type of mobility than the ERASMUS programme does. For example, the Dutch Visie-scholarships support Dutch students who want to pursue a

degree programme in one of the EU or European Economic Area (EEA-) countries. In Norway the Loan fund has been in place for many years, making it possible for Norwegian students to enrol in a foreign HEI with financial support of the Loan Fund. Norway also supports students to study in other Nordic countries through the Nordplus Programme. Another example of such regional cooperation and mobility results from the Dutch "neighbouring countries policy" with adjacent German Lander and Flanders.

In the 1990s the EU, responding to the dissolution of the eastern block, launched a policy for educational co-operation and exchanges with 'transition countries'. This policy fosters internationalisation as it promotes university relations between members of the EU and Central and Eastern European countries and influences mobility patterns at the national level. For some countries mobility flows from Eastern and Central European countries acquired extreme importance. Austria reports that the percentage of foreign students from Central and Eastern Europe quadrupled throughout the 1990s while "the absolute number of students in 2001 increased even six times since 1990". In the case of Greece, EU policy fostered internationalisation, as it helped re-institute long severed links with ethnic Greek communities in the Balkans and former Soviet block countries.

It can be argued that the fostering of internationalisation as (a) the development of mobility patterns across countries and over time, (b) the formulation of sending policies of domestic students, and (c) the formulation of attraction policies for foreign students can be seen as related to the interplay between the country's positioning in the international sphere, its status as a donor or recipient of developmental aid, its status with respect to the structural relations with other countries (e. g. ex colonies) and its level of economic development, affecting a capacity to develop a national higher education structure to respond to the (national) social demand for higher education.

4.3.2. Issues in student mobility

Student mobility has been given new 'global' policy relevance as a result of the increased marketisation of higher education. Whereas until the 1980s recruitment of foreign students was largely undertaken for social, political, cultural and academic reasons, the national reports show that economic and financial issues, are now seen as an integral part of higher education policies. The economic rationale is manifest in two distinct but complementary processes: (a) policies aiming at the attraction of foreign students for the purpose of generating income for HEIs (b) the provision of transnational education through 'off-shore' activities, mainly through franchised or distance learning courses.

In Europe this shift was first experienced by the United Kingdom, which in 1980, as part of a wide-ranging policy of public expenditure reduction, withdrew all public subsidy to

institutions with respect to students from outside the European Community. A result of this budget reduction policy was an important fostering of internationalisation, since the recruitment of students from abroad increased dramatically as universities marketed themselves extremely and competitively to compensate for the money they had lost. The UK is most concerned about its role as a provider of higher education for students from overseas: "Government policy has been to encourage HEIs to recruit increasing numbers of international students".

Austria introduced differential fees in 2001; foreign students from non-European industrialised countries (about 5% or less) pay the double amount. Portugal introduced differential fees more recently. In the Netherlands generating income through fee-paying students is one of the reasons given for attracting foreign students. Additionally there is a national human resources interest The shortage of students in the science and technology is expected to be compensated by attracting foreign students. Germany charges no tuition for courses leading to a first degree providing a career qualification or to follow-up postgraduate degrees. It is claimed that this non-tuition policy may enhance the attractiveness of the German HE system to international students. However, other German observers contend that "this policy is – due to a failure to tap new sources of income -hindering universities from implementing internationally oriented reforms and activities". A tuition-free policy is also followed by Greece, where according to the current rhetoric education should be viewed as a "public good and a public responsibility".

The growing demand for higher education is increasingly met by the cross-border or trans-national supply of educational programmes and services. Trans-national education is basically offered through franchised courses usually involving institutions from more than one country and mostly driven by commercial interests. Among the seven countries in this study the UK has taken the lead in promoting the export of education services and appears prepared to follow its own independent course on this issue, as the "dominant policy perspective is to increase the economic competitiveness of the UK and continue to exploit the global market". This is supported by the view that "politicians and university managers view the rest of Europe as following the lead of the UK, while the UK has been influenced by developments in the US".

Export of education services is also considered an indispensable part of the German policy. However the German NPU states that 'German HEIs lack an entrepreneurial tradition and culture and operate under a legal framework' that restricts "active engagement in entrepreneurial 'off-shore' activities". The Netherlands is equally open to the provision of trans-national education. The Dutch policy on "international positioning" selected a number of target markets for its higher education export, including Indonesia and China.

Africa, Latin American and in particular Asian countries, including Taiwan and China, are targeted by the UK, the Netherlands and Germany. The priority accorded to Asian countries seems to be related to the fact that Asia is perceived as a large new market, whose students have potentially great purchasing power. In these cases marketization and entrepreneurship are seen as going hand in hand with internationalisation. On the negative side it should be noted that several franchised courses have faced recognition problems in some countries. For example, two 'importing' countries, Greece and Portugal have legislated against the recognition of degrees obtained under franchised arrangements. One can only assume that non-recognition of degrees might impede internationalisation. Having stated that it is important to add that quality assurance is very important since anything else would create a concern about "internationalisation at all costs" (see also 10.3.2).

4.3.3. Mobility of Academic Staff and Researchers

International staff mobility has always been an integral constituent of higher education. Long before the advent of performance indicators the number of lecturers and professors from other countries and the ability of academic staff in the country to obtain appointments abroad have been regarded as an indicator of the vitality of its universities and colleges. Probably because of it inherent character, formal data on this aspect of internationalisation are hard to obtain.

Broadly staff mobility can be classified as belonging to one of the following forms:

- recruitment of staff from other countries;
- long term detachment of academic staff to posts in other countries;
- joint appointment of academic staff by universities in different countries;
- staff exchange in the context of EU programmes, for teaching (see table 4), research, cooperation networks, etc.

Table 4. Teacher mobility under SOCRATES by sending country (1999/2000)

United Kingdom	1259
Netherlands	582
Germany	1528
Norway	150
Portugal	362
Austria	310
Greece	318
Total Europe	12129

Source: SOCRATES Education and Training homepage.
http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/erasmus.html

Few countries were able to provide concrete and secure data concerning the mobility patterns of researchers. However, indications exist that the US is still the first choice of post-graduate students and researchers. In the case of Germany existing contacts with the US are cultivated and new ones established. The continuing importance of the US as destination country for the training of post-graduate students is confirmed by the Portuguese report. A large percentage of Portuguese researchers receiving a grant have chosen to study in the United States. Greece, also reports a long established tradition of training postgraduate students in the U.S. For Germany important research partners (outside the EU) are located in the former Soviet Union as well as in Central and east European countries. According to statistics of the EU programme for Research and Technological Development, the main receiving countries for mobile researchers in Europe are the UK (30 %), France (15 %) and Germany (13 %), while the Netherlands is currently becoming a main receiving country (received 10 % of researchers in 2001).

Patterns of participation in the EU Framework Programmes for RT&D reveal that in some countries (such as Portugal and Greece) EU research policies are fostered and complemented by national research policies, provided significant funding as well as an incentive for the creation or further development of national research structures. Norway reports an Europeanisation of its research and a decline of the relative importance of North America. For Portugal, the several Framework programmes were and are "a very important and relevant means for promoting internationalisation of the Portuguese scientific and technological system". In countries with already established research structures, scientific co-operation at the EU level has been further fostered through the

activities of national organisations aiming to support participation of national research teams at EU research projects. In Germany, research by the Federal Ministry for Education and Research shows that the EU Framework Programmes "contribute largely to the integration of German research and economic activities into a common European economic and research area". In Austria and the Netherlands HEIs wanting to participate in the Framework Programmes is promoted through (subsidised) help of national agencies.

Although the intrinsic value of the mobility of postgraduate students, researchers and academic staff is not questioned per se in any report, there is ambivalence in many countries between recognition of the benefits of mobility and concern about the loss of highly qualified scholars/researchers to the higher education systems and research laboratories of other countries. The Dutch report remarks that the discussion on "the position of the [marketing] policy [needs to be seen] in the broader knowledge society and the brain drain/gain discussion; foreign students can contribute to the research capacity in particular in fields such as science and technology." while according to the Austrian report "… there is need for action on several levels, both to increase mobility of Austrian researchers and to reduce brain drain". The intrinsic dilemma is perhaps best expressed in the Portuguese report: "it is a goal of the Portuguese government that graduate and post-graduation Portuguese students, who make a part or the totality of their studies abroad, return to the country, contributing to its own development. Nevertheless it is recognised that the presence of Portuguese students and researchers in higher education and research institutions all over the world also contributes to the internationalisation of Portuguese higher education and especially of its research, namely by contributing to an easier establishment of networks".

4.4. Trends and changes in the Higher Education policy context

In the various countries changes in the national higher education policy context have led to structural reforms affecting the capacity of the higher education systems to respond to internationalisation and globalisation challenges.

4.4.1. Restructuring, convergence and differentiation

In general a trend towards restructuring (introduction of bachelor and master programmes) and diversification of programmes (including joint degree programmes, non-degree and lifelong learning courses) can be observed. For example in Austria where the University Studies Act (UniStG) was passed in 1997. "The objectives of this law were to increase the flexibility for changing courses and programmes and … to shorten the actual duration of studies as in Austria... The UniStG … provides for a review and reestablishment of the complete range of degree courses within a period of ten years. In addition to degree

courses, there are non-degree courses and – newly established by this Act -postgraduate courses, i.e. programmes leading to the degree of a Master of Advanced Studies (MAS) or a Master of Business Administration (MBA)".And in the UK were "besides the debate concerning the introduction of shorter two year first degree programmes, still under consideration, two recent changes appear which are in fact relevant to the international context: (a) the introduction of a considerable formal, generic research training element into many PhD programmes and (b) the rapid expansion of 'professional doctorates'". The Bologna Process has become a major driving force for the restructuring of degree systems, aiming for more convergence of degree structures in Europe. In all countries this process is seen to foster internationalisation (see 10.6). At the same time, the trend of diversification at both undergraduate (shorter first degree programmes) and graduate (new type of mainly professional programmes) level is evident.

4.4.2. Privatisation and cross-border providers

In various countries the internal demand for higher education services intensified, national policies were reformed to allow for the creation, expansion or regulation of a private, higher education sector alongside the public one. In Portugal, "with an increasing demand from the students completing secondary education and with some artificial mechanisms introduced to induce demand (namely the 1989 elimination of minimum requirements to enter higher education), the system was forced to expand, increasing enrolments in public higher education institutions and promoting the emergence of a large private sector". The rapid expansion was fostered by… "political lobbying for uncontrolled creation of new private institutions and the approval of new study programs …The establishment of "market-like" competition for students will influence future developments…In this game, private institutions have everything to loose: they are more expensive, their recruitment is very local and their social prestige is not very strong". The Austrian report indicates "In 1999 a law providing for the accreditation of private universities passed Parliament. Some small, private institutions had been operating in Austria already. Some religious institutions were based on contracts with the Vatican, others had been ignored by the government so far. Therefore, in some way, the Act on the Accreditation of Private Universities adjusted the legal situation to reality. At the same time, the new law met the demand of those, mainly industrialists, who had began to consider higher education as a marketable good. Based on this law (and similar to the *Fachhochschule* sector), an accreditation agency was created. The task of this agency was to hinder an unrestricted foundation of private universities and to safeguard minimal standards. The law explicitly excludes federal funding but explicitly allows support by regional governments or municipalities. It does not distinguish between for-profit and not-for-profit institutions."In contrast, in Greece, the internal demand for higher education qualifications and the

marketisation of education services led to the creation of a highly problematic and unregulated "informal" private education sector, as by constitution, the provision of higher education is the exclusive prerogative of the state. Consequently, the provision of franchised courses/validated degrees is possible only through collaboration of foreign providers with commercial enterprises, not recognised as educational organisations, whose operation is unregulated from an education point of view.

4.4.3. Increased institutional autonomy

As part of the new public management movements of the 1990s there has everywhere been some shift towards governmental 'steering from a distance'. Effectively this means that there is more discretion by the institutions in the ways they implement national policies. In the United Kingdom 'universities have traditionally been legally independent entities and any influence that governments have had over their strategies and management has been indirect through exhortation and the incentives of public funding' but in recent years the government has begun to set far more stringent conditions to the provision of public funding. Any funding universities receive from government for international students or research projects is explicitly targeted. In the Netherlands 'the steering philosophy of the ministry assumes that the organisations are autonomous actors, that can adequately respond and anticipate social developments'. Germany, a federal country has an additional complication in that the main responsibility for implementing higher education policy rests with the 17 *Länder*. The cooperation of the *Länder* at national level is the responsibility of the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the *Länder* (KMK). In Greece 'the universities are fully self-governed, but not completely autonomous, legal entities of public law, under the supervision of the MoE'. In Austria higher education was traditionally a federal government responsibility and it maintained quite detailed management control of them. 'Only in the mid nineties when *Fachhochschulen*, alternatives to universities in higher education, were established, the traditional interpretation of the Austrian Constitution providing that higher education is a federal responsibility and hence has to be offered by federal institutions only, began to change.' In Portugal University Autonomy Act dated from 1998 and a similar Act for Polytechnics dated from 1990 conferred considerable autonomy to public higher education institutions. "This means that steering institutions towards internationalisation might be difficult". This all means that the practical implementation of European, international and global policies with respect to higher education depend very much on a sense of partnership between institutions and national governments.

The trend towards increased institutional autonomy is in many cases paralleled by intermediary organisations or networks, located at decentralized levels besides the central

(governmental) level, with flexible connections between them. In many cases such structures exist for some time. In Norway, "there is currently a proposal being developed for establishing a national body for co-ordination and information about international activities, as well as the administration of the major international programmes in higher education". Such structures are clearly seen as contributing to internationalisation, either directly in the cases their function is the support of internationalisation, or indirectly in the cases their role is in general the support and/or coordination of groups of HEIs.

4.4.4. Language policies

A special emphasis should be given to language as a factor closely related to the development of internationalisation policies. Language may foster internationalisation trends as a means of attraction of students from countries with cultural and linguistic affinities, or it may be seen as a barrier to student mobility in countries where less spoken languages are used. Furthermore, English is clearly becoming the *lingua franca* for communication among the international academic community. National policy responses to this trend vary by country. In one group of countries, such as the Netherlands and Norway, national policies encourage institutions to offer courses in English in order to attract foreign students and to foster internationalisation. Other countries adopt a mixed and more reserved position towards the anglophonisation of European Higher Education. In Germany for example "Teaching in English is a largely debated topic. Internationalisation leads to a growing demand or increasing need to provide courses in German as a foreign language for international students, graduates, scholars and guest lecturers, but also to teach in English, the *lingua franca* of 21st century science and to publish in English…..The increasing anglophonisation of German Higher Education is regarded as a counter-development to the politically claimed cultural variety and diversity of languages in Europe. Critiques fear a loss of cultural heritage and demand an expansion of courses in German as a foreign language". According to the German NPU one cannot identify in Germany a coherent language policy "Some funding schemes are promoting a further anglophonisation in the provision of degree programmes, but we do not find a national or federal policy for further education for teaching staff or a human resource development policy for the provision of English taught courses (or courses in another foreign language) neither for enabling academics to publish in English".

In Greece too, mixed policy trends may be noted. One the one hand the MoE promotes joint masters' degrees between Greek and French universities and is about to pass a law to provide for the legal framework for the development of these programmes. On the other hand promotion of the Greek language is seen as part of the broader internationalisation policy and the Greek State subsidises a number of departments

offering modern Greek language courses abroad. This policy is complemented by the development of a standardised method for the teaching of Greek as a foreign language and the relative test attesting levels of competence in Greek, which caters to the needs of foreign and ethnic Greeks that study for full course degrees in Greece. The Greek admission policy has been shaped in a way that facilitates the incoming mobility of groups with which Greece has cultural and linguistic ties, namely ethnic Greeks from the Balkans and former USSR countries and Cypriots. At the institutional level, teaching in languages other than Greek is "an issue peripheral to most universities. Whether courses will be offered in another language is a matter of the department and the academics. The attitudes of academics vary concerning instruction in a widely spoken European language, as a means to formulate an "attraction" policy for incoming (Erasmus and full-course) foreign students".

According to the Portuguese report "It is worth mentioning the co-operation relationships established with all the countries that were former Portuguese colonies... Obviously it should be mentioned that in this context the language is a really important issue in order to promote the internationalisation of the Portuguese higher education system (in all these countries Portuguese is the official language)". On the other hand mobility towards Portugal from other European countries is hindered due to the fact "that Portuguese is one of the least spoken and known languages all over Europe". Teaching in a foreign language is not an option for undergraduate courses as most incoming students are from Portuguese speaking countries which limits teaching in a foreign language to some post-graduate courses. In the case of Austria "the biggest share of foreign students comes from two countries: Italy and Germany. Most of the Italian students in Austria are members of the German speaking community in Southern Tyrol, who are treated equal to Austrian students and for whom even a special programme (Italian law at Innsbruck university) had been established. For students from Germany, Austria traditionally has been a convenient place to study abroad, due to the same language and to a similar higher education system".

Finally, Norwegian mobile students prefer to study in countries courses are given in English or German. "The impact of the global market on the Norwegian student body changed the pattern of mobility. During the latter half of the 1990s the number of students travelling to Australia and tailor-made educational programmes in Eastern Europe skyrocketed. Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic have had a clear increase in the number of Norwegian students during the last years".

In the Netherlands, the system reform of 2002 loosened regulation with respect to teaching in a foreign language. Prior to this, already a relatively high number of HEIs were

offering English taught programmes, especially at master's level. In contrast the prominence of English as a *lingua franca* seems to hinder outward mobility from the UK. According to the UK report "it has not gone unnoticed that… the numbers of UK students opting to study in other countries is comparatively low". A study has been undertaken "to investigate whether UK students are at a disadvantage in comparison with EU students because they lack the skills (particularly language skills) that are a benefit of study abroad".

4.5. The relationship between European and national policies

Several assumptions on the relation and interaction between European policies and national developments were presented in chapter I. The findings in the national reports generally confirm this interplay, which at present mainly concentrates on the impact of the Bologna Process at national level. A general introduction to the Bologna process was provided in the chapter II, where it was already stated that the Bologna Declaration led to a wide range of actions at national level in the various signatory countries. However, the stage of the process of implementation of the Declaration differs among the countries. Some countries have been quick to highlight the potential benefits of signing the Bologna Declaration. In the Netherlands and Austria, the Bologna Declaration has resulted in a re-structuring of the HE system to comply with the 'two-cycle' Bachelor and Master structure. In contrast, in the UK the Declaration is not yet making a significant impact in terms of changing policies or practices. Here the current system has been thought to broadly comply with the Bologna recommendations. But gradually, the debate is starting, and it is realised that the current degree system does not fit one on one with the ideas postulated in the Bologna Declaration. For example, the proposed two year foundation degrees do not easily fit in the two cycle, 3+1 or +2 model as it is now emerging around Europe. The Portuguese and Greek reports both state that Bologna has led to much internal debate and disagreement. Whereas in most countries the debate is on how the Declaration should be implemented, and in some cases on how it relates to the other national initiatives or problems, the debate in Greece is different. The Greek professional and trade union association of the university academic staff (POSDEP) has asked for the absolute isolation of Greek higher education from the Bologna process. POSDEP has a negative orientation towards all reforms to face internationalisation and globalisation pressures. They fear that this will eventually lead to the degradation of the public university. Nevertheless, the Greek Ministry of Education is "introducing policies clearly meant as outcomes in the Bologna process". Also in Portugal the Declaration led to heated debates.

Even if the decision to implement bachelor and master programmes has been taken by a government, the way this is implemented, can also differ greatly. In the Netherlands the

Bachelors and Master programmes have fully replaced the old programmes, in Austria a steady growth plan of introducing the new programmes is foreseen and in Germany, the Bachelor and Master programmes are introduced in parallel with the old programmes.

Clearly, in implementing European policies at national level, national aims are pursued as much as increasing opportunities for internationalisation. The reforms following the Bologna Declaration can therefore not be attributed solely to this Declaration. Some reforms were initiated prior to the Declaration and often countries have used the Declaration as a 'lever' for national policy and to solve more national problems. For example, in Norway, "the theme of harmonising degree structures internationally can have played a significant role in the current reform. However, it is likely that the B/M-structure has been introduced as a means to solve other and more "domestic" problems in the former very diversified degree structure". Another example is Austria, where the government already wanted to shorten the long duration of studies. Some observers furthermore suspect that the introduction of Bachelor's programmes will also provide the possibility to introduce selection on entry to Bachelor courses and postgraduate studies and charge higher fees for these programmes. The expectancy to solve these problems with the implementation of the Declaration might explain the fast reaction as well as the active support for it by the Austrian government. Germany is also hoping that the introduction of Bachelor and Master programmes will lead to shorter study periods, as well as the reduction of drop-out rate, more professionally oriented study programmes, reorganisation of studies, a growing diversity of programmes, an upgrading of the *Fachhochschulen*, enhancement of their international reputation, to name only a few of the motivations.

In most of the countries, the implementation of the Bologna Declaration is accompanied by the introduction of the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS). ECTS was mentioned in the Declaration, but only as an example of a possible credit system. But as, Reichter & Tuach (2003: 91) assert, "it is clear that no other European system is emerging". Austria legally introduced ECTS in 1999, but it is not used everywhere. A growth-model to introduce ECTS in all courses is foreseen. In the Netherlands ECTS became the compulsory national credit system when Bachelor and Master programmes were officially introduced in 2001. The Netherlands already had a compatible credit system before ECTS was introduced. In other countries, such as Germany, Greece, Portugal and the UK, ECTS is often being used by the HEIs, but not nationally enforced by the government. In the case of Portugal and the UK, ECTS is used next to the own national credit system. Furthermore, in many places, ECTS is still only used for student exchange and credit transfer. In Norway "all higher education institutions are expected to actively use the European Credit Transfer System as a tool to reduce the barriers for student mobility…" In

Greece 27 out of 33 HEIs use ECTS, for student mobility purposes. In the UK some individual universities use ECTS for student mobility purposes. In Portugal "the establishment of an ECTS type credit system may be seen as a response to Europeanisation, insofar as this system allows for credit accumulation and transfer, and it is a tool of a mobility strategy. The idea of using ECTS as an accumulation system for all students, not just for the mobile ones, was already contained in the Bologna Declaration (Reichert & Tauch, 2003: 93).

Finally, the implementation of the Bologna Declaration has given rise to the implementation of accreditation as a new system of quality assurance. For example, the Netherlands has passed a law introducing accreditation of higher education together with the law on bachelor and master programmes. Together with several other countries, such as Austria, Germany, Norway and the UK, the Netherlands is involved in the Joint Quality Initiative, which is an informal network for quality assurance and accreditation of bachelor and master programmes in Europe.

4.6. Lisbon process

The influence of the Lisbon Summit and its follow up process are not yet entirely clear. Not all the participating countries have reported on this issue in the NPUs. The initial responses show a positive stance towards the process. The benchmarks and indicators are in many cases perceived as a way to show the strong and weak points of the educational systems of the countries involved.

5. Main scientific results on institutional responses to globalisation, internationalisation and Europeanisation

This chapter presents the international comparative analysis of the case studies carried out in the seven countries involved in this project, which were presented in the preceding chapters. Following the structure of these reports and linking back to our theoretical assumptions presented in chapter I, we will first present an analysis of the views and perceptions of internationalisation, Europeanization and globalisation by the main actors involved. Followed by an overview of the actual activities that are undertaken by the higher education institutions in this study. Then the effects of internationalisation on the organisation as such will be discussed with reference to the various building blocks of the organisation, followed by an analysis of the internationalisation strategies and the relationship with change in the various institutional pillars (see chapter I). Finally, the factors impeding or fostering internationalisation are discussed.

5.1. Perceptions of Internationalisation: Global, Regional and Local Dimensions

The reports from the seven countries illustrate that all higher education systems are undertaking changes in response to the challenges of internationalisation and globalisation. However, most respondents in all countries do not differentiate conceptually between internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation.

Overall one may note that globalisation is not perceived as a process currently affecting daily practice or the development of internationalisation activities. When prompted, UK respondents found useful the idea that globalisation refers to a worldwide competition for student fees, research and consultancy contracts, while internationalisation refers to the more traditional activities of study abroad, student exchanges, academic networking and collaborative research. In Greece it is clear that we can identify the counterpart of such a view in that some respondents identify the commercialisation of education as a globalisation effect. The commercialisation of education is exemplified in the operation of so-called Centres for Free Studies under franchising agreements and the export of education services to Greece (mainly from the UK). However, given that the regulative framework does not allow for State recognition of the awarded degrees the HE system is currently seen as protected from such globalisation effects.

Respondents do not distinguish clearly between internationalisation and Europeanisation although internationalisation is generally understood as a concept broader than Europeanisation. One may note an inherent tension between the varying meanings assigned to internationalisation, which is seen by respondents as a process encompassing a multitude of activities that may have a global, European or regional focus and may take place both at home and abroad.

This lack of clarity over the meaning and scope of internationalisation activities appears related to the fact that neither all HEIs in the same country, nor all faculties within a HEI pursue internationalisation activities with equal determination. Perceptions of internationalisation, and internationalisation activities pursued differ by type of HEI and appear to relate to the institutions historical background and mission and its cultural (national and organisational) environment.

The academic profiles of the case study institutions are wide-ranging, and are a strong factor in organisational responses to European, international and global issues. In some of the universities, particularly the α case studies, research-led strategies of development figure prominently in their international priorities. Other case studies, such as some of the β and γ universities and colleges, put more specific emphasis on contributions to their

local region and its relationships with the wider world. There are also case studies with a mixture of both regional and international missions. For example, the γ case study in Germany promotes itself as at home in Bavaria and successful in the world. Similarly, one of the γ case studies in the UK is aiming for global excellence regionally and the university sees itself as playing an important role in promoting the external visibility of the region. In the two cases mentioned, the strong, historical links to their regions have provided foundations for the development of international activities, and while both the regional and international missions are considered to be important the international work is seen as underpinning the regional role.

Much of the general data collected through interviews across the case studies indicated that there are mixed perceptions about the effects of the drivers of internationalisation and globalisation, and difficulties with making a clear-cut contrast between competition as opposed to cooperation. In some cases, academic cooperation on an international level is also a form of global competition, as partnerships and other forms of networking enable institutions to compete on an international basis or to distinguish themselves from national competitors. There is a fine line between the mutual benefits derived from academic cooperation, and the enhancement of institutional status derived from financial gains and/or advancement on an international level that improves competitive positions. Therefore, various actors across the case study institutions were sometimes inclined to view cooperation and competition as two sides of the same coin.

It is perhaps within the α universities where synergies between international cooperation and competition were most likely to be expressed. In these institutions certain faculties have established international relationships that are cooperative but also enhance their competitiveness on a global scale. As some of the respondents in the α UK suggested, it is possible to collaborate with competitors and competition for the best students may occur concurrently with collaboration in research — and vice versa. Joint and collaborative teaching programmes may happen in departments that are fiercely competitive in seeking funding for research. In addition some of the smaller, more specialised case study institutions are also competitive on an international basis through cooperation with other institutions within their fields of specialisation. In one of the Austrian δ case studies, for example, the institutional strategy is to continue to enhance its international profile in the arts, and thus its international competitive position, through cooperation with arts faculties in other countries. The Greek δ case study also offers competitive postgraduate programmes in its specialist field of economics and business, and it is seeking to develop further international links in teaching and research.

5.2. Internationalisation activities

The following overview presents the broad ranges of internationalisation activities that can be distinguished across the institutions and countries involved in this study. The various activities will be discussed in more detail in the following sections.

- Student and staff mobility All HEIs in this research are involved in student mobility and exchange. This concerns on the one hand exchange of students in programmes like ERASMUS and the recruitment of degree students on the other. Staff mobility, particularly for teaching staff, such as visiting lecturers for teaching, is a less frequent activity.

- Curriculum development In the area of curriculum development several activities are undertaken by all different types of institutions in the countries in the study. In many countries, as a follow-up to the Bologna Declaration, the institutions are changing their programmes to be in line with the Declaration. Furthermore, various aspects of internationalisation of the curriculum can be observed, as well as the development of joint degree programmes. Language training is an ongoing activity almost everywhere and in various countries, an increase in English taught programmes can be observed.

- Research and scholarly collaboration International activities as part of research and scholarly collaboration are something quite common for most of the universities (particularly Alpha and Beta institutions) in this study. The picture is more varied amongst the institutions, where research is not a core activity. In most cases reference is made to the funding of the international research projects by the EU.

- Export of knowledge & transnational education Transnational education, the overseas marketing of higher education programmes, i.e. the recruitment of international students for economic reasons, whether they take the programme at the home or branch campus, or through distance learning, is less common in most countries than the activities described above.

- Other activities Other activities than the ones described above may involve technical/financial assistance programmes or extra-curricular activities aimed at internationalisation. Most noticeable activity in terms of technical assistance are the programmes involving North-South cooperation.

5.3. Internationalisation activities by type of institution

The international activities of most of the α universities are driven to a considerable extent by research aspirations and their desires to recruit students competitively with other major global universities. This is expressed most clearly in the case of the English α institution whose "international strategies... were quite explicitly driven by the university's self image as one of the world's leading universities and the desire to consolidate that image... the main driver of all these activities and of much else is for α to be one of the top global players".

The Dutch α university has, of old, been internationally oriented, especially in the area of research. This line is continued nowadays, as α has stated it wants to be a top European research-intensive university.

In Norway α "has long traditions with international activities profiled under the label 'the most international university of Norway'. Moreover, (it) had a comparably early focus on the importance of attracting international scholars which can be reflected in the guest researcher programme that was established in 1977, aiming at inviting international scholars to the university …".

In Germany there is a vivid debate going on with regard to developments on the global market for higher education and the positioning of German higher education in this market. The recent opening up of the debate on elite universities seems to strengthen the competitive dimension in the German internationalisation concepts. The United States are perceived as the greatest competitor with regard to attracting young talents globally. According to many interviewees, German universities are only 'second choice' of the international high potentials. Most of the interviewees that felt challenged by the dominant attractiveness of the US universities stressed that Germany could only catch up or play in first league if the legal framework was reformed (in particular with regard to tuition fees), student services enhanced and if grants for high talents were more generously and broadly awarded.

In Austria, Greece and Portugal the aspirations of the α universities are slightly more modest. In the Austrian example "the aim is to intensify this priority and to develop a special competence for South Eastern Europe as the distinctive feature for the institution among European universities".

In the Greek α a major driver of its international work is the promotion of the Greek language, culture and civilisation and especially the strengthening of the links of ethnic and migrant Greeks with Greece and the university.

And in Portugal internationalisation processes are essentially rooted in research links established between foreign PhD holders and the awarding organisation, favouring the development of subsequent research projects.

The institutions designated as β are in general of considerably more recent origin than α but otherwise have a similar international focus. However, there are differences in the international profiles of these institutions. Some overlap with α and have broadly similar aspirations while others have more local origins and substantial international work has developed more recently. For example, when the English β was founded in the early 1960s international activities were part of its core mission and not money-making ventures as they tend to be regarded now. Involvement with the World was intellectually driven. A school of European Studies and a School of English and American Studies were part of the university from the outset. Economic and Social Development Studies has always been a significant focus of both teaching and research.

Both the Greek β institutions have somewhat similar origins to their English counterpart. One was established in the 1960s with a view to building an international and European profile in both teaching and research, both of which are actively promoted, including a university policy for Erasmus/Socrates student mobility schemes. The other, also a 1960s university is developing a university policy as a means to promote both teaching and research international activities and attain a higher position in the hierarchy of universities. Both universities have extensive research activities, which support their internationalisation policies. The Portuguese β also has a somewhat similar pedigree. One of its vice-president's claimed that "internationalisation is in the institution's genes".

The Dutch β has had a slightly different trajectory of growth. It is the most recently established Dutch university, founded in 1976, and its intrinsic internationalism is linked to its geographic location near the German and Belgian borders: "Attracting foreign students came naturally to β due to its geographical location". However, β has stated in its latest policy documents that [it] wants to broaden its regional view and recruitment to a more European and international one. In the German β also the international focus seems to have followed rather than led the initial development of the university. It was founded in the early 1970s to try to bring some reform to the rather rigid university system but its initial profile was more regional and it was only in the 1990s that its mission has been recognised as regionally based, but internationally oriented.

Just as the β institutions overlap to some extent with the α universities so there is considerable overlap between the γs and the βs. The main differences that are relevant to the internationalisation issue are that the γ universities and colleges all started as

regionally and locally focussed institutions with a predominantly teaching role. While internationalisation is an important constituent of the self image of all the universities and colleges in the case studies it was particularly frequently mentioned in the γ institutions as a means of raising their profile within their national higher education systems, as well as of acting as a gateway to the wider world for their local communities and also, especially in England, as a means of increasing income.

Both the Austrian γ institutions started as *Fachhochschule* in the 1990s with specific missions to serve their local communities. One of them is situated in a region that connects Germany, Switzerland, Liechentstein and Austria. Regionalisation is identical with cross-border cooperation. This became everyday business for the institution, an experience that helps long distance internationalisation as well. However, both γ institutions are anxious to transcend the image of being local high schools and training establishments by taking part in broader international networks. They also see their role as providing a link between their local communities and the wider world. One of them defined "product development, innovation and sustainability as meta-goals for its research strategy, trying to contribute to the international competitiveness of its local business community".

These Austrian examples are similar to the English γ universities which until the early 1990s were specifically teaching oriented, locally focussed polytechnics. In one case, "international activity was seen to a large extent as one way of consolidating the institution's self image as a university". The university was also seen as "a gateway for the local community to a wider world". One respondent commented that "… we're a regional university with an international dimension, rather than an international university".

Examples were quoted of joint bids by the university and local councils for funding from various EU regional funds. The Greek γ has a similar genesis having been established in 1983 as the largest Technological Education Institution (TEI) in Greece. However, its international aspirations have been developed exclusively in relation to the EU framework and aim to foster Erasmus mobility and the international experiences its students acquire through these programmes are considered to be very important.

The Dutch γ case study was established in its present form only in 1996 with primarily a local teaching and training function. It has only recently started to develop an internationalisation strategy but "… internationalisation is now high on the agenda … for several strategic, educational, cultural and economic motives. Strategic motives are to adapt to the impact of international developments on higher education, adapt to the influence of the Bologna Declaration and GATS as well as increasing competition in the

market for higher education. The main educational argument for internationalisation is that the international dimension is part of the primary process, as knowledge knows no borders. Other educational arguments are that (γ) wants to prepare students for a European or international labour market and wants to improve the quality of programmes by internationalisation. Teachers can learn from international contacts and furthermore, internationalisation is part of the criteria for accreditation of programmes. Cultural arguments … are the worldwide communication through ICT, interculturalisation of society, the cultural and ethnical diversity of the (local) population as well as the opportunities through internationalisation to contribute to a global, durable society and awareness for development cooperation in education. Finally, economic arguments are that foreign fee paying students are an extra source of income …".

The two Portuguese γ institutions, polytechnic institutes, both undertake international activities in order to further their local and regional missions and not primarily as ends in themselves or to raise their status in the national higher education system. In the German γ institution internationalisation was implicit until recent years but it is now working on an explicit internationalisation strategy. However, the Norwegian γ example — a regional university college in the east of the country — has so far resisted the allure of internationalisation and regional aims still dominate the institutions strategic plans until 2007. Its international work is confined largely to sending a number of students abroad on Erasmus exchanges.

It is convenient in this brief overview to consider the δ and ε institutions together since they form heterogeneous categories. The international work of the former δ depends in large part on the specialist subjects covered: Economics and Business (Austria, Greece), Music and the Arts (Austria, the Netherlands and Portugal), and Applied Sciences and Technology (Germany). The latter, ε are by definition special cases and cover distance education (England), an agricultural university (the Netherlands), a school of theology (Norway) and a fairly small private university (Portugal). It is relevant here only to highlight features that have some general relevance to an understanding of institutional responses to internationalisation generally.

The German specialised institution is a major technical university, situated in a regional capital. It is strongly linked to regional industry (automobile, aviation, biotechnology, agriculture and food technology). The word 'entrepreneurial' was used in the case study to describe the university. It was one of the first German universities to explicitly formulate an internationalisation strategy in the second half of the 1990s and was the first German university to establish an offshore-campus abroad. It sees its higher education environment as highly competitive, but it also profits from the attractiveness of its host

city and the strong regional economy. A quarter of its students are from outside Germany, considerably higher than the German average and the other German institutions in the study. The number of its students taking part in ERASMUS programmes has grown very rapidly in recent years. Performance indicators show it to be one of the top 3 German research universities.

One of the Austrian specialist institutions, that in Economics and Business, was founded in the 19th century. It claims to be the largest economics university in the world reaping considerable economies of scale from its size and extreme specialisation enabling it to have a very low cost per student. About one-fifth of its students come from outside Austria. It aims to be in the top five German-speaking and the top fifteen European higher education institutions in its field. To improve its international profile, it aims to sharpen its profile both in research and education, e.g. by developing high ranking MBA-and PhD-programmes and by increasing research activities. These goals should be achieved by leveraging efficiency gains in undergraduate study programmes. Economics is one of the most internationalised subjects and this Austrian university regards internationalisation not only a necessity, but a core competency of the institution. Internationalisation forms an integral part of nearly every policy paper at the university. Geographically, the university focuses on three areas: English speaking countries, Western European countries and Central Eastern European Countries.

The Greek specialised institution is also a long established specialised economics university with a European orientation in the internationalisation of teaching and research activities and specific policies to that end. In the 1990s it has attracted faculty with extensive links to prominent UK universities and prominent economists that have worked with the EC. This has contributed to the development of an important European orientation in both teaching and research, and extensive participation in competitive EU 5th and 6th Framework research programmes. The university has recently concentrated on developing links with universities in the US and Canada in parallel with activities through EU programmes.

Another group of specialised institutions is in Music and the Arts. The Austrian example is a small institution that has more than half its students and about half its staff coming from outside Austria. However, the university still aims to raise further its international profile and use international comparisons extensively to assess its standing. International concerts and performance are more central to the work of the institution than research. Much of its international work is based on individuals but it has set up an office for foreign relations. Responsible to the rector, the office manages student and staff mobility and is also involved in the arrangement of exchange concerts or guest concerts.

The Dutch specialised institution, also in the Arts, has just under a fifth of its students from outside the Netherlands. It is very strongly felt within the university that art is international and education in art should be internationally oriented. This institution illustrates one issue that is very important in many specialist areas: "Competition in arts education … … is something very specific. All the schools for the arts in the Netherlands, but also abroad, compete with each other for the best, most talented students. However, students in arts are very particular in the education they seek and, maybe even more important, with whom they seek it. Music students for instance do not necessarily come to Delta for Delta, but for a specific programme or teacher. The relationship between teacher and student is very important in arts education, as this type of education is very individual. When the wishes of students are so specific, it is difficult to compete in general terms. Also, the registration of students already exceeds the possible intake of students, which means that Delta does not need to compete with other schools to get enough students in. However, the search and competition for the best students remains".

In such circumstances, which many would claim is the normal situation in universities, the international reputation of the academic staff and the international strategy of the institution are closely intertwined.

Amongst the ε institutions there is even more variety. The Dutch example is a relatively small agricultural university. As a small institution its international work benefits considerably from the various national initiatives of the Dutch government to promote its higher education internationally. The agriculture discipline is internationally oriented and the Dutch case study institution has been heavily involved in development aid to third world countries. However, as a small specialist institution the university is also very vulnerable to changes in student demand and part of the pressure to expand its recruitment base arises from a decline in the number of Dutch students wishing to study agriculture.

The Norwegian special case is a small private theological college which since the 1970s has received some support from public funds. Less than 3 per cent of its students are from outside Norway. However, it also sees assisting the development of third world countries also as an important part of its work. Apart from this, the institution, like other universities and colleges in Norway, sees internationalisation as a means to profile and market the institution domestically for quality improvement and further development.

Finally, the UK special case is a very large distance learning university, generally acknowledged to be a world leader in the area. It was created in the 1970s to provide second chance higher education opportunities for adults in the UK who had missed out on

higher education after leaving school and who were unable to afford the costs or to fit their adult lives into the rigidity of conventional university courses. It has since developed a worldwide market based mainly on the expertise it has developed in distance education and is currently developing a comprehensive strategy for its global activities. Its international operations are driven by a complex set of motives that include income generation, global leadership in distance education and the promotion of social justice. The university engages with the international market by selling course materials, tutoring and student assessment and through partnerships with overseas academic institutions. The university is planning a new form of globally dispersed academic community. Its position with regard to international students has always been very complex in comparison with other universities. Because nearly all its students are part time and are distance based, visa restrictions, as well as their own life patterns (full time work for example) make it difficult for many of them to come to the UK for even part of their courses. There is an expanding operation in developing countries that is in keeping with the university's social justice mission. This is particularly important in Sub-Saharan Africa where the university has, *inter alia*, a mission to ameliorate the loss of a cohort of teaching capacity through HIV/AIDS: "However the university cannot operate at a loss even in such an area: in Africa it is intending to operate in partnership with indigenous higher education institutions; through third party funders and through keeping student fees low".

5.4. Changes in organisational structures

The development of international activities as discussed in the previous sections is driving many institutions to implement far-reaching changes within their organisations and is shifting the teaching, research, and administrative functions within many of the HEI case studies. This section examines and compares the way in which higher education institutions are adapting the organisational structures they are using to achieve their international ambitions.

5.4.1. Social structure

Internationalisation is gradually becoming part of the regular operations and structure of many of the institutions in this study. This is most obvious in the setting up of international or international relations offices at central levels of the institutions. Most international offices appear to have been established in the 1990s. An exception is the UK, where all case study institutions have had international offices for many decades. There are some other institutions where such an office was already set up in the 1960s as with Alpha No. Others have more recently established an international office, for example Epsilon Pt. The size and scope of these offices has expanded very considerably over the

past decade and several of them, certainly in Alpha, Beta and Epsilon HEIs, have direct access to the highest levels of decision making in the universities. Some smaller institutions, such as Epsilon No have not set up a separate international office, as they are so small that this would not make sense for them.

The tasks of the international offices vary. Some are mainly involved in the administration of mobility programmes, such as ERASMUS, while others are also involved in policy-making and actively expanding internationalisation activities in their institution. In most of the Netherlands and the UK case studies, for example, international offices or support units for international activities are fairly well established. The staff members are centrally located but vary in the extent to which they influence institutional strategies. The international offices of the UK case studies are often focused on international student recruitment; however, there are differences between organisational structures based on the missions and backgrounds of the institutions. The α case study of the UK, for example, has a strong international orientation and reputation. In order to maintain and enhance its position in the global higher education market, certain strategies have been promoted, such as the university-wide encouragement of study abroad programmes for its students. In contrast, the ε case study of the UK has a background of providing distance-learning programmes for home students, but has subsequently exploited opportunities to market similar courses worldwide. The Dutch case studies are operating with both top down and bottom up approaches to internationalisation. The central offices support the international activities of students and staff, and some are involved in strategic decisions about new initiatives. However, the academic respondents in the Netherlands tended to cite difficulties in obtaining enough support, especially in terms of time and resources, to enable them to develop international activities alongside their core teaching and research functions.

In Germany, a major reorganisation of international offices was implemented at four of the five institutions surveyed. Different units were put under the leadership of the international office, and their tasks were broadened. New systems of coordination were established for services provided to international programmes. In some cases, the traditional name of *Akademisches Auslandsamt* was substituted by 'International Offices' or similar terms in order to underscore a stronger emphasis on service. Most Dutch institutions are also considering a reorganisation of tasks for student support into one office for both national and foreign students.

The establishment of international offices may be one noticeable change in the organisational structures of many HEIs. Yet their largely administrative roles are not always appreciated or perceived positively by academics. In some of the countries and

case study institutions, but to varying degrees, certain tensions were evident between academic interests in international activities, and the increasingly professionalised, administrative function of international support offices. Particularly in relation to EU activities such as ERASMUS and EU research programmes, administrative support has been perceived as a necessity. These new roles are sometimes viewed less as strategic decisions that are central to institutional goals, but more than as a bureaucratic response to external pressures. Academic staff may be inclined to see international activities as an inherent aspect of their roles, while they view some of the functions of administrative support units for international activities as imposed upon the decentral units. For example, some of the respondents in the German case studies perceived the administrative hurdles in acquiring various EU funds as the rules of the game that must be played, and felt it was simply necessary that someone be appointed to administer them.

Internationalisation is rarely mentioned as part of institution-wide and departmental (financial) planning, budgeting and quality review systems amongst the institutions in this study. Only Delta Ge and Gamma No refer to this. At Delta Ge internationalisation is part of the institutional development plan and Gamma No is planning to integrate internationalisation in the institution wide planning. All Austrian institutions have developed an international policy statement, with a varying degree of impact on the institution wide planning. Some cases translated their statements into coherent planning processes, integrating internationalisation with other policy goals.

Adequate financial support and resources are not always available in the institutions and in some cases funding of internationalisation is part of strategic (*ad hoc*) funding, meaning that the sustainability of funding is unsure. In some countries internationalisation is also perceived as a means to obtain financial resources. For the Austrian institutions EU funds have clearly enhanced internationalisation. The Austrian institutions generally welcomed EU funds as an additional source of revenues, even if they showed increasing concerns about the related costs. All German institutions have modified their internal funding system to provide funding for internationalisation. However, respondents are concerned for the sustainability of some of the internationally oriented activities and programmes which seems to be threatened with the ceasing of third party funding as they have not been institutionalised as core elements within the institutions. For Epsilon Pt it is reported that due to lacking financial resources, little is/can be done about internationalisation. Finally, institutions in the Netherlands and UK perceive internationalisation also as a mean to obtain financial resources.

Expressed commitment of senior leaders to internationalisation is something which can be found in all types of institutions in all countries. Particularly senior leaders in Alpha

institutions appear to be committed most often. Some institutions of these institutions have appointed vice rectors/presidents for internationalisation, e.g. at several German institutions, or have the international office report directly to the rector's office. At Alpha Gr and Epsilon UK senior leaders have expressed commitment for working on a particular topic of higher education. The leadership of Alpha Gr assigns great importance to internationalisation activities that target ethnic Greeks and Greeks abroad. Such activities are perceived as compatible with the university's mission. Other internationalisation activities are seen as peripheral to the university's overall activities. At Epsilon UK senior leaders have expressed commitment particularly in the area of North-South cooperation.

Finally, the social structure of the institutions is affected by the partnerships and networks many of them are involved in. This type of cooperation can be sought for different reasons, such as exchange of information, influencing other parties in higher education, or building critical mass and funds to work on joint research projects. Calculating the (financial) investments and benefits of such partnerships and cooperation can be difficult as is shown by Epsilon NL. Nevertheless, setting up partnerships and cooperation with foreign institutions is important to all types of institutions and in all the countries involved in this study. For example, in the UK partnerships or cooperation with foreign institutions is not a new phenomenon, but its present form is a development of the 1990s: "The basic idea is of some form of sharing of teaching and qualification awarding responsibilities … The main focus of most partnerships with universities and colleges in other countries is now student recruitment in order to generate income." A similar remark was made by a dean of Beta Nl who explained that these types of networks can be of specific use in attracting and selecting foreign students. As this dean argues, recruiting with the help of a familiar network has the advantage of being more certain about the quality of students coming into the programme. Germany also reports an increase in activities in networks. Networks are not only sought after at the institutional level, but particularly also at the departmental or faculty level, for networks at the institutional level may not always be interesting to the departments.

5.4.2. Goals

Many institutions have an articulated rationale and/or set goals for internationalisation. In most cases the articulation of a rationale and/or setting of goals goes together with recognition of an international dimension in the mission statement of the institutions or in other institutional policy documents. Some institutions have chosen to aim for a specific international profile or specific goals. For example, in Greece Alpha wants to promote Greek culture, while both Gamma GR and Delta GR are both very EU-oriented, but for different reasons. At Alpha Pt, strategies for internationalisation are also driven by

participation in EU programmes. In Norway the rationale for internationalisation and the goals in this area are put under the framework of the 'Quality Reform', which introduced a new degree structure (bachelor/master degrees), the ECTS and a new grading system (A-F), new commitments within quality assurance and evaluation, and a new incentive-based funding system. This influences all institutions, and they all have ambitious goals regarding internationalisation. However, the institutions are developing their own distinct profiles in internationalisation, as is mentioned in the chapter on Norway: Alpha NO and Delta No come close to the national quality rhetoric, while internationalisation as a means in competition is evident at Beta NO. Ambitions differ also in levels and focus: Gamma NO is an example of ambitious goals, but mainly restricted to student mobility.

Furthermore, even though some institutions might have an articulated rationale and/or set goals for internationalisation, this does not necessarily mean internationalisation is high on the agenda of an institution, as is remarked in the Portuguese and UK chapter. In the case of the UK this remark is made specifically in the context of a claim that in the institutions that mainly serve a particular region their international work is seen as supporting this core mission and not supplanting it. In these terms a general remark might be made about all English institutions: serving UK educational and research policy and international work is seen as supporting internationalisation — by raising income, by broadening student and staff experiences etc. This is however a different issue from the claim that internationalisation is not high on the agenda.

5.4.3. Participants

As for student mobility, most of the HEIs participate in the ERASMUS programme (table 5 and 6) and some have their own mobility and exchange schemes on the side. The number of students participating in the ERASMUS exchange generally does not vary much between the HEIs from one particular country (exceptions are the Netherlands and the UK and one Austrian institution).

Table 5. percentage of incoming ERASMUS/mobility students at case study institutions

Gamma 2At	8,8%	Delta 1At	1,3%	Delta Pt	0,1%
Epsilon Nl	7,0%	Delta 2At	1,3%	Delta NO	0,08%
Beta Nl	5,3%	Gamma 2Pt	1,2%	Epsilon NO	0,06%
Alpha Nl	2,5%	Alpha At	1,2%	Gamma NO	0,02%
Gamma D	2,3%	Gamma South UK	1,1%	Gamma North UK	-
Alpha UK	2,0%	Alpha 2D	1,0%	Epsilon UK	-
Beta Pt	2,0%	Gamma 1Pt	1,0%	Epsilon Pt	-
Delta Nl	1,9%	Beta NO	0,9%	Alpha Gr	-
Gamma 1At	1,8%	Delta D	0,5%	Beta 1GR	-
Beta UK	1,6%	Alpha 1D	0,4%	Beta 2Gr	-
Alpha Pt	1,5%	Beta D	0,3%	Delta Gr	-
Alpha NO	1,4%	Gamma Nl	0,3%	Gamma Gr	-

Table 6. percentage of outgoing ERASMUS/mobility students at case study institutions

Beta Nl	9,3%	Alpha Gr	1,3%	Gamma 2Pt	0,5%
Gamma 2At	8,6%	Delta 1At	1,3%	Delta Nl	0,4%
Gamma 1At	3,6%	Delta D	1,1%	Beta 2Gr	0,4%
Delta Gr	2,7%	Gamma Gr	1,1%	Delta 2At	0,4%
Alpha Pt	2,0%	Gamma D	1,0%	Gamma Nl	0,3%
Beta Pt	2,0%	Gamma 1Pt	1,0%	Delta NO	0,05%
Alpha Nl	2,0%	Delta Pt	1,0%	Gamma NO	0,04%
Alpha 2D	1,7%	Epsilon Nl	1,0%	Epsilon NO	0,03%
Alpha UK	1,7%	Alpha NO	0,8%	Gamma North UK	0,004%
Beta UK	1,7%	Alpha 1D	0,7%	Gamma South UK	Negligible
Beta 1GR	1,6%	Beta NO	0,6%	Epsilon UK	-
Alpha At	1,5%	Beta D	0,5%	Epsilon Pt	-

The number of foreign degrees students, however, does vary considerably between and within countries, as well as between the same types of institutions in different countries. In this area institutions do indeed have very different strategies (see table 7).

Table 7. percentage of foreign degree students at case study institutions

Delta2AT	55,8%	Gamma2AT	13,0%	GammaNl	4,0%
DeltaD	25%	Alpha1D	12,5%	AlphaNO	3,5%
EpsilonNl	24,7%	GammaGr	12,2%	AlphaPt	3%
BetaNl	23,1%	DeltaGr	10,0%	Gamma1AT	2,8%
AlphaUK	22,7%	EpsilonUK	9,0%	BetaNO	1,9%
Gamma SouthUK	22,4%	Gamma NorthUK	8,7%	EpsilonNO	1,8%
Delta1AT	20,8%	AlphaAT	8,3%	DeltaNO	1,3%
DeltaNl	17,8%	AlphaGr	7,2%	GammaNO	0,03%
BetaUK	17,1%	Beta1Gr	7,2%	GammaPt1	-
GammaD	16%	AlphaNl	5,8%	GammaPt2	-
BetaD	14,7%	BetaPt	5,2%	DeltaPt	-
Alpha2D	13,7%	Beta2Gr	4,5%	EpsilonPt	-

Recruiting students for economic reasons is an activity undertaken by almost all Dutch and UK institutions in this study. As is stated in the chapter on the UK: whatever their strategic aims, all the universities were actively involved in trying to increase their income from non-EU students and a wide variety of strategies and tactics were being adopted. The country with the most experience in transnational education is the UK. In Austria the institutions are not recruiting foreign students for economic reasons. Delta 1 even decided to circumvent the new national regulation of charging fees to both domestic and foreign students by treating students from most Non-EU countries (mainly South Eastern European countries and Turkey) like domestic students and refund everything beyond the regular domestic fee. Delta 2, however, which has a large amount of wealthy students from Asia, would like to charge higher fees to foreign students, as the Austrian fee is relatively low internationally compared to similar institutions. In Germany economic relevance is on of the guiding principles of the core activities of the universities, the institutions usually do not charge tuition fees however. In Greece, recruitment of students for economic reasons or organising profit base courses does not fit with the general outlook of Greece on higher education and is prohibited by the legislative framework. In Norway, emphasis is put on higher education as a public good and the institutions are not thinking about establishing for-profit arrangements for foreign students wanting to study

in Norway. The norm of international competition as a driver for quality is affecting the goals of the institutions. However, this does not mean an opening up for the market. On the contrary, informants report that the tendency in their own and other Norwegian universities and colleges is to go into partnerships with foreign institutions as a way of escaping the competition.

Support for foreign students is usually provided through the international office of the institutions. In some institutions the support for international students is being integrated in the regular structures for student support. The HEIs that are expanding their international recruitment are finding themselves in the position of having to meet the particular needs of students from other countries. The types of support they may need are wide-ranging, and include help with visas, language support, cultural and social acclimatisation, and compatibility issues with study programmes in their own countries.

Studying abroad also requires certain types of specialised support. This was mentioned in several of the larger case study universities but was not widely seen to be an important issue. One exception in a country where study abroad has been declining in recent years is the δ case study in the UK, which has recently implemented a strategy to encourage all of its students to consider a period of study abroad. To this end, they are extending the types of support they offer to their students in order to enable them to participate. Yet many of the HEI case studies do not yet seem to have developed extensive support systems for outgoing students, apart from certain types of support for outgoing ERASMUS students.

With respect to staff mobility, it can be observed that in many cases this is encouraged at faculty level rather than being managed centrally. Most countries report on an active involvement of staff in internationalisation. This is increasing at the Austrian institutions to a varying degree. In the case of Alpha Gr the development of specific internationalisation initiatives at the faculty level depends on the agency exhibited by the academics, whereas the central level does not specifically aim at promoting internationalisation activities. In the Netherlands the picture is varied. The involvement of staff varies per department. Usually, a few staff members develop an initiative and when other staff members see how interesting internationalisation can be, they are likely to follow.

On the whole, there are only few examples for connecting internationalisation to human resource development. For only six institutions some activities in this area are mentioned in the country chapters. In Austria, both staff mobility and staff development are generally recognized to be of growing importance for the institution. Gamma 2 At plans to set up a staff development programme including language training and increasingly makes

language competency a requirement for the employment of new staff. At Delta 1 At internationalisation also is an issue in the trainee programmes of the institution, both for general staff and for junior faculty. Alpha At has a special internship programme, which addresses both academic and general staff. This programme is carried out in cooperation with partner universities. The programme offers its participants insights in other university systems and broadens their inter-cultural competence. Furthermore, one of the goals set by Delta Gr is "full institutional support to academics involved in trans-national cooperation projects; the university encourages and gives credit to academics that wish to prepare common study programmes, intensive programmes and new curriculum development. It also encourages incoming academics, who offer the chance to non-mobile students to enrich their knowledge in topics emphasising the European dimension". In Portugal both Gamma type institutions have attention for the development of their human resources. Gamma 1 aims at strengthening the competencies of its teachers, researchers and administrative staff in drafting projects and giving advice on mobility procedures. The director of one of the Gamma 2 schools is giving incentives to the academic staff to go abroad, to get ideas for new types of courses being designed.

5.4.4. Technology

The technology used at the institutions, i.e. the processes of teaching and research, has undergone many changes because of internationalisation activities. We will concentrate here mainly on the teaching side. Curriculum development and internationalisation of the curriculum is undertaken in different types of HEIs in all countries in the study. This may include the development of joint and double degree programmes and in certain countries also a change in the language of instruction.

Curriculum development and internationalisation of the curriculum are most obvious in the follow up of the Bologna Declaration by the institutions. Many institutions, especially in Norway, the Netherlands, Germany and Austria, report on redeveloping their programmes to be in line with the Bologna Declaration or developing new bachelor and master programmes. The impact on the structure or content of degree programmes in the English case study institutions has been little, particularly in comparison to the other countries. In Greece, the Ministry of Education puts pressure on the institutions to work on the implementation of the Bologna Declaration. However, there is strong resistance to this from both the university sector and the students.

Many institutions are also introducing ECTS. For example, in Greece institutions are accepting ECTS as a mobility tool, while Delta and Gamma are ready to implement ECTS as a basis for credit accumulation. Institutions in the Netherlands have changed their

original credit system to ECTS, as this change was part of the new higher education law introducing and implementing bachelor and master programmes in the Netherlands.

Another change in technology are the activities mentioned in the country chapters on joint and double degree programmes. This is something taken up by Alpha institutions in Portugal, Norway and the Netherlands. Some other institutions in Portugal (Beta) and the Netherlands (Beta, Epsilon) are also involved in joint/double degree programmes. In Austria the Gamma and Delta-type institutions are involved in or preparing joint/double degree programmes. In Greece, joint Master's programmes between Greek and French universities are promoted by the Ministry of Education and three are already in operation. In the case studies one may note the existence of a collaborative Master's programme, between Alpha Gr and a UK university. Joint Masters programmes between UK universities and Gamma Gr are promoted in the TEI-sector of Greece to enhance its status as a 'new university'.

Furthermore, many institutions have started to offer, or have expanded their offer of, English taught programmes. This is particularly the case in Germany and the Netherlands. Norwegian institutions are also expanding their offering of English taught programmes. This is a tendency that can be related to the Quality Reform and the need to develop and implement new study programs as a part of this reform. This is particularly interesting as due to the similarities in language, courses and study programs have not traditionally been offered in English. Norwegians, Swedes and Danes have a good understanding of the each other's languages. Thus, with the new emphasis on developing English study programs it seems that the importance of attracting Nordic students is downplayed, or at least, not prioritised. Portuguese institutions are working on the internationalisation of their curriculum, but the trend is to maintain Portuguese as the teaching language. In several of the institutions courses teaching foreign languages are offered to home students, with English being the most common language to be learnt by these students. Often these courses are on a voluntary basis, but in some institutions they are obligatory as part of the regular programme. For example, foreign language study is obligatory in the two Gamma institutions in Austria and in some courses of Delta 1 Au.

In Greece Delta Gr, offers courses in English, to promote its Europeanisation policy and facilitate Erasmus exchanges. Institutions in Portugal, Austria and the Netherlands are trying to improve the knowledge of the English language of both students and staff. Local language and culture training are provided to students by the institutions in the university sector of Austria and Germany. All institutions in the study in Greece and Portugal provide this type of training to incoming foreign students.

International activities as part of research and scholarly collaboration are something quite common for most of the universities in this study. The picture is more varied amongst the institutions in the non-university sector. All the Alpha and Beta institutions in this study are involved in international research projects. Many of the Gamma institutions and some of the Delta institutions are also involved in international research projects. In most cases reference is made to the funding of the international research projects by the EU, for example through the framework programmes or EU regional funds. It is worth noting, however, that in the chapter in the UK it is mentioned that EU funded projects are perceived as financially less viable. Beta 1 in Greece attracts attention because of its activities on internationalisation of research and scholarly collaboration. This institution participates in projects involving the internationalisation of PhD programmes and the mobility of PhD students. Beta Gr has also developed a policy of attracting top postgraduate students, both Greek and foreign.

5.5. Internationalisation strategies

Institutional managers and academic staff involved in the development of institutional policy, at central and faculty level, consider internationalisation activities necessary or desirable for a variety of reasons. Their responses can be placed along a continuum that ranges from the formulation of a more or less explicit, institutional strategy (or faculty, or departmental strategy) to carve a niche for itself in a competitive global education market, to responses based on a more traditional framework of cooperation in higher education that promote activities with a predominantly, but not exclusively, European or local focus.

International activities reflect different national traditions, institutional histories and missions. The national chapters show that internationalisation is seen as related to institutional profile building and the position the institution seeks in a global, European, regional or local hierarchy. The main drivers of internationalisation activities result from the pursuit of some combination of four main goals. The weight given to each of the goals varies very considerably between institutions.

- The university aims to be a global player with worldwide standing and reputation in an open and highly competitive global education market.
- The institution or faculty wishes to consolidate or raise its reputation and standing in the EU or a cross-border region.
- Internationalisation activities, especially the recruitment of foreign students, are seen as being important or even necessary for the survival of a faculty or programme of studies.

- A belief that involvement in international work, especially the attraction of international finance to the local area, enhances the reputation and standing of the HEI or faculty locally and nationally.

These drivers relate to different internationalisation strategies; they are not mutually exclusive and may coexist within an institution or a country. In the same institution one faculty may use a globally competitive approach to internationalisation, aiming to achieve world player status, while another is more concerned to enhance its local reputation. The choice of a strategy rests ultimately with the agency of academics involved in the development of the relevant activities. However a combination of broader contextual factors may influence the policy choices towards a cooperation or competition framework. A combination of factors may prompt different responses at the organisational level or boost different types of internationalisation activities, depending on the prominence of disciplines and the teaching or research orientation of the institution.

5.5.1. Competition: Elitism and the Achievement of World Player Status

A few universities, mainly in the UK and Germany in the present study, aspire or have a strategy for becoming recognised global players. These universities understand internationalisation as being related to worldwide competition among elite universities for the recruitment of bright, talented students, young researchers and renowned teaching staff. The recent appearance of global university league tables will undoubtedly help to focus the efforts of such institutions to retain and improve their position. For example, in a UK research oriented university (case Alpha), there is a perception of internationalisation as a process that encompasses the whole world. It is accompanied by an explicit foreign student recruitment strategy, comprising highly selective student recruitment, where international applicants are slightly more highly qualified than UK applicants since much of the institution's postgraduate work is heavily dependent on international students. The recruitment strategy is supported by a policy of encouraging local students to do part of their degree programmes in another country.

In Germany too, there are instances (cases Delta and Alpha) of research oriented HEIs that seek internationalisation and excellence on a broad scale with a touch of entrepreneurialism. Marketing strategies were designed and an alumni network was set up to promote a highly internationalised profile. Three of the German universities included in the sample have opened (or plan to open) representation or contact offices abroad (New York, Brussels, Singapore and China). Such HEIs undertake radical internationalisation and attract foreign students through specially designed programmes offered in English. The German chapter indicates that this process was linked to institutional profile building

(at least of certain faculties and departments) with a view to ensure competitiveness and performance in order to export education services and become fit for the global market.

5.5.2. Co-operation and Networking: Strengthening the Regional Institutional Profile

The majority of interviewees involved in institutional policy-making, in all the countries taking part, acknowledge both the changing landscape and the trend towards heightened competition in education. However many consider an internationalisation strategy based on global competition as either out of reach or undesirable. The main internationalisation activities developed in most universities and colleges do not explicitly aim to position them as global players. Many higher education institutions undertake internationalisation activities in the more traditional academic context of co-operation and networking (in research and teaching) for mutual benefit. Such universities and colleges usually prioritise the European or regional level with the aim of creating a strong profile within the European Union or regionally, especially in cross-border areas. One example is Alpha NL which participates in the League of European Research Universities (LERU) in the hope of distinguishing itself as a top European research-intensive university.

Much cross-border cooperation of this type is based on mutual trust, occasionally shaped by long standing links and is enhanced by geographical proximity, linguistic ties and cultural affinity. In an analogous manner cultural and linguistic affinity appear important for the development of internationalisation activities of Portuguese and Greek universities based in the former case on the relations to Brazil and former colonies and the latter on the relation with ethnic and migrant Greeks abroad. Networking in all disciplines or in a specific field, reinforced especially through EU policies, appears to be especially valuable for the development of internationalisation initiatives based on cooperation. Such cooperation is based on collaborative research, the exchange of practices, exchange of students and staff or jointly working on the development of programmes of study or quality assurance.

The Austrian report indicates that the location of the country itself favours the attraction of foreign students from Germany or Northern Italy, since they can still study abroad in their mother tongue. For one regional institution (Delta), its location near Lake Constance is so important that internationalisation is identical with cross-border cooperation in the closer region. The importance of this geographic location, at crossroads of Germany, Switzerland, Austria and Liechtenstein, is also supported by the existence of a network of higher education institutions, the Internationale Bodensee Hochschule. The network, which has a strong regional orientation, is a spin-off of a political network of provinces (of the

four countries) located around the Lake of Constance. It supports the establishment of joint study programmes and applied research projects.

Gamma university in the Netherlands is involved in the ALMA network, which is a cooperation platform for four universities of the Meuse-Rhine region. The universities are aware of the unique character of their geographic location and their mutual connections and on these grounds they want to create and maintain particular forms of cooperation in the field of education, continuing education and the sector of the services to the community. The Norwegian report indicates that Nordic cooperation, which has a long tradition, is perceived as self-sustained activity. Although the Nordplus programme is not actively promoted, participation is consistent and Nordic educational cooperation is seen as well integrated. Such cooperation is seen as more important in fields where the Nordic countries operate in related ways (e.g. law), in fields where the academic environments could benefit from a larger critical mass (of students) than the home institutions can provide and in the natural sciences where expensive equipment might be shared. Sometimes such links are the result of historical and cultural ties rather than geographic proximity. The Portuguese report states: "…the cultural/linguistic issues play an important role in the internationalisation process of higher education… Portuguese is important to attract people from former colonies". In Greece the internationalisation policy of institution Alpha is explicitly associated with the strengthening of bonds with ethnic and migrant Greeks abroad, while in all the other cases research and advance training cooperation are strategically aimed at.

5.5.3. Internationalisation for survival

The case studies contain accounts of a number of institutions for which international recruitment of students is essential for the existence of the institution. Some of them were founded explicitly for this purpose. For example one of the Austrian Delta institutions has nearly 60 per cent of its students from outside Austria and about half of the faculty members come from abroad. Additionally, many of them are very active internationally, as musicians, teachers or as judges in contests. The Austrian chapter goes on to claim that that in a global context, teachers of (Delta) automatically see themselves as missionaries or unilateral exporters of a specific cultural product, while their graduates from abroad often seek employment in Western Europe. In a similar vein, apropos of the Netherlands Delta it is remarked that competition in arts education is something very specific. Students seem to be much more focusing on a specific programme or teacher then on Delta as such. A somewhat different slant is provided by some of the English institutions where it is remarked that even in the Alpha university "the viability of much of its postgraduate work is heavily dependent on the recruitment of international students; 55

per cent of its postgraduate students are from outside the United Kingdom". More generally the UK case study reports that in the Gamma institutions particularly "… the other and much more powerful driver at the beginning of the 21st century is to fill gaps left by weaknesses in UK student recruitment. Some departments are unable to fill their available places with UK students, and students from other countries of the European Union help them to meet their student number targets and in some cases to become economically viable. Science, Engineering and Technology were most frequently mentioned in this respect".

5.5.4. Internationalisation as a means of improving the institutional profile within the country

For the Gamma group of higher education institutions particularly, internationalisation activities often do not aim primarily at the positioning of the institution (or the faculty) in Europe or globally. Rather internationalisation is seen as a means to consolidate the institutional status, increase its prestige and to project an international profile locally or nationally. This appears to be the case of a teaching oriented, Greek higher education institution (Epsilon), operating within the technological education sector, which recently acquired university status. In this case internationalisation activities heavily depend on EU funds and mainly encompass participation in Socrates student exchange programmes and the set up of joint Masters' programmes. A similar trend is observable in two Norwegian HEIs. For Gamma 1, the idea of becoming a university within the next 5-7 years is an important driver for the internationalisation of the college, while Gamma2 uses internationalisation as a way to market and profile the institution nationally. In the English case study in Gamma North and Gamma South international activity was seen to a large extent as one way of consolidating the institution's self image as a university. There was much talk of the university being a gateway for the local community to a wider world. The director for international affairs in Gamma South stressed the regional orientation with an international dimension, rather than an international orientation as such. This is an integral part of emerging regional development policies. In Gamma North, also the regional and international orientation were combined: the university tendered for EU regional funds together with local councils.

5.6. Change in the institutional environment

5.6.1. The regulative pillar

National policies, regulations and developments

In general, internationalization policies foster the internationalization activities of the case studies. Besides, general national policies, regulations and developments are important factors shaping many of the international activities within each category of institutions in this study. The seven countries differ markedly in the ways in which the national cultural, legal, financial and administrative contexts and system structures are an influence on the activities of individual institutions and their responses to internationalisation issues. There are some characteristics of certain types of institutions that have led to broadly similar responses between HEIs in the seven countries; but it is very clear that the national contexts do strongly influence all institutions, and not necessarily in a positive sense in terms of increasing internationalisation of the institutions. For example, in Greece, the regulative framework restrains the power of academics on issues that are perceived as important for the development of internationalisation policies at the university level. In Portugal, where the internationalisation process can be seen more as reaction than anticipation, organisations feel the need for some national political direction fostering internationalisation.

The Dutch Beta case shows that national policies and regulations can also impede internationalisation. It has far-reaching cooperation with a Flemish university. However, as a board member explained, it has proved to be very difficult to come to far-reaching cooperation when having to deal with two different sets of rules and regulations in two different countries.

European and international policies, regulations and developments

Several European policies and international developments have had an influence on the internationalisation of the case study institutions. The most frequently mentioned developments and policies are the ERASMUS/SOCRATES programme, EU research funds and the Bologna Declaration. In some countries the ERASMUS programme opened up possibilities to the universities and colleges that would not have been possible without the programme. This was, for example, the case in Germany, where the ERASMUS activities are now so common that they are seen as core activities, even though they are funded from outside Germany. European mobility programmes also have an influence in Portugal, where it is said that most of the internationalisation efforts and activities are linked to

European mobility programmes, which are certainly the driving force of internationalisation.

That other EU funds can also have an influence on higher education institutions is made clear in the Austrian chapter, where it is stated that it is clearly visible, that EU funds and regulations enhanced the internationalisation of HEIs. All HEIs in our study have developed international offices or at least specialised administrative positions for observing the developments of respective EU programmes and for managing access to them. In England, however, the expressed opinions of EU programmes were somewhat more sceptical, as their financial viability is questioned and their bureaucratic requirements criticised. English universities and colleges tend to view EU programmes as just another source of students and research funding.

The Bologna Declaration is an important example of a European development, which has had much influence on national policies of the countries in the study (see Huisman & Van der Wende, 2004) as well as in the higher education institutions, often mediated through the national policies. Some respondents even feel that it is has become a domestic affair, as for example is remarked in the German chapter: the Bologna Process comprises basically internal reform efforts undertaken jointly. One interviewee pointed out: "Bologna has nothing to do with internationalisation, it is about national reform". European harmonisation has become a domestic affair. In some countries, such as the Netherlands, Norway, Austria and Germany, the Bologna/Prague/Berlin framework has been largely implemented throughout the national systems. There are, however, some differences in the responses of individual institutions due to well-established characteristics of certain sectors of the national higher education systems. In Austria and the Netherlands, for instance, some of the Gamma institutions are finding the Bologna reforms problematic due to the particular historical functions of their degree programmes as serving their local economies.

In contrast to the countries which have gone some way towards the adoption of the Bologna frameworks are the responses of higher education institutions in Portugal and Greece where the academic communities have been less positive about the Bologna framework and issues of quality reform. In Portugal and Greece, national debates about Bologna have led to much disagreement and uncertainty, and the governments in these countries have not passed legislation requiring the institutions to respond. Particularly in the Greek case, there has been a collective resistance on behalf of academics to the Bologna process. In Portugal and Greece, therefore, and also in England, the actors interviewed in the case studies indicated that responses to the Bologna degree structure

reforms have varied in accordance with institutional strategies, and to some extent individual champions within the institutions, rather than national reforms.

However, the Bologna Declaration and its follow-ups have prompted debates, if not always active changes in qualification frameworks, throughout most of the case studies. Institutional characteristics seem to be a lesser influence than national (policy) characteristics, but are still a factor in the decisions of some of the case studies. In countries where there is, as yet, no national legislation concerning the implementation of Bologna reforms, the larger institutions with a wide range of study programmes may be more likely to adapt to credit transfer and compatibility with Europe-wide degrees in courses where these changes are in accord with their general international aspirations. The notion that Bologna could be used as a lever for changes believed to be in the national or institutional interest, rather than a direct driver of change, was mentioned by respondents in several of the case studies.

Of particular concern to some of the HEIs that have implemented Bologna reforms is the management of the new cycle of progression from Bachelors to Masters degrees, and the fear that there may not be enough potential Masters students in their regions. The UK case studies, in contrast, are already well situated within the international student market for postgraduate courses, and all have significant numbers of international students at Masters level.

Quality assurance

Quality assurance plays a part in the international activities of several case studies. In some countries new developments in internationalisation are combined with developments in internationalising quality assurance. Most HEIs that are participating actively in the Bologna process are concerned with the harmonisation of degree programmes and the proposed structure of Bachelors/Masters degrees. This attempt to harmonise degree programmes is related to quality assurance in the sense that greater harmonisation across Europe should enable institutions to ensure the compatibility of their programmes with similar institutions in other countries and offer improved credit transfer capabilities for students.

In Germany the implementation of quality reforms and new degree structures have been driven by government policies that affect all of higher education. These changes have largely been perceived as administrative steps intended to strengthen the national higher education system, although the interviews with academics revealed a lack of consensus about the value of the new degree structures. The German chapter states that an implicit goal of internationalisation is that of quality assurance. It is conventional wisdom at

German universities that international research cooperation often contributes to the quality of research. On the other hand, internationalisation and globalisation is often viewed as leading to growing instrumentalisation and commercialisation of research not necessarily contributing to quality enhancement.

Norway, which is not a formal member of the EU, has implemented quality reforms in higher education through government regulation, and the associated degree structure reforms have been in line with the Bologna Declaration. The Quality Reform has been viewed as important drivers for the internationalisation of Norwegian higher education.

In the UK, where a rigorous quality assurance system has been established by government legislation outside of the Bologna process, the responses of universities to the Bologna framework have been highly variable, partly due to the extreme difficulty of any strong leverage being exercised by government. However, the adoption of the Bologna framework in other European countries presents potential challenges to the structures of some UK degrees, which some of the case studies are beginning to recognise.

Funding and resources

Many of the institutions in this study expressed concerns that not enough financial resources are available for internationalisation, although some institutions do have resources specifically available for working on internationalisation. The strongest concerns appear to have been expressed by German respondents, who state that, the available resources hardly suffice to take care of traditional tasks while new tasks and efforts to raise the position of the university nationally and internationally would require additional resources.

A general shortage of financial resources is also having a major influence on internationalisation policies in Dutch and UK institutions. However, in both these countries the recruitment of larger numbers of international students is seen as an important source of supplementary income.

General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS)

So far none of the case studies have reacted to possible developments resulting from the GATS. Although governments and some senior higher education managers are discussing GATS proposals, in general the potential challenges they might bring to universities and colleges are not yet perceived as threats at institutional level. For example, the actors interviewed in the a Norwegian HEI do not see the Norwegian higher education system as particularly vulnerable to the opening up of the trade in higher education services. In most

of the countries, there seemed to be little discussion or knowledge of the intricacies of the GATS proposals, at least amongst the academic actors interviewed.

Nevertheless, despite the general belief that GATS will not affect public service activities such as higher education the increased marketisation of higher education of higher education in some countries renders them vulnerable and this is beginning to be recognised. The case study institution with the most visible strategy to generate income through developing a worldwide market for its courses is the Epsilon case study in the UK. This institution has successfully marketed its distance-learning programmes to a worldwide student market and it is aware of possible implications of GATS. However, the other UK case study institutions are also exceptional within the seven countries in the development of postgraduate courses that recruit large numbers of high fee-paying, international students. The potential for exploiting the international postgraduate student market is rising on the agenda within case studies in other countries, some of which are now seeking to expand their recruitment.

5.6.2. The normative pillar

Institutional autonomy

Within national contexts there are issues related to the degree of institutional autonomy in relation to the state. Of particular importance in this regard is the extent to which the different types of institution are dependent on government funding and legislation for international activities, or whether they can act autonomously and in an entrepreneurial fashion in response to international challenges and opportunities. There were mixed reactions within the seven countries to government funding policies and legislation, and the impact of these factors on international activities. Interviewees in the German case study institutions were largely critical of the under-funding of the higher education system in general, and their inability to charge tuition fees, and cited these factors as inhibiting their ability to foster certain international activities. The higher education funding system in the UK, in contrast, has encouraged English universities and colleges to recruit international students who pay high tuition fees. Institutions are able to set their own strategic goals with respect to the numbers of international students they recruit and the fees they charge.

It is at the Alpha HEIs in particular where most of the common ground concerning autonomy in relation to international activities is found. The Alpha universities across the seven countries are all seeking to maintain or enhance their international profiles, although the types and extent of international activities vary between faculties. The sizes and histories of these institutions have enabled them to establish distinct international

profiles. The Alpha case study in Greece, for example, continues to emphasise its promotion of Greek language and culture around the world, whereas the Alpha universities in Germany and the United Kingdom are seeking international excellence and comparability with elite United States universities. An important priority of the Alpha case studies of Norway and Portugal is to build on their international profiles through long-established, international research links.

HE as a public or private good

In some countries, Germany and Greece in particular amongst the countries taking part in this study, the status of higher education as a public good is particularly emphasised, and undergraduate education for both national and foreign students is free. In Greece, undergraduate student admissions are centrally controlled; a factor cited by some of the actors interviewed as hampering international the competitiveness of Greek universities at the undergraduate level. Portuguese case studies, in contrast, were critical of the lack of clear policies from the state that would enable them to respond to challenges of internationalisation. Austrian HEIs charge minimal tuition fees only very recently and there is little emphasis on international student recruitment as a strategic goal.

In Norway, where there is also a strong conviction that higher education should remain a public good, several respondents believed that an increased commercialisation of higher education conflicts with higher education as a public good. But, this fear is more related to the HEIs in developing countries than perceived as a threat for Norwegian higher education. This conviction of higher education being a public good is considered to have both a positive and negative influence on internationalisation of Norwegian HEIs: negative, because it may hinder them from attempting to export their academic services and positive, when they have programmes for students from developing countries.

Cooperation and competition

Although most of those interviewed in the case studies did not, if unprompted, make analytical distinctions between the terms internationalisation and globalisation (see also 9.1) it is clear that in all seven countries taking part in this study their higher education institutions are making changes in response to the challenges of both internationalisation (academic cooperation) and globalisation (economic competition). However, the data also indicated that there are difficulties in making a clear-cut distinction between global competition and international cooperation. International academic cooperation may be a way of global competition, as partnerships and other forms of networking enable institutions to compete on an international basis. The perceptions of the challenges of global competition and international cooperation vary between the countries. In Germany,

for example, the national debate has turned towards the establishment of elite universities able to compete within an international frame of reference, especially in relation to the US. The actors interviewed often cited the civil service employment regulations under which they work, and the legal constraints of free higher education to students, as a hindrance to developing German higher education into a global competitor. This emphasis on global positioning is somewhat similar to the UK context, in which the Alpha and Beta universities in particular, perceive themselves as competing within an international market for research and the most able international students.

There are some constraints impeding the advancement of international activities and the development of cooperative relationships across countries that are shaped by the national contexts. In some of the seven countries, particularly the UK, HEIs benefit from their attractiveness within the international student market and from a very long history of serving a student clientele that spans all five continents. This country is also in a unique position in relation to the other six countries in that the use of English as a major international language has for many decades enabled its higher education institutions to derive particular benefits from international activities.

5.6.3. The cultural cognitive pillar

Opportunities for international activities are powerfully influenced by such factors as disciplines and subject areas, language, culture, region, and historical links. Whether or not the HEIs work to develop opportunities depends upon their overall missions and also rather arbitrarily on whether they decide to exploit strategically certain advantages. Several of the Alpha and some of the Beta universities are capitalising on their strengths within an international elite range of universities. Some of the actors interviewed within HEIs are asking themselves whether they can position themselves within this group. The German case studies, for example, have been encouraged to consider such international comparisons by a national debate on elite universities. However, there seems to be a general feeling amongst the academic actors interviewed that German higher education has up to now lagged in this respect. Some of the case studies in other countries, for example Greece and Portugal emphasise their strong positions in regional and European networks.

Disciplines and subject areas

Differences between subject areas were mentioned in all seven countries as factors affecting responses to the challenges of internationalisation. These differences are difficult to categorise, and are complicated by issues such as the level of study, the location of the universities, historical links and the fact that there was no rigid comparability in the

subjects examined in the institutional and national case studies. The international activities reported in different subject areas vary in their nature between institutions and countries.

Yet it is possible to make some general comments about the effect of different academic subject areas. A professional subject such as Law has tended traditionally to concentrate on national legal systems and jurisprudence. This situation is changing considerably as European and International Law becomes more significant within the field. There are also differences between undergraduate Law programmes, which tend to focus on national and European law, and postgraduate law programmes that are more likely to recruit international students. In Norway, which stands outside the EU, the case studies offering Law programmes value cooperation with other Nordic countries. However, as was mentioned in the Austrian case, there exist tensions between the internationalisation of curricula and national requirements for professional practices in the respective countries, which are often controlled by professional associations. Other professional subjects such as Engineering and Medicine have been perceived as international in character and generally operate with a high level of international activities. The academics interviewed in the Science fields and Economics also often reported a high level of involvement in international research in particular.

The arts and humanities subject areas are more difficult to compare in terms of their international orientations. As has already been mentioned, the Austrian Delta1 case study focusing on the arts has cultivated international links. This is also true of the Delta case study in the Netherlands, which strongly promotes arts education as being international in scope. The location of certain arts-related subject areas in particular regions or countries can enhance their international standing. As noted in the Portuguese chapter, the faculties of Arts, Architecture and Design in Portuguese universities may be attractive to international students and scholars in ways that their Science faculties cannot take for granted.

Some of the subjects in the humanities offer contrasting and very particular challenges. As noted in one of the Netherlands case studies, some of the actors in Humanities-related fields felt it was not realistic to offer courses in French philosophy taught in English at a Dutch university. Therefore, competition for international students in some subjects can be limited by language. This was also mentioned in the Austrian Alpha institution, which has developed German and English descriptions for all of its courses, and encourages lecturers to voluntarily teach courses in the English language. Some academics remain resistant to teaching in English, e.g. in such areas as Austrian history and folklore, where it would seem absurd to offer these courses in languages other than German.

The Bologna process has posed more difficult challenges in some subject areas than in others. Those subjects that have traditionally been based on a long cycle of first year degrees will need to be reviewed fundamentally in light of the proposed 3-4 year Bachelors degree structure. Respondents in subjects such as Engineering and Law also sometimes raised this prospect as one that will need to be confronted. In Greece in particular, student opposition to the 3-4 year degree remains high in subjects such as Engineering, Agriculture and Medicine, which all have long cycles of first degrees.

There have been other external drivers of change in some subject areas. Global changes might result in opportunities to develop the activities of academics in subject areas that can be related to political or economic events. The faculty of Law in the Austrian Alpha case study, for example, became active in Central and Eastern European countries after the collapse of communism, and participated in a variety of roles during the changes to legal systems in these countries. Academics who specialise in areas associated with development aid may also find their international activities shifting as a result of particular wars or crises in other countries. The Epsilon case study in the UK has developed one strand of its work in sub-Saharan Africa, where there is a teacher shortage due to HIV/AIDS. The Epsilon case study in the Netherlands is also active in the area of development aid, initially based on links with former Dutch colonies, but which is now expanding elsewhere in South East Asia as well as in Europe.

The data collected from various faculties in the case studies indicates that in relation to internationalisation, most subject areas are active at least to some extent. Yet this is not to suggest that all academics are involved in international activities, or perceive their involvement as important. There were aspects of the perceived challenges of internationalisation that were resisted by some of the academics interviewed. Not surprisingly, the subject areas that tend to be more international in their epistemological frame of reference such as the physical sciences were more likely to take for granted the importance of international activities. Institutional characteristics and national contexts also play a role in shaping international activities in all subject areas.

University profile and mission

The 36 case study universities and colleges were selected on the basis of the diversity of characteristics, such as size, geographical location, predominant mission, age, and subject areas offered. Within each country, the selected case study HEIs help to illustrate the range of institutional types and the orientations towards international activities that they have developed through their particular combination of institutional characteristics. In general, the categories range from the large, comprehensive universities with extensive

international links in teaching and research, to the smaller, more specialised institutions that have established more sharply focussed relationships with other regions or specialised faculties. Some HEIs have developed both extensive and diverse global networks, as well as more regionally-based and specialised ventures within the same organisation (see also section III 3.).

Location is clearly an important factor shaping the missions and strategies of universities. The case studies that are located in capital or major cities are often more easily able to attract international students and scholars, and to build international links, in ways in which the more remote or rurally-based institutions find more challenging. Yet some of the regions in which a few of the case studies are situated offer other benefits. In Austria, for example, Delta1 profits much from the historic attractions of its location in a culturally rich region. The location of one of the Beta universities in Greece was specifically chosen to function as a bridge between Greece and the Middle East.

Language and internationalisation of programmes

There are indications of strategic responses to the challenges of internationalisation that attempt to transcend some of the more opportunistic factors that certain institutions enjoy. The case studies vary in the extent to which they attempt to market their courses internationally.

For instance, in several countries foreign language competency is mentioned as a barrier to internationalisation. Offering programmes in the local language can exclude international students. As already mentioned some case study institutions in Germany, Austria and the Netherlands, are offering courses taught in the English language and are producing marketing material written in English. This widespread use of the English language gives the UK a natural advantage in recruiting international students, but English students are notoriously bad at other languages and they prefer to visit other English speaking countries. In particular in exchange programmes, such as ERASMUS, this leads to imbalances between incoming and outgoing students.

5.7. Factors fostering or impeding internationalization

In this final section we will summarize the main factors that foster or impede internationalization, many of which have already been referred to in the previous sections of this chapter. It seems that a different combination of factors may influence HEIs towards a rather competitive or cooperative attitude to internationalisation. The case studies indicate that a combination of the following factors may foster the competitive approach:

- A change in the steering mode and public funding of HE and a national policy context that encourages an entrepreneurial turn of universities

- A flexible regulative framework that accords to the universities' increasing autonomy, especially with regards to the power to take decisions concerning the recruitment of students (including fee setting), staff and administrative personnel and the ability to quickly set up new programmes

- Increased use of the English language in teaching programmes (English as a *lingua franca*).

- Implementation of the policies which enhance the transparency with respect to degrees, quality, standards and performance of institutions and systems, i.e. as proposed by the Bologna process and the Lisbon strategy. This includes the development of a unified EHEA and ERA, and the implementation of European (or more widely international) quality assurance (accreditation) frameworks which enable the international benchmarking and comparison of quality and standards.

By contrast, the traditional collaborative approach seems to be fostered by a combination of the following factors, some of which may involve deeply embedded normative and cultural perceptions and values of academia and society:

- Secure public funding for universities and high regard for education as a public good accessible to all.

- A regulative framework that supports free education, sets quotas on the number of foreign students in the higher education system and restricts the power of the academia concerning recruitment of students, staff and administrative employees.

- Instruction in the national language as a way to preserve cultural and linguistic diversity and in order to stimulate foreign language learning and cultural exchange.

- Implementation of EU policies and programmes, in force since the 1970s -80s, concerning student and staff exchanges and curriculum development. With the exception of the UK, respondents in most countries acknowledge the increasing importance of EU programmes and funding as fostering networking and collaboration among European universities and the mainstreaming of internationalisation activities in their faculty or HEI.

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

1. Conclusions from phase 1 (case studies on national policies)

It is apparent from this study that internationalisation of higher education is entering a new phase. No longer is it mainly about student and staff mobility, though these remain important. Rather as a key activity in the knowledge society higher education is becoming a key player in a wide range of international relations policies. With respect to our initial research questions (see chapter I), the main findings of our comparative studies of national policies may be summarized as follows. In general, the trend towards more economically oriented rationales for internationalisation is persisting and in the UK especially it now appears to be the dominant driver of Higher Education internationalisation policy. Most of the other countries in the study are moving in a similar direction but more slowly.

However several distinctions need to be made. First, economic rationales may be related to the aim of improving the international competitiveness of the higher education sector itself or, as a result of the importance of higher education for the knowledge economy, to the aim of enhancing the international competitiveness of the national economy. Second, different approaches and models are chosen to achieve these aims, ranging from straightforward competition to European wide international collaboration to help improve the performance of European universities generally. There are many forms of international interactions between these two extremes, for example, bilateral arrangements between countries and between universities and development assistance to third world and to transition countries. In the view of many actors, the competitive form can be related to the concept of globalisation and the collaborative form to the concepts of internationalisation and Europeanisation. Tensions between these two concepts are visible particularly in discussions of the GATS issue.

Regulatory frameworks, especially degree structures and quality assurance mechanisms are being adapted to take international issues such as professional mobility and European Credit Transfer into account. Consequently, the links between internationalisation policies and mainstream national higher education policies are becoming stronger. The impact of the Bologna Declaration on this process is undeniable though progress towards the establishment of the Bologna qualifications framework is uneven across countries and is often linked to internal political pressure to reform degree structures. A consequence is that a certain convergence (i.e. of degree systems, credit and accreditation frameworks) can be observed at system level. However, as implementation of European frameworks is

a country responsibility and defined by national contexts, constraints and priorities, diversity may remain or even be reinforced.

The importance of language in international higher education policies is shown in most of the reports. In part this appears through specific links that depend, at least in part, on linguistic similarities, e.g. Greeks dispersed all over the world, Portuguese speaking countries on other continents, but also and of growing importance, the emergence of English as the principal international language. Universities in several of the countries taking part in the study are establishing programmes, especially at postgraduate levels, that are taught in whole or in part, in English.

The increasing impact of both internationalisation and globalisation is a challenge for the policy views and options of national governments. Quality assurance, funding, deregulation, (privatisation and liberalisation) need to be reconsidered while taking into account both the consequent opportunities for internationalisation of the country's own HEIs, as well as the potential effects on the position of foreign institutions in the country.

2. Conclusions from phase 2: institutional responses to globalisation, internationalization and Europeanisation.

In general, the study shows that although actors in higher education find it difficult to make a sharp conceptual distinction between globalisation, internationalisation and Europeanisation, they do perceive these external processes to represent important challenges to which higher education has to respond. And indeed, this is driving institutions to implement far-reaching changes in their organizations. This can be seen as a trend or a certain level of convergence. However, at the same time divergence at the level of both national and institutional policies can be observed with respect to the two main internationalization approaches chosen: the competitive and the cooperation approach, although often combinations of the two are made within one context.

The attempts in the previous chapter to explain differences in the activities and strategies of the HEI case studies in response to the challenges of internationalisation, globalisation and Europeanisation reveal a wide range of variables that produce complex influences on organisational change. It is apparent that internationalisation (the term that most respondents seemed to favour in describing their activities) has been an important aspect of higher education systems generally, and is becoming increasingly prominent across a diverse range of institutions. It is clear that the national legal and policy context is a very important factor in explaining variations in the responses to internationalisation. Most marked has been the extremely proactive approach of the English institutions, which as the national report says, can be attributed to the financial and academic autonomy of the

HEIs, the extreme financial stringency they have suffered for two decades and the global dominance of the English language. However, in other countries, also there are particular aspects of their higher education systems that affect the institutional approaches to international issues. Location and language are clearly important issues in focusing international institutional practices. Greek universities believe they have particular responsibilities for the widely dispersed populations of Greek descent; Portugal has particular links with its former colonies; Norwegian universities have a tradition of close links with other Nordic countries while its language means relatively few foreign students from other areas come to Norway. A sizeable proportion of the relatively high numbers of external students in Austria are from neighbouring countries, particularly German speaking countries and regions. However, institutional histories and profiles also have identifiable effects that are to some extent common across countries.

In a study of this type it is not wise to attempt to make too rigid categorisations. However it has been shown that the main drivers of the surge of internationalisation activities in recent years are global, regional and national aspirations of higher education institutions underpinned in some cases especially in England, by financial necessity. These aspirations have been pursued through a combination of competitive and internationally collaborative activities The pathways of development have been strongly influenced by regulatory factors such as national legal, financial and administrative contexts and international attempts to harmonise qualification frameworks; by normative factors such as the extent of institutional autonomy and the extent to which higher education is seen as public service or a private good; and by cultural cognitive factors such as disciplines and subject areas, language, culture, region, and historical links.

3. Reflections on theory

In chapter I the underlying theory which guided the empirical research was presented. As always, the empirical research has shown some strengths and weaknesses of the theory chosen. One of the main strengths of the pillars of institutions as described by Scott is that they help to structure the way of thinking about the environment of higher education institutions. It has been helpful to see the different roles different parts of the environment can play to a higher education institution in different countries. E.g in some cases cultural-cognitive issues, such as disciplinary conceptions, play a more important or different role than in other cases. For example, the Faculty of Law of Alpha NL responds different to these issues, it has a very nationally oriented curriculum, than the Faculty of Law at Beta Nl, which has a very European oriented curriculum.

However, as already acknowledged in chapter I, the pillars of institutions show some overlap. For example, rules and regulations express certain norms and if such a norm is taken for granted, it might be argued that the norm then is part of the cultural cognitive pillar. This overlap sometimes made it difficult to classify some developments or general themes in higher education explcitly in terms of (only) one of the pillars. What also hampered the classification was the different state of completion given to certain developments or themes in the different countries participating in this study. For example, one of the questions encountered was whether quality assurance is part of the normative pillar, as quality assurance expresses certain norms and standards in a higher education system, or is quality assurance part of the regulative pillar in those countries where quality assurance has been laid down in legislation. What also made quality assurance sometimes more difficult to classify in terms of the pillars, is that recent developments in quality assurance are often perceived as closely linked to the follow up of the Bologna Declaration, which is seen to be part of the regulative pillar as it has a regulative impact. In our framework, quality assurance was eventually classified as part of the regulative pillar. In the light of the discussions on classifying developments and themes in higher education in different countries, one can put forward the question whether the pillars of institutions are sufficiently distinctive to apply empirically, particularly in a comparison of several countries.

A second element of the institutional pillars relates to the role of (financial) resources, which seems somewhat underexposed. In chapter I it is argued that (financial) resources are part of the regulative pillar, as they are part of the rules and regulation governing higher education. However, a case could also be made, as Scott does with his theory on organisations (see also chapter I), there are two parts of the environment of organisations: the institutional and technical environment. The technical environment "is typically narrowed in use to refer to the nature and sources of inputs, markets for outputs and competitors" (Scott, 1998: 131). This leads to the observation that "no organisation is self-sufficient; all must enter into exchanges with the environment" (Ibid.: 132). We expect that Scott's ideas about the technical environment would help to further explain the importance of (financial) resources to some of the higher education institutions in this study as well as the role of international cooperation and competition that is being sought and the international networks that are being built.

What has also proven to be difficult to describe and explain, is the exact influence of the institutional environment on the higher education institutions (and vice versa). The study does show that higher education institutions are responding to the developments in the institutional environment, or in some cases choose to ignore or object to them, but how exactly these impacts are being shaped is not always clear. Furthermore, all lines, as

shown in Scott's organisational model, are possible it seems and it is often impossible to capture where the line of influence started and where it ends. For example, did goals precede the social structure, or did the goals follow the social structure, in cases where an international office was set up to aid internationalisation of the institution.

Finally, the findings of the empirical research make clear the history of a country or higher education institution in international developments is important to current decisions and policy for internationalisation. One might argue that historical institutionalism can be helpful in explaining these findings further, as historical institutionalism tends to have a view of institutional development that emphasises path dependence (Hall & Taylor, 1996: 938). Historical institutionalism looks at processes over time (Pierson & Skocpol, forthcoming: 6). According to historical institutionalism, past events will be reflected and of influence to current events and decisions. Some even argue that path dependence refers to a "self reinforcing or positive feedback process" (Pierson & Skocpol, forthcoming: 7). As we saw in our research, historical backgrounds are of importance to current decision being taken in internationalisation of higher education in most of the countries in participating in this research. It might therefore be useful to analyse these outcomes with the help of historical institutionalism.

However, we do not necessarily have to turn to other theoretical perspectives. The pillars of institutions can also be of use in explaining these outcomes. Both the normative and the cultural cognitive pillar can be of use. The basis of compliance of the normative pillars is social obligation, its basis of order is binding expectations and its basis of legitimacy is morally governed. A shared history can form the basis for guiding norms and the history of an organisation can lead to certain obligations and expectations, based on the morals that the organisation has built through the years, as one can for example see with Epsilon NL and its links to developing countries. A further explanation might be found in the cultural cognitive pillar, as a shared history can bring shared understanding, which forms the basis of compliance to this pillar. Therefore, the importance of history for current decisions can also be explained with the help of the pillars of institutions. Perhaps in future research the usefulness of both theoretical approaches can be tested.

4. Reflection on findings

In this section we like to address in particular certain limitations of our findings. We concluded that two approaches in internationalization can be discerned: the competition and the cooperation approach. We also indicated that many mixed forms of the two exist. We realize that the impact of these different approaches have not been fully illustrated by the present study. First of all this is related to the fact that it was NOT the objective of this

study to assess the impact or effects of the various approaches, policies and strategies. Secondly, it is in particular for the newer more competitive approach to internationalization in many cases not (yet) possible to do so.

From our data it became quite clear that in many cases the competitive agenda (notably GATS and the Lisbon strategy) is generally not (yet) on the horizon of actors in HEIs. There is certainly awareness of these driving forces in the external environment, but there is often resistance to the competitive approach to internationalization. Many institutions rather embrace the cooperative and quality oriented approach, which is more central to the EU programmes such as ERASMUS. We therefore pointed in different parts in the report and in our conclusions to certain tensions between the competitive and the cooperative approach.

These differences seem, besides ideological considerations, to be mainly related to the fact that most of the case study institutions are by and large publicly funded. Contrary to various Anglo-Saxon countries outside the EU (e.g. the USA, Australia and New Zealand), the governments of many EU member countries have not (yet) adopted such economic and competition driven policies for higher education (with according arrangements in the area of funding, i.e. tuition fees). Consequently, institutions may not (yet) have been subject to actual competitive policies. In other words, there is quite a discrepancy between policy rethoric at international (GATS) and European (Lisbon) level, and the actual policies at national and institutional levels. Consequently, it is in these cases not (yet) possible to assess the impact of such policies.

A clear exception to this is the UK, and to some extent the Netherlands and Germany, with according responses at the institutional level, to which we have paid substantial attention.

Nevertheless, and although this was not the focus of our study, we acknowledge that more evidence is needed on actual impact and effects of internationalization/globalisation, in particular in relation to economic rationales and competitiveness on the one hand and the wider political and social missions of HEIs on the other. This is particularly important in a policy area that is full of rethoric and so far rather poor in terms of evidence-based policy making.

More insight would in particular be needed into the implications of GATS and the Lisbon Agenda, i.e. of an economic driven approach, and policies supporting competition in the sector on HEIs' core role in their local and regional communities and in the national HE agenda. Important questions in this respect would be:

- How do international competitive strategies work out on the quality of students learning experiences, access for learners from local and regional environments (widening participation), the students' capacity to become lifelong learners or their development as local, national and European citizens?

- To what extent do policies emerging from this economic driver have actually been effective? Has the assumption that HEIs pursuing an economic agenda will give improved value added for public investment actually been proven? And to what extent have attempts to pursue internationalization in the expectation of earning to make up for reduced public funds really been successful?

Concerns in these areas are already visible and may rise over time. It cannot be excluded that even damaging effects may occur over time. The fact that the UK report indicates that EU students are often more able students than traditional widening participation students and that this helps to achieve the retention agenda, may be an indication of such effects, i.e. of a policy that could fail the community in which it is based. Recent announcements of UK institutions that plan to rise their recruitment from non-EU countries for financial reasons and at the cost of access for domestic and EU students may hold similar indications.

In this respect, further studies may also consider to include institutions that rejected internationalization or globalisation strategies and choose to concentrate on serving and embedding their activities more fully in the local, regional or national environment.

5. Policy recommendations

Three main orientations from this study will guide our recommendations for policy:

- Increasing activities The term internationalisation is covering an increasingly wide array of activities, strategies and policies. Both at the national and at the institutional level competition-type of approaches (more economically driven and market-oriented) and cooperation-type of approaches (more academically and culturally driven) can be distinguished. But as this study has shown, neither empirically nor conceptually these two approaches can be really separated; many mixed forms and types exist, at national level and also very often so within single higher education institutions.

- Growing diversity Diversity within institutions can also be observed with respect to the level of education. Undergraduate levels are more characterized by short-term exchange, internships, etc. while at the graduate level more degree mobility, joint

and international programmes (often taught in English) can be discerned, as well as activities more bound to the internationalisation of research.

- National embeddedness Despite all the research demonstrating the growing importance of internationalisation, and even more the rethoric in this respect, higher education institutions' behaviour (including their internationalisation strategies) are (still) mostly guided by national regulatory and funding frameworks. For internationalisation in particular, historical, geographic, cultural and linguistic aspects of the national framework are of great importance.

Consequently, it is first of all impossible to formulate policy recommendations in terms of "one size fits all type of solutions". Secondly, the institutional level should not be overestimated; besides institutional strategies, many different activities and strategies are going on in different parts and at various levels of the institution. Thirdly, national policies do matter, although probably more so in the general sense than in their particular focus on internationalisation.

Institutional autonomy is key

Higher education institutions should be encouraged and enabled to develop and pursue their own distinct internationalisation profiles, based on choices that fit their strengths, particular characteristics, environment and their own steering models (e.g. more or less centralised, more or less competitive approaches). If national governments take internationalisation serious, further deregulation seems warranted (e.g. with respect to admission, tuition fee and language policies) in order to enable the institutions to be internationally active and more responsive to challenges of globalisation. At the same time, more efficient and effective management of higher education institutions is necessary. Leadership and management are more complex in an international context.

Europeanisation of policy and regulatory frameworks

A further convergence of regulatory frameworks at the European level is necessary, especially in the areas of degree structures, quality assurance, recognition, etc. The continuation of the Bologna Process will help to create the European Higher Education Area, although the process and the area itself should be better thought through for their consequences for internal and external dimensions of cooperation and competition. In which way(s) can for instance intra-European cooperation contribute effectively to global competitiveness of Europe as a whole and how does this relate to competition between EU members states? This relationship between European cooperation and international competitiveness also needs to be better understood in the context of the Lisbon Agenda.

Further consideration also needs to be given to how this process of convergence at European level relates to deregulation at national levels.

Particular internationalisation policies

Policies focusing in particular on stimulating the internationalisation of higher education will be more necessary in certain contexts than in others; when incentives and conditions (institutional autonomy) stimulate institutions sufficiently in their internationalisation agenda, such policies may become obsolete. In any case, internationalisation policies should pay adequate attention to activities at the sub-institutional level (like in international research cooperation). Much of the actual internationalisation activities are undertaken at these levels. Policies should differentiate between undergraduate and graduate levels, (e.g. between short and long term mobility of students). And national governments should ensure that internationalisation policies for higher education are not hindered (negative interference) by measures in other policy areas (e.g. immigration policies).

Further research

With the more central role of internationalization in HEIs strategies and national policy, and in particular of the economic drivers that are increasingly associated with it, we need to know more about its impact on the core missions of HEIs in both the social and the economic sense. We need more insight into impact on (widening) participation, access, equity, funding, quality, etc. But also on the local and regional roles of HEIs and their contribution to the national agendas, i.e. preparing for work, citizenship and lifelong learning. Obviously because we need to take this into account in policy development and coordination, but also and not in the least place because students ask for transparency in these areas. We need more evidence as whether this is the right direction for reform to ensure the HE sector continues to make a rich social as well as economic contribution to European societies in the 21st century.

Further research in this area would benefit enormously from enhanced and refined data collection at institutional, national and European levels. In general, the Lisbon strategy and according indicator, benchmark and data collection is a positive step forward. However, the inclusion of specific data on internationalization could be enhanced. Coordination at the EU level could provide for the necessary standardization of categories and definitions and for cross-analysis of trends in internationalization and in other areas of the Lisbon strategy.

The knowledge on effective management and leadership of higher education needs to be extended to the international context. What particular management challenges and requirements and leadership characteristics can be identified as exclusively or particularly relevant in this context, and how can senior administrators and leaders be prepared for this?

We need to understand better how institutions learn from one another and the factors that influence transfer of organizational strategies and practice, especially across national boundaries. We need to learn from the mistakes that policy makers and institutions have made in attempting to transfer internationalization models and adopt approaches that seem to work in a certain environment (but may be not or less so in another).

V. DISSEMINATION AND EXPLOITATION OF RESULTS

Dissemination of results has been an ongoing activity during the project. The following categories of products and activities were undertaken:

- *Joint publications*, publications produced by the entire project team including all partners;
- *Individual publications*, publications produced by individual team members or small groups of them;
- *Project seminars*, seminars organized by the project including all project partners as well as external participants i.e. policy actors and researchers;
- *Presentations at divers conferences and seminars*, papers contributed to scientific, professional and policy oriented conferences and seminars by one of more members of the project team.
- *Websites*, information disseminated on several websites.

Table 8. The following table presents an overview of the various dissemination activities and products of the HEIGLO project.

Joint publications		
On Cooperation and Competition. National and European policies for internationalisation of higher education. ACA Papers on International Cooperation. Bonn: Lemmens	Huisman J. & M.C. van der Wende (eds.)	2004
On Cooperation and Competition [II] Institutional responses to internationalisation, Europeanisation and Globalisation. ACA Papers on International Cooperation. Bonn: Lemmens	Huisman J. & M.C. van der Wende (eds.)	2005
Individual publications		
European Higher Education Policy: The EU's Continuing Impact. In: *Higher Education International* No. 32. Pp. 15-18.	Wende, M.C. van der.	2003
The Role of Europe in Higher Education Policy: Expansion across Borders and Levels. In: *Tijdschrift voor Hoger Onderwijs*. Vol 21. no. 1. Pp. 30-47.	Wende, M.C. van der & J. Huisman	2003
The EU and Bologna: Are supra and international initiatives threatening domestic agendas? In: *European Journal of Education*. Vol. 39, no 3, pp. 349-359.	Huisman, J. & M.C. van der Wende	2004
Internationalisation at five Austrian Higher Education Institutions. IFF-Hofo working paper series, Vienna (IFF-Faculty for Interdisciplinary Studies) http://www.iff.ac.at/hofo/pfeffer/2004_pfeffer_internationalisation_5_cases.pdf	Pfeffer, T., J. Thomas, & B. Obiltschnig.	2004

Hochschulen auf dem internationalen Bildungsmarkt und die Positionierung Deutschlands. In: Hahn, K. & U. Lanzendorf (eds.). Wegweiser Globalisierung. Hochschulsektoren in Bewegung. Werkstattberichte 62. Wissenschaftliches Zentrum für Berufs-und Hochschulforschung. Universität Kassel	Hahn, K.	Forthcoming
Journal article based on UK case studies, Journal of Globalisation, Societies and Education	Coate, K. & G. Williams	In progress
On cooperation and competition, a comparative analysis of national policies for internationalisation of higher education. In: *Journal of Studies in International Education*.	Luijten-Lub, A., M.C. van der Wende & J. Huisman	Forthcoming
The internationalisation of Portuguese higher education institutions. In: *Higher Education Management and Policy*	Veiga, A., M.J. Rosa & A. Amaral	Forthcoming
Europeanization, Globalization and Internationalisation of Norwegian Higher Education Institutions. Drivers and Destinations. NIFU STEP report, Oslo	Stensaker, B., N. Frølich, & Å. Gornitzka	Forthcoming
Internationalisation Mainstreaming in German Higher Education. In: Arimoto, Akira, Huang, Futao and Yokoyama, Keiko (eds.), Globalization and Higher Education Hiroshima: Research Institute for Higher Education, Hiroshima University, (RIHE International Publication Series, No. 9).	Hahn, K. & U. Teichler	Forthcoming

Project seminars		
Joint ACA-CHEPS seminar Brussels, 9 December 2003	National and European policies for Internationalisation of Higher Education	16 project participants 20 external participants
Joint ACA-CHEPS seminar Brussels, 25 November 2004	Institutional Responses to Globalisation, Internationalisation and Europeanisation	16 project participants 80 external participants
Presentations at divers conferences and seminars		
16th CHER Conference, Porto, 3-6 September 2003.	Research paper: National policy responses to internationalisation, globalisation and Europeanisation.	M.C. van der Wende
National HEIGLO seminar Austria: Universität Graz 7. Juni 2003	Internationalisierung an österreichischen Hochschulen Antworten auf Europäisierung und Globalisierung	4 project participants 70 external participants
	Who's afraid of internationalisation and Europeanisation? Ergebnisse der HEIGLO Studie: Die nationale Ebene in Österreich.	J. Huisman
		Elsa Hackl
	Internationalisierung an österreichischen Hochschulen. Vorläufige Ergebnisse aus 5 Fallstudien	Thomas Pfeffer & Jan Thomas
Training seminar for higher education leaders from the new EU member states Portoroz, Slovenia, 2-5 February 2005	Europeanisation, internationalisation and globalisation in practice	A. Luijten-Lub
International meeting of the Consortium of Higher	On cooperation and competition: outcomes of	A. Luijten-Lub

Education Institutions in Health Care and Rehabilitation in Europe Budapest, 31 March, 2005	the HEIGLO research project	
EAIE/EAIR Joint seminar on internationalisation Amsterdam, 23-24 April 2005	Competition, cooperation, consequences and choices. Internationalisation in higher education.	N. Frøhlich and A. Veiga
Creating a European Knowledge Base on Education -Key issues in EU-supported educational research. REDCOM (Réseau Européen de Dissémination en éducation COMparée) seminar. Kassel University, 11-12 March 2005	Outomes of the EU project on Higher Education Institutions' Responses to Globalisation, Internationalisation and Europeanisation (HEIGLO).	M.C. van der Wende
New Arenas of Educational Governance. The impact of international organisations and markets on educational policy making. Bremen University, 23-24 September 2005	Overview on internationalisation and globalisation of higher education	M.C. van der Wende
Choices and responsibilities: Higher Education in the Knowledge Society, IMHE General Conference, 13-15 September 2004	The internationalisation of Portuguese higher education institutions.	A. Veiga
EAIR 27th annual forum, Riga, 28-31 August, 2005 (paper submitted for presentation)	Open coordination and implementation gaps in the Bologna process	A. Veiga and A. Amaral
Seminar organised by the Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, Oslo, 8th of November 2004	Europeisering, Globalisering og internasjonalisering av høyere utdanning. Erfaringer fra fem norske unversiteter og høgskoler. (Europeanization, Globalization and Internationalisation of higher education. Experiences from five Norwegian universities and colleges)	N. Frølich and B. Stensaker
Research Institute for Higher Education, Hiroshima University, 26 May 2004	Towards a „European Higher Education Area": visions and realities	U. Teichler
German National Internationalisation Policies: Colloquium Sommersemester, 10 Mai 2004, Universität Kassel, Germany	Prozesse und Strukturen der Internationalität im Hochschulwesen	K. Hahn
Colloqium Wintersemester 2003/2004, 12. Januar 2004,	Die steigende Komplexität des Hochschulsektors	K. Hahn

Universität Kassel, Germany	in Deutschland im Zuge der Europäisierung und Globalisierung	
Final Workshop. Network of the Bund-Laender-Kommission on Creditpoint-Systems, FHTW Berlin, 14 Oktober, 2005	Hochschulen auf dem internationen Bildungsmarkt: Behauptung in der internationalisierten Angebotskonkurrenz. The National Policy of Germany to position German HE on the global market for higher education	K. Hahn
Presentation of the HEIGLO Project and its results within the Master programme 'Higher Education'(Module Internationalisation):	National strategies of internationalisation (Germany) Institutional strategies of internationalisation (Germany)	K. Hahn
Internationalisierungsprozesse an österreichischen Hochschulen. Verantwortung für internationale Studierende und Chancen für internationale Entwicklungsziele Conference organised by the ÖAD (Austrian Exchange Service) and the KKS (Kontaktkomitee Studienförderung Dritte Welt) Vienna, 23-24 November 2004	Aspekte von Internationalität an österreichischen Hochschulen	T. Pfeffer

Relevant websites

www.utwente.nl/cheps/research/current_projects/track_2/2CHEinstitutionsresponses.doc/index.html

www.iff.ac.at/hofo/projects/heiglo/

forschung.uni-kassel.de/cgi-bin/db2www/fobe_en.d2w/en?PNR=2814

www.uni-klu.ac.at/uniklu/fd/fa_details.jsp?fanr=4787&titlelang=35

ioewebserver.ioe.ac.uk/ioe/cms/get.asp?cid=4458&4458_0=4592

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VII. ANNEXES

1. Overview of deliverables

The table below includes all the deliverables indicated in the Technical Annex of the project. All have been produced according to the planning.

Deliverable no:	Title	Finding place
D1	Framework for policy updates	Annex 1 to periodic progress report I
D2	Theoretical framework & protocol for case studies	Annex 1 to periodic progress report II
D3-9	National reports on higher education policy	Annex to this report
D10	Report of EU policies in HE	Annex 2 to periodic progress report II
D11	Synthesis report on national & EU policy context	Annex 3 to periodic progress report II See also chapter III and IV of this report
D12-19	National reports on case studies	Annex to this report
D20	Synthesis report on HEIs'responses to Europeanisation, internationalisation, and globalisation	Annex to this report See also chapter III and IV of this report

List of annexes to this report:

Annex 1: Reports on national policies (7)

Annex 2: Reports on institutional responses (7)

Annex 3: ICA II

Annex 4: Cost statements

2. Reports on national policies (7)

This annex includes chapters 3 – 9 of the publication: *On Cooperation and Competition. National and European policies for internationalisation of higher education. ACA Papers on International Cooperation. Bonn: Lemmens.*

2.1. Chapter 3. Germany

Karola Hahn

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

3.1. The higher education system

3.1.1. Basic features, facts and figures

The HE system in Germany has a binary structure (Universities and *Fachhochschulen* - Universities of Applied Sciences). It encompasses 330 HE institutions: 117 Universities, 157 Universities of Applied Sciences and 56 Colleges of Music or Art. Most of these institutions are state owned (more than 2/3), 49 are private but state-approved, and 45 are run by the Churches. A significant majority of students are actually enrolled in the state-owned HEIs (96.9%) while the numbers of enrolments in private and religious institutions still remain a *quantité négligeable* (HRK, 2003). The increasing access rate of students (relatively to their age group) was slowly developing in recent years from 27.7% in 1998 to 32.4% in 2002 (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2003). In international comparisons, these access rates represent one of the lowest positions of OECD countries, remaining significantly below the average rate of 45% (*Wissenschaftsrat*, 2002: 20). Germany is a high-ranking destination for foreign students. OECD statistics point out that 9% of students enrolled at German HEIs are without German citizenship. With this rate of foreign students Germany is in the sixth position of OECD countries (behind Switzerland, Australia, Austria, United Kingdom and Belgium). In absolute numbers Germany ranks in third place as a host country for foreign students, behind the United States of America and

the United Kingdom (OECD, 2002: 236-238). The statistics also point out that the actual numbers of non-resident students registered in German tertiary education institutions account for only two-thirds of all foreign students: 67% of international students are those without German HE entrance certificate (*Abitur*). Thus a significant proportion of international students are 'domestic foreigners' (*BildungsinLänder*) with *Abitur*. They are mainly children of migrant workers and Eastern Europeans of German origin (OECD, 2002: 237).

3.1.2. Public expenditure on HE and R&D

In Germany HE is perceived to be a public good. The HE system is thus to a large extent publicly funded. Nonetheless funding has not been adjusted to expansion in recent decades and HEIs suffer from severe financial constraints. In 2001 the gross domestic expenditure on education, science, research and development (R&D) in Germany was 187.6 billion € (2000: 183.4 billion €) (BLK, 2003: 3) and accounted for a total of 2.49% (2.48%) of the GDP (BMBF, 2001: 371), up from 2.32% in 1998 (BMBF, 2002d: 227). In comparison to other OECD countries, Germany still spends a below-average proportion of the GDP on education, science, and R&D (OECD, 2002: 161). In 2001, the total expenditure on HE was17.9 billion € (in 2002 it is estimated at 18.8 billion €, an increase of 4.8%) (BKL, 2003: 15). The Federal budget for education and research has been increased by about 25% since 1998. The Federal budget of the past two years has been the highest budget for education and research in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany. Special funding programmes (i.e. *Hochschulsonderprogramm* and the programmes within the First and Second Action Schemes) were launched particularly to foster internationalisation. But the Federal budget only constitutes a minor part of the education and research budget. Most of the *Länder* meanwhile struggle to cope with the demands of their funding systems for HE. Only a few were able to spend substantial additional funds to foster internationalisation.

3.1.3. Actors and steering instruments in internationalisation

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

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

The other main governmental coordinating bodies are the Commission for Educational Planning and Research Promotion of the Federation and the States (BLK, acting between the national and the state levels) and the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs (KMK) coordinating HE policy between the sixteen states. The policy arena of internationalisation of HE in Germany is marked by the increasing number and growing importance of intermediary actors. Besides the HEIs themselves, the most active drivers of the process of internationalisation and internationally oriented reforms are some intermediary organisations. The German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) is a central actor in the internationalisation of HE (and to a lesser extent in science) in Germany. It is one of the world's largest education agencies comprising a total of 233 HEIs and 128 student bodies. It is a powerful setter of agendas and trends, increasingly exceeding its genuine function as a service provider. The other major service organisation for international activities, mainly in the field of research, is the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation (AvH). Another central driver of internationalisation is a coordinating body, the German Rector's Conference (HRK). This umbrella organisation encompasses 263 member institutions representing most HEIs in Germany. Since the mid-1990s it has promoted internationally oriented reforms of the degree structure, the introduction of the Diploma Supplement and ECTS, and the introduction of internationally standard procedures in quality assurance, such as accreditation and evaluation. A buffer organisation on the national level worth being mentioned is the Science Council (*Wissenschaftsrat*). It comprises representatives of the Federal and *Länder* governments and the Joint Commission (BLK), as well as representatives of science and the public, and largely contributes to agenda setting. The newly created Accreditation Council and the six accreditation agencies entered the policy arena in 1999. These agencies are active in the field of accreditation of the newly established Bachelor and Master programmes, which are being implemented in the course of the Bologna process in Germany. Another active agency is the *Stifterverband für die deutsche Wissenschaft*,a privately funded donors'

association for the promotion of sciences and humanities, presenting a joint initiative of industry involving around 3,000 companies, industrial associations and individuals. The Centre for Higher Education Development (CHE) is a private organisation funded by the Bertelsmann foundation, which considers itself to be a 'reform workshop' and promoter of the 'unleashed actor university'. The CHE is also active in the field of internationalisation. The *Stifterverband* and the CHE support entrepreneurial internationalisation and innovation of HE. The various research promotion agencies (i.e. German Science Foundation, DFG and others) also became central actors in the internationalisation of the HE and science policy arena. Governance of the HE and science sector is marked by two ambivalent trends: on the one hand we find strengthened institutional autonomy and deregulation, on the other hand there is an increasing influence of nation-wide policy making by the BMBF on the *Länder* and the institutions. Both developments are directly linked to internationalisation and globalisation. Institutional autonomy and deregulation are often legitimised with the institution's need to respond flexibly to the changing environment (e.g. international profiling). Nation-wide policy making is derived from the need for coordinated policies in regard to Germany's external relations (supranational policy, global policy, foreign cultural relations, national funding of strategically targeted research policy etc.) (Teichler, 1992).

3.2. Old and new concepts and the changing Zeitgeist

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

3.2.1. Views and objectives

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

- Fostering the international (European) dimension of the German HE and science sector
- Strengthening the international attractiveness of German HE and science
- Enhancing the international competitiveness and performance of the German HE and science sector.

These main objectives are often addressed by:

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

3.2.2. Rationales, concepts and the new Zeitgeist

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

On the one hand mainly economically (and politically) motivated efforts are made to widen and deepen intra-European cooperation as well as collaboration with economically relevant regions (i.e. the US) and newly industrializing countries (i.e. Asia and South East Asia). On the other hand political, cultural and ethical rationales are driving a policy of inclusion for

those regions, which are under-represented or which suffer from severe deficiencies or instability (Southeast European Stability Pact, Stability Pact Afghanistan, programmes for cooperation with developing countries).

The policies developed after 11 September 2001 are examples of a more culturally (and politically) oriented rationale. After this event, academic cooperation with the Islamic world was put under new challenges that required culturally sensitive instruments. Immediately after the terrorist attack, the DAAD and the BMZ launched a programme to advocate cultural dialogue with the Islamic world, which was in 2003 broadened into a European-Islamic dialogue and crisis prevention. Academic rationales often remain implicit, mirroring the general consensus that internationalisation improves academic quality and supports preparation for a globalised labour market for graduates and academics.

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

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

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

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

We note a coincidence of the 'old' concept of 'internationalisation as cooperation' and a new concept of 'internationalisation by competition'. The national actors tend to present these concepts, their diverging objectives and the measures taken as mutually reinforcing, or at last as not substantially in conflict. The compatibility of the concepts of, on the one hand, internationalisation and Europeanisation as cooperation between more or less equal partners, based on trust, confidence and mutual benefits, and on the other hand that of internationalisation as the mainstreaming of globalisation and enhancement of national competitiveness, is not questioned. There is no overt debate of potential conflicts between the cooperation and competition strategies, or between a European or a world-wide strategy.

3.3. Current German Internationalisation Policies

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

- Increasing public expenses for international cooperation and mobility;
- Offering national programmes to support these activities rather than providing higher education institutions with basic funds to run their own international activities;
- Enhancement of framing conditions for foreign students, graduates and scholars;
- Reform of legal frameworks fostering internationalisation.

However, many are predominantly or altogether new:

- Staged study programmes and degrees as well as credit systems and accreditation linked to these new programmes;
- Degree programmes taught in a foreign language (notably English);
- International marketing of HE;
- Export of study programmes;
- Desire for brain gain.

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

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

- Reform intentions at the top, but slow change at the bottom (departments, scholars);
- National policies match the *Zeitgeist* by claiming to serve internationalisation;
- Each critique of single measures (e.g. credits) is pejoratively called resistance to internationalisation;
- All internationalisation measures are claimed to serve quality.

3.3.1. Internationalisation oriented action schemes

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

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

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

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

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

3.3.2. Regulatory frameworks

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

Articles 91a and 91b of the Basic Law regulate the joint tasks of the Federal Government and the *Länder*. In recent years, aspects of internationalisation, coordinated international

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

Most of the reforms intended by the revised legislation showed a direct or indirect international frame of reference. An indirect international frame of reference was evident in reforms that were targeted to enhance competitiveness i.e. by introducing international procedural standards in the field of funding, management and quality assurance. A direct international frame of reference was evident in the experimental introductions of the two-tier study structure of Bachelor and Master programmes, ECTS, credit points, modular systems, Diploma Supplements, as well as the enhancement of conditions for international students, graduates and scholars. The Sixth Amendment in 2002 foresaw two major provisions of international relevance: the experimental phase for the Bachelor and Master programmes had come to an end turning these programmes into a permanent, regular element of the HE system (alongside the traditional structure). The second point was the insertion of a clause to guarantee free tuition for university studies leading to a first degree, or leading to a Master degree in consecutive study programmes.

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

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

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

3.4. Main effects to German internationalisation policies

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

3.4.1. International cooperation

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

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

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

3.4.2. Mobility of researchers and EU funded research cooperation

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

country are from the People's Republic of China, followed by India, the Russian Federation, the US and Japan (Alexander von Humboldt-Foundation, 2002).

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

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

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

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

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

With regard to the thematic priorities of the Fifth Framework Programme, Germany was the most active in projects (in quantity rather than in quality or intensity of the cooperation) in the field of Information, Society, Technology (IST), followed by Quality of Life; Energy, Environment and Sustainable Development (EESD), Growth of the Human Potential, and Cooperation with third countries and international organizations (INCO) as well as EURATOM.

In 2001, 190 new EUREKA Projects have been awarded grants (total volume of 467 million €). Germany participates in a quarter of the projects (49 projects) and receives a total funding of 52 million €. Statistics from July 2001 reveal that of the 702 running EUREKA-projects (total volume of 2.2 billion €), Germany participates in 191 projects (679 million €). The main focus of the German EUREKA-projects is in environmental technology, biotechnology, product engineering as well as information and communication technologies.

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

3.4.3. Foreign students

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

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

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

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

3.4.4. International mobility of German students

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

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

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

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

3.4.5. Student mobility within ERASMUS

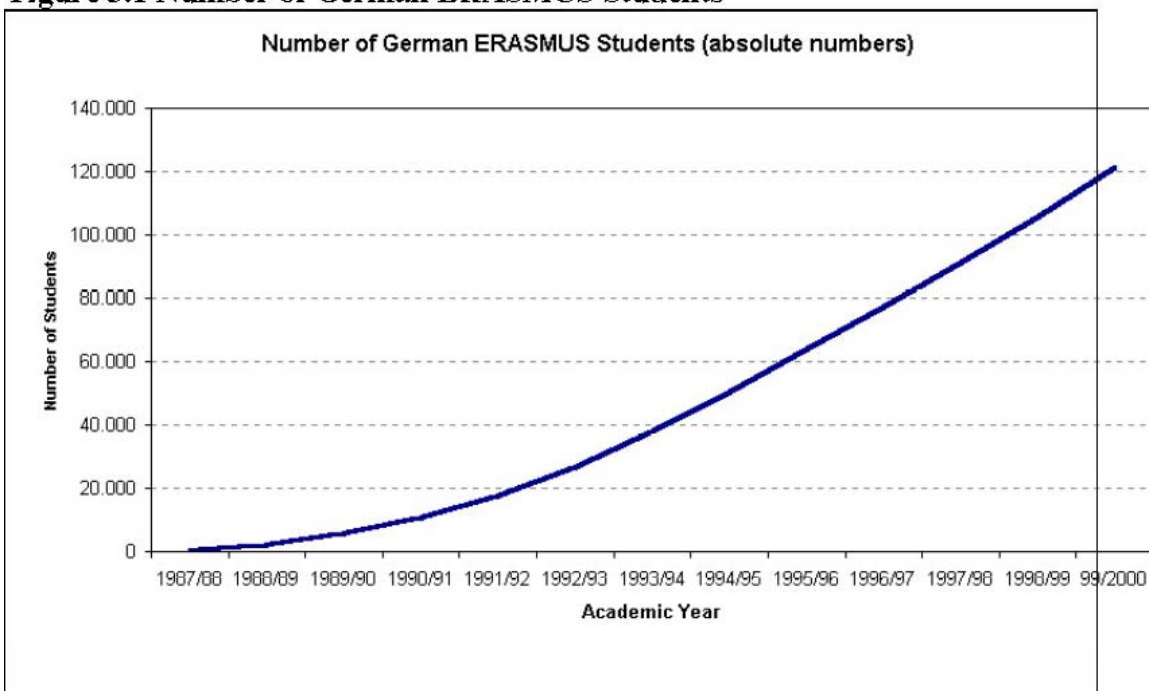
ERASMUS still is the most important programme in regard to student mobility in Germany. It has gained and kept a central place in universities'international activities.[2] Since the implementation of the ERASMUS programme in 1987/88 the number of mobile German students has continuously increased. While there was a double-digit increase in the early years of ERASMUS the increasing rate became flatter in the mid of the nineties. Since the introduction of the institutional contract in 1997/98, the number of German SOCRATES/ERASMUS students rose from 13,785 to 15,872 in 2000/01, up to 16,626 in 2001/02. The chart below (Figure 3.1) provides an overview of German ERASMUS students from 1987 to 2000. Compared to the total number of European participants, German students took a share of 20% in the academic year 1987/88 and 14% in 1999/2000. Up to the year 2000, a total of 121,574 German students participated in the ERASMUS-Programme, representing 16 % of all ERASMUS students.

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

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

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

Figure 3.1 Number of German ERASMUS Students



Data Source: EC, http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/programmes/socrates/erasmus/statisti/stat1.p df

3.4.6. International curricula

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.4.7. Bachelor, master, ECTS and diploma supplement

In recent years the internationalisation of the German HE system has also taken place on the structural level through the establishment of internationally compatible study structures and degree systems. The Amendment of the HE Framework Act in 1998 allowed for the experimental introduction of Bachelor and Master programmes. The latest Amendment of 2002 developed the Bachelor and Master programmes into a regular part of the HE system running in parallel to the single-stage study structure leading to a *Diplom*, *Magister* or *Staatsexamen*. A major goal of the Bologna-Declaration has thus only been partly achieved.

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

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

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

In German HE institutions ECTS is widely accepted as a system to facilitate credit transfer within the European mobility programmes without making a deep impact on the study programmes themselves. A survey by the DAAD pointed out that in 1997/98 160 German universities in 700 disciplines were introducing ECTS or had already introduced it (Wuttig, 2001: 15-23). With the resolution of the KMK in 2000 to make ECTS, credit accumulation and modularisation obligatory elements of the new Bachelors and Masters programmes another dimension was introduced. New guidelines were needed to turn these innovative elements into a regular operative instrument. A joint initiative of the *Stifterverband* and the Centre for Research on Higher Education and Work of the University of Kassel tried to structure the reform processes by working out a memorandum on the introduction of a credit system at German HEIs. This memorandum comprised propositions for a common framework for the enhancement of the organisation of studies and examinations (Schwarz & Teichler, 2000).

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

3.4.8. German as a foreign language and teaching in English

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

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

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

A recent study supported by ACA mapped the provision of English-Language-Taught-Degree Programmes (ELTDP) in non-English speaking European countries. The study

showed that in absolute terms, Germany is the leading ELTDP provider. An overwhelming majority of German ELTDPs are free of charge and the share of foreign students in ELTDP is highest in Germany (Maiworm & Wächter, 2002: 11-15).

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

3.4.9. The export of German study programmes

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

3.5. Major trends in the internationalisation of German higher education

In recent years, internationalisation has experienced a substantial quantitative growth (international mobility and exchanges of German and foreign students and scholars, numbers of partnerships and cooperative programmes, participation rate in research projects funded by the EU etc.). We also note various initiatives to create the framework needed to enhance further internationalisation (legal and structural reforms, the launch of funding programmes etc.). Besides the quantitative growth we can observe several trends and shifts that indicate major changes and developments in the internationalisation of German HE.

3.5.1. Internationalisation mainstreaming as coherent strategy

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

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

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

3.5.2. Globalisation mainstreaming

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

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

3.5.3. Quality shift

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

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

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

The quality shift at the level of the study programmes is visible in regard to international standard procedures of quality assurance, namely the introduction of evaluation as well as the accreditation of Bachelors and Masters programmes and the certification of foreign language courses. International parameters are increasingly integrated into evaluation procedures at the departmental level. Even the internationalisation strategies themselves became part of the quality shift (i.e. the evaluation of internationalisation strategies in the Consortium of Universities in Northern Germany).

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

3.5.4. Convergence and divergence

The convergence aimed at in the Sorbonne and the Bologna Declaration is far from being achieved by actual internationalisation policies. It can be stated that the internationalisation of curricula and the introduction of the two-tier study structure with Bachelors and Masters degrees running parallel to the one-tier structure with its traditional degrees is creating more diversity and divergence than convergence. Nominal similarity should not lead to the assumption that there is more structural convergence than before. Indeed, there are more differing models existing simultaneously than ever before. This is not only true in regard to the dichotomy between the old and new degree structure but also in regard to the 3+2 and 4+1 model. Diverging parallel models often exist within the same institution.

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

Nevertheless it should be mentioned that the introduction of Bachelors and Masters programmes has led to a blurring of the institutional borders between universities and *Fachhochschulen*. The fact that the latter are also allowed to offer Masters courses and that their qualified graduates of Bachelors courses are allowed to enter doctoral programmes (under certain conditions) has led to a stronger levelling of institutional differences. To sum up the trends: we find increasing divergence in the study programmes, their structure, degrees and orientations, and more convergence in relation to the blurring borders between the different types of institutions.

3.5.5. Mainstream internationalisation

An analysis of policy documents does not reveal any particular creativity in German internationalisation policies. It seems that Germany is strongly copying mainstream Anglo-Saxon policies and patterns. We can hardly highlight any typical German strategy of internationalisation, thus it seems reasonable to speak about 'mainstream internationalisation'. Particularly German features of internationalisation are e.g. its strong linkage to the concerns of reform, that had been in the policy discussions much earlier but could not be implemented at that time (e.g. reform study and degree structure, credit systems and modularisation); its strong linkage to reform issues that have no direct connection to the process of internationalisation (e.g. the introduction of quality assurance mechanisms like evaluation and accreditation); its emphasis on internationalisation as a matter of quality; the pronunciation of the *Sachzwang*-premise 'internationalisation as only option and inherent necessity'; and the pronunciation of the entrepreneurial feature

of internationalisation activities (e.g. exporting study programmes) without being commercial like the Anglo-Saxon competitors.

The strength of the German HE and science system (e.g. its unification of teaching and research, its high quality and diversity, its free tuition policy etc.) does not seem to be activated and developed into a strategic advantage through internationalisation policies. At the same time, fundamental obstacles to internationalisation are still not sufficiently touched by internationalisation policies, neither at the national level nor at the institutional level (e.g. the reform in curricular content and bureaucratic obstacles in exchange processes).

3.6. German policy in regard to european policies and global developments

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

3.6.1. Europeanisation mainstreaming

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

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

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

subsidiary, the legitimacy of European policies and common goals seems to be no longer questioned.

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

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

3.6.3. Global competitiveness, GATS and brain drain/brain gain

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

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

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

The formulation of the German position towards GATS is managed and coordinated by the Federal Ministry of Economics and Labour (BMWA). Other actors on the federal level are the BMBF, the Foreign Office, the KMK, the BLK, the intermediary agency HRK, and the Union for Education and Science (GEW). The latter two both try to push the public debate

and to raise awareness of the far-reaching implications of the Trade Agreement. To coordinate debates and policy formulation with the *Länder*, a special *ad hoc* working group at the Commission for Educational Planning and Research Promotion of the Federation and the States was installed at the end of 2001.

In Germany, GATS and its implications for the HE sector were not topics of the political debates in HE policies until end of 2001 (Yalcin & Scherrer, 2002). As the multi-sector relevance of GATS and its far-reaching implications became evident, the responsible departments from other ministries were involved in the discussions as well as representatives from the education sector and a number of institutions of civic society.

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

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

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

strengthening the attractiveness of the German site of HE and research. It was regarded as essential to strengthen personal ties and networks with future elites of relevant countries. The most efficient instrument to reach these goals was seen to be through attracting those with a future high potential to the German HE and research system and to strengthen the alumni links.

A study on the international mobility of graduates to and from Germany revealed that Germany is an above average target country for highly qualified international mobile graduates. The data led to the conclusion that Germany is more likely to be an import country for highly qualified graduates, than an export country. However it was not denied that there could be a brain drain in highly selective sectors of graduates (e.g. in regard to junior researchers, especially in natural sciences or engineering) or into particular target countries like the US. However, as a general trend, a brain drain process could not be confirmed. Nevertheless it was evident that on average more highly qualified graduates from Germany went to the US than to any other European countries (Jahr *et al*., 2002).

To summarise the European and global perspectives of the internationalisation of German HE and science: the topic of internationalisation is omnipresent in political and institutional debates. It has received central attention. Most of the activities are still cooperation and exchange-based, while competitive and entrepreneurial activities gain ground. The European dimension is widely integrated into activities and planning at institutional as well as governmental level. European cooperation is central in many aspects but the cooperation with the non-European World also plays a prominent role. Internationalisation policies are driven by diverging and mixed rationales, and are heading for potentially rivalling objectives. However, a stronger coherence between the overall policy for HE and that for internationalisation, as well as a stronger coherence between HE internationalisation policies with those of intersected policy fields, can be observed.

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2.2. Chapter 4. Norway

Åse Gornitzka and Bjørn Stensaker

4.1. Introduction

Norwegian higher education (HE) policy has increasingly emphasised the importance of seeing the national HE system in its international context. Internationalisation has been put high on the policy agenda, and it is seen as a core instrument to maintain and improve the quality of higher education. In an international context Norway does not loom large in terms of research and higher education. In 1999 Norway's R&D expenditure was around 0.4 percent of the total R&D expenditure in the OECD area, and Norwegian students made up less than

0.2 percent of the world's student body in HE. Norway's approach to internationalisation is thus framed by being positioned in a geographical periphery of Europe and to some extent in the "knowledge periphery" of the world. In the following chapter, the many elements of a policy for internationalisation of HE are described and analysed in a system that has actively sought to incorporate an international dimension in higher education and research.

4.1.1. The basic structure of Norwegian higher education

Norwegian higher education is binary. The institutional structure consists of four traditional universities, six university colleges (offering specialised professional degree programmes), 26 state colleges, two national institutes of arts and a number of private higher education institutions (HEIs). There are around 175,000 students participating in HE. In terms of student numbers the student body has been practically equally divided between the university and the college sector. The university sector had an estimated total of 83,000 students in 1999 (see Table 4.1). These institutions carry out research and offer university-level instruction at undergraduate, graduate and doctorate levels, leading to academic degrees. The universities have special responsibility for research training and for basic research.

Table 4.1. Number of registered students (in 2000)

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

* Student numbers in full time equivalents.

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

The 26 state colleges are the result of restructuring 98 public non-university institutions in 1994. They vary in size; from the smallest with 170 students, to the largest with 8,050 students. Around 74,000 students attend these institutions. Most programmes at the state colleges are (para)profession-specific, such as teacher training, engineering, social work, health services, administration, economics, and librarianship. Recently, three state colleges have been granted the right to award doctoral degrees in specific areas, and these institutions also offer a substantial number of study programmes at the masters degree level. Some significant changes in the institutional landscape of Norwegian HE are probably in the offing since the regulations with respect to what it takes for an institution to be allowed university status have been altered. Following these changes, the number of institutions with university status is likely to increase in the near future as two state colleges have announced their application for university status. In addition, several university colleges and one private HEI have signalled an interest in becoming a university in the future.

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

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

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

There are several public agencies under the Ministry, of which one is of particular relevance for the present purpose. In 2002 the Ministry established a central national body for the evaluation and accreditation of HE, NOKUT. NOKUT is an independent government body. The big difference between NOKUT and its predecessor The Network Norway Council is that NOKUT has much more autonomy and cannot be instructed by the Ministry of Education other than by law. In addition, quality control in the form of establishing a national accreditation system has become an important task.

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

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

The State Educational Loan Fund provides student loans and support. As will be shown below, it is a core institution with respect to the internationalisation of HE as it administers

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

The Norwegian Council for Higher Education was established in 2000 as an amalgamation of the previous separate councils for the universities and colleges respectively. The Council is a cooperative and coordinating body of the Norwegian Universities and Colleges. Membership is institutional, but the Council also has representatives from student unions. The Council's international interface is substantial, and it is the major non-governmental actor within the international HE arena. The Centre for International University Cooperation was established in 2001 under the auspices of the then University Council and together with NUFU (see below) it is the "international arm" of the Council for Higher Education, whose mission is to promote the participation of Norwegian educational and research institutions in international cooperation. The Centre organises joint efforts of its member institutions, and manages and develops programmes and support functions for international cooperation. Its activities are linked to and funded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs/NORAD and the Ministry of Education. The Norwegian Council for Higher Education Programme for Development Research and Education's (NUFU) is a programme under the Council for HE set up to promote cooperation between academic institutions in the South and in Norway.

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

4.1.3. International policy arenas for Norwegian higher education

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

Nordic arena: The formal Nordic cooperation in the Nordic Council of Ministers and the Nordic Council dates back to 1962 and signing of the Helsinki agreement. In 1971 the cultural agreement between the Nordic counties was established and forms the basis for cooperation with respect to HE and research. Nordic cooperation centres on academic staff and student mobility mainly through the NORDPLUS programme (established in 1988), and legal agreements that are designed to reduce the formal barriers of student and staff mobility. In 1992, aiming at reaching students that were excluded from the NORDPLUS programme, the Nordic Council of Ministers established NORDLYS. This student exchange programme includes twenty-five HEIs within the Nordic countries. In 2003, NOKUT, together with equivalent agencies in the other Nordic countries, also established a Nordic network for quality assurance agencies with the aim of further developing Nordic cooperation in this area, and works for mutual recognition of quality assurance procedures within the region. The Nordic arena has increasingly emphasised the Baltic states as natural collaboration partners.

The European arena: Pan-European cooperation is centred on the Council of Europe and its committee for HE and research (CD-ESR). This committee has two Norwegian representatives, one from the Ministry and one representative from the universities and colleges, i.e. currently a representative from the Council for Higher Education. Norwegian participation in this arena is basically concerned with mutual recognition of degrees and study programmes, and working with UNESCO on the Lisbon Convention. Although not a member of the European Union, Norway is a full member of the research cooperation and European educational programmes Socrates and Leonardo through the agreement on European Economic Cooperation between the EU and the EFTA (the current agreement signed in 1994). Norway participates currently in the 5th and 6th framework programmes, and the participation in research cooperation has not been a controversial issue, at least no way near as contentious as the issue of membership in the EEC and EU has been in Norwegian politics. The Norwegian contribution to the EU research programmes has become substantial.

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

Research. These include agreements with Russia, the Barents region, and the Baltic states.

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

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

4.2. Policy for internationalisation – the context and the rationale

4.2.1. Policy context

A major national reform effort in HE is currently taking place in the Norwegian system. The work of a government commission (Mjøs-commission) paved the way for this reform. The Mjøs-commission presented its report in 2000, *Freedom with Responsibility -On higher education and research in Norway* (NOU, 2000: 14). The commission's work was followed up in a subsequent government white paper on HE submitted by the Government on 9 March 2001: *Do your duty -Demand your rights* (KUF, 2001), and the reform is referred to as the *Quality Reform*. In the ongoing *Quality Reform* (KUF, 2001) the importance of internationalisation is underlined. Consequently, one of the projects in the preparation of the implementation of the *Quality Reform* was specifically directed at internationalisation. In the national research policy internationalisation has for several years been one of the core issues, and the Research Council of Norway has played a key role in promoting international research cooperation (RCN, 2000; Simmonds et al., 2001). Internationalisation was emphasised again in the latest white paper on research, *Research at the beginning of a new era* (KUF, 1999). Internationalisation had been treated in HE policy documents in the 1980s and 1990s primarily with reference to student mobility. For instance, in 1984 the government issued a white paper on student support systems (KUF, 1984) that had a major impact on the mobility patterns of Norwegian students taking their full degrees abroad. The government white paper from 1991 had a more comprehensive treatment of internationalisation, yet still retained a main focus on student mobility (KUF, 1991). With the introduction of the *Quality Reform* the issue of internationalisation was for

the first time pushed to the forefront of the national HE policy agenda, underlining the international dimension of research, teaching and learning.

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

4.2.2. The rationale

The subject of internationalisation features prominently in the *Quality Reform*, both the government commissioned report and the subsequent white paper. Already it is important to notice that the entire reform is set in a tone of "quality improvement" in higher education. As will be amply demonstrated in the following section, internationalisation is framed as a major instrument for the general objective of improving the quality of HE, in both its teaching and learning aspects and its research function. The theme of internationalisation has thus moved to the centre stage in Norwegian HE policy and is seen as an integral part of HE policy. The official rationale is heavily cloaked in a language of quality. Both government policy papers and statements by centrally positioned policy makers see the "why" of internationalisation importantly as connected to an improved quality of national HE and research. In policy documents and statements from policy makers gathered and reviewed for the purpose of this study, the standard arguments for internationalisation are first made with reference to the inherent universalism of HEIs and the notion that 'knowledge knows no borders'. Second, internationalisation is emphasised as a way to ensure quality in HE and research. The quality of national HE should be measured by international standards, and not with reference to national standards alone. (Clemet, 2003). The Research Council of Norway also underlined the importance of internationalisation of research as a way for a small country in the research periphery to ensure the quality of its research. This is the underlying rationale for internationalisation found in the most important policy documents, in the Mjøs-commission's report and the government white paper, as well as the major policy documents from the Research Council (RCN, 2000, 2000a and 2000b). Subsequently, the major argument rests on the rationale of academic quality.

However, an economically-oriented rationale is also linked to the issue of quality. Norwegian internationalisation policy acknowledges that investment in HE and scientific research has now become a key factor in international competitiveness where quality is the key to successful participation. Student and teacher mobility as well as international cooperation in research and capacity building increase knowledge amongst all participants

and contribute to regional, national and global development. With respect to research, internationalisation is also seen as pivotal for a national R&D system that, because of its size, is dependent on being connected to the international research community. Furthermore the director of the Research Council underlines that internationalisation for Norwegian research is a good way of exploiting limited funds for research, and in that sense he sees internationalisation as a way of taking part in an international 'division of labour' (Hambro, 2003).

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

4.3. Current national policies, policy instruments and regulatory frameworks

4.3.1. Student mobility – shifts in arguments, emphasis and instruments

Student mobility for full degrees taken abroad is an area of policy that has seen interesting and distinct developments during the last ten to fifteen years. These developments should be read as a combination of changes in policy and regulation, changes in student preferences, as well as changes in the global market for higher education delivery.

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

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

The arguments underlying the support of student mobility as 'free movers' have shifted considerably, yet the basic instrument has remained the same: financial aid to students taking their full degree abroad. The choices made and the preferences of Norwegian students studying abroad have entailed a significant change in the practices of internationalisation, with a remarkable 'change in geography'. As can be seen in Figure 4.2, the impact of the global market on the Norwegian student body seems to have

changed the pattern of mobility. During the latter half of the 1990s the number of students travelling to Australia and to tailor-made educational programmes in Eastern Europe skyrocketed. Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic have had a clear increase in the number of Norwegian students during the last years. This is mainly due to special medical or veterinary education tracks for foreigners where study programmes are offered in English or German (Wiers-Jenssen, 1999: 21). The practices of these students also meant that certain inconsistencies in the policy for internationalisation came to the surface, i.e. the liberal support of international studies that are not promoted as an objective in the official policy for HE. The official policy especially emphasised the importance of encouraging Norwegian students to go to non-English language countries for their studies. There are some special language stipends for students who choose to study in institutions in other language areas, but these have apparently not been sufficiently powerful to direct the student flow in other than the 'Anglo-Australian-American' direction. The new reform attempts to change this practice. It is especially the contingent of students choosing to study in Australia that has triggered the revisions of the support system of the State Loan Fund for students abroad. Domestic universities and colleges are claiming that this 'leakage' represents an unfair competition. The Ministry also acknowledges that there are differences in 'terms of trade', since students have a right to have their study fees that foreign institutions charge refunded by the state, whereas the level of funding for domestic study places are subject to budget limits. The revision of the support system for studies abroad will most likely still be based on a right of students to choose where to study abroad. Yet the most recent proposal from the Ministry (UFD, 2003) suggests that support to cover study fees charged by universities and colleges abroad will partly be given as a loan and not as a grant. The most recent proposal also provides extra financial aid to those who choose to study in non-Anglophone countries. The government and the other main actors in the sector have heavily promoted student mobility in terms of student exchange programmes. Unlike with respect to free movers, the institutions themselves are partaking in the promotion of this type of student mobility. Such activities are concentrated on the student mobility programmes both within the Nordic countries and in the EU. The State Education Loan Fund provides Norwegian students with grants and encourages students to take part in education abroad. The ERASMUS programme is the most important scheme for Norwegians on short-term study abroad. In 1998 ERASMUS students constituted more than half of the total number of short-term students abroad (SIU, 2001: 4) The government also sanctions the mobility of students that come to the Norwegian HE system. There are of course natural barriers of an HE system in a very limited language area. Norwegian HE sends out far more students that it receives outside the organised exchange programmes of shorter duration. The relative share of foreign students as percentage of all students is 3.2%, according to the

OECD statistics (Education at a Glance, 1998), i.e. lower than the OECD country mean (4.8%). It is also lower than the share in Denmark (6%) and Sweden (4.5%). Many of the incoming students at Norwegian HEIs are students from developing countries that come through various state and institutional programmes.

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

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

This has resulted in innovations in terms of policy instruments. As part of the new result-based budgeting system that was introduced through the *Quality Reform* (implemented in 2003), the budget model contains a premium that directly addresses the internationalisation of the student body. Universities and colleges will receive a fixed sum per student they send to foreign institutions as part of their domestic degree, and for those who are connected to either established exchange programmes or bi-lateral agreements between domestic and foreign institutions and of a duration that exceeds three months. The latter is strongly accentuated by the Ministry, but not altogether positively received within HEIs. The Ministry clearly tries to channel internationalisation of the student body as an organised activity, led by the institutions. However, this can be seen as inconsistent with the argument sometimes put forward for this form of internationalisation, especially when it comes to linking staff and the internationalisation of research to students with shorter stays abroad: how the individual contacts of teaching/research staff are used as a basis for linking good students to good international research groups and institutions. The latter is in most cases an activity that does not run through institutional contracts and formal exchange programmes. There is also an equivalent financial incentive for every foreign student that they attract under the same conditions. Clearly, the Ministry has tried to devise a system that gives incentives to improve the in-versus outgoing student balance. Currently, such a balance is obtained within the ERASMUS programme, mainly as a consequence of the stagnation in the number of Norwegian students going abroad (see Table 4.1.). The incentive scheme is part of the new budget model and applies to all public universities and colleges and does not differentiate with respect to study programmes and institutions with limited potential for attracting international students. The Ministry wants to support organised,

institutionally-based student mobility and to make Norwegian institutions more alert to becoming internationally visible and attractive as study places. In practice the greater emphasis on getting a positive or at least an even balance between incoming and outgoing students has caused some grievances within the institutions, as they fear negative consequences when this budget model will be implemented within the institutions.

4.3.2. Internationalising staff

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

The second main type of instrument for internationalising research is of course the Norwegian participation in organised "big science" projects. There is a considerable increase in government funding of such international research cooperation. As part of a government policy for internationalisation of R&D these activities are certainly not new, but it demonstrates a small country approach to the international dimension of research, its emphasis on the importance of being part of international research cooperation, especially in areas that are so costly and "instrument-dependent" that only R&D superpowers can take on the research tasks single-handedly. During the 1990s, Norwegian integration into the European Economic Area has become very important, not in the least for research, but also for teaching/learning through the participation in the student mobility programmes. The national investment in and commitment to EU research programmes has become a cornerstone in the internationalisation of Norwegian R&D.

The international dimension of academic research is also underlined in the present *Quality Reform*, especially in connection with the need for documenting research productivity and quality. Here there is considerable emphasis put on the international visibility of Norwegian research, in particular through publications in international journals. There has

been a remarkable increase in both the number of Norwegian articles published internationally and the number of internationally co-authored articles. In this sense the policy for internationalisation of research at the level of research performance has been a tremendous success. However, it is hard to ascertain causal links and causal direction when it comes to the internationalisation of research; there are a range of intervening or underlying variables that could serve to blur the picture of policy success. It is, however, fair to assume that at least the practice of internationalisation of Norwegian research has been in line with the national R&D policy.

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

guest period must be a minimum of one week, and connected to an institutional agreement or a mobility programme.

4.3.3. Internationalisation as an institutional responsibility

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

It is a striking feature of the new policy for internationalisation that most of the objectives and instruments are in some way linked to the institutional level and the organised forms of internationalisation. In the reform, the Ministry argues that despite the strong government level emphasis on internationalisation, the policy should not be implemented in a way that questions institutional autonomy (KUF, 2002). A key word in this connection is "profiling". In general this is accentuated in the entire reform, not only as concerns internationalisation. With respect to internationalisation the Ministry encourages institutions to, for example, channel funds to research groups and communities and study programmes that already have an international visibility or a potential for developing it. This represents in some respects a break with the traditional ways of internationalising Norwegian academic research, as the research performance level seems to a large extent to have determined the geographical direction and ways of international network building, without institutions having high ambitions or any strong instruments to influence the international profile. The political intention is also to channel the internationalisation of research and teaching/learning through the institutional level. Furthermore, the roles of institutions are emphasised with respect to internationalisation at home, which is one of the targeted areas of the current reform. That includes developing English language study

programmes, and special arrangements for staff teaching in English. The Ministry's working group on internationalisation suggests that every disciplinary area should offer an English language programme. The responsibility for making arrangements to support the development of such study programmes is again left to the institutions themselves. All of the above objects apply to all HEIs, no matter their size or profile. However, the Ministry recognises that institutions at present have varying capacities for this type of development work. Consequently, the Ministry is working on a handbook for internationalisation that will be offered as a help for institutions in their efforts to internationalise their activities (KUF, 2002).

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

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

4.3.4. The Nordic dimension

Throughout Europe there are a number of government supported, regional cross-border cooperation programmes in higher education. The Nordic cooperation agreement is one of the most established and successful in Europe, and is the only regional scheme that can rival in status and effectiveness the student and staff mobility programmes of the EU. The vision for a common Nordic educational market was launched in 1988 long before the

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

The Nordic dimension of a policy for internationalisation of HE is uncontested and given a high priority (KUF, 2001: 38). Nordic cooperation has been strongly emphasised, but is in a somewhat precarious situation, as the attention at times has been shifted towards the European arena. Similarly, the motivation and interest in Nordic cooperation is not at the same level in all the Nordic countries. Traditionally Norway has been a strong supporter of Nordic cooperation, also in the area of HE. The main arguments for Nordic cooperation are first of all the historical and cultural ties between the Nordic countries. Between Norway, Sweden and Denmark, the Nordic language area is seen as a natural stimulator for cooperation, with the exception of the Finnish language area and Iceland where language is a barrier for cooperation. The Nordic languages create a natural "educational community" within the Nordic countries. Furthermore the Nordic countries have had a similar approach to higher education policy with an emphasis on equality in access, and no fees (Sivertsen & Smeby, 2001: 26-27). The quality of HE in the Nordic countries has made cooperation natural and attractive. Norway's position as a non-member of the EU also has served to underline the importance of Nordic cooperation. The coming enlargement of the EU has been an additional impetus for forming a strong Nordic block through close cooperation with the other Nordic countries (Maassen & Uppstrøm, 2004). The arguments for the NORDPLUS mobility programme in particular illustrate how the Nordic dimension is based on a mixture of geographical (closeness), cultural (the Nordic identity), political (common democratic traction), and social (equality and welfare) arguments. Despite the initial link made between the common Nordic labour market and the common market for HE in the Nordic countries, the economic rationale for Nordic cooperation does not feature prominently. Furthermore the Norwegian government does not see Nordic cooperation as an area where a commercial economic dimension can or should be introduced (Maassen & Uppstrøm, 2004: 7).

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

4.3.5. Cooperation with developing countries

In the Norwegian policy context, the North-South dimension has traditionally been part of the policy for internationalising HE. However, this policy issue is 'a world apart', especially in the following two ways. First, the arguments and underlying rationale are rather different from the general policy for internationalising higher education, especially in its 1990s and 21st century version. The arguments are less quality focused, and accentuate internationalisation as a peacekeeping and globally responsible activity. Second, this is an arena involving a rather different set of actors. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its directorate for development aid have been the major actors, together with the Centre for International University Cooperation. As there is a certain shift in responsibly for North-South to the 'sector ministry', i.e. the Ministry for Education and Research, this issue might change its status and policy profile in the future. Relations between Norwegian institutions and institutions in the South have existed for years. In fact, on the Norwegian scene HE and research have been the only segments of the Norwegian education sector directly involved in institutional capacity building and national development in the South. The national educational authorities, including the current minister of education and research, support and even praise the sector for its commitment and substantial contributions academically, but also economically, regarding student and teacher mobility, curriculum development, education and research.

In terms of incoming students, students from the South are dominant. Thus, development aid gives important contributions for increasing the number of incoming students to Norway. Studies in Norway are being made attractive for non-European students who are

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

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

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

4.4. Major trends and changes: system level indicators

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

4.4.1. Internationalisation of the student body

In 2001 about 7% of the Norwegian student body were enrolled in a foreign institution. This does not count the number of students participating in exchange programmes or shorter periods, but refers to the number of "free movers". As we can see from Figure 4.1, the number of students studying abroad as free movers has been increasing. Norway is a net exporter of students and hence a net importer of HE and has a higher share of students abroad than most European countries including the Nordic countries. The Norwegian student flows are characterised by a high number of students taking their whole degree abroad. There are some differences according to fields of learning: the share of Norwegian students going abroad is highest within technology and economics. Within the arts, the social sciences and the humanities the share is also quite high. Figure 4.2 indicates a major change in the geographical travelling patterns of these students. In addition to the traditional destinations for Norwegian students, Australia and Eastern Europe have in recent years managed to attract a considerable number of Norwegian students.

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

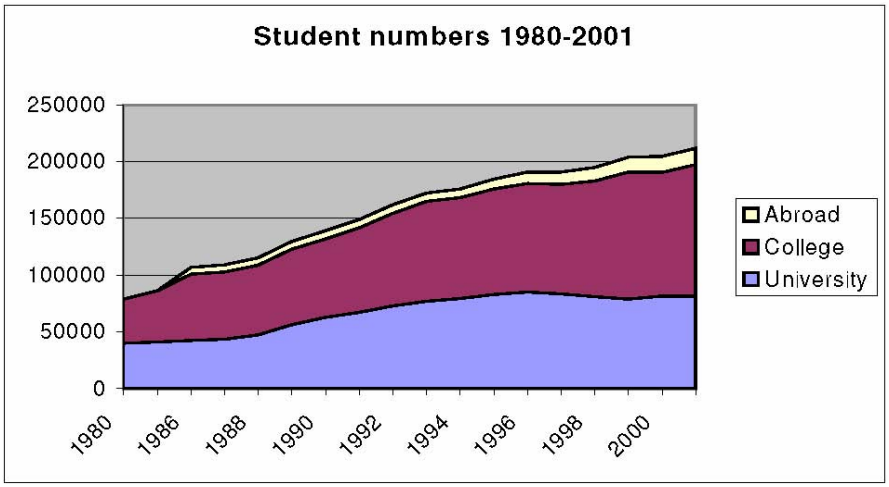
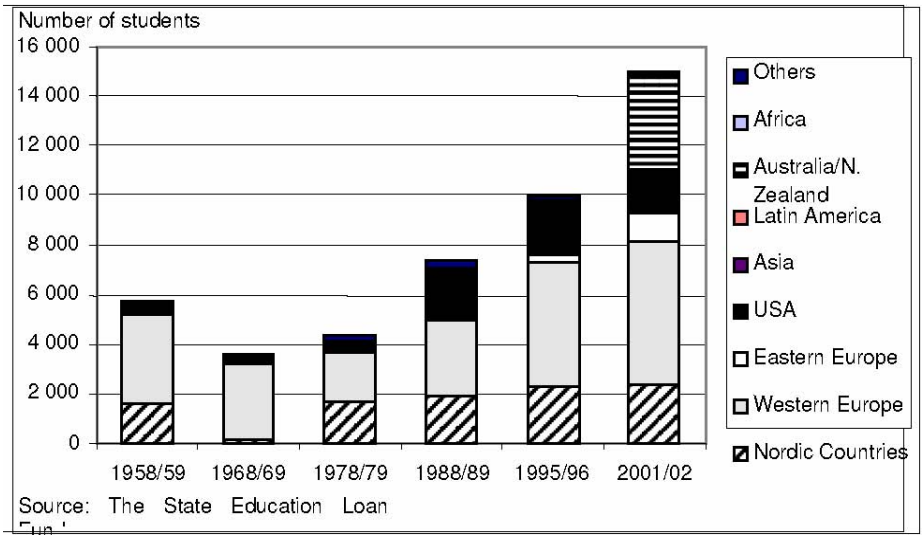


Figure 4.2. Number of Norwegian students abroad by region. 1958/59 -2001/02



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

Table 4.2. Number of outgoing and visiting Erasmus students by host country

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

Source: Vabø & Smeby, 2003.

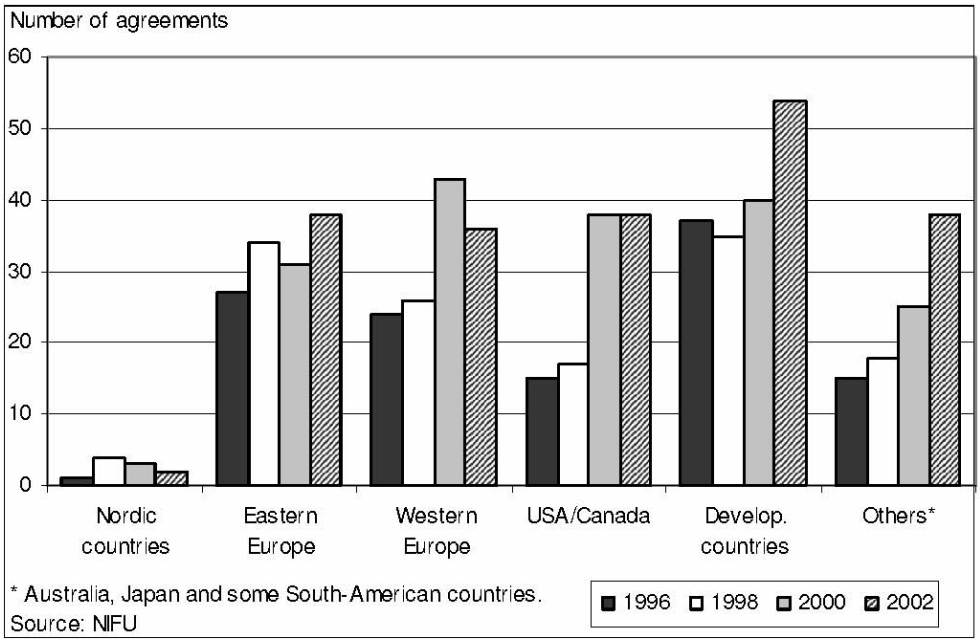
As illustrated in Table 4.2, there is stagnation also between 2000/01 and 2001/02 in the number of Norwegian students who travelled abroad. Norway has participated in the Erasmus programmes since 1992, and the stagnation in the number of Norwegian students participating in the programme may seem surprising. Norwegian participation peaked in 1995/96 with 1,212 Norwegian students travelling abroad (Wiers-Jenssen &

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

4.4.2. Internationalisation of higher education institutions

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

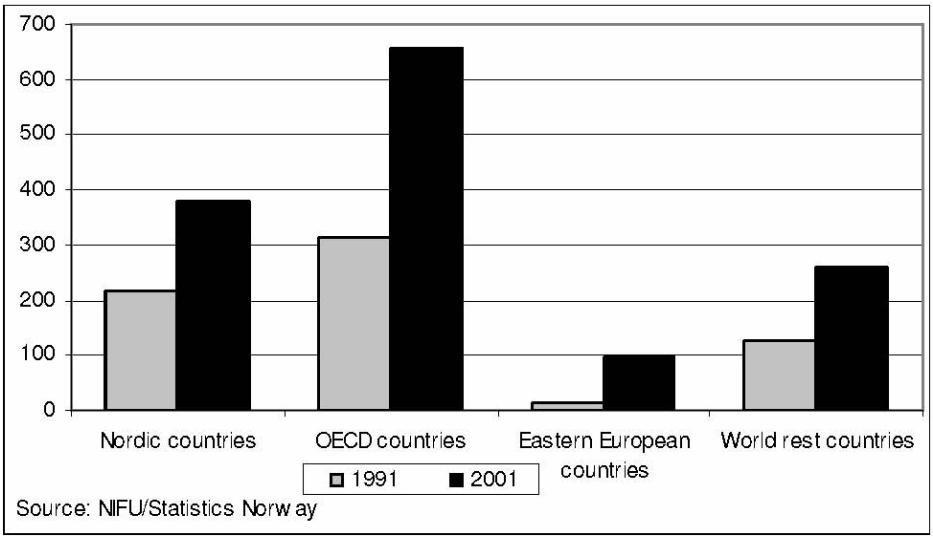
Figure 4.3. Bilateral agreements on international research cooperation 1996–



In the evaluations of Norwegian participation in the Socrates and Leonardo programmes, huge variations between Norwegian HEIs were disclosed concerning how such programmes were prioritised. Several institutions have a lack of study programmes available in English (Wiers-Jenssen & Smeby, 2001: 69), and weak administrative and organisational structures resulting in a lack of continuity and competence in handling the exchange programmes (Wiers-Jenssen & Smeby, 2001: 70). A possible effect of limited

institutional capacity to handle the many EU programmes available is that the Erasmus programme seems to dominate the agenda, while higher education participation, for example in the Leonardo programme, seems fairly absent (Vabø & Smeby, 2003: 30). In 1991, 10% of academic staff at Norwegian universities had a first registered citizenship in a country outside Norway. In 2001 this share increased to 16%. The geographical distribution of foreign staff is seen in Figure 4.4.

Figure 4.4. Foreign academic staff by first registered citizenship in 1999 and



4.4.3. Internationalisation of academic research and university staff

Internationalisation of university funding

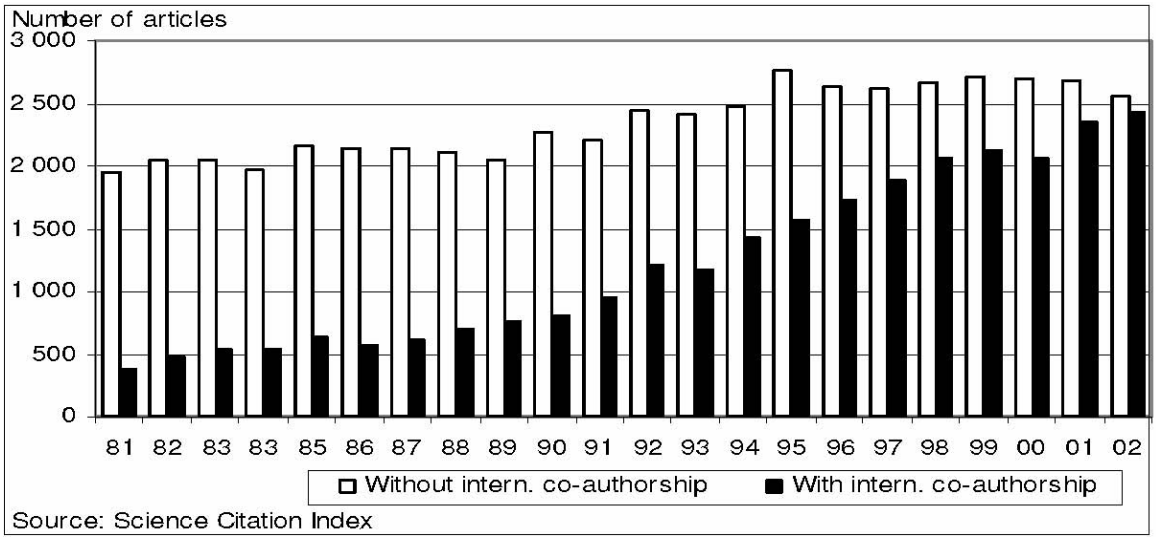
Increasing internationalisation of research is also noticeable in the funding structure of universities. Foreign sources represented about 170 million NOK in the HE sector in 1999, in 1997 this was estimated at 130 million NOK. This increase can for the most part be ascribed to funding from the European Commission (60 million NOK in 1997 and 105 million NOK in 1999) The Nordic Council of Ministries is another considerable source of funding with 30 million NOK in 1999 in the university and college sector The total expenditures on R&D at Norwegian universities increased by 27% from 1991 to 2001, while external funding increased by 52%. Funding from abroad showed a 375% increase, mainly due to increased EU funding. In this respect Norwegian universities and colleges have taken advantage of the new international funding opportunities, yet such funding is still only 3% of total R&D expenditures in 2001.

Internationalisation at the research performing level in the university sector

Data from the Institute for Scientific Information (ISI) show an overwhelming increase in the number of articles written in the world. The ISI data also reveal that

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

Figure 4.5. Norwegian articles with/without international co-authorship 1981–2002



Norwegian researchers have changed their regional orientation slightly from 1992– 1996 to 1998–2002. The largest share of articles is written with European researchers and the share increased from 48% to over 50% in the second period. The share of articles written with other Nordic researchers decreased somewhat and the share of articles written with North-American researchers also fell. Research cooperation within the EU framework programme has probably been very important to this development. This has, in other words, been a development highly supported by the policymakers. The total share of articles written in cooperation with researchers outside North America and Europe was 8.3% between 1992–1998, this share had a minimal increase to 8.9% between 1998 and 2002. This could indicate that the Europeanisation of policy has a parallel also in the practices within Norwegian universities. There is a decline in the relative importance of North America and no significant increase of cooperation with researchers outside Europe and North America.

Figure 4.6 shows the share of faculty members having research collaboration with foreign scientists. The development regarding geographical orientation is slightly different from the patterns for international co-authorship shown in Figure 4.5. The figures do not cover exactly the same periods or regions, but still the same relative decline of cooperation with

North America and the increase of European cooperation can be found. Consequently it seems that research collaboration with Nordic researchers and the rest of the world increases even though this cooperation does not include a corresponding increase of co-authored articles.

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

Figure 4.6. Percentage of faculty members having research collaboration with foreign scientists during the period 1989-1991 and 1998-2000, by geographical region.

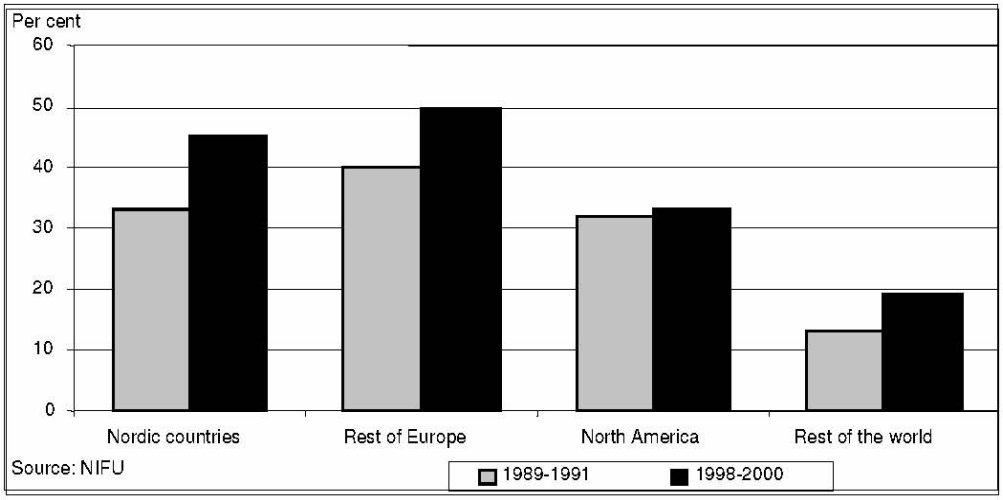
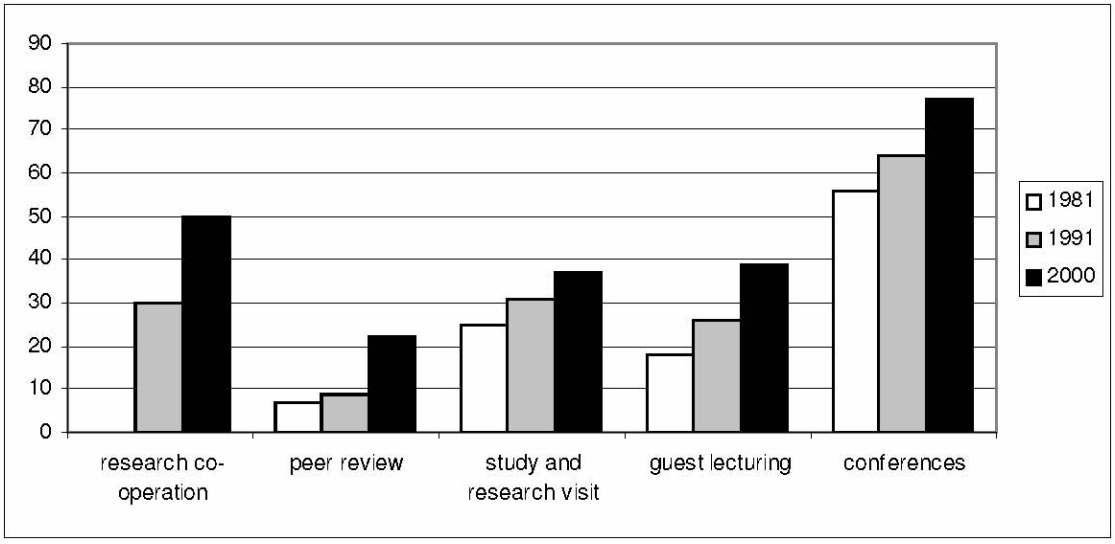


Figure 4.7 shows that all types of professional travel increased from 1989–91 to 1998–00. Despite the rapid development of electronic publishing facilities and computer communication, personal contact seems to have become increasingly important (Trondal & Smeby, 2001). International travel among Norwegian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

Figure 4.7. Percentage of faculty members who undertook at least one journey abroad



Exchange programmes related to the academic staff

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

4.5. Relation with European policy level

4.5.1. Turn towards Europe

The Europeanisation of HE policy has up until the last few years been most noticeable in the area of national research policy. The internationalisation of research has meant that Norwegian sources of R&D funding do not merely fund domestic research, but also send their funds abroad for international research cooperation. There has been a noticeable internationalisation of policy in the sense that Norwegian Ministries have increased their level of funding for international research cooperation. Moreover, financial data indicate that there has been a turn towards the EU in the research funding from the national government, both directly over the state budgets and the budget of the Research Council. The national research policy constitutes a major framework for Norwegian higher

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

4.5.2. Harmonising degree structure and reducing barriers in higher education

Through the implementation of the *Quality Reform*, all study programmes at Norwegian colleges and universities are being organised according to a Bachelor/Master system. There are some exceptions within some of the professional studies, but in general Norwegian HE has been undergoing rather profound changes through this reform from 2003. The question of whether this aspect of the reform should be seen as the Norwegian way of implementing the Bologna process cannot be answered at present. The theme of harmonising degree structures internationally has played a significant role in the current reform. However, it could be argued that the Bachelor/Master structure has also been introduced as a means to solve other and more "domestic" problems in the former diversified degree structure. First, the former six-year structure (4+2) was perceived as quite costly for the Norwegian society, and a change towards a Bachelor/Master structure implied a reduction in the total study time of one whole year (reducing governmental spending). In the white paper introducing this reform, the Ministry of Education argued, amongst others, that a more efficient use of public resources was one of the factors that counted in favour of the change in degree structure. Problems of low efficiency among Norwegian students also resulted in a relatively high average age of students at graduation. By changing the degree structure, and establishing a closer link between teachers and students (through tutoring, team-work, follow-up), it was argued that issues of quality and efficiency would go hand-in-hand (KUF, 2001: 34). Second, in the original report from the Mjøs-commission, the primary rationale for changing the degree structure was the lack of national flexibility that the old "conglomerate" degree structure entailed. There is ample reference to the Bologna process when the issue of degree structure reform is discussed, but the commission concluded on the basis of international

comparisons that Norwegian HE was better off than many of the other European countries when it comes to international compatibility. The major "deviance" in the former degree structure was with respect to the long higher degree offered at the universities. Also, the former system limited the students' freedom to choose between study programmes and institutions during their studies (KUF, 2001). Even the establishment of both the new accreditation system in Norway and the new independent agency for HE, NOKUT, could be questioned as being a direct response to the Bologna process. Several domestic issues could be linked to this establishment. In the Mjøs commission, arguments in favour of establishing a system of accreditation were related to an ongoing process of academic drift in Norway, with several of the state university colleges intending to become universities. The Mjøs commission launched the criteria for obtaining this status (five master degree study programmes, and four doctoral education programmes), and suggested that the responsibility for checking the criteria should be given to an independent body (NOKUT) (NOU, 2000: 348, 357). The fact that institutional accreditation is given a very prominent place in the accreditation system, contrary to the more common system of accrediting study programmes in Europe, suggests that national policy issues have influenced the process quite strongly (Stensaker, 2003: 15). Moreover, it was also argued in the Mjøs commission that a system of accreditation would treat public and private HE more equally and that private HEIs needed a system that could respond more rapidly in issues of recognising new study programmes (NOU, 2000: 354). This argument can be related to the old system for authorising new study programmes in Norway, where private HEIs traditionally had to apply to the Ministry for establishing new study programmes even at undergraduate level.

However, in general the domestic agenda was accompanied by references to the Bologna process, and developing more fine-grained conclusions as to the role of the Bologna process requires further investigation as to how this process has been translated into the Norwegian context and traditions through the Quality Reform. The tentative conclusion is that national priorities seem to have been a strong driving force for introducing the Bachelor/Master system. However, no matter what the driving forces behind the introduction of the Bachelor/Master structure, or the introduction of an accreditation system in Norwegian higher education, the result is obvious. Norwegian HE has through these reforms become much more "internationally transparent". For example, the current political interest in treating public and private HE more equally through the establishment of NOKUT is a process that could open Norwegian HE to more foreign cooperation and competition i.e. through the establishment of foreign private HE providers. An area where international harmonisation is more easily detected is related to the rather strong ideological support of the use of European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) in Norwegian

policy. All HEIs are expected to actively use ECTS to reduce the barriers for student mobility. Along with the introduction of the Bachelor/Master degree structure, it will be easier for the institutions to use this system, because all of the study programmes will have been assessed according to a credit point standard. Also, in order to make it simple and more transparent for foreign HEIs and employers, the Ministry decided that all HEIs are to issue a Diploma Supplement as part of the standard diploma. The Supplement is in English and describes the individual study programme. As such, issues of international and European compatibility and recognition of degrees, as well as issues of harmonisation, will probably remain on the policy agenda for quite some time. Through the changes introduced in the Quality Reform, introduction of the bachelor/master degree structure, use of ECTS and of a new standardised grading system, and the establishment of NOKUT, the Norwegian government is seen as having implemented most provisions of the Bologna Declaration (European Commission, 2003: 54).

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

Trade in education services has been going on for years, and some nations are holding large market shares. Norway is a large importer of education services considering Norway's 16,000 students abroad. That was definitely a strong incentive for the government to play an active role in the ongoing WTO/GATS negotiations. The government position on this issue is illustrated by the following quote from the Minister of Education: "The process of globalization in our time is challenging, but has also led to great possibilities. Seeking an international oriented profile in our educational systems, while at the same time retaining the national values and identities, may form the basis for creating new partnerships and opportunities in learning, and enriching the global capacity building and cultural exchange. Through selective strategies, we should strive to secure that opportunities in education and training are made available to all people. While respecting national policy objectives and the importance of public education systems, we shall seek to exploit the great potential, maximise the benefits, and minimise the possible disadvantages of increasing the world trade in education services. (…) The Norwegian Government recognises that education to a very large extent is a national function, even though most countries permit private education to coexist with public education. Accordingly, private education and training will continue to supplement, and not displace, public education systems. Norway emphasizes that primary and secondary education shall not be included in these negotiations (Clemet, 2002). Based on this statement from the Ministry of Education and Research, the Norwegian government seems more 'free trade friendly' in the area of HE than the EU. It is fair to say that from the point of view of the Ministry of Education, trade in HE services is seen as positive in the sense that it exposes Norwegian HE systems to healthy competition. The public debate has been at times rather

heated, with the student unions being particularly negative towards the inclusion of HE in the GATS agreement. Also other voices in the university and college sectors articulate concerns, as they see including higher education in the GATS agreement as a commodification of the sector and particularly detrimental to developing countries. The recent developments when it comes to globalisation of educational services included a proposal from Norway to the UNESCO General Conference in October 2003. This proposal argued for the need to develop a global system for quality assurance, and that Norway wants UNESCO to take a leading role in the process of establishing such a system. The aim of the proposal is, in line with the rather large number of Norwegian students abroad, that the quality of study programmes must be ensured across national borders, and that a global quality assurance system would provide students with better information guiding their future choice of study. The proposal also emphasises the possibilities for developing countries to benefit from the opportunities of a more global market for education. In the GATS negotiations, seven countries have so far addressed claims towards Norway in the educational area. These claims are mostly related to access to the Norwegian higher education market and to offer study programmes and lifelong learning schemes independent of whether such programmes lead to publicly recognised degrees and exams. However, most claims are open for the possibility that Norwegian authorities can control foreign providers when it comes to quality and consumer protection. The Norwegian response to these claims is not yet known. However, an indication of the strong Norwegian interest in the globalisation of HE is not least that Norway hosted an OECD/World Bank Forum on trade in educational services in November 2003. In this Forum, issues of quality assurance were also high on the agenda. If one relates this to the Norwegian UNESCO proposal, it seems that issues of quality assurance currently are the most important when globalisation is on the Norwegian policy agenda

4.7. Conclusions

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

- Norwegian policy for the internationalisation of HE is enveloped in a language and rationale of quality, and in this sense internationalisation is no different from the other major elements of policy for the HE sector at present.

- There is no doubt that the saliency of the policy issue has increased significantly during the latter part of the 1990s and especially during the last three years. The issue of the internationalisation of HE has been broadened and is no longer synonymous with student mobility.

- The Norwegian case is the story of a traditional approach to internationalisation that was in the hands of the state, the individual students and the research performing level, whereas the institutions in HE were absent. The role of universities and colleges with respect to actively and strategically promoting internationalisation of their activities is now being stressed in government policy. Official policy accentuates heavily the need to channel internationalisation through the institutions and through organised activities, programmes and bilateral agreements.

- The official policy is at present aiming to redress the imbalance between outgoing and incoming students, and the number of students taking full degrees abroad and students taking short-term periods of study.

- The North-South issue is an important area, but in several respects 'the odd one out'.

- The impact of the new global trade in HE could be noted primarily for its impact on discussions and to some extent on the behaviour of the many free movers. Quality assurance is currently high on the political agenda when issues of globalisation are addressed in Norway.

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2.3. Chapter 5. The United Kingdom

Gareth Williams & Kelly Coate

5.1. Introduction

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

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

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

economic climate in which universities operate and it can bribe them to behave in particular ways, although universities and colleges legally have the option of signoring the government'wishes if they are willing to accept the financial consequences. In practice between the 1940s and the 1980s the state became such a dominant provider of funds for the universities that its control was almost as pervasive as in countries in which universities are administered directly by the state as a public service. However, the culture of university autonomy has remained extremely powerful. Since the early 1980s the proportion of university and college income provided by the state has declined from an average of about 80% to approximately 40%, and this instrument of control has thus become much weaker. Such considerations are particularly important in any consideration of public policy with respect to the international aspects of HE, as since 1980 universities have received virtually very little public subsidy for the recruitment of foreign students or any other international activity. Thus internationalisation, globalisation, and even to a large extent Europeanisation are, in England, largely a matter for individual universities. At the national policy level internationalisation is rarely mentioned except in a rhetorical or exhortative manner, or to provide some additional funds for activities that the government particularly wishes to support. The interviews with members of government agencies revealed a considerable interest in the international activities of universities and colleges, and the provision of some limited hypothecated funding to promote particular ventures such as strategic alliances between British universities and those in some other countries, but there are very few attempts to influence or regulate their international or European activities. This was particularly apparent in the discussions about the Bologna process. The government has a clear policy interest but there has, so far at least been no attempt to modify degree structures to take account of the proposed European Higher Education Area and it is seen as ultimately a matter on which individual universities will take their own decisions.

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

Ultimately, however, in the context of globalisation and in comparison to its European counterparts, perhaps the most important cultural inheritance of higher education in the

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

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

5.2. The administration of higher education in the United Kingdom

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

In England the government department with overall responsibility for higher education is now known as the Department for Education and Skills (DfES). Scotland has its own Education Ministry and Wales and Northern Ireland administer their universities and colleges under the jurisdiction of their own elected assemblies. That of Northern Ireland is temporarily in abeyance. Another central government ministry with a major voice in higher education is the Department for Trade and Industry (DTI), which is responsible for the budgets of the research councils that contribute about 10% of the funding of universities and target their grants very much on national policy priorities. The Department for International Development (DfID) also plays a significant part in overseeing many links with developing countries though its higher education work is largely incidental to its core focus on international development. The Department for Foreign Affairs has a longstanding interest in the contribution higher education can make to the advancement of the country's foreign policy interests. Until the last two decades of the twentieth century this was implicit rather than explicit, but recently there has been a distinct foreign policy input into higher education policy. Other ministries, such as Health, Defence and Environment and Rural Affairs (formerly Agriculture) have particular involvement in higher education that involve their areas of activity. The links between the DfES and its equivalents in Scotland and Wales are mediated by Higher Education Funding Councils. In particular they distribute the main government financial allocations. The members of these bodies are chosen by the government to be representative of the interests of the main stakeholders in higher education and they are responsible for implementing the broad thrusts of government policy but otherwise they are independent. Their main function is to protect individual universities and colleges from political interference.

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

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

5.3. Views and rationales

The economic rationale underpins the prevailing government agenda with respect to the UK HE sector's response to globalisation. In Europe, the UK has taken the lead in the development of an explicit export and trade agenda for HE (Van der Wende and Huisman, 2003: 5). The internationalisation of HE tends, in government rhetoric, to "be equated with the commercial challenge of and response to the economics of globalisation" (Elliott, 1998: 41). As Scott (2002: 2) also suggests: "the general consensus is that, in order to survive and thrive in the G-world, universities will have to become not only more entrepreneurial but also more commercial". Through a series of White Papers on competitiveness since 1993, the government has promoted the role of education in producing a highly qualified workforce able to compete on a global level. One of the more explicit aims has been to create the "best qualified" workforce in Europe (see, for example DTI, 1993).

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

The Dearing Report recognised globalisation as a major influence on the labour market and economy of the UK, and argued that higher education will have an important role in producing knowledge and technical skills for global corporations. Higher education will "become a global international service and tradable commodity" (Peters & Roberts, 2000: 129) in the future scenario pictured by Dearing. The Secretary of State for Education and Employment, David Blunkett put similar ideas forward in a major and widely circulated speech in February 2000: "The powerhouses of the new global economy are innovation and ideas, creativity, skills and knowledge. These are now the tools for success and prosperity as much as natural resources and physical labour power were in the past century. Higher education is at the centre of those developments. Across the world, its shape, structure and purposes are undergoing transformation because of globalisation. At the same time, it provides research and innovation, scholarship and teaching which equip individuals and businesses to respond to global change. World class higher education

ensures that countries can grow and sustain high skill businesses, and attract and retain the most highly skilled people…There is no doubt that globalisation and the arrival of the knowledge economy have intensified the competitive pressures on higher education institutions. Learning has become big business" (Blunkett, 2000).

This rationale has been reinforced in the recent government White Paper on the Future of Higher Education (DfES, 2003a), a major policy steer of the sector. The White Paper suggests that competition from other countries is increasing, and concern is expressed that on an international level the participation rate in UK HE is proportionally lower than in many developed countries. A particular concern of the White paper is how to recruit and retain the best researchers internationally (DfES, 2003a: 16).

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

5.4. Cooperation and competition

5.4.1. Managing the system

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

- learning from other countries;

- supporting national systems development;
- facilitating opportunities for international collaboration and development.

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

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

Supplementary interests include:

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

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

Facilitating opportunities for international cooperation and development is the third strategic aim. These opportunities have, until recently, been treated as very largely the province of individual universities and their staff and students, with the British Council in a supporting role. However, many academic links are now seen as matters to be supported

nationally. One example is a recent link of the UK Joint Academic Network (JANET) with its Chinese counterpart, CERNET. These activities also boost the research output of the UK, another important aspect of international collaboration.

Research and development

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

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

A key issue in the background at present but potentially very important for the international role of UK higher education is the liberalisation of trade in services. A powerful economic reason for cooperation with the country's European partners is that GATS negotiations on their behalf are being conducted through the European Union. Although there may be economic reasons to liberalise the HE sector, the European Commission has not included education in the latest round of GATS negotiations (Davis, 2003). The DTI has indicated that the impact of any future liberalisation on education would be limited (Uvalic-Trumbic & Varoglu, 2003). However, the recent White Paper (DfES, 2003a) opens the potential for the liberalisation of trade agreements on research

by encouraging the further commercialisation of knowledge production. An even more differentiated HE system with a smaller number of research-led universities, as suggested in the White Paper, is already a concern of GATS critics as a possible outcome of trade liberalisation (Knight, 2002). At the time of writing, however, the EC has not yet made a decision on research in the current GATS negotiations (Davis, 2003). It is believed by some that British higher education, because of its long established competitiveness in international markets, could benefit from greater liberalisation of trade in academic and research services. The position of the UK government and of representative university bodies seems to be to maintain a "watching brief".

Academic and cultural benefits

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

However, recruitment of foreign students and other international activities are not driven solely by narrow economic considerations. There is a long tradition in Britain, as in many other European countries, of using higher education to promote what is seen as progressive thinking in science and culture and also as an instrument of foreign policy and international relations. The Foreign and Commonwealth Office and its agent the British Council have a longstanding interest in many aspects of the international work of higher education institutions. The aims of the British Council are to enhance the reputation of the UK in the world, through fostering relations with other countries in the areas of the arts, education, English language teaching and science and technology.

The British Council (BC) has offices in 109 countries worldwide. It has a staff of 7,300 and an annual expenditure of about £430 million of which in 2000/1 £141mn was a grant from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. The Council's work includes running information centres; promoting British education and training; working closely with governments and NGOs on reform and good governance and demonstrating the innovation, creativity and excellence of British science, arts literature and design. The BC also runs an English

Language Assistant programme, whereby third-year undergraduates or recent graduates teach English in overseas schools and colleges. Approximately 2000 students participate every year in this programme. It also coordinates visits to the UK for senior policy makers and HE managers from many countries, who are interested in sharing knowledge about quality assurance, entrepreneurship, and other funding issues. A high percentage of the academic staff of British universities becomes involved in some aspect of the Council's work at some point in their careers, undertaking lecture tours, organising training seminars overseas or for visitors to Britain, taking part in consultancy projects organised under the aegis of the Council or receiving official and academic visitors studying some aspect of British higher education policy, management or practice. The Director of Higher Education at the British Council claimed that these initiatives are not driven solely by economic concerns, but are aimed at enriching and internationalising UK HEIs. Another dimension of the work of the Council is the Chevening Scholarship scheme. These scholarships, funded by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and administered by the British Council, are prestigious awards that enable overseas students to study in the United Kingdom. Scholarships are offered in over 150 countries and enable talented graduates and young professionals to become familiar with the UK and gain skills which will benefit their countries. The Chevening programme currently provides around 2,300 new scholarships each year for postgraduate studies or research at UK HEIs.

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

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

These are:

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

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

There are some organisations and institutions taking an interest in the experiences of international students and the ways in which institutions have responded to their increased presence through curricular developments or other activities. The 'internationalisation' of the curriculum is not a monolithic phenomenon. There are undoubtedly large variations between what it means to 'internationalise' the curriculum in different subject areas, and the uneven pattern of student recruitment from countries around the world means that some 'cultures' have a more significant impact on HEIs than others. Yet little is known about what the cultural impact is within individual universities. A recent review of the unpublished evidence suggests that there is a lack of awareness as to what happens with international students and how institutions support them (Leonard et al., 2003). This suggests that the economic rationale of international student recruitment can take priority over any cultural or academic rationale, most likely, Leonard and her colleagues claim, to the detriment of students and staff.

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

International development

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

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

At the Conference of Commonwealth Education Ministers in 2000, on the theme *Education in a Global Era: Challenges to Equity, Opportunities for Diversity*, the Conference encouraged participating countries to offer a diversity of types of awards. In response, the UK is now offering Fellowships for academic staff in developing countries as an opportunity

to update their skills through a study visit to the UK, and a split-site doctoral programme in which students from participating developing countries spend one year of their doctoral programme in the UK. The objectives of the UK contribution to the CSFP is to develop future leaders, share expertise, and help develop some of the worlds poorest countries. There were 603 awards made by the UK in 2000/01, with targets to increase the number of awards to those countries in the bottom one-third of the UN Human Development Index.

5.4.2. Main effects of recent policies

Student mobility

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

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

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

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

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

Source: UKCOSA 2002: 6

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

1997 when their dependence on the Malaysian student market was at risk. Subsequently, universities dependent on particular student markets have developed risk strategies and second markets to obviate global crises, such as the recent SARS threat. There are very wide variations between institutions in the recruitment of international students. Table 5.2 shows the number of students from overseas in the top ten receiving universities. At the other end of the spectrum there are many higher education institutions with no, or very few, foreign students. There are certain institutions within the HE sector that receive little or no income from overseas students paying the full overseas tuition fees. These tend to be the colleges of higher education and some of the specialist institutes.

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

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

Source: HESA

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

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

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

Source: HESA Statistics Focus, 2000.

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

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

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

HESA Statistics Focus, 2000.

Most of the research data available on student mobility relates to the recruitment of international students to the UK, and European mobility in particular. It has not gone unnoticed that whilst the UK is one of the major recruiting countries of international students, the numbers of UK students opting to study in other countries is comparatively low. Indeed, the UK threatens to disrupt the '

balance'of student exchanges between European countries, which is one of the objectives of EU mobility programmes. Compared with some other EU countries, the participation of UK HEIs in ERASMUS has been low. Figures on ERASMUS participation rates between 1997-2000 suggested that about 34% of eligible institutions in the UK were participating (Maiworm, 2000). In 1997/98, the UK was the origin of about 12% of mobile ERASMUS students, but it was the host country for about 24% of students from other participating countries. In absolute numbers, this means that the UK hosted about 21,000 ERASUMS students and sent about 11,000 (Maiworm, 2000). The UK government seems concerned with the impact of this imbalance, as the HEFCE has recently commissioned a research project investigating UK students' mobility in Europe. The principal aim of the project, to be undertaken by a team of migration specialists, is to investigate whether UK students are at a disadvantage in comparison with EU students because they lack the skills (particularly language skills) that are a benefit of study abroad.

Virtual mobility

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

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

- through distance education provision;
- twinning arrangements between partner institutions, or branch campuses;
- franchising arrangements;
- off-shore institutions;
- international institutions (IAU, 2002).

During the 1990s, the UK HE sector witnessed a substantial rise in the number of students undertaking UK validated courses in their own countries, particularly between 1994-1997 (Bennell & Pearce, 1999). The former polytechnics were at the forefront of this movement, having aggressively begun to validate courses abroad, often through franchises (Shepherd et al., 1999: 3). In contrast, many of the old, established universities reported no involvement in the overseas provision of courses. Academic links with overseas institutions are largely concentrated in South East Asia, with Hong Kong, Malaysia and Singapore dominating the market, and China emerging as another major market (Bennell & Pearce, 1999: 12). Most of the provision is vocational in orientation, with business, computing and accountancy predominating at undergraduate level, and MBAs accounting for most of the postgraduate enrolments. These trends reflect demands of the South East Asian economies that these countries are at present unable to meet on their own.

However, it is difficult to find accurate and current information on the involvement of UK universities in other countries.

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

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

The Observatory on Borderless Higher Education (OBHE) does track some of the international activities of HEIs, and recently published their own survey of universities with branch campuses in other countries that recruit local students. The UK is not as advanced as the US in setting up branch campuses: the OBHE found just three UK universities with branch campuses recruiting local students. The University of Nottingham and DeMontfort University both established branch campuses in Malaysia in 2000, and the DeMontfort University Business School opened a branch campus in South Africa in 1996 (OBHE, 2002). There are other types of transnational HE arrangements. The Indian School of Business based in Hyderabad for example, was established in association with the Kellogg School of Management, the Wharton School and the London Business School, but is not considered to be a branch campus of these institutions.

The branch campus model of transnational higher education could prove to be an interesting contrast to online developments, most of which are at postgraduate level. The branch campuses are providing local students the opportunity to study for their first degrees at overseas institutions without leaving their own country. An OBHE briefing note

(2002) on branch campuses suggests that there is a huge demand for undergraduate studies in Asia that will not be met through distance education. Branch campuses also offer an alternative to franchising, validating or accrediting courses overseas, which have often caused difficulties for the participating UK institutions. Borderless education, or the online provision of higher education through the new knowledge media, is much discussed as a key aspect of globalisation (Eisenstadt & Vincent, 1999). The development of global mega-universities that deliver distance education to new student markets are leading some commentators in the UK to predict a radically different, virtual future for HE. Cooper (2002: 2), for example, suggests that the borderless future, driven by the diversification of income for HEIs, widening participation, new technologies, commercialisation and internationalisation, will demand a paradigm shift in HE.

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

A related trend has been the development of international collaborations between universities and commercial partners in the provision of distance education. Consortia involving UK institutions include Universitas 21, UK eUniversities Worldwide (which received about £62 million from the UK government between 2001-2004), and the Global University Alliance (GUA). The advantages of collaborating with overseas partners are the increased access to worldwide student markets, tapping into the expertise of the other partner institutions, and the economic benefits of sharing the costs. However, there is some indication that these alliances have not yet brought the promised rewards to UK institutions. The University of Glamorgan in Wales, for instance, joined the GUA and has been disappointed with the results, leading the Pro Vice Chancellor to comment that, in

general, "the truth is that none of the consortia that have been established to date have yet shown success from their endeavours". He identifies the factors that have slowed progress:

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

5.5. Relationship between European and national policies

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

There are, for example, many two year and four year initial courses. Also developing over the past 25 years are some 'long' integrated courses that last one year longer than the traditional three-year Bachelors degree, particularly in business administration, mathematics, sciences and engineering. In addition, the 2003 White Paper made no mention of Bologna, and recent government proposals may conflict with the Bologna Declaration. The government intends to formalise and expand the two-year undergraduate qualification system. These will be programmes of two year Foundation Degrees, and the funding of further expansion of student numbers up to 2010 is intended to be confined

entirely to students doing Foundation Degrees. These degrees will be similar to Associate Degrees in the US, but they are intended to have close links with employment. Although Europe has accepted Foundation Degrees in principle, the government does have some concern that Bologna could become a straightjacket that constrains the HE system. Thus, although the basic three-year bachelor degree will fit readily into the proposed Bologna framework, both the foundation degrees and the masters degrees will require considerable negotiation.

After the masters there is a conventional PhD requiring three years study based almost entirely on production of a thesis and an oral examination. However, two recent changes which are relevant in an international context are the introduction of a considerable formal, generic research training element into many PhD programmes (this is often much appreciated by students from overseas), and a rapid expansion of professional doctorates. The professional doctorates are programmes of study related to a particular profession (such as education and engineering). These require considerable understanding of research and scholarship relevant to the profession, and the production of written work plus a thesis focused on professional practice as well as the academic ideas which underpin it. In relation to Europe, it is arguably the case that the politicians and senior university managers in the UK have historically tended to view the rest of Europe as following the lead of the UK, while the UK has been more influenced by developments in the US. This tendency has been apparent in relation to the UK response to the Bologna process. Bologna is not yet making a significant impact in terms of changing policies or practices, and initially the UK response was based on the assumption that it would not require major changes in the its HE system. The gradual realisation that the 3+1 model in the UK might fall short of the longer 4+2 degree programmes in Europe is now receiving more attention. It is also worth noting that the recent British public debate about the EU has not fostered a propitious climate for Europeanisation.

As far as European links are concerned there has traditionally been very little direct HE policy interest. The general feeling has been that there are few national UK HE objectives that are of purely European interest, and it has been seen as a matter for individual universities and colleges. But in the last four to five years HEFCE has taken a leading part in establishing a new high level HE Policy Forum, which is intended to be both responsive and proactive in relation to developments in individual European countries. Competitiveness and its advantages constitute a big item on its agenda but there are many other interests. HEFCE has also recently taken the lead in establishing an OECD study of financial management in HE in OECD countries. Eight national reports and a synthetic report will shortly be published. A high level Europe Forum has recently been

established to keep European issues under review: inspired in part by the debates surrounding the Bologna declaration and its successor proposals.

5.6. Quality assurance and standards

The development of quality assurance mechanisms and international standards have played a key role within global HE trends in the past few decades. Room (2000: 105) suggests that the "globalisation of higher education systems is proceeding apace, and that standard-setting at international level is becoming of major importance". Quality and standards are linked, in so far as the credentials that HEls award are quality standards. There are both national and international stakeholders in the assessment of quality and the safeguarding of standards, and both convergence and divergence in their interests. In this section, we are particularly concerned with current policies and regulatory frameworks, and the interplay between national and international trends. Although the Anglo-Saxon tradition is associated with upholding the principle of academic freedom, the move to a mass HE system has resulted in a more well-defined role of the state in shaping regulatory frameworks. UK governments have become key stakeholders in quality assurance and standards in HE. "Public funding of HEIs has become more conditional upon HEIs meeting certain standards, delivering specific programmes and undertaking strategic planning" (Room, 2000: 108). The quality of standards in HE is now regulated by the QAA, mainly through benchmarking statements, qualifications frameworks, teaching quality assessment exercises, and, more recently, audits of institutional quality assurance mechanisms. Teaching quality assessment outcomes have not been directly tied to funding, except for a relatively small scale venture in Scotland. The 2003 White Paper, however, has earmarked extra funding for university departments deemed to be "teaching excellence centres". Considerable interest is shown in the work of the QAA by visiting academics and academic managers to the UK. Within the country there are mixed feelings about whether it is an agency that might be imitated in other countries or a top-heavy bureaucratic model to be avoided at all costs. The QAA has recently taken a strong interest in the courses run by British universities and colleges in other countries. The main driver of this interest is the concern that poor quality courses in these organisations will lower the reputation of British higher education generally, particularly through accreditation arrangements, whereby UK universities allow institutions that do not have degree-awarding powers to award their degrees under a financial arrangement. This practice recently has caused concern through a QAA audit of an accreditation arrangement between the Open University and a Danish college. The QAA was critical of the OU's accreditation business, the OU Validating System, which accredits about 100 institutions worldwide. The chief executive of the QAA publicly stated that the widespread practice of

accreditation was a "historical anomaly", and that the practice risked compromising quality and damaging Britain's reputation for excellence (Baty, 2003).

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

5.7. Review of major trends

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

Yet the economic impact of international activities in HE has received and continues to receive much attention. The former Committee of Vice-Principals and Chancellors (now UUK) published a report in 1995 on this subject, with substantial data on the economic contribution of educational activities. The report ranked the top countries that supplied students to the UK alongside the top countries for the export of merchandise from the UK. There were 25 countries on both lists, prompting the comment that time spent studying in the UK helped generate "goodwill towards UK plc" (CVCP, 1995). The main trade union for university academic staff, the Association of University Teachers (AUT), responded to increased international activities by publishing guidance on ethical issues (AUT & DEA, 1999). The AUT argued for ethical engagements in international collaborations, and for

higher education to take seriously its responsibilities in the alleviation of world poverty and illness.

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

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2.4. Chapter 6. Portugal

Maria João Rosa, Amélia Veiga and Alberto Amaral

6.1. Overview of the Portuguese higher education system

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

The government, in 1989, by lowering the requirements for entering higher education promoted a massive increase in demand thus creating market conditions for fast development of private institutions. In the academic year 1991/92 the number of new vacancies at private institutions became larger than the number of new places at public institutions. From 1998 the government became more concerned with quality than with quantity, and more demanding conditions for access to higher education were again introduced. These conditions, associated with a sustained decrease in birth rates produced a sharp decrease of the number of candidates to higher education, shrinking the market for private institutions. The total number of vacancies offered by the public sector is now approaching the total number of candidates, thus creating large difficulties of recruitment for the private sector.

A prospective analysis of the number of students in secondary education (Amaral & Teixeira, 1999) shows that due to the decrease in birth rates over the last two decades the number of candidates to higher education will continue to decrease for at least the next ten years creating a crisis that may force the collapse of many private institutions. Caught in their own game of political lobbying for the uncontrolled creation of new private institutions and the approval of new study programmes, private institutions have started to blame the government for not having resisted those pressures and allowing for the continuous development of the public sector. In the new game of "market-like" competition for students private institutions have everything to lose: they are more expensive for students, their recruitment is very local and their social prestige is not very strong. Over the last decades, governments have promoted the internationalisation of the

system, on the one hand by supporting the development of higher education in the former Portuguese speaking colonies, and on the other hand by creating closer links with foreign higher education institutions, namely those of the EU countries.

The 1960s and 1970s policy for the career development of academic staff (every year a large number of young academics were given scholarships for obtaining PhD degrees in the best universities abroad) has contributed to support this policy.

6.2. Views and rationales underlying the current national policy

Kälvermark and Van der Wende (1997) distinguish four different rationales that underlie national policies of internationalisation of higher education: the political, cultural, academic/educational and economic rationale. In the Portuguese case, the predominant rationales are basically the political, cultural and more recently the economic rationale. The process of internationalisation can be regarded as the result of improving quality and reorganising the system, and it assumes particular importance at this stage of the system's consolidation and adaptation. In order to better understand the development of the process of internationalisation one should mention the fact that in 1968 the government established a policy of grants, which: "… allowed the training of a significant number of academic staff at postgraduate level in countries like United Kingdom, the USA or France. The changes introduced to the academic staff careers structure in 1979/80 and the salary increase based on the exclusive dedication option in 1987 made it possible for holders of postgraduate degrees to make a career in higher education teaching and research and to be involved in research projects with foreign institutions" (Eurydice, 2000: 451).

The political rationale for internationalisation is based on the perception that "it is not possible to vindicate the quality of the education system isolated from the international, and in particular the European, context" (Ministry of Education, 1999: 47). The cultural rationale is rooted in the Portuguese language as one of the most spoken all over the world and in the cooperation with Portuguese speaking countries: "After some difficulties in relations between Portugal and its ex-colonies just after the independence of these countries, relations have progressively improved and Portugal and Portuguese higher education institutions have significantly increased their cooperation with these countries" (Eurydice, 2000: 451).

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

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

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

In Portugal, the profit argument is not valid, as institutions do not make a profit by teaching students from the former colonies. Consequently there is not yet a shift from the cooperation to the competition paradigm. However, there are economic arguments linked to other policy areas such as quality management. To guarantee levels of quality adequate to the labour market's needs in an increasingly competitive and global economy the focus is on the adoption of internationalised criteria to improve the quality of the system. As stated in the programme of the government (1995-1999): "It is important to increase the national commitment to higher education in order to meet the demands of the country – which is in a crucial phase of its development –, by fulfilling standards of qualification and motivation compatible with the construction of the European Union, promoting higher levels of qualification, recognising and rewarding the quality and competitiveness of the higher education sub-system, aiming at increasing internationalisation, thus answering the demands of the Portuguese population (...) It is also necessary to guarantee the participation of the most qualified by establishing proper incentives for dedication, commitment and excellence in order to attain quality levels of teaching comparable to international standards" (Programme XIII Constitutional Government).

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

- the quality (assurance) of internationalisation activities as such;

- the contribution of internationalisation to the improvement of the quality of higher education in a broader sense;

- the international aspects of quality assurance (systems) in higher education.

Arguably, these different dimensions are present in the development of Portuguese HE as internationalisation started as a means to promote quality and to develop new areas of knowledge and scientific research. Therefore internationalisation "is becoming a central strategic issue at the institutional level and an important dimension in national higher education policy" (Van der Wende, 2001: 250). Simão et al., (2003) consider internationalisation a good instrument to promote quality at very different levels (teachers' and students' performances, professional careers, teaching/learning methods, curricular development and increment of the critical mass as result of studies aiming at comparing and exchanging good practice models) and to establish new areas for research.

6.3. Current policies and regulatory frameworks aimed at internationalisation

Following the Portuguese membership of the (then) EEC in 1986, one can identify national objectives associated with European education: free circulation of people and the role of higher education within the European context and its challenges – social cohesion and economic development in an enlarged European Union, and development of research and technology in competition with USA and Japan (Veiga, 2003). Portuguese HE has specific aspects that make it more difficult answering these challenges and removing the barriers to internationalisation. Graça Carvalho, Director of GRICES (International Office for Science and Higher Education), which reports to the Minister of Science and Higher Education, identifies several problems or barriers to mobility (Interview with Graça Carvalho):

- low internal mobility of Portuguese students due to the difficulty in establishing cooperation links among the Portuguese institutions;

- low mobility of international students due to the lack of attractiveness of Portugal in the European context (linguistic barrier – most undergraduate courses are taught in Portuguese);

- administrative and legal instruments that hamper free circulation of people (foreign services, social services);

- need to reform the fiscal system in order to create incentives for investments in higher education and research.

In this context she advocates: "We should act to promote excellence and to eliminate these barriers in a very short period of time. We have created some inter-ministry groups to deal with questions related to social services and foreign services, in order to create synergies which will lead to a much more attractive system. The other problem we have is the funding of higher education and research" (Interview with Graça Carvalho). In April 2003, the Ministry of Science and Higher Education published a policy paper entitled A Quality Higher Education. This document is part of the public debate on the main aspects of the higher education system, such as its structure, access of students, institutional governance, funding, autonomy and regulation, and research. The policy paper assumes lifelong learning as the new paradigm for defining a degree structure that would promote mobility of students (national and international), comparability of qualifications and employability of graduates, bearing in mind the quality of teaching. Thus, the policy areas directly connected with the internationalisation of Portuguese HE are:

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

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

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

The European Union has set for 2010 an ambitious target of 3% of the GDP for investment in research activities, 2% coming from the private sector and 1% coming from public

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

Future efforts for increasing public and private contributions for research and development will run in parallel to efforts to attracting alternative funds. These can come from the European Union through participation in the framework programmes for research and development. With this objective in mind a programme has been established at national level creating incentives for researchers willing to submit proposals to the 6th framework programme (Interviews with Ramôa Ribeiro and Graça Carvalho).

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

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

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

6.4. Main effects of internationalisaton policies

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

According to Teixeira *et al*. (2003), Portuguese higher education institutions, especially public universities, have strengthened their institutional autonomy during the last thirty years, which makes it almost impossible to introduce top-down changes suggested by the European Union or determined by the national government without their agreement through negotiation. Higher education institutions are responsible for the curricular organisation of study programmes. Therefore, European programmes such as ERASMUS, TEMPUS, PHARE and ALPHA do not immediately give rise to curricular changes, as institutions can decide whether they adhere to them and how they are going to develop and manage the internationalisation activities embedded in them. Van der Wende and Huisman (2003), when referring to the stronger focus of the SOCRATES programme towards the development of a European (internationalised) curricula, state that: "The step towards cooperation at the curriculum level proved to be an interesting but a difficult one. (...) Many European, innovative, and interdisciplinary approaches were developed. However, the actual institutionalisation of these new programmes (or their acceptance as a new part of the regular curriculum) turned out to be quite difficult" (Van der Wende and Huisman, 2003: 4)

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

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

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

6.4.1. Mobility: trends, patterns, and geographical focus

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

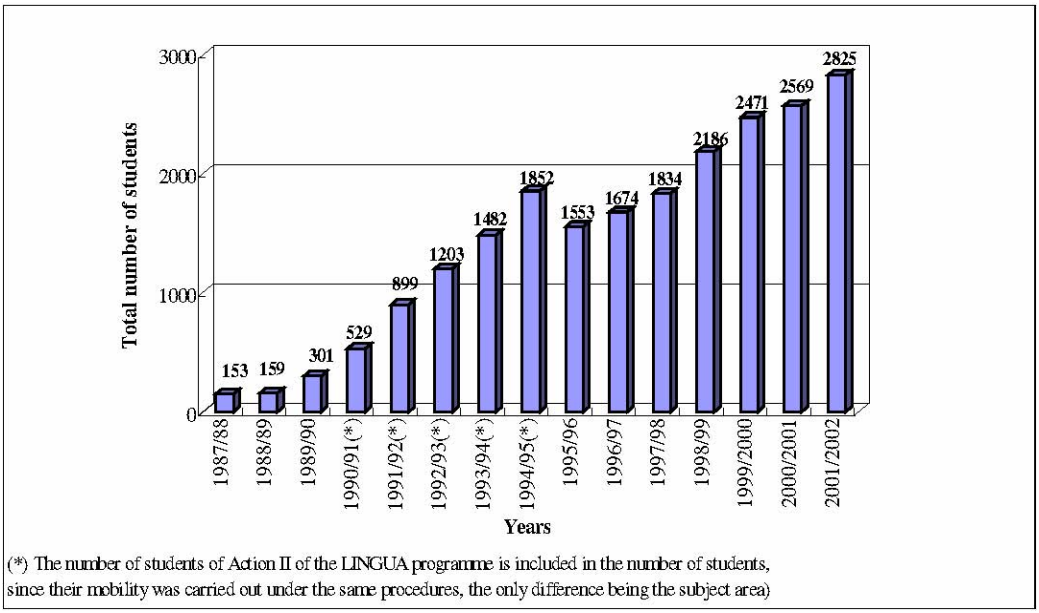
Student mobility

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

barrier. The UK, France and Germany are Portuguese references in the higher education area and Italian is a Latin language. The preferred disciplines in terms of enrolment are the social sciences, engineering and technology, and languages and philological sciences.

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

Figure 6.1. Number of Portuguese students in the ERASMUS programme



Sources: Ministry of Education/GAERI, 2000 and SOCRATES and LEONARDO DA VINCI National Agency, 2003

Recently students have enrolled as normal to follow a full study programme, and not under one of the temporary EU exchange programmes for mobility. The OECD has published data (years 1998 and 2000) on the number of Portuguese students enrolled in tertiary education in other countries as a percentage of the total number of students that are enrolled in this level of education in Portugal. The total percentage in 2000 was below 3%, the first country of destination being France (0.8%), followed by the UK (0.6%), Germany (0.5%), Spain (0.2%) and USA (0.2%) (OECD, 2002), the results for 1998 being quite similar (OECD, 2000). These statistics can perhaps be explained by Portuguese immigration. The OECD data shows that in 2000 the total number of foreign students enrolled in Portugal was about 1% of the total student population, the main countries of origin being Switzerland (0.3%), Belgium (0.2%), France (0.2%) and the UK (0.1%)

(OECD, 2002). Data for 1998 is not consistent with the above results as they show a very strong participation of students from Luxemburg (5.6%), a result that needs to be seen with suspicion despite the large Portuguese emigration to that country (OECD, 1998).

Teacher mobility

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

Researcher mobility

The Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT) linked to the Ministry of Science and Higher Education awards grants for postgraduate and post-doctoral studies in Portugal or abroad, and is the main source of the mobility of researchers. As this programme is partly financed through the framework programme, Portugal is considered both a host country for incoming students and the country of origin of outgoing Portuguese researchers. The available data comprises the total number of PhD, post-doctoral and other types of grants awarded until 19th May 2003 to both outgoing Portuguese researchers and to incoming foreign researchers. The available data on the Portuguese researchers that leave the country to study abroad show that a large percentage has until now chosen the USA (21%) and the UK (37%) as preferred countries for postgraduate studies. More recently Spain is also emerging as a major destination country. The President of FCT referred to this new trend: "We have a large number of post-graduate students with scholarships… (…) namely in the UK, which is the country with more scholarships, followed by the United States and at present France and Spain on equal footing, and this is a new development. Until recently the Portuguese would not go to Spain, probably because of some rivalry between the two countries, etc." (Interview with Ramôa Ribeiro).

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

PhD grants, Portuguese researchers have mainly chosen the social sciences (25%) and the natural and environmental sciences (23%). For postdoctoral students, the most relevant areas are the natural and environment sciences (36%) and the exact sciences (24%). For other types of grants, social sciences (24%) and exact sciences (29%) are the most chosen areas. These latter grants represent only a small percentage for medical sciences. For the fields of science & technology management and research in consortium, the number of grants is negligible whatever their type. Foreign researchers who have chosen Portugal as their host country for postgraduate studies come from a large number of different countries, the most common being Brazil (especially for researchers with a PhD or other types of grant) and China (especially in postdoctoral studies). France, Spain and Russia – in each case depending on the type of grant the students have – are also home countries of a significant percentage of the incoming foreign researchers. The scientific areas chosen by incoming postgraduate students show a variation over time, although in medical sciences their participation (in percentage) is rather low independently of the type of grant awarded. Nevertheless there are in general important differences between the types of grants awarded. For PhD grants, engineering and technology (40%) is the most popular area, followed by social sciences (15%) and exact sciences (12%). For postdoctoral grants, exact sciences becomes the most popular choice (34%), closely followed by engineering and technology (32%), with natural and environment sciences occupying third place (23%), and all other areas enrolling less than 10% of all researchers. The other types of grants are quite well divided across the different scientific areas, exceptions being the already mentioned medical sciences and the science & technology management and research in consortium (these last two with null percentage whatever the type of grant).

The Gulbenkian Foundation is an important source of grants for outgoing students, awarding an average of thirty grants each year, in subject areas that include the social sciences, exact sciences, human sciences and life sciences. The USA is the first choice, followed by the UK. Germany and France were also countries chosen by a relevant percentage of students in the years 1999 and 2000, but the trend seems to be the option for the USA or the UK as host country, probably due to the prestige of some of their universities, especially for postgraduate studies. Another possible explanation lies in the fact that the Gulbenkian Foundation gives preference to the USA in order not to overlap with other programmes, which in general avoid the USA due to longer duration of studies and higher costs. The Gulbenkian Foundation has also a short duration grants programme (maximum three months), which finances visits of Portuguese students to other countries in the scope of their research work (on average around 100 grants per year). The Marie Curie Fellowships, available under the 5th Framework programme for Community activities

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

6.4.2. Cooperation with and mobility from developing countries

According to Van der Wende (2002: 2) "the process of de-colonization in the 1950s and 1960s resulted in new forms of mobility and cooperation aimed at the development of a new intellectual stratum in the former colonial nations". In Portugal the de-colonization happened only during the early 1970s, and since then the country has felt a particular responsibility towards the development of its former African colonies, and more recently also East Timor. This sense of responsibility is translated in the Portuguese external policy and includes a particular concern with education and training of their young people as well as their top administrative staff. According to one of our interviewees, the main goal of this policy is giving those students adequate education and training and then trying to enable them return to their own countries, where they can be fundamental building stones of development. "The Portuguese foreign policy towards scholarship holders from PALOP countries is to encourage them to return to their home country, as it represents an additional help to development, and we have to maintain this relationship. (...) to ensure that Portugal is the first host country for students from Portuguese speaking countries and that it remains their first choice. But also to ensure that most of them return to their countries trained to play a socially useful role" (Interview with Graça Carvalho). There are three special regimes for access to higher education of PALOP students (depending e.g. on the educational background of the student) that provide special earmarked vacancies, both in public and private higher education institutions. The number of successful candidates has been increasing steadily since 1998. This trend confirms the efforts of the Portuguese government to help in the qualification of human resources and the important role that cooperation with and mobility from developing countries plays in the internationalisation process.

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

medical sciences decreased, becoming approximately equal to the percentage of students in education and teacher training.

Besides the existence of the three special access regimes, the Portuguese government also awards some grants to undergraduates. There are also programmes that award grants to citizens and residents of the PALOP countries who are willing to do postgraduate studies – master and PhD degrees – as well as a programme to support the postgraduate fieldwork of Portuguese students that are doing research on African studies. Several bilateral cooperation agreements have been established, namely with Cape Verde and Mozambique to promote research cooperation with these developing countries. A bilateral cooperation agreement has also been signed with Brazil.

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

6.4.3. The mobility effect: brain gain/brain drain

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

there are programmes aiming at the integration of masters and PhD holders in enterprises and in the scientific system..." (Interview with Ramôa Ribeiro). The director of GRICES mentioned also the need to attract the best students from other countries, namely from China and India: "We would very much like to have conditions for attracting the Portuguese who are abroad, and we need to create those conditions. There are, for instance, several Marie Curie initiatives that are very interesting for this purpose. On the other hand, we would like to attract the best students from India or China. And we would like to see them following their careers in Portugal, in Europe. (...) So we have to attract the Portuguese who are abroad following their careers there, and to attract students, good students from all over the world." (Interview with Graça Carvalho). The Ministry of Science and Higher Education wants to create mechanisms allowing Portuguese institutions to become more competitive, namely by allowing them to pay additional salaries to reward scientific excellence and to hire well reputed foreign scientists for teaching and research.

6.4.4. Main effects of the internationalisation of research

In 1995, the XIII Constitutional Government created a Ministry of Science and Technology, with the main goal of promoting scientific research in Portugal, increasing its quality and relevance and promoting Portuguese international cooperation in this domain. It is worth noting that at that time the Portuguese scientific and technological system, especially at the structural level, was less developed than those of most European countries. In the framework of this new Ministry, an Institute for International Scientific and Technological Cooperation (ICCTI) was created, with the objective of creating conditions for the development of one of the Ministry's priorities, namely the "evaluation, reform and expansion of the Portuguese scientific and technological system and the reinforcement of its ties with the international scientific and technological community and with the Portuguese society" (ICCTI Activities' Report, 1998: 1). Its mission included: "Management, orientation and coordination of the international cooperation activities, supporting the Ministry of Science and Technology in all activities relating to the participation of Portugal in the areas of Science and Technology as EU member state, and orientation of the national representation in the international bodies in these areas" (ICCTI Activities' Report, 1998: 1-2). This idea of supporting internationalisation is again reinforced by ICCTI in 2001: "The activity of the ICCTI aims preferentially at answering the demands of the scientific community (national and international), in order to guarantee appropriate conditions for meetings and work by using opportunities created from diverse international agreements. In this sense, the activity of ICCTI is mainly focused in the preparation of regulation instruments of internationalisation and in creating opportunities for scientific cooperation." (ICCTI Activities' Report, 2001: 1) The Portuguese internationalisation policies – in the present case for the research and

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

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

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

European cooperation

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

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

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

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

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

Bilateral Cooperation

Bi-lateral cooperation results from Scientific and Technological Cooperation Agreements between Portugal and other countries; Cultural Agreements, coordinated by the Camões Institute of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which includes interchanges of researchers; and Protocols and Agreements with science and technology institutions in other countries (ICCTI Activities Report, 1998: 7). The GRICES 2002 Activities Report noted that this type of cooperation has allowed for an interchange of researchers through about thirty agreements established with foreign institutions or countries (there were more than 500

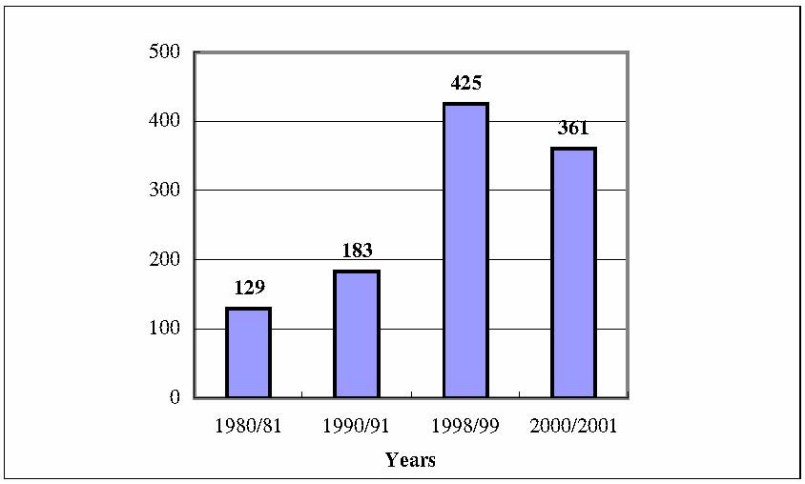
applications with an approval percentage of 73%; in 2001, more that 500 applications were received, 85% of them being approved; in 2000, again 500 applications were received, about 430 being approved). The most significant exchanges over recent years have been with France and Brazil. Under the Cultural Agreements, 43 scientific interchange missions were funded (in 2001 this number was 53 and in 2000 it was 40) (data collected in the Activities Reports of ICCTI, 2000 and 2001, and of GRICES, 2002).

Participation in international laboratories and institutions

In the last fifty years several large international laboratories have emerged, contributing to new scientific perspectives by making available instruments, observation means and scientific infrastructures whose costs exceed the financial possibilities of a single country. These laboratories need the participation of scientists from many countries in order to develop their scientific potential. Since joining CERN in 1985, Portugal has developed a sustained policy of participation in the activities of the majority of these international institutions (ICCTI Activities Report, 1998). Nowadays, Portuguese participation includes the CERN, EMBC, EMBL, ESA, ESO, ESRF, ESF, COST, CYTED, CGIAR and INVOTAN Commission.

The numbers of Portuguese scientific publications in co-authorship with institutions of foreign countries increased from 1990 to 2001, with a small decrease in the last year (Observatory for Science and Technology, 2003). The major percentage of these publications (considering the total number from 1981 until 2001) resulted from cooperation with institutions from England, USA and France. Finally we present the number of doctoral degrees completed abroad and recognised in Portugal, which is also an indicator of the degree of internationalisation of Portuguese research. From 1980/81 to 1998/99 this number almost tripled. However, in 2000/01 the number slightly declined (Figure 6.2).

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



Source: Observatory for Science and Technology, 2002.

6.5. The policy context – major recent trends and changes

The major changes in the Portuguese higher education system occurred in the last thirty years, after the April 1974 Revolution. It is true that 25th April 1974 is in all aspects a milestone in recent Portuguese history, and the major trends and changes in the Portuguese higher education system, namely its massification, diversification (both by implementing a binary system and by allowing the emergence of a large private sector) and scientific and technological development only took place after the demise of the dictatorial regime of Salazar.

During the period immediately after the 1974 Revolution "the political pendulum swung violently to the extreme left", but: "… as the revolutionary fire died down and integration into the European Union emerged as an attractive possibility (integration of Portugal dates from 1986), soon the pace was set towards a 'normalisation' process along a convergent path with the other European countries"(Amaral and Carvalho, 2003:1) This convergence towards Europe made the country move from a model of state control towards a model of state supervision, as happened in almost all other western European countries. In 1988 the University Autonomy Act was passed and in 1990 it was the time for the Statute and Autonomy of Polytechnic Higher Education Institutions Act, both conferring a considerable degree of autonomy to public higher education institutions. Nevertheless: "These acts clearly contain those elements of hybridism that characterise the participation of the government through the Ministry in charge of higher education as the main regulator of the system" (Amaral & Carvalho, 2003).

Despite the almost complete administrative and financial autonomy of private institutions, they are considerably less autonomous than public universities in other issues such as pedagogical autonomy (Amaral & Carvalho, 2003). Expansion and massification of the system was another recent change. With an increasing demand from students completing secondary education and with some artificial mechanisms inducing demand (namely the 1989 elimination of minimum requirements to enter higher education), the system was forced to expand, increasing enrolments in public institutions and promoting the emergence of a large private sector.

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

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

A recent document published by the Ministry of Science and Technology establishes that higher education institutions are entitled to define the level of the fees to be paid by foreign students, while for national students institutions they can only set the level of fees between a minimum and a maximum value established by the Ministry. This of course excludes special situations that result from international agreements of the Portuguese

state (such as the ERASMUS programme, EU students and students protected by bilateral agreements). This measure could in a certain way contribute to a greater effort of the institutions to promote their degrees in other countries, trying to enrol a larger number of foreign students. It is not going to be easy, because of cultural and linguistic issues, and also because students increasingly prefer higher education institutions close to their parents' home. And of course, success will also strongly depend on the excellent reputation of the degrees, something that not every institution can offer.

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

6.6. The relationship with policies developed at the European level

6.6.1. Implementation of European policies

European policies are one of the most relevant inputs for the definition of Portuguese higher education policies for internationalisation. The implementation of European policies is an assumed priority at the highest level in the Ministry of Science and Higher Education and its agencies. One of those agencies is the FCT, which is responsible for the implementation of science and research policies and for funding the research units established in the higher education system. The other agency is the GRICES, which has responsibility for implementing the internationalisation policies for Science and Higher Education, and for being the liaison between the Ministry and the higher education system. The National Agency for European Programmes is responsible for the management of decentralised actions under the SOCRATES and LEONARDO programmes. The Ministry of Work and Social Security and the Ministry of Education also participate in this structure, together with the Ministry of Science and Higher Education.

One can identify a strong convergence of interests between policies developed at national level and policies developed at European level. It's important to understand: "[that in] the

process of international convergence of higher education systems, one cannot ignore neither the dynamics of globalisation and the hegemony of neo-liberal discourses and policies (Torres & Schugurensky, 2002) nor the role of national governments in trying to establish the conditions that will allow the national economy to prosper and the nation to be part of the winners of the game of globalisation" (Amaral, 2002: 9).

6.6.2. Implementation of the Bologna process

As in many other European countries, the Bologna process has been the opportunity for heated debates and for the emergence of diverse proposals aimed at adapting the Portuguese higher education system to the new degree structure and criteria of transparency and comparability that result from the Bologna declaration. At present the Portuguese higher education system is a binary system of universities and polytechnics. Polytechnics award a two-tier degree: *bacharelato* (three years) and one or two additional years (equivalent to *licenciatura*) and universities award the *licenciatura* (four to six years) and all postgraduate degrees (*mestrado* and *doutoramento*).

There is no consensus on the duration of the first cycle. While the Council of Rectors wants four years to be the minimum duration of the first degree (traditionally *licenciaturas* are four to six year degrees), the Council of Polytechnics is strongly in favour of a three-year first degree (the traditional length of the bachelor degree).

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

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

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

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

6.7. The influence of the changes in the international context

According to the director of GRICES, the Portuguese position regarding the GATS proposals is very much against the idea of considering higher education a tradable commodity. The Portuguese government also intends to safeguard the specificities of national language and culture, and recent legislation contains provisions against franchising education activities. Following the Lisbon declaration on mutual recognition of diplomas there is a system for automatic recognition of foreign doctoral degrees, which however excludes recognition of degrees conferred under franchising activities. In November 2002, the National Evaluation Council also made a statement containing several recommendations, such as:

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

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

6.8. Conclusion

From the present analysis it is possible to state that Portugal is committed to the internationalisation of its higher education and research system. One cannot forget that by history Portugal is an emigration country. On the one hand the government supported with grants the training of its postgraduate students in countries such as France, United

Kingdom and Germany; on the other hand the labour force went abroad seeking better life conditions. After integration in the EU the Portuguese economic situation improved and at present there are earmarked vacancies in higher education for special kinds of students (sons of Portuguese emigrants and the students coming from the Portuguese-speaking African countries). There are also European students coming to Portuguese HEIs for a short period of time and not enrolled in the system. The European programmes give Portuguese students the most important opportunity for mobility. It is worth mentioning the co-operative relationships established with all the countries that were former Portuguese colonies. Several special programmes and agreements exist between Portugal and these countries with the main goal of supporting their cultural, economic, technological, scientific and educational development. In this context, there are both special places in Portuguese universities and polytechnic institutes, public and private, for students coming from these countries, as well as several grants programmes to support the costs of mobility. Obviously it should be mentioned that in this context the language is a very important issue in order to promote the internationalisation of the Portuguese higher education system (in all these countries Portuguese is the official language). There is a great effort to make Portuguese higher education more international through the participation in programmes launched at European level, specially the SOCRATES programme. It can be concluded, by the analysis of the data collected, that this effort is leading to some visible effects and results. Nevertheless, Portugal has some characteristics that make the internationalisation of its higher education system problematic. One of them is obviously the language, as Portuguese is one of the least spoken and known languages in Europe. Another important drawback is the fact that it is not a rich country and the costs inherent to the mobility of students, teachers and researchers are not easy to support, even with the financial help of the grants from the available programmes. Thus, one can identify the cultural/linguistic issues that play an important role in the internationalisation process of higher education. On the one hand Portuguese is important to attract people from former colonies, and on the other hand English is becoming the *lingua franca* for communication in international scientific community. The balance between these two alternative poles needs to be managed by the organisations at institutional level in consonance with their internationalisation strategy. Under this framework the process of Europeanisation that will lead to changes with the implementation of the programme ERASMUS World will be very interesting to analyse. With the adoption of this programme the institutions to raise funds for their master courses will have to correspond to certain demands such as the use, at least, of two languages spoken in the member states. One should also mention that this possibility of obtaining European funding for the master courses could be connected to the decrease of responsibilities of the state for postgraduate studies. Recently an effort has been made

towards the internationalisation of the Portuguese research and technological development system, as Portugal can develop its scientific research only through cooperation with other countries. Therefore, the Portuguese participation in the European programmes is becoming a priority because higher education institutions should increasingly ensure diversified funding sources. In that sense Portugal is now an active participant in the majority of the important European laboratories, having also bilateral and multilateral agreements with large number of countries within and outside Europe. Besides this international cooperation, the scientific system is periodically under quality evaluations made by international experts, and some incentives to innovation have been put in place. Portugal is also trying to establish cooperation agreements with countries such as China and India, where it had a quite important presence some centuries ago. The recent sharp increase in the number of Portuguese researchers has created a reasonable critical mass in some fields of study, thus contributing to future research development. Nevertheless it must be said that it is still very hard for Portuguese research centres and their researchers to find partners in the national industry, which is obviously a barrier to the development of the scientific and technological system. To conclude, the processes of Europeanisation, internationalisation and globalisation of Portuguese higher education and research can be regarded more as reaction than anticipation. Thus, those processes can be conceived as a lever (McBurnie, 2001) to introduce changes. In this respect the Ministry of Science and Higher Education states that: "The educational policy defined by the XV Constitutional Government is based on issues and concerns expressed by other European countries, namely: autonomy, funding and quality control. Under this framework the European Union programmes and the Bologna process are opportunities for reform and for improvement of quality in education and research, but not as an instrument used to achieve the quality in higher education" (Interview with Pedro Lynce).

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2.5. Chapter 7. The Netherlands

Anneke Luijten-Lub

7.1. National policy for the internationalisation of higher education

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

7.2. Introduction: Overview of Dutch higher education

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

Higher education institutions (HEIs) The Dutch HE system is a binary system with *hogescholen* and universities. The *hogescholen* are responsible for higher professional education, whereas the universities are responsible for academic teaching and research. In 2002, around 326,000 students were enrolled in 50 *hogescholen*, and 182,000 students were enrolled in fourteen universities. Almost all Dutch students are studying in either a public or government-dependent HEIs (see also Huisman, 1999; OECD, 2003a). In 2001, 90.8% of all students at the *hogescholen* were studying at government-dependent HEIs, and the remaining 9.2% were studying at a public *hogeschool*. In the same year, 68.6% of Dutch students in the universities were studying at government-dependent HEIs, and 31.3% at public institutions (OECD, 2003a: 269). Precise statistics on student enrolments at private, independent institutions are not available, but are low compared to the

enrolment at the other types of institutions. Over the last 10 years, the numbers of students at the *hogescholen* have been increasing. The numbers of students at universities dropped in the mid-1990s, but has since then increased again (see Table 7.1).

Table 7.1. Number of students by type of institution

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

Source: CBS, 2003

The HEIs derive income from three so-called *flows of funds* and tuition fees paid by the students (Table 7.2). The first *flow of funds*, provided by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences[3], represents the core funding of the HEIs, consisting of a block grant (lump sum). It is allocated in proportion to the teaching, research and related activities by the HEIs. The first flow also contains a number of specific allocations, such as the compensation of unemployment benefits, which are paid by the institutions themselves to laid-off staff members. In practice, the HEIs can spend the grant at their own discretion provided the legal tasks are performed adequately.

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

[3] The agricultural institutions, one university and six hogescholen, receive their grants from the Ministry of Agriculture.

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

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

Source: Boezerooy, 2003

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

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

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

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

Source: Ministerie van OCW, 2002

Since these institutes were formerly independent and not linked to universities, international students have not participated in regular Dutch HEIs and have not had an influence there. As a consequence, the regular HEIs had little experience with international students until the 1990s. However, current policies are aimed at integrating the Institutes for International Education with the universities. Two institutes have recently entered a partnership with a university. The Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences provides a lump sum subsidy to these institutes. Other funding comes from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, through student grants and funding of specific projects. However, these grants have recently been opened up to students from developing countries studying in any HEI. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is involved in the Institutes for International Education.

In addition to the public institutions described above, there are several private, approved institutions of higher education, most of which provide professional education and training. These institutions also fall under the Higher Education and Research Act (WHW). Compared to enrolments at both public and government-dependent institutions, enrolment at private institutions is low. The range of private institutions includes traditionally Dutch institutions, but also some foreign institutions such as Webster University and Phoenix University.

7.2.2. Governmental actors

Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences

As already indicated by the name, the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences (MOCenW) is responsible for governmental policy for both HE and scientific research. Each year the budget for the coming year is drawn up, as part of the total national budget. Priorities are laid out in the budget. Furthermore, every four years the Ministry draws up the Higher Education and Research Plan (HOOP). During the policy formulation process advisory councils such as the Education council (*Onderwijsraad*) and the Advisory Council for Science and Technology Policy (AWT) make recommendations to the Ministry. Moreover, several buffer organisations, for example the Association of Universities in the Netherlands (VSNU), the Association of Universities of Professional Education (HBO-Raad) and the National Student Union (LSVB), are consulted during the process. The next HOOP will appear in 2004. In the steering philosophy of the Ministry, the HEIs are autonomous actors. Since the mid-1990s, the government has been working on deregulation and increasing the autonomy of the HEIs. This philosophy of 'steering at a distance' is reflected in the lump sum funding of the HEIs, leaving the HEIs to make decisions on spending. Furthermore, since the first 'purple' coalition (1994-1998) competition in the public sector has been stimulated by the Dutch government, introducing the idea of HE as a market and

accepting private providers in the HE market (Van der Wende, 2002). The Ministry sees to the right conditions for the HEIs to work in and sees to the quality of the education provided; quality and access for all students need to be ensured according to the national higher education policy.

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

The Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences has a separate directorate, which is responsible for the internationalisation of HE. However, more and more, internationalisation is becoming part of the mainstream policy concerning HE. The general directorates for the *hogescholen* and the universities, of which there are plans to merge, are increasingly involved in policy-making concerning the internationalisation of HE. An example of this is the implementation of the new two-cycle system (Bachelors and Masters programmes). This system was introduced, at least in part, as a response to the Bologna Declaration and the implementation was mainly the responsibility of these general directorates.

Other ministries involved

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

The Ministry of Economic Affairs is involved in the internationalisation of HE mainly in two ways. First, this Ministry has the final responsibility for the negotiations on GATS. Second,

the Netherlands Foreign Trade Agency (EVD) is assisting in the promotion of Dutch HE abroad. The agency has many foreign contacts and expertise in promoting the Netherlands abroad. Higher education is part of the promotion of the Netherlands as it is currently performed by the EVD. The Ministry of Justice bears responsibility for visas and residence permits. Applying for these documents is sometimes complicated and expensive. Recently, the Ministry increased the prices of visas, as part of the increasingly strict Dutch immigration policy, which led to heavy protests in the academic community. The visa application process has become what some refer to as a 'mobstacle': a mobility obstacle in the internationalisation of HE. The Ministry of Social Affairs has the responsibility for working permits for foreigners and is sometimes involved in specific issues, for example issues concerning the employability of graduates.

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

Other national actors

National actors that have not yet been discussed are several buffer organisations and Nuffic, an intermediary organisation. There are several organisations responsible for the interests of the different groups of institutions offering HE. These organisations are consulted in the policy-making process and they try to influence the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences in their decisions. The Association of Universities in the Netherlands (VSNU) represents the universities, whereas the Association of Universities of Professional Education (HBO-Raad) represents the *hogescholen*. PAEPON is the organisation for the private education institutions not funded by the government. Finally, the Federation of Institutes for International Education in the Netherlands (FION) represents these institutes. Nuffic, the Netherlands Organisation for International Cooperation in Higher Education, is an intermediary between the Dutch organisations for HE and the international community. Nuffic thus plays an active role in the internationalisation of Dutch HE. The organisation was established in 1952. The main aim of Nuffic is "making education accessible all over the world, especially in countries where educational infrastructure is lagging behind". The main areas of activity are cooperation for development, the internationalisation of HE, international recognition and certification (ENIC/NARIC), and the marketing of Dutch HE. Examples of activities of Nuffic are the execution of Dutch scholarship programmes, funded by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the administration of the SOCRATES/ERASMUS programme (Nuffic, 2003b).

7.3. Rationales for internationalisation

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

7.3.1 A short history

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

He stated that apart from cooperation for development through educational activities, particularly through the Institutes for International Education, "traditionally there was no strong international orientation in Dutch higher education" (Van Dijk, 1997: 159). However, since the appearance of an OECD-review in 1985 on the subject of the internationalisation of Dutch HE, this has changed much, as will be shown in the following paragraphs.

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

7.3.2 Current rationales

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

The economic rationale is foremost in the marketing and promotion of Dutch HE in foreign countries. This is one of the main issues in the policy for the internationalisation of Dutch

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

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

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

A more internationally oriented HE system can be achieved in several ways. First, international experience can be gained through going abroad, as will be discussed in a following paragraph. International experience can also be obtained at home, for instance

by meeting foreigners on exchange in the Netherlands. Furthermore, internationally oriented instructors, adequate education in foreign languages and cultures, as well as acquiring intercultural competencies offer opportunities to obtain an internationally oriented education, without actually going abroad (MOCenW, 2001a: 7).

7.4. Current national policies

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

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

7.4.1. System reform and international orientation

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

although a nation-wide credit system already existed (based on study loads of 40 hours). In the first year of the introduction of the Bachelors and Masters system, 82% of all programmes started to replace their old programmes with Bachelors and Masters programmes (Education Inspectorate, 2003).

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

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

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

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

The above shows that responding to international developments, as well as the internationalisation of Dutch HE as such, are increasingly part of mainstream HE policy in

the Netherlands. Mainstreaming is also taking place in the HEIs, which is shown by an example from statistics on the ERASMUS programme. A relatively large part of the total of financial resources for student mobility grants and for activities linked to international policies came from the HEIs' own funds (Teichler, 2002: 65).

7.4.2. International marketing

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

Important for the marketing of the Dutch HE system is providing information about the system to potential students. Several ways of providing the information are being used by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences. The help of Nuffic, Dutch embassies and Dutch institutes in foreign countries[4] abroad has been sought. Cooperation with the Ministry of Economic Affairs has been established. This implies for instance that rectors of HEIs are included in foreign trade missions.

Foreign offices have been set up in different countries to promote Dutch education. The first Netherlands Education Support Offices (NESO) was set up in 1997 in Jakarta (Indonesia) with the help of Nuffic. Later, similar organisations were set up in Beijing (China) and Taipei (Taiwan). The NESOs work closely with other Dutch agencies, such as embassies, consulates and business support offices of the Economic Information Service. "The NESOs will make it possible for the universities and other higher education institutions of the Netherlands to establish and maintain direct and more intensive contact with institutions, staff and students in the countries in question" (Nuffic, 2003a).

7.4.3. Mobility and exchange

Incoming mobility

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

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

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

- Generating income through fee-paying students.

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

The three main Dutch scholarship programmes for educational programmes in the Netherlands are the Huygens programme, the Delta programme and the Regular scholarship programme. The provision of these scholarships is often linked to the cooperation policy with foreign countries. Each year, the Huygens programme

offers around 175 outstanding foreign students an opportunity to study for a period of between three and ten months at a Dutch university or *hogeschool* or at one of the eligible research institutes in the Netherlands. Huygens scholarships are meant for students who are nearing completion of their studies or have recently graduated. Table 7.4 gives an overview of recent numbers of scholarships and budgets involved.

Table 7.4. Number of Huygens scholarships and budget

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

Source: BISON, 2002

Two-third of the Huygens scholarship programme is available for seven of the priority countries that have been pointed out in the policy (Indonesia, China, Japan, South Africa, Czech Republic, Hungary and Russia), which reflects the previously mentioned link between this programme and the foreign cooperation policy. This link is also apparent in the Delta programme, with which, through the use of scholarships (see Table 7.5). HEIs can attract students in the countries that have been singled out in the marketing policy (China, Indonesia, Taiwan and South Africa).

Table 7.5. Number of Delta-scholarships and budget

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

Source: BISON, 2002

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

Table 7.6. Number of regular scholarships and budget

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

Source: BISON, 2002

The ERASMUS programme is the main funding opportunity for foreign students to come to the Netherlands. The number of incoming students has increased over the last five years, with a total of 6,141 incoming students in 2001 (EU, 2003). In 2002, on the basis of reports from within certain HEIs, concerns were raised regarding the legality of governmental funding for certain categories of foreign students. In some cases where students were only enrolled part of the course duration time, the institution would register them as full time and would have received corresponding funding. In the media as well as in parliamentary discussion, emphasis was placed on certain *hogescholen*, although the universities were also included in the investigation by the Ministry of Education. The final investigation of the illegalities is still underway.

Outgoing mobility

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

students are, amongst others, the Japan prize winners programme, the Visie scholarship and ERASMUS scholarships. The Japan prize winners programme (JPP, Table 7.7) offers selected Dutch students the opportunity to attend courses combined with an internship in Japan.

Table 7.7. Number of JPP-scholarships and budget

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

Source: BISON, 2002

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

Table 7.8. Number of Visie-scholarships and budget

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

Source: BISON, 2002

The ERASMUS programme is the main funding opportunity for Dutch students going abroad. Many Dutch HEIs participate in the ERASMUS programme and use their own funds next to the EU grants to stimulate participation (Teichler, 2002: 65). In 2002/03 there was a budget of € 3,428,753. The number of Dutch students going abroad with the help of ERASMUS is steadily increasing over the last few years. In 1999, there were 4,418 Dutch ERASMUS students. As long as a Dutch student is registered at an HEI, he or she will receive student support from the Dutch government, even when studying abroad. In practice, students who go abroad for part of their education mostly use this regulation (MOCenW, 2001b: 5).

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

7.4.4. Conditions for mobility and exchange

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

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

7.4.5. Consortia and ICT

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

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

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

The use of ICT in the internationalisation process is fairly new. A recent report on the use of ICT in HE shows that "in the Netherlands using ICT for serving international students is only moderately important at present, with somewhat higher expectations for the future" (Collis & Van der Wende, 2002: 41). As such, Dutch HEIs demonstrate a high level of ICT infrastructure and use of ICT for general teaching purposes. However, a strategic orientation towards diverse target groups, e.g. international students and lifelong learners, is still weak, as was also demonstrated by other studies (see Lub *et al*., 2003). It seems that the general marketing policy is not (yet) connected with the marketing strategy of the Dutch HEIs. In the national HE policy, there is little attention for the role that ICT might play in HE in general and in internationalisation in particular. However, the SURF foundation has recently initiated a debate on the relationship between ICT and internationalisation (SURF, 2003). It has various international contacts such as EKMA (the European Knowledge Media Association), Educause, EUNIS (the European University Information Systems) and JISC (the Joint Information Systems Committee).

7.4.6. Cooperation with foreign countries

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

7.4.7. Cooperation with neighbouring countries

The Dutch government initiated the neighbouring countries policy at the beginning of the 1990s. The object of the policy concerning neighbouring countries was to realise an 'open higher education area'. Full and unconditioned mobility should be possible in this area. Four considerations and interests were given for stimulating cooperation with the neighbouring countries of the Netherlands (MOCenW, 1997: 22 and 48):

- The area concerned is special in Europe. A total of 45 million people live here and, both relatively as well as absolutely, there are large numbers of research institutes, universities and professional colleges in this area.

- Through greater coherence in the region, the partners can learn from each other's strong points. Cooperation can be shaped on a complementary basis and advantages in scale can be achieved in the border areas, which would otherwise be difficult to reach.

- The preconditions for strengthening coherence are present: the geographical distance is little and the cultural kinship high.

- In the long run, cooperation could lead to more choice for students in this area; for the organisations involved this could lead to administrative cooperation and for the authorities it could lead to the tuning of policies. The authorities could also learn from each other's problems and solutions. The region on the whole could be strengthened within Europe.

The policy started with bilateral cooperation with Flanders and the German *Länder* Nordrhein-Westphalia, Lower Saxony and Bremen. It has since then developed into multilateral cooperation as well, but it seems that in practice most relationships are of a bilateral nature (Westerheijden & Klemperer, 2002). Bilateral relations also seem to be more successful in terms of lowering the thresholds for cooperation (MOCenW, 1999: 27). Under the flag of the neighbouring country, and with financing from the neighbouring

country policy, several projects in Dutch organisations were implemented. An example of such a project is ENOTIS, the Enschede Osnabrück Technology, Innovation and Studycenter, which was set up by the Saxion *Hogeschool* and the *Fachhochschule* Osnabrück (see Westerheijden & Klemperer, 2002: 10-12).

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

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

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

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

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

subsequently received less attention. There is less funding available for this policy than in earlier years.

7.4.8. Transition countries

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

7.4.9. Marketing countries

The Netherlands wants to distinguish itself as an attractive country for study. Indonesia, South Africa and Japan have been given priority in exporting knowledge since the start of this policy. Other Asian countries, such as Taiwan and China, are now included. The main reason for this is that Asia is perceived as a large new market with, potentially, students with great purchasing power (MOCenW, 1999: 10). In particular the relation with Indonesia and South Africa may be complex, as with these countries -which are part of the Dutch colonial past -aid and development cooperation has been in place for long. The introduction of such new strategies focused on marketing and recruitment could be perceived by those countries in a somewhat reluctant manner.

7.4.10. Overseas Dutch territories and migrants' countries of origin

A final group of countries, at which Dutch national internationalisation policy is aimed, are the overseas Dutch territories and migrants' countries of origin. The Dutch kingdom consists of three countries: the Netherlands, the Dutch Antilles and Aruba. Each country has its own governmental responsibility. The Netherlands co-operates with and supports the two other countries. Part of the core of the cooperation scheme with the Antilles and Aruba are educational activities (Ministry of Internal Affairs, 2003). In the field of HE, support is provided in order to improve the HE systems of these countries. Additionally, methods for preventing 'brain drain' from the Antilles and Aruba to the Netherlands are important. Students in the two countries receive funding for several programmes in their own region by the Dutch state, just as they would if they were studying in the Netherlands. Nowadays there are around three million people living in the Netherlands who were not born in the Netherlands or of whom at least one parent was born in a

foreign country (CBS, 2003). The main countries of origin are Turkey and Morocco. Cooperation with these countries is sought to acquire a better understanding of their culture. This should help to better educate the persons originating from these countries who participate in Dutch education, and thus provide equal opportunities for both natives as well as non-natives. However, this policy is particularly aimed at compulsory education.

7.5. Policy effects

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

7.5.1. General policy

First, the Bologna declaration opened up the window for change in the Dutch HE system. A change in the Higher Education Act was made in September 2002, introducing Bachelors and Masters degrees. Interestingly, most Dutch universities had already decided to implement Bachelors and Masters programmes even before the new law had been approved by the parliament. The HEIs have seized the opportunities following from the introduction of the new system. For example, they are exploring the possibilities of setting up joint curricula with foreign partners and are intending to provide their regular master programmes in English.

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

Third, evaluations of both the neighbouring countries policy (2002) and the marketing policy (2003) have recently been carried out. The evaluation of the neighbouring countries policy concluded, as mentioned above, that the policy was successful. Effects are visible in the area of joint curricula, recognition of credits and some staff and student mobility. As a result of many of the projects initiated under the remit of the neighbouring countries policy, durable (administrative) relationships have been established, so that it is likely the

policy will have long-term effects. The critical success factor according to the evaluation was the organisation of the project, especially the commitment of project coordinators and individuals in the organisations involved. The evaluation further showed that the complexity of projects where three countries were involved was often too great. The differences in administrative and educational aspects were easier to deal with when only two countries were involved (Westerheijden & Klemperer, 2002: 61-62).

The evaluation of the marketing policy shows that the promotion of Dutch HE in the chosen countries is well under way. The infrastructure for marketing has been well established through the NESOs. The number of incoming students from the countries involved has risen. Overall, the evaluation of the marketing policy is positive, but further fine-tuning in the implementation of the policy is necessary.

Several recommendations have been made, such as the position of the policy in the broader knowledge society and the brain drain/gain discussion; foreign students can contribute to the research capacity in particular fields such as science and technology.

7.5.2. Student mobility

It is difficult to find firm, quantitative data on the internationalisation (of students) in the Netherlands that show the effects of the policy. Data is only available starting at the end of the 1990s and the figures provided by the different sources vary substantially. The sources used here are the statistics of the ERASMUS programme, the BISON-monitor (Monitor of International Mobility in Education) and the OECD education database. The number of incoming ERASMUS students has increased over the last few years. In the academic year 1998/99 there were 5,752 incoming ERASMUS students, and in 2001/02 this increased to 6,141 (EU, 2003, see Table 7.9).

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

Table 7.9. Number of ERASMUS students

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

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

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

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

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

Source: Bison Monitor 2002.

If other programmes, such as the programmes at the Institutes for International Education are included, the total number of foreign students studying in the Netherlands is much higher. In 2001/02 there were 29,789 students (5.9% of the total), including ERASMUS students and students in the Regular Scholarship programmes. In the BISON monitor the mobility and other international experiences of Dutch graduates of the *hogescholen* and the universities are included. In these statistics, mobility and international experiences through internships, studying or a combination of the two have been measured (Table 7.11). These figures state that, on average since 1996, 28% of the *hogescholen* graduates and 39% of the university graduates have been mobile.

Table 7.11. Number of foreign students and domestic students abroad

Year	foreign students	as % of enrolment	domestic students abroad
1995			11,870
1998			9,427
1999	13,619	2.9 %	15,251
2000	14,012	2.9 %	12,447
2001	16,589	3.3 %	11,792

Source: OECD Education database, 2003b

According to the OECD statistics, in recent years the Netherlands has had, very roughly, the same number of students coming in as going out, although it seems that the difference between incoming and outgoing students is growing, with more and more students coming in and fewer Dutch students going abroad (Table 7.12).

Compared to other countries, the Netherlands has a low percentage of foreign students. The Dutch percentage of foreign students is below the OECD average of 4.8% (1999) and 4.9% (2000).

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

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

Source: OECD Education database, 2003b.

The OECD statistics furthermore show that most foreign students coming to the Netherlands come from other European countries. The second largest group are students from Asia. This could be the result of the Dutch policy, but the statistics of other European countries show a similar pattern. Comparing the statistics available from the different sources, it is evident that these vary considerably. According to the BISON monitor, in 2001 almost 6% of the total student population were foreign students, whereas the OECD statistics state that only 3.3% of total enrolments are foreign students. For outgoing mobility, the difference is even greater, with the OECD statistics showing around 3% of students in 2001 going abroad, yet the BISON monitor indicating that an average of over

30% of Dutch graduates had international experience. However, it has to be noted that the statistics in the BISON monitor also include ERASMUS students and other types of mobility, whereas the OECD numbers do not. For the future, it is expected that more Dutch students will go abroad for a full programme. With the introduction of Bachelors and Masters programmes in the Netherlands, it is expected that students will take the opportunity to do a Masters degree in a foreign country.

7.5.3. Staff mobility and internationalisation of research

First of all, it has to be noted that it is even more difficult finding data on staff mobility and internationalisation of research than reliable data on student mobility. In the Netherlands staff mobility and internationalisation of research are not being monitored, which means that data of international sources, mainly the EU, must be used. The government policy aimed at the internationalisation of research has comparable goals to the government policy aimed at the internationalisation of higher education and is executed along three lines: bilateral cooperation; participation in European research organisations; and participation in European research framework programmes First, bilateral cooperation in research is organised in a similar way as cooperation in education, with priority given to similar countries. Second, participation in European research organisations is sought through Dutch research organisations, for example the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO). This organisation is active in several international bodies, such as the European Science Fund and the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (NWO, 2003). Third, according to the latest figures on EU programmes, 582 Dutch teachers went abroad in 1999/00. In total 12,129 teachers of all participating countries went abroad in the same academic year (EU, 2003). The statistics of the EU programme for Research and Technological Development, which offers the main opportunities for temporary mobility of researchers within Europe, with a total of 1,299 researchers mobile in 2001, show that the Netherlands is one of the main receiving countries (10%). Other main receiving countries are the UK (30%), France (15%) and Germany (13%) (Van der Wende & Middlehurst, forthcoming). Information on participation in European research and development projects shows that there were 1,436 contracts with Dutch organisations in 2001 (EC, 2001).

Dutch researchers have participated in one-third of all projects in the 5th Framework Programme. Furthermore, a relatively high percentage of Dutch organisations have been the research co-ordinator of research projects in the 5th Framework programme. Themes in which the Dutch organisations are most active are multimedia; innovative products; processes and organisations; sustainable mobility and intermodality; global change,

climate and biodiversity; cleaner energy systems; and economic and efficient energy for a competitive Europe (Advisory Council for Science and Technology Policy, 2002).

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

7.6. Relation with the European policy level

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

7.6.1 Bologna Declaration

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

7.6.2 Lisbon process

The outcomes of the Lisbon Summit in 2000 and its follow up meetings and documents, such as the objectives report (2002), are influential to Dutch HE policy. The Lisbon benchmarks are being examined in relation to current government policies and budgets in order to see if adjustments need to be made. The Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences stresses that the benchmarks are not legally binding, but recognises the pressures resulting from these benchmarks. Furthermore, acquiring intercultural experience and competencies are important aspects of the government's policy. The attention given to these aspects needs to be seen in the light of the Lisbon Summit where

the importance of social cohesion was stressed: "Intercultural competencies of citizens increase mutual understanding and social cohesion" (MOCenW, 2001a).

7.6.3 ERASMUS programme

The participation of Dutch HEIs in the ERASMUS programme is relatively high with a participation rate of over 50%, compared to an average of 39.8% (Teichler, 2002: 31). The study by Teichler furthermore shows that investments of the funds of the Dutch HEIs are relatively high. Many Dutch students use the ERASMUS programme to go abroad and even more students are coming to the Netherlands through this programme, but it was also shown that other forms of mobility are important as well. In addition, in the Netherlands, ERASMUS is not really perceived as a key element of European awareness and cooperation in teaching and learning (Teicher, 2002: 78). Apparently there are other ways and programmes to achieve this. The government's education policy supports mobility through ERASMUS and shows interest in the other ERASMUS projects that are aimed at cooperation in the EU and learning from each other. If necessary, the Ministry provides (financial) support or sets up adjacent policy. An example of this type of policy is the neighbouring countries policy.

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

7.6.4. Research Framework Programmes

The participation of Dutch research groups in the 6th Framework Programme is financially supported through NWO, the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research. Twenty research groups received financial aid when preparing their applications for the programme. This support will be evaluated during the summer of 2003 and on the basis of this evaluation a decision will be made on whether to continue this type of support (NWO, 2003). Furthermore, the statistics (see above) showed that Dutch researchers are already relatively active in European research programmes.

7.7. Influence of the international context

7.7.1. Growing competition

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

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

7.7.2. GATS

The Ministry of Economic Affairs is the co-ordinating ministry where it concerns the negotiations on the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). For the time being, the GATS agreements are not expected to have any direct consequences for Dutch HE, as HE is mainly publicly funded and is perceived to be a public service. Furthermore, commercial providers are already allowed in Dutch HE. For example, Webster University opened a campus in the Netherlands in 1983 and the University of Phoenix has been active in the Netherlands since the end of the 1990s. The Ministry has stated that HE is not a part of the GATS negotiations as these agreements are aimed at private services, and HE is a public service. Furthermore, in the latest negotiations no new promises have been made so far on the subject of education and the Netherlands are not planning to expand the current agreements on education. The Netherlands subscribes to the EU standpoint on GATS.

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2.6. Chapter 8. Greece

Georgia Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides, George Stamelos and Yiouli Papadiamantaki

8.1. Overview of the system: Structure and policies

Consecutive legal structure-related reforms, in the period 1965 to date, have led to a major reorganisation of Greek higher education (HE). The once traditional, 'closed' three-level education system comprising primary, secondary, and tertiary levels has changed into a two-level system, in which basic education (primary and secondary) and post-compulsory education dominate. These developments are coupled by a process by which HE has acquired a more 'open', fluid, dynamic and partially unregulated character and consists of a formal and a non-formal sector. New types of institutions and programmes of study have been added alongside the traditional ones, with an increasing blurring of the boundaries between HE and post-compulsory education, as well as between formal and non-formal education. Currently three different types of institutions offer HE: universities - AEI; technological education institutions – TEI; and the so-called centres for free studies – CFS. Non-formal HE comprises institutions that offer various forms of lifelong and continuous education, and the CFS, offering a variety of degree courses, including degrees of foreign universities, not recognised by the state.

8.1.1. Universities (AEI)

Universities are public institutions and by the Constitution their establishment is the prerogative of the state, meaning that there are no private universities. Universities are self-governed (not completely autonomous) public legal entities. The Ministry of Education (MoE) sets the regulatory framework for the operation of higher education institutions (HEIs), in terms of legislative action, and initiates the guidelines, the design and, partially, the implementation of educational policy. Since 1996 MoE's policy provides for the expansion of and free access to HE. Currently there are 19 universities (240 departments) plus the Hellenic Open University (operating since 1999). The number of new entrants has doubled in recent years. The trend towards a mass HE system has become especially prominent since 1997/98 (see Tables 8.1 and 8.2.).

Table 8.1. Number of university students and graduates

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

8.1.2. Technological education institutions (TEI)

Law 1404/83 introduced TEIs (based on the Anglo-Saxon model) into the HE system. The Law unified the (until then) extremely diversified system of professional and vocational training, partially under private control, and brought it into the public sector and under state supervision. Currently fourteen TEIs operate in Greece. Until recently TEIs did not offer postgraduate programmes of study. According to the recent legal-structural reform TEI may offer PMS organised jointly with (Greek or foreign) HEIs (see Table 8.3).

Table 8.3. Number of students/graduates and teaching/administrative staff at TEI

Year	Students	graduates	tenured faculty	contract faculty	assistant and admin. staff
1996/97	101,206	8,623	2,456	4,100	1,399
1998/99	116,106	9,452	2,593	4,490	1,512
1999/00	129,683	9,301	2,636	5,050	1,488

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

8.1.3. Centres for free studies (CFS)

CFSs traditionally offered exclusively technical and vocational training leading to a Certificate of Studies. In the last decade, as a result of the liberalisation of the education market and the implementation of GATS agreements, the services offered by CFSs has diversified. CFSs offer a variety of options: foundation courses, Bachelor degrees, Master degrees and PhDs. These are mainly offered through franchising agreements with foreign universities (mostly British, but also French and American) Under Greek Law, CFSs operate as commercial enterprises. The degrees obtained are not valid for public sector employment in Greece. They are however recognised in most European countries. Most of the CFSs are generally acknowledged to be of very dubious reputation. However, a few have acquired a reputation in the labour market in certain fields of study, such as Business Administration and Marketing.

8.2. Rationales for internationalisation

The policy choices and the prevailing rationales for internationalisation are related to the historical specificities of Greece. It is a country of the (semi)periphery, which received developmental aid well into the 1970s, and has since gradually repositioned itself in the hierarchy of countries through economic development and integration in the EU. During the 1950s and the 1960s the major agents of internationalisation of education were international organisations (Unesco, OECD, the World Bank, the US government and foundations) which funded, within the technical aid framework, policies affecting the structure of education.

The rationale thus promoted legitimised the development of the vocational training sector at the expense of the reorganisation and development of the university sector; this rationale has facilitated a state policy of sending young graduates abroad for postgraduate studies. The demand for HE qualifications has resulted in a progressive increase in outward mobility of Greek students.

The traditional state internationalisation policy had a different orientation. Since its re-institution in the 19th century, the state functioned as an educational and cultural centre for the large number of Greeks outside its borders. Well into the 20th century universities reproduced in most fields of study accurately and speedily the knowledge that was produced outside Greece and served the national interests through the production of a national discourse and the formulation of an attraction policy aimed at the training of an administrative, professional and political elite of ethnic Greeks to be educated in Greece and then re-channelled to the countries of origin. Until the end of WWII, the relation of the state to ethnic Greeks was analogous (although in no way similar) to the relation of countries to their (former) colonies.

The attraction policy for ethnic Greeks decayed in the post-war period, when state and society faced the dissolution of long established ethnic communities in the Middle East, the Balkans and Eastern European countries (Egypt, Albania, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Union). Although the division of Europe during the cold war and the integration of Greece into the western block minimised the state's ability to support ethnic communities in Eastern block countries, ethnic Greeks never stopped seeking the protection of the Greek state. Traditionally, admission policies (despite the limited national resources, the increased and pressing internal demand for HE and the policies proposed by international organisations) regulated through quotas the access to HE of ethnic Greeks returning to the homeland.

The 1980s and the 1990s were characterised by the entrance of Greece in the EU and the political developments of 1989/90, the breakdown of the Soviet block and the 'opening up' of Eastern Europe to the West. These changes have contributed to the Europeanisation of HE through participation in EU programmes and the development of policies that contributed to the fostering of Greece's relations with neighbouring Balkan countries and ethnic Greeks living in South-eastern European countries and the former USSR. The rationale that facilitated the entrance of ethnic Greeks was applied to the admissions of migrant Greeks. As migrant Greeks are considered persons of Greek origin, now second, third and fourth generation migrants are domiciled all over the world (mainly in Europe, Australia and the US). Migrant Greeks may have Greek, foreign or double citizenship and nationality.

These developments have shaped the rationales for internationalisation along two axes. Under the influence of the international organisations, dominant until the mid-1970s and in the context of Europeanisation since the 1980s, the state promotes cooperation with European countries and the US, in order to learn from technologically advanced countries and to develop its scientific infrastructure.

Traditionally, cooperation policies, based on an educational and cultural rational are manifest in the:

- sending policy intended to aid graduates and young scientists to study abroad;
- foreign scholarships offered to Greeks by foreign governments, US foundations and international organisations;
- bilateral exchange agreements and cultural and scientific cooperation.

Today cooperation evolves through the EU policy framework and bilateral agreements. In the traditional internationalisation policies, the cultural and political rationales prevailed on the receiving end, where the state ensured/regulated the access:

- of ethnic and migrant Greeks; and
- of foreign nationals, in fulfilment of its obligation to offer technical aid to developing countries within the UNDP framework.

Prevailing rationales for internationalisation are educational and cultural and to a lesser extent political. The economic rationale (recently introduced) has not found fertile ground, since education is regarded as a public good and responsibility, and is public and free. The situation regarding fees for foreign students is as follows: by Law foreign full course

undergraduate students are requested to pay fees. All foreign students apply and receive an exemption. So in practice HE is free for Greeks and foreign nationals alike.

8.2.1. Competitiveness of higher education

Traditionally, the competitiveness and standing and performance of universities were judged in principle by the substantial number of professors and/or researchers in foreign universities and institutes and by the (high) number of Greek students studying abroad. Universities were proud of the fact that their graduates were of a standard high enough to successfully follow postgraduate or doctoral programmes in mainly very prestigious foreign universities. The outward mobility of free movers, which came as a result of the *numerus clausus* policy, was coupled by a state scholarships (sending) policy, to further train talented graduates abroad. As a consequence and through their connection to Greek (as well as ethnic and migrant) scientists and researchers working abroad, universities developed and maintained close relations to the origins of new knowledge.

Although policies related to internationalisation are as old as the education system itself, the debate concerning the international positioning, performance and competitiveness of Greek universities is rather recent, and developed as a response to the European and international debate about the role of the university and the creation of a European Higher Education Area, and a European Research Area. The proliferation of the CFS has also spread discussions on internationalisation and globalisation processes and their implications.

Presently, the discourse focuses around the necessity of individual academics' participation in international research and educational networks. Such participation is fluid, flexible and changeable. It is considered as proof of the relation of academics to the knowledge production process, and of their good standing and reputation among an international peer group. Although risking the danger of over-simplifying the situation, it could be said that 'active' academics, developing international collaborations, seem to be worried and motivated by the belief that a future EU-initiated evaluation will lead to a new, (mostly) unchangeable and institutionalised hierarchy of departments, institutions, fields of study and education systems across EU countries, depriving them of their individual access and participation in the international knowledge production.

8.2.2. Brain drain, brain gain or brain exchange

It is generally accepted that the outward mobility trend has resulted in brain drain, given that a substantial number of students and researchers were and still are studying and working abroad. The MoE has a policy for Greek students who transfer to Greek

universities from universities abroad. The transfer is affected following examinations in student numbers proportional to the new entrants. This policy will be discontinued in 2004-2005. The decision reflects a shift from a brain drain/brain gain perspective towards a more equalising 'brain exchange' perspective.

The attitude towards brain drain appeared to change as the perspective concerning the mobility of human capital changed. In the 1960s and 1970s brain drain was considered to be a negative (but unavoidable) side effect of educational exchanges and the technical aid process. When the state was (re)organising its administrative and economic infrastructures, the modernisation process could be seen as endangered if the highly qualified personnel were lost to the country. At that time, however, economic development was seen as related to cultural and political ends, and the ability of the state to create and control a strong national economy was seen as indispensable for its survival. Today it is accepted that the conditions of survival have been reversed and therefore the (survival of the nation) state depends on its ability to integrate in an international economy. This 'revisionist' perspective accentuates the positive effects of 'brain exchange' or of a reverse brain drain procedure, when qualified personnel will return to the country providing access to new technologies and know-how (Neave, 1994).

Most 'metropolitan' countries were late in accepting such a perspective (Neave, 1994: 9). It appears though that in Greece this situation was realised much earlier, due to dependency conditions: "… and you see what the benefit is when they bring back the knowledge they acquired abroad. In this way, on one hand, we resolve the endogenous problem of unemployment, and on the other hand, we have people abroad all the time that are in touch with the advances in their scientific fields" (OPEK, 1983: 33).

It may be added that the large number of Greeks working abroad as faculty members and researchers has been considered by some as an advantage of Greek over other European universities: "The discovery of suitable teaching personnel was and is the main problem of new European universities. This problem is much smaller for Greek universities, as they can attract teaching personnel from a large pool of Greek scientists that make a successful career abroad" (OPEK, 1983: 55). Indeed universities were successful in that respect.

8.3. Internationalisation policies

8.3.1. Access policy

Admissions to undergraduate studies are centrally determined, regulated (the most important regulations are Laws 2525/97 and 1351/83, Presidential Decree 86/200, Ministerial Decision B3/3925 (GG 876/1998) and Ministerial Decision D2/3265/14-9-2000)

and based on MoE decisions on the number of students admitted to each department every year. Almost always the number of places offered fails to cover the demand. Candidates are allocated to the department of their choice on the basis of achievement. Admissions to postgraduate programmes of study and/or doctoral studies are decentralised and the institutions are the loci of control of the decision-making process. This indicates very clearly that the more academic and scholarly levels are considered the prerogative of the academy (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides and Papadiamantaki, 2000a: 20-21).

Undergraduate studies

There is a policy to admit candidates, in specific proportions over the number of students, for the following groups: EU students, other foreign students, ethnic and migrant Greeks, Cypriots, ethnic and migrant Greeks holding Greek scholarships and foreign nationals holding Greek scholarships. Quotas set by the MoE, which vary by field of study, regulate the number of ethnic or migrant Greeks and Cypriots. Foreign nationals are admitted related to achievement and proportionately according to their country of origin on the conditions that they have adequate knowledge of the Greek language and they hold a secondary education certificate that allows them access to HE of their country of origin.

Postgraduate studies

According to Law 2083/92 ethnic and migrant Greeks as well as foreign students enroll in postgraduate programmes provided that their undergraduate degrees are equivalent to the Greek ones. For this purpose a decision of the Inter-University Centre for the Recognition of Foreign Degrees (DIKATSA) is required. PMS appear to receive an increasing number of foreign students, especially from Balkan countries, who consider that studies in Greece offer certain advantages (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides and Papadiamantaki, 2000b).

8.3.2. Scholarships

The state scholarships policy is realised through:

- IKY which offer scholarships for the study of Greek nationals abroad, and for the study of ethnic Greeks, Cypriots and foreign nationals in Greece; and
- Greek Ministries, (such as The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Ministry of Economics and the MoE), which offer scholarships to ethnic Greeks and foreign nationals in the framework of the UNDP programme.

8.3.3. Promotion of the Greek language and culture

The Ministry of Culture has developed, since 1998, a policy for the subsidy of chairs/departments of foreign universities and institutes that promote Greek history, language and culture. Currently, 111 departments in the American continent (i.e. Canada, the US and Latin American countries) are subsidised by the Ministry of culture, including departments in some very prestigious US universities, such as Stanford and Harvard.

The MoE, whose budget is restricted in comparison to the budget of other ministries, from time to time subsidises specific projects of foreign university departments. In 1996 it founded the Centre for the Greek Language, to promote Modern Greek. The Centre developed a method for the teaching of Greek as a foreign language as well as a certification system for competence in the use of the Greek language. These courses facilitate the entrance into HE of ethnic and migrant Greeks as well as foreign nationals who are not fluent in Greek. Aiming at the promotion of Greek culture and language, the Centre for the Greek Language organises a database (still under development) of foreign departments/universities that offer courses of Modern Greek, alongside courses on Ancient, Byzantine and Modern Greek Culture, History and Language. Currently, 255 institutes and university departments have been located worldwide offering courses in Modern Greek.

8.4. Policy effects

8.4.1. Free mobility patterns

Free mobility patterns of incoming undergraduate students are influenced by the access policy of the MoE. Traditionally, a large number of Cypriots and ethnic and migrant Greeks (mainly from Germany, Belgium and the US) are admitted to HE. This policy is related to the traditional role of the state and the education policy for ethnic and migrant Greeks. The pattern has changed slightly since 1992, when the number of Cypriots became

smaller, upon operation of the Cyprus University. The foreign nationals originated mainly from developing countries of the Middle East or Sub-Saharan Africa. Very small numbers of Western Europeans came for full studies in Greece. The traditional policy choices appear related to foreign policy. The Middle East is a region with which Greece has traditional cultural and historical ties. The trend from Sub-Saharan Africa is surprising, given that Greece never maintained close relations with this region. It should be noted though that the OECD has had a policy for the area since the 1950s. Therefore it appears that the admittance of candidates from this region is related to the obligations of Greece as a donor country granting technical aid. Since the 1990s, upon the breakdown of the Soviet block and the development of migration patterns towards Greece, there are growing numbers of students (both ethnic Greeks and foreign nationals) from neighbouring countries (Albania and Bulgaria) and former USSR counties. Table 8.4. gives an overview of free-moving students in recent years.

Table 8.4. Special category students enrolled in HEIs

Institution/category	2000/01	1999/00	1998/99
AEI -foreign nationals	1,740	1,463	1,419
AEI -ethnic/migrant Greeks	3,247	3,145	2,944
AEI – Cypriots	6,418	5,387	4,430
AEI – subtotal	11,405	9,995	8,793
TEI -foreign nationals	440	455	234
TEI -ethnic/migrant Greeks	1,023	2,271	1,686
TEI – Cypriots	1,561	1,372	766
TEI – subtotal	3,024	4,098	2,686
Total	14,429	14,093	11,479

Source: MoE, Operational Research and Statistics Branch, 2003.

Since the 1980s there have been no national statistics on outward student mobility. OECD data (OECD, 2002) indicate that a large number of Greek students (13% of those enrolled in HE) study abroad. A significant number of Greek students study in the UK, Germany and France. The trend reflects both the traditional internationalisation rationale that acknowledges the high standard of studies in these countries and recent transnational education activities and export of education services towards Greece (especially in the case of the UK).

8.4.2. Scholarships

The State Scholarships Foundation -IKY

For the last three years (2000-2003) IKY has offered annually:

- 40 scholarships for doctoral studies or postdoctoral research to foreign nationals and/or ethnic/migrant Greeks originating from Western Europe, US, Canada, Australia or Japan;

- 90 scholarships for doctoral studies or postdoctoral research to foreign nationals and/or ethnic/migrant Greeks originating from Balkan countries, Central or Eastern European countries, Asian, African or Latin American Countries;

- 60 scholarships for summer courses for foreign nationals or ethnic/migrant Greeks originating from countries of Central or Eastern Europe or from Greek speaking areas of the former USSR.

The total number of scholarships offered by ministries varies every year. In the 1990s the state expanded its scholarships policy targeting ethnic Greeks and foreign candidates originating from Balkan, Central and Eastern European countries, within the framework of UN and EU policies for the support of countries in transition from a centrally planned to a market economy. Current data is considered confidential, but information from MoE officials suggests that since 1997/98 the number of scholarships offered by Greek Ministries, especially the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Economics, increased substantially. Such information is corroborated by trends suggested by older data (Table 8.5).

Table 8.5. Scholarships granted by Greek ministries

Year	Foreign Affairs	Economics	Education	___*	total
1988/89	37	1	13		51
1989/90	64	12	13		89
1990/91	91	12	13		116
1991/92	77	12	12		101
1992/93	67	9	10		86
1993/94	93	23	5	17	138
1994/95	49	27	27		103
1995/96	66	22	16		104
1996/97	59	42	16	18	135
1997/98	199	104	15		318
Total	802 (64.6%)	264 (21.3%)	140 (11.3%)	35 (2.8%)	1,241

*Scholarships not related to IKY's Scholarship Programme, but granted by IKY, due to MoE's budgetary limitations. *Source: Papadiamantaki, 2001*.

The geographic spread of scholarships granted by ministries reflects the trend that since 1992 an increasing number of scholarships are offered to ethnic Greeks and foreign nationals from Balkan and former USSR countries (Papadiamantaki, 2001: 276).

8.5. The effects of the EU policy level and the international context

Until 1981, academic exchanges (student and staff) were initiated on the basis of bilateral Cultural Agreements or Agreements of Scientific Cooperation (concluded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) and the resulting exchange programmes (realised by the MoE). In 1985-1995 the following developments prevailed: internal reorganisation and expansion of HE; promotion of the Europeanisation of HE due to the participation in EU research and programmes (Erasmus/Leonardo/Socrates etc.); and the increasing internationalisation of students as a result of the increasing number of unsuccessful university applicants who went to study abroad, increasingly to European countries and primarily to England (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides and Papadiamantaki, 2000b: 68-70). Greece's integration in the EU introduced new processes for academic exchanges through participation in exchange programmes and European research networks. A new development introduced by EU policies is the direct communication of Greek HEIs with their foreign counterparts,

without state mediation. Furthermore the establishment of Jean Monnet courses influenced the content of courses in Greek universities.

8.5.1. Academic Exchanges: Curriculum Development and Mobility Patterns

The launch of Erasmus/Socrates influenced the traditional mobility patterns and increased the number of foreign students (especially the number of Europeans) in HE (see Table 8.6).

Table 8.6. Mobility trends towards Greece (All categories, undergraduate studies)

Year	special category students	of which foreign nationals	approved scholar-ships	total full course foreign students	approved Erasmus mobility	total mobility	% of new entrants
1988	2,812	408	51	2,863	220	3,083	7.2
1989	3,136	400	89	3,225	437	3,662	8.7
1990	3,208	550	116	3,324	849	4,173	9.8
1991	3,067	545	101	3,168	1,507	4,675	11.1
1992	2,910	573	86	2,996	1,791	4,787	11.4
1993	2,911	467	138	3,049	2,486	5,535	12.9
1994	3,064	452	103	3,167	3,110	6,277	13.8

Source: Papadiamantaki, 2001, based on data from (a) the Data-Processing Directorate of the MoE (b) Erasmus Directories 1988-1995.

Socrates/Erasmus Programme

Until 1995, outgoing Erasmus mobility had a higher profile than incoming mobility. Since 1995, incoming and outgoing mobility tend to be balanced (West *et al*., 2001: 6-7) and approved incoming mobility towards Greece increases continuously (Tables 8.7 and 8.8).

Table 8.7. Approved mobility/incoming Erasmus students

Country	1988-89	1990-91	1992-93	1994-95	total Erasmus students
Belgium	13	85	147	235	853
Germany	53	145	261	480	1,654
Denmark	3	36	34	56	231
Spain	3	57	130	266	785
France	45	127	358	473	1,815
Italy	26	75	178	328	1,063
Ireland	3	14	57	87	285
Luxembourg	0	0	1	1	5
Netherlands	10	70	144	203	757
Portugal	1	26	46	106	302
England	63	214	386	599	2,151
Austria	0	0	14	78	143
Switzerland	0	0	1	32	48
Norway	0	0	4	36	62
Sweden	0	0	23	66	147
Finland	0	0	7	64	99
Total	220	849	1791	3110	10,400

Source: Erasmus Directory, 1989-90 to 1994-95, Commission of the European Communities, Task Force: Human Resources

Table 8.8. Demands for student places in Greek HEIs: Socrates

Country	1997/98	1998/99	1999/00	total
Belgium	189	208	235	632
Denmark	82	113	116	311
Germany	874	906	998	2,778
Spain	459	469	541	1,469
France	682	681	722	2,085
Ireland	48	40	44	132
Italy	485	528	551	1,564
Netherlands	206	199	193	598
Austria	103	120	126	349
Portugal	143	144	155	442
Finland	216	248	258	722
Sweden	141	141	156	438
UK	652	533	505	1,690
Iceland	4	6	9	19
Norway	43	53	63	159
Czech rep.		13	58	71
Hungary		6	36	42
Romania		101	161	262
Cyprus		17	66	83
Bulgaria			21	21
Estonia			1	1
Lithuania			6	6
Poland		7	51	58
Slovakia			3	3
Slovenia			3	3
Total	4,327	4,533	5,078	13,938

Source: Education, Training and Youth and TAO Erasmus Statistics for the years 1998-99,1999-2000

Besides mobility agreements, a range of innovations were introduced in Greek universities as a result of Socrates activities, such as:

- European dimension (subjects related to European history and civilisation, economics and law in the European Union, and to the progress of European political union) introduced into courses;
- Free language courses for incoming and outgoing Erasmus students;
- Supervision and teaching in languages other than Greek. However, it is important to note that this issue is peripheral to the interests of most universities. Whether courses will be offered in another language is a matter for each department's academics. Their attitudes vary concerning instruction in a widely spoken European language, as a means to attract incoming (Erasmus and full course) foreign students (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides and Papadiamantaki, 2000c: 7).

Jean Monnet chairs

Jean Monnet chairs have been established in a number of university departments in recent years to reinforce and disseminate the European dimension in university studies. Since 1990, programmes in law, economics, social and political science departments were enriched by courses with a European content, and new departments of international and European studies have been established. The extension of European studies was largely achieved owing to the Commission's programme of Jean Monnet chairs.

8.5.2. Internationalisation of research structures

Research structures assumed their present form in the 1980s. In the period 1982-1985 the legal framework for research was established and a Ministry for Research and Technology and the General Secretariat for Research and Technology (GSRT) were instituted. In the case of Greece, universities conduct the larger part of research. The research activities of universities resulted in the creation of autonomous research institutes (EPI), as well as affiliated research centres and/or institutes within university departments. According to unpublished data, approximately 50% of research funds are directed towards HEIs, whereas in most European countries the percentage of research funds directed to HEIs varies between 17 and 27% (see Table 8.9).

Table 8.9. Distribution of funding for research by type of agent

Country	state	HE	Enterprises	other
Austria*	8.9	35.0	55.9	0.3
Belgium**	3.8	27.3	67.4	1.5
Denmark	15.4	22.2	61.9	0.4
Finland	13.6	20.0	66.0	0.5
France	20.2	17.3	61.2	1.4
Germany	14.6	17.9	67.5	0.0
Greece	23.4	50.6	22.6	0.4
Ireland	7.4	18.6	73.3	0.7
Italy	20.7	26.1	53.2	0.0
Netherlands	17.1	27.3	54.6	1.0
Portugal	24.2	40.0	22.5	13.3
Spain	17.4	32.7	48.8	1.1
Sweden	3.5	21.5	74.8	0.1
U K	13.7	19.6	65.4	1.3

* Data refer to the year 1993 ** Data refer to the year 1995 *Source: Chrysakis, 2003.*

The total funds allocated to R&D do not exceed 0.5% of the GNP, whereas in most European countries R&D funds are approximately 2.8% of the GNP (Chryssakis, 2003: 6). EU programmes enhanced the effects of national policy. They offered to interested academics (departments and universities) an opportunity to pursue research, brought out the research potential of universities and fostered the research activities of universities. The participation of HEIs in European and other international programmes contributed to the already heightened interest for research.

8.6. Responses to the European and international context

Until recently, response to EU policies was a matter regarding the HEIs. It can be argued that in the past the MoE responded *ad hoc* to the challenges posed by the EU and the international context. Recently, practically everything happens as a result of MoE's initiatives and is linked to the active participation of the responsible Ministry official in the initiatives for HE developed at the EU level.

8.6.1. Europeanisation: Bologna process and Lisbon strategy

It appears that recent changes in EU policy, such as the creation of a European Higher Education Area and a European Research Area, and the determination with which the EU pursues the Lisbon strategy, have intensified the interest of the MoE in the development of more explicit policies, to consider related structures and policies as high priority issues, and facilitated the formulation of a policy to simultaneously foster the Europeanisation of HE and alleviate pressures resulting from the liberalisation of the education. This shift can be seen as related to:

- a steering model involving supervision of HEIs by the MoE that requires state intervention (legal reform) for the implementation of current EU policy;
- an active and imaginative academic currently occupying the position of Secretary of HE, in conjunction with a more active role undertaken in the context of the Greek EU presidency in the spring of 2003.

These changes resulted in a state policy for Europeanisation and a gradual reform of HE. The structure-related phase of the reform provided policies for the unhindered access to HE, the expansion of HE and the differentiation of services provided by the institutions and included the repositioning of technological education (TEI) (two-tier system implemented about two and a half years ago). This phase is now almost complete: the necessary laws (on access to HE and the repositioning of TEI) have been passed and are currently implemented and the expansion and reorganisation of the system is well underway through implementation of a comprehensive education policy framework (EPEAEK, 2002) encompassing EU objectives and co-funded by the EU. Currently Greece's HE system comprises two cycles in accordance with the requirements of the Bologna process as refined in the Prague Communiqué.

A second phase of the reform is currently at the planning stage of the development of a quality assurance mechanism, provided for by the Bologna process and the Lisbon strategy. Evaluation and assessment of HE is viewed as a prerequisite for the promotion of

Europeanisation and an asset for internationalisation processes. Influenced by EU policies, the MoE in turn attempted to influence and redirect EU policy. This is apparent in the conclusions of the Bologna Follow-up Seminar, co-organised by the MoE, the Centre for Educational Research and the Greek Presidency of the EU, which stated that: "although the participants noted the increasing trend towards global competition in HE, they reaffirmed that the main objective driving the creation of the EHEA and the internationalisation of HE on a global level, (i.e. the Lisbon strategy) should be based on academic values and cooperation between different countries and regions of the world" (Bologna Follow up Seminar, 2003: 1).

Furthermore, the current strategy of the MoE can be seen as fostering and redirecting the Europeanisation pattern by introducing policies clearly meant as outcomes in the Bologna Process. An interview with a key actor in the process indicated that this is well under way. The conclusion of the agreement for Joint MA degrees between Greek and French universities, which provides for the termination of franchising agreements of French universities with Greek CFSs, can be seen as an unprecedented and 'model-setting' policy, especially if one takes into consideration that a similar agreement between Greek and German universities is envisaged. Furthermore, collaboration has been announced at the undergraduate level of an elite French (technical) *Grande Ecole* and the Technical University of Athens.

The proposal for a postgraduate (Masters level) degree of one year focusing on the same subject as a corresponding undergraduate degree appears to be a way of harmonising in line with the Bologna process. According to information from a top MoE official, the final draft of the framework law on the evaluation of HE will contain the above proposal, reviewed by the universities and the Rectors Conference and recommended to go through, with some adaptations. Furthermore the same law will provide the framework for joint postgraduate degrees between Greek and foreign universities and the development of postgraduate programmes taught in foreign languages.

Evaluation and quality assurance

The MoE's current policy is focusing on the institutional framework for the assessment and evaluation of HE, as a prerequisite for quality assurance and comparability of HE systems. To achieve the quality assurance objective, an expert group to assist the MoE in the spatial and strategic planning for HE and a documentation centre providing data for HE have been established. The assessment and evaluation of HEIs is a highly sensitive issue, which has met with opposition in the academic community. In 1992-1995, the MoE passed a law regarding evaluation. The law provided for a Council to implement the assessment

and evaluation processes, the members of which would be appointed from a catalogue of candidates prepared by the Rectors' Conference. The opposition of academics was so intense that the Rectors' Conference did not prepare the catalogue of candidates. The law was never implemented. Recently this negative climate appears to be gradually changing due to the development of a bottom-up policy, through which institutions are actively encouraged and supported to participate in evaluation. During the first phase of EPEAEK (1995-2000) the MoE promoted the participation of institutions, on a voluntary basis, in assessment and evaluation:

- Since 1995 six Greek universities supported by the MoE participated in the Institutional Evaluation Programme of the EUA. "…After the issue was finalised, some academics said that they voted for it because they believed it would never materialise" (interview with Kladis).

- In 1996/97, a pilot project for the evaluation of HEIs was implemented for one AEI and one TEI. The project was carried out within the framework of *the European quality evaluation programme for HE*.

- For the period 1998/99 the MoE set up a quality assessment programme for HEIs, funded under EPEAEK I. The number of institutions and departments that participated was impressive: seven AEIs (42 departments/programmes of study) and five TEIs (31 departments/programmes of study).

The objective of these initiatives was to assist the development of a quality evaluation culture throughout the HE system. The involvement of a substantial number of HEIs in international or national evaluation on a voluntary basis has helped change the climate. It is estimated that about ten out of the nineteen universities and 45 out of the 240 university departments have participated in an evaluation procedure. In March 2003 the MoE submitted to the Rectors' Conference a draft law for the establishment of the National Council for Quality Assurance and Assessment of HE (NCQAA). The Minister is expecting to pass the relevant law by the end of 2003.

The MoE emphasised the relation of the NCQAA to the European policy on quality assurance and stressed that the law is an outcome of:

- an analysis of European quality assurance systems, supplemented by opinions of international experts and adjusted to the specificities of Greek education;

- the experience gained by the evaluation of HEIs, departments and programmes;

- the suggestions offered by HEIs.

The Council will have the following competencies:

- preparation of a four-year programme for the quality assessment of HE;
- appointment of external evaluators and organisation of seminars to familiarise the institutions with quality assurance;
- analysis and evaluation of the results of quality assessment;
- organisation of a databank to follow-up the assessment process and offer statistical data concerning HEIs.

8.6.2. Globalisation: GATS and the international context

Greece participates in GATS as an EU member and is bound by the common trade policy. During the previous GATS round EU member states made commitments only in the private education sector, so that the distribution of subsidies remained the prerogative of national governments.

The position of the MoE is that the overall issue of the GATS negotiations should be approached from the perspective of its compatibility with the European strategy aiming at the establishment of the EHEA in the context of the Bologna Process. The issues concerning liberalisation of HE should be dealt with in the context of the internationalisation process of HE, i.e. from an education and not from a trade perspective. This is corroborated by the conclusions of the follow-up seminar of the Bologna process, which took place during the Greek Presidency of the EU. The MoE adopted a position to consider education a public good and a public responsibility. In the proceedings of the seminar it is stated "…[the participants] reaffirmed the commitment of the Prague Communiqué for considering HE a public good and …stressed that any (GATS) negotiations about trade in education services must not jeopardise the responsibility of financing the public education sector. They further stressed, that recognition agreements and the right of countries to implement quality assurance mechanisms should not be put in question" (Bologna Follow up Seminar, 2003: 1)

The MoE is against any further liberalisation in HE and considers the potential inclusion of the privately funded HE in the GATS negotiations as a negative development. The Greek Minister of Education suggested that the Commission should not consent with this development and stressed that Greece cannot accept such a development for Constitutional and other reasons.

Two issues appear to be of major importance for Greece. First, the fact that it is not possible to distinguish between the separate activities originating from the private and the public sectors in HE in order that the private sector activities will be affected by GATS and not the public. The question raised by the EUA on the implications of such a concession is a shared concern. Secondly, the liberalisation of private HE services may exert significant pressures on the national HE systems and the respective policies even in countries were the existence of private providers of HE services are prohibited.

This second point reflects a problem that already exists: the franchise cooperation between foreign universities and enterprises already described as CFS. According to the Greek constitution HE is offered exclusively by the state and hence it is prohibited for HE services to be offered on a private basis. The (above) private enterprises are not recognised as HE entities and the use of the title of HEI by them is a penal offence. Consequently, the period of studies offered in Greece by the above enterprises is not recognised and the degrees offered are not recognised as well. The problem for Greece is obvious: if private HE services were to be liberalised, this position would be viewed as a typical "obstacle of trade" and, as such, would have to be removed. But such a request could never be accepted by Greece. There is one more reason for Greece to make specific reference to the above problem. The central message derived from the international conference on GATS (Washington, May 2002) was that only the third mode of supply needs to be addressed through GATS negotiations. The third mode is described as 'commercial presence' and includes among other arrangements the franchising agreements with local institutions. Therefore, Greece has serious reasons to be sensitive, concerned and cautious on this issue (Greek Ministry of Education, 2002).

Joint degrees between Greek and foreign universities

Since 2001, the MoE developed an active policy to curb the effects of the liberalisation of education, fostering simultaneously the Europeanisation of HE. This policy promotes the establishment of joint postgraduate degrees (MA) between Greek and foreign universities, as a replacement for franchising agreements between foreign HEIs and CFSs. The top official at the MoE decided to investigate ways to stop the proliferation of franchising, and to proceed by providing viable and worthwhile international collaborative alternatives.

MoE's Secretary for HE undertook the initiative to contact French and German universities with a view to develop joint Master's degrees with Greek universities. This was an attempt to overcome difficulties in bilateral relations between Greece and France, which arose as a result of franchising of French universities by CFSs and the policy of no recognition of degrees obtained through studies in CFSs. The difficulty arose when DIKATSA (Inter-

University Centre for the Recognition of Foreign Degrees) addressed a letter to French Universities collaborating with CFS asking them to clarify which degrees were granted following full course studies in France and which were granted following studies in Greece in collaboration with CFS. French universities did not comply with this request and DIKATSA decided that it would not grant equivalence to any degrees obtained by these French universities. He proceeded by approaching Greek universities that already had some form of cooperation with French universities and the French Ministry of Education. Currently the two Ministries have reached an agreement, which foresees the operation of (initially) three MA programmes, the first of which received its first students in September 2003.

This initiative has the unprecedented characteristic of being the only case where an MA programme is the initiative of the MoE and not a university department initiative, since there is no other case of an MA programme being initiated by any process other than the process of faculty members-department-university senate-Ministry approval. The strategy is clear in that it includes the institutional and the legal frameworks that operate in decision-making and funding in the respective countries. According to the same top official, discussions are well underway for a similar investigation with the appropriate German authorities, i.e. the Association of Rectors and the universities. It is not clear whether there will also be a resolution with the UK (where the major problem of franchising in Greece is concerned) since in the UK decisions are taken at the university level without the direct involvement of government departments (interview with Kladis).

Response of the social partners

What has become clear is that the MoE is the initiator and the main actor of the above activities geared to promote Europeanisation. The MoE not only heads this initiative, but is its main supporter. The social partners involved in the policy-making cycle (i.e. HEIs, staff and students) oppose both the framework law for quality assurance and evaluation as an institutionalised activity. Such policy is viewed as related to the comparability, attractiveness and competitiveness of HE, and has resulted in opposition to policies on the implementation of the Bologna process and the Lisbon strategy, which are seen as degrading the status of the public university and promoting the liberalisation of the education.

It is characteristic that, recently, the academics' professional association (POSDEP) acquired significance due to the heightened frictions and tensions in the HE sector resulting from institutional demands, as well as policies related to the Bologna process, for example evaluation of HE and the repositioning of TEI in the education system. The key

actors involved in policy for the university sector are the MoE and academics, which rarely opt for collective action. Traditionally the professional association of academic staff (POSDEP) rallied only a small percentage of academics, due to its extremely left-wing political stance and the provenance, social background and composition of academic staff. In the recent (2002) elections for a new POSDEP leadership, participation of academics in the procedure was raised by 65% in comparison to previous elections. POSDEP adopted a militant stance against proposed reforms to face internationalisation and globalisation pressures and asked for the absolute isolation of Greek HE from the Bologna process (interview with Kladis).

In a recent announcement POSDEP declared that it refuses to accept "the neo-liberal orientation of the university sector and commercialised knowledge". Such a development is seen as a result of GATS agreements, World Trade Organisation policies and the Bologna process, which will eventually lead to the degradation of the public university. Given the opposition to the implementation of the Bologna process, POSDEP currently assumes the role of a collective actor representing academics in Greece. It should be noted that not all academics oppose the implementation of policies related to the Bologna process. This is clear in the participation of key academics and/or the Rectors'Conference representatives in the international fora related to the Bologna process. However those who oppose Bologna are expressing their views openly in public (Yetimis and Zontiros, 2000a, 2000b).

The professional association of TEI scientific teaching personnel (OSEP-TEI) equally opposes institutionalised evaluation. The association rallied the majority of TEI scientific personnel around the most controversial issue, the implementation of EU directive 89/48 concerning the repositioning of the TEI in HE. Although the status of scientific teaching personnel was to be upgraded, long debates (and strikes) were held regarding two main points of friction related to evaluation (and hence to the demands for quality assurance and competitiveness):

- the request for evaluation of the programmes of studies offered in the TEI; and
- the demand for the upgrading of the qualifications of the scientific teaching personnel, few of which have completed doctoral studies.

Finally, the student body is rather apathetic in view of these developments. Currently, the student movement is weak, in comparison to the militant movement that actively participated in the reforms of the 1980s. Although student unions are active and vote regularly for the election of a presidency of the National Students' Association (EFEE), they have not been able to agree on the voting results and to elect a presidency in the

past twenty years. Greek student unions do not participate in the activities undertaken by European and international student unions concerning the Bologna Process. It is characteristic that only small numbers of students rally in an act of protest, outside the meeting places where developments concerning Bologna are discussed.

The social partners' opposition poses difficulties in the development MoE's Europeanisation policy, as it seems that a prerequisite for a successful educational reform is the support of the faculty members of the HEIs. This is important to bear in mind since the establishment of a quality assurance procedure appears to be a precondition for both the further development of joint degrees, either at the undergraduate or the postgraduate level, and the provisions for future EU policies regarding the European Higher Education Area.

8.7. Patterns and impact of internationalisation of higher education

There is widespread agreement that internationalisation comprises many aspects, such as student and teaching staff mobility, development of academic and institutional networks, compatibility of curricula and programs of study as well as changes in the organisational structure of HEIs (Neave, 1994; de Wit, 1995). A multitude of collective actors are involved both in the internationalisation process and the development of policies on internationalisation. In the case of Greece, internationalisation can be analysed on the basis of the different discourses and representations offered by the different actors that influence the policies for (and hence the patterns of) internationalisation. Since the 1950s it is possible to discern four different phases of internationalisation of the education system and discursive shifts in the positions adopted and the policies promoted by the various agents. The following phases may be defined:

a) 1950-1975, the phase of opposing internationalisation frameworks

b) 1975-1985, the phase of integration in the group of developed countries

c) 1985-1995, the *ad hoc* Europeanisation phase

d) 1995-to date, the active Europeanisation phase.

8.7.1. Phase 1: two opposing internationalisation frameworks

The first phase began with the end of WWII and the civil war and ended with the collapse of the junta and the restoration of democracy in 1975. The whole period is characterised by discrepancies in education policy, resulting from the parallel existence of two opposing internationalisation frameworks and the inherent tension between the 'traditional national discourse' based on a rationale that prevailed during the 19th and early 20th centuries and

the 'modernising policy framework' promoted by international actors that appeared as the main internationalisation agents of the period. The two policy frameworks provide different and contrasting representations or definitions of the national interest.

The traditional national discourse focused on the obligation of the state to protect and serve the educational and political needs of its own people, i.e. Greek nationals and ethnic Greeks across the world. Within such a discourse the international system was represented as closed and competitive, and the national interest was seen as better served by protecting and supporting the state's territorial, political and cultural space. It was the state's interest and obligation to formulate a policy that treated ethnic Greeks preferentially. The modernising policy framework, promoted by major internationalisation actors, i.e. Unesco, OECD and the World Bank, etc, interpreted the international system as open and cooperative. According to this opposing discourse, the national interest was better served by the country's modernisation and its integration into the group of economically developed countries, under the auspices of the OECD and the political security offered through participation in the western block.

Elements of the traditional national discourse survive in an education policy choice that facilitates the entrance of ethnic Greeks in HE, through recognition of qualifications obtained abroad and (high) quotas ensuring places for them in HE. This is as a social protection policy, implemented within the borders of the Greek state for 'refugees' who return to the homeland; on the other hand, the issue of support to the ethnic Greeks that remain in their ancestral homes (i.e. outside the borders) is silenced.

The modernising rationale, promoted by international organisations, which views education policy as a means to foster economic development, prevails. The implementation of the modernising policy is funded as technical aid. Greek post-war governments chose to accept all offers of technical aid. The orientation towards the development of technical and technological education was supported by all political parties, despite the fact that parties in the centre and the left were opposing technical aid. Many dynamic sectors of the education system (e.g. KATEE later on TEI) and fields of study were designed and funded in the 1960s primarily by international organisations. It should be noted that the technical aid programmes were mainly designed with minimal participation of Greek officials or experts (Pesmatzoglou, 1995: 53; Papadiamantaki, 2001: 95-100).

The most permanent influence of these policies and of the modernising discourse can be seen in the internalisation of the idea that HE, due to the country's positioning at the bottom of the hierarchy of developed countries, could not but provide very limited support

to basic research and the production of (new) knowledge. Consequently, the modernising framework can be seen as related to the *numerus clausus* policy for entry at the university level, which initiated the trend of outward mobility of Greeks for studies abroad. The ideas promoted in the 1960s have profoundly influenced postgraduate students, researchers working abroad, academics and state officials for many years and affected education policy in a way that led to the development of a passive (or defensive) internationalisation pattern.

8.7.2. Phase 2: initial integration in the international system

During the second phase (mid-1970s to mid-1980s) the modernising discourse assumed prominence as a result of the entrance of Greece into the group of developed countries (OECD). HE opened up to foreign students, as Greece concluded an agreement with the UN to become a donor of technical aid, joining the UNDP programme. Bilateral cultural and scientific agreements were aimed at the development of the international relations of Greece with its partners and allies. The policy was formulated through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and implemented by the MoE.

The inherent tension between the two opposing internationalisation discourses was echoed in the policy choices of the state and influenced the mobility patterns towards Greece. On the one hand the MoE, in fulfillment of the obligations undertaken, accorded, on the basis of a low quota, a number of places to foreign nationals. At the beginning of the period incoming students were from Sub-Saharan Africa, in line with the OECD policy for this region. In the 1980s, in an attempt to adjust the flow of foreign students to national foreign policy considerations, a good part of these places were accorded to students of Middle Eastern origin.

On the other hand the policy framework based on the traditional discourse was modified and re-directed to cater to the needs of (second, third and even fourth generation) migrant Greeks, whose migration was now considered permanent. Due to this discursive shift, the state granted access to HE to children of migrant Greeks, many of them foreign nationals, who had received non-Greek secondary education and who possessed foreign school-leaving certificates. This situation leads to the formation of special categories of students, i.e. these of Foreign Students of Greek origin, Greeks living abroad and Cypriots along side the category of foreign students (of non-Greek origin).Furthermore it is interesting to note that the legislation of the period avoided the use of the term ‘ethnic Greeks’ and refered to ‘Greeks who are living abroad’.

The hesitation to accept large numbers of foreign students of non-Greek origin in HE must be seen in relation to the mainstream education policy of the period, which focused on

regulating the number of university entrants as a result of limited resources in a free public university system, and on regulating the number of graduates entering the labour market, and therefore, centres primarily on *numerus clausus* for undergraduate study (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides, 1997).

The *numerus clausus* policy appears related to a strong internationalisation impact, in the sense that candidates to the university entrance examination who fail tend to study abroad, take repetitively the entrance examination, or find other solutions at home offered by the CFSs. The mid-1980s witnessed the initial boom of many CFSs, which as a result of the liberalisation of education, started offering foreign university courses, providing an alternative to Greek nationals who failed the university entrance examinations.

The *numerus clausus* policy contributed to the internationalisation processes of education in other countries, especially the ones at the top of the hierarchy of developed countries (US, England, France and Germany). As it has already been pointed out, the extremely high demand of Greek society for university qualifications coupled by the numerous clausus for undergraduate studies created a transfer of extensive numbers of unsuccessful candidates abroad (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides, 1997). The increasing number of Greek students abroad has contributed to the internationalisation of the student body, and of Greek society as a whole.

8.7.3. Phase 3: Europeanisation and the reconciliation of the opposing frameworks

During this phase (mid-1980s through the 1990s) the modernising discourse was mediated, complemented and redirected by EU policies, which influenced primarily the institutional level and to a lesser extent state policies. The mainstream state policy still concentrated on alleviating social pressures, related to the increasing social demand for university education. The policy debate focused on the issue of numerous clausus for undergraduate study, which prevailed, despite the fact that for the third time, after the decades of the 1960s and the 1970s, policies were introduced to increase the number of new entrants in HE (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides, 1997). The MoE's policy provided for the expansion and internal reorganisation of HE, comprising the development of middle level (Masters) postgraduate studies.

The impact of internationalisation and the liberalisation of education was very strong, so that in this period candidates who failed the university entrance examinations again either studied abroad or followed foreign university programmes at CFS. The EU discourse on the role of education for European integration is echoed in Greece, but it is not explicit; it is neither embraced, nor coupled by an explicit policy for Europeanisation. EU policies, taking

note of the principle of subsidiarity, are directed at the institutional rather than the state level. However, one would have to agree with Teichler (1993: 13), that the EU encourages the development of the European dimension in the national curricula. Hence, the EU indirectly fosters the convergence of HE and the de-nationalisation of the curricula, trying to turn the inter-European variation into inter-European differentiation.

HEIs, mainly universities and to a much lesser extent TEIs, respond to the challenges posed by the EU policy, and follow a rather individualised path to Europeanisation, as the path is conducive to the development of initiatives on the part of individual academics. The academics interested in promoting EU policies represent a percentage (10-15%) of the faculty in each department. Therefore at the university level few concrete policies for Europeanisation are formulated. This can be seen as a direct effect of EU policy during the first phase of the Erasmus project (1987-1995) when funds related to the programmes were allocated to academics coordinating them. The inauguration of the second phase of Socrates, which linked the funding of student mobility schemes to the development of a European Policy Statement (EPS) by each university, was a factor that further promoted the Europeanisation of the institutions. On initiation of Socrates II, institutions were requested both to develop a more concrete policy and to (re)form institutional structures for the centralised administration of EU programmes (as for example Departmental and University Erasmus Committees or International and/or European Relations Offices) (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides and Papadiamantaki, 2000b). On the negative side one should note that certain academics were not able (or willing) to incorporate particular exchange programmes in the institutional contract, and were discouraged by this development and abandoned existing, very successful mobility schemes.

The internationalisation policies developed by the academics can be seen as contributing to a differentiation of the mobility patterns of foreign students towards Greece. Firstly, more European students came to Greece for part-time studies as a result of the EU mobility programmes set up mostly due to the incentive of academics. Secondly, the increased numbers of foreign students that appear to enrol in postgraduate programmes of study (PMS) -a level that is not subject to quota restrictions and where the decision for the admission of candidates is taken at the department level -can be seen as related to internationalisation policies developed by the academics (at the department level). State policies, nevertheless, are influenced by EU policy to a lesser extent. The following are the major impacts of Europeanisation on state policy:

(a) The EU facilitated the speedier development of Masters level studies, noticing however that the process was already initiated long before at the state level

(b) As a result of the EU-inspired discourse debates are initiated on the structural reform of HE, concerning the repositioning of TEI, as well as the first attempts to develop an evaluation culture through participation in and encouragement of evaluation of individual departments/institutions

(c) Last, the EU policy for the support of Eastern European countries during their transition to a market economy, enabled Greece to formulate a scholarships policy for ethnic and foreign nationals originating from Balkan and Eastern European countries, using the EU institutional framework. This provided an opportunity to finally reconcile two opposing policy frameworks and to re-institute to some extent the traditional ties of the Greek state with ethnic Greek communities in former eastern block countries.

During this phase the pattern of Europeanisation could be described as active and *ad hoc*. The Europeanisation of HEIs occurs mainly as a result of the efforts of individual academics, which appear as major internationalisation actors.

8.7.4. Phase 4: a state policy for active Europeanisation

The current phase of internationalisation of HE appears related to the formulation of an explicit EU discourse on the role of education concerning European integration and policy for the development of a single social area, i.e. the unified EHEA and ERA. Given the Greek steering model of HE, the issues raised by the EU as expressed through the Lisbon strategy (i.e. attractiveness and competitiveness of the EHEA) and the Bologna process (i.e., evaluation and comparability of European HE systems and institutions) are addressed at the state level and have to be answered by a new national discourse.

The MoE appears to embrace the EU discourse, retaining a few reservations, related to state regulation of education and the influence of the international context. This shift in the national discourse and MoE's practice is a new development. The MoE presents for the first time an explicit, very active policy for Europeanisation, instead of primarily responding to internationalisation and globalisation pressures, contributing to what can be called passive internationalisation.

The current strategy of the MoE can be seen as an attempt to curb the effects of the liberalisation of education market and GATS agreements, while fostering and redirecting the Europeanisation pattern not only in Greece but in other European countries (i.e. France and Germany) as well. An interview with one of the key actors indicates that this is well under way. In such a case, the conclusion of the agreement for Joint MA degrees between Greek and French universities, which simultaneously provides for the termination

of franchising agreements of French universities with Greek CFSs can be seen as an unprecedented and 'model-setting' policy, especially if one takes into consideration that a similar agreement between Greek and German universities might be pursued.

The new discourse acknowledges Europeanisation as an independent and dynamic process that provides an alternative to pressures related both to internationalisation and the liberalisation of education. However, this new discourse, perhaps due to the fact that it is not yet fully developed, has led to an opposition between the MoE and the social partners on certain issues, especially the repositioning of TEI and the evaluation of HEIs. The development of Europeanisation policies that provide for the harmonisation of the education system to EU directives, and the debate on the issues raised through the Bologna process, are resisted by the majority of the HE community, i.e. faculty members of AEI and TEI, professional associations and, to a lesser extent, students.

This situation appears to be gradually changing, and the academic community appears to hesitantly embrace the Ministry's views. However, the professional associations of faculty members of AEI and TEI oppose some developments related to the Bologna process and in unison with the Greek society support a commitment to free and public university education, that would guarantee not employability in the narrow sense, but also the professional rights of HE graduates (Yetimis and Zontiros, 2000a). It is also to be noted that students oppose the Bologna process, as they are afraid that a three-year first cycle of studies followed by a two-year second cycle will under valuate the level of (free and public) undergraduate studies.

Safeguarding the existing four-year undergraduate programmes is regarded as a goal related to social and democratic rights to education. The academics and the students alike are sceptical and concerned that the Bologna process will lead to a downgraded undergraduate level for all and an upgraded Masters level for a limited few, which threatens the social and democratic right to free education.

According to information from a top MoE official, the final draft of the framework law on evaluation will contain a separate article, in which a proposal to accommodate some Bologna requirements will be incorporated. It should be noted that the proposal for one-year postgraduate degrees has been reviewed by the universities and the Rectors Conference has recommended that it should go through, with some adaptations. Furthermore the same framework law will provide the legal framework for the development of joint postgraduate degrees between Greek and foreign universities and for the development of postgraduate programmes in foreign languages.

During this fourth phase, the EU and the MoE seem to be the main actors of Europeanisation of the Greek HE system. In contrast, the academics, who in the past have adopted positions fostering the Europeanisation of HE, appear to adopt (individually and collectively) a stance that questions the related policies as they have been formulated within the Bologna process.

The attempt to formulate active policies during phases three (institutional level) and four (state level) can be seen as related to the repositioning of Greece within the hierarchy of developed countries, especially since its integration in the EU, and the development of a new modernising discourse that acknowledges both the necessity of a cooperative, regional, reflexive European policy and the capacity of local, national, individual and collective actors to influence the policy process at European level.

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2.7. Chapter 9. Austria

Elsa Hackl, Thomas Pfeffer and Helga Eberherr

9.1. Short description of the Austrian higher education system

Traditionally, the Austrian higher education system had a higher proportion of foreign students and an appointment rate of foreign professors also at a rather higher level compared to most other countries. This indicates the great importance of internationalisation for tertiary education in Austria. However, before going into detail on the issues of internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation, it is necessary to give an overview of the Austrian higher education (HE) system.

9.1.1. Three higher education sectors

For a long time the HE system in Austria has been a federal monopoly, exclusively provided by state universities. Only in the mid 1990s when the *Fachhochschule* sector was established as an alternative to the university sector, the traditional interpretation of the Austrian Constitution (that HE is not only a federal responsibility but has also to be offered by federal institutions only) began to change. Since that time the relationship between the state and higher education institutions (HEIs) have become even more distant and in 1999 a law providing for the establishment of private universities passed Parliament.

Table 9.1 Higher education sectors in Austria in 2001

	Public universities	*Fach-hochschulen*	Private universities
Institutions	18 (a)	19	5
Students			
Absolute	184,237	14,338	858 (b)
% of total enrolment	92.8	7.2	0.4
New entrants			
Absolute	23,112	5,232	339 (b)
% of total new entrants	81.5	18.5	1.2

a Number 19, the Danube University Krems offers postgraduate programmes only and is generally not included in statistical data for regular degree students.

b Data for private universities are incomplete, figures for one institution are missing

Source: bm:bwk 2002a, 2002b.

The establishment of the two new HE sectors in the 1990s was accompanied by the introduction of new funding and steering models, which will be described below. Since its

introduction, the professionally-oriented *Fachhochschule* sector has become increasingly important. Currently it enrols 18.5% of the new entrants to HE, and is to expand its share of new entrants to one-third by 2005. The private university sector is too new and too small to have played a relevant role during the last years. As a consequence, HE in Austria is predominantly offered by public universities. The following sections will concentrate on the public university sector, due to its size and since it constitutes the historic and general basis for the Austrian HE system. The *Fachhochschule* sector will be used for contrasting this picture and to demonstrate a new steering approach in the public sector. Only in relation to a few aspects will we refer to the private sector as well. The postsecondary professional programmes, such as the teacher training colleges or the colleges for social work, will not be dealt with since in Austrian statistics and documents (in difference to those of the OECD) they do not figure as part of the HE system.

Public universities

Public universities used to be institutions of the Federal Ministry with little responsibility of their own and have been regulated by detailed laws. All universities are subject to a single organisational law and, in principle, are organised in the same way. Staff are mainly civil servants. Universities have received their earmarked resources from the federal budget. Everybody with a higher secondary school leaving exam has been allowed to enrol at any university of his or her choice. There has been and still is, in principle, no other access regulation. Currently, most of these topics are subject to reforms. Although change has been going on for the last few years, most of the traditions have prevailed to a large extent. Austria has six comprehensive universities, six specialised universities, six small universities for art and music, and one university for postgraduate education. Two-thirds of all students attend universities in Vienna.

Fachhochschulen

A professionally-oriented non-university sector was created in Austria only in 1993 – late in comparison to most other European countries. The organisation of this sector differs remarkably from the university sector. The Federal Government still takes upon much of the financial burden and funds the courses on a per capita basis. But there is an independent body, the *Fachhochschulrat*, that evaluates and accredits the study programmes. Apart from one minor exception, all of these programmes are provided by institutions, which are based on public or private law, such as associations and limited companies. However, the partners of these are usually public bodies like provinces, municipalities or social partners. These public bodies provide the infrastructure and are supposed to complement federal funding. The first ten programmes started in winter term

1994/95; in winter term 2001 there were 14,338 students in 19 institutions offering programmes in technology, economics and business, tourism, social work and media. By now, there are *Fachhochschule* institutions in all Austrian provinces.

Private universities

In 1999 a law providing for the accreditation of private universities passed Parliament. Some small, private institutions had already been operating in Austria.

Some religious institutions were based on contracts with the Vatican, others had been ignored by the government. Therefore, in some way, the Act on the Accreditation of Private Universities adjusted the legal situation to reality. At the same time, the new law met the demand of those, mainly industrialists, who had begun to consider HE as a marketable good. Based on this law (and similar to the *Fachhochschule* sector), an accreditation agency was created. The task of this agency was to hinder an unrestricted foundation of private universities and to safeguard minimal standards. The law explicitly excludes federal funding but explicitly allows support by regional governments or municipalities. It does not distinguish between for-profit and not-for-profit institutions. Under this law, five institutions have been accredited until 2001, one of which has lost its accreditation again in 2003. Three of these universities predominantly provide programmes for management and business administration, one is offering courses in catholic theology and religious instruction and one is in the medical field. In 2002, two additional institutions were accredited, one for management and one for medicine.

9.1.2. Participation in the higher education system

In Austria, entrance rates to HE and the proportion of HE graduates in the workforce have been lower than in most other OECD countries. In 2001, 26.1% of the age group entered HE, and about 8.2% of the work force graduated from HE. In 2001, 37.3% of the age group graduated from upper secondary school with a qualification for entrance to HE (*Matura*). Of these, 45.6% gained their Matura at higher secondary schools of general education, and 55.4% at vocational schools. In Austria, the dominant sector of upper secondary education is the vocational one where more than 80% of young people get their secondary education. Only one-third of these students attend schools that lead to a *Matura*.

9.1.3. Public expenditure on higher education

HE in Austria is mainly funded from the federal budget. Its share of the budget constantly increased from 1990 and was still increasing slightly during the last three years. In 2002, the HE budget accounted for 1.1% of the GDP, which was slightly less than the previous

two years but it still corresponded to the average of the OECD countries. The greater part of the federal expenditure on HE (74%) goes to the twelve universities, while 7% is spent on the universities of art and music, and 3% on *Fachhochschule* institutions. 16% is devoted to student support and to the promotion of research and cannot be directly assigned to one of the HE sectors (bm:bwk, 2002a).

9.1.4. Research

The R&D policy of the Federal Government is increasingly seen as a question of national competitiveness and therefore informed by international comparisons, mainly with a narrow focus on the European Union and a broader focus on OECD countries. These comparisons are additionally stimulated by efforts of the European Commission to institutionalise benchmarking activities.

The major goal of Austrian R&D policy is to raise the expenditure on R&D from 1.9% of the gross domestic product (2001) to 2.5% in 2006. During the last years the EU average R&D percentage of the GDP fell while Austria experienced a slight rise. Therefore there was an approximation of Austria'percentage to the EU average. But Austria still lags behind the OECD average, and even more behind some countries of comparable size (e.g. Sweden 3.8%). There exist several reasons for the current rate of R&D expenditure. The private sector only contributes 57.6% of the total sum (18.6% come from abroad, only 39.0% from domestic companies). Another problem is a structural lack of technology-oriented industries. This is accompanied by a continuous specialisation in research areas with a small potential for growth.

To increase R&D expenditures under conditions of restricted federal budgets, the government aims to increase the contributions of private industries. For this purpose, tax relief for investments in R&D has been introduced. Further goals are to foster risk capital and the foundation of technology-oriented companies. Federal funding will be reallocated to technologically highly innovative projects. The Federal Government additionally wants to develop a national research profile and to attract research-intensive industries from abroad. Part of this profile will be an improved attractiveness of study programmes in sciences and in technology. To reach the stated goals, the government regards an improvement in human resources to be necessary. In this context, the promotion of women in R&D is to be one measure. In addition, the incoming mobility of research personnel will be facilitated (bm:bwk et al., 2003).

9.2. Views and rationales for internationalisation

We can distinguish between a policy of internationalisation and the internationalisation of HE policy. The policy of internationalisation refers to the way in which Austria is positioning itself amongst others. The internationalisation of HE policy refers to the use of developments outside Austria as a frame of reference for national policies and reforms. Of course, both aspects of internationalisation are interrelated.

9.2.1. The policy of internationalisation

At the end of the 20th century, Austria's HE policy was still marked by the changes and catastrophes of the first half of the last century: the loss of the imperial *hinterland*, forced mass emigration and the persecution of scholars and scientists during the Nazi regime, and the damages caused by two world wars. Since having lost its former position in the scientific world, Austria has been cultivating an anachronistic self-image of scientific importance (Leidenfrost et al., 1997). As an OECD study observed in 1988, this lead to an 'isolation complex' in Austria, which hindered the country from finding 'a place in the new political grouping' (OECD, 1988).

In the 1970s, there were political attempts to counteract and to overcome these retrospective and introspective patterns. Since 1972, the official, tri-annual report of the Ministry to Parliament on HE (*Hochschulbericht*) has devoted a chapter to 'International Relations'. At that time the rationale for international cooperation was the conviction that Austria can learn much from the experience of other countries, especially in science and research. At the same time, it needs not to be overlooked that for many regions Austria can be a donor and should not withdraw from this responsibility (bm:wf, 1972). More profound political initiatives for internationalisation took place in the early 1990s. The planned access to the EC and the collapse of Communism in Austria's neighbouring Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries in 1989 led to serious debates about Austria's place in Europe. The Coalition Government in general, and the responsible Minister for Higher Education and Research in particular, welcomed the political opportunities offered by these historical changes. Two major policy goals for internationalisation in HE were set and actively promoted at this time: the accession/participation in the European area for research and HE, and the enhancement of cooperation with CEE countries. Later governments and responsible ministers were less devoted to policies of internationalisation. The ministerial bureaucracy continued to follow these goals, e.g. by pushing forward the integration of Austria into the European area for research and HE. But it did so without much political guidance or support.

Internationalisation policy became more reactive again, more a concern of individual administrators than of politicians.

9.2.2. The internationalisation of higher education policy

In many aspects, Austria has followed international trends in HE policy. In the early 1970s the first great expansion started. Later on, in the 1980s and 1990s, as in other countries too, new topics became important in HE policy, such as quality assurance, diversification or the crisis of federal budgets. Experiences from other countries were valuable sources for the government for designing its reform plans. While the reforms in the 1970s mainly drew from the German system, the reforms in the 1990s transferred ideas from a more Anglo-Saxon context to Austria, like institutional autonomy, managerialism and market driven steering approaches (Pratt, 2004).

National demands for HE reforms coincided with (and were enhanced by) preparations for the accession to the EC. Austria wanted to participate in the European research and HE programmes. This triggered a second, big reform cycle at the beginning of the 1990s. Thus, to a large extent the internationalisation of HE policy resulted from the EU accession. From 1990 onwards, working programmes of the successive governments and coalition agreements contained chapters dealing with HE and research in the context of EU activities. For example, they declared an intention to adapt national research programmes to the EU (Federal Government, 2000) and to implement the EU's goal to raise the research budget to 3% by 2010 (Federal Government, 2003). In relation to HE, programmes to bring the Austrian professional education system in line with European standards were announced -which resulted in the foundation of the *Fachhochschule* sector (Federal Government, 1990) and the adaption of dentists' education to the relevant EU directive (Federal Government, 1996). In the government programme of 2003, there is a basic commitment to the goals of the Bologna declaration.

The current, ongoing reform cycle in Austria's HE system is closely linked with European developments. Yet it has gained a dynamic of its own and goes beyond the urge to harmonise with European standards. Strategic goals are formulated at the European level, but not consistent HE policies for individual countries. However, these strategic goals raise the public awareness for an international framework of reference. In the most recent years, the argument of internationalisation was used as a lever for fundamental reforms on the national level, emphasising competition and culminating in the ambitious marketing idea of an Austrian world-class university (*Weltklasseuniversität*).

9.2.3. Rationales for internationalisation

Increasingly the goals of HE policy, as argued for by governments, have an international perspective. Yet there are different rationales for internationalisation. The model suggested by Van der Wende (1997) can be used to assess the interplay of various rationales for the Austrian internationalisation policy in HE. The described change of focus in Austria from internationalisation towards Europeanisation could easily be explained as a mere substitution of one political rationale by another one, which would not make much difference in the proposed model. However, a different point of view is suggested here. Since European integration is predominantly perceived as an economic project, where HE must contribute to integration into the common market, this change of focus can be interpreted as a shift from a political to a more economical rationale. This is in line with other general trends of HE policy, which currently favour economic arguments (e.g. cost efficiency) to the disadvantage of political ones (e.g. democracy, equal opportunities). Similarly, we see a shift from a more holistic, cultural rationale (e.g. international understanding, responsibility) to a more specific, vocational education rationale (e.g. achievement, quality, accreditation).

9.3. Current national policies and regulatory frameworks

9.3.1. Infrastructure

The Ministry of Education, Research and Culture

In 1991, a new section for Scientific Research and International Affairs in Research (*Sektion für Wissenschaftliche Forschung und Internationale Angelegenheiten – Bereich Wissenschaft*) was founded, succeeding the former section for Research. While before international cooperation had been the responsibility of some smaller lower level units, now the topic of international affairs in research and HE had become more prominent. The new section is mainly responsible for the realisation of the European area for research and HE and for coordinating international affairs in research. Partially, it has to coordinate its agenda with the section for universities and *Fachhochschulen*.

Austrian Exchange Service

The growing importance of internationalisation and the pertinent changes in the Ministry required corresponding innovation on the operative level of student and faculty consultancy and programme management. Since the late 1980s in particular, most administrative work has been transferred from the Ministry to the Austrian Exchange Service (ÖAD) or to the individual HEI. The ÖAD was founded as an association of all

Austrian universities. In 2000, the ÖAD General Assembly was extended with two new members, the Austrian *Fachhochschulkonferenz* (the association of the providers of *Fachhochschule* programmes) and the Steering Committee of the Teacher Training Colleges (*Bundesleitungskonferenz der Pädagogischen Akademien*). On behalf of the Federal Ministry for Education, Research and Culture and of the Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the ÖAD is responsible for managing a wide range of scholarship and exchange programmes for students, scholars and scientists. It also acts as the national agency for the SOCRATES and LEONARDO programmes. The ÖAD has expanded its service in the last few years as a response to the increased international cooperation in education and research. Its growing importance can be demonstrated with staffing figures. In 1997 the ÖAD had a staff of 50 and in 2002 of 118 (ÖAD, 2002).

Coordination of universities and *Fachhochschule* institutions

- Universities: *Forum Internationales der Rektorenkonferenz* The main aim of the forum for international affairs of the Austrian Rectors' Conference is to serve as a platform for debate and for exchange of experiences concerning specific measures to promote cooperation in international activities. Members of this committee are the responsible vice-rectors of the universities.

- *Fachhochschulen*: *Ausschuss für internationale Angelegenheiten*. In 2002, the *Fachhochschulkonferenz* set up a similar group, the Committee for International Affairs. It is composed of the agents for international affairs at the *Fachhochschulen*.

Both bodies promote the transfer of know-how within their sectors and develop suggestions for the Ministry and for the ÖAD with respect to internationalisation policies.

Bureau for International Research and Technology Cooperation (BIT)

The BIT was founded in 1993, in cooperation with and as an initiative of the Federal Government and the Chamber of Commerce, with the aim of promoting the participation of Austrian enterprises and research institutions in international R&D initiatives, especially in the EU research programmes and EUREKA.

Federal Institute for International Transfer of Education and Training (BIB)

The BIB was established in September 2001 to support education, science and training by facilitating its involvement in export projects. It links up exportable aspects of the Austrian education, science and training system with export interests on a project basis.

9.3.2. Student Support

There are various student support mechanisms in force for in-and outgoing students.

Outgoing students

- General study grants Initially, only students studying at Austrian universities were eligible for a grant on a means-tested basis and a successful academic record. However, since 1992, students who spend a period of studies abroad may also continue to receive the grant, previously for two terms abroad, now for four terms. These amendments are a response to the exigencies of the ERASMUS programme.

- Subsidies for study abroad The Federal Government subsidises ERASMUS students abroad, in addition to their ERASMUS grants. There are also scholarships and programmes of the Federal Ministry for Education, Research and Culture for outgoing postgraduates, foreign language courses, scholarships for unpaid internships at international and supranational organisations (e.g. UNO, EU) and for a range of joint study programmes.

- Cooperation with Central and Eastern Europe There are various cooperation activities between Austria and CEE countries and universities. Apart from bilateral cooperation with Slovakia, the Czech Republic and Hungary, one of the most important programmes for Central and Eastern Europe is the CEEPUS programme (Central European Exchange Programme for University Studies), established in 1993 as an Austrian multilateral regional initiative. The first period ended in 2000 but was extended until December 2004, with the option of further prolongation. In 2001/2002 there were 62 networks with a total of 462 institutions involved. Instead of transferring funds, CEEPUS has an internal currency of 'scholarship months'. Each country pays its incoming students and teachers and has to offer at least 100 scholarship months per academic year. (CEEPUS office, 2002).

- Austria's participation in EU programmes Austrian HEIs began to participate as 'silent partners' in ERASMUS at the beginning of 1989/90. Participation in European educational mobility and research (COMMETT II, SCIENCE, SPES) programmes marked the beginning of a qualitative new phase of internationalisation characterised by their multilateral and European dimensions (Leidenfrost et al., 1997). Austrian participation in ERASMUS grew steadily and quickly from 855 outgoing Austrian students in 1992/93 to 3,077 in 2000/01.

Incoming students

- Study grants for students and young researchers from abroad When the ERASMUS programme replaced bilateral agreements on student exchange with EU countries, the Austrian government cancelled paragraphs on student exchange or scholarship provisions in bilateral agreements, generally. Instead, the Ministry for Education, Research and Culture established four scholarship programmes for foreign students/graduates and junior academics. In the academic year 2001/02, about 140 scholarships were awarded in the framework of these programmes to students, graduates and academics of about 30 countries, more than two-thirds of these to natives of Southern and Eastern Europe.

- Developing countries Traditionally, cooperation with developing countries was organised in a considerably different way than other internationalisation policies in HE. This was due to the fact that this type of cooperation was regarded as part of the overall development aid policy which was mainly funded by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. The main regions that Austria's development aid policy had been focusing on since the early 1990s were the Sahel Zone in West Africa, East Africa, South Africa, the Himalaya-Hidukush region and Central America. Following international trends towards sustainability and quality control in development aid policy, Austria aimed to achieve visible effects in the respective countries. When general tuition fees were introduced in 2001, they were expected to have negative effects for students from poorer countries. To reduce these effects, the refunding of tuition fees (approx. 5.8 Million € per year) was introduced by the Ministry of Education, Research and Culture.

- South Eastern Asia Another new ÖAD activity is to administer the newly established technology scholarships for South Eastern Asia for which graduates and post-docs from Indonesia, Thailand and Vietnam are eligible.

9.3.3. Migration regulations

In 1993, a new Act on Residence was introduced. It asked both students and visiting researchers to prove they had adequate funds to finance their living costs. According to the (ÖAD, 2000), this requirement is the largest handicap for foreign students, especially for students from developing countries, and actually led to a significant reduction of their number. The Act of Residence also contained quota regulations to limit migration from certain countries. In trying to facilitate academic mobility, in 1997 a new Act on Foreigners withdrew some restrictions and exempted students and researchers from quota

regulations. Additionally, since January 2003, non-EU/EEA students who possess a valid residence permit to study also have a limited working permit. Researchers from non-EEA countries who apply for a residence permit for longer than three years have to sign an 'integration agreement' which obliges them to attend German courses. Students and visiting researchers who want to stay for longer than six months have to present a health certificate.

9.3.4. Access and tuition

Access

Since the 1970s, there has been free and open access to public universities. Generally speaking, every Austrian citizen holding a higher secondary school leaving exam is entitled to enrol at any Austrian university of his or her preference. Only universities of arts and music may require entrance examinations. Universities may limit places for non-EU foreigners if there is a lack of places. Practically, only a small proportion of study programmes have restrictions for foreign students, the rest offer free access. In contrast to public universities, *Fachhochschule* institutions can require entrance examinations which apply both to Austrian and to foreign students. Based on a per capita funding and clear performance contracts with the Ministry, rationing of study places is comparatively easy for *Fachhochschule* institutions.

Tuition

While studying at public universities had been for free for Austrian citizens until 2001, foreign non-EU students generally were obliged to pay a tuition fee of about □ 290 per semester. However, there were several exemptions from this rule. In actuality, only 5% of all foreign students paid tuition in 1989 (bm:wf, 1990). One can assume that students from industrialised, non-European countries were the only ones to pay for studying in Austria, and administrative costs are said to have exceeded generated incomes. In 2001, the Federal Government introduced tuition fees for both the university and the *Fachhochschule* sector. Students from EU/EEA countries and from Switzerland have to pay □ 364, the same amount as Austrians. All other foreigners are generally obliged to pay double that amount. Again, there exist several exceptions. There is no tuition for students who participate in mobility programmes, for refugees or for students from countries where there are mutual agreements not to charge fees. The last criterion mainly applies to Eastern European reform countries and to Turkey. Students from developing countries have to pay tuition, but may have their fees refunded.

9.4. Main policy effects

9.4.1. Incoming students

The higher education system

Domestic data show a slightly higher proportion of foreign students in Austria than OECD data. This difference is caused by the fact that Austrian data (see Table 9.2) concern only academic degree courses (*Magister*, bachelor, master or doctoral). OECD data, on the other hand, also include professional programmes, such as teacher training colleges, colleges for social work, or postsecondary programmes at vocational higher secondary schools which normally show lower mobility rates. OECD statistics therefore indicate a slightly lower participation rate of foreign students in Austria. According to OECD calculations, the proportion of foreign students in Austria was 11.6% in 2000, well above the average of 4.9%. In this ranking, Austria takes a third place, behind Switzerland (16.6%) and Australia (12.5%) (OECD, 2002).

Table 9.2. Total enrolments and foreign students (in %) by higher education sector

	1990		2000		2001*	
	total	**foreign**	**total**	**foreign**	**total**	**foreign**
Public universities	193,479	9.6%	229,247	13.4%	184,237	14.8%
	186,607	*8.7%*	*221,505*	*12.6%*	*176,724*	*13.8%*
Research						
Art and music	*6,872*	*31.9%*	*7,742*	*38.0%*	*7,513*	*38.5%*
	--	--	11,743	3.5%	14,338	3.4%
Fachhochschulen						
Private universities	--	--	--	--	858	49.5%
Total	193,479	9.6%	240,990	12.9%	198,575	14.1%

* winter term 2001: preliminary figures.

Source: calculated from bm:bwk 2002a, 2002b.

According to Austrian data, there was a remarkable decline in total enrolments between 2000 and 2001. This effect was caused by the introduction of tuition fees in 2001, which led to a decrease of total enrolments at universities (20.2%) and universities of art and music (3.0%). Apart from this recent decline there has been a continuous expansion of HE. Parallel to this expansion, enrolments of foreign students have grown even quicker, which means an increase of their percentage.

Universities

Traditionally, the number of students from abroad has been high in Austria. In 1970, 15.9% of all students at universities came from abroad. In the middle of the 1970s, the OECD reported that foreign students in Austria are 13% of the total student population – a higher proportion than any other European country. The principle of free access protects this unique foreign participation (OECD, 1976). In the 1980s and 1990s foreign participation did not keep pace with the increased numbers of Austrian students. The percentage of foreign students at universities dropped to 9.3% in 1980 and to 8.7% in 1990. However, this trend changed in the 1990s. While the expansion of the university sector slowed down, the participation of foreign students started to grow again, up to 13.8% in 2001. This development has several aspects and one main explanation.

The largest share of foreign students comes from Western Europe, especially from two countries: Italy contributes 23.6% and Germany 16.9% of all students from abroad. Most of the Italian students in Austria are members of the German speaking community in Southern Tyrol. For students from Germany, Austria traditionally has been a convenient place to study abroad, as Germany and Austria share the same language and have similar HE systems. So, it is fair to say that about 40% of all foreign students come from only two countries. Although the absolute numbers of students from all Western European countries grew slightly until 2000, their percentage decreased constantly.

The proportion of students coming from non-European, industrialised countries has not been too impressive. Absolute numbers slowly grew until the mid 1990s, then rather declined. Austrian universities seemed to become less attractive for students from these regions.

Central and Eastern Europe is the only geographic region which constantly and quite impressively increased its percentage of students in Austria throughout the 1990s, from 7.7% to 31.8%. This enormous expansion was caused by the political changes in 1989, which led to reforms and to an opening of the respective countries. A comparatively smaller growth in absolute numbers and a decrease in percentage can be observed with Turkish students. The largest decline can be observed in the numbers of students from developing countries. Not only was there a decline in students from developing countries as a percentage of all foreign students, but their absolute figures also decreased. Since the mid-1990s, this group has been reduced by more than one-third. The decrease was caused by a changing legal framework for foreigners that continued to become more restrictive during the 1990s, and by the introduction of general tuition fees, even if they are reimbursed to students from poorer countries.

Universities of arts and music

Compared to the university sector, the proportion of foreign students (38.6% in 2001) at universities of arts and music has always been far higher. Austrian universities of arts and music have historically been world renowned. In a trend similar to the universities, their share of foreign students grew massively in the 1990s. Here, as well, the reason can be found in political developments in Central and Eastern Europe. Six CEE countries are represented among the ten countries with the highest percentage of students at Austrian arts and music universities as follows: Hungary (8.8%), Bulgaria (5.1%), Slovenia (4.2%), Croatia (3.7%), Poland (3.1%) and Yugoslavia (2.8%). Remarkably, there are also three Asian countries among these ten countries: Korea (7.2%), Japan (5.8%) and China (3.8%). However, here too, Germany sends the highest number of students, at 24.1%.

Fachhochschulen

With the exception of a small peak in 1998, the participation of foreign students (3.4% in 2001) at *Fachhochschule* institutions is comparatively low and stable. Although the sector as such has been very successful, there are several structural handicaps for internationalisation, e.g. lack of critical size combined with deficits of infrastructure, tight regional connections and locations in small towns mostly remote from big cities, a limited variety of subjects, and a feedback dilemma, since internationalisation seldom shows short-term rewards (Pechar, 2003). By far the biggest share of all foreign students comes from German speaking environments such as Germany (41%) and Northern Italy (14.5%). The next important countries of origin are Hungary (7.0%), Croatia (2.9%) and Turkey (2.9%).

Private universities

The statistics on foreign students in the private sector are based on figures from four out of five institutions only. At 46% of the entire sector, the statistics are impressive, but misleading. In two of the universities (one for theology, the other in the medical fields), foreign students are about 10% of the total student population. In contrast, in two other private universities that focus on management and business studies, foreign students are 74% and 80% of the total, of which 68% and 77%, respectively, are students from non-EU countries.

9.4.2. Outgoing Students

The ratio of students studying abroad in relation to total enrolments in the home country varies widely. Austria with 4.4% lies slightly above the OECD average of 4.1% of home

students studying abroad. If one combines the percentage from OECD sources with enrolment data from Austrian sources, the following picture emerges. Western Europe is by far the most important geographic region of destination for Austrian students going abroad, especially Germany (57%) and the UK (11%). The second most attractive category are industrialised non-European countries, especially the USA (8%). These data illustrate two major trends among Austrian students who study abroad. One is a focus on the German-speaking neighbourhood, the other is a strong interest in English-speaking countries. Still, these figures have to be handled with care, since Eastern European and developing countries are not included in these data. 29% Of the total of (estimated) 10,628 outgoing Austrian students are supported by Austrian grants and European Union mobility programmes, and 19% are sponsored by ERASMUS. While many Austrian students can benefit from being supported by these programmes, there is also significant student mobility independent from such funded programmes.

9.4.3. Staff

Incoming staff

Academic staff mobility is one aspect of the internationalisation or Europeanisation of HE systems. There are 'open' systems where professors and other staff members are welcomed and there are 'closed' systems where, even when the free movement of the labour force is guaranteed, academic staff members from abroad are rare. Traditionally, Austrian HE has not been a closed house. Nevertheless, it has not become more open during recent years.

An increase in appointments of professors – both returning Austrian nationals and foreigners – was an explicit policy goal in the 1970s and 1980s. Austrian universities were thought to have an inward looking attitude; so in addition to limiting internal appointments (*Hausberufungen*), appointments of foreign professors were regarded as a means to modernise universities. In 1990 the Ministry even commissioned a study (Mrkvicka, 1990) to investigate the reasons why foreigners did not accept professorial posts at Austrian universities. At this time the percentage of non-Austrian nationals was about 25% of all appointments, or, if returning Austrian nationals were included, more than 30%. During the 1990s, Ministerial reports discussed this issue. In 2002 about 14% of all university professors were originally non-Austrian citizens, of which 80% of these were from Germany. In relation to visiting professors from EU-countries, there was a decrease in 2000 in public universities of about 15% compared to the previous year. Visiting professors constituted about 6% of all faculty (bm:bwk, 2002c).

In relation to all staff in R&D (not just university staff) the Ministry of Education, Research and Culture and the Ministry of Traffic, Technology and Innovation anticipate a growing demand for human resources in R&D. The main reasons for this anticipated demand are demographic developments and the goal to further increase the technological and research potential in Austria. To increase Austria's attraction for scholars from abroad, reforms of regulations on employment, social security, pension schemes and residence permits are thought necessary (bm:bwk et al., 2003).

Outgoing staff

In 2000, 5% of the academic staff at public universities went abroad for a minimum period of three months, a percentage slightly higher than the previous year (bm:bwk, 2002c). Additionally, the success rate of Austrian applications to the EU IHP programmes (Improving the Human Research Potential and the Socio-economic Knowledge Base) has increased and currently is near or above the average in most categories (EC, in: bm:bwk, 2002a). Both sources indicate a strong interest of Austrian scholars in going abroad.

Still, there is need for action on several levels, both to increase mobility of Austrian researchers and to reduce brain drain. Structurally, it is thought necessary to set up a *Researcher's Mobility Portal Austria* and to connect mobility centres up to a network. Legal regulations, especially in the area of the employment of university staff and related topics, like social security and pension schemes, are currently changing (e.g. the civil servant status of academic staff is a hindrance for the transferability of pensions).

9.5. Major trends in the national higher education policy context

For more than a decade now, Austrian HE has been under constant reform. Several fundamental reforms in the university sector are still to be implemented. The following description of Austrian HE reform reflects the status quo of the first half of 2003.

In part, these reforms were triggered and intensified by the Austrian accession to the EU. But they were also motivated by other factors, such as the increase in student numbers and financial stringency in public funding. The agreement of the Coalition Government of 1990 underlined this need to curb costs and to bring Austrian HE in line with the EU.

9.5.1. Diversification

One of the differences between Austria and most other European countries was that Austria did not diversify its HE system in the course of the expansion at the end of the 1960s and 1970s. Instead, higher secondary vocational education was expanded. It was expected that these programmes would curb access to universities. Graduates of these

programmes went into the types of jobs which were filled with HE graduates in other countries. When preparing for EU accession, this difference was increasingly perceived as a problem as the graduates of these vocational programmes might encounter disadvantages in a European labour market. Hence, the agreement of a coalition government of 1990 announced the establishment of *Fachhochschule* institutions in order to bring the Austrian vocational education in tune with EU standards (Federal Government, 1990).

Private universities were envisaged by the agreement of a coalition government of 1996 and additionally the role of the state in HE was reduced. Both policies can be seen as steps towards internationalisation, since they were designed in anticipation of international developments. In addition, these new sectors increased the pressure on the public university sector to accept and implement reforms. From a situation at the beginning of the 1990s, when the public university sector had an exclusive role in Austria and international competition was little developed, public universities nowadays face competition both internationally and (even more strongly) from within their home country.

9.5.2. Autonomy and management

When the *Fachhochschule* sector was established in the mid-1990s, the close ties between universities and the Ministry were questioned. For various reasons it became gradually accepted that HEIs need not necessarily be part of the state administration but should be separate institutions and steered differently. Therefore the Act on the *Fachhochschule* sector of 1993 broke the traditional relationship between the state and HEIs and stipulated that the new institutions were to be separate legal entities.

The government's programme of 1990 also set as one of its objectives to increase universities' autonomy and to establish business-like structures for enhancing their quality, efficiency and financial transparency. The first drafts of a new organisation act based on the working programme of 1990 envisaged more far-reaching changes than were eventually achieved by the new University Organisation Act of 1993. This Act enabled decentralisation and many decisions were shifted from the Ministry to the universities. Still, universities remained federal institutions, bound in budget and personnel administration by the relevant federal regulations. The Act was not implemented simultaneously at all universities but successively, first at the smaller institutions and finally, in 2000, at Vienna University. By then, a new act on universities was already in preparation. According to this Act, which is presently being implemented step by step, universities are legally separate institutions, although based on public law. From 2007 onwards, universities will enter performance contracts with the Ministry that

define their profiles and budgets, and a university board acts as supervisor and decision maker in major issues. University staff are to be employees of the relevant HEIs and no longer civil servants or federal employees. The increased institutional autonomy entails that the internal organisation of universities changes and becomes business-like, necessitating an increase in the associated competences of the rectors. The total transformation process will take several years, but the major steps are presently being taken.

9.5.3. Funding

Limited financial capacity of the federal government was one of the main driving forces for reforms in the HE system. The erosion of the state monopoly on HE was accompanied by the search for new funding sources. In the case of the *Fachhochschule* sector, the Federal Government for the first time shared the financial responsibility for HE. Per capita funding from the Federal Government only partly covers the actual running cost. The *Fachhochschule* institutions, which are most frequently owned by local and regional authorities, provide funding for the rest, covering all investments at the same time. It comes as no surprise that politicians are pleased with the success of this comparatively cost-effective sector. In the case of the universities, the improved legal capacity for each institution should provide a better means to raise third party funding. While federal funds decline, the funding mechanisms are changing. In 2004, global budgets will substitute earmarked funding. Currently, the Ministry is preparing the legal framework and its own administration for negotiations which will lead to the first performance contracts for universities in 2007. For three decades, it had been possible to study at universities for free. In 2001, the government changed this situation by introducing tuition (€ 364 per semester) to contribute to the federal budget. Universities had to collect these fees and hand them over to the Federal Ministry of Finance. From 2004, this income will be kept within the university.

9.5.4. Study programmes

In 1997 the University Studies Act (UniStG) passed Parliament. The objectives of this law were to increase flexibility in changing courses and programmes and – as has been the case with former reforms – to shorten the actual duration of studies as in Austria, similar to some other European countries, the actual time spent by students to gain a degree far exceeds the legally fixed period. The UniStG laid down the courses to be established and required a review and re-establishment of the complete range of degree courses within a period of ten years. In addition to degree courses, the UniStG included non-degree courses and – newly established by the Act – postgraduate courses, i.e. programmes

leading to the degree of a Master of Advanced Studies (MAS) or a Master of Business Administration (MBA). The latter are the result of demands for international activities and compatibility raised by universities, in particular in postgraduate and continuing education. The European Credit Transfer System was legally introduced and in 1999, as a result of the Bologna declaration, the Act was amended so that a three-cycle system, i.e. bachelor, master and doctoral programmes, could be developed. The University Act 2002 also incorporated regulations concerning university studies and shifted decision-making competencies to the HEIs. The institutional arrangement in the *Fachhochschule* sector is based on the functional differentiation among three parties (Pfeffer, 2004). The Ministry is responsible for decisions on location and funding, the *Fachhochschule* institutions for organising and providing study programmes and the *Fachhochschulrat* for accreditation and quality control. *Fachhochschule* institutions develop proposals for study programmes and have to apply for accreditation and for funding from two distinct institutions. This arrangement guarantees more transparency and vitality than the traditional, and often stressful, arrangement in the university sector where much was decided by the ministerial administration.

9.5.5. Quality assurance

Until the 1990s, input (*ex ante*) control was exercised mainly within the Austrian HE system. This general pattern has been changed by the foundation of the *Fachhochschule* sector and of the private university sector. In both cases, independent accreditation agencies award accreditations for a limited period, which makes periodic reassessments necessary. These agencies participate in several international networks and initiatives for quality assurance.

In the university sector, things changed with the introduction of the UniStG 1997 and the 1997 Evaluation Decree (EvalVO). UniStG 1997 asked for a periodical reformulation of curricula and for the involvement (vaguely) of external feedback in this process. The Evaluation Decree provided for the establishment of performance assessment procedures in teaching and research at universities, aimed at both individuals and organisational units. For the assessment of research units international experts have to be involved. Universities were asked to use the outcomes of these evaluations in their decision-making processes.

Since the University Act 2002 gave more autonomy to universities with respect to courses and programmes, the question of quality assurance gained additional importance. A current initiative is the establishment of an Austrian agency for quality assurance, which will offer its services to the whole tertiary sector. The quality assurance agency will be a

body of private law that will be independent both from government and from individual institutions. Internationally this agency will seek to join the European Network for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA) and to cooperate with other quality assurance agencies.

9.5.6. e-learning

Apart from investments into basic infrastructures, the first reaction of Austria's HE policy to the growing importance of e-learning was to contribute to international awards, like the European Academic Software Award (since 1994, in collaboration with Germany, France, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and the UK) or the *Medidaprix* (since 2000, in collaboration with Germany and Switzerland).

In addition, subsidy programmes for the development of course content were established. In 1998 and 1999 the programme for multimedia teaching material (*Multimediale Bildungsmaterialien*) spent €1.5 million on nineteen projects, and from 2000-2003 the programme for new media in teaching at universities and *Fachhochschulen* in Austria (*Neue Medien in der Lehre an Universitäten und Fachhochschulen*, NML) spent € 8 million on 25 projects. Both funding schemes worked on a competitive basis, with international expert committees selecting from applications (bm:bwk, 2000).

NML also marked a shift towards a more comprehensive policy approach for e-learning in higher education. Through a framework concept, its aims are to support innovations in teaching (e.g. internationalisation of study materials), improve contacts among HEIs, and facilitate easier access to education. The initiative itself became linked to eFit (www.efit.at), a platform of the Federal Ministry to co-ordinate IT projects in all education, science and culture sectors. eFit is one of the Austrian responses to eEurope, the initiative of the European Commission, which was presented to the Council at the Lisbon summit in 2000.

9.6. Relation with the European policy level

Generally speaking, Austria rather welcomed European HE policy incentives. In addition to the Community's mobility programmes, the process that was launched by the Sorbonne Declaration of 1998 is the most comprehensive policy measure at the European level in the field of higher education. It will be dealt with below, as well as with Austria's reaction to the Lisbon process. There is only one point of disagreement, Austria's method of restricting the access of EU students to Austrian universities, which is currently under review at the European Court of Justice.

9.6.1. Bologna and ECTS

Austria's engagement with the Bologna Declaration and its participation in the process may serve to illustrate the country's policy making by European or international pressure and image. From the beginning, the Austrian Ministry has been an active supporter and great advocate of the Bologna Process. Similar to other countries, this joint European action was seen to provide a chance for the Austrian government to build support for reforms that encountered internal opposition (Hackl, 2001). Austria's engagement in the Sorbonne follow-up working group which prepared the Bologna Meeting and was set up during the Austrian presidency and the reform process that followed the Bologna Declaration both support this view.

Immediately after the Bologna Declaration was published in 1999, the Act on University Studies of 1997 was amended and provisions for a new degree structure (bachelors, masters and doctoral degrees) as well the application of the European Course Credit Transfer System (ECTS) were introduced. The immediate reaction of the Austrian government to developments at the EU level was due to the fact that the envisaged introduction of Bachelors degrees fitted well into Austrian government's efforts to shorten the duration of studies. Some observers suspect that the introduction of Bachelor programmes will finally also provide the possibility to limit open access to Bachelor courses and to apply a selective entrance procedure for postgraduate courses and/or to charge higher fees for these programmes.

The new study architecture was not instantly implemented in the *Fachhochschule* sector. In this sector, study courses are very well structured and have a fixed and limited duration of studies. Hence the government saw no need to reduce their length. Only the lobbying of the *Fachhochschulkonferenz* entailed that the relevant Act was changed too, and Bachelors courses are also provided in the *Fachhochschule* sector (Pechar, 2003).

To implement the Bologna Declaration a separate unit has been set up in the Austrian Education Ministry (Hackl, 2001) and various conferences were held. In addition, a national follow-up group consisting of representatives of the Ministry and other responsible authorities (Rector's Conference, *Fachhochschulkonferenz*, the Austrian Students' Union) was established. A special Austrian Bologna website disseminates information.

The Ministry prepares the reports that are due in the course of the Bologna Process. It set the following goals for the implementation of the Declaration: by 2006, 50% of all courses for beginners are to be bachelor courses and 50% of all courses are to apply the ECTS.

Also, from 2006, 50% of all graduates as well as 10% of the academic staff each year should have spent a semester abroad. In autumn 2003 an evaluation agency is to be established, and the Diploma Supplement was already made legally mandatory in 2002.

In May 2003, the second national follow-up report was published (bm:bwk, 2002c). It noted that by May 2002 nine Bachelor programmes had been established, 95 out of 321 programmes had applied the ECTS, and in the academic year 2000/01 1.2% of all students and 27.5% of all graduates had spent a semester abroad. In addition, 522 members of staff, i.e. almost 5% of all Austrian teaching staff, spent a semester abroad and about the same number of foreigners taught at an Austrian university. The report observed sharp declines in student mobility in 2000. The number of outgoing students funded by the Ministry, and the number of incoming ERASMUS students, declined to 51% and 53% of the previous year respectively. There is no explanation yet for these developments.

9.6.2. Lisbon Process

The Ministry of Education welcomed the achievement orientation of the Lisbon process and the five benchmarks suggested by the European Commission. International comparisons seemed to offer a good opportunity to present the successes of Austria's education system. Compared to the rest of Europe, Austria ranks well in some of these benchmarks, especially with respect to the school system:

- According to the OECD-PISA study, Austria has one of the lowest rates of low-achieving 15 year olds in basic skills. The rate of those with reading deficits is 14%. Austria wants to cut this number by 50%, which is far more than the 20% suggested by the EU.

- Austria already has the lowest rate of early school leavers (10.3%) in Europe.

- 79.3% complete upper secondary education, which ranks fifth in Europe and is well above the EU average of 65.7%. Austria aims at raising this figure to 85% by 2010.

- To halve the level of gender imbalance among graduates in mathematics, science and technology, as suggested by the EU, is an ambitious goal for Austria, since the current ratio of males:females is 4:1, the second highest in Europe. To increase the number of female graduates is an issue -even if some Austrian representatives seem more concerned about the methods of calculating this indicator.

- Austria also agrees with raising the participation rate in lifelong learning to at least 15% of the adult working age population, as suggested by the EU.

9.6.3. Restricting access of foreign students

When preparing for the European Economic Area, which simultaneously was a preparation for Austria's accession to the EU in 1995, Austria slightly adapted its open access policy. Since several years ago, only those students from abroad were allowed to enrol in courses at an Austrian university who could prove to have access to the same course in their home country. This regulation was especially aimed at those students from Germany who could not get access to a study place in their desired field of study (e.g. medicine) because they did not fulfil the requirements of the *numerus clausus*. This German form of access control is based on the grades of the school-leaving exam. An Austrian *Matura*, according to the Austrian administration, is both an access requirement as well as a 'study place voucher'. Therefore to exclude students from Austrian universities who encounter barriers to study in their domestic countries due to *numerus clausus* requirements is officially regarded as non-discriminatory by the Austrian administration.

Currently, this regulation is under review at the European Court of Justice for being discriminatory, as it treats students from other European countries differently to Austrian students. Austria's position in this case is that the issue is not covered by the remit of the EU. The EU, however, is thought to have a good chance of success.

9.7. Influence of the international context

The previous sections discussed the role of international activities and cooperation traditionally in Austrian HE policy, and with the shift in importance and concentration on the Europe Union that took place at the beginning of the 1990s, some years before Austria's accession. The focus of the Austrian Ministry on Europe Union programmes and policies in HE have continued since then, with the exception of increased cooperation with Central and Eastern Europe due to the transformation in those countries.

Only during the last two or three years has a new phenomenon emerged, namely an increased market orientation in HE and, consequently, a debate about the extent to which Austrian HE should be exposed to international competition. This discussion was launched – as in other countries, too – by critics of GATS during the present Doha Round. A decade ago, the negotiations leading to the establishment of GATS in 1994 did not produce any reactions from the education sector.

In Austria, GATS became effective on the same day as the country's accession to the European Community. Hence Austria was not an EU-member when GATS was negotiated and therefore differs from other EU-countries with regard to its commitment. What is different now in relation to the early to mid-1990 negotiations is that in the meantime

Austria has become an EU-member state. It is therefore participating in and bound by EU decision-making (Article 133 Committee) and a common trade policy.

The EU and its member countries made commitments in all sectors of education, but they qualified them in such a way that they concern private education only and that the distribution of subsidies remained an unbound prerogative of national governments. Austria made commitments in primary, secondary and adult education but not HE and it did not make a qualification to exclude public education. Therefore during the present negotiations Austria is engaging in renegotiating its commitments in education to include the EU qualifications. The question is whether, as an exchange for inserting a qualification to its commitments, Austria will have to include HE as well. So far the government has excluded such a step. The government's working programme of 2003 underlines its intention to curb any further liberalisation in health, education, water supply, art and culture.

However, this declaration of the Austrian government contradicts its engagement for exporting education by founding in 2001 a federal institute for international transfer of education (BIB). It is also inconsistent with present reforms and policy measures in HE that stress business-like management and are geared towards competition.

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3. Reports on institutional responses (7)

This annex includes chapters 2 – 8 of the publication: *On Cooperation and Competition [II] Institutional responses to internationalisation, Europeanisation and Globalisation. ACA Papers on International Cooperation. Bonn: Lemmens.*

3.1. Chapter 2. German universities in the process of globalisation, Europeanisation and internationalisation

Karola Hahn

2.1 Introduction

Internationalisation has been a key topic of higher education policy in Germany since 1996, when the First Action Scheme to Enhance the International Attractiveness of the German Site of Higher Education was launched by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD). Accordingly, higher education is expected to be increasingly shaped by an international dimension as well as by efforts to enhance its performance, international attractiveness and global competitiveness in general. Reforms of the study and degree structure, curricula, institutions and the services they provide are viewed as an integral part of an internationalisation process. The reform efforts can be characterized as a) internationalisation mainstreaming, b) Europeanisation mainstreaming and c) globalisation mainstreaming.

German universities, as a rule, consider themselves as "internationalised". They are strongly involved in international research cooperation, internationally oriented study programmes and cross-border exchanges. This is also partly true for the more practically or professionally oriented universities of applied sciences (*Fachhochschulen*). These institutions succeeded in entering the international arena in the nineties with a strong focus on student exchange, cooperation in curriculum development and international internships.

The strong emphasis in internationalisation, Europeanisation and global attractiveness by no means remained a lofty debate. The German higher education institutions took up these challenges with a broad range of activities. Though some observers interpret the national agenda setting as a strong top-down approach, the influence of the higher education institutions, individual scholars and higher education leaders and their coordinating bodies on shaping the entire national higher education policy should not be underestimated.

2.2 The German case studies

The five institutional cases vary according to size, age, type, mission, range of disciplines offered and geographic location. They belong to four different regional higher education systems (Bundes*Länder*), governed by regional higher education laws (*Landeshochschulgesetze*) varying in many respects but only moderately as far as international activities are concerned. In accordance with the Higher Education Framework Act, internationalisation and international cooperation are regular tasks of these higher education institutions. Only the higher education law of Lower-Saxony – site of one of the case study universities – is more specific in presenting a detailed catalogue of future tasks of internationalisation.

Three of the institutions are located in the capital of the *Land* – one each in a metropolis in the south and in the north and the third in a medium-size town in the south-west. The five higher education institutions vary substantially as far as institutional traditions, profiles and organisational structures are concerned. All institutions selected are public (though one within a special legal form of a public law foundation), because the private sector has remained a *quantité negligeable* in Germany.

University α1 is a prototype of a Humboldtian teaching and research university with a broad range of subjects. It was founded in the beginning of the 20th century, but has academic roots reaching back into the 17th century as a Scientific State Institute. It is one of the largest German Universities with more than 40,000 students and a 12.5% ratio of international students. In allusion to its geographical location next to an important overseas harbour, its mission is to serve as a gate to the world of science. It is located in a highly competitive environment with a high number of other higher education institutions. Its location in a world-famous cosmopolitan city contributes to its national and international attractiveness. It has undergone a major institutional reform process in recent years accompanied by various evaluation activities, among them one focussing on internationalisation. According to a national ranking on research funding, it belongs to the top 15 universities.

University α2 has been selected as a prototype of the old German research university, also being among the top 15 in the national ranking on research funding. It is one of the oldest and most prestigious universities in the country, proud of its 44 Nobel prize winners. It hosts more than 20,000 students, among them 13.7% international students, and covers a broad range of disciplines. It cooperates strongly with various independent neighbouring research institutes, notably Max-Planck Institutes. Recently, it has been transformed into a public law foundation. This pro-active fundamental reform of loosening the university-

government relation was preceded by a broad reform process. The new legal status is viewed as supporting autonomy and flexibility and thus strengthening the institutional profile as a research university with a strong international emphasis.

University β is an example of a young experimental reform university. It was established in the 1970s as a comprehensive university (*Gesamthochschule*), integrating the functions of universities and universities of applied sciences. It was regarded for a long time as an organised outsider within the German higher education system, notably because it had established a stage structure of programmes and degrees by the 1970s. It is of medium size -ca. 18,000 students, 14.7% of them international students – and offers a broad range of disciplines. Many programmes are similar to those at other universities, but it also has a special focus on niche programmes in cutting-edge fields. Since the beginning of the 1990s, its mission was formulated as "interdisciplinarity, innovation and internationalisation" as well as "regionally based, but internationally oriented", later being complemented by "excellence and competence in the fields of human resources, environment, fine arts and high tech". In the process of the establishment of a stage structure of programmes at degree level in all universities in Germany, University β decided to discontinue the label of "comprehensive university". It is located in a region with infrastructural deficiencies and economic disadvantage, in the borderland to the former German Democratic Republic, but it considers itself as a "university in the heart of Europe". With regard to research, it is a latecomer, although it is known for research excellence in some special niches.

University γ is one of the ten largest universities of applied sciences (*Fachhochschulen*) in Germany, hosting nearly 9,000 students, among them 16% of non-German nationality. It was founded in the early 1970s. It is a multi-campus institution in the economically strong Rhine-Main-Area encompassing the regional capital and with a distance of around 50 km between its northern and southern campuses. It offers a comparatively broad range of programmes mainly designed for practical application and vocational orientation, some of which are strongly interlinked with the regional economy (e.g. automobile industry, viniculture, banking, insurance). Despite its strong regional focus it has some highly internationalised departments.

University δ is an example of a specialised higher education institution. It is a prestigious research-oriented technical university (among the German top 3) and hosts 20,000 students, among them 25% international students. Its disciplinary focus lies in the natural and engineering sciences alongside medicine, food and life sciences. It is situated in a regional capital in the South and has three main campuses, one of which is around 40 km away from the central city campus. It is strongly linked to the regional industry (e.g.

automobile, aviation, biotechnology, agriculture and food technology). It was one of the first German universities explicitly formulating an internationalisation strategy in the second half of the 1990s, and it was the first to establish a campus abroad. Its leading motto is "At home in Bavaria, successful in the world". It is located in a highly competitive higher education environment, and it profits from the attractiveness of its hosting city and the strong regional economy.

Table 2.1. Basic data on the German case studies

	α1	α2	β	γ	δ
Size (student numbers) 2004	40,422	23,555	18,077	8,845	20,076
Age (founded in)	1919 (older roots)	1737	1971 (older roots)	1971	1868
Disciplines	Theology, Law, Economics, Medicine, Social sciences, Arts, Natural sciences, Life sciences, Earth sciences, Mathematics, Informatics, Sports	Natural sciences, Mathematics, Arts, Theology, Law, Economics, Social sciences, Medicine, Life sciences, Earth sciences	Education, Social sciences, Arts, Art, Architecture, Urban planning, Engineering, Natural sciences, Mathematics, Informatics	Architecture, Economics, Engineering, Social sciences, Design, Viniculture, Computer sciences, Natural sciences	Engineering, Medicine, Life sciences, Food sciences, Economics, Technology, Architecture, Landscape planning, Natural sciences, Mathematics, Informatics
Foreign (degree) students (2003)	12.5%	13.7%	14.7%	16%	25%
Incoming ERASMUS students (2002/03)	179 (0.4%)	238 (1.0%)	48 (0.3%)	206 (2.3%)	98 (0.5%)
Outgoing ERASMUS Students (2002/03)	297 (0.7%)	405 (1.7%)	88 (0.5%)	91 (1.0%)	219 (1.1%)

2.3 Views of internationalisation, europeanisation and globalisation

The universities addressed in the study show a variety of perceptions with regard to the challenges they are facing. Some of the perceived challenges are viewed as inherent to higher education, while others are interpreted as contextual. A strong challenge is seen in the rising national and international competition. The developments of the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) and the inclusion of higher education into the catalogue of transnationally tradable services is critically observed and discussed by the leadership and senior management, in the senates or other bodies. Generally, GATS is not perceived as a direct challenge to German universities, at least not in the medium term. It is seen as part of the general economisation of higher education (institutions) and a mandate for the corporative actors at the political level (i.e. the Ministries and Agencies). At the faculty level GATS is not debated, unless there is a disciplinary link to the topic.

However a vivid debate is going on about the developments of the global market for higher education and the positioning of German higher education in this market. This debate has also reached the faculty level, where often a concern is expressed about science and engineering doctoral students and post docs opting for the US or other countries. Two issues play a major role in current debates: brain drain/brain gain as well as the issue of elite universities.

Another major challenge is seen in the lack of young talented researchers: particularly in science and engineering, fear is expressed of lagging behind the standards in teaching and research at elite universities of the US. Thus, suggestions to establish elite universities are linked to calls for strengthening the internationally competitive position of German universities. A substantial proportion of the interviewees stressed that Germany could only catch up or "play in the first league" if the legal framework was reformed (in particular with regard to tuition fees and work permits), student services and supervision were enhanced, and grants for high talents were granted more generously and broadly.

The German language is seen as another challenge. It is generally perceived as a barrier to international student mobility, to attracting the best teachers and scholars world wide as well as with regard to the recognition of German research. For example, one respondent from the field of philology expressed the need for a more pragmatic view with regard to language, and to differentiate between language as a communication tool and language as a feature of cultural identity. All interviewees agreed that German language course provision should be enhanced for foreign students and scholars and to pragmatically use English where it seems appropriate.

The interviews revealed a widespread negative perception of the position of German higher education on a global market. One President stated that "Germany has overslept and missed Europe" by not having taken the initiative to set the European standards in time but rather having waited for others to set the standards. Concerns were often voiced in the interviews with terms such as: lagging behind, lack of international attractiveness of German higher education, missing the train, losing ground, not being present in time at the places where new economic potentials are emerging, lack of sense of reality, selling too low internationally, bargain sale of universities through politics, performing badly in international comparison, lack of pioneer or entrepreneurial spirit, and so on.

However, the dominant self-perception is ambivalent. Self-critique or even self-accusation was mostly combined with pride of a high quality of the German higher education and research system. Most of those voicing critique emphatically perceived ample opportunities for a strong role of German higher education internationally.

Altogether, a broad consensus seems to have emerged in Germany that universities should be better prepared to play a strong role in the emerging knowledge society and knowledge economy. A strong will is perceived as needed in order to strive for innovation, internationalisation and quality improvements even under conditions of substantial constraints. In spite of the widespread view that German higher education has lagged behind in addressing the changing conditions, most interviewees consider German higher education as ready to face the challenges of Europeanisation, internationalisation and globalisation.

Strongest concerns were expressed about increasing financial constraints. A substantial proportion of interviewees consider the available resources as hardly sufficient to take care of traditional tasks while new tasks and efforts to raise the position of the university nationally and internationally would require additional resources. Efforts to reduce the number of programmes and disciplines within individual universities in order strengthen core areas are considered by some as threatening the international potential of their universities. Others opted for sharpening the international profile of the institution, for example by radically internationalising and attracting foreign students through specially designed programmes.

Some interviewees expressed concern about a future decline in the size of the age cohorts typically enrolled in higher education. This is often perceived as a major challenge for a knowledge-intensive economy. Some interviewees called for stronger efforts to attract highly talented students and graduates from abroad.

The views of Europeanisation and internationalisation clearly have changed in the recent years. In the early 1990s, many representatives of higher education institutions expressed concern that policies of the European Union were a threat to national sovereignty as far as higher education policies were concerned. Nowadays, Europeanisation is accepted as a matter of fact. Some interviewees pointed out, however, that they do not want "to get instrumentalised" or be limited in their actions by the European Commission, in particular with regard to setting their own research and cooperation agenda. They pointed out that they "hold a critical eye on their autonomy in self-determining with whom to cooperate and in which fields". An over-politicised and bureaucratised steering of the Commission through its educational and research funding programmes was largely criticized. European cooperation often is viewed as distinct from an overall process of internationalisation. Accordingly, the Bologna process comprises basically internal reform efforts undertaken jointly. For example, one interviewee pointed out: "Bologna has nothing to do with internationalisation, it is about national reform". In their view, European harmonisation has become a domestic affair. The introduction of the stage structure of programmes and degrees, the modularisation of study programmes, ECTS, Diploma Supplement, or accreditation, tend to be viewed as national reform tasks, while reference to Europe is popular among politicians wishing to superimpose reform agendas. Or as one interviewee said: "The Europeanisation is like a Trojan horse that has snuck national higher education reforms on the agenda of German higher education policy". Views substantially vary within German universities, notably among academics, as to whether the implementation of the Bologna Declaration will lead to quality improvement in higher education and will be eventually a gain for German universities. Only a minority of interviewees – mainly at the level of higher education leadership, senior management and some highly internationally active scholars – seemed to be convinced that the reforms intended in the Bologna process were crucial in order to cope with the diverse challenges of internationalisation.

2.4 Measures actually taken

The German universities addressed showed various reactive and pro-active responses to globalisation, Europeanisation and internationalisation. According to their (implicit or explicit) internationalisation strategies the universities might be classified (see Hahn, 2004a) as:

- "strategic players" (α1, α2, β and δ);
- "seeking internationalisation and excellence on a broad scale" (α1, α2 and δ);
- "internationally strategic niche player" (β), and

- "casuistic player" with an implicit laissez-fairestrategy with supportive benevolence from the central level (γ).

In all five cases, internationalisation is more or less explicitly linked to the formation of an institutional profile or at least to the profile-building of certain faculties or departments. Some institutions integrate internationalisation explicitly or implicitly into their mission or slogan. University β had, at a relative early stage in its history, explicitly linked its profile-building under the attributes of "innovative, interdisciplinary and international". University α1 understands itself as a "gate to the world of science". The motto of δ is: "At home in Bavaria, successful in the world". In most cases, internationalisation was not a comprehensive policy from the outside, but internationalisation policies evolved from international cells within the higher education institution.

All universities surveyed took concrete steps to implement the Bologna Declaration. On the level of university leadership and senior management, the Bologna process seems to be more favourably viewed than on the faculty level.

The actual measures taken for internationalisation are in part outwardly oriented and in part inwardly oriented. The four major strands of the outwardly oriented activities are:

- efforts to increase in international visibility of German higher education (i.e. through information in English);
- international marketing of higher education;
- cooperation with partners (i.e. strategic partners, industry, research institutions);
- lobbying and aiming at influencing the policy makers.

A significant number of "internationals" both at the faculty and the central level of the higher education institutions are actively involved and contribute to the shaping of the political agenda of internationalisation and the policy of funding of internationalisation. Many persons interviewed participate actively in working groups, funding committees and events of the main corporative actors in internationalisation, e.g. the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), the German Rectors' Conference (HRK), the Alexander-von Humboldt-Foundation and in the German Science Foundation (DFG). Some regularly act as consultants for the Federal Ministry of Education and Research and other ministries as well as for development cooperation agencies. Some are involved in more or less informal advisory or expert groups and circles to exchange experiences. All interviewees engaged in these activities were quite satisfied with the outcome of their engagement. They consider themselves influential with respect to the character of support programmes. The

DAAD, for example, was generally conceived as a "learning institution" with an open ear for universities, supporting internationally oriented initiatives at the universities, and it was viewed as a strong agent of the internationalisation of German higher education institutions, though critique was voiced as well about its growing political influence and about deficiencies of its funding policies (e.g. short-term funding).

Formulating strategies was not customary in German higher education. The growth of international activities was often viewed by the university leadership as a starting point for establishing explicit institutional strategies.

University α1 undertook major activities of evaluation and policy formulation. In this process, the internationalisation activities were evaluated in a specific procedure, and selective steps of reform were undertaken, e.g. the establishment of an International Centre for Graduate Studies, along efforts of eventually formulating a comprehensive internationalisation strategy. University α2 is also in the process of discussing its mission and of reformulating its internationalisation policy in the wake of substantial institutional reforms. Select strategies, e.g. the establishment of international programmes at post-graduate level as a contribution to research, have been implemented in the meantime. University β defined its mission with an internationalisation dimension early in the 1990s and elaborated an explicit internationalisation strategy around 2000. In 2003, an interim evaluation was undertaken of this strategy and the measures taken subsequently. First steps were taken to formulate contracts with respect to internationalisation activities between the president and the departments. University γ is still in the process of discussing how to approach a policy and strategy formulation. A special post has been created for conceptual work. University δ formulated an internationalisation strategy in 1998 which was integrated subsequently into an institutional development plan. The internationalisation strategy, however, seems to be hardly known among academics and does not seem to play a significant role in the daily work.

All five universities changed the infrastructure serving internationalisation activities. The number of staff in international offices was increased. Some institutions established new posts linking conceptual and strategic activities with operational tasks. This notwithstanding, most interviewees considered the international offices as under-staffed.

A major reorganisation of offices was implemented at four of the five institutions surveyed (α1, α2, β and δ). Different units were put under the leadership of the international office, and their tasks were broadened. In University β, the language centre and the *Studienkolleg* (responsible for international students not possessing the equivalence of the German Higher Education Entrance Certificate) were merged. The student service units of

the central administration took over responsibilities both for German and international students at three universities (α2, β and δ) in order to create synergies and freeing resources for a single central service point for all the students. University α1 has put under a single roof different administrative and academic units concerned with international affairs in a representative building, thereby transforming them partly into an entrepreneurial service unit. At four universities (α1, α2, γ and δ), new systems of coordination were established for services provided to international programmes. In some cases, the traditional name of *Akademisches Auslandsamt* was substituted with International Offices or similar terms in order to underscore a stronger emphasis on service.

Decentral provision of language courses was viewed as fragmented, and three universities (α1, α2 and β) took measures to bundle these courses for all students. Self-learning programmes were established at some universities to broaden the opportunities for enhancing language proficiency both in the foreign language as well as in the German language.

Some universities modified the academic calendar in select international programmes. University α2 introduced an "ntensive" programme structure in their postgraduate programmes of life sciences, offering modules outside the regular lecture period, thus breaking-up the traditional semester structure, using time efficiently and cooperating with the independent Max-Planck Research Institutes. A packed academic calendar was also reported in different programmes of the International Centre for Graduate Studies and other masters programmes of the Universities α1 and β. Most universities offer various kinds of programmes for foreign students outside the regular lecture periods (Summer Schools, Prep Courses, Intensive Courses, Thematic Modules etc.).

Some universities decentralised the admission procedures with respect to foreign students, and others have taken first steps in this direction. This is favoured in order to reflect conditions of the individual programmes and to increase the flexibility for programme-specific options. Moreover, this takes account of the fact that many international programmes have introduced specific regulations regarding the capacity of the programmes. In addition, some institutions (α1, β and γ) undertook steps towards outsourcing the formal check of the Higher Education Entrance Certificates of the international students and the check of the equivalences of international degree students.

At all five universities a need was identified to offer more services for foreign students than tended to be provided in the past for German students. Various measures were taken to enhance student services – and also services for international guest scholars or visitors.

All universities established so-called orientation weeks for incoming students, comprising social and cultural services, usually centrally provided, as well as academic expert consultation. University δ provides bridging courses to enhance the incoming students' academic level, notably in the areas of science and engineering. University α2 created a new post at the international office to enhance and professionalise services for international delegations and guest scholars – a task that often is managed *ad hoc* and decentrally at German universities.

Several of the universities surveyed declared individual counselling, language courses, tutoring, social services (e.g. formalities with regard to residence permits, health insurance, opening of bank accounts, the procurement of accommodation) for foreign students as additional services that have to be paid for. University α1 sells service packages designed for foreign postgraduates and guest scholars. Some universities considered the introduction of admission fees to cover the costs for the formal check of the documents of international students applying at their institutions. In all cases, means are looked for to cover the costs incurred by international students in a system where students do not have to pay tuition fees.

All five universities have modified their internal system of funding international activities in recent years. In most cases, the proportion of funds earmarked for international activities was increased, and seed, incentive and matching funds were provided by the university to the individual units. University β introduced a system of seed funding open for application on the part of projects fitting into the new internationalisation strategy. All universities introduced a parameter-based funding of international activities, whereby the criteria vary (e.g. the number of international students enrolled, the number of international students enrolled in the standard period of study, and the number of international graduates). In some cases, funds are provided to match third party funding for international activities (for example through public-private partnerships, alumni networks, national agencies supporting international academic exchange). These funds might serve to employ programme coordinators or student tutors (serving in some cases as grants for international students taking over tutorial tasks). Universities α1 and γ, however, reported that they are striving for sustainability of their international programmes and thus are trying to avoid a too strong dependency on external funding.

At all universities surveyed, concern was expressed that international activities often had to rely on resources lacking sustainability. Specific funding for staff and tutors often was made available for a few years and hardly could be taken over by the regular university budget thereafter.

The German universities surveyed differ substantially in the extent to which they systematize and professionalize their processes of reflection and decision-making with respect to international activities. For example, two universities (α1 and β) evaluated their international activities, and two universities (α2 and δ) hired external consultants before formulating and implementing their own internationalisation measures.

In general, the implementation of internationalisation policies seems to have proceeded faster the more the institutional leadership declared it as a top priority and became actively involved in the process. Internationalisation was driven forward at institutions that have assigned a Vice-President for internationalisation (α1, α2 and δ) or where the President or Rector is the person in charge for international relations and declared it as a major affair and profile element of the institution (β).

2.5 Effects on the four building blocks of the institutions

The internationalisation trend at German universities can be described in quantitative and qualitative terms. In quantitative terms, we note in all universities analysed an increase of:

- international students: at University δ, the number even tripled since 1996;
- outbound mobility: an increase between 40% and 87% from 1997 and 2002 (with the exception of a 8% decline of SOCRATES students at University β);
- international cooperative research and internationally funded research (mainly EU-funded);
- international programmes offered;
- Bachelors, Masters and PhD programmes offered (Bologna-implementation);
- partnerships (in particular within the SOCRATES programme);
- programmes and modules offered in the English language;
- persons involved in internationalisation activities;
- funding of international activities.

2.5.1 Social structure

Qualitative improvements in the wake of internationalisation in the sense of reforms and changes in the organisational and social structures are less clearly visible at first glance,

but they are obvious in various respects. Certainly, increasing activities in networks can be viewed as a potential for qualitative improvement. At various universities analysed intra-institutional international networks evolved alongside the formal bodies. For example, University α2 has an informal network of coordinators of international programmes and representatives of the administration and service units that meet to exchange experiences and find solutions for common problems (i.e. German language courses for international graduates, and services for students). In the informal networks of the international practitioners, hierarchies do seem to play a lesser role than in formal bodies.

At all universities, we note an increasing number of academics strongly involved in international activities. The number of visible "internationals" or "cosmopolitans" is clearly on the rise: as a rule, involvement in international research cooperation is more likely to guarantee reputation than involvement in study and student-centred international activities. There is perhaps a hidden hierarchy headed by those that are successful in international research networks or prestigious mega-projects. On the hidden agenda of social roles, it is increasingly expected that the "international academic tourists who travel extensively" (quotation of one president) show a particular involvement in academic self-administration. Thus at various universities, the internationally most active academics are strongly represented in the academic self-administration activities.

At most universities surveyed, a trend towards professionalisation of the international activities is obvious in two respects. First, international cooperation is increasingly administered by permanent staff both at faculty and university level. This often was reinforced by the discontinuation of ERASMUS support for networks of departments in the late 1990s and its substitution by institutional contracts between partner universities. A side effect of the discontinuation of the ERASMUS network structure is a decline of the feeling of ownership by the former coordinators at faculty level with regard to ERASMUS exchanges. Second, the permanent staff members are increasingly characterized by high professional competence, and obviously seize a stronger power of coordination.

Altogether, the persons and the offices in charge administering international activities are highly appreciated at German universities. The general tenor with regard to the services of the international offices was positive, whereby a trend is seen towards professional quality, dynamic service and increasingly strategic thinking. Some interviewees at the faculty level but also on the level of the higher education leadership expressed great respect for the efficiency and expertise of the international officers.

Notably, faculty members surveyed perceived all central administrative units directly in charge of international activities or primarily in charge of matters of teaching and learning

or of research as high expertise service-oriented units. In contrast, they often view the classic administration units (personnel, finances, organisation) as a hindrance in the internationalisation process (stating problems, not solving them), even though improvements in these sectors were noted as well.

2.5.2 Goals

An implicit goal of internationalisation is that of quality assurance. It is a conventional wisdom at German universities that international research cooperation often contributes to the quality of research. On the other hand, internationalisation and globalisation is often viewed as leading to growing instrumentalisation and commercialisation of research not necessarily contributing to quality enhancement.

With regards to teaching and learning, however, the views are even more ambivalent. A few interviewees expressed concern that a large proportion of foreign students in the classroom or integrated study programmes could lead to a decline in quality. Scepticism was widespread as far as the introduction of Bachelors programmes are concerned: some raise doubts whether students can be qualified appropriately in such a short period, and concern was voiced that the short study period reduces opportunities for temporary study and internships abroad. Moreover, a substantial proportion of the interviewees on faculty level and some representatives of the senior management criticized the establishment of an accreditation system for the newly established bachelors and masters programmes. They conceived it as over-bureaucratised, too costly and inefficient and raise doubts as far its contribution to quality is concerned.

However, there seems to be a quality shift, evident through the instruments of accreditation of new programmes, internal evaluation, the quality oriented changes in admission procedures of international students and the choice of cooperation partners.

2.5.3 Participants

The internationalisation of the universities also has impacted on the organisational settings and the participants. It was generally assumed that university leadership at German universities has paid increasing attention to matters of internationalisation. Several German universities created the function of a Vice-President for International Affairs or Internationalisation. Moreover, the presidents or vice-presidents in charge of internationalisation at four of the five universities surveyed nominated single persons or small teams for guiding and supervising the implementation of internationalisation strategies. These teams are comprised of representatives of the institutional leadership, central management, international offices and the academics. A new type of actor has

been defined at some universities on a meso-level between the higher education leadership and the special units of the central administration. These newly created posts serve as strategic units led by directors superimposed on enlarged international offices at operational level (University α1 and δ) and even larger administrative units (University α2). A clearer division between the more conceptual, strategic and coordinative tasks and the operational tasks seems to evolve. The creation of these new posts at a time when universities are forced to cut down on personnel can be interpreted as an upgrading of the issue of internationalisation and its strategic dimension. These posts are also an acknowledgement of internationalisation becoming a cross-cutting issue that needs more coordination than classical administration would need. Various departments of the universities surveyed have created a new position of internationalisation coordinators, often filled by a junior academic staff member.

2.5.4 Technology

The effects on the organisational building block "technology" (notably the universities core functions "teaching and research" as well as new activities) are diverse. The range of activities of the universities has become broader, but also more focused. The frame of reference of teaching and research and other new activities (e.g. further education) has been constantly widened to a European and global frame of reference. The guiding principles of the core activities of the universities surveyed have become more focused: quality assurance, (economic) relevance and enhancement of competitiveness. As already noted above, many interviewees consider the implementation of a stage structure of programmes and degrees in the framework of the Bologna-process as such a contribution to internationalisation. Some consider the emergence of new programmes in cutting-edge science fields and in new professional, economically relevant fields as a response to globalisation. At several of the universities surveyed, programmes were established (in particular postgraduate programmes) that are taught completely or partially in the English language. Some interviewees raised concerns about the emerging Anglophonisation of teaching.

Finally, several interviewees considered a growing involvement of academics in information management, reporting, public relations, marketing and lobbying as caused by the general trends towards internationalisation.

2.6 Effects on the three institutional pillars

The most decisive effect of internationalisation on the regulative pillar is the introduction of the accreditation system for the new stage programmes and degrees. As already noted, a large number of the interviewees at German universities criticised the new accreditation system as costly, bureaucratic and binding human and financial resources at faculty and at central level.

Various changes of laws, regulations and procedures might be interpreted as measures to support the internationalisation of universities. With respect to funding, for example, international parameters were introduced in all the universities surveyed. Incentives are provided to stimulate international activities. As already pointed out, several of the universities enhanced the role of internationalisation in the allocation of tasks of the leadership, and reorganised the various administrative and service tasks.

Contracts (*Zielvereinbarungen*) between the government and the universities or between the university and the departments as well as between the higher education leadership and units of the central administration put a strong emphasis on international activities.

Altogether, ambivalent perspectives on certain developments were noted at the German universities as far as the coordination of international activities is concerned. On the one hand, international activities increase opportunities for a broad range of autonomous activities which might be viewed by others as "wild flowers growing" and as undermining any general strategy of the university and the department as a whole and which obviously can neither be ignored nor be streamlined. On the other hand, there seemed to evolve an increasing dependency of the faculty on support-services at the central administration level and on the symbolic support from the higher education leadership to initiate or continue international activities. On the part of the university and department leadership, increasing efforts to channel and streamline internationalisation activities were noted. The frequent creation of semi-formal committees and working group reflects this tension between autarkic activities and coordination efforts.

In the normative pillar we see an implicit legitimisation of direct communication between the personnel charged with international activities and the higher education leadership. These direct and informal channels are used bottom-up but also top-down. The direct access to the presidential level sometimes also opens up direct access to special funding or to projects, which seems to strengthen the position of the "internationals" in the informal faculty hierarchy. Other normative changes are visible with regard to the general expectation that international activities and orientations of faculty members have become

an implicit norm: academic reputation rests on increasing involvement in international research cooperation, organisation of student exchanges, publications in the English language, raising funds internationally etc.

With regard to the cultural-cognitive pillar of the institutions it can be stated that the most visible influence on internationalisation has been promoted by the unconventional, the visionaries, the courageous pioneers, the disobedient, even subversives, sometimes acting on the edge of legality or loyalty (with their faculties or university). Most of those actors interviewed had either an intercultural or an international dimension in their private or professional biography. In the processes of internationalisation, they tended to become more influential within their university because they are often viewed as better prepared for the new challenges.

Effects that are not visible at first glance can be identified in the institutional culture. Altogether, internationalisation seems to lead to an intensified intra-institutional cooperation and communication culture. As many issues became more complex in the process of internationalisation (i.e. the creation of new international programmes, the introduction of international doctoral schools), intensive communication is increasingly required, and new informal and formal communication channels emerge. This holds true for communication between various sectors of the administration, between the administration and the service units, between the centre of the university and the departments, across the departments, between the administration and the academics and between the universities and its partner institutions. Task-oriented cooperation across traditional regulations and organisational segments benefits from the facts that many persons involved in the process of internationalisation are highly committed to substantial reforms, are open to seeking new solutions and have experienced other cultures that are less strongly shaped by clear regulations and marked hierarchies. However, some interviewees miss transparent and clear decisions, whereas others still consider the informal communication culture as not having been generally accepted and matured.

In contrast to the strengthened cooperation and communication structure in the more formal "issue or target focused" channels and networks, there seems to be a hidden lack of communication culture on the more informal level. Some interviewees emphasized a lack of a *Begegnungskultur* in the behavioural structure: communications and brief meetings on an informal level rather than by appointment (e.g. in an international faculty club). This particularly helped make contacts with international guests at the faculty.

It seems as if hierarchy is becoming less important and expertise is playing an increasingly essential role. The relative loss of the significance of hierarchy might not only

be mono-causally linked to the process of internationalisation but also to a slowly changing culture with the generation change in general that is taking place on a large scale at all German universities.

2.7 Factors fostering and impeding internationalisation

At German universities, internationalisation seems to be fostered by various exogenous factors and developments. There is a growing awareness in the public debate, and a national internationalisation policy (see Hahn, 2004b). The universities have been responsive to funding schemes for innovative international programmes, and shown a growing interest in recruiting students from other countries to study in Germany as well as acknowledging a growing relevance of international knowledge.

From the interviews with the experts of the universities it seems that internationalisation has been driven forward when the following conditions were met:

- international research cooperation on a broader scale: the more internationalised the research, the more internationalised the university;
- existence of a group of committed faculty members or influential individual visionary and courageous pioneers (sometimes acting subversively);
- existence of a group of faculty members with international experiences;
- a comprehensive or strategic approach to internationalisation by linking internationalisation to institutional mission, profiling and development;
- a supportive central internationalisation strategy guided by the higher education leadership;
- a professional international office with service orientation, internationalised administration and services;
- modified governance structures (internationalisation committees, a strategic coordinative and conceptually working unit, management by prior agreed objectives);
- reorganisations and mergers of units in charge with internationalisation and
- a shortage of young researchers and a decline in student numbers.

The interviewees also stated a number of factors impeding internationalisation. The most often mentioned obstacles to internationalisation were seen with regard to funding and the

legal frameworks. The general under-funding of higher education institutions and the lack of additional funds are seen as major obstacles e.g. the inadequate financial support for innovative internationally oriented programmes, for the implementation of the Bologna process and for grants for international students. The restrictive and inflexible legal framework was largely criticised with regard to the still lacking immigration law and the regulations concerning the residence and work permits of foreigners, the Civil Servants Law, the Budget Laws of the *Länder*, as well as the Higher Education Framework Act.

Other factors mentioned were the lack of internationalisation of the central administration, for instance the lack of flexibility to change personnel, the difficulties of implementing a "spirit of service" and developing the competencies needed (such as language competencies, international knowledge, intercultural competencies), and the general lack of an informal communication culture in Germany, notably with regard to international students and guest scholars.

Some interviewees reported inter-faculty conflicts, especially where parallel national and international programmes were established. Conflicts evolved when the international programmes were binding faculty resources (staff and finances) and a disadvantage of the core programmes was perceived. Concern about the present form of internationalisation was expressed with regard to the progressing anglophonisation of the study programmes and the increasing teaching in English. A loss of cultural identity and a loss of language diversity were perceived. Some interviewees criticized the incompatibility of the European Commission"s official dogma of cultural and language diversity and the actual anglophonisation and standardisation (Americanisation) that are taking place at the universities.

Another conflict that could be identified within the processes of internationalisation and Europeanisation within the institutions is the discrepancy between the expectations of the higher education leadership and the strategic units for internationalisation at central level. These tensions were related to the pace and breadth of the implementation of internationally oriented programmes, the implementation of the two-tier degree structure and the ability of the faculty to meet these demand with the limited personnel, financial and time resources.

Some interviewees (of different universities and disciplines, but all internationally experienced and renowned) stressed that the potential of "real" internationalisation was not sufficiently developed in Germany. They mentioned a strong presence of contra-productive dimensions, e.g. nationally oriented, defensive, even neo-imperialistic, exploitative elements, instead of exploitation of the undiscovered potentials of

international interaction, the exchange of ideas and comparative thinking, intercultural communication, global understanding and the internationalisation of higher education as a win-win situation on a broad scale.

2.8 Concluding remarks

Internationalisation has become one of the top-five priorities at the German universities surveyed. According to the interviewees, it has not become the top issue, but rather a cross-cutting topic, playing a major role in the building of an institutional profile and the enhancement of quality.

In recent years, the concept of internationalisation has been broadened at the German universities surveyed. This concept seems to become increasingly supplemented by and mixed up with the concept of Europeanisation and globalisation. Besides the more traditional forms of internationalisation, namely cooperation and mobility, a number of new activities and reforms are implicitly or explicitly linked to the process of internationalisation.

With the widening of the concept of internationalisation, a shift towards a more strategic approach has emerged. Three different new strands of strategies were identified: internationalisation at home (integrating an international dimension into teaching, research and services), Europeanisation mainstreaming (implementing Bologna, streamlining the institution to the European Area of Higher Education and Research), and globalisation mainstreaming (fostering innovation and reform to make the university fit for the global market, and enhancing the national and global competitiveness).

According to the experts interviewed, the actors behind the concepts and strategies seem to differ within the institutions. While the classic form of internationalisation is still dominating at the level of the faculties, the Europeanisation and globalisation mainstreaming strategies seem to be mainly driven by the central level, notably the higher education leadership and key actors at the senior management level of the central administration.

The number of internationally oriented activities has increased and the scope of activities has been broadened at all the universities surveyed. Alongside these changes, the nature of some activities has also changed. With a broadened concept of internationalisation and a more strategic approach to it, an entrepreneurial orientation has emerged. The "old" internationalisation concept seems to be matched by elements representing a new *Zeitgeist* (Hahn, 2003) and indicating a gradual shift towards an economisation of the universities. The positioning of the university on the national and global market for higher

education, the enhancement of attractiveness, the enhancement of quality, and most recently also the striving for excellence, were mentioned as central issues in a substantial number of interviews. The underlying perception for many new initiatives and reforms seems to be driven by a feeling of lagging behind in international comparisons and that German higher education institutions have to speed up, if they want to play "in the first league".

The interviewees pointed out that the Europeanisation mainstreaming (the implementation of the Bologna goals) has reached the faculty level on a broad scale, whereas a systematic integration of an international dimension into teaching and learning has not yet taken place everywhere. The highly internationalised programmes and units still remain islands within the institutions surveyed.

The interviews suggested that internationalisation proceeded faster when certain conditions were given: research-orientation of the institution (or faculty), high commitment of the university leadership and senior administrators, a central internationalisation strategy, the linking of internationalisation to the profile-building of the institution, a well-functioning support-structure, institutional reforms including changes in the governance structures and funding mechanisms, and last but not least highly committed faculty members with international experience.

Even though internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation mainstreaming are progressing at a different pace within the universities selected for the study, and despite of their different institutional profiles, there seems to be a striking similarity – at least in rhetoric – in what they perceive as challenges, strategies and measures they derive (or discuss) and the goals they are heading for.

In the majority of the interviews the economic dimension of internationalisation was explicitly emphasised. Besides the overarching economic dimension, the academic and knowledge dimensions (Teichler, 2004) still seem to have a prominent position in the debate at institutional level. However, there seems to be a trend to neglect the social and (inter)cultural dimensions of the processes, also in a global perspective. The marginal roles these essential dimensions play in the debates were criticised by a minority of interviewees. What seems to be missing in the internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation debate of German higher education on all levels is a dialogue on the underlying implicit and potentially rivalling concepts, policies and strategies and the effects of the recent developments on the institutional and academic culture.

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3.2. Chapter 3. Academic, economic and developmental strategies – internationalisation of Norwegian higher education institutions

Nicoline Frølich and Bjørn Stensaker

3.1 Short introduction of the country

The Norwegian higher education system is mostly public and consists of four universities, 26 state colleges and a small number of specialised public higher education institutions. In addition, some private higher education institutions offer more specialised study programs, for example, within fields such as business administration. At present, around 175,000 students participate in higher education.

During the last decade, higher education in Norway has gone through several comprehensive reforms. This includes a merger within the college sector, a new law for higher education, new management and governance arrangements, and in 2002/03, the so-called Quality Reform which introduced a new degree structure (bachelor/master degrees), the ECTS and a new grading system (A-F), new commitments within quality assurance and evaluation, and a new incentive-based funding system (Gornitzka and Stensaker, 2004: 105-107).

Even if parts of this latest reform can be related to pressing domestic needs for change in structure and content of Norwegian higher education, the Quality Reform increasingly emphasised the importance of seeing the national higher education system in its international context. The Quality Reform can, therefore, also be said to represent the Norwegian political adjustment to the Bologna process. As a consequence, internationalisation has been put high up on the policy agenda in Norway, and is seen as a core instrument to maintain and improve the quality of higher education (Gornitzka and Stensaker, 2004). However, even if this is true in a political context, it is still an empirical question to what extent internationalisation has developed as an important issue at the institutional level in higher education and correspondingly, what the drivers of the development are. This chapter is an investigation into how internationalisation is perceived and expressed at the institutional level.

3.1.1 Selection and profile of institutional cases

The chapter builds on case studies of five higher education institutions (HEIs) in Norway:

- Institution α which is an old comprehensive research university located in a large city in Norway;
- Institution β which is a younger university in Norway;
- Institution γ which is a non-university (state college) located in a small town in a rural area;
- Institution δ which is a specialised non-university (state college) institution;
- Institution ε which is a specialised private higher education institution.

These HEIs vary considerably with respect to their size, age, mission (teaching -research, university -non-university), the range of disciplines (specialised -comprehensive), their geographic location (e.g. large city – remote/border location), and the nature of the organisation (public -private).

3.2 Introduction of the case studies

3.2.1 Institution α

Institution α has almost 20,000 students, dates back to the last century, and is a public comprehensive, research university in a large Norwegian city. The university has currently a staff of 2,500 employees. The university is organised into seven faculties: the Faculty of Arts, the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences, the Faculty of Social Sciences, the Faculty of Psychology, the Faculty of Law, the Faculty of Medicine and the Faculty of Dentistry.

α Holds formalised bilateral collaborative agreements in research and education with institutions in Europe, USA and Asia. Their researchers have had collaboration with US colleagues for several decades, and in recent years co-operation through European research and education networks has become increasingly important. α participates in the EU's student exchange networks, such as the Socrates-Erasmus and the Leonardo programmes. In Socrates an institutional contract has been signed with 210 educational institutions. About 200 students from α go on Erasmus scholarships every year, while some 150 foreign students come to the university. Most students travel to the UK, Germany, France, Spain and Ireland.

In EU Framework Programmes for research and technological development, α was involved in 90 contracts in the Fourth Framework Programme, of which 24 were co-ordinated by researchers from this university. α Researchers have for several decades had extensive collaboration with US partners, especially within medicine and natural sciences. Involvement with countries in Africa, Asia, The Middel East and Latin America on these continents is given high priority in the University's programme of international activities. The University offers students from developing countries MPhil/MSc level training with the possibility of continuing to doctoral level. The university has more than 30 programmes taught in English.

3.2.2 Institution β

β is located in a major city in Norway, and is a public comprehensive research university. β Has almost 7,000 students and was founded after World War II. The university has six faculties: fishery science, humanities, law, medicine, mathematics and science and social science.

In 2003, 51 Norwegian students from β went abroad on different institutional exchange programs, while 118 foreign students came to β on the same type of exchange programs: a total of 169 students. The university received more students than they sent out in these exchange programs.

β has, as the only Norwegian university, not established a separate budget for internationalisation (even though such budgets may exist within single departments).

The university has formalised cooperation with 35 other higher education institutions in the arctic/northern hemisphere (including Russia, Canada/USA [Alaska]), and one of the aims of this cooperation is to launch a special student exchange program (North 2 North) in 2004, and later to expand the exchange agreements to include academic staff.

3.2.3 Institution γ

Institution γ is a comprehensive state college, and has about 3,000 students. γ and the former regional college both stem from the establishment of a number of new regional colleges in Norway in the 1970s (Kyvik 1999). In 2004 γ was organised into three faculties: the Faculty of Health and Social Work, the Faculty of Social Sciences, and the Faculty for Television and Media Studies. In addition, the college also comprise the Norwegian Film School that has status as a fourth faculty.

Internationalisation has not been particularly prioritised at γ in the past decade. In 2003, only 28 students went abroad on various exchange programmes, while the college only

received 6 students from foreign countries. Other issues, for example related to the fact that the city γ is located in was the host of a huge international winter sport event in 1994, and that developing γ into a university in the aftermath of that event has dominated the agenda at the college. In the current strategic plan for the period from 2004 to 2007 the university ambitions still dominate the institutional agenda, and internationalisation is not mentioned among the main objectives of γ for this period.

3.2.4 Institution δ

Institution δ has over 8,000 students, and was the result of the merger of several smaller regional colleges in 1994. δ offers many vocational studies within the area of business administration, engineering, social work, nursing, and teacher training, and is located in a major city. δ is organised into seven faculties: Faculty of Nursing, Faculty of Engineering, Faculty of Health Sciences, Faculty of Business, Public Administration and Social Work, Faculty of Journalism, Library and Information Science, Faculty of Education, Faculty of Fine Art and Drama.

In 2001, 50 academic employees spent a period longer than one week abroad, and 9 visiting scholars came to the college. This is an increase from the year before. In 2003, 28 courses were offered in English at δ. The same year 164 students went abroad on various exchange programs, while the institution received 124 students, a total of 290 exchange students.

Strategic funding is reserved for internationalisation in the institutional budget. For 2002 this equalled about 900,000 NOK. This is reserved, amongst other things, for the further development of English language programmes and increased focus on student mobility. Additional funding was reserved for the establishment of the international office and work with the quality reform. This equalled 468,000 NOK.

The majority of mobile students travel to or from Europe, although Australia and the USA are increasingly popular destinations for the students. The students that travel for shorter periods, often in connection with specific projects, go to Africa, Asia and some to Eastern Europe and the Baltic states. The college had 11 incoming quota students in 2001.

3.2.5 Institution ε

Institution ε is an old private higher education institution (which specialises in religious studies) with a smaller number of students. ε is located in a large Norwegian city. ε offers undergraduate, graduate and doctoral studies within the field of theology, and has during the last decade also expanded into teacher training, and lifelong learning schemes in religious knowledge. The institution was privately funded until the 1970s when, after a

parliamentary resolution, it was granted partial state support. The state support has gradually increased over the years and represents at present around two-thirds of the total budget. Students do not pay tuition fees. At present, the school has approximately 700 students, and an academic staff of 50 full and part-time employed.

Table 3.1. Basic data on the Norwegian case studies

	α	β	γ	δ	ε
Size (student numbers)	16,773	6,182	2,352	9,664	703
Age (year of start)	1825	1968	1972	1994	1906
Disciplines	Comprehensive (humanities, arts, natural sciences, social sciences, engineering)	Comprehensive (humanities, arts, natural sciences, social sciences, engineering)	Rather specialised (health and social work, social sciences, television and media studies)	Number of disciplines (nursing, engineering, health, business and public administration and social work, journalism, library and information science, education, fine art and drama arts and humanities)	Specialised (theology)
Number of foreign (degree) students	3.5%	1.9%	0.03%	1.3%	1.8%
Number of incoming ERASMUS students	1.4%	0.9%	0.02%	0.08%	0.06%
Number of outgoing ERASMUS students	0.8%	0.6%	0.04%	0.05%	0.03%

Source: DBH (http://dbh.nsd.uib.no/dbhvev/student/student_meny.cfm), Spring 2003

3.3 Perceptions and views of internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation

In the Norwegian case it is difficult to distinguish sharply between perceptions of internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation. This may be a consequence of path-dependency, where both historical and current international and European developments are locked in and framed by the current national reform in Norwegian higher education. What we however observe are three different and also interrelated conceptions of the rules, norms and cognitions that constitute and justify internationalisation. Concerning regulative developments, both EU initiatives and the current national reform are considered important features. As to norms and cognitions, both the inherent international dimension of academic work and conceptions of global solidarity figure frequently in the actors understanding of internationalisation. Concerning path-dependency, we observe that the academic justification of internationalisation is referred to both as historically and presently important. Global solidarity is also considered an historical justification of commitment to internationalisation in Norwegian higher education. In addition, EU initiatives such as student exchange programmes and financing of research opportunities play an important role. Currently the national reform frames and foster internationalisation in Norway. It seems as though these different developments and justifications of internationalisation do not compete but actually strengthen each other.

3.3.1 Domestic reform – international agenda?

Internationalisation is an important dimension in the Quality Reform that currently is being implemented. Perhaps as a result of the current link between internationalisation and national reform in Norwegian higher education, internationalisation has been enveloped in a language and rationale of quality at the political level in Norway (see Gornitzka and Stensaker, 2004: 109), even if elements of the Quality Reform, for example the introduction of bachelor-master degrees, could be seen as an adjustment to the Bologna declaration and not as an instrument for quality improvement per se.

Thus, the close relation between issues related to internationalisation and the Quality Reform makes it difficult to differentiate sharply between global, European and domestic influences on the current policy in Norway. The case studies illustrate this problem with respect to how internationalisation is perceived at the institutions. Both initiatives stemming from the EU, such as student exchange programmes and research programmes, and current national reforms are considered important justifications for international activities at the Norwegian institutions. Concerning EU initiatives, a for example viewed

the establishment of the European exchange programmes as an impediment to the increased exchange activity in the 1990s. δ emphasises that internationalisation means first and foremost student exchange within the EU programmes and through bilateral agreements.

Currently internationalisation is by the institutions and academic and administrative staff seen as a direct result of the national Quality Reform – as this is a mandatory reform that institutions have to implement. This reform represent the lens internationalisation is perceived through and thus determines many of the interpretations institutions make of this development. The Quality Reform is by all institutions perceived as the most important present driver for internationalisation of higher education in Norway. For example at □ the understanding is that their current international activities should be understood with reference to implementation of the Quality Reform, by way of securing quality in the study programmes the students attend abroad. The data material also reveals major attention related to the benefits of attracting both students and foreign researchers to the university to foster internationalisation. At β, strategic plans and interviews disclosed that the institution perceived the recent white paper on higher education in Norway as the most important factor when explaining the increased interest for internationalisation at the university. Frequent references to this white paper and, not least, to the new financial model proposed in this document, are important indicators in this respect. Since the number of study points taken is linked to the level of funding to the university, one of the concerns highlighted is the danger that domestic students going abroad are not replaced by foreign students coming to β. Such a development could, for example, have strong negative consequences for the income of the university. At δ internationalisation as a major part of the Quality Reform is underlined. The informants' experiences are that national funding is more and more linked to international contact and activities. Furthermore, the importance of student mobility is underlined in the Quality Reform and national policy emphasises the need for collaboration agreements and contact with foreigners. Even if the informants at γ also agreed that the national reform represents the strongest external pressure for internationalisation, they also acknowledged that this reform should be seen in a wider perspective and as a part of an increasing "Europeanisation" of higher education. When asked about what factors informants experienced as the most important for internationalisation, the current Norwegian higher education reform is mentioned as the most significant. Several informants at the institutions argued that this reform first and foremost is an "internationalisation" reform, and has less to do with domestic issues. Among the elements mentioned as important in the reform are the modularisation of the study programmes, which makes it easier to fit in shorter student exchange schemes (3

months), and the changes into the bachelor/master system. The latter reform extends the first degree from the traditional two years to the current three years, and makes it easier to find time in the curriculum for shorter stays abroad/incoming students.

This way of framing results in less attention given to processes that are taking place outside the Quality Reform. For example, the ongoing GATS negotiations on higher education have not been perceived as important for the institutions. This might be due to a belief that GATS will have few consequences for Norwegian higher education. For example, with respect to competition from foreign providers of education that might establish themselves in Norway as a possible consequence of a GATS agreement, informants from α perceived that Norway was less vulnerable to competition from non-serious providers of education as the Norwegian system is too small and transparent (see Maassen and Uppstrøm 2004). Also at δ GATS is not perceived a major issue for the time being. It is noticeable that issues concerning commercialisation and trade in higher education are totally absent at ε.

Paradoxically, the interest for the Bologna process is also relatively modest among the interviewed even if the knowledge about the Bologna Declaration is high. The framing and cooptation of the Bologna process within a national policy agenda is again the most likely cause. Typically at the institutions, perceptions about the possible consequences of the Bologna process are rather standardised. At β, for example, many informants argued that the future harmonisation of degrees, the credit-transfer system and more standardised grading are most likely future effects.

3.3.2 The historical legacy

The view that internationalisation is a central part of the history in higher education is rather dominant in all the institutions studied. For example, α has a long tradition of international activities profiled under the label "the most international university of Norway" (Larsen 1995: 68; Olsen 1999: 24). Moreover, α had a comparably early focus on the importance of attracting international scholars which can be reflected in the guest researcher programme that was established in 1977, aimed at inviting international scholars to the university. English language masters programmes were established in 1986, primarily for students from developing countries. Similar traditions of internationalisation can be found at the other institutions studied. The result is that internationalisation is perceived by the informants as an obligatory activity for any ambitious higher education institution. It is expected that higher education institutions have an international profile and international networks. For example, δ recognises that they operate in a multicultural society and a global economy. Their graduates enter a

labour market that on all levels requires international qualifications. The informants underscored that knowledge dissemination is becoming more and more international; that the students want to go abroad and that the institution is obliged to be international due to the organisation's size and national importance.

However, a noteworthy and distinct characteristic at all the institutions studied is that internationalisation means more than a Europeanisation of higher education. History and traditions may play a part in this belief as well. Several of the institutions studied, especially α, β and ε, have a long tradition for North – South cooperation where developing and giving aid to higher education institutions in the South has been perceived as an important task for Norwegian universities and colleges. For example, the aid dimension in internationalisation is at δ a long tradition framed with reference to global solidarity. The profile of β, highlighting the democratic, socially responsible, developmental/aid orientation of the institution and its regional embeddedness, has also affected how internationalisation has been perceived. Also at δ the informants emphasised that quality development also involves global solidarity with less developed countries. They choose cooperation partners in these countries and work in establishing collaboration with the South. At ε, internationalisation is an issue which traditionally has been associated with being updated on disciplinary debates within the field of Lutheran theology, and bringing the Lutheran theology to other parts of the world, especially in developing countries. As part of this effort, ε has also tried to recruit students from developing countries to take on studies in theology in Norway.

Along this line of reasoning, several informants perceived that an increased commercialisation of higher education conflicts with higher education as a public good. Yet this fear is more related to the HEIs in the South than perceived as a threat for Norwegian higher educations. Hence, one may argue that there exists a strong, normative embedded, global solidarity in Norwegian higher education concerning the consequences for an increased trade or commodification of the sector internationally.

3.3.3 "Business as usual"?

The normative perception that internationalisation is an important and obligatory part of higher education is in our case studies often combined with a more cognitive-cultural perception concerning the manifestations of internationalisation. Data from several of the institutions gives the impression that international activity traditionally has been established and undertaken in close relation to ongoing research activities, joint research projects or in contact with the international research community in different disciplines. This tradition is still a strong point of reference when talking about how

internationalisation comes about. This justification of internationalisation is however most dominant at α, which is an old research university. The reflection conveyed from α is that research collaboration has "always" been a part of the university's profile and activities. But also more specialised higher education institutions such as γ underline the quite strong institutional values related to publishing research results. The pressure towards internationalisation is very much intertwined with these ambitions. To publish research results in English in international journals is by many informants described as a norm it is difficult to ignore.

However, when giving examples of ongoing internationalisation activities, it is often student exchange and the Erasmus program that are mentioned and hence perceived as the dominant activities. This can again be related to the Quality Reform and to EU initiatives. Even if the new bachelor-master degree system, the new grading systems and adjustment to the ECTS are novelties as a result of this reform, Norwegian HEIs have a long tradition in participating in the Erasmus exchange program, and several informants see the Quality Reform as a strengthening of this cooperation. In other words, when interpreting the Quality Reform, the institutions emphasise the established, and almost taken-for-granted, cooperation in student exchange prior to other internationalisation activities.

Since participation is the Erasmus program is so common at Norwegian HEIs, another taken-for-granted assumption is that one has to engage in this activity since "everyone else is doing it". Even if participation in Erasmus is a voluntary activity, there is a strong tendency at the institutions to perceive the institutional participation almost as mandatory.

3.3.4 Perceptions summarised

In general, it is rather difficult to distinguish sharply between whether internationalisation is perceived through regulative, normative or cognitive dimensions. In Norway, the recent Quality Reform is perceived as the most important current driver for internationalisation. Certain elements in this reform (such as the new degree structure, the introduction of the ECTS, the new grading system) may be related to the regulative dimension. The normative and cognitive justification of internationalisation mostly refers to the inherent international dimension of academic work. The new elements in the reform can, in that sense, also be seen as strengthening existing international activities (such as Erasmus), which are perceived to be an important aim of higher education.

In general, internationalisation is interpreted as a positive development and as a possibility (for example, α, γ and ε see internationalisation as a means to profile and

market the institution domestically) for quality improvement and further development. The only negative (normative) perception of internationalisation is related to the consequences that trade and commodification may have on HEIs in developing countries.

3.3 The internationalisation activities of the higher education institutions

3.4.1 Agreements, degree structure and exchange

Paradoxically, the current Quality Reform may, at least temporarily, have hampered student exchange activities at the institutions studied. Probable causes are related to the implementation process such as where administrative and academic staff seem to have prioritised the development of new study programmes, new curricula and new forms of teaching and learning activities, and where they have not been able to give attention to issues such as establishing new exchange agreements with foreign institutions. For example, α has been experiencing a decline in the number of outgoing students within the Erasmus programme. The number of outgoing students has decreased by about 40% over a five-year period. With respect to the Erasmus programme, α has recently organised a project that evaluated the potential reasons why participation had decreased. The abolishment of the academic networks within the programme was seen as one reason. The academic employees' active involvement is seen as an important motivation for student participation in exchange programmes. When the Erasmus programme was first established, academic networks played an important role. Currently the structure of the programme is mainly administrative. A potential de-coupling of academic staff from involvement in student exchange set-ups may, in other words, change the social structure of the internationalisation process. Even if one could argue that this process is caused by institutional decision-making, the overall shift from more ad-hoc and "grass-root" agreements to emphasising institutional exchange agreements, are by several informants said to have contributed to this side-effect.

Thus structural changes have organisational impacts. For example at δ, a strong perception is that the EU student mobility programmes drive internationalisation processes in the organisation. The informants reported much work and activities related to EU programmes. They have tried to position themselves in EU sixth framework programme by hiring administrative staff and by contacting the Norwegian Research Council. They have just hired a specialist on the EU framework programmes to facilitate the processes of gaining EU funding. They are engaged in student mobility programmes and work on collaboration agreements within EU programmes. Efforts are taken to disseminate information about EU exchange possibilities. All these efforts can be understood with reference to their conceptualisation of student mobility as importing foreign quality

standards. Thus the self-understanding is that EU programmes have great importance for their student mobility activities.

In addition, organisations with a lower level of engagement in the EU programmes have experienced changes in the social structure. For example, ε has had a modest level of activity in student mobility but has experienced other changes in the social structure due to internationalisation. Analysing the organisation of and responsibilities for internationalisation issues at ε during the last five years, one can detect a tendency towards formalisation, centralisation and professionalisation of the work. *Ad hoc* exchange agreements established by the individual study programme have been replaced by institutional exchange agreements negotiated at the institutional level. Even if the organisation does not have a separate office for internationalisation, which can be explained by its small size, there are an increasing number of people in the central administration with internationalisation as a particular responsibility. One can also detect a greater degree of formalisation related to the development of special plans and documents for internationalisation.

National regulations seem to influence international activities in the organisations: The most important regulative factor influencing the development at β seems to be the current reform of Norwegian higher education (the Quality Reform). With its emphasis on establishing a new study structure (making shorter stays more easy to fit into the study programs), and funding (providing economic incentives for increased student exchange, and by providing a negative incentive for institutions that are poor in attracting incoming students), the reform is a strong regulative force for increased internationalisation of β. δ Recognises there are demands for increasing their efforts and quality in research and internationalisation, while emphasising the necessity of organisational autonomy. The informants reported that the Quality reform and the new mode of funding HE have affected OUCs work with collaboration agreements. Furthermore, the mode of funding is perceived as both impeding (by giving incentives not to send out students and then "loose" their credit points) and increasing (by attaching a small premium to each mobile student) student mobility (length of stay). At δ it is recognised that national funding schemes are linked to international partners and activities, which is driving δ to work for such relations and activities. Also at γ a noticeable driver is the current reform of Norwegian higher education, and in particular the changes in study structure (bachelor/master degree). Interviews with various informants suggest that the changes in study structure will stimulate increased exchanges of students in the future.

However, normative drivers of internationalisation, and not just regulations, are evident in the case material. Notably, these drivers are more internal than external: The strongest

normative factor influencing the internationalisation of β is the profile of traditional academic specialisations at the university. Internationalisation has been interpreted by the institution as an instrument for reaching important institutional objectives related to democracy, developmental studies/social responsibility towards the developing world, and arctic research. As such it seems as though strong institutional values have determined how internationalisation should be operationalised. This justification for internationalisation – i.e. global solidarity and development aid -is evident also in other Norwegian institutions (Frølich work in progress (a)). The latest action plan at β concerning internationalisation at the university states that internationalisation, among other things:

- should maintain and stimulate the developmental/aid-orientation of the university;
- should stimulate a larger amount of students and staff coming from third-world countries;
- should stimulate intercultural learning for persons from very different cultural backgrounds;
- should establish agreements when it comes to student and staff exchange that stimulate/support the research profile of the university when it comes to research on the arctic area (biology, fisheries, sami people).

Concerning the regional dimension of internationalisation, the action plan is rather specific, pointing to the need to stimulate cooperation with a small number of identified universities in the western parts of Russia. The informants all agreed that the established identity and profile of the university has meant much to the particular manifestation of internationalisation in important documents at β.

The aid dimension is also intertwined with trade issues. α Implements activities both concerning the trade dimension and the aid dimension. Concerning trade they actively negotiate collaboration agreements to obtain reasonable tuition fees at foreign universities. Since the 1980s actions have been undertaken to establish top positions in research areas relevant to cooperation with universities in the South. By searching for funding in development aid programs, efforts are taken to export competence and research to the South (Olsen, 1999: 14). The informants at δ recognise that the trade dimension attracts much attention and resources. Furthermore, other nations trading in student mobility make it necessary to search for collaboration partners internationally to secure the quality in the education students from abroad.

With its many references to the importance of internationalisation for maintaining quality and integrating Norway into the knowledge economy, the current white paper on higher education also provides many normative arguments that seem to have an impact on for example β. Such academic justifications of internationalisation are also evident at δ. Here it was argued that the internationalisation of research is becoming more and more important. It was also reported that internationalisation is too important both in relation to δ renomé and to the development of the disciplines not to work on student mobility.

Other potential external drivers of internationalisation do not seem to have the same influence on the social structure. Concerning GATS, for instance, α is keeping itself informed about the process (Maassen and Uppstrøm, 2004). When informants at γ were asked about how they perceive the supranational forces often recognised as drivers of internationalisation (Bologna, GATS, commercialisation etc.), very few of the informants thought these forces have affected the college.

3.4.2 Ambitious goals and research collaboration

With its many references to the importance of internationalisation for maintaining quality and integrating Norway into the knowledge economy, the current white paper on higher education (KUF, 2001) provides many normative arguments that mirror the internationalisation activities in the institutions studied. The institutional goals and missions are an area in which this trend can be noticed. There is, for example, no informant within the institutions that sees the strong interconnectedness between internationalisation and quality as described in the white paper as non-existent or problematic. In this sense the political rhetoric promoting internationalisation in Norway matches the academic justification given by the higher education institutions. Hence, having ambitious goals concerning internationalisation is a typical tendency among the institutions studied. There are also, however, distinct profiles concerning goals and ambitions at the different institutions. α and δ come close to the national quality rhetoric, while internationalisation as a means for competition is evident at β. Ambitions differ also in levels and focus: γ is an example of ambitious goals, but mainly restricted to student mobility.

The academic justification of internationalisation is evident when the institutions explain their policy concerning internationalisation. For example α underlines that they integrate internationalisation into their main activities. Internationalisation is perceived as a natural part of research activities. For the time being, there are particular attempts to stimulate internationalisation at home by importing both students and researchers. International dimensions are also included in teaching and learning through courses taught in English

and international study programmes. A special concern is to ensure the quality of study sojourns abroad. Actions have also been taken to ameliorate the current situation of the decline in the export of students. Study programmes have been designed to facilitate students going abroad during their Norwegian studies.

At β the institutionalisation of activities concerning internationalisation can be seen in relation to ambitions of the institutional leadership to promote and further develop the competitive advantages of the university, and to compensate for the geographical location of the university. Hence, in practice internationalisation has been especially emphasised in relation to arctic studies, in the studies of minorities and indigenous people, and in studies of the fisheries. One of the long-term objectives of the organisation is also to establish an international summer school before the end of 2006. When it comes to internationalisation activities in the student area, ambitions have been somewhat broader and included intentions of participating in general EU and Nordic student exchange programs such as Erasmus and Nordplus. However, it still seems that student recruitment from various developing countries, and from universities in Eastern Europe and Russia have a prominent place. One of the objectives of the organisation is that half of the foreign students coming to β should come from a developing country. In concrete terms, β has as an objective to reach the level of at least 300 exchange students during 2004, and at least 600 exchange students in autumn 2006 (more than five times the current number).

The official quality rhetoric is quite present at β, but in combination with goals of global solidarity. δ's Aim of internationalisation is to increase quality in education and research. The strategic plan states that relevant education and good learning milieus are the main goals. Two areas have the most attention: the multicultural dimension and integrating ICT. δ Is trying to integrate an international dimension in the study programs. They underscore that every student should have an opportunity to go abroad. They are aiming to further develop education programs with partners and increase collaboration with countries of the South. Quantitative objectives are found at department level on student mobility.

The action plan at γ suggests that every bachelor programme should have modules taught in English (at least 15 credits in the ECTS) by 2008 and that every bachelor programme should have 2-4 formal student exchange agreements by 2005. γ States that in 2006, five percent of the students enrolled in the bachelor programmes should have had a stay abroad (lasting three months or more). Furthermore γ should attain the European ECTS-label in 2004. The organisation is establishing a separate office for internationalisation in 2004 (the staff has already been allocated, and started to work). The action plan also states that internationalisation should be incorporated in the new budget model, and

economic incentives for rewarding internationalisation should be developed. Concerning student exchanges, γ is strengthening the support apparatus for incoming students, while in research they are trying to stimulate research cooperation that includes short or long stays abroad for the academic staff, and are making arrangements that make it easier for foreign researchers to come to γ.

However, in the case studies, there are also examples of goals at the institutions that affect the fostering, but also the impeding of internationalisation. For example, at γ, the idea of becoming a university within the next 5-7 years is an important driver concerning the internationalisation of the college. Regarding how internationalisation traditionally has been perceived at the college, one could argue that the external pressure to internationalise traditionally had few internal links to make such efforts meaningful. It is only in recent years that the ambition to become a university has been interpreted as a potential way of giving internationalisation a direction in the college. Since the establishment of a university is a process that has been high on the institutional agenda the last couple of years, it can be expected that the institutional leadership might also have more interest in internationalisation in the future.

A new trend visible at several of the institutions is also the identification of the EU framework programmes on research as more important sources for future funding, and this is visualised through the establishment of new institutional goals. For example, at δ, the infor mants reported that they were undertaking much work and activities related to EU programmes (the sixth framework programme in particular). Also at the other institutions one can detect a tendency for EU research money to attract attention and increase internal networking and interaction as to how the institution should respond to this opportunity.

Several informants see the competition – cooperation dilemma emerging at their institutions. The dilemma is also identifiable in the institutional goals concerning internationalisation. The norm of international competition as a vital driver for quality is undoubtedly affecting the goals of the institutions. Hence, a typical goal of the case institutions is "to be a part of the international higher education arena to enhance internal quality".

However, this does not mean an opening up for the market. On the contrary, informants reported that the tendency in their own and other Norwegian universities and colleges is to go into partnerships with foreign institutions as a way of both escaping the competition and ensuring academic quality. If this is a correct observation, the consequence is that internationalisation will take place, but in a limited and rather closed way. An example

from α can illustrate this. The university expects to compete for students in a more focused way than before. They also recognise the competition from international distance education providers and commercial agents, and also expect to compete in an international arena for their students. Important instruments in this are the development of quality assurance measures and a focus on student satisfaction. The experience has been that α has not been able to match the service given to the students by commercial agents. The tuition fees charged at British institutions have also caused a decrease in exchange students, as this is where a large number of students would have preferred to go. To take up the competition with the commercial higher education agents, the university is making improvements with respect to the information service provided to the students. The university also believes it has an advantage in the contacts between the teachers at α and the partner university, and the opportunity to tailor-make solutions to fit in the programmes the students are taking. The university might also be able to negotiate lower fees, and they can provide a safety net should the students not receive what they were promised. All these aspects are expected to increase in importance as a result of the Quality Reform, when the students will enter a loan system that punishes slower study progress (Maassen and Uppstrøm, 2004).

Concerning competition, an active recruitment policy for international students has not been a priority of δ. To balance the number of incoming and outgoing students the college now wishes to focus on this. A strategy for recruitment is being developed. A stronger international profile is believed to play an important role also in the recruitment of Norwegian students and employees. The international office has the task of creating a market strategy for the recruitment of international students in cooperation with the Faculties. The informants have experienced more competition with universities for excellent researchers. To find ways to secure the quality of the courses and study programmes, the courses that students from the case institutions take abroad are a concern among the informants – and often mentioned as an important element to be aware of in documents concerning internationalisation.

Finally, analysis of formal institutional goals and data from our informants concerning internationalisation reveals that there is a strong conviction at our institutions that higher education should maintain to be a public good. A typical way of signalling this is to establish institutional goals that emphasise the need for development of higher education in developing countries, that the institutions prioritise North-South cooperation schemes, and that they want to attract more students from the South to their institution. The emphasis on higher education as a public good is also visualised by the fact that the institutions are not thinking about establishing for-profit arrangements for foreign students wanting to study in Norway.

3.4.3 Professionalisation and incentive schemes

In Norway, student exchange schemes are also changing as a result of the Quality Reform. While student exchange traditionally has been handled at the institute/department level, it has been strongly communicated as a part of the reform that student exchange should be more administered by the institutional level. This change, several informants report, has also meant that the responsibility for the practical contacts and networking in relation to the student exchange process have moved from being an academic responsibility into an administrative. Several informants have expressed worries that this switch might hamper or impede the numbers of students going in and out, and have potential damaging effect on the quality of the stay student have abroad. Student entering the "wrong" programs and poor matching of student ambitions and plans with the "right" institution/programme abroad is seen as another potential consequence.

Funding is an important factor related to internationalisation activities at the five institutions. As a part of the Quality Reform a revision of the funding model of higher education in Norway is being implemented (Frølich work in progress (b)). This model seeks to reward three types of activities in higher education: research activities, grades passed/study point taken and student exchange. Funding is, in other words, used as a means to increase the number of participants (students) in internationalisation exchange schemes. The latter activity is directly rewarding the institution for each student sent abroad or received. However, the dilemma for many institutions is that the number of grades passed is also rewarded, and that having a net export of students can have a negative effect economically in that there are fewer students obtaining study points/grades.

3.4.4 Courses taught in English

The most obvious trend concerning the technology of internationalisation at the institutions is the increasing number of study programs offered in English. Again, this is a tendency that can be related to the Quality Reform and the need to develop and implement new study programs as a part of this reform. However, it has not been required from the legislators that study programs should be offered in English, and this result is perhaps the most visible shared conception among the institutions and informants. In this way it has been taken for granted that study programs in English is a necessary element when developing new study programs.

The latter development is interesting in a Nordic/Scandinavian context. In this region, student exchange schemes have a long tradition through the Nordplus cooperation. Courses and study programmes have not traditionally been offered in English as the

Norwegians, Swedes and Danes have a good understanding of each other's languages. Thus, with the new emphasis on developing English study programmes it seems that the importance of attracting Nordic students is downplayed or, at least, not prioritised.

3.4.5 Summing up

EU initiatives seem to have influenced international activities in Norwegian higher education to a great extent, both concerning student mobility and the financing of research. Currently the national Quality Reform can be seen as being both a carrier and a barrier to the internationalisation of Norwegian higher education. In its regulative and normative mode, the Quality Reform has an enormous impact in the focus on and belief in internationalisation. The link between internationalisation and quality is strong among the informants and can be regarded as a factor that might further strengthen internationalisation in the future. Shared convictions that English is important when developing new study programs could pull institutions in the same direction.

However, the reform could, at least in the short term also mean a barrier to internationalisation. The work related to developing new bachelor-master degrees, and giving these a new content, the change from academic to administrative (and more systematic and institutional) student exchange agreements are elements that currently take attention away from internationalisation.

3.5 The consequences for the four building blocks

3.5.1 Social structure

A common feature among the case institutions is their way of responding organisationally to the challenges of internationalisation. Having an international office is the common denominator among the case institutions, and in some cases this has a long tradition. For example, the international office of α dates back to the 1960s (Olsen, 1999: 36). This office deals with issues relating to international programs for research and education, but has mainly been concerned with research. α Also has an office for international students which overlap in some of the activities of the international office.

The other international offices at the case institutions are more recent establishments. The international office at β was established in 1993, but the university has had a foreign student advisor since 1986. δ Has a fairly new international office, established in 2001. This office is intended both as a policy development unit, as well as a service institution for the faculties and students. The new interest in internationalisation that can be detected at γ has not so far resulted in any new organisational structures or entities. However, this

college intends to establish a separate office for internationalisation in 2004 with responsibilities for the internationalisation of both study programs and research.

The only institution that does not have a separate office for internationalisation is ε. The small size of the institution might in this case be a plausible explanation.

The international offices differ in the tasks they are mandated. Not only are research and student exchanges weighted differently among the entities, but also policy and practice tasks are to varying degrees part of the workload.

Even if the institutions studied have international offices, the informants have different opinions about the importance these offices have in the internationalisation work at the institutions. For example, γ just recently has thought of establishing an international office, indicating a rather marginal organisational interest.

Along the same line, it may also be argued that the importance given to the international offices reflect the institutions' intentions of developing a proactive and systematic attention to international activities.

3.5.2 Goals

Even if the organisational structures of the case institutions are rather similar, the goals related to internationalisation differ considerably. α For example uses internationalisation as a way to market and profile the institution nationally, and internationalisation as a consequence is integrated into the overall strategy of the organisation. At β, internationalisation has several purposes, among them: internationalisation as expansion (the university wants to expand over existing national borders to the arctic region – see Stensaker, 2000); internationalisation for staff and student recruitment due to problems attracting Norwegian students from the southern parts of Norway; and internationalisation as a way to strengthen the comparative academic advantages of the university in the studies of minorities and indigenous people, and in studies of the fisheries (Dahl and Stensaker, 1999: 67). A third example is at δ where the aim of internationalisation is to increase quality in education and research.

With respect to areas of interest for going abroad the goals also discloses huge variations – from ambitions of linking up with English speaking countries such as Australia, the UK and USA, to Africa and Latin America, and further on to the Scandinavian and other European countries.

However, two interesting characteristics can be found when analysing the goals of the institutions with respect to internationalisation. First, Nordic cooperation, which has a long

tradition in Norway, is perceived as a self-sustaining activity to a certain degree. Not much emphasis seems to be placed on promoting the Nordplus program at the institutions (perhaps with the exception of β). Still, the participation at the institution in the Nordplus program is rather consistent. Hence, although Nordic educational cooperation is not a priority, it is still a well-integrated activity. One reason of importance mentioned by several informants is the fact that Norway is not a member of the EU. Nordic cooperation is believed to create a voice for Norwegian interests. Cooperation is more specifically seen as important within fields where the Nordic countries operate in related ways, such as law, in small fields where the academic environments could benefit from a larger critical mass than the home institutions can provide, and within the natural sciences where expensive equipment might be shared. Nordic cooperation might also increase the international interest as well as the productiveness in fields where the Nordic region has special expertise, such as development aid and the export of the Scandinavian welfare model, peace research (an arena where Norway was thought to stand a bit alone) and food safety. A shared Scandinavian language, short travelling distances and related cultures were all aspects that made cooperation easier (see also Maassen and Uppstrøm, 2004).

Second, a closer scrutiny of the goals of the case institutions does show a striking similarity in one area, and that is with respect to the aid dimension of internationalisation. At α and δ internationalisation is seen as a strategy to increase cooperation with the South. At β it is clearly stated that maintenance and further stimulation of the aid orientation of the university must be in the forefront, and that larger amounts of students and staff coming from developing countries should be encouraged.

3.5.3 Participants

In all the case studies, informants reported that it has been the academic staff who traditionally have been the drivers and organisers of international activities. This is still an important part of the picture at the institutions studied. For example, at β a substantial number of the academic staff are involved in research cooperation in fishery/marine science/geology. Very active international research cooperation can also be found in linguistics and several of the language studies. Similar examples can be listed in the other institutions.

There is nevertheless a strong tendency towards increased administrative professionalisation of all tasks related to internationalisation. As mentioned above, international offices are almost a standard feature at the institutions, and the staff in these offices is not only specialised but also increasingly standardising issues related to internationalisation. An emerging knowledge of administrative systems is reported as

having become a key issue in the internationalisation work at the institutions. The emergence of special officers with particular responsibilities is also a part of this picture. Not least are the research-coordinators, concerned with the EU's research framework programmes, who also provide a visible role at the universities, and the experts in the Erasmus programme, who are more common at the colleges.

3.5.4 Technology

In many ways it is in the technology area that internationalisation activities are creating the most visible effects at the institutions. In all institutions studied, there is a tendency to offer more study programmes taught in English, and to have web-pages and information brochures in English, and so on. Concerning the curriculum, it has been a long tradition in Norway to include books and articles in English in courses and programmes taught, and this trend is continued and strengthened. The same goes for research where a recent study has shown that 8 out of 10 scientific articles by Norwegian researchers are written in English (Schwach, 2004).

Even if Norwegian higher education institutions in general are very well equipped with respect to the information and communication technologies (ICT) that also could be a means to realise increased internationalisation, Maassen and Stensaker (2003: 65) found in a recent study that ICT is not seen as very important for attracting and teaching international students by central decision-makers at Norwegian higher education institutions. In the institutions studied here, this picture is confirmed. Even if "Learning Management Systems" (LMS) such as Blackboard and Classfronter are increasingly being used at the institutions; even if e-mail and chat-groups are becoming more of a regular way of communicating and discussing academic matters; and even if Norway has a long tradition of being in the forefront of developing distance learning schemes due to the geographical characteristics of the country (Maassen and Stensaker, 2003), this has so far not affected the use of ICT with respect to internationalisation. A possible explanation for this lack of using ICT for promoting internationalisation can be given from one of the case institutions. γ Is the only one with a considerable tradition and also a certain profile within distance education. For example, in the early 1990s, a pilot project involving several higher educations offered a short programme in gender studies (the Diotima-project) at this college. Informants at the college were quite negative about this experience. The workload was perceived as being very extensive, and the project demanded a substantial amount of resources (economic/staff members). In other words, the costs associated with the project were perceived as higher than the benefits. Informants at other case institutions seem to share the opinion that launching a comprehensive E-learning scheme for an international market is a very costly and resource-demanding process.

3.5 The feedback loop

3.6.1 External norms and regulations influencing social structure

It is a clear impression across the case studies that both EU initiatives and programmes and currently the Quality Reform have led to more staff interaction and a close cooperation across traditional structures concerning internationalisation issues. Apparently the strategy chosen at α with engagement of researchers in insuring quality of student programmes attended abroad and the linking of the internationalisation strategy to the overall strategy of the university are recent efforts undertaken to improve the organisational decision-making in internationalisation and the quality of the services. With the process of implementing the Quality Reform, decision-makers at α are looking into the aims and organisation of internationalisation, as well as allocating extra resources to a project aimed at improving internationalisation at the institutions, hopefully leading to more staff cooperation across traditional structures. The student counsellors in the Faculties also play an important role in student exchange activities. The university underlines the departments' responsibility in completing the infrastructure in relation to student exchange.

δ, Through an increased participation in international research and development and international mobility programmes, believes that the educational programmes will be renewed and further developed. The interviews reveal the belief that by establishing an international office, internationalisation is fostered in the organisation. Furthermore, the decentralised organisation with international coordinators at department level is efficient in relation to collaboration agreements and the administration of mobile students. An increased effort in international cooperation and student and teacher mobility was one of the prioritised areas of δ in their strategy plan for 2001-2003. This is reflected in the strategy for internationalisation for 2002-2004. It was reported from δ that the board filters national policy and tries to respond in a proactive way. The interview data also indicated that there are different views on internationalisation in different departments, but that δ is working on building a coherent conceptualisation of it.

Until now, administrative responsibility for internationalisation has been decentralised to the faculties/departments at γ, and several of the informants claim that this solution has not stimulated internationalisation as an institutional activity. Ideas and experiences seem not to have travelled across organisational borders. The new interest for internationalisation can also be interpreted as representing a shift in the responsibility for this activity at the college. With little interest given to internationalisation by the institutional leadership, these issues have mostly been taken care of by entrepreneurs in

the academic staff and through their personal contacts and as a result of their interest in the area.

Another tendency identified at all institutions except α is the centralisation of issues concerning internationalisation as a result of establishing international offices. These new structures push these issues further up in the organisation and involves the institutional leadership more than was the case when the responsibility for internationalisation was more decentralised at these institutions. While issues concerning internationalisation traditionally have been taken care of by entrepreneurs in the academic staff, through their personal contacts and as a result of their interest in the area, the involvement of the institutional leadership ideas and experiences are said to be more spread across departmental and faculty borders. The development of formal documents and routines concerning internationalisation are by many informants seen as a way to secure that internationalisation not will become an ad-hoc activity. The reason α is an "exception" to this is related to the fact that such centralisation for a long time has been an important characteristic of the university.

A problem reported by some informants is related to the integration of research activities and student exchange activities within the same internationalisation office. Here, some claim that due to the high level of activity with respect to student exchange, research activities have been suffering, receiving less attention. High intentions related to the integration of these two activities have, in other words, resulted in some practical difficulties.

Thus regulative and normative features seem to influence the social structure of the organisations. Regulations in terms of the current national reform and the EU and normative features both in terms of perceived increased competition and in terms of academic benefits of internationalisation. Especially interesting are the examples that internal academic drivers of internationalisation also push formalisation and centralisation of international activities and policies. Thus social structure is developed as a response both to changing environments and to internal interests and ambitions in having international relations. These processes are especially evident in the newer institutions, while the story told at α is the old one about how academic interests and contacts do drive these processes and how leadership now tries to strengthen the relations between this old internationalisation and the more formalised one to increase quality of the results they obtain (Frølich work in progress (b)).

3.6.2 Goals negotiated both externally and internally

National, institutional and individual goals related to internationalisation are in several of the case institutions not showing much coherence. While the Ministry of Education as a part of the Quality reform tries to stimulate study periods abroad for three months or more, preferably within formal exchange programmes, several of the institutions have developed new bachelor and master programs that have problems with such a period abroad. Study plans have been too rigid to allow for student mobility Some institutions, such as α, has claimed that intensive courses of one week or longer, internships and project work of shorter duration also should be seen as valuable international experience. At the individual level, the number of students at α going to Europe has stagnated whilst the number of students going to the USA and Australia has increased (see also Maassen and Uppstrøm, 2004).

However, that being said, it is no doubt that many informants see internationalisation as strongly driven by plans, organisation and structures. Combined with a stronger professionalisation of issues related to internationalisation, i.e., the more dominant role of the administrative staff in these issues, internationalisation are secured a place on top of the agenda at many institutions. An example can be given from γ where professionals developed an action plan related to internationalisation that went far beyond the intentions in the original strategic plan of the college.

An intention of the Quality Reform was to stimulate to increased competition among Norwegian higher education institutions. In some of the institutional plans analysed, this national competition also affects internationalisation issues at the institutions. For example, at δ it is believed that due to the competition to get national students it is important to make policies and plans for developing international networks that can be used in advertisements for attracting national students.

The goals of the organisations may be analysed also as an interplay between external expectations in terms of shifting norms of competition and in terms of institutional autonomy in decision-making (i.e. the reference to plans, internal decisions and own strategies) (Frølich work in progress (a)).

3.6.3 Academic norms of merit

A weakness reported by several of the informants at all institutions is that while internationalisation is a part of the new and more incentive-based funding system of Norwegian higher education, an incentive system for the academic staff is still missing. While the individual researcher and professor can receive promotions, salary increases and

merit for international commitment with respect to research, a merit system for academic involvement in teaching and learning is missing. Some informants claimed this is one reason why administrators are now taking over the student exchange schemes while academics are abandoning them. Consequently, academic norms of merit play a role in how the participants relate to issues of internationalisation.

To be able to attract international students to Norway, some informants also reported that their institution has become more innovative in arranging social happenings, stimulating a good student milieu and finding new modes of student – teacher interaction. Internationalisation and developing a good campus life are seen by several informants as two closely interrelated activities, with ε as perhaps the best example.

3.6.4 Changing landscapes influencing technology

Due to the increased competition between Norwegian higher education institutions as a result of the Quality Reform, universities and colleges in Norway have become more conscious of how they communicate information about themselves and their image. As a means to improve on these dimensions, new technologies have made an impact. Informants mentioned in particular new and improved web-pages for marketing purposes, information campaigns and marketing initiatives that often are developed both to English and native speaking students. It is believed that these measures do attract foreign students, and that they will have a positive impact concerning the number of incoming students.

3.7 Factors impeding/fostering internationalisation

Even if processes of Europeanisation, internationalisation and globalisation can be separated as (theoretical) concepts (Kehm, 2003), it is harder to distinguish between them when studying internationalisation in practice. In this study, the challenges of internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation are most visible through the lenses of the Quality Reform which Norwegian higher education institutions currently are implementing. In this reform, and at the national political level, internationalisation is mainly addressed as a question of quality i.e. quality in the sense of international publishing of research results and quality in the sense of quality of education (increasingly international curricula and programmes by extended international relation in Norwegian higher education) (see also Gornitzka and Stensaker, 2004). This study shows that this political agenda is rather consistent with the institutional agendas in various higher education institutions in Norway.

However, internationalisation is also perceived at the institutional level as an inherent dimension of scholarship and is in this sense a long tradition and ambition that both universities and also university colleges try to fulfil. Furthermore, internationalisation is also perceived more idealistically at the institutional level, as a normative obligation that one should take part in the development of disciplinary knowledge, but also as an institutional tradition of giving aid to and stimulating higher education in developing countries. At the institutional level, internationalisation may as a consequence be understood as an interplay between three factors: The national (and European) reform agenda relating to the Bologna process, established research traditions emphasising internationalisation within different disciplinary contexts, and institutional traditions for North-South cooperation in higher education.

3.8 Conclusions

In Norway, the impact of the Quality Reform is at the five case institutions the most significant driver in the internationalisation process, and the lack of attention and orientation towards GATS-negotiations and the seemingly moderate interest in the aims of developing the European higher education area, are a strong signal of how important governmental regulations (the regulative pillar) are for focusing the institutional agenda. In the five case-institutions, internationalisation is not something that is "diffused" though more vague normative and cultural-cognitive processes, but is first and foremost a result of structural reforms (the new bachelor-master structure, ECTS, etc). That the Quality Reform at several of the institutions seemed to result in a decrease in the number of exchange students due to all the energy that had been channelled into developing and launching new study programmes can perhaps be regarded as a more temporary side-effect.

Still, and as with many reforms, the Quality Reform is also open to different interpretations and attracts the attention of actors with different agendas. In the five institutions studied, this has resulted in "reinterpretations" and "adjustments" of the reform to fit institutional needs. Hence, in the institutions there is evidence that internationalisation is used as a means to:

- profile the institution domestically;
- increase recruitment of (highly qualified) staff and students;
- stimulate and develop the research portfolio of the institutions; and
- develop partnerships that can protect the institutions from an increase in mostly domestic, but also international, competition.

However, one should be careful arguing that these reinterpretations are only responses to the reform. They are also to a certain extent initiatives undertaken in the institutions to reframe internationalisation along with the institution's tradition and history. Thus, there are many Norwegian faces of internationalisation.

Looking at how the five case institutions integrate and handle issues related to internationalisation, there are three common, and closely related, trends:

- Issues concerning internationalisation are becoming increasingly formalised in the institutions. Evidence related to this development is the emergence of separate plans for internationalisation, the establishment of separate offices for internationalisation etc.

- Issues of internationalisation are becoming increasingly centralised in the institution. While internationalisation in the past was often taken care of by (enthusiastic) individuals, there is at present, and partly as a direct consequence of the Quality Reform, a tendency to centralise decision-making and responsibility. A typical example is the abandoning of exchange agreements at the department/study program level in favour of institutional agreements at the top level.

- Issues of internationalisation are being increasingly professionalised at the institutions. The autodidactic (i.e. the individual researcher) is replaced by skilled and trained specialists, both when it comes to research cooperation (to handle EU-research applications) and to student exchange (to set up proper institutional exchange agreements).

In sum these trends are strengthening the formal organisation associated with international activities in the institutions, and are a possible indication that internationalisation is on the institutional agenda to stay. However, whether the integration of internationalisation in the formal organisation actually will contribute to "internationalising" the institutions is another issue. The downside of a more professional administration taking over tasks and responsibilities that used to belong to the academic staff is that academic networks may be weakened and eliminated, and that substantive knowledge, for example about the disciplinary and academic advantages and disadvantages of being an exchange student at a certain institution, may be lost. By establishing separate offices for internationalisation one also runs the risk that internationalisation issues can be de-coupled from other issues, for example relating to developing new study programs, innovative teaching and learning schemes, or establishing new research initiatives. The interesting issue is therefore to keep an open eye with respect to how internationalisation is integrated into the basic processes of

teaching and learning in the future. At the five institutions studied, such a link is still not very visible.

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3.3. Chapter 4. English university responses to globalisation, internationalisation and europeanisation

Gareth Williams and Jane Evans[5]

4.1 Background

Universities in the United Kingdom have long had an international focus (Williams and Coate, 2004: 114-115), but they have been particularly active in advancing the internationalisation of their teaching and research in recent years. The UK is the most popular destination for ERASMUS/SOCRATES students receiving about a quarter of the total. Between 1984 and 2000 there was an extensive increase in the numbers of EU students coming to the UK to study, although since then, however, the number of has declined by nearly 10 per cent. The increases in students from overseas were concentrated particularly in subjects of Business and Administrative Studies, and Engineering, which in 2001/02 accounted for one-third of all non-UK students. There have been major changes in the countries from which international students come. The number of students from China rose by 71 per cent (to 20,700) between 2000/01 and 2001/02 and from India the number rose by 55 per cent (to 7,600) over the same year. Other indications of the growing globalisation of United Kingdom higher education include successful bids for EU research funds: the total income from EU sources in 2001/2002 was £154.5mn (about €230mn) (HESA) UK universities have formed a large number of strategic alliances and consortia for research or teaching with international institutions.

There are four main reasons why UK universities and colleges have been particularly well placed to respond to the challenges of globalisation: academic independence; financial independence; financial stringency; the English language. These four factors them have enabled, encouraged and obliged British universities to respond quickly and effectively to the threats and opportunities presented by globalisation. The first two factors might be seen as normative institutional processes, with the third—financial stringency—being a disruptive exogenous factor. The regulation of English Universities by the State has traditionally been a case of steering at a distance. This provides the academic and financial independence but also leads universities to seek funding from other sources as a result of financial stringency. The importance of the English language relates to the cultural-cognitive pillar.

[5] The authors wish to express their gratitude to Dr Kelly Coate who did some of the early interviews and searched the web for information while undergoing the experience of being a new mother.

The academic independence of UK universities is long standing. They control the award of their own degrees and the forms of learning and assessment students undertake to obtain the award. However, there has been a good deal of convergence between the qualifications awarded by different universities. Their graduates compete in the same labour markets and they receive public funds according to broadly common criteria. At the margin, however, there can be substantial differences and universities are able to provide new programmes of study quickly if they perceive a potential demand for them. The flexibility in course provision permitted by this academic freedom enables English universities to offer courses on their own campuses and also in many other countries in direct competition with subsidised national systems (for evidence of the attractive power of flexible and diversified course structures see West et al, 2000).

Financial independence is another well-established attribute of UK universities even though for over half a century the greater part of their income has been provided from public funds. Financial autonomy has had both advantages and disadvantages for the universities. The economic security provided by government funding until the 1980s encouraged universities to neglect other sources of income. Universities in the UK are entitled to recruit students from the European Union or attract full fee students from other countries and it can be financially advantageous to do so. Until the early 1980s these freedoms to recruit students from outside the United Kingdom were exercised passively rather than actively. Certainly many students from other countries, particularly from the Commonwealth, wanted to study in the UK, and were admitted to universities or colleges if they met the, then rather stringent admission criteria of an elitist system, but no special efforts were made to recruit them.

In the early 1980s, however, a long period of severe financial stringency of public funding for higher education began, which has been only slightly alleviated in the past five years. In 1980 all direct public subsidies to universities in respect of students from outside the European Union ceased. This led quickly to the "emergence and development of an explicit market in higher education for international students" (Williams, 1992: 66). By the end of the 1980s British universities had become very adept at generating non-government income from the sale of teaching and research services. Income from international students and from research and consultancy contracts formed a substantial part of this supplementary income. Achieving the capacity to generate income on the open market meant painful structural and cultural change, (see Williams, 2004) but it put British higher education institutions in a strong position to compete when, in the 1990s, pressures for globalisation became very powerful.

All these developments were immensely facilitated by the worldwide use of the English language as the dominant vehicle of global communication.

It is not, however, clear that the lessons learnt about the challenges of globalisation have had similar benefits with respect to broader issues of internationalisation or in developing the European role of higher education institutions. For example, institutional concern with financial viability may make it difficult for many academic staff to take part in international networks with researchers and teachers in other countries unless they are seen as leading directly to financial benefit through research or consultancy contracts or recruitment of fee paying students. There are similar inhibitions amongst UK students as regards study abroad. All European schemes for student exchanges have considerably fewer UK students wishing to study in other European countries than vice-versa (see Dimitropoulos, 2004). Language is a major cause of these imbalances; in the case study below several of our respondents blamed the poor and declining quality of language teaching in UK secondary schools.

4.2 The UK case study institutions

English higher education is based primarily in a unitary university sector created in 1992 by the Higher and Further Education Act which enabled all the polytechnics and many other colleges to be designated as universities. The English case study for the present report focussed, therefore, on the universities sector and is based on five university level institutions covering a wide range of higher education provision; three were designated as universities before 1992 and two in 1992. Considerable differences remain between these two categories of university. In particular many of the post-1992 universities see themselves as serving primarily a local and regional clientele and focus on teaching, while most pre-1992 universities claim to serve a national and international clientele and to be much more active in research. However, there is a growing overlap between the two and there are big differences between individual universities, some of which are reflected in their approaches to internationalisation and globalisation. The five universities were selected to show a wide range of university provision in England and included one that does not readily fit into either category, a very large distance learning university. An outline of the five institutions is set out in table 4.1.

Table 4.1. Basic data on the UK case study universities

	α	β	γ North	γ South	ε
Student numbers	12,180	13,725	26,250	13,275	156,425
Foundation Year	1826	1961	1992	1992	1969
Disciplines	Comprehensive incl. Medicine	Comprehensive excl. Medicine	Ex-polytechnic Academic & vocational	Ex-polytechnic Academic & vocational	Comprehensive distance education
% degree students from abroad	22.7%	17.1%	8.7%	22.4%	9.0%[a]
incoming Erasmus students as % of total students	2.04%	1.57%	N/A	1.07%	N/A
outgoing Erasmus students as % of total students	1.71%	1.65%	negligible	negligible	N/A

a Students registered at the university living outside the university. In addition there is a large number of students associated with the university through partnership arrangements, and use ofits course materials

University α is a long established member of a federal University. Internationalisation has long been a key component of its research and teaching. The university encourages students from all subject areas, and not just language students, to do part of their degree programmes in another country. α is a major research oriented university with a very high international reputation. It is much in demand from both a national and international student clientele. The university competes vigorously in international markets for students but "we do not compromise on quality". The combination of a high standard of international applicants and the university's own international high standing enables it to be highly selective in student recruitment. We were told that international applicants are slightly better qualified than UK applicants.

Like similar universities in England the viability of much of its postgraduate work is heavily dependent on the recruitment of international students; 55 per cent of its postgraduate

students are from outside the United Kingdom. The university has research links with other leading universities in several countries

University β is a medium sized university in the South of England. It can be located well into the upper part of the range of English universities in terms of assessed research performance and demand for entry from international and national students. The university incorporated international and European activities as part of its core mission from its foundation in 1961. A school of European Studies and a School of English and American Studies were part of the university from the outset. Economic and Social Development Studies have always been a significant focus of both teaching and research. Its location near the South coast has resulted in close links with Europe over many years. It was one of the first UK universities to offer Junior Year Abroad (JYA) programmes to students from United States universities. The opportunity to study abroad has always been seen as one of its attractions to potential UK students.

However, the university has had to become more commercially minded recently and there is some feeling within the institution that it has been rather slow in taking part in the recent upsurge in international student recruitment. One of our respondents reported that it had "punched below its weight", particularly in recruiting first-degree students from other countries. A senior administrator felt that the university had approached international and European student recruitment in an opportunistic way. Nothing had been planned specifically to appeal to or market to international students. For example "the campus is not well prepared for the international summer schools, which are good money earners", and work is planned to upgrade the facilities for such activities. "The university is well organised to deal with three year undergraduate programmes but anything "quirky" is harder to deal with". As in many other universities, several postgraduate programmes depend on the recruitment of international students for their economic viability.

University γ North, an institution in Northern England became a university in 1992 having previously been a polytechnic run by the local authority. Its primary mission is to serve the local community but it has, in the past five years begun to expand its recruitment of students from both within and outside the EU very considerably. In this university the international agenda had two quite clear, well-focused aims. One was to generate income by actively recruiting full cost fee paying students from outside the European Union. The other was to make international contacts in order to improve the national visibility of the university. Although the institution has cultivated international networks since its creation as a polytechnic in the 1970s it is only in the last five years that recruitment of international students has been actively pursued. The university "aims for global excellence regionally".

University γ South is another post-1992 institution. It is in the Greater London area and its dominant mission is to serve the local community. However, it has a tradition of international student recruitment linked partly to its location in a multi-ethnic community (over 60 per cent of its UK students can be described as "minority-ethnic" that is self described as "non-white") but it too has begun a vigorous recruitment programme of international students, particularly from China, Malaysia and India, mainly for financial reasons. Its mission reflects a desire to have international recognition as well as serving the region.

Business Studies, Computing, Architecture and Culture and Media Studies were mentioned in particular as academic areas where the university was aiming to have high international visibility. However, as in γ North, its current international activities are mainly concerned with generating income through student recruitment.

University ε is the UK special case. It is a very large distance learning institution, which was created in the 1970s to provide second chance higher education opportunities for adults in the UK who had missed out on higher education after leaving school and who were unable to afford the cost or to fit their adult lives into the rigidity of conventional university courses. It has since developed a worldwide market based mainly on the expertise it has developed in distance education and is currently developing a comprehensive strategy for its global activities. A senior manager advised that its international operations are driven by a complex set of motives that include:

- income generation;
- being a world leader in distance education, which means a global presence;
- being in a competitive international market place;
- the promotion of social justice.There are, at present, three principal ways in which the University engages withthe international market:
- selling a licensed product involving course materials, tutoring and student assessment;
- selling a product on a one-off basis, for example multi-media course materials, with students making their own tuition arrangements;
- partnership with academic institutions in other countries that are able to deliver programmes for or with the university in an evolving relationship. Its position with regard to international students has always been very complex in comparison with

other universities. Because nearly all its students are part time and are distance based, visa restrictions, as well as their own life patterns (full time work for example) make it difficult for many of them to come to the UK for even part of their courses. This has the effect of making it difficult to obtain figures for international students for this university (see table 4.1).

There is an expanding operation in developing countries that is in keeping with the university's social justice mission. This is particularly important in Sub-Saharan Africa where the university has, *inter alia*, a mission to help compensate for the loss of a cohort of teaching capacity through HIV/AIDS. We were told that "the Vice-chancellor is passionate about this area of activity … this is a university with attitude … it reflects a clear moral purpose". However the university cannot operate at a loss even in such an area. In Africa it is intending to operate in partnership with indigenous higher education institutions and keep student fees low. It negotiates for support from third party funders like DFID (UK Department for International Development), DfES (UK Education Ministry) and the World Bank.

4.3 Internationalisation

None of our respondents was able, unprompted to make a clear distinction between "Europeanisation", "internationalisation" and "globalisation" in the activities of their universities, though some tended to the view that internationalisation and Europeanisation were to be applauded while "globalisation" carried overtones that were hostile to the values of higher education. However, after further discussion and occasional prompting from the interviewers, most respondents found useful the idea that globalisation referred to a worldwide competition for student fees and research and consultancy contracts, while internationalisation referred to the more traditional higher education activities of study abroad, student exchanges, academic networking and collaborative research. The distinction reflected the multiplicity of aims and tensions which respondents experienced in the daily life of their universities. However, the more common view was that although there was some tension between traditional international networking activities and competitive marketing in the "global" environment, they did not really get in the way of each other. In the light of this overlap in perceptions and practice, this and the following two sections address the regulative, normative and cognitive-cultural pillars of organisation insofar as they affect Internationalisation, Globalisation and Europeanisation respectively.

4.3.1 An example of the regulative pillar and internationalisation

Part of the state's mechanism for ensuring and maintaining high quality research. This is the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE), often considered to be the most powerful single driver of many universities' strategic plans. This requires all or a substantial part of the research of a university department to reach "international standards" in order to obtain scores of 4 or 5 or above. These high scores are necessary to receive significant research funding from the Higher Education Funding Council. International standards are to a large extent judged directly or indirectly, on the basis of the international standing of the journals in which academic staff publishes the results of their research. All universities aspire to have some subject areas that meet this criterion. However, the average scores of different universities vary very considerably. The number of departments scoring 4 or above in the five case study universities are shown in table 4.2.

Table 4.2. Number of departments scoring 4 or 5 or above in the 2001/02 RAE

α	46
β	29
γ North	3
γ South	3
ε	16

These differences in RAE scores result in very large differences in the amount of funds the universities receive from public funds for research and they are also used by students and governments in several countries to assess the attractiveness of a university. Thus RAE scores are both an indicator of the international visibility of a university and an important influence on how its internationalisation develops. The relationship is not straightforward, however. The two case study universities in this study with relatively little research funding see the recruitment of international students as one of the areas in which they can increase income through their own efforts. They also claim that, with less pressure from research, they are able to offer international students a particularly supportive learning environment. While the high RAE scores make Universities α and β very attractive, particularly to postgraduate students from other countries, their staff are also under

pressure to devote their main efforts to the maintenance and improvement of their research scores because even larger amounts of money are at risk.

4.3.2 Internationalisation and the normative pillar

These differences are reflected in the reasons given for taking part in a range of international networking activities in the five institutions. In γ North and γ South international activity was seen to a large extent as one way of consolidating the institution's self image as a university. There was much talk of the university being "a gateway for the local community to a wider world". The director for international affairs in γ South commented that "We're a regional university with an international dimension, rather than an international university". This is an integral part of emerging regional development policies. In γ North examples were quoted of joint bids by the university and local councils for funding from various EU regional funds.

The international strategies of α by contrast were quite explicitly driven by the university's self image as one of the world's leading universities and the desire to consolidate that image. In the International Office we were told that "the main driver of all these activities and of much else is for α to be one of the top global players". International employability of its graduates helps to bolster this international visibility, which is one of the reasons why study abroad by its UK students is actively encouraged. This institution had by far the largest research income in total and from international sources of any of the case study institutions, though the percentage of its research income from outside the UK is below the UK average. However, it is important to note that this is the only case study university with a medical school and Medicine attracts by far the greatest research funds in the UK.

University β which has a considerably smaller total research income has a clear international and particularly European orientation. The percentage of its research income from the EU and from international sources generally, is well above the England average. This confirms the university's image of itself as an internationally oriented institution. Internationalisation, and in particular Europeanisation were, from the outset, part of the core mission of the university. This was conceived in the early years as being particularly appropriate for the University's ethos. Internationalisation was academically driven, not because international activities were seen as a source of supplementary income. It is generally accepted within the university that it benefited as an academic entity and that lives of the staff and UK students were enriched. However, some views were expressed that, possibly as a result of this, the university has been relatively slow in adapting to the more recent market oriented culture that dominates the international relations of many UK universities today.

The distance university ε has travelled almost the opposite way. Having started as a "second chance" university for UK adult students, its success became so widely known in other countries that it was drawn into a whole range of relationships with higher education systems in other countries that wished to develop similar provision. The university was thus in a strong position when, in the 1980s and 1990s, the international networking activities of British universities were transformed into international marketing.

At α we were told that "we often collaborate with our competitors". In the opinion of a faculty tutor at the university, "collaboration and competition traditionally have gone together". Respondents in this university placed considerable emphasis on international networking by academic and other senior staff not linked to any clear economic advantage. Such activities were seen to be an integral part of the institution's perceptions of itself as one of the world's leading higher education institutions.

All the institutions included in the study had some desire to be seen as players on the world stage but it was noticeable how frequently conversations about academic collaborative and networking activities, veered towards issues of competitive advantage. As researchers we were struck by the way in which many respondents adopted a marketing mode of discourse even though we made it clear that we were researchers. There was also concern about the commercial sensitivity of some of the information.

A faculty leader in γ South took the view that "the competition versus collaboration tension does exist. … Certainly we're actively seeking international partners. …But …Let's be quite frank, we want the money, we want international students: we want those partnerships in part because they will yield a little surplus...".

University α has a long-standing tradition of students taking part of their study abroad and has recently established a policy of encouraging all students to spend a part of their courses, and to obtain course credits, from study in another country. In the Engineering faculty about 10 per cent of students want to go abroad each year and about 6 per cent actually do go, though usually to English speaking countries. The academic demands on students going abroad are rigorous, so only the most able students are encouraged to take part in these exchange programmes. The university sees them as agents and ambassadors of the university, there to see how things are done and also "to make links with companies".

This institution claims to be the only one in the United Kingdom with a balance between the number of UK students taking part in European Union exchange programmes such as ERASMUS and the number of students coming to the university under these programmes. It is likely that this is due in part to the social composition of the student body, which

strongly reflects the "traditional" social class clientele of higher education. Universities which are widening participation in terms of student recruitment such as γ North and γ South, have more difficulty finding students willing to spend significant parts of their study abroad. "Our students put their main emphasis on getting a degree and getting a job as soon as possible".

A faculty leader in γ South said that there have been a number of arrangements for student exchanges but "none of our students has ever opted to do any part of their programme abroad". The problems were perceived to be "cost and language". β Also reported some reluctance by its students to study abroad except by language students.

Most respondents were able to provide examples of international considerations influencing some of their academic programmes. Broadly the examples given fell into three categories. Most frequently cited were examples of courses, usually at postgraduate level, that had been designed specifically to attract international students. Often these were linked to franchise arrangements with universities and colleges in other countries (see below) but there were also courses such as an education and international development MA in β designed primarily for an international clientele but proving to be attractive also to students from the UK in the "aid industry". β also has an innovative International Doctor of Education that is specifically tailored to the needs of international education professionals. The Computing Department in γ South cited a distance-learning programme in Computing with registrations from 40 countries. α Offers Bachelor's degrees on health in developing countries which can be intercalated into its medical qualification.

The second example of curriculum change in both γ North and γ South are changes in course structure to make them fit with ECTS arrangements and therefore attractive to students from other European countries. This was mentioned in the context of discussions of the Bologna process and the facilitation of credit transfer was one of the main reasons given for adherence to the Bologna qualifications framework (see below).

4.4 Globalisation

4.4.1 Globalisation and the regulative pillar

We treated "globalisation" in the context of the case study universities as any activities undertaken by the university primarily to generate income from outside the UK or to improve its internationally competitive academic standing. In practice this was nearly always taken to mean "selling" higher education to international students, though occasionally, especially in α and β, research contracts and consultancy work were also mentioned.

From the middle of 1990s most UK universities began to invest heavily in international student recruitment and the sale of their courses in other countries. This has been accompanied by a wide range of other commercial activities in which teaching services are sold to students in other countries whose numbers are not recorded in the national enrolment statistics.

It is, therefore, this commercial expansion of English higher education that is the main focus of this case study. The expansion can be linked in large part to national policy with respect to the funding of autonomous institutions. Financial stringency played its part as discussed above. In the early 1990s the policy of expanding UK student numbers through open ended formulae made the recruitment of UK and other EU students financially worthwhile even though the income per student was declining. In the early 1990s EU alongside UK student numbers expanded particularly rapidly. This ended when the government limited the number of students it was willing to fund. The universities turned instead to students from outside the EU whose numbers and fees were unconstrained by government, and compared with UK and EU students they generated attractive financial surpluses for the universities. The introduction of fees for home students reduced the attractiveness of UK universities to EU students after 1998. (Dimitropoulos, 2004: 111) However, the universities had by this time discovered that there was an almost unlimited demand for English language degrees in many countries, particularly the rapidly growing economies of Asia, and professional commercialised marketing of UK higher education began. All the universities made a distinction between EU and non-EU students because of the big differences in the fees paid.

4.4.2 EU students and the cognitive-cultural pillar

In this context we view most of the recruitment of students from other EU countries as part of the global activities of UK universities. For the host university EU students are attractive for two main reasons. One is to enrich the experiences of all students on the courses in which they take part. This was a specific driver for β in its early days as a new university with a strong European focus. The other and much more powerful driver at the beginning of the 21st century is to fill gaps left by weaknesses in UK student recruitment. Some departments are unable to fill their available places with UK students, and students from other countries of the European Union help them to meet their student number targets and in some cases to become economically viable. Science, Engineering and Technology were most frequently mentioned in this respect. There was some anticipation that students from countries that have recently joined the EU are likely to be particularly strong in such disciplines. Another gap is more qualitative. Some English universities are under pressure to ensure that the course completion rates of their students do not fall as

they widen the social background range of their students. EU students have a good reputation of completing their courses in the minimum time period and are, therefore attractive for that reason. In the words of a very senior member of one university: "the EU students are often more able students than traditional widening participation students. This helps to achieve the retention agenda". A somewhat similar remark was made in β where several departments are heavily dependent on research students from other European countries to remain academically viable. This is also an example of the effect of the cultural cognitive pillar on the social structure of the institutions.

About one-third of the EU students in English universities in 2001/02 were doing postgraduate work. In both α and β the majority of EU students were doing courses above first-degree level. About 60 per cent of these are doing taught, (usually Master's) courses, which are particularly attractive to students from other countries. The English Master's is relatively short by the standards of most other European countries (see section on Bologna below) and the majority have developed in recent years as intensively taught career related training and professional development programmes. In general the taught Master's degree has evolved as a qualification that can be seen as tangential to the principal academic hierarchy of qualifications that leads from BA to a research based Master's to a Doctorate. UK Master's degrees perform a wide variety of functions: they are a professional or pre-professional qualification; a means of converting a first degree to a more occupationally relevant subject (for example, Information Technology); a way for graduates to "brand" themselves with a degree from a university with more prestige than the one where they acquired their first degree; and also as an opportunity for professionals to add some intellectual and academic foundations to their vocational qualifications. The UK Master's degree can be seen as a rare example of success in bringing the academic and professional/vocational closer together in a system where career based qualifications are generally less valued than the academic. Such features are attractive not only to UK students.

4.4.3 Non-EU international students and the normative pillar

International students from countries outside the EU are liable to pay full cost fees and these make them very attractive to universities looking for cash sources. This aspect of the globalisation of universities' activities has influenced the normative values of universities in various ways.

Purchaser-provider transactions have become the most prominent feature of internationalisation in the universities studied for this report and, as has already been remarked, even when other aspects of internationalisation were being discussed the

conversation frequently reverted to the issue of non-EU student recruitment. Increasing the numbers of full fee paying international students was included in the strategic objectives of all five institutions, though it was not usually one of the central academic aims of the institution. It came across as a one of the means of achieving other aims rather than as a central aim in itself. It has had positive effects on the way universities treat their students from overseas. If they are paying customers it is important that they are satisfied customers. Study skills courses and academic writing courses for students not used to the UK academic traditions are common.

The International Strategy for ε was described as having the following aims: "to break down the distinction between (home campus based) staff and international employees. In addition new forms of partnership are envisaged engaging both with partnership institutions and staff. α plans a new form of academic community with more dispersal".

University α saw international work of all kinds as part of its aim of being one of the world's leading universities. The head of the international office was quite explicit that "the main driver of all these (international) activities and of much else is for α to be one of the top global players. For this reason international employability of its graduates is also considered important".

However, whatever their strategic aims, all the universities were actively involved in trying to increase their income from non-EU students and a wide variety of strategies and tactics were being adopted. This is their main goal and the strategies are discussed below in terms of two of the project's three building blocks: participants and organisational technology.

4.4.3.1 Participants and social structure

In all the universities there was active marketing of courses in other countries and this is taking many forms. However, recruitment of international students on to campus-based 3-4 year undergraduate programmes, one-year Master's programmes and 3-4 year doctoral programmes remains dominant. Apart from ε, distance learning packages, and teaching of programmes directly or indirectly in other countries can best be described as being in their pilot stages in the case study institutions.

Partnerships, or collaboration with universities and colleges in other countries is not entirely new but in its present form it is a development of the later 1990s. These are a form of marketing and form part of the normative activity of the universities, but they also contain a major cognitive cultural element. The basic idea is of some form of sharing of teaching and qualification awarding responsibilities. Early partnerships in the 1960s were

largely with universities in the United States and students typically did the junior (i.e. 3rd) year of their 4-year degree programme in a UK university. These are sometimes linked to study abroad programmes by UK students but the balance is invariably towards far more international students coming to the UK than vice-versa. Amongst our case study universities β was one of the pioneers of such ventures and has maintained a programme in which 100 students are sent from β to North America each year but 250 come to the other way. Income generated over and above the one hundred exchange students helps to cover the additional costs incurred by the students from β who study in the United States. β Is aware that "there is tough competition for North American business now" However, institutional links in which UK universities in effect "franchise" courses in other countries really took off in the later 1990s. Grade compatibility can be an issue for individual students, but with its long experience of such programmes β is aware of the nuances involved. Similar programmes operate at α.

The main focus of most partnerships with universities and colleges in other countries is now student recruitment in order to generate income. Three of the case study universities, γ North, γ South and ε had some such links. Of these ε the distance learning university is by far the most developed and differs in several ways from the other two which are fairly embryonic. In γ South for example, the "biggest groups are in Malaysia: where there is a programme with a local college on which there are in total over 1,000 students of whom about 600 are registered with γ South student cards. Students are heading for a "γ South" degree but they only become γ South students at levels 2 and 3. There are tailor made arrangements for sharing the fees. Each has to be negotiated and managed. The partners have to be vetted academically and financially. In this university the School of Computing and Technology has franchise programmes in Malaysia, a partnership with a Chinese university for Electrical Engineering. The Business School of the same university has two very good international partners and a range of others that are less good.

We discovered a few partnership courses with European Union countries. These were all at the postgraduate level where the issue of fees is not so delicate. One example at γ South is a Professional Doctorate in Family Therapy in Italy. Another also in γ South is a specialised MBA programme for a specific company in Germany.

University ε operates such activities in different ways and at a different order of magnitude. It has a commercial arm, which exists to market the university's teaching products and operates in more than 20 countries with a range of partnerships mainly with educational institutions. The biggest partnerships are with Singapore, Hong Kong, Russia and the Arab Open University, which is a big developing partnership. Some are for the award of the local institution and some for ε validated awards. Many of them are "based

on Business School products". There are also licensing agreements, consultancy and capacity building projects to help institutions build business education capacity. This is being done with the Arab OU and the Civil Service College in Ethiopia, which wants to teach its students at a distance. The commercial arm of the university develops and manages the partnerships and makes sure that good relationships are maintained both institutionally and academically with those partners. The most appropriate kind of partnership arrangements in ε are considered to be those where the partners become accredited institutions delivering validated programmes. In Singapore, for example, there is a long-term partnership that began with students being registered directly with ε and the partner in Singapore provided tutorial support. That has moved into being an accredited institution offering validated awards. This gives the institution in Singapore a lot more autonomy and is better for the students as programmes can be developed that are better suited to the local context. The validation officer at ε raised the issue of external examiners. It is a requirement of UK degrees that they are examined by and experienced academic from another institution. This is an issue for some European universities where examination tradition is quite different.

4.4.3.2 Technology

The situation in γ North is similar. Credit transfer type agreements with Chinese higher education institutions began about five years ago. There are partnerships and articulation agreements. In the former there are partner institutions which teach γ North courses with close monitoring by the university: in the latter there are agreements with certain institutions that their students can do the first 2-3 years of their programmes doing accredited courses in their home institutions and then one year on campus at γ North to obtain the UK degree. The university is confident that its Chinese students receive an educational experience equivalent to regular UK students at the university and there have been no problems in Chinese students fitting into undergraduate courses when they spend their final year in γ North.

Web pages play an important part in this and all the universities have high quality web pages designed to appeal to potential international students as much as UK students. γ North has a website specifically directed to students in China written in Chinese and English. The International Offices of all the case study institutions were engaged in intensive programmes of meticulously planned international visits to raise the visibility of the university in other countries. All were aware of what was happening in other countries active in international student recruitment, particularly Australia and the United States, and all were focussing on particular countries thought to be economically and academically ready to pay high fees for study in English speaking countries. China is absolutely

dominant on this criterion at present. However, other countries in Eastern Asia, particularly Malaysia and Japan were also frequently mentioned. India whose economy is currently booming, though like China from a low level, is another country seen as a rapidly growing market.

4.5 Europeanisation

4.5.1 Europeanisation and the normative pillar

In general we detected little evidence of Europe being considered as anything other than a distinctive source of students and research funding. European issues were often seen as a relatively minor subset of more general international and global issues. Only in α is there a senior member of the university with exclusive European responsibilities reporting directly to the head of the Institution but in the words of this respondent: "there is no policy of being more European than anything else (international)". This University also has a European Office with specific responsibility for European research projects.

The other universities all have a person with particular responsibilities for European affairs but at the middle management level of the International Office. Research was largely outside the scope of this study, but research in Europe and research collaboration with European universities and research establishments tends to be treated no differently from any other research management, even though the European Union is a bigger source of research funding than the whole of the rest of the world outside the UK.

Because UK and EU students pay the same fees, γ South was unable to distinguish between them. However, according to the pro-VC for academic affairs: "Europe is beginning to appear as an entity that the university has neglected in recruitment terms. A European recruitment Officer has recently been appointed. …The Accession countries are seen as an opportunity. But it is essential that no venture results in financial losses".

The head of the strategic planning office at γ North had views rather similar to those expressed at γ South. They said "Generally EU issues do not impinge on γ North very much… There is an imbalance between the numbers coming in and going out". This university did provide some examples of European links occurring as a result of its local regional development activities. Being in an area that is eligible for some European economic development grants the local regional development authority found it helpful to have links with the university to strengthen its bids for project funding.

Since its inception in the 1960s β has had a strong European focus. However, according to a Science Faculty leader: "It is a chronic problem for the institution that they have more inbound students under ERASMUS, than they have out bound. Because everyone wants to

come here. Britain is heavily subsidising Europe through the free teaching provided to ERASMUS students. There is no selection and it costs £ £0.5 million per year".

4.5.2 Europeanisation and the regulative pillar

A widespread concern was that European ventures in both research and teaching are seen to be less financially viable than other activities of the universities. The bureaucratic nature of European research ventures was frequently mentioned. The desire of European funding agencies to ensure the collaboration of many countries in the research programmes it funds is seen as adding to the administrative burden on universities. A faculty tutor at β claimed that research had to be "bent to fit the box". And "you end up getting money because you fit the box and not because you're doing good science". The funding also "often doesn't cover costs". In the School of Education in the same university we heard that the experience of European funding was that it was bureaucratic, not well paid and sometimes politically complicated.

Complaints about inadequate funding of EU research projects were made by all who had been involved in them, whether as academics or as administrators. Some complained that the management of Framework 6 programmes is now devolved to consortia, which has increased the management overheads, and "made it difficult to coordinate a big programme'. However, all appeared to be keen to take part in Framework 6 programmes when opportunities arose. There was a perception that it was often the case that there was a difference between what was intended by the initiators of a European Programme and what actually took place.

4.5.3 Europeanisation and the cognitive cultural pillar

The most marked positive academic effect of European developments we encountered was in the teaching of Law at α. The European influence on changes to the laws of the UK has had a significant influence of the content of the courses and the impact of globalisation has stimulated more teaching and research from an international perspective. The Engineering faculty in this university also sees European links as one aspect of internationalisation more generally. As part of the faculty's ongoing programme of curriculum development two joint Master's are being developed: one in Electrical Engineering and one in computer science, with universities in Europe and in the US. However, they "don't want just a European focus because most of the students come from the Far East and many want to work in the United States".

In the personal view of our respondent in this faculty, research collaboration within Europe has increased but collaborations outside Europe have decreased significantly. There is

much less collaboration with the US than there used to be 20 years ago". He also remarked on the language barriers that ensured that more students came to London than Germany or France. This meant that European universities were competitors in respect to research funding while US universities were competitors for students.

In the view of the Director of the European Research Office at α "globalisation and Europeanisation are synonymous". For her the key concern is adequate funding of overhead cost recovery. The university finds it difficult to make ends meet on European Research projects.

A major difficulty in the view of some of our respondents is the language barrier: English students (and academic staff) are notoriously incompetent at other languages and they prefer to visit other English speaking countries.

A dean of studies in γ South explained that: "this School is rather weak on European activities …compared with many others that I know. Our links are naturally to African and Asian countries rather than to Europe".

An aspect of Europeanisation that was seen by respondents as almost entirely as being regulative in nature was the Bologna Process However it is evident that the other pillars are also implicated in the process: this is the theme of the next section.

4.6 The Bologna process

Bologna and the regulative pillar

In the main the Bologna has not made much impact on the case study universities but where it has been noted it is seen as affecting the regulative pillar. A range of views was expressed indicating partly the position of the five universities and some of the faculties within them, and partly the involvement of particular individuals with respect to curriculum reform. Views ranged from γ North where Bologna "has not impinged on the university much as yet" to γ South where new courses were designed to fit European credit transfer. In this university the possibility of credit transfer with universities in Europe is at the heart of their interest in the issue. However, there was also concern about the Masters degree requirements. In the School of Computing and Technology we were told that it had already influenced the conversion Master's in Computing because "Bologna does not really allow for conversion Master's".

The other case study university where a major interest in Bologna was expressed is α where the senior academic responsible for European affairs is one of two UK

representatives on the EUA Bologna Promoters group. She has done much to stimulate interest within the institution.

Bologna and the cultural cognitive pillar

Bologna has had an impact on the cultural cognitive pillar in some faculties at α. In the Engineering faculty widespread curriculum change is under way. The changes are not only in response to Bologna: some staff believe that what is being taught is no longer adequate'. However, "Bologna is a help; outside pressure for change is welcome". This faculty leader had used the regulative aspects of the Bologna process to make what he saw as necessary cultural-cognitive changes in response to the globalisation of the employment opportunities for his students.

Curriculum change was also underway in the Chemistry department at β but more mixed feelings about the effects of the Bologna process were mentioned. In the course of a general discussion with senior members of this university, which has long experience of involvement in Europe it was remarked that, "Bologna has not been discussed in Senate, nor in the senior management group, nor in the Vice Chancellor's group'. The National Qualifications framework of the UK Quality Assurance Agency was felt to be a stronger influence than Bologna and some doubts were expressed about whether the QAA was as well informed about the implications of Bologna as it ought to be. It was observed that UK Professional bodies are "heading in a different direction from Bologna".

Bologna and the normative pillar

In the view of the Registrar at β: "UK higher education institutions have only taken Bologna semi-seriously. There is a perception that it doesn't really matter on the ground, it is just for "tidy minded bureaucrats". It is however now getting quite serious. In particular the status of the UK Master's degree is under discussion".

The main concern in this university and in others is that the 12-month Master's degree would be threatened and this would have a seriously damaging effect on its attractiveness to international students from Europe and elsewhere. They would be worried about a loss of competitive advantage. One year Master's sell well in the USA and the international market. It would have a fundamental effect on competition to move to two year Master's. The UK should respond to Bologna in a robust "Thatcherite" way.

In contrast in the view of the pro VC at γ South was that the level "M" problem has been resolved now – at least at formal governmental level. Bologna in reality is really about such issues as credit transfer.

The pro-VC of ε thought that his university "is probably taking the Bologna declaration more seriously than some other UK higher education institutions". The head of the university's validation service explained that ε has always had to take account of Bologna, and have always been very conscious of differences in higher education culture and practice across Europe. However we make it very clear to our partner institutions that what they are getting is a UK award.

In general the long established normative factor of academic autonomy in UK universities was very evident in the discussion of the Bologna processes. Most will adopt the qualifications framework proposed in these processes only when ignoring them begins to have an adverse effect the recruitment of students by the university or the employment of their graduates. For the moment validation by professional bodies and the need to have viable credit transfer arrangements are uppermost in the minds of those who are concerned with any reform of course structures.

4.7 Factors impeding or fostering internationalisation

English universities have made very rapid and very profound responses to globalisation in the past decade. Recruitment of international students is an important strategic concern of all the case study universities and competition for international research and consultancy projects is also widespread. Both have been fostered by government rhetoric and small amounts of earmarked funding. The new developments are bringing about major management and cultural changes, which are not always achieved without tension. As is inevitable in research projects of this type that are relatively small scale and dependent on willing interviewees, most of the people we were able to meet were individuals with a professed interest in aspects of the institution's international work who were well aware of the opportunities and resources offered by government policy, so it is not surprising that when asked about impediments to the international work of the university, internal university obstacles were frequently mentioned. In general the obstacles mentioned were perceived to be of four types: government action or inaction; regulations, both in the UK and international; attitudes and management within the university; and students.

4.7.1 Government

Only two respondents, both in international offices mentioned visas for international students as a problem. In β mention was made of the inflexibility of UK visa officers in some foreign embassies and the Home Office (the UK Interior ministry): "the whole Immigration/Home Office one is probably the biggest impediment". One academic was slightly more sympathetic to the difficulty and made an allusion to issues around visas and

"real" students. "There are those who will pay half the fees up front because it is cheaper than getting into this country in any other way".

What was thought to be a more serious problem in both α and β was the difficulties some students have when they need to extend their visas in order complete their programmes of study. According to the International Officer in β: "The recent policies that they've introduced of charging students to renew visas has gone down quite badly and not created a good impression at all with international students".

However such remarks were partly countered by the head of the Strategy Office in α, who commented that "visas etc are not a major problem but the university does take steps to facilitate things for students from partner institutions".

A different obstacle resulting from government action was made by a pro-Vice-Chancellor in γ South: "One barrier is that the government tends to promote UK HE in the light of a very small group of universities. The British Council is beginning to show some awareness of this problem. There is growing awareness that Universities like γ South may be able to offer international students some things (e.g. supportive environment) that is more difficult in the competitive atmosphere of highly prestigious universities".

Similar remarks were made in other universities though the blame was not always attributed to government. According to the head of the strategic planning office in γ North: "one possible problem is whether students have heard of (the city in which γ North is located). So promoting the region and the city is one of the tasks of the university".

The International Office in α felt it was suffering from similar difficulties: "α is not as well known internationally as a major university in its own right as its academic excellence suggests it should be known. This is partly because its name makes it seem like a minor constituent college of the university".

4.7.2 Regulation

Regulations, in particular quality regulations, were generally accepted as part of the context in which international activities had to take place rather than as obstacles. However, some were believed to introduce rigidities that were inhibiting to international work.

There were many expressions of concern about the amount of bureaucratic paperwork and the relatively low budgets allowed to cover the administrative costs associated with European Union projects. These have already been discussed. In addition, there were some expressions of concern that collaboration with some European higher education

systems was inhibited because of their rigidities. In the International Office of γ North we were told that it is easier to collaborate with Japanese and American partners than many European universities which tend to be rather rigid in their course structures and in particular their "culture of non-fee-paying is a real obstacle". The director of a Centre in α found that credit transfer arrangements with universities on the continent of Europe are proving to be impossible and some European students are taking time out to do a particular popular module but getting no credit for it in their home institutions. A similar comment by a faculty leader in β about credit recognition in Europe was largely confined to non-recognition of UK credits in Germany.

In general regulatory difficulties concern ε more than the others. This is almost certainly because of the much larger scale and rather more professionally commercial nature of their operation. The Pro-VC mentioned difficulties especially in South Africa and Southern Africa, but also some other countries, in that they respond to the forces of globalisation by stiffening the regulatory framework to prevent the operations of international providers. "There is particular suspicion of e-learning and distance education".

The Validation Officer at the university also expressed some concerns about the differing quality regulation arrangements in various European countries but felt that these were being overcome. She felt that a constraint on their international work is that the "model relies heavily on institutions having a secure foundation in UK Quality Assurance". She was recently in Brussels comparing quality assurance requirements across national and institutional levels for distance education. There were some differences of emphasis but in terms of principles there was commonality. She believes that the issue will become less significant as time goes on.

4.7.3 University attitudes and management

When asked direct questions about obstacles many of our respondents claimed that colleagues could do more to promote international work. Sometimes this took the form of self-criticism. A faculty leader in β commented that "international collaborations take time and energy and we are all time poor". For the Head of the Business School in γ South "time and resources (staff especially) is one barrier to doing many things that the University and the School would like to do".

There were claims that inadequate resources are devoted to the promotion of international work. For example in β the International Office claimed the main internal impediment was: "resourcing. It's highly competitive now. In order to do it and do a professional job and have a diversification of markets to avoid, … the Asian crisis and … terrorism, and so on,

you need to be quite broadly spread, but also focus on a few key markets. That requires quite a bit of investment, and obviously institutions are strapped for cash".

But more common were remarks about attitudes in the university and in English higher education generally. One respondent referred to "cultural awareness on our part... failure to take full advantage of opportunities". For a senior administrator in γ South such problems were rationalised as "other priorities of the university possibly … international concerns might come lower in their list of priorities".

Such attitudes amongst those professionally involved in international issues in the university are often claims that such matters do not have as high priority in the minds of individual academic staff or in the strategic decisions of senior managers as international enthusiasts would like. However, they do also point to some tensions between professed strategies of increased international student recruitment, for example and providing the resources and cultural climate to do it. Such tensions may be particularly apparent in universities where research and consultancy are bigger generators of seemingly discretionary income than international students. However, in the major research oriented university α its desire to be perceived as one of the world's leading universities tended to align its international work in teaching with its research and scholarship.

The longstanding and very experienced head of the international office in γ South analysed the cultural change that were necessary in his university thus: "you move from a situation where … those students were driven by the need to get something and we did the favours… Once we're out there in a global market place we're trying to attract students who don't have to come to us at all … We need a new response to these new kinds of students".

In α a senior academic referred to "insular attitudes" though not at α itself. "In the United Kingdom "there is a dreadful complacency and a "we do it better" attitude and people cannot be bothered". The international officer in γ North considered that "some of the obstacles are attitudinal and staff training can help overcome them – to help the local the regional and the international missions to come together. It's important to identify and exploit synergies".

4.7.4 Students

Many of the problems that were mentioned about students as an inhibiting factor were associated with the problem of language. It was considered to be the main reason why relatively few UK students study in non-English speaking countries and the need for students to have a high level of proficiency in English in order to be able to benefit from

their studies in the United Kingdom was mentioned in several contexts. In the Computing and Technology Department of γ South it was felt that an inhibiting factor was "lack of [academic] English and study skills... This inhibits the number we can really take at any one time". Conversely, language was most often mentioned as a factor inhibiting study abroad by UK students. In the Business school at γ South.

We have fewer exchanges with Europe than many other modern universities. This is partly because the γ South students are such a diverse group. And they don't have European languages.

In β as languages have declined in UK schools there has been a shift of interest in students from going to European countries to going to countries where they teach in English. "However, we were also told in this university that there are lots of degrees with minors in languages, so we encourage that across the subject spectrum, not just the students doing languages or European Studies".

In α also there have been significant attempts to build up the language skills of UK students so that they can take advantage of European offerings. For example science and engineering programmes have developed with a language element and Law and French Law for example.

Other concerns were expressed about the effects of recruiting too many students from one particular country or cultural group. There has been a huge upsurge in the number of Chinese students in recent years and the result of some of the partnership arrangements with Chinese higher education institutions is that there are very large numbers of Chinese students in some classrooms. Concerns were expressed about whether students who came to this country to obtain a British university experience were, in these circumstances, really getting one.

4.8 Feedback loop

In the case of UK higher education institutions a clear distinction between W.R Scott's institutional and organisational pillars was not always apparent. A great deal of blurring took place. This might be attributed to the fact that the values and ethos of the university tradition are not supposed to be about raising funding. However, the reality is that this is a necessary survival strategy for these institutions. Therefore the accounts given by our respondents often hedged around this issue, without ever really being able to disregard it, especially as we were asking about international students. In this sense it can be said that this one major goal of the institutions—the need to raise funds impacted evenly on all three of the pillars. So that the regulative pillar as evidenced by the need to adapt courses

to meet the Bologna process was mediated by the realisation that the one-year Master's course is a big money spinner especially in respect to non-EU international students. The Normative pillar was almost entirely coloured by the goal of fund raising, meaning that international offices were set up in the interests of maximising the recruitment of full fee paying international students. However, some views were also expressed that, insofar as financial circumstances allow it is the responsibility of universities in countries like the UK to support universities and students in the third world. The cultural-cognitive pillar was often still apparent in the ways in which courses had been adapted to internationalise curriculum content and the appreciation of the enrichment that a varied internationalised student body brought to the learning experience. In England, students as participants and language as a technological building block impact on the cultural cognitive pillar in two directions. Firstly, in terms of the demand for English from international students, but secondly the reluctance of home students to engage with the international experience due to lack of linguistic skills.

4.9 Conclusions

UK higher education policy during the past two decades has laid great stress on the generation of income from the global market for education and research. (Williams and Coate, 2004) Figures published by the Higher Education Statistics Agency suggest that in 2002/3 students from abroad injected about £2.8 billion (€4.1 billion) inclusive of all spending into the UK economy. By the middle of the 1990s it had become the explicit policy of government to stimulate this major component of international trade. Assisted by the British Council, UK universities have been powerfully influenced by financial and other pressures to make planned and well focussed strategic forays into the global market for students during the past decade and they have also been very active in the market for international research projects. The five case study institutions, which were selected to be indicative of a wide range of universities in England, are all operating effectively as economic enterprises in the international market for services. However, the international marketing strategies of the universities differed considerably in detail.

However, the cognitive-cultural pillar remains strong. Knowledge is international and has become even more so as a result of the spectacular growth of electronic communication and the speed of physical travel. In the case study institutions we found four main drivers of international academic activity: firstly, areas of study in which the content is universal such as physical sciences; secondly, areas of study which involve capabilities in an area of practice that is found mainly in other countries, in particular as foreign languages; thirdly, areas of study in which much of the subject matter is concerned with matters that concern the external relations of the country such as European Law or International Development;

and lastly recent areas of study of study and professional practice that have developed recently in a global environment such as Business studies and Computing.

Traditionally much of the international activities of universities was driven by the first of these. Internationalisation in such subjects has little direct impact on undergraduate education but very considerable impact on doctoral and postdoctoral studies and in university research work. The very high numbers of staff from countries other than the UK in Universities α and β are in part a result of their involvement with research and postgraduate work in such subjects. Some of the examples in our case study universities have shown, that some departments and laboratories in the natural sciences and in engineering and technology have become dependent on foreign postgraduate students for both their academic and economic survival.

Foreign languages and literature have for long been the most prominent constituent of international activity at the undergraduate level. The majority of UK students involved in ERASMUS exchanges have been language students and the numerous complaints we heard in the case study universities about the decline of foreign languages in secondary schools leading to a decline in interest in language study at universities may be associated in large part with the one-third decline in the number of UK ERASMUS students since 1995. We detected an almost apologetic note in university international offices about the reluctance of students recently to take part in ERASMUS exchanges. Two of our universities had introduced courses to improve the language skills of students of other subjects and they seem to have had some success in checking the decline of study abroad. However, the general decline in language learning has been much discussed in the UK and it seems likely to be irreversible so long as the worldwide usage of English as a preferred second language continues. Recent research for HEFCE found students themselves citing their lack of confidence with languages as a factor in impeding their mobility. Respondents to this research wished they had been taught languages better at school. This is an example of the cognitive cultural factors impacting on participants.

Many university courses deal with major world issues In addition, however, there is a growing number of courses with a more specific international content. Most striking in our small sample was the way the teaching of Law at α has changed to take account of the growing influence of European Law in the UK. We heard also of several courses that are concerned with economic and social development issues in developing countries. These seem to have started partly out of a sense of social ethics, such as the course in international medical health education at α, and courses in European Studies at β but also to provide basic skills that are useful for graduates who aspire to work for international organisations.

Quantitatively the most important recent developments have been in three relatively new vocationally relevant areas of higher education study – Business Studies, Engineering and Technology and Computer Science. Business Studies is by far the largest subject group in ERASMUS/SOCRATES exchanges. Since 1987 it has accounted for more than twice as many ERASMUS students since 1987 as any other subject except Languages, and it is the largest area of study of international students in the UK with about 20 per cent of the total. The second largest group are those doing Engineering and Technology, which account for 13 per cent of all foreign students but 25 per cent of all Engineering students in the UK. Computer Science has been growing fast. This was confirmed in the case study universities and provides evidence that part of the attractiveness of UK universities to foreign students is the flexibility and wide range of their course offerings.

There can be no doubt that the desire to generate income by financially vulnerable enterprises is the main driver of the explosive growth in international activities by UK universities since the early 1990s. The income generated by each non-EU student is considerably higher than universities can earn from UK or EU students. Evidence of active international marketing of their courses was observable in all five case study universities but in the two post 1992 universities it was particularly planned and targeted. These have relatively small amounts of disposable income from research or from UK postgraduate students so international students are particularly likely to be financially attractive customers. However, it should not be concluded that active international marketing is a feature of former polytechnics only. The distance learning university, ε has been very commercial in marketing its products for some years. University β which has always regarded itself an internationally oriented institution has in the last 2-3 years begun to undertake much more active marketing of its offerings. Nearly a quarter of the students at α are international.

Income was not the only reason claimed by the case study universities for recruiting international students and being involved in other international activities. Institution α wishes to be recognised as one of the world's leading universities and this involves ensuring that all its research is recognised as having international relevance at the cutting edge of knowledge, that it recruits staff as readily from other countries as from the United Kingdom, that there is a good mix of students from a range of countries on all its courses and that as many UK students as possible take advantage of opportunities to study part of their courses in other countries. It was also conceded in this institution that some of the science and engineering activities were viable only because of the recruitment of international postgraduate students, both because of the income they bring and the contributions they make to research.

The other case study institution with somewhat similar global aspirations was ε though in this case the institution is quite explicitly distance education and widening participation led, rather than research led. The university received worldwide recognition as the first in its field three decades ago when its initial focus was entirely on the UK. However, it has now developed a very active worldwide commercial arm.

At the other end of the international range both γ North and γ South recognised themselves as primarily universities with a strong regional mission in England and the large majority of their students live close to the university. Both are very concerned that international recognition enhances their status as universities and are particularly concerned to bid for EU and other international research and consultancy projects whenever possible. Respondents in both these institutions conceded that some of their courses were viable only with the assistance of the international students they recruited and made the point that this enabled such courses to be available for UK students in their areas who were unable to travel further afield. Such universities may perhaps be viewed as institutions whose strategic aims are to consolidate their position as universities and to climb the national "league tables'. International success is one aspect of this.

We conclude with a word on the role of the English language. Its worldwide acceptance has certainly been one of the main facilitators of the international activities we have described. Failure to learn other languages is also, however, a factor limiting the academic and intellectual horizons of current generations of UK students and possibly staff as well.

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3.4. Chapter 5. Institutional internationalisation strategies in a context of sate inefficiency

Amélia Veiga, Maria João Rosa and Alberto Amaral

5.1 Introduction: the Portuguese policy context

The Portuguese higher education system is a binary system, with both universities and polytechnics, and it has both a public and a private sector. The system has experienced

substantial instability. Since 1998 there have been six different Ministers in charge of higher education (HE) and to date no Minister has stayed long enough in office to adapt the legal framework to the Bologna Declaration, which requires an Act of Parliament.

In May 2004 the Parliament passed an Education Act defining the new Bologna-type degree structure. However, the Act is not consensual and all the political parties in opposition voted against it. The President of the Republic (July 2004) did not promulgate the Act that was returned to the Parliament. Meanwhile, the Government announced legislation to introduce an ECTS compatible credit system and the compulsory use of the Diploma Supplement, and appointed specialised task forces (for disciplines or groups of disciplines) to work on the implementation of the law. The Government expects that the task forces will come out with a definition of disciplinary competencies, minimum curricular contents and accreditation rules.

The system is in a state of flux, with a high degree of confusion and uncertainty that led to *ad hoc* changes of study programmes at organisational level without national coordination. Portuguese higher education institutions (HEIs), aware of international trends, grew tired of waiting for governmental regulation and decided to follow those trends with mixed success. On the one hand, public universities using their full pedagogic autonomy granted by the 1988 University Autonomy Act are free to change their study programmes and many have already introduced the ECTS system and are implementing the Diploma Supplement (e.g. Universidade do Minho). On the other hand, the other HEIs needed to submit their study programmes for Ministerial approval and had their proposals using the ECTS system rejected on the grounds of lack of appropriate legislation, which caused much frustration.

5.2 Introduction of the case studies

Six HEIs (identified as α, β, γ1, γ2, δ and ε) were selected to cover the Portuguese HE system's organisational diversity: public and private universities and polytechnics. Different faculties within these HEIs were identified to investigate whether the nature of the discipline has influence over the behaviour of the organisation and its members.

α Is a public university founded in 1911. It has scientific, pedagogic, administrative, financial and disciplinary autonomy. In 2003 more than 27,000 students (3,500 of them postgraduates) attended the courses provided by the institution's fifteen schools. The institution offers over 60 graduate degree programmes, over 120 masters programmes, 100 doctoral degree programmes and many other specialisation programmes, supported by 2,200 academic staff and 1,600 non-academic staff. The objectives of the institution include "to be recognised as a national and international reference at the level of education, scientific research and cultural creation, and a privileged partner in the development of Portugal, Europe and the World".

B Is a public university founded in 1973. It has scientific, pedagogic, administrative, financial and disciplinary autonomy. In 2003 more than 13,500 students (1,000 of them postgraduate students) attended the courses provided by the institution's schools and institutes. The institution offers over 40 graduate degree programmes, over 90 post-graduate programmes and many other specialisation programmes, supported by 1,500 academic staff. β Is implementing a curricular reform based on the major/minor concept and in 2004/05 all its study programmes will be based on skills and competencies.

γ1 Is a polytechnic institute founded in 1987. It enrolls more than 10,000 students (2003) in its five schools, offering 40 graduate degree programmes, short first-cycle degrees (bachelor), and two-tier degrees equivalent to a university degree (licenciatura), corresponding to a first cycle (3 years) and an advanced second cycle (1 to 2 years). γ1 Is located in a dynamic and industrialised region contributing to its economic success, and is the preferred partner to professionally qualify the active population. In spite of the national trend of decreasing number of candidates to higher education, γ1 shows an inverse tendency and a very good rate of employment of its graduates. Its strategic plan proposes the establishment of more international partnerships to improve its limited international activities.

γ2 Is a polytechnic institute founded in 1979. Its five schools enroll 5,700 students (2003) in 37 study programmes (awarding the degrees of bacharel and licenciado) covering the fields of education, agricultural sciences, computer sciences, health sciences and

management and engineering. Of its 440 academic staff members (2002), 43 hold a PhD and 153 hold a Masters level degree. γ2 Is located in the interior/north of Portugal, until recently a rather isolated region, with strong emigration either to foreign countries or to other Portuguese towns, namely those located in the littoral.

δ Is a private institution founded in 1982, and integrated in the polytechnic sub-system. In 2003, about 1,000 students were enrolled in δ, which offers over 10 art-oriented study programmes, including one integrated degree (Architecture) and some binary degrees, corresponding to the two-tier polytechnic system. δ Also offers PhD studies with the University of Valladolid, which awards the degree. δ Is located in the north region.

Organisation ε is a private university founded in 1992, with a main campus in the South of Portugal and delegations in three other towns, which became autonomous when legislation forbidding multi-campus institutions was passed. In 2003 the institution enrolled about 3,000 students on its main campus, some 1,450 of them being undergraduate students. ε Offers 11 graduate programmes, two masters programmes and 4 PhD courses. It also offers 22 postgraduate programmes (not conferring a degree but could be seen as part of lifelong education) in 5 areas: Architecture, Cinema, Engineering, Business Management and Law.

Table 5.1. Main characteristics of the six Portuguese HEIs (2003)

	α	β	γ1	γ2	δ	ε
Type of institution	Public University	Public University	Public Polytechnic	Public Polytechnic	Private Polytechnic	Private University
Foundation year	1911	1973	1987	1979	1982	1992
Location	North, large town	South, large town	South-littoral middle size town	North-interior small town	town	South, large town
Number of students	27,000	13,500	10,000	5,700	1,000	3,000
Disciplines	Comprehen-sive (natural sciences, social sciences, humanities, arts, fine arts, engineer-ing, medicine & health)	Rather specialised (engineer-ing, social sciences, medicine & health)	Rather specialised (engineer-ing, social sciences, art and design)	Rather specialised (engineer-ing, social sciences)	Specialised (fine arts and architec-ture)	Specialised (social sciences, cinema)
% of incoming mobility students	1.5%	2%	1%	1.2%	0.1%	n/a
% of outgoing mobility students	2%	2%	1%	0.5%	1%	n/a
% of foreign students	3%	5.2%	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

5.3 Perceptions and views of internationalisation, europeanisation and globalisation

The actors of the six HEIs, although being in general aware of the importance of internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation for higher education, have unclear perceptions of its challenges in terms of the regulative, normative and cognitive-cultural elements of institutional change. The actors lack a clear and precise meaning of those terms and sometimes use them interchangeably, with clear preference for the term "internationalisation" which pays unequivocal attention to Europe. Interviewees generally ignored accurate terminology or the analysis of their organisations in the national context, referring straightaway to their organisations' degree of participation in international activities, namely those developed under EU programmes. The six organisations have a clear understanding of the importance of "internationalisation", which explains their efforts to develop and to participate in international activities. The organisations perceive that the challenges of internationalisation can be seen as:

- a way to give students an education that is "less ethnocentric and more open to other cultures" (α – interview with a Vice-Rector);
- a way to position the university in a "communicant vessels' network with international organisations" (β – interview with a Vice-Rector);
- an integral part of its development, related to its geographical position (ε);
- offering opportunities for both the reinforcement of existing partnerships and the establishment of new activities (γ1 and δ).

In α, β, γ1 and γ2 (especially in the first two), and at school level, internationalisation processes are essentially rooted in research links established between holders of foreign PhDs and the awarding organisation. In fact, the support given by the government to the training of a large number of postgraduate students in foreign countries in the 1960's and 1970's acted as a lever towards the internationalisation of the Portuguese HE system (Rosa et al., 2004). Those international research links helped later to promote the internationalisation of teaching through participation in the EU mobility programmes (especially the Socrates/Erasmus). However, the weight of this internationalisation agent depends on the discipline, being more evident in engineering, sciences and human sciences, than in architecture, law or fine arts. For the two private organisations included in our study an opposite trend is observed: it was the participation in the European mobility programmes (teaching level) that is being used to establish international research projects and partnerships. As most private HEIs are mostly teaching-only organisations,

their international links result mainly from teaching activities and are being used to promote embryonic research links.

5.3.1 The regulative pillar

The implementation of the Bologna Declaration and its consequences for the degree structure are a major concern of the Portuguese organisations. The "Bologna process has been the opportunity for heated debates and for the emergence of diverse proposals.." (Rosa et al., 2004: 158) but at the time of the interviews no political decisions have been made on the degree structure and the duration of the two first cycles. Without an adequate legal framework, or information, the organisation's reactions diverge not only between them but also within each organisation, according to the field of study: ".. what I feel is lack of information at national level about... orientations relative to the process. (...) in Portugal there are no concrete orientations regarding the structure of the study programmes" (Interview with a Dean of γ2).

As the Portuguese internationalisation process can be seen more as reaction than anticipation (Rosa et al., 2004), organisations feel the need for some national political direction fostering internationalisation. Without the new Education Act, Portuguese organisations went through a period of uncertainty: "... the new law will be published (...) but we still do not know very well how this new law will be. (...) The HEIs are dynamic, they prepare their things according to what is under discussion, that may well not be what it is going to be legislated. …We only say one thing [to government] "please take a decision, so we can act!'" (Interview with γ2's Vice-President).

5.3.2 The normative pillar

One can identify only marginal changes in the norms and values of HE as consequences of the development of internationalisation/globalisation policies of the Portuguese HE system (in some organisations no change has yet occurred). These marginal changes took place in the context of a co-operation paradigm that corresponds to a vision of HE as a public good.

The changes identified were essentially caused by participation in European programmes. According to a Dean (γ2), European mobility programmes allowed professors and students to be aware of different ways of training engineers and managers, thus contributing to a certain degree of mentality change. Another Dean (γ2) claimed that the school has always worked on the assumption that if teachers and students know other realities, they will become more experienced and active persons, not only from the point of view of additional knowledge, but also by increasing their capacity for dialogue, by promoting

citizenship and peace, and so on. For a Vice-President (γ2), the most important aspect of mobility was the gain of a "European citizenship, of a European culture". Others mentioned the possibility of having an external advisory board "that meets in the Faculty during a week to discuss with the academic staff and PhD candidates projects and ideas", which is certainly a manifestation of change.

Benchmarking to improve the quality of teaching and research was mentioned as a factor that might lead to changes in norms and values. But the danger of curricula harmonisation was referred to: "As there is no big difference among the different curricula its harmonisation is a tremendous mistake" (Interview with a Dean of β). This situation is somewhat more difficult for Sciences and Engineering than it is for instance for Architecture, Arts and Design. In the latter cases, being different and assuming a very specific or even local or national character can be an added value for international recognition. On the contrary, Science and Technology are more universal in content, leaving less room to build a specific identity of the organisation: "what kind of engineers are we training? If the quality standard is the same why shall I go to another institution?" (Interview with a Dean of β).

The development of an accreditation system or the rise of managerialism under the excuse of reinforcing the organisation's autonomy and efficiency were other international developments referred to as having influence on the change of norms and values.

5.3.3 The cognitive-cultural pillar

The cognitive-cultural element is a factor more open to Europeanisation and internationalisation challenges, since the structure of the Portuguese degrees will have to change in accordance with the Bologna Declaration. Curricular reforms are underway in most of the schools analysed, with special attention being paid to the reinforcement of the European dimension, by trying to adapt study programmes to the "supposed" Bologna structure. For example, the director of one of γ2's schools is providing incentives for his academic staff to go abroad in order to gather ideas for the new types of courses being designed. In β the faculty of Law is running a project to offer a joint degree with Spain, which is expected to have a great impact on both the academic staff and the students. And in the faculty of Sciences and Technology ECTS was implemented by initiative of the school, as a tool for changing the learning process. And there is willingness to establish agreements for student exchange based on ECTS to avoid difficulties in comparing study plans.

In α each discipline has its own specific behaviour. In Law the curriculum design was based on the idea that the discipline has strong national specificities and the academic

staff avoids postgraduate training abroad. But as this faculty is new, there are members favouring internationalisation against the characteristic isolation of more traditional law schools: "the idea of research is imposing internationalisation and the external evaluation is giving visibility to these questions" (Interview with Dean of faculty of Law) and "…at pedagogical level there are lots of opportunities for internationalisation because there are common roots to other legislative systems" (interview with student, faculty of Law). In Engineering there are exchanges of good practices and the curricula are compatible with others worldwide. The faculty of Architecture derives its international reputation from its unique teaching method. In Sciences the faculty is not prepared to attract international students because there is only a small range of disciplines that could be of interest (interview with academic staff member).

One of the activities that could contribute to the internationalisation of curricula is academic mobility. This activity is increasing in the institutions analysed, but it is still rather low and the time spent abroad is on average very short (usually one or two weeks). Thus the effects over the curricula reform are reduced. In β the central administration promotes academic mobility by several means: establishing an agreement with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Institute of Camões to create a certification system of professors intending to teach Portuguese abroad as a second language; opening some positions to foreign academics proficient in the Portuguese language; recruiting foreign visiting professors for periods of between one semester and two years in the areas of Economics, Social and Human Sciences, and Sciences and Technology; and increasing the number of vacancies of postdoctoral positions funded by the Portuguese government and open to foreign researchers.

At the level of the programmatic contents there is increasing concern about what is happening in other countries and how other institutions are teaching: "Anyone of us can connect himself very quickly to any foreign university, knowing exactly what they are doing in terms of programmatic contents and what their students are learning compared to ours. And this is a concern that increases every day" (Interview with Vice-president of γ2). A coordinator of the Erasmus programme (γ2) emphasised its relevant role in the comparison between different study programmes and teaching methodologies across countries and organisations.

5.4 Internationalisation activities of the HEIs

The Portuguese HEIs appear to perceive internationalisation as a set of activities with political and cultural rationales. This assumption is in tune with the Portuguese policy rationales identified by Rosa et al. (2004: 140): "in the Portuguese case, predominant

rationales are basically the political, cultural and more recently the economic rationale". The international dimension is becoming more integrated in organisation and programme strategies, in spite of the constraints identified at political level.

As already mentioned, the actions taken by the Portuguese HEIs to respond to the challenges of internationalisation are rather reactive than pro-active, and strategies are mainly driven by participation in the EU programmes. Some organisations assume a pro-active rhetoric while other prestigious or well-known schools, in disciplines such as arts or fine arts, are explicitly in favour of a reactive behaviour. At the faculty of Architecture of α all the agreements established under the Socrates/Erasmus programme were responses to invitations addressed to the faculty, which underlines a reactive and selective attitude: "We are available and have lots of proposals to study and we select the most interesting. It is not necessary to look for participation in international projects because there are always things happening" (Interview with the Dean). In the School of Fine Arts of γ1 a similar trend in favour of a reactive position might develop, as "The School is better known outside than at national level" (Interview with academic staff member, School of Fine Arts and Design).

In the following paragraphs information is given on the internationalisation activities of the six HEIs. The dominant international activities are student mobility for education, and participation in research and development projects funded by the EU for research.

In 2002/03 α had 780 foreign students enrolled and 359 Socrates/Erasmus incoming mobility students. The faculties of Engineering, Arts, Sport Sciences and Physical Education and Psychology and Education Sciences are those attracting more foreign students. The number of foreign students at graduate and postgraduate level is low and rather stable. The number of incoming mobility students is increasing (205 incoming in 1998/99, 188 in 1999/00, 274 in 2000/01, 303 in 2001/02 and 359 in 2002/03). The number of outgoing mobility students is slightly higher than the number of incoming mobility students, which doesn't follow the national trend. The number of outgoing mobility students in 2003 was about 2% of the undergraduate student population (23,373). This trend increases the possibility of reaching the target of a 10% rate specified by the Socrates II decision, based on the assumption of an annual 2% increase over a 5 years period. At national level the number of outgoing Socrates/Erasmus students (3,500) in 2002/03 represents 0.9 % of total enrolment.

During the period 1998/99 – 2002/03 the most attractive schools were Arts, Fine Arts, Engineering and Architecture – 69, 54, 52 and 48 incoming mobility students, respectively – and there is a stable distribution pattern over the disciplines. The 2002/03 National

Agency final report states that Social Sciences, Business and Humanities and Arts "are over-represented in Erasmus if compared with the general student population. Education, Sciences and Medical studies are underrepresented". Organisation α's more mobile disciplines follow the European trend and there is a balance between Engineering and Architecture.

α Has signed 85 agreements providing the framework to enroll students from the Portuguese Speaking Countries, and allow for a number of inter-university cooperation activities such as joint diplomas, European and international masters. 35 students were able to get training periods abroad under the Leonardo da Vinci programme. α's Foreign students (1998-2003) are mostly from Brazil (1020), Angola (638), Cape Verde (528), Mozambique (392) and Venezuela (213), i.e. from former Portuguese colonies and emigration countries. This follows the trend identified by Wächter et al. (1999: 25): "Following the independence of many former colonies, the period from the mid-60's to the end of 70's saw the emergence of considerable student flows from developing to industrialised countries". European mobility students come mostly from Spain (101), Italy (68), Germany (36), France (30) and United Kingdom (22), which corresponds to the national pattern.

The mobility of academic staff under the framework of Socrates/Erasmus programme is very low. Only 188 members of the teaching staff were mobile during the period 1998/99 to 2002/03, 57 of them in the 2002/03 academic year, which represents 11% of the total Portuguese teaching staff mobility in that academic year.

To measure the internationalisation of research, the data on the number of research projects submitted to the EU was used. In the period of 1999-2003 α submitted 8% of the Portuguese projects. This data is only indicative because other approved projects have been directly submitted by research institutes, not under the name of the organisation.

The number of foreign students at graduate and postgraduate level at β is low. In 2002/03, β had 702 foreign students enrolled and 323 Socrates/Erasmus incoming mobility students. The faculty of Social and Human Sciences received 730 foreign students during the period of 1998/99 – 2002/03 and the faculty of Sciences and Technology received 704. The total number of foreign students is increasing (376 in 1998/99, 373 in 1999/00, 393 in 2000/01, 418 in 2001/02 and 514 in 2002/03) as is the number of incoming mobility students (198 in 1998/99, 224 in 1999/00, 295 in 2000/01, 269 in 2001/02 and 323 in 2002/03).

The number of incoming students is slightly higher than the number of outgoing students, which follows the national trend. The number of students going abroad in 2003 was about

2% of the total student population of β (12,100), which increases the possibility of reaching the Socrates II target. The most attractive schools (2003) were the Faculties of Social and Human Sciences (201) and Economics (83). On average the Faculties of Science and Technology, Medical Sciences and Law receive about 12 students. The balance between the incoming and outgoing flows among the Faculties is notable. It is also possible to see a stable pattern of distribution across disciplines. As with α, β's more mobile disciplines follow the European trend.

β has signed 66 agreements (with the same objectives as those of α). The foreign students enrolled at β (1998-2003) are mostly from Angola (697), Cape Verde (659), and Brazil (245) – all former Portuguese colonies – and in very low numbers from France, an emigration country. Academic mobility through Socrates/Erasmus is very low. Only 83 members of the academic staff were mobile during the period 1998/99 to 2002/2003. In the academic year 2002/2003, 15 teaching staff members of β were mobile, which represents 3% of the total Portuguese teaching staff mobility in that academic year.

In the period of 1999-2003 β submitted 6% of the Portuguese EU research projects. Like α this data is only indicative because there are other projects approved that have been directly submitted by research institutes.

The international profile of γ1 is characterised by participation in the EU mobility programmes and by the establishment of about 93 partnerships with European and non-European institutions (Brazil, Cape Verde, China and Mozambique). However, despite the large number of partnerships the degree of internationalisation is limited. For example the percentage of mobile students under the framework of EU education and training programmes is well below 1% of the number of enrolled students. Using student mobility criteria, the data on outgoing and incoming mobility students (1998-2004) shows that the School of Technology and Management (46 outgoing and 51 incoming), the School of Fine Arts and Design (40 outgoing and 44 incoming) and the School of Education (18 outgoing and 39 incoming) are the most international.

Students from γ1 have a pattern of preference for the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy and Spain following the national pattern of preferences (Rosa et al., 2004). Mobility flows during the period of 1998/99 – 2002/03 show some balance between the Schools of Technology and Management, Fine Arts, Art and Design, and Education, both in the capacity to attract incoming students and in the promotion of outgoing mobility. There are different patterns among disciplines that show that those with stronger student mobility don't follow the European trend as Engineering only ranks third. The number of incoming students is consistently slightly higher than the number of outgoing students, which

follows the national trend. The number of outgoing mobility in 2002/03 was about 0.16% of the total student population (10,000) of γ1.

The international profile of γ2 can be characterised by participation in the EU mobility programmes (namely the Socrates/Erasmus and the Leonardo da Vinci), under which 58 partnerships have been established with European HEIs, especially Spanish (35% of the total). The percentage of participating students, despite its increase in the last four years, still doesn't reach 1% of the students enrolled. There are other international initiatives and activities, namely the participation in association with other institutions in a number of cooperation organisations working in former Portuguese colonies (PALOP's and East Timor for agriculture and Sao Tomé and Príncipe for education). These international activities are sporadic and the individual actions of γ2's professors or of its schools, rather than the result of a coordinated effort in favour of the internationalisation of the organisation as such.

The data on outgoing and incoming mobility students of γ2 shows that their number has consistently increased since the expansion of the Erasmus/Socrates programme, initiated by the School of Education, to the whole organisation: 20 incoming and 12 outgoing in 2000/01; in 2001/02 50 incoming and 22 outgoing; 56 incoming and 24 outgoing in 2003/04; and 74 incoming and 33 outgoing in 2003/04. The number of incoming mobility students is considerably higher than the number of outgoing mobility students. Mobility students come predominantly from Spain (38 out of 74), while the outgoing students choose Spain (6 out of 33 in 2003/2004), and countries such as Hungary (8 in 2003/04) and the Czech Republic (7 in 2003/04). The number of outgoing EU mobility students in 2002/03 was about 0.4% of the total student population (5,734). Using the criteria of student mobility, the School of Education is the most internationalised of γ2's schools. The increase in the number of mobile students – both incoming and outgoing – in the School of Technology and Management is quite impressive: two incoming and one outgoing in 2000/01, 21 incoming and three outgoing in 2001/02, 21 incoming and three outgoing in 2002/03 and 23 incoming and ten outgoing in 2003/04. Under the framework of the Leonardo da Vinci programme, γ2 has developed a protocol for student scholarships. Nevertheless this is a programme with a minimal dimension (only ten students in 2002/03 and 2003/04).

δ's International profile can be characterised by the participation in the EU education and training programmes and by the establishment of partnerships with European and Latin America institutions. Three years ago δ started an integrated study programme in architecture with the University of Valladolid, and another one is being established for fine arts. A number of awards received by students and academic staff members from δ shows

that it is recognised internationally and a number of extra-curricular activities have been organised. During the period of 1998/99 – 2002/03 the percentage of outgoing students under the framework of EU mobility programmes remained under 1% of the students enrolled in the academic year of 2002/03. In the academic year 2003/04 it is foreseen that the number of outgoing students will increase to ten students.

The international profile of ε is constrained by severe legal and financial problems inherited from the previous administration. Those include outstanding debts to the public revenue and social security as well as the public impact of the trial of its former top management. ε has reached a payment agreement to settle all the outstanding debts in several years but it cannot receive any public or EU funds until the debts are completely offset. Therefore ε has not been able to participate in programmes funded by the EU or other entities, and this includes funds for mobility programmes. Activities are limited to individual actions in Architecture, and very marginally in Cinema, which ε is able to finance using its own resources. The co-ordinator of the course in Architecture reported that since 1995 ε had 162 outgoing mobility students, 82 incoming students, 14 outgoing academic staff and ten incoming academic staff. The most represented countries are Spain, Italy and Germany. In the area of cinema there are some exchanges for professional training periods with Bulgaria and Russia.

5.5. Consequences for the four building blocks of the organisations

The next section examines the responses of organisations to external challenges and the changes of their internationalisation policies, with reference to changes in the organisational building blocks.

5.5.1 The social structure

Internationalisation has the commitment of organisational leaders and the active involvement of academic and non-academic staff. However, although recognised in institutional mission statements and in planning and policy documents, internationalisation is not assumed to be a key development factor by all the six HEIs. One interviewee from γ1 regrets that internationalisation has only a marginal role due to barriers and constraints identified at the political level.

α Does not consider the role of internationalisation as vital for its development: "it is only an issue among others" (Interview with member academic staff) or "a central question only in rhetoric" (Interview with a Vice-Rector). For β the role of internationalisation is a major issue: "internationalisation is in the institution's genes. The university was born with academic staff coming from different regions without a collective reference" (Interview

with the Vice-Rector in charge of internationalisation). Respondents from different departments confirmed the importance of internationalisation and the influence of the institutional environment in promoting this attitude. γ2 responds to the new challenges of internationalisation by pursuing the goals established in the European agreements, namely the Bologna Declaration, and by paying attention to curricular development, inter-institutional cooperation, mobility programmes, and teaching and research integration (γ2 European Policy Statement).

In α, β and γ1 some strategic organisational changes – such as the establishment of international offices – resulting from participation in EU mobility programmes can be interpreted as reactive actions. In some organisations the respondents, although appreciating the administrative support from international offices, did not accept the monitoring of academic and scientific activities of mobility students. Research is not within the remit of these offices and none of the six HEIs has a central administrative structure for research.

α Established a central office to deal with the education and training programmes and mobility activities, with a special division dedicated to the cooperation with Portuguese speaking countries. However, its vice-rector considers that the number of Erasmus students is too low to demand great changes in the organisational settings: "these changes were important if it was necessary to meet the needs of a public different from the regional public" (Interview with Vice-rector).

In β "The significant expansion of international activities required the adoption of specific measures for its coordination, and technical and administrative support.

The transition to Socrates gave the opportunity to consolidate internationalisation. In January 1995 a professor was appointed Pro-rector of international relations. In April 1996 a Council for internationalisation was established with representatives from all the units. At Faculty level each Dean appointed a Co-ordinator responsible for the Socrates Erasmus activities. In central administration an International Office was created [1992] to give administrative support to the academic staff involved in international activities… This office reports to the Vice-Rector for International Cooperation" (EPS, 1996: 2).

γ1 Established an office of Public Relations and International Cooperation, combining "communication and public relation affairs" with "international cooperation". γ1 Aims at strengthening the competencies of its teachers, researchers and administrative staff in drafting projects and giving advice on mobility procedures (γ1 EPS, 2002; Report of Activities, 2002). At departmental level the Schools have academic staff responsible for mobility actions but there is no dedicated structure, although some Schools and students

mentioned the need for such a structure to keep pace with existing partnerships and to establish new ones.

In some organisations without a support office, people recognise that a dedicated structure is necessary to implement mobility programmes. γ2 Has not changed its organisation structure, but a central commission for mobility was created to run the Socrates/Erasmus and Leonardo mobility programmes. However, its President is not very concerned with this situation, and he does not see the advantage of creating an international office: "I have some doubts about the efficacy of a big international affairs office in such diversified areas as we have, from education to agricultural studies, to technology. It can turn into a white elephant (...) [and it] will decrease international activities being developed in the schools based on personal contacts" (Interview with the President of γ2). In δ, where academics and students complained about the lack of an organisational structure, there is a proposal to establish an office and it is clear that some attention will be paid to the language skills of the non-academic staff. And in ε, where student flows are marginal, an international office combining the functions of the postgraduate office was recently established.

5.5.2 Goals

The six HEIs have a regional and, in some cases, a national orientation and are more cooperation oriented than competition oriented, in spite of the decreasing number of national students. None of the institutions had a marketing strategy, either due to lack of financial and human resources and/or to the lack of a pro-active market attitude. At institutional level the stated main internationalisation goals are increasing the student and academic staff flows, reinforcing international agreements and increasing the numbers of partnerships or projects, institutional linkages and networks, rather than increasing research collaborations. This might be explained either because the more research-oriented organisations (α and β) take for granted the international nature of research (except for the field of law) and the national policy of sending PhD students abroad, or because research activities are more driven by individual researchers than by the organisation.

5.5.3 Participants

Academic staff members, depending on the availability of administrative support, are called to perform extra activities related to increasing internationalisation. This voluntary contribution to international activities is not welcomed by many academics that do not have the time or the ability to cope with the bureaucracy for submitting a project proposal, or who do not like to be diverted from their research activities.

For non-academic staff, new activities are emerging. Most international offices have employed professionals with a background in languages. One respondent stated that communication skills and high proficiency in English are the most important requisites for these professionals. The expansion of support structures at central and faculty/department level needs specialised assistance on project management. Degrees in international relations and management are also relevant for international offices.

Student participation – even of those staying at home – in international activities is important for the success of internationalisation. A section of the α's Erasmus Student Network supports the integration of foreign students into the organisation. In the other organisations this support is provided on an *ad hoc* basis by students and more systematically by the international office or similar structure. In all of the six HEIs, the Student Unions are not taking a central role in internationalisation: "the Student Union neglects foreign students. There is no section taking responsibility for foreign students. The Student Union doesn't have the initiative to disseminate information on academic programmes" (interview with student).

Proficiency in English could be seen as a horizontal dimension in common to all the participants in international activities. This was emphasised by γ2 but to some extent the statement is valid for all the others, as: "the need to be able to speak and understand other languages, particularly English, if one wants to cope with the internationalisation/globalisation challenges".

5.5.4 Technology

The standard programme for incoming mobility students is the intensive language course provided to all of them.

α And γ2 provide support via distance education but their impact at international level is expected to be rather small: "Distance learning is very expensive and there is a very low expectation rate on the return of the investment" (Interview with a Dean of α). One school of γ2 presented the same argument and is using the platform to increase the support to ICT, allowing students to register on-line and to have access to course contents. Another school of γ2 has developed a project using the Internet for exchanging information with all of the region's primary schools. This can be considered as distance learning, even if it is not a formal study programme. β And γ1 hope to develop a fruitful collaboration with Brazilian institutions in this area, and γ1 is experimenting with a combination of lectures and distance follow-up.

The offer of joint programmes is increasing and the newly launched programme Erasmus Mundus could be used as a lever in this area.

The linguistic component is important in education. The goal of increasing the number of European students links directly to the offer of programmes taught in English, which does not favour strong cooperation with Portuguese speaking countries. So far the overall trend is maintaining Portuguese as the main teaching language, although paying some attention to the use of English. The reasons supporting this trend vary from lack of proficiency in English of both professors and national students to cultural reasons. All of the six HEIs aim to improve the English proficiency of both the academic staff and students and to increase the course materials available in English. In α (engineering) and β (economics) there are pilot projects using English for postgraduate teaching. At γ2 the majority of the staff is unable to teach in English, and even helping Erasmus students is not an easy task for some of them, as one student reported. Outgoing students have difficulties in choosing other countries rather than Spain and Italy because of the language, which is a barrier that needs to be overcome.

Cultural reasons explain different attitudes across the range of disciplines. In engineering the respondents tended to be pro-English (α, β and γ1). ε And γ1 are even considering that a minimum level of proficiency in English should become a requisite for student enrolment. The idea of preserving language diversity was mentioned: "(...) a single language in Europe is not at all my opinion. I think that there are many languages and people should have the opportunity of learning several of them" (Interview with a Dean of γ2). Architecture (α) and fine arts and design (γ1) presume that Portuguese will be used, one argument being that it also promotes the use of foreign languages by Portuguese students. At national level there is no incentive to change or to keep Portuguese as the main teaching language: "if a foreign student comes to Portugal he probably wants to have a different experience and language could be an initial barrier to be overcome by Portuguese intensive training. The problem is that organisations don't receive financial support to offer Portuguese intensive training. If they can have a Portuguese student for free they will not pay to have a foreigner" (Interview with a Vice-rector).

5.6 Feedback loop: have the changes in the four building blocks affected the three pillars?

It is possible to identify a logical/causal connection between institutional and organisational changes, or perhaps an absence of change. On the one hand, as the state has not yet passed legislation to implement Bologna-type degrees and mobility instruments, there were no changes in the pillar of regulation, which hinders changes at

organisational level. On the other hand, participation in European projects forced organisations to introduce some organisational changes, ignoring or interpreting in a creative way the available legislation, thus creating pressure on the government to change the legal framework which sooner or later will change the regulation pillar. One may conclude that there is a connection between regulative institutional and organisational changes, based on actual change in the direction from organisations to institutions, and on its absence in the opposite direction.

The participation of Portuguese HEIs in EU programmes has been a lever for changes within the normative and cognitive-cultural pillars (in the direction of organisation to institution), the latter being limited by absence of change in the regulative pillar. The most relevant changes occurred in the social structure, participants and technology blocks.

5.6.1 Social structure

The social structure for education was changed to support the needs of academic staff and students by implementing instruments to promote the mobility of both students and academic staff under the framework of EU programmes. New forms of governance were created and committees and task forces were appointed to follow the developments of EU policy.

The situation is different for research. The earlier national policy for the internationalisation of HE (1968) had a rationale based on grants to train a significant number of academic staff at postgraduate level abroad (Eurydice, 2000). This policy allowed researchers to establish personal links and international activities, which created a very individualistic culture that is difficult to change. Defining an organisational research policy is difficult because the national research-funding agency allocates research funding directly to researchers or their research teams on a competitive basis, rather than to organisations. Decentralisation of data prevents organisations from having a good picture of its research internationalisation, and explains why the social structure for research has not changed.

The social structure of Portuguese HEIs follows a political rationale based on quality, which is also present in the national policies for internationalisation. Rosa et al. (2004: 140) stressed that it is not possible to raise the quality of the education system in isolation from the "international, and in particular the European context". The Portuguese HEIs seem to have developed an organisational approach in this area. One of our respondents argued that "internationalisation is a step that can only be achieved by institutions with quality (...). When quality is achieved, the internationalisation step is relatively easy to climb". Some examples corroborate that idea. The participation of δ and ε in the EUA

(former CRE) quality audit programme was a starting point for the introduction of quality mechanisms. And in research there is already a tradition of external evaluation by review teams with foreign peers.

Other policy areas were referred to, such as funding and the difficulty of allocating funds for internationalisation activities, given that there are other priorities vital for the development (or even the survival) of the organisations. Therefore internationalisation creates financial difficulties: "I don't know what will happen when everything is internationalised, who is going to pay for that?" (Interview with a Dean). The Head of Administration for International Relations (β) considers that available resources are not enough to cope with all the demand.

The promotion of EU mobility programmes also affects the normative pillar. The benchmarking resulting from participation in these programmes will probably lead to changes in norms and values. The awareness of the need to implement specific policies related to quality and funding could affect the regulative and the normative pillar and lead to changes in regulation and to different conceptions of norms and values.

5.6.2 Goals

Changes in the regulative and normative pillars were not considered by organisations when defining their objectives. However, as research assumes different roles in driving internationalisation goals it might diversely affect the concepts of education and research – or the cognitive-cultural pillar. In research oriented organisations research was clearly the driving force for the internationalisation of education projects. On the contrary, education oriented organisations used links from international education projects to promote the internationalisation of their research activities. Between those extremes, γ1 and γ2 face the challenge of becoming more international as their staff members are awarded PhDs abroad without losing them to more research oriented organisations.

5.6.3 Participants

The role of participants might change the three pillars. Globalisation and internationalisation may do so by creating new roles for different actors, and may force cultural changes in organisational attitudes. For instance, if Portuguese students use internationalisation as a criterion to decide where to enrol, organisations will promote internationalisation in a more systemic basis. One respondent highlighted the importance of participants in internationalisation as "agents of mentality change". An increasing focus on learning outcomes will lead to major changes at pedagogical, evaluation and certification levels.

Some organisations created incentives as mentioned in the EPS (1996) of β, which lists several recommendations to implement the Socrates programme such as including the academic staff's workload in "non-academic" activities for career progression purposes. Those incentives are important to promote the development of international activities on a systematic basis. Improving English proficiency will have consequences in the cognitive-cultural pillar that in some fields of study may lead to changes or even to the creation of new curricular structures.

5.6.4 Technology

The changes in the technology building block will affect mostly the regulative and cognitive-cultural pillars. Even if the degree of autonomy of some HEIs has allowed them to introduce curricular changes, ECTS and the Diploma Supplement as mechanisms of recognition, and to introduce English as a teaching language, changing the three pillars is necessary for fostering the internationalisation of Portuguese HEIs.

The changes in the technology building block that might contribute to changes in the regulative pillar are connected with the implementation of recognition mechanisms, such as a credit system compatible with ECTS and the Diploma Supplement. The six HEIs use partially the ECTS guidelines as recognition mechanisms: "(…) This was an initiative of the institutions without the need of legal imposition and may be seen as a response to Europeanisation, insofar as it allows for credit accumulation and transfer, being a tool for mobility" (Rosa et al., 2004: 145).

The lack of national legislation generalising the use of ECTS across the HE system is a big hindrance to the full implementation of the system. In α the use of credits at postgraduate level is virtually impossible because a decision by Senate prevents its use for Masters as their quality is too heterogeneous. γ1 mentioned that the Ministry did not approve their proposals of new study programmes based on the ECTS system because the appropriate legislation had not yet been passed. In δ and ε the implementation is at the very beginning. Some respondents consider that an internal process to check that credits effectively match the student workload should complement the implementation of ECTS credits. The interviewed students from all organisations reported problems at the level of credit recognition and transfer and there are cases where the grades obtained in a different organisation do not count for the overall classification. The implementation of the Diploma Supplement is still delayed, and among the six case study organisations only α seems to be capable of issuing the document in the near future.

The changes that will affect the cognitive-cultural pillar are related to the lack of English proficiency and the awareness of the need to find mechanisms to improve it.

5.7 Factors impeding/fostering internationalisation

Governmental initiatives have so far apparently failed to dispel a feeling that there is a lack of state policies addressing the internationalisation of HE, and important legal constraints to internationalisation have not yet been removed. At central level HEIs argue for widening access to foreign students on undergraduate degrees, governmental support for inter-organisational programmes at national and international level, a definition of a national strategy for cooperation with the former colonies, and allocation of funds for the promotion of internationalisation initiatives.

At faculty level the actors do not see any political changes favouring internationalisation: "there are no internationalisation policies at state level, and consequently there are no internationalisation strategies at organisational level. Internationalisation is a mirage, not the reality" (Interview with academic staff member). The lack of legislation to implement the new Bologna-type structure and ECTS is perceived by the interviewed actors as impeding internationalisation, or at least not favouring it.

Most of the internationalisation efforts and activities are linked to European mobility programmes, which are supranational and certainly the driving force of internationalisation. So the European context is more relevant than the national context to foster internationalisation, both because it is Europe that is providing mobility opportunities and because the European labour market starts to be looked upon as an important employment market for Portuguese graduates (particularly in some areas, such as engineering, management, even architecture and fine arts).

To summarise, it is possible to state that the degree of internationalisation of Portuguese HEIs is hindered by a number of factors. The most important being: (in no particular order of importance):

- lack of appropriate national legislation;
- lack of appropriate funding;
- internationalisation is not seen as a key factor at national and institutional level;
- lack of central coordination of research activities (in α and β) asa consequence of its decentralisation.

And other hindering factors are:

- lack of incentives in the academic career;

- sustaining student mobility demands a coherent strategy and an attractive offer to foreign students (e.g. availability of housing for mobility and foreign students, English as teaching language);

- lack of proficiency in English of both academic staff and students.

To foster internationalisation Portuguese HEIs need to reinforce internal factors, such as: promotion of international research co-operation; commitment of participants (academic and non-academic staff and students); implementation of organisational structures providing administrative and technical support; and the establishment of new governance structures. The latter is probably the most important internal factor for promoting the implementation of a more systematic approach to internationalisation. The appointment of Vice-rectors or Vice-presidents for international relations and the establishment of specific committees and/or task-forces for mobility programmes in α and β were precisely the main factors allowing these organisations to move from an *ad hoc* approach to a more systematic approach towards internationalisation, and are positive trends that could be followed by other HEIs.

5.8 Conclusions

The six Portuguese HEIs are aware of the importance of internationalisation, even if actors in general do not have a clear perception of the differences between internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation and their respective challenges. The lack of legislation and the frequent changes of Ministers created a state of flux and confusion that effectively hinders the internationalisation of the Portuguese higher education system.

The EU programmes are the only effective lever for internationalisation that Portuguese HEIs can use, which explains their more reactive than pro-active attitude to external challenges, and why respondents mainly refer to internationalisation, which they see as encompassing Europeanisation, while globalisation is generally ignored except as a rhetorical device.

In general Portuguese HEIs, namely the more research-oriented, have difficulties in defining and coordinating an organisational research policy. Therefore, they see education as the main activity that the central administration can promote to create an internationalisation policy. Consequently, the internationalisation of education is mentioned more often than the internationalisation of research in European Policy Statements.

The attitude of the schools towards internationalisation challenges is not homogeneous, and it varies according to the traditions and academic cultures of the different disciplines.

Engineering and Technologies, Fine Arts and Architecture, and Law all present remarkably different (and consistent) behaviours in answering the new challenges of internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation, with Law being by far the least internationalised discipline.

There is an ambivalent attitude towards the use of foreign languages. However, in general organisations prefer the use of the Portuguese as the main teaching language, either because of cultural reasons – the preservation of the national culture and the close relationship with the former Portuguese speaking colonies and Brazil – or because of more down-to-earth reasons – many professors are not able to teach in English and many national students are unable to understand classes taught in English. And some people strongly believe that Portuguese should be the teaching language as it is a characteristic that attracts foreign students looking for a different environment. However, some organisations are trying to increase the English proficiency of their members and are increasing the course materials available in foreign languages.

It was observed that research-oriented HEIs used the international research relations of their professors to develop the internationalisation of their study programmes, while teaching-oriented institutions are moving in the opposite direction, using the personal ties resulting from joint education programmes to implement some internationalised research activity. It is possible that what lies behind these attitudes is the hard truth that the establishment of international relations depends strongly on trust, and there is trust only when people know each other. This might explain the success of the former use of the ECTS in the Erasmus programme, which was based on the establishment of networks of organisations that tried to increase mutual knowledge, and the more difficult implementation of the Bologna Declaration, plagued by bureaucracy and imposed top-down by politicians and Eurocrats.

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3.5. Chapter 6. Dutch higher education institutions working on Europeanisation, internationalisation and globalisation

Anneke Luijten-Lub

6.1 Introduction

The Dutch higher education system is a binary system with *hogescholen* and universities. The *hogescholen* are responsible for higher professional training, whereas the universities are responsible for academic teaching and research. Currently, there are around 50 *hogescholen*, enrolling 325,950 students in 2002 and 14 universities, enrolling 181,890 students in the same year. In addition to these public or government dependent institutions there are several private, approved institutions of higher education, most of which provide professional education and training. Compared to enrolment at the public and government-dependent institutions, enrolment at private institutions is low.

The Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences is responsible for the governmental policy in this sector, although other ministries are also involved. Previous research showed that the main underlying rationale for internationalisation of Dutch higher education has been the economic rationale (see also Luijten-Lub, 2004).

Out of all these institutions three universities and two *hogescholen* were selected. α, founded in 1575, is the oldest university in the Netherlands, located in the west of the Netherlands. It is a broadly oriented and multidisciplinary university. α has nine faculties. It must be noted that the Faculty of Medicine has a different position at α than the other faculties. The Faculty of Medicine has been, for a couple of years, part of the University Medical Center, which also comprises the University Hospital. The board of the University Medical Center sets out the policy for the Faculty of Medicine in cooperation with the College van Bestuur (CvB) of α. The dean of the Faculty of Medicine is a member of the board of the University Medical Center and, like other faculty deans, participates in the meetings of the CvB and deans. The dean thus serves as an intermediate between the University Medical Center and the University. α Has a strong orientation towards research, which is reflected in the guiding themes identified by the university. The three themes are European orientation, the research-intensive nature of the university and the quality of education and research. The education provided at α should be inspired by and related to the research of α. Furthermore, the education should be of high quality and in an international context in order to attract the most talented students and researchers.

Founded in 1976, β is the youngest Dutch university located in the South of the Netherlands. β Is also broadly oriented, having seven faculties as well as a University

College, and covering similar disciplines as α. However, the range of these disciplines is not as broad as α, as β is smaller. β Is well known for its educational concept of problem-based learning (PGO), which is a student-centred way of teaching. Students learn, in relatively small tutorial groups, to solve problems related to their future professional practice[6]. In the mission of β the link between education and research as well as the contribution of research to the environment of the university are emphasized.

γ Is one of the largest *hogescholen* in the Netherlands and was established in 1996 by the merger of five *hogescholen*. γ has 37 departments, which are also called *hogescholen*, spread over 22 locations mainly in the South of the Netherlands. To keep the distinction between γ as a *hogeschool* and the 37 non-central *hogescholen* as clear as possible, the 37 *hogescholen* will be referred to as Schools. These schools offer more than 120 bachelor programmes and around 20 master programmes and all have their own governing bodies. γ Is broadly oriented, as it offers programmes in economics, arts, natural sciences, engineering, medicine and health and social sciences. Furthermore, γ is involved in contract activities for the professional market, through the provision of professional education courses and training programmes, research and consultancy. In its vision on education γ expresses that learning from experience is important.

δ Is a relatively small *hogeschool* oriented towards the arts. It was founded in 1987 and is located in the middle of the Netherlands. δ Offers a wide range of courses, such as first-degree courses, postgraduate courses and internationally acknowledged Master of Arts courses as well as foundation courses and contract education. One faculty also offers the possibility of doing a PhD with them, in co-operation with an English university, as Dutch *hogescholen* cannot award PhD degrees themselves. Five concepts are guiding to the profile of δ. These are internationalisation, innovation, inter-culturalisation, interdisciplinarity and information technology. The fifth case, ε, is a university specialised in Agriculture and Life sciences, which traditionally has an international outlook. In the past, the university has been closely connected to the International Agricultural Centre (IAC), one of the Dutch International Education Institutes, and the IAC has recently become part of the university organisation. The official founding year of ε is 1918. In this year law officially recognized the development of the school from secondary to higher education. At the end of the 1990s the formation of the current university and research organisation started and several research centres in the same discipline as well as some international institutions are integrated in the organisation. The organisation now has five science groups, responsible for research and four schools of education.

[6] For more information on PGO see http://www.akh-wien.ac.at/agmb/99/eckhout_voll.htm and http://www.unimaas.nl/PBL/.

Table 6.1. Basic data on the Dutch cases

	α	β	γ	δ	ε
Size (student numbers)	15,352*	11,613**	35,396**	3,149**	4,938**
Age (year of start)	1575	1976	1996	1987	1918
Disciplines	Comprehen-sive (Humanities, Economics, Natural sciences, Medicine & Health, Social sciences)	(fairly) Comprehen-sive (Humanities, Economics, Life sciences, Medicine & Health, Social sciences)	Comprehen-sive (Humanities, Economics, Natural sciences, Engineering, Medicine & Health, Social sciences, Arts)	Specialised (Arts)	Specialised (Agriculture Life sciences)
Number of foreign (degree) students	893 (5.8%)*	2.649 (23.1%)**	~1400 (4,0%)	562 (17,8%)**	1220** (24.7%)
Number of incoming exchange students	386 (2.5%)*	604 (5.3%)*	~100 (0,3%)	60 (1.9%)	~350** (7%)*
Number of outgoing exchange students	310 (2.0%)*	1.077 (9.3%)*	~10 (0,3%)0	14 (0,4%)	~ 50** (1%)

*: In 2002-2003 **: In 2003-2004

6.2 Actors' perceptions of the challenges of Europeanisation, internationalisation and globalisation

Internationalisation is high on the agenda of all the institutions in the study, although the emphasis on internationalisation differs, often even per department. The actors are aware of the importance of international developments. Most of them, however, do not really distinguish between the concepts of Europeanisation, internationalisation and globalisation. Some respondents do see a difference in the three concepts, at least to some extent, as a policy officer from β does, relating this back to history: "Internationalisation had to do with the post-war idea of sharing western knowledge with developing countries… therefore I see internationalisation also as cultural exchange and cooperation…Europeanisation makes me think of the developments in the 1980s where interest for internationalisation was raised with the help of the European programmes…I find globalisation more something of the last 5-7 years… Competition and the market, I don't know which is the driving force, economy for a large part… The development of globalisation of higher education has followed the globalisation of the economy". However, distinguishing between the three concepts does not lead to different practical approaches. A member of the board of α put it as follows: "I don't see why we would have a different policy towards Europe as compared to other parts of the world" and also a member of the board of β states that "[the difference] is not very relevant in the sense of policymaking".

As most actors do not see a big difference between the three concepts, from now on the term internationalisation will be used, with special reference to Europeanisation or globalisation where needed.

6.2.1 Regulative pillar

National policies and regulations

The general national policies aimed at internationalising Dutch higher education (see Luijten-Lub, 2004) are quite well known amongst actors at the central level of the cases in the study, although the appreciation of these policies varies amongst the actors. The familiarity with these policies of actors at the non-central level of the institutions varies, as some are less informed than others. A general perspective amongst the actors at the universities is that the national policies are supporting institutional policies, but there is room for improvement (see below). Most of them feel that national policies concerning internationalisation of higher education have a positive influence on internationalisation at their own institution. These policies usually confirm, and are in line with, the choices made by the universities, as several actors have stated. They can also help to strengthen the

line of argumentation followed in an institution. An example of support by national policies is found at α, which has set out institutional policy aimed at recruiting students in Asia. This is also stimulated through national policies, such as the marketing policy, which is of support to the institutional policy of α. The marketing policy concerns the "positioning" or marketing of Dutch higher education. This policy is in particular aimed at marketing in China, Indonesia, Taiwan and South Africa.

A similar situation is found at ε, which also appreciates the marketing policies and is actively involved in it. ε is, for example, trying to recruit students in the countries that are part of the marketing policy.

Actors at the *hogescholen* appear to be more critical about the general higher education policies and those concerning internationalisation than respondents at the universities. The *hogescholen* find it problematic to explain to other countries what exactly their position and level of their programmes are in international comparison. The official translation of *hogescholen* to English is "Universities for Professional Education". Professional education is, according to some respondents, sometimes associated with vocational training, which does not adequately represent the level of programmes at the *hogescholen*. This is perceived as a constraint to *hogescholen* who want to do business in foreign countries. As a board member of γ stated: "There is the typical internal discussion on binarity …since Bologna something dramatic has happened, problems have risen especially for the *hogescholen*, through which we are no longer capable of positioning ourselves on the international market. We enter the market with the wrong wordings, are positioned wrong and the *hogescholen* are in danger of falling victim to the internal conflict of interest between the two types of Dutch higher education". Another critique of the *hogescholen* on national policies concerning internationalisation has to do with the introduction of bachelor and master programmes, which is discussed below.

Furthermore, the actors in the different institutions appreciate financial incentives brought by some national policies concerning internationalisation. This can be particularly useful as a starting capital for already existing ideas for projects, as experiences at both β and ε have shown that projects which participants have already put their heart into beforehand have a much greater chance of success. For example, as a respondent at central level of β explained, β participated in the neighbouring countries policy and received funding for several projects. However, when the subsidy stopped, most projects did as well, as the people involved did not really put their heart into it. It seems as though it is sometimes the act of gaining the subsidies that is more important than the content of the project.

Bologna follow up

The general ideas expressed in the Bologna Declaration are well known amongst the Dutch actors. The general underlying thought of the Bologna Declaration is endorsed by most of them, both at central and non-central level and at both types of Dutch higher education institutions. However, the practical implementation and choices made in the Netherlands with the introduction of bachelor and master programmes are sometimes questioned by the actors, in particular by the *hogescholen*.

In general, almost all old programmes at the institutions in this study have been changed to new bachelor and master programmes. Programmes in Medicine, Veterinary medicine and Dentistry have not been changed into the new structure so far. This is still under discussion.

For the *hogescholen* in the study this was a relatively small change, as they could, for a start, just rename the old programmes as bachelor programmes. The universities, however, had to change their former four-or five-year programmes into the new 3-year bachelor programmes, followed by one-or two-year master programmes, with the new option of students leaving after a bachelor programme to start work or continue with a master programme at a different institution. Nevertheless, the universities were quick in changing their programmes to the new system, as they perceived that this new system would make their programmes more recognisable internationally, opening up opportunities in internationalisation (see also Lub et al, 2003). In the case of ε, with an international orientation already, an actor stated that "the new system made it easier for us to say Europe is our home-market, as students in other countries will also more and more ask themselves the question "where will I study?"

The discussion at the *hogescholen* circles around two main topics: the titles of the degrees and the funding of master programmes. First, in the Netherlands the affix "of Science" and "of Arts" for bachelor or master programmes may only be used for academically oriented programmes and not for the former four-year programmes offered by the *hogescholen*. According to some actors, such as a board member at γ, not being able to use these affixes makes it more difficult for the *hogescholen* to explain to foreigners what the status and level of the programmes offered are. Second, the decision to, in principle, not publicly fund master programmes offered by *hogescholen*, while master programmes offered by universities are publicly funded, is often mentioned by actors at the *hogescholen*. Most masters offered by *hogescholen* are considered to be post-initial higher education, whereas most masters offered by universities are considered to be initial higher education and public funding is only available for initial higher education. The board member of γ

states that "this is just a political solution, you rename something and that is the solution". Other actors also find this difference in funding somewhat strange and expect that, in time, the funding of higher education will be discussed and eventually changed. This discussion will include the difference in funding between masters of universities and *hogescholen*, but also a rethinking of the funding of non-EU-students. The latter was also announced in the HOOP 2004.

EU programmes

Most actors are informed of the EU-programmes in education and research and try to make use of them. They are positive about the opportunities the Framework programmes offer and the new co-operations with foreign partners these projects sometimes bring. For example, a Dean at α is convinced that the programmes have brought his faculty partners which they would not have had without the programmes, and also the programmes require certain partners of which researchers might otherwise not know. Furthermore, many actors at δ were particularly positive about the European programmes and not just the money the projects have brought the institution. As a board member of δ stated: "It has helped us immensely in facilitating an area such as art and technology and to perform a series of research projects… in the Netherlands this would be unthinkable. We cannot even get to research money. There we are just a *hogeschool*". At δ the equal opportunities for all types of HEIs in the European programmes are appreciated, as they feel that the Dutch binary system is holding them back in their development. δ wants to be a specialised institution being able to provide education in arts as well as doing research in this area, and doing research is not common for Dutch *hogescholen*, except for some applied research. However, some respondents criticize the bureaucratic burden European projects can bring as well as a financial burden that comes along with these projects. A dean at β commented: "I am hesitant about European Circuses. If one looks at what one has to do to get just a little money from the European Commission, and to which one also has to contribute quite substantially".

Quality assurance

The different types of actors see the benefits internationally organised quality assurance can bring to their institutions and programmes. Establishing the quality and level of a programme in international comparison is perceived as beneficial, for example in attracting foreign students, but also in learning from others. At most institutions it is stated that they would like to meet international requirements and some of them, particularly α and ε, are aiming to be, or become, top in their international field. Several options for an international type of quality assessment are being used at the institutions in

the study. For example, several masters at the *hogescholen* are validated in the UK and some institutions seek international quality assessment through the international networks they are involved in, such as α who participates in a network of research universities in Europe, and ε who participates in a European network in its own specific field. Most actors are, furthermore, in favour of setting up the national (programme) accreditation in a more international fashion, as the Ministry of Education is trying to do through participating in the Joint Quality Initiative. However, some actors fear the bureaucracy international accreditation of programmes might bring and would prefer accreditation of institutions instead, such as a board member of α who states that he "would be very much in favour of accreditation of institutions… And the reason is the bureaucratic burden. So I would rather be accredited on the on the basis that we have a good quality assurance system in place for the entire university which is a dynamic process, a continuous process which is not just becoming active because of a visitation committee coming along".

GATS

Finally, the developments concerning GATS are not well known amongst the actors. Only some respondents at the central level are familiar with this topic. However, how these developments might actually affect higher education and its institutions remains to be seen according to these respondents. They feel this is still unclear.

6.2.2 Normative pillar

All institutions in the study find internationalisation important and have it high on their institution's agenda. The introduction already showed that the history and background of the institutions in internationalisation vary widely. The attention given to internationalisation by the institutions also varies, partly under the influence of these backgrounds and disciplines.

Background and tradition

Both ε and α have a long and old tradition in internationalisation, which makes internationalisation something fairly natural to the organisation, although the emphasis on and discussion of the topic may still differ per department. The agricultural discipline is internationally oriented, partly due to its role in development aid to third world countries, or the North-South connection as it is sometimes referred to. ε has been involved, and still is involved in this. The development aid started with aid to mainly the former Dutch colonies but has since then expanded to other countries as well, which is also reflected in changes at ε. This particularly becomes clear in the orientation of the recruitment of international students, which was first the former Dutch colonies, as ε was involved in the

Institutes for International Education. Since then, this expanded to other developing countries and the last few years much recruitment in South East Asia took place. In the latest annual report it is now stated that Europe is ε's home market and this is where ε tries to recruit students. Furthermore, ε needed to expand its recruitment region, as the number of Dutch students was declining. α has been internationally oriented for a long time, particularly in the area of research. This line is continued nowadays, as α has stated it wants to be a top European research-intensive university. But not only does it want to be international in research, it also wants to be international in education. The main motivation for the internationalisation of α is the improvement of quality. To attract the best academic researchers, it is necessary to also attract the best students and PhD students from inside and outside the Netherlands. To achieve this, the educational programmes need to have an international presence (Stuurgroep Internationalisering en Onderwijs, 2003).

δ And β, being young institutions, have a shorter tradition in internationalisation than ε and α, but have nevertheless also been working on internationalisation at least since the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s. At δ it is very strongly felt that art is international and education in art should thus also be internationally oriented. As some actors at δ expressed: "art is international by definition". Attracting foreign students came naturally to β due to its geographical location. Its natural recruiting region includes the border regions with Germany and Belgium. Recruiting foreign students, however, is not the only international activity undertaken at β. Furthermore, β has stated in its latest policy documents that it wants to broaden its regional view and recruitment to a more European and international one. Several (international) developments have been of influence to this standpoint (see Van Euregionaal naar internationaal):

- the increasing internationalisation of higher education;
- the development of a worldwide market;
- the introduction of bachelor and master programmes and the expected increase in competition with Dutch and foreign HEIs;
- the need for more interfaculty cooperation at β;
- the financial outlook of the universities.

Furthermore, β also fears that with the introduction of bachelor and master programmes, students might leave the area after graduation as much economic activity is in the Randstad (the larger Dutch cities in the west of the country), making it difficult to get them back into master programmes. A dean stated: "If we don't do anything, we will have

a net loss of master students". β does not want to become a "bachelor-university," and the recruitment of foreign students is perceived as necessary in order to get enough master students, as there are not sufficient potential master students in the region. This potential threat has thus given a boost to the interest in international recruitment at β.

γ Is the youngest HEI in the study and has only recently, since the end of the 1990s, started to work on internationalisation. Internationalisation is now high on the agenda of γ for several strategic, educational, cultural and economical motives. Strategic motives are to adapt to the impact of international developments on higher education, adapt to the influence of the Bologna Declaration and GATS as well as to the increasing competition in the market for higher education. The main educational argument for internationalisation is that the international dimension is part of the primary process, as knowledge knows no borders. Other educational arguments are that γ wants to prepare students for a European or international labour market and wants to improve the quality of programmes through internationalisation. Teachers can learn from international contacts and furthermore, internationalisation is part of the criteria for accreditation of programmes. Cultural arguments provided by γ are the worldwide communication through ICT, the interculturalisation of society, the cultural and ethnic diversity of the γ population, as well as the opportunities through internationalisation to contribute to a global, sustainable society and awareness for development cooperation in education. Finally, an economic argument is that foreign fee paying students are an extra source of income to γ (Fontys Internationaliseringsbeleid, 2003).

Cooperation and competition

Most actors feel that cooperation and competition in higher education can go well together. In fact, most argue, like a policy officer of ε, that cooperation is often needed to compete on the international market and/or to become a top institution in its field. One institution on its own is perceived as being too small to achieve this. Cooperation with foreign contacts can be sought in unregulated ways by staff members, but also through regulated institution-or department-wide networks with foreign institutions. β, α and ε are involved in specific networks. β is involved in ALMA, which came into being on the basis of geographical orientation as it is the cooperation platform between the four universities of the Euregion of Meuse-Rhine (the universities of Aachen (Germany), Liège (French-speaking Belgium), Diepenbeek (Dutch-speaking Belgium) and Maastricht (The Netherlands)).

ALMA'main objective is to enhance co-operation in the fields of education, research and service to the community. The universities are aware of the particular and unique

character of their geographical site and their mutual connections, and on these grounds, they want to create and to maintain particular forms of co-operation between the universities, as well as to offer specific opportunities in the field of education and continuing training, and in the sector of services to the community (ALMA, 2004). α was founder the League of European Research Universities (LERU), in which highly ranked, research-intensive universities have come together (Leiden University, 2004). α hopes to distinguish itself as a top European research-intensive university by being part of LERU, as several actors confirm. ε is part of a network, Euroleague for Life Sciences, that combines the idea of LERU, cooperation among top-universities, but then only in a specific field, namely life sciences.

The content of the cooperation between the institutions in these networks can vary greatly, for example exchanging good practices, exchanging students and staff, or jointly working on quality assurance. The description of the Euroleague for Life Sciences shows the broad orientation some networks can have: "The focus of ELLS is on joint teaching and learning, student and staff mobility, and quality assurance. These activities will result in highly qualified graduates, who are prepared for the demands of the European and international market. Furthermore, through the sharing of expertise and resources, this network will enhance the national and international position and potential of all partner universities, as part of the development and implementation of their degree programmes" (Euroleague, 2004).

Competition in arts education, as provided by δ, is something very specific. All the schools for the arts in the Netherlands, but also abroad, compete with each other for the best, most talented students. However, students in the arts are very particular about the type of education they seek and, maybe more importantly, with whom they seek it. For instance, actors at the Faculty of Music explained that Music students do not necessarily come to δ for δ, but for a specific program or teacher. The relationship between teacher and student is very important in arts education, as this type of education is very individual. When the wishes of students are so specific, it is difficult to compete in general terms. Also, the registration of students already exceeds the possible intake of students, which means that δ does not need to compete with other schools for students. However, the search and competition for the best students remains, both nationally and internationally

Public or private good?

The general feeling amongst the actors is that higher education is a public good, although this does not mean there cannot be private sectors in higher education as well. A few

actors, such as a dean at β, were very outspoken in stating that higher education is evidently a public good and that education is not a market. Others, such as a board member of β, argued that higher education has both public as well as private aspects. Furthermore, many of the responses of actors on the topic of higher education being a public or private good turned into discussions on public or private funding of higher education. A differentiation in public funding, for example for different types of students, is conceivable to many actors, also because it is expected that funding for higher education will at best remain at its current level.

To start, it is felt that higher education, especially for national Dutch students, is a public good, as this, as expressed for example by deans of β and ε, has benefits for the Netherlands. The Dutch government also has an obligation to make sure that access for all students meeting the requirements is secured and that students have equal opportunities. This does not, however, mean that students should not have to pay tuition fees; an investment of the students may be expected, according to some actors. But it is felt there should be a limit to this type of private funding and support should be available for those students lacking the finances. Furthermore, a number of actors see a practical limit to the public funding of higher education when considering internationalisation and funding of foreign students. As a dean of ε put it: "A public good for the whole world can simply not be funded". The question is raised whether the Dutch government should fund the education for international students on the same basis as they do for national students. These actors think it is conceivable that for non-EU-students the Dutch government does not have an obligation to fund their education and higher fees can be asked to cover the education of these students. The State Secretary for Education, Rutte, also announced a reconsideration of public funding of non-EU-students.

Finally, some actors also question how long the Dutch government will continue to fund the education of Dutch university master students. Masters students at the *hogescholen*, in general, are not publicly funded. This discussion about the difference in funding of master students at the *hogescholen* and universities is still continued; *hogescholen* want the same position as the universities, and keeping in mind that it is expected that funding for higher education will not increase over the coming years, one outcome might be that all master students will no longer be funded in the future. The public funding of Dutch bachelor students is not under debate, either amongst the actors or in general in Dutch higher education.

6.2.3 Cultural-cognitive pillar

At most institutions and for most respondents, internationalisation of higher education is not (yet) fully taken for granted. Even though the actors in general feel that the internationalisation of higher education is important, this does not necessarily mean they are actively involved in it or want to be involved in it. Getting more staff involved and mainstreaming internationalisation of education are things that most institutions in this study are working on. The best example of this mainstreaming is provided by ε, who with the introduction of the new Bachelor-Master structure decided to combine the international master programme they already provided with the regular master programme that would now be offered. This means that nowadays both national and international students follow the same programme and are taught in English.

Disciplinary influence?

The case studies show that some disciplines appear to be more internationally oriented than others and thus find it more natural to make this part of their education (see also above). Both at ε and δ this situation was most apparent. For example, one of the directors of a school at ε stated that when students want to do an internship the first question is: "where would you like to go?" and not "what would you like to do?" as it is so common to go abroad for an internship. Also, in the arts, internationalisation is just the way things are done. For example, some of the respondents even had difficulty trying to explain why the arts are indeed so international, as it was not an issue for them, but just very common to think of arts in an international sense.

Furthermore, actors at the departmental level of the institutions in the study all underline the importance of internationalisation to higher education. However, the direction given to internationalisation can differ greatly between departments at the same institution, from internationalising educational programmes to recruiting lots of foreign students or establishing an obligatory part of the programme abroad. As might be expected, the difference between departments appears to be bigger at the larger, multidisciplinary institutions, than at the smaller, mono-disciplinary institutions where approaches to internationalisation are more similar. General ideas on internationalisation at these institutions are more similar and consultation and tuning of the approaches is easier in a smaller setting. This is also the perception of the respondents at both central and departmental levels of the institutions.

Furthermore, the institutions in the study leave room for the departments with different disciplinary backgrounds to work on internationalisation in a way suitable to their

disciplines and to their departments. Different influences and approaches of departments at α form an interesting example, where at the faculty of mathematics and natural sciences internationalisation is very much influenced by the development of the discipline, which has been characterised by internationalisation since the 18th century or maybe even before. Internationalisation at this faculty is taken for granted, especially in research, but it is also reflected in the educational programmes. The faculty of philosophy is internationally oriented, as in the Netherlands there are only a few researchers involved in this discipline. This naturally leads the staff of the faculty to the internationalisation of its research. The dean of the faculty is working on making the existing contacts more known also to students so that they can profit from this as well. The faculties of law and medicine are internationally oriented and have an international tradition in their research as well, but the education provided in the regular programmes by these faculties also has an apparent national tradition. The faculty of law has some old links to the former Dutch colonies, as it provided courses to people from these countries or people going there, but the regular programmes are less internationally oriented, as, in the end, it is Dutch national law which is taught to the students.

However, the difference in direction is not only due to the disciplinary background, which is made clear in the different approaches of the faculties of law at β and α. Above it was mentioned that the faculty of law at α has a national orientation towards its education and its programmes will be taught in Dutch. The faculty of law at β, on the other hand, is trying to include as many internationally oriented subjects as possible in their programmes, according to the dean, bearing in mind that it needs to be nationally accredited as a Dutch law programme. In addition, many subjects are taught in English and the faculty has established the European Law School for both Dutch and foreign students.

Finally, internationalisation in scientific research is for most respondents at the universities a very natural thing, as it is perceived that good research should be internationally oriented. Academic researchers therefore have an intrinsic motive to work on the internationalisation of their research. Most of the actors at the departments are either involved in research projects with foreign partners or just have foreign partners with whom they are in contact every now and then to exchange ideas.

6.3 Changes and influence

6.3.1 Regulative pillar

National policies

At most institutions in the study it is the perception of the actors that national policies for the internationalisation of higher education have had little or no direct influence on institutional policies or in changing these policies. The national policies on internationalisation are not the main guide for the institutions in their international activities; they will generally set their own course and make use of the national policies when they feel these policies can be of use. An example of this is the use α makes of the Dutch marketing policy, particularly in Asia. This marketing policy helps to make Dutch higher education more known in the countries involved and is supported by scholarship programmes for students coming to the Netherlands. With the start of a special company set up by α (LUWP, see paragraph 5), the institution also started to work on attracting students from several Asian countries. Choosing the same region to work with as in the national policy was more or less a coincidence, as confirmed by a policy officer of α, "although probably not even that strange, as both saw the opportunity rising on the Asian higher education market, where there are many eligible students and a large demand for higher education, but little offer". This part of the national policy has been of some help in attracting foreign students to come to α. Notwithstanding this, α is not dependent on national policies and their influence is limited. "α is following its own drive", stated a board member.

Furthermore, some actors stated that these policies have been of support to their institutional policies, for example by affirming the choices made by the institutions, and/or helping them with the choices made. This is, for example, the case at ε, which wanted to attract more foreign students because national student numbers were declining, and to which the marketing policy has been of help in doing so. "We keep track of the countries selected by the Ministry and when useful adapt to that", explained a policy officer. But again, it is stated by several actors of ε that the national policy is not leading the institutional policy. The same policy officer even stated that "the national policy is sometimes changed halfway, it can be unpredictable," and it can thus not be a main guide.

Actors of other institutions, and from all levels within the institutions, also criticized the national policies on internationalisation, for example because they feel the ministry does not understand what is needed for the internationalisation of higher education. Another,

much heard critique, which is somewhat related to the previous point, concerns the lengthy and costly procedure for obtaining visas and other permits. "This is contradictory to the internationalisation policy of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, as the Ministry also knows," argued a policy officer of α. "The visa procedures sometimes takes so long, that students will only arrive in the Netherlands after the start of the programme they enrolled in", confirmed a policy officer of ε. Furthermore, it is often stated by all types of actors that the costs of the procedure to obtain a visa sends the wrong signal to foreign students and that the costs might cause potential students to choose another country for study which is not as strict or costly in its immigration policy.

Finally, in terms of change and the influence national policies might have on the institutions, ε has had some specific problems in the past with national policies concerning internationalisation. ε was part of the Institutes for International Education. When regulations for the further internationalisation of higher education were developed, it was said that ε was running with the hare and hunting with the hounds and eventually did not receive support through either policy.

Bologna follow up

The introduction of bachelor and master programmes in the Netherlands has led to some changes at the institutions and is perceived by most actors to have a positive influence on internationalisation (see also 2.1). As an actor at α put it, "the bachelor master system does not only open up the European market for higher education, but also the world market".

Actors at ε also very positively perceived the Bologna declaration and the introduction of the bachelor masters system. It is felt that it will be easier to explain abroad what level the programmes offered are. "Before, the Dutch degrees were perceived as a first degree," explained a policy officer of ε. However, the level of alumni was at masters level, which would be a second degree.

Actors at β argued that the introduction of the new two-cycle system has given a boost to internationalisation and the thinking about internationalisation. The change of programmes to the new structure has increased the awareness at β that it needs to operate on a European or international market. The new system also contributed positively to the start-up of the University College, as its Dean stated.

Furthermore, the change of the programme to the bachelor master system has been used by β as a support to achieve other goals in the area of education as well. After the implementation of the bachelor master programmes, a new project was started, as a sort

of follow up, to renew the educational profile of β. This project had 4 main topics: new target groups, curricula, the way of educating and the organisation of education.

The *hogescholen* are more critical towards the choices made concerning the implementation of bachelor and master programmes. They are hoping for a more level playing field in terms of titles and funding in the future. A board member of γ suggested coming to a new type of classification for higher education, such as the Carnegie Classification[7], instead of the current binary system, which should provide more clarity on the content of the programmes and lead to a more level playing field for all the higher education institutions involved.

EU programmes

Most actors state that EU-programmes for education and research have had a positive influence on internationalisation. For example, ERASMUS has provided many Dutch students with the opportunity to go abroad and many students come to the Netherlands using this programme. As one of the deans at β stated, "this was of an impulse to internationalisation at β, as this exchange and first acquaintance with teaching to foreign students made staff enthusiastic about the idea". Furthermore, some actors at departmental level in the institutions stated that the Research Framework Programmes have brought them new foreign contacts, which they would not have got otherwise. This is often also due to the fact that participants from certain countries, which the researchers otherwise probably would not think of including as they had no experience with them, were asked to be included in proposals for the Framework Programmes.

The Research Framework Programmes can also be a guide to the direction of research, as much funding can be obtained through the programme. As a dean of α put it, "the framework programmes do not determine the main direction of the research programme, but it can lead to adjustments. The researchers try to fit in with what is being asked. As the latest framework programmes have a broader objective, it is now easier to fit in research, which was already being done in the organisation; it has become easier to find funds for research already undertaken".

[7] For more information on the Carnegie Classification, see http://www.carnegiefoundation.org/Classification/.

6.3.2 Normative pillar

Background and tradition

Paragraph 6.2 shows that there are different motives and/or influences for internationalisation, partly due to the background of an institution and the disciplines involved. It might be said that ε and α work on internationalisation as part of their institutional tradition, but that the agricultural discipline of ε is also of influence, just as the international orientation of Arts is of influence to δ. Internationalisation at β started under the influence of its geographical location, while γ has only recently increased attention for internationalisation, to which current European and international developments are of influence. Furthermore, the cases of ε, β and to some extent α show that a decrease or expected decrease in student numbers can be a boost to internationalisation of an institution.

Cooperation and competition

Cooperation can come in all sorts of sizes and shapes, and participation can be sought for different reasons as an inventory of all the networks of ε showed (ε in International Consortia). ε Participates in 12 international consortia in different areas. Reasons for participating in international consortia are the exchange of information, to influence the research agenda setting, to contribute to policy formulation as well as establishing partnerships to build critical mass for joint activities in education and research. The investment of staff per consortia differs from 5 to 100 days a year. The financial investment is not known for all the consortia involved, but varies at least from €5,000 to €68,000. The investments are focused on the European consortia and the domain of education. Besides the Euroleague for Life Sciences, the ICA (Inter-University Consortium for Agricultural and related Sciences in Europe) is another consortium in which ε mainly focuses. Investments in research-oriented consortia in Europe and the South are limited.

The inventory made by ε also showed that it is difficult to calculate direct benefits from participation in consortia. Nevertheless, ε concluded that participation in these consortia is important to them, for the reasons stated above, and that they wish to expand their participation in networks as not all areas which they want to cover are covered by their current networks.

Furthermore, cooperation through networks can also be sought at departmental level, for similar reasons as for institution-wide networks. Quite often it is felt at departmental level that the institution-wide networks do not really fit their specific needs or include the faculties they would like to see included. These needs can be better served in more

disciplinary oriented networks. An example of such a network is SARFAL, which was founded by the Faculty of Law of α. Furthermore, as explained by a dean at β, these types of networks can be of specific use in attracting and selecting foreign students. As the dean argued, recruiting with the help of a familiar network has the advantage of more certainty about the quality of students coming into the programme.

Finally, in some cases starting a network can open up opportunities that might otherwise not be available. This was the case with δ, who felt that part of being a higher education institution in Arts included doing research in this area. As mentioned before, this stance was somewhat unusual for Dutch *hogescholen*, especially in the 1980s, and there was no public funding available for this type of activity. δ was able to get involved in (international) research projects through the founding of CITE[8], Centre for International Technology and Education. CITE was set up at the end of the 1980s as a University Enterprise Training Partnership. From the beginning, many projects of CITE, including research-oriented projects and the development of masters programmes, have been funded by the EU. CITE has been a gateway to Brussels for δ. Through these projects CITE has helped to strengthen the international position of δ and their claim of being a specialised institution that offers all types of degrees, including PhD degrees.

6.3.3 Cultural-cognitive pillar

One indicator of the acceptance of ongoing internationalisation at Dutch institutions can be the use of foreign language in teaching. It should be mentioned, however, that acceptance may differ by discipline. For example, at δ, where internationalisation is something very natural, more and more programmes are being taught in English, and this is not really a subject of discussion. It is taken for granted, as δ attracts many foreign students (see 6.2), which fits the general idea that arts are international. However, at most other institutions in the study, teaching in a foreign language, usually English, might be something which central level would like to introduce in order to be able to attract more foreign students, but is also something which usually leads to debates and some protests at departmental level. For example, when α announced that it wanted to offer all master programmes in English, this led to protest from several faculties, such as Philosophy and Law, who argued that in their disciplines teaching in English would not be functional. "German and French are also languages often used in philosophy, and it would not help

[8] Other partners in CITE are: Portsmouth University, Portsmouth, United Kingdom, The London Institute, London, United Kingdom, Universitat de les Illes Balears, Palma de Mallorca, Spain, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, Spain, Centre National de la Bande Dessinée et de l'Image, Angoulême, France, ENSCI Les Ateliers, Paris, France, Dublin Institute of Technology, Dublin, Ireland, University of Art and Design Helsinki, Helsinki, Finland, Merz Akademie, Stuttgart, Germany, The Design Academy, Eindhoven, The Netherlands, University of Glasgow, Glasgow, United Kingdom, NFTS -Createc, United Kingdom.

the quality of teaching to have a Dutchman teach French texts in English. This is a typical case where English is not functional, and where French would be more useful," argued the dean. In the faculty of Law it is sometimes felt that teaching in English is not functional as the object of study, Dutch law, is so national. These kinds of protests have led to an exception to the general rule when English as the language of instruction is not perceived to be functional for the course being taught.

6.4 Organisational responses

In the previous paragraphs reasons why the institutions are working on internationalisation were discussed, as well as their perception of European, international and global developments. The next section focuses on the organisational response of the institutions to the developments and the perceptions of the developments.

6.4.1 Internationalisation activities at the institutions

α has had an international orientation and tradition. Many researchers of α are internationally active and the institution has a good international reputation, mainly based on its research achievements. Leiden also aims for good quality in education. α Wants to use these two assets, international reputation and quality of education, to attract international students. These assets are not being used to make a profit, but to increase revenues and to maintain a sufficient number of students in the years to come as α fears that with the introduction of bachelor and master programmes the number of national masters students will drop. In general, it is felt at α that internationalisation is an important development and the university has a strong ambition in the area of internationalisation, expressed in several policy documents and in the interviews. In this ambition for internationalisation special attention is given to Europe, as α wants to be a leading research-intensive university in Europe.

To attract many international students and further the internationalisation of the institution, α has set up a special organisation to achieve this objective (see next paragraph). α has also undertaken initiatives for cooperation with foreign institutions, such as the LERU. α is working on its international position and is discussing the contribution of staff and students to this goal. The institution is working on international marketing, is changing the language of instruction in certain programmes, participates in international research and is involved in some joint degree programmes.

Internationalisation is something that comes naturally to β, partly due to its geographical location. β is close to both the German and Belgian border and attracting students from the border region has been natural to the UM for a long time. β is currently working on

expanding its view. It wants to go from "Euregional to international", with a special interest in Europe. One of the reasons for this expansion is the changes the introduction of the bachelor-master system are expected to bring, especially the master programmes. β Expects that mobility, both within and outside the Netherlands, after obtaining a bachelor degree will increase. If β wants to maintain, or even strengthen, its current position, the number of masters students needs to increase. β Is also working on further internationalising the curriculum as for example the faculty of law has done with the European Law School (Faculteit der Rechtsgeleerdheid Maastricht, 2004).

Part of the precondition for recruiting more international students is changing the language of instruction to English. As the recruitment of international students is mainly aimed at the master programmes, β has decided to increase the number of English taught master programmes. β is aiming for a minimum of 50% of the master programmes and 50% of the PhD programmes being taught in English by 2005.

β is also one of the partners in the ALMA-network, which is a cooperation between the four universities in Euregion Meuse-Rhine and was set up in 1991. Other universities in this network are the University of Aachen (Germany), University of Liége (French-speaking Belgium) and Diepenbeek (Dutch-speaking Belgium). β Also works together with a Flemish university in the Transnational University Limburg.

Furthermore, β has set up a new college to offer a broadly oriented international programme, the University College (UC). This college offers an internationally oriented bachelors programme, to which staff from the whole of β contributes courses. All courses are in English and the student body is very international. The UC currently has 150 students of 28 different nationalities. The goal is to enrol 50% Dutch students and 50% foreign students, which at the moment is 40-60 respectively.

γ Does not have a long tradition in internationalisation. Internationalisation was put on the agenda of γ at the end of the 1990s and has since received increasing attention. Several policy documents on internationalisation have been published over the last few years and the topic is being referred to in general policy documents as well (see for example *Idealisme in learning communities, Fontysstrategie 2003-2005*, and *Fontys Internationaliseringsbeleid*, *2003*). In the strategy for the coming years, it is stated that γ (as well as other *hogescholen*) will experience the impact of national higher education policy becoming more and more situated in a European perspective and influenced by European developments, such as the Bologna Declaration. Furthermore, in its latest policy document on internationalisation, γ expresses that it wants to be an important actor on both the national and international market for education and training.

Further objectives in internationalisation have been set along three lines. First, γ wants to work on the internationalisation of its regular programmes, such as by internationalising the curriculum, internationalisation at home, increasing student-and staff-mobility and making the programmes more internationally transparent with the help of the introduction of ECTS and a diploma supplement. A second line is the gradual increase in German and English taught programmes for foreign students. This should help to improve the position of γ in the international market and opens up possibilities for cooperation with foreign institutions. Furthermore, these programmes can help to sustain the total number of students at γ, if the inflow of national students might drop. Third, γ wants to be active in international projects for third parties and to conduct projects in developing countries.

From the start in 1987, the general viewpoint at δ has been that, by its nature, art is international. It crosses all sorts of borders, and not just the borders of countries. Art is influenced by, and reflects on changes on a global scale and a global society with its different cultures all over the world. At δ this is referred to as inter-culturalisation. Although art might be influenced by global developments and different cultures, some feel that art at δ is still very typical of Western European culture. The actions taken by δ to work on internationalisation are described in the *Beleidsplan Internationale Zaken 1998-2002* (Policy International Relations 1998-2002), which is currently being updated. In this policy it is expressed that δ wants to be an international *Hogeschool*, which not only has a place in Utrecht and the Netherlands, but also in the world. This is in line with the idea of art being international by nature. It implies a certain self-evidence in maintaining and undertaking international contacts, the presence of foreign staff and students, mobility abroad for study and work, knowledge of international developments and functioning in multilingual situations. This furthermore implies that δ undertakes many activities to work on the internationalisation of the institution, such as participating in international networks, introducing the European Credit Transfer System, support for international internships, the intake of foreign students in regular first degree programmes and so on.

Traditionally, ε has a strong international character. The agricultural discipline brings this to the University, but also the historical background of the university. ε has had an interest in development aid to third world countries, sometimes referred to as the South, especially in the former Dutch colonies, in which agriculture was an important economical activity. Through these activities many researchers in ε have established contacts with foreign colleagues.

Over time the objectives of the internationalisation of ε have changed. Just after World War II the emphasis was placed on the question of where in the world agricultural products were being produced. In the next period, starting in the 1960's, the focus of

internationalisation shifted to development aid and capacity building in third world countries. At first, the countries involved were mainly the former Dutch colonies, but this has since expanded. Nowadays, students are recruited from many countries, with a newly added emphasis on Europe. Development aid is no longer the main objective; it is now also to increase the income of ε and to increase the number of students, as the number of national students was dropping. The internationalisation of education has received renewed attention at ε. The decrease in student numbers and the introduction of the bachelor-master system in the Netherlands were the main reasons for this renewed attention. Some respondents even refer to internationalisation and attracting foreign students as a survival strategy for ε, as the national market is decreasing.

ε has integrated its international programmes into its regular master programmes with the change to the bachelor-master system. ε Had already started the integration before the change to the new system by teaching similar parts of both the international and regular programme to both groups of students at the same time. The integration is much more efficient than teaching the same course twice. Furthermore, the integration means that all master programmes at ε are now taught in English.

ε Is actively involved in the Euroleague for Life Sciences (Euroleague, 2004), which is a network of universities working in the field of life sciences. Finally, ε is also involved in joint degree programmes (through the Euroleague) or joint provision of programmes, such as a programme with the Chinese Agricultural University (Bsc Food technology, 2004).

6.5 The impact on the building blocks

6.5.1 Social structure

The institutions in the study are working both top down and bottom up on internationalisation. In general, the central level will set out the general policies and try to create the right conditions for the departments to function in, while the departments provide input to these policies. The central boards regularly meet with deans and/or directors to tune the general policies and in some cases, as at β, the deans of the faculties are part of the management team or, as in the case of δ, the chairs of the faculties meet on a weekly basis to together determine the general policy of the institution. Close cooperation between central level and heads of departments has the advantage, according to some of the respondents, of the heads of departments becoming more committed to the institutional policy and more strongly defending this policy in their own departments, if necessary.

In four of the five institutions, the general structure of the organisation concerning internationalisation is as follows. The central board, with the help of policy officers, sets out the general institutional internationalisation policy. At central level there is usually what is called an international office, providing practical support to staff and students, as well as advice to the central board. Usually, there will also be support staff at sub-central level.

In some cases there is (also) a project team within the institution, which works on new initiatives in internationalisation as for example at ε. At ε, a project team initiated new policy and made an inventory of all relevant information concerning internationalisation. The project team includes a policy officer for internationalisation, a general policy officer, support staff involved in the Erasmus programme and representatives from all the schools. The representatives from the schools are also responsible for implementing the project objectives in their own schools.

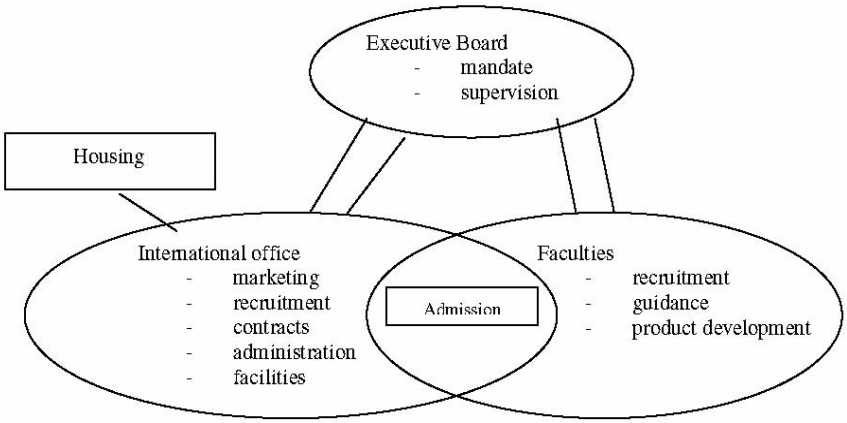
The situation is different at α, which presents an interesting alternative and perhaps a somewhat unexpected approach for a more traditional research university. At central level of α there are two units working on internationalisation: Leiden University Worldwide Programmes (LUWP) and the international office (IO). LUWP was set up in 1999 to recruit foreign students and to market in foreign countries master programmes offered by α. It was set up as a private enterprise (B.V.), because it was felt that in order to achieve quickly the ambitions set out, a dynamic and new organisation was needed. This could not be achieved if the standing organisation at α did not change. Considering the ambitions that were set, a private enterprise, not bound by the bureaucratic burden of a university, seemed a good and practical choice. In 2003 the LUWP was evaluated and it appears that the organisation has been successful in its work: "With 400 international students, LUWP is one year ahead of recruitment targets" (Evaluatie, 2003: 3). But there is also still much to be gained. Some faculties are rather critical about the functioning of LUWP, which appears to be the result of insufficient communication between LUWP and the faculties and the lack of transparency for the costs LUWP incurs in recruiting students and the costs the faculties themselves incur for the international programmes. The faculties feel they have to pay too much to LUWP. The IO is the more traditional unit in the university organisation working on international cooperation and exchange. This unit is responsible for EU scholarship-programmes as well as other international scholarship-programmes.

The IO is also the admissions office for international students who want to enrol in bachelor and master programmes taught in Dutch and has some facilitating responsibilities such as housing for international students.

Both the Stuurgroep Internationalisering en Onderwijs and the Evaluation Committee have recommended combining the tasks of the LUWP and the IO in one unit, in which the dynamic culture of LUWP is upheld (Evaluatie, 2003: 4). This should help to simplify the communication with the faculties and students, as they will avoid duplication by having just one office for all information. This merger is currently being discussed. Part of this discussion is the legal status of the unit: whether it should be a private enterprise like the LUWP or a unit within the regular university organisation.

The Stuurgroep has presented a new organisational structure for internationalisation at α. In this structure both the faculties and the new international office play an important role and they need to cooperate in recruitment and admission. The new organisation is currently under debate at α.

Figure 6.1 Organisation of internationalisation (Stuurgroep Internationalisation en Onderwijs)



6.5.2 Goals

As most institutions in the study have been working on internationalisation for a long period of time, a shift in objectives and goals concerning internationalisation can be seen. The institutions are broadening and expanding their activities and/or view. Activities now include student and staff exchange, internationalising curricula, international cooperation as well as attracting foreign students. Increasing the number of foreign students is an explicit goal for ε (see below), β, α and γ. Both β and α fear that with the new bachelor and master programmes students might leave after obtaining a bachelor degree and that it will be difficult to attract enough master students on the national market. Therefore, they are expanding their recruiting area. At γ it is also stated that attracting foreign students can help to sustain the total of number students, if the inflow of national students drops in the future.

At δ the total application of students already exceeds the possible intake of students, which means that δ does not have an explicit interest in increasing the number of foreign students, also because there are already quite a lot foreign students.

An interesting example of shifts in objectives over time is provided at ε, as explained by several actors. Just after World War II the emphasis was placed by ε on the question where in the world agricultural products were being produced. In the next period, starting in the 1960's, the focus of internationalisation shifted to development aid and capacity building in third world countries. At first, the countries involved were mainly the former Dutch colonies, but this has since then expanded. Nowadays, students are recruited from many countries, with a newly added emphasis on Europe. Development aid is no longer the main objective; it is now also to increase the income of ε and to increase the number of students, as the number of national students was dropping. Some actors at ε even refer to internationalisation and attracting foreign students as a survival strategy for ε, as the national student market in agriculture and life sciences is decreasing.

6.5.3 Participants

A short description of the participants in the organisation concerning internationalisation was already provided above. This description shows that support staff at both central and non-central level are usually involved in internationalisation. Academic staff are often involved in the internationalisation of research and might also be involved in the internationalisation of education, but this is, in general, less common than being involved in international research. Furthermore, the cases of δ and ε show that the more internationalisation is taken for granted, the more staff are likely to be involved. In these two institutions it is argued that internationalisation is something in which practically all members of staff, both support and academic, are involved.

All institutions in the study have a support office at central level that helps both students and academic staff in internationalisation. This office can also provide support to non-central support staff in internationalisation, as is for example the case at γ. Furthermore, generally the central office will keep other staff, in particular at non-central levels, informed about international developments and are often involved in institutional policies for internationalisation. These central support offices are also the ones responsible for the administration of most scholarship programmes.

6.5.4 Technology

As a response to the developments described above and to attract foreign students (a central goal of many of the institutions in the study) many new technologies have been introduced as well as introductions to changes in technology. The approaches and activities of the institutions differ slightly; although the general line is that the institutions are changing their programmes or setting up new programmes in which foreign students can enrol.

One option, chosen by ε, when changing to bachelor and master programmes, is to integrate international programmes into regular programmes, in which both foreign and Dutch students can be taught simultaneously. ε Had already started the integration before the change to the new two-tier system by teaching similar parts of both the international and regular programmes to both national and international students at the same time. The integration is much more efficient than teaching the same course twice. Furthermore, the integration means that all master programmes at ε are now taught in English, and a policy officer concluded that "this means that the entire organisation is now involved in internationalisation".

Another option is to set up joint degrees, as for example has been done for European Studies at α together with Bilgi University in Istanbul, Turkey. It must, however, be said, that α also feels that these type of programmes should not be a priority, as their objectives can often also be achieved in other ways. Joint-degree-programmes are often quite costly for students and difficult to set up, because of national rules and regulations in the two (or more) countries involved (Stuurgroep Internationalisering en Onderwijs, 2003). The experience of β with TUL has also shown some of the problems in dealing with more than one set of national rules and regulations. ε Has also set up a programme jointly provided with the Chinese Agricultural University (CAU). Some institutions, such as γ, are providing programmes (bachelor or master) for only foreign students. γ Offers several bachelor programmes in English or German.

An institution may also decide to set up a new unit to offer an internationally oriented programme to attract an international student body, which β has done with the University College (UC). This college offers an internationally oriented bachelors programme, to which staff from the whole of β contributes courses. All courses are taught in English and the student body is very international. The UC currently has 150 students with 28 different nationalities. "The goal is to have 50% Dutch students and 50% foreign, which at the moment is 40-60 respectively" states the Dean of UC.

The institutions in the study are all aware of the fact that sufficient command of the foreign language, by both staff and students, is necessary to maintain a good quality of education. This is why students often need to pass a language test before entering a programme and language courses are available for staff.

6.6 Fostering and impeding factors in internationalisation in the organisation

Fostering or impeding national policies and regulation

General higher education policies and regulation might be impeding the internationalisation of higher education in some cases, as the experience of β with the Transnational University has shown. The tUL is a cooperation between β and a university in Belgium and can be seen as a new university with a basis in two countries. tUL offers programmes in life sciences and information technology. However, a board member of β explained that it has proved to be very difficult to come to far-reaching cooperation when having to deal with two different sets of rules and regulations in two different countries, "… it is impossible to work with two regulations". National regulations can thus be a major obstacle to internationalisation and deregulation is needed to solve these problems and to simplify far-reaching cooperation between two institutions from different countries.

To remedy this disadvantage the bachelor educational programmes have been put under either β or the Belgian university. Notwithstanding the administrative measures, co-operation continues.

On the other hand, what at first appear to be impeding and constraining national policies and regulations to higher education can also lead to an increase in international contact as the case of δ shows. δ Wants to be a specialised institution offering bachelors, masters and PhD degrees, as is perceived by the actors at δ to be common in the education of arts in other countries, but not for Dutch *hogescholen*. Before the introduction of the bachelor-master system in the Netherlands, δ could not offer officially recognised and validated masters or PhD degrees on its own. To be able to offer these degrees, they had to seek foreign (English) partners, which led to the so-called u-turn-constructions. The masters degrees were awarded through these English partners. One faculty of δ has even seen its first PhD graduate with the help of an institution in the UK, which is quite unusual for a Dutch *hogeschool*.

Furthermore, at the end of the 1990s, δ sought and obtained accreditation by the English Open University (OU), meaning that they are now able to offer OU-validated programmes. Although with the introduction of the bachelor-master system and the accreditation-scheme δ could seek accreditation within the Dutch national framework, they will, for the

time being, continue the relationship and accreditation with institutions in the United Kingdom. δ First wants to see how the new situation in the Netherlands develops, although cooperation with the university in the same city as δ is sought. It could be that in the future δ will become an independent part of this university (persbericht UU: www.uu.nl/uupublish/omeuu/nieuwsenagenda/183main.html nd www.psau.nl).

Fostering or impeding factors in HEIs

The growing interest of most staff members at the institutions in the study is perceived as a factor that is fostering internationalisation. Quite often once somebody gets started with internationalisation, other staff members will see the benefits it can bring them and will join the early birds.

Most other fostering factors to internationalisation can become impeding factors when the institutions do not handle them correctly. Three such factors that are often mentioned by actors from all levels of the institutions are available funds, command of a foreign language and investment of time. Internationalisation can cost a lot of money, for example travelling expenses, and if sufficient funds are available this can obviously help internationalisation, whereas insufficient funds will have the opposite effect. Offering programmes in a language spoken by many people all over the world, such as English, open up programmes to these people and thus foster internationalisation. However, insufficient command of the language by either staff or students can lead to a loss in quality of education. Many staff members feel they do not have enough time to invest in internationalisation. Many still see internationalisation as something they have to do next to their regular activities and investing time in internationalisation then means reduced time for other activities. If staff have (more) time available for internationalisation, this could foster internationalisation instead of impeding it, which the lack of time is doing.

Finally, another impeding factor often mentioned by many respondents is the availability of housing for foreign students. Quite often it is very difficult to find sufficient housing for foreign students coming to study at one of the institutions. One department of γ actually had to house some of its students on a camping side outside of Eindhoven, explained the director of this department. γ Is hoping to solve this problem together with the Technical University Eindhoven and the municipality of Eindhoven. Similar cases can be found with some of the other institutions.

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Wageningen UR in Internationale Consortia.

3.6. Chapter 7. Internationalisation and academic hierarchies in Greece: culture, power and agency

Gitsa Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides, George Stamelos and Yiouli Papadiamantaki

7.1 Institutional profiles and history: Internationalisation policies and activities

The Greek sample included four universities and one technological education institution that differ substantially with respect to size, history, location, scientific fields and prominence of teaching or research activities. Differences between the university and the technological education (TEI) sectors have led to different perceptions of and responses to internationalisation and Europeanisation. As will become clear in this chapter, historical circumstances, networks developed by academics (varying by discipline) and the prominence of disciplines/faculties have played an important role in the internationalisation activities. Internationalisation activities are related to an institution's positioning in the informal national hierarchy of HEIs and are promoted if they are enhancing the status of the HEI/faculty nationally and in the EU. According to the ranking of university student applicants, α is the most prestigious, followed by β2, followed by β1.

7.1.1 HEI α: istorical links with ethnic Greeks and recent developments

α Exemplifies the "national comprehensive" university. It is the oldest and largest Greek university, is prestigious and safeguards its traditions. Nearly all scientific fields are included. The university comprises five schools and five independent faculties. Humanities are prominent and health sciences are particularly strong. Over 60 postgraduate programmes are offered.

Up to 1920, α enrolled a high percentage of ethnic Greeks (Tsoukalas, 1987: 433-434). Historically, α catered for the needs of communities established in South Eastern Europe: the "Greek irredenta". The attraction policy for ethnic Greeks was an indispensable part of the international dimension of the state education policy in the 19th and early 20th centuries. It consisted in the exposure of ethnic Greeks to "national ideals" which they spread upon their return to the Greek irredenta (Papadiamantaki, 2001:109). So α was the locus of training of the Greek intellectual elite. The academics were usually educated in Europe, and later on in the US and the UK, and they were called to formulate the national discourse and "serve the social reproduction of a geographic space that exceeded the borders of the Greek State" (Tsoukalas, 1987: 443).

University α enrols a significant number of full course foreign students either allocated by the Ministry of Education (undergraduate level) or selected by the faculties (postgraduate

level). The numbers enrolled relate to existing quotas for foreign students and the limited resources.

α Has mechanisms for the management of international affairs and student mobility, even prior to the inauguration of EU student mobility schemes. It operates the oldest Greek language centre for instruction of Greek to foreign students. In the 1990s an independent Erasmus section was established within the International Relations Office to monitor the mobility of Erasmus students. α also has a separate Office to inform academics on European R&D programmes. The university participates in most EU programmes (Leonardo, Tempus, Jean Monnet) and Socrates actions (Erasmus, Minerva, Lingua and Grundtvig). It has many inter-university bilateral agreements, including countries in the Asia/Pacific region. However, the university leadership assigns importance to international activities that target ethnic Greeks and Greeks abroad. Such activities are perceived as compatible with the university's mission. To this end, α funds two programmes: THYESPA and Helladia. Other internationalisation activities are low on the university's policy agenda and seen as peripheral to the university's mission.

The leadership considers the SYLFF Programme (Ryoichi Sasakawa Young Leaders Fellowship Fund), offering scholarships for studies in Japan, to be a successful example of "co-operation with a far away country". In the period 1993-2002, 102 postgraduate students have received SYLFF scholarships (Panorama, 2002: 360).

As a matter of policy, α encourages faculties to develop their own initiatives. A high degree of loose-coupledness in the administration of internationalisation activities, personal initiative and contextual resources contribute to the development of some interesting activities in specific fields of study, promoting internationalisation of the curriculum, student and staff mobility. As examples one may cite:

- The MPhil in Economics, now an integral component of the PhD programme of the Faculty of Economics. The programme has four innovative features: all courses are given in English; the academic staff is highly internationalised; admission standards are very high; funding is provided by "sponsorships", not state funds. It is offered to students free of charge aiming to attract high quality students, both Greek and foreign. This is an impressive development, since the operation expenses of the programme are well above average.

- The Masters programme on Education and Human Rights offered by the Faculty of Early Childhood Education and the Institute of Education, University of London. The programme promotes internationalisation of the curriculum, students and the teaching staff. It includes courses at the IoE, where students spend two trimesters.

- The Masters' programme in South Eastern European Studies in the Faculty of Political Sciences and Public Administration in cooperation with ten universities from Balkan and Eastern European countries. The programme, set up with initial funding from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, addresses international students from all the universities involved. All courses are in English.

International activities in teaching are not generated in the most prestigious faculties, such as Medicine and Law. They are generated in medium-prestige faculties, with dynamic and aspiring professors. It is possible that the willingness to work towards such programmes reveals the capacity and the aspiration of middle-prestige faculties to ameliorate their positioning in the university hierarchy (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides et al 2000a: 10-11). Prestigious faculties with an interest in internationalisation (e.g. Medicine) are extensively involved in large-scale, competitive research projects. Three out of the four academics interviewed in the faculty of Medicine are involved in research funded by the US, Canada and Australia and to a lesser extent by the EU (5th Framework Programme).

One respondent pointed out that "the extensive funding necessary for the development of research projects in the field of Medicine favours collaboration with the US. Lack of funding mechanisms hampers collaboration with Eastern European countries" (non EU members). Only in the domain of accident prevention has such collaboration been developed, through participation in the WHONET, (the network of the World Health Organisation for the Surveillance of Antimicrobial Resistance). This consists of quality control procedures and an electronic code and data format in hospitals through the use of the WHONET software.

7.1.2 HEI β1: A culture of "brain exchange", transfer of knowledge and research orientation

β1 Is a relatively young spilt-campus comprehensive university, located on an island. One campus comprises the faculties of Science and Medicine and another the faculties of Philology, Social Sciences and Education. β1 Has an accentuated scientific and even technological orientation, despite the fact that it does not include engineering. Since the 1980s β1 has grown significantly, in terms of student, staff and scientific fields. The University actively promotes an international and European profile in teaching and research and promotes Erasmus student mobility schemes.

The establishment of β1 coincided with the development of research institutions. The central policy to promote research was reinforced by academics and is reflected in the university's structure, especially in Medicine and the Sciences. This was reinforced by The

Foundation of Technology and Research (FORTH-HELLAS) comprising eight specialised research institutes. These participate in spin-off companies and joint ventures with industrial partners. FORTH-HELLAS institutes are independent. They nevertheless participate in the development of interdisciplinary postgraduate programmes, especially in Medicine and Science. The institutes cater for the research activities of academics, grant fellowships, and are involved in training researchers.

β1 Is an example of "brain-exchange" and of the possibilities of the university system to profit from a pool of Greek scientists abroad (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides et al 2004:198). Upon the university's establishment a large number of Greeks employed at US universities were invited to join the academic staff of β1, on joint appointments. Academics used the experience acquired in the U.S. Facilitated by the MoE policies and the Law framework of the 1980s, β1 adopted a collegial faculty structure. Science Faculties structured postgraduate programmes on the U.S. model with a full course curriculum, laboratory rotations and qualifying examinations.

Some faculties designed strategies to enhance the status and competitiveness of new departments in the university system. In the Faculty of Biology: "in terms of subject matter, the emphasis was placed on areas in which a critical mass of internationally competitive faculty could be attracted, and which offered the possibility to play a pioneering role in higher education. Focal areas included molecular genetics, cell and developmental biology, marine biology, applied biology and biotechnology". The faculty is in contact with Harvard University and the University of Southern California, where two Professors held joint appointments.

Currently β1 promotes an international rather than European approach to internationalisation, as academics do not wish, neither conceptually nor pragmatically, an exclusive emphasis on Europe (Scot, 1998:93). The EPS specifies that the "links of the university are mainly in Europe but also extend to US, Australian and Middle Eastern academic institutions"… "The Faculty of Medicine and the School of Sciences have agreements with US universities involving clinical clerkships and laboratory activities. The Faculty of Medicine is active the Thematic Network on Medical Education, the Platon programme and the 5th Framework. Recent collaborations include universities in East Europe".

In the 1990s, β1 set up a European Relations Office to handle the administration of EU programmes. The Office has expanded, employing six officers to handle increased international exchanges. The Institutional Contract, the yearly reports on Socrates activities and the conclusion of inter-university bilateral agreements are the main activities

of the office. β1 was the first Greek university to top-up EU Erasmus scholarships by a supplementary university scholarship. The university develops student exchanges with the US (EU-US agreement for educational co-operation).

The Zeus programme is a joint initiative of β1 and a New York based Greek professor, consisting of summer courses in the fields of History, Archaeology, and Medicine. β1 belongs to the small percentage of European universities that develop Open and Distance Learning (Kehm et al, 1998:36).

Research is based on the links of academics with EU networks and international organisations. Such networks have developed over time, through participation of academics in research, or conferences; joint appointments in Greek and foreign institutions; consultancy work for international organisations or appointment at EU posts. For example, both the current and the previous presidents of FORTH-HELLAS, members of the Faculty of Computer Science in β1, have served on committees of the European Commission contributing to R&D policy formation. Similar links have been developed by most academics that seek participation in research projects.

Science faculties promote the mobility of doctoral candidates and young researchers (TMR project) and the development of an attraction policy of top postgraduate students (Greek and foreign). All postgraduate students participating in research projects receive a fellowship (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides et al 2000a: 16-17). This is highly unusual for Greece, where PhD candidates are students (not part of the academic staff) and do not receive any remuneration.

The prestigious faculties in β1 (ranking suggested by interviewed academics) primarily promote internationalisation activities. They appear very active in research. This indicates that these faculties succeed in ameliorating the positioning of the respective faculties and university in the national hierarchy (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides et al 2000a: 17-18).

7.1.3 HEI β2: The modernising policy framework I: Technical orientation

β2 Is the third largest university. It comprises five schools and 22 faculties serving most scientific fields. It is a comprehensive university, with prominent engineering (and science) orientation and tradition. The technical orientation of the university is related to the history of the institution and its establishment in the framework of the education policy of the 1960s.

The original plan proposed by the OECD foresaw an international orientation for the university, suggesting that courses could be taught in English (OECD, 1965). According to the cold war ideology, β2 would be attractive for students from developing countries,

reducing student flows towards Soviet block countries (Pesmatzoglou, 1995: 67). The university was expected to function as a bridge between Greece and the Middle East. The World Bank provided funding and set conditions concerning the technical orientation of the curriculum, and the mode of organisation, which would be based on the collegiate department system (Vergides, 1982: 23). Such a modern university was attractive to academics who had studied in the US.

β2 Supports participation in EU programmes. To this end it established (1992) an International Relations Office. The reorganisation of Erasmus as a Socrates action, led to an increase in the personnel of the International Relations Office and the formation of a more concrete university level policy. β2 Established KEDEK, a centre for the instruction of the Greek language to foreign students. KEDEK is an instance of State policy implemented through Universities and is funded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education to promote the Greek language abroad (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides et al., 2000a: 10-11). Full course foreign students pay a fee; Erasmus students follow the courses for free, according to the terms of Socrates. The internationalisation goals of β2 relate to its origins and research orientation: "the University enjoys a reputation for innovation and certain faculties…have been named Centres of Excellence through independent international evaluations" (EPS, 2003: 2). The internationalisation activities of β2 include:

(a) nternationalisation of the curriculum in the framework of the national needs. β2 has upgraded several undergraduate programmes, and is examining the possibility of introducing courses in English;

(b) tudent mobility; and

(c) articipation in research in interdisciplinary fields that are identified as offering β2 a competitive edge at international level. These are: biotechnology, environment, telecommunications, informatics, systems engineering, automation systems and robotics, medical physics, bioengineering, advanced materials, and education. The university is well prepared to participate fully in the 6th Framework Research Programme. In view of participation in the European Research Area, the University has established the Information Society Committee, which drafts university strategy in relation to new technologies and sets up mechanisms for their introduction in the learning process.

According to academics in β2, the Faculties of Chemical Engineering are 100% research oriented and their teaching activities are somehow downgraded. A similar orientation is evident in the Faculties of Computer Engineering and Informatics and of Chemistry. To

facilitate research, academics of the Faculty of Chemical Engineering established (1984) the Institute of Chemical Engineering and High Temperature Chemical Processes (ICE-HT) as an independent research institute. In 1987 ICE-HT was incorporated into the structure of FORTH-HELLAS (network with β1 and one more Greek university). FORTH-HELLAS promotes internationalisation in teaching, through interdisciplinary, inter-departmental and inter-university postgraduate programmes in which they are active partners:

- The Programme in Applied Molecular Spectroscopy in the Faculty of Chemistry β1, in collaboration with the Faculties of Chemistry in α, Chemical Engineering in β2, The FORTH-HELLAS Institute of Electronic Structure and Lasers and The National Hellenic Research Foundation.

- The Programme in Brain and Mind Sciences offered by the Faculties of Medicine, Computer Science, Physics, Philosophy and Social Studies in β1, in collaboration with the Faculties of Nursing, Philosophy and History of Science in α, and The FORTH-HELLAS Institutes of Computer Science and of Applied and Computational Mathematics.

- The Programme in Molecular Biology and Biomedicine, offered by the Faculty of Medicine and the Department of Biology of β1 in collaboration with the FORTH-HELLAS, Institute of Molecular Biology and Biotechnology. The institute also provides PhD candidates with fellowships, infrastructure, laboratory space and scientific guidance.

Internationalisation activities include prestigious faculties and middle-prestige faculties. β2 sees internationalisation in teaching and research as a means to attain a higher positioning in the informal hierarchy of universities (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides et al., 2000a: 14).

7.1.4 HEI δ: Internationalisation as Europeanisation in teaching and research

δ Is an economics university and the third oldest HEI in Greece. Currently δ comprises eight faculties. It has an almost exclusively European orientation. Located in the centre of Athens it is the most prominent specialised university. The education reform of 1982 foresaw the reorganisation of University Education Schools into specialised universities. Since 1996, under the policy of the expansion of access to higher education, new faculties (and postgraduate programmes) have been added. δ Was the first Greek HEI to introduce Master programmes in Economics and Business Administration in 1978. Extreme importance is assigned to the development of competitive, high quality postgraduate programmes. Today it offers twenty Master's and five PhD programmes.

δ Has always "played a prominent role in the economic, social and political life of the country" (university website). δ, which traditionally had links with prominent private sector organisations and banks, is recently developing links with political parties, following the appointment of academics in the post of Minister of Economic Affairs.

In the 1990s, δ attracted faculty with links with UK universities (Oxford, Cambridge, London) and scientists that worked with the EC. This contributed to the development of a European orientation in teaching and research and extensive participation in 5th and 6th Framework research programmes. δ established a Research Centre to support research in the fields of economics, management and computing. Today δ develops links with the US and Canada in parallel with internationalisation through EU programmes. Currently δ's internationalisation activities include:

- Promotion of Erasmus mobility. δ Is making all efforts to offer outgoing Erasmus students extra grants and to provide full guidance to students planning to study abroad. Course recognition will be guaranteed through learning agreements and transcripts according to ECTS rules. Fees are waived for incoming Erasmus students in the framework of bilateral agreements. All Erasmus activities will be supported financially in order to ensure sustainability (EPS Statement).

- Full institutional support to academics involved in trans-national cooperation projects. δ Encourages and gives credit to academics involved in study programmes, intensive programmes and curriculum development. It also encourages incoming academics, who enrich the knowledge of non-mobile students in topics emphasising the European dimension" (EPS Statement).

- Provision of courses in English to facilitate incoming students and secure exchanges in the framework of the institutional contract.

7.1.5 HEI γ: The modernising policy framework II: Technical and vocational training

γ Is the largest TEI (Technological Education Institution) in Greece, located in Athens. It is organised in five Schools, comprising 37 faculties. Until recently, TEIs constituted an education level lower than universities. They operated on different statutes, did not offer postgraduate studies and their teaching staff did not possess doctorates. Most of the TEI staff were not involved in research and had limited publications. Recently TEIs have been authorised to conduct research and to participate in postgraduate programmes as partners of universities. γ offers postgraduate studies organised jointly with UK universities (Manchester, Westminster and Strathclyde).

The internationalisation activities of γ relate exclusively to the EU framework and Erasmus: The EPS states: "We have ECTS guides in more than half of our Faculties and we are working on the guides of the rest of the Faculties to facilitate implementation of the Bologna process. A measure to encourage incoming students and teaching staff is our International Programme; a full semester (30 ECTS credits) offered in English in Marketing". Recognition of the study period is ensured through learning agreements. Quality control and evaluation is achieved through questionnaires and personal contact with students. Academic supervisors sign learning agreements if the proposed studies are on the same (or a higher) level than studies in Athens. To all incoming exchange students a course in Modern Greek is offered free of charge.

TEIs were established in 1982. They succeeded the Centres for Higher Technical and Vocational Training (KATEE), which operated up to 1970. They were established to redirect the demand for university education upon a World Bank proposal that the education system should act as a lever for economic development (Pesmatzoglou, 1995: 97). The World Bank Staff Appraisal Report (Worldbank, 1978: 15-16) states: "The traditional education system, oriented towards the Humanities and Classical Studies, must be reoriented towards modern, technical education to cover the needs in human capital". As a result of harmonisation of Greek to EU legislation, (directive 48/89 and the Bologna process), TEIs were repositioned in 2001 in the education system, as "new universities". However, the history and origins of TEIs are different from those of universities.

Table 7.1. Basic data on selected cases (2000/01)

	α	β	γ	δ	ε
Fouding Year	1837	1970	1960	1920	1982
Education Sector	University Comprehen-sive	University Comprehen-sive	University Comprehen-sive	University Specialised	Technological Education Institution
Disciplines	All Disciplines except Engineering and Agricultural Studies	Most Disciplines including Medicine, Prominence of Natural Sciences	Most Disciplines including Medicine, Prominence of Engineering	Economics	
National or Regional orientation	National orientation	National orientation	National orientation	National orientation	Regional orientation
Schools/ Locations*	1	2 (split-campus)	1	1	1
Departments/ Under-graduate Study programmes*	31	21	17	8	32
Total Enrolment*	61.460	9.392	15.356	9.027	n.a.
Students Regularly Registered in Seminars*/ Percentage of total AEI or TEI student Population	37.055 (27,5%)	8.769 (3,90%)	10.354 (7,01%)	5.927 (4,01%)	(16.420)*
Full course foreign students**	2.685 (7,24%)	418 (7,24%)	694 (4,52%)	592 (9,98%)	8.010 (12,24%)
Outgoing Erasmus mobility****	390 (1,3%)	77 (1,6%)	39 (0,4%)	132 (2,7%)	134 (1,1%)

* Source: National Statistical Service of Greece

** Source: Ministry of Education. Note: The MoE allocates foreign students to the HEIs. Full course foreign students are calculated as a percentage of the regularly registered students.

*** Source: European and/or International Relations Offices of the HEIs under study.

**** Source: I.K.Y. (Greek Scholarships Foundation). Percentages are calculated on the number of eligible Erasmus Students, i.e. regularly registered students that have completed the first year of studies.

The absolute numbers for the year 2001-2002 are α 29.182, β1 4.657, β2 8.831, δ 4.893 and γ 12.867.

Last available data for the year 1998-99

7.2 Perceptions and views on internationalisation

Most academics view globalisation as a negative development resulting from economic competition in higher education. They associate it with the commercialisation of education and the prevalence of the American and the British models of education, according to which universities should become businesses, treating students as clients. Globalisation is also associated with GATS, and some academics consider as its impact the operation of Free Studies Centres: "business institutions related one way or another to (mainly UK) universities". The Greek higher education system is protected from globalisation influences, as the current law considers the operation of such organisations as against the law (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides et al., 2004: 209-10). Despite the conditions of financial stringency under which universities operate, it would be unthinkable to consider teaching as a money-making activity. Such a position is contrary to the principle of free education provided by the Constitution and is valued by academics.

There is no clear perception of the differences between Europeanisation and internationalisation. Internationalisation is seen positively, mainly as international cooperation among HEIs. It is perceived as a term broader than Europeanisation encompassing all activities that promote education, science and cultural understanding worldwide. Europeanisation is associated with EU policies and is seen as fostering both cooperation among higher education institutions and competition, mainly between the EU and elite US universities, but also among European universities.

7.2.1 The regulative pillar and power as rules

To clarify how institutions affect universities we first describe the influence of the legal framework on the spread of power and authority across university levels. Universities share a common legally set mode of organisation, which prescribes a detailed framework for their function, leading to similarities in their social structure. In Greece the law is understood as granting power and authority to social actors, restraining their behaviour at the same time. In the Roman tradition the law provides a framework within which provisions are detailed to the point of direct application. In cases where the law is not specific enough, it is usual to request the appropriate authorities to define the specificities of meaning and the practices to be followed.

The line of decision-making is based on administrative and executive bodies of academics and includes representatives of the other social actors, (students and administrative personnel). The power accorded to academics is based on the following provisions:

- The Senate sets university policies. It may delegate its decision-making authority to the executive body, the Rectors' Council. The extent to which decision powers are delegated to the Rectors' Council relates to the history, origins and structural characteristics of each HEI. Both bodies are loci of significant power; they control the distribution of funding, suggest to the MoE the establishment of new faculties and adopt central policies.

- Top managerial, executive and administrative functions are positions of power and authority. They are performed by high-ranking, tenured academics elected to the posts. To be elected in such posts an academic needs the support of

- Colleagues. Therefore the regulative frame facilitates the development of a culture of equality and of relationships based on a relative balance of power between academics and across faculties.

- The General Assembly of the academics (GA) is the locus of decision-making on issues related to the teaching activities of the faculty and the reform/update of the curriculum, postgraduate programmes etc.

- Academics form electoral bodies, which, through a legally set, open and transparent process evaluate candidates for election and promotion through the ranks on the basis of merit and seniority. This is presently the only institutionalised evaluation process. The law does not make reference to teaching abroad or management of student mobility schemes as activities for which the candidate receives extra credit

and therefore offer limited incentives to academics to develop internationally oriented teaching. Such activities are taken into account during evaluation depending on the culture of the faculty/university.

Academics possess autonomy and a relative amount of power provided by everyday decision-making roles, which by law they are entitled to perform. A few possess considerable power provided by high decision-making executive roles, which they are elected to perform. Academics have a prominent role in shaping teaching, research and decision making activities. A few, elected to serve on executive bodies, have a role in shaping developmental decisions at university level. The Rector and Vice Rectors participate in structural decisions at the country level, as members of the Convention of the Rectors, negotiating with the MoE.

TEIs are less autonomous institutions, in the sense that there is an intermediate governing body (ITE), which counsels TEIs on curriculum structure and content. This body is involved in the development of policies. The limited institutional power of TEI teaching staff, in comparison to academics, affects the degree of agency they exhibit, renders them amenable to government pressures for the implementation of policies and less able to resist policies. The technical and vocational training orientation of TEIs, the lower qualification of TEI staff, their lower budgets and inferior infrastructure, explain their limited legitimacy in society. Other social actors, students and administrative personnel, participate in a university's administrative bodies.

Students' representatives are potentially powerful actors. The provisions of the law and the power accorded to students affiliated to political parties restrain the power of academics and influence the development of university policies as well as MoE's policies. The participation of students in faculty GAs and the Senate accords them power, as they may block proposals of academics. In the election of the Rector and Vice-Rectors, the vote of students' representatives is the decisive factor in the outcome. The fact that these representatives are members of the student movement contributes to student power being coupled by agency. Currently the student movement represents a minority of the student body. Nevertheless, these can form a powerful force. So, students' representatives are important in university elections, as they publicise the views of the "youth sections" of political parties. The affiliation of students to political parties diminishes the autonomy of the movement but heightens the importance of the views supported by students. The students' power to influence the election of Rectors and Vice-Rectors is a way through which political parties influence the distribution of power in universities.

At first sight the administrative personnel have limited power and as civil servants they often exhibit a bureaucratic mentality. They may delay speedy action and hamper the implementation of policies and their participation in the election of university leadership renders them leverage.

The regulative framework restrains academics on issues perceived as important for internationalisation policies at university level. The law provides for:

- Uniform conditions of employment and remuneration linked to rank, which limits the capacity of universities to put to best use the potential services of highly qualified Greeks employed in foreign universities.

- A centrally controlled system of access of Greek and foreign students to undergraduate studies. Such a procedure does not allow the development of a university policy for the attraction of foreign undergraduate students and universities cannot select the best students. Such limitations are seen as hampering the competitiveness of Greek universities. This may also explain the higher internationalisation of postgraduate programmes where by law admissions are under the control of the faculty/faculties and based on selection by the academics.

- Hiring restrictions (EU controls) impede the employment of high quality administrative personnel. In this respect it was repeatedly pointed out that low-qualification administrative personnel appointed in the past is very difficult to replace and is hampering the internationalisation potential of HEIs.

- Greek Universities relay on state financing and frequently operate under conditions of stringency.

7.2.2 The normative pillar: Power, hierarchies and values

7.2.2.1 Cooperation in higher education and the free and public good issue

The majority of the academics included in our sample view internationalisation activities in a framework of cooperation. The Head of the International Relations Committee in α stated: "The university leadership is not interested in any form of competitive marketing. By contrast to the practice of other European universities, α does not aim at attracting students from far-away countries, such as China or Asia/Pacific". A similar attitude is evident in the two β universities: international research activities are promoted in the framework of higher education collaboration, Success in competitive research programmes is seen as fostered by participation in research networks.

In δ academics recognise the prominence of the Anglo-Saxon model, the economic rationale in education and the strengthening of the competitive approach. This is evident in the:

(a) set up of competitive postgraduate programmes with high fees attracting highly qualified students;

(b) election of academic staff with significant international experience and linkages;

(c) participation in open market competitive programmes and funding.

The majority of academics consider that education is and should remain a public good. The interviews confirm that a limited international approach is related to the values of Greek academia, according to which undergraduate education should be a free good, accessible to all. The language barrier takes on a new meaning since academics are reluctant to offer courses in foreign languages at the undergraduate level. This is associated with the mission and the goals of university education, its public character and the obligation to serve the needs of Greeks.

The influence of the free education principle is so strong that even foreign full course undergraduate students are exempted from tuition fees, despite legal provisions to the contrary. This university policy, supported by the State, is oriented towards safeguarding the free education for all provision and has resulted in the impossibility of internationalisation of undergraduate studies, given the limited resources of the universities and the quotas set by the MoE.

7.2.2.2 Academic freedom: power, agency and the Bologna process

Both the university and the technological sectors are under normative pressures to implement internationalisation policies related to the Bologna Process. These have not formalised into regulative pressures as yet, as legislation has been resisted and the debate is open. The MoE in this instance can be seen as an "enactor of social scripts and a carrier of international cognitive-cultural elements" (Scott, 2001: 131) conducive to structural change. The two sectors have adopted different responses towards Bologna.

The university sector followed a course involving a response of defiance (Scott, 2001: 174). The professional association of academics (POSDEP) adopted a militant stance against proposed changes and asked for the isolation of Greek universities from the Bologna process. Academics have exhibited a high degree of agency, resisted institutional pressures to the implementation of the proposed evaluation process and have done so publicly. Such a response can be related to:

(a) Some conflict of interest between academics and the MoE. In this instance MoE's interest, in alignment with the EU, was the promotion of the EHEA. By contrast, the allegiance of academics lies primarily with their constituencies.

(b) The values of academics, who object to an evaluation process diverging from the core value of academic freedom and limiting their authority to control the content of curricula. Academics in this instance act as "professionals, exercising control over state policy via cultural-cognitive and normative processes, constructing cognitive frameworks that define arenas within which they claim jurisdiction and exercise control" (Scott, 2001: 129).

Asserting power and agency: resistance to Bologna (Universities)

All academic respondents agreed with – in principle – the usefulness of an institutionalised evaluation process. In the perception of academics an institutionalised evaluation process should ideally complement and not alter the current peer-group evaluation process. It is seen as different but not contradictory to current practices. Academics' reaction should not be interpreted as opposition to a state effort to establish a new "regulatory process" (Scot, 2001: 52). By contrast some academics (in hard science disciplines and medicine in Universities α, β1, β2) are strong proponents of stricter evaluation mechanisms considering that such mechanisms would enhance the competitiveness of Greek universities.

This position is corroborated by the fact that many faculties/universities participated in evaluation exercises carried out by third parties, as ad-hoc independent experts (α) or the EUA (β1 and β2). Our research indicates that international evaluators are perceived by academics as guaranteeing fairness and facilitating new cultural-cognitive elements in universities/faculties.

The majority of the academics opposed the evaluation law proposed because:

(a) They estimate that the proposed process will evaluate universities on the basis of quantitative indicators, thinking that the Berlin Communiqué promotes shared evaluation criteria and anticipating that a number of EU-members employ quantitative indicators in ranking universities.

(b) They fully disagree with such a process. Academics object to an evaluation process, such as the British Research Assessment Exercise that "allegedly" measures quality, because they perceive it as divergent from core academic values and as contrary to the universities' and their own interests.

The rationale for the objections to such a process is well summarised in the response of an academic who has extensive working experience abroad. He stated: "It seems reasonable to argue that a university or faculty should be evaluated on the basis of quality and enhanced research activity …and that funds should be distributed accordingly …Academics in Britain, to ensure the survival of the faculty concentrated their effort on the amelioration of indices, not the improvement of quality … academics understand how formulas work…At first, one prefers writing articles over a book, …And then the worst happens …self-censorship …One avoids subjects for which "there is no market"…and prefers subjects where chances to publish are better… Maximising quality indicators and pursuing quality are two altogether different stories…although this is not obvious at first glance…in fact quantitative evaluation is catastrophic, especially for the social sciences, Things may be different in medicine and natural sciences, but at least from a social science perspective, I object to any system that would evaluate me using a formula on an excel spreadsheet. However…I would support a system based on evaluation by experts that would read my work and pay attention to my ideas. But this is an expensive system …".

Such cultural-cognitive elements are evident in practically all interviews. Although we have used here one extensive quotation, the need for a qualitative as opposed to a quantitative evaluation process is supported by academics in different fields and universities. (α: Faculties of Medicine, Economics, Political Sciences and Public Administration, Early Childhood Education. β1: Faculty of Biology, President of FORTH-HELLAS as well as researchers in FORTH-HELLAS institutes. β2: Faculty of Computer Science, Architecture, etc).

Autonomy, legitimacy and the implementation of Bologna (TEIs)

The lower legitimacy of TEIs in society has led the TEI teaching staff to adopt a collective strategy that fully endorses Bologna. The implementation of Bologna policies throughout the technological sector has been designed by ITE and promoted by the MoE's Special Secretary for Technological Education. Following extensive negotiations the following have been agreed:

- TEIs, adopted ECTS as a basis for transfer and accumulation. The workload for each course-unit is 30 credits and the total workload of the programme is 1500 credits.
- TEIs will grant the Diploma Supplement as of academic year 2004-05. ITE agreed to provide TEIs with a standardised Diploma Supplement form. Each TEI will provide the student handbook in English.

- TEI teaching staff has accepted quality assurance procedures and will upgrade their professional qualifications as requested.

- Joint Master's programmes are promoted. Many proposals (198) have been submitted for joint Master's degrees between TEIs and UK universities. There is reluctance on the part of the MoE to approve such extensive co-operation, especially with the ones operating (unrecognised) Centres of Free Study. Interestingly enough only nine proposals have been approved for joint Masters' programmes between TEIs and Greek Universities. This illustrates the hesitation of Greek universities to co-operate with TEIs, and the reluctance of the MoE to promote collaborations with UK universities that could entail high political cost.

- TEIs are currently undergoing reorganisation, including new faculties, curricula and new course-units.

- It is interesting that TEIs in an effort to upgrade their status are adopting a four-year programme of studies, contrary to their commitment to Bologna. They aim for four-year studies, pressed by cultural-cognitive beliefs concerning university studies, knowing that they will not truly attain university status unless they establish four year programmes.

The response of the TEI sector can be seen as one of "acquiescence or conformity" (Scott, 2001: 171). It can be seen as motivated by hopes of additional resources (state funding) but mainly by anticipation of enhanced legitimacy and status of TEIs, through structural isomorphism with universities to be achieved through a regulative mechanism (legal reform) "that makes organisations more similar without necessarily making them more efficient" (DiMaggio and Powell 83: 148).

7.2.3 The cultural pillar: Disciplinary cultures and teaching or research orientation

All academic respondents agreed that the promotion of internationalisation varies by faculty/discipline and that related activities are not taken for granted either by institutions or academics. Internationalisation initiatives relate to the teaching or research orientation of faculties, the links of academics, their status, power and recognition by a national and international peer-group. The centrality of internationalisation issues in institutional agendas depends on historical foundations and the culture in faculties/disciplines converging to modes of internationalisation. Two types of links (national and international) appear to be associated with the development of teaching and research

internationalisation activities respectively. This may explain why policies are implemented variably across HEIs/faculties/disciplines. These are:

- Links with the government and political parties through the appointment of high ranking, tenured academics in political/public posts in Greece and abroad (α). Alternatively, links may develop with prominent private organisations and appointment of academics as heads of private organisations (δ). Such links are primarily (but not exclusively) developed in the faculties of Economics, Law, Political Sciences and Public Administration. In recent years, academics in Education developed such links, through participation in the MoE and its affiliated agencies for the development of education policy and research. The parallel careers pursued by academics usually favour the development of international activities in teaching, especially at the postgraduate level.

- Links with international networks through involvement in research. The networking of academics through research is enhanced and shaped by EU policies for R&D and the funding through Framework Programmes. Due to the worldwide (and EU) orientation towards applied research, participation in competitive programmes and the development of links with R&D policy institutions is an option more accessible to academics in Medicine, Engineering, Science and Economics. Such activities favour the development of a research orientation in the respective faculties.

7.2.3.1 Teaching internationalisation activities: History, national links and political power

α Maintained close links to the government irrespective of the political party in power. Historically, high ranking, tenured academics of α -especially in the faculties of Law, Economics, Political Sciences and Public Administration, and Medicine -participated in the development of national policies. In recent years a similar pattern developed in β2 (Education) and δ (Economics). As one interviewee states: "The appointment of academics in political posts is an asset for the faculty … these academics transfer important information to students … their status and authority heightens the status of the faculty and makes it more attractive to students". An Economics Professor in α remarked: "high rank academics of prestigious faculties historically provide the party in government with a reservoir of experts, that are called to serve in public posts in Greece and abroad... or as experts in international organisations". This development favours a specific mode of internationalisation "… as these academics transfer international experience and know-how to the faculty, but due to other obligations, they do not participate in research and are not readily available to students". Faculties that have extensive political networks tend

to present rather limited internationalised research activities. Research pursued is usually funded through the European Social Fund/Community Support Framework funds. The participation in competitive projects, as for example TSER/IHP actions, is rather limited. An interviewee, when questioned about the participation of the faculty in the 6th Framework Programme, replied: "Currently it does not appear to be a priority … but if in the future participation in a Centre of Excellence is deemed desirable … I have no doubt that we'll find a way to do it".

Academics, in order to heighten the status of the faculty and project a high profile, promote internationalisation in teaching, at postgraduate level. Political leverage and status enable them to secure funding to set up interesting and competitive programmes, as is the case with universities α and δ.

7.2.3.2 Internationalisation of research: International culture, networks and availability of funding

Usually a research orientation is more often developed in faculties of Science, Engineering and Medicine, and is enhanced by close collaboration with affiliated research institutes. Academics in research-orientated faculties are not interested in Erasmus. They promote instead free but targeted mobility towards the US, Canada and Australia and, to a lesser extent, towards Europe. Mobility is thus promoted without involvement of the central university authorities. Academics use their links with international networks to ensure specialised training of their brightest students in clinics, laboratories or research institutes for a period of time or for full-course postgraduate studies abroad (α, β1 and β2).

In research-oriented faculties academics are not particularly interested in Erasmus mobility and teaching activities. Sometimes they respond to Europeanisation policies and the organisational changes foreseen by the institutional contract "in a ceremonial manner, making changes in the formal structure (of the faculty) to signal conformity but then buffering internal (research) units, allowing them to operate independent of pressures" (Scott, 2001: 175).

Although faculties tend to favour the development of either a teaching or a research orientation, it is clear that the two types of activities are connected and coincide. Therefore academics use the available networks for the development of either activity.

7.3 Internationalisation and the influence on the four building blocks

7.3.1 Social structure

Respondents indicated two effects of internationalisation on the social structure of the five HEIs:

1. A re-organisation, extension and professionalisation of services offered to foreign students.

This development is related to the implementation of EU policies, especially since 1997, i.e. the launch of Socrates II and the establishment of the Institutional Contract. All HEIs in our sample have created or further expanded existing structures, for the support of internationalisation activities, especially the mobility of students and teaching staff. The number of administrative officers working in international/European offices has increased, while there is an effort to improve the services to foreign students. All HEIs have set up websites in English to facilitate the orientation of foreign students, they have centres for the instruction of the Greek language and have extended to foreign students the provisions offered to Greeks (free meals, free health care, occasional housing and reduced public transportation fares). Finally one may note increased cooperation of administrative personnel with academics in internationalisation activities. In all faculties an academic is responsible for the Erasmus programme and provides guidance to students. The learning agreement is now an accepted practice, although problems concerning recognition of coursework are still reported.

2. A gradual (and still not complete) change in the decision-making process on internationalisation issues and the organisation of the registrar's offices in each faculty, to cope with the "extended" implementation of ECTS and of the Diploma Supplement.

The degree structure is not considered an issue. HEIs operate on a two-cycle structure seen as compatible to the Bologna requirements. The first cycle consists of programs of four, five or six years of studies (five year studies in engineering and agriculture, six years in medicine). Since 1992 postgraduate studies (leading to a Masters degree) were added to the already existing doctorates. Presently the second cycle is divided into (a) masters level postgraduate studies and (b) doctoral studies. It is obvious that some universities/faculties (especially ones with long programmes of study) could face integration problems, if a three year first cycle is agreed upon.

Given the compatibility of the degree structure with Bologna, the discussion concerning comparability is limited to the implementation of ECTS and Diploma Supplement. All HEIs

participate in Socrates, accepting ECTS as a basis for credit and accumulation and the Diploma Supplement as part of the Institutional Contract.

The full implementation of these policies necessitates the involvement of central authorities (i.e. the Senate) in the decision-making process on internationalisation. A shift is noted from the well-known pattern whereby internationalisation initiatives were taken by individual academics or necessitated consent at faculty level (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides et al 2000b). A re-organisation of Registrars' Offices has been necessary to cope with the recalculation of credits. The extent to which each HEI has proceeded with the implementation of these policies varies.

- Currently α, β1 and β2 still use the ECTS mostly as a mobility tool. Credits relate to the hours per week a subject is taught, not the workload. In α, the implementation of both policies is "at a standstill although the implementation of ECTS improved through the learning agreements with host universities" (Interview with the Head of the International Relations Committee).

- The situation is similar in β1 and β2. In both universities the ECTS has been used as a mobility tool for many years. The EPS of β1 states the intention to implement ECTS in a more substantial manner. However, the Senate has not yet taken a decision. The EPS of β2 states that the ECTS will be fully implemented; the decision of the Senate is pending.

- In all three universities an effort is made to overcome practical difficulties involved in the calculation of workload per course-unit. The view taken is that legislative action following the example of other EU countries would facilitate the implementation of Bologna. In explaining the delays in implementation, some academics pointed to the limited competences of the administrative personnel.

- In university δ the ECTS is currently used as a basis for credit and accumulation in six out of eight faculties. The two remaining faculties were established very recently and their programme is not fully developed. The Senate will pass a decision by the end of 2004, i.e. as soon as the two newly founded faculties complete the estimation of the workload of the course-units. The Diploma Supplement will be offered in 2005.

- γ Is ready to implement both the ECTS and the Diploma Supplement as of 2005. Credits have been recalculated and the background work for the Diploma Supplement has been completed.

7.3.2 Goals: History, culture and disciplinary hierarchies

The internationalisation goals of each HEI relate to institutional profile building. α Is positioned at the top of the national university hierarchy and enjoys a very good reputation across Europe. It is one of the two Greek HEIs sited in the top 500 European universities. Further internationalisation would not enhance its position in Greece. The main current internationalisation goal of the university, i.e. strengthening the links between ethnic and migrant Greeks with the university and Greece, seems related to the university's mission, history and the "traditional national discourse" (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides et al 2004:214-215). This policy is congruent with the role of the university in educating the Greek elite across the world. It was clearly indicated that the leadership of the university is against a competitive approach to internationalisation, which is seen as contrary to the academic ethos of public education. However, α as a matter of policy encourages faculties and academics to set their own internationalisation policies and activities.

Both β1 and β2 are younger comprehensive universities with a research orientation. They enjoy a very good reputation in the fields of Science and Engineering respectively. Both are placing an emphasis on research in specific fields, which are considered an asset for the HEI. β1 Has set internationalisation goals allowing it to project a higher international profile nationally and to achieve excellence at the EU level in disciplines where the university is strong and where research networking has already developed mainly in "areas of study/research, which necessitate and trigger, by their very nature, a greater degree of international networks than others" (EPS Statement, 2003: 2).

The overall goal set by β2 is the effective interaction with its international environment "on the international scene the University participates in a large number of European and international educational and research programmes and consortia and in all major academic associations. Its forefront scientific research has been acknowledged internationally" (University's website: Foreword by the Rector).

δ Is a leader in its field in Greece and has a very good reputation at the EU level, especially the UK. Its main strength lies in the high quality, competitive Master's degrees, which are considered an asset in the labour market. The internationalisation goals and priorities of δ place extreme emphasis on the development of a systematic Europeanisation policy, both in teaching and research. The university promotes mobility in the framework of Socrates/Erasmus. Since 1995 it emphasises research and consultancy services. As a matter of policy the university encourages participation of academics in the

6th Framework Programme aiming at the consolidation of its standing in Europe. δ Is the HEI exemplifying the competition approach in Greece.

γ Exemplifies the case where internationalisation has a "national scope" and aims at consolidating nationally the status of a new "university'. γ Emphasises student mobility and internationalisation of the curriculum at home as its research networks are rather limited.

7.3.3 Participants: Culture, social actors and social positioning

The main effect of internationalisation seems to be the establishment of a parallel informal hierarchy, based not on rank and seniority but on a heightened research and/or educational activity. This has been the result of (a) interviews in which we have asked academics to rank disciplines (that is faculties), and (b) the ranking of universities as it is established on the basis of ranking of the new university entrants. One should note that our sample included only five HEIs and therefore such a finding should be treated with cautiousness. It is important to stress that (a) the ranking of disciplines by academics has an astonishing and consistent similarity, and (b) the ranking of HEIs on the basis of student-applicants yields a repeated uniform result year after year. These conditions indicate a high reliability in the resulting rankings.

The consistency of the responses of interviewees suggest that success in open market competition and attraction of research funds bestows heightened power on the academics involved, allows them to set up research teams, and develop the infrastructure of the faculties and the research institutes that host such activities. Their research activities allow the faculty to project a higher profile, enhancing the status of the faculty in the informal, clear-cut Greek university hierarchy. The extent to which available opportunities were actively sought after by academics relates to historical circumstance, the age of the HEI and the extent to which appropriate structures were already in place or not.

7.3.4 Technology: Language and culture

It has already been pointed out that academics face with reluctance the introduction of course-units taught in English at the undergraduate level. According to prevailing values such a practice is contrary to the mission of higher education. Therefore the effects of internationalisation are very limited at the undergraduate level. δ Is the only HEI that offers a number of core courses in English at the undergraduate level. In this instance the decision was reached to facilitate incoming Erasmus mobility in the framework of Europeanisation policy.

More significant internationalisation effects are evident at the postgraduate level; in the establishment of the collaborative programmes and of the study programmes in English set by α; the summer courses organised by β1. Furthermore one should note the recent (MoE) policy for the development of Joint Masters Degrees, which has the potential to further foster the internationalisation of postgraduate programmes.

The effects of internationalisation on research are pervasive. However due to the high degree of loose coupledness research activities are highly decentralised and in many cases developed in research institutes (HEIs β1, β2 and δ). EU and international policies for research and the availability of funding influence heavily the research choices of academics. Universities, when called upon to produce statements concerning their strategic future goals and mission, (Strategic Operational Plans or EPSs) present such activities as institutionally organised and supported. However they originated in the initiatives of academics that took advantage of the power accorded to them by law and the national (MoE) choices for the promotion of particular policies.

Finally it should be noted that university funding for research is miniscule as compared to what academics attract from EU, national and international funding sources. Universities' Research Committees support a number of seed research projects and influence only to a limited extent the research options of academics.

7.4 The Feedback Loop: Organisations, institutions and recent developments

Changes in the normative and cultural pillar have been brought to the fore through the debate concerning Greece's participation in Bologna and follow up process.

7.4.1 Social structure

Internationalisation activities, occasionally fostered by national policies, have changed the practices, policies and mode of organisation of HEIs. One may note an incremental change in the social structure of the universities in the normative and cultural-cognitive pillars.

The policy for the expansion of higher education and the function of postgraduate programmes provide an example, as a good number of programmes have been set up through funding from EPEAEK (Operational Programme for Education and Initial Vocational Training), a Community Support Framework programme funded jointly by the state (25%) and the EU (75%). Due to financial stringency some postgraduate programmes now charge low fees to cover operation costs. A minority of high demand, high prestige and very specialized programmes, which particularly suit the needs of the labour market, charge substantial fees (e.g. MBA's offered by δ). The Bologna process and the debate on relevance and quality brought to the fore the issue of specialisation, the rationale behind

the set up of new programmes and of the viability of programmes when EPEAEK will come to an end.

In the last six years an evaluation culture has been promoted in Greece. This was achieved through a bottom-up policy, which encouraged institutions or faculties to participate in assessment programmes. For example, in 2001 and 2002, in response to calls for the restructuring and development of postgraduate programmes, α has addressed the operationalisation of quality standards in the delivery of product and services in a number of programmes, evaluated by external/international evaluation committees. Specifically:

- the institution has introduced and evaluated new processes of programme development;
- the needs of stakeholders were taken into account by each Faculty when (re)designing the structure the content and the operations of the postgraduate programmes and were submitted and evaluated as such;
- quality criteria and standards were clarified and communicated in the proposals submitted evaluated, approved, enacted and completed across the institution;
- methods to ensure quality were built in the operations and processes and these have been evaluated, approved and implemented;
- to a large extent there is a follow up to ensure continuous improvement and fine-tuning of services and processes by either internal or external (including international) evaluation mechanisms.

One may note a rising social acceptance for tuition fees at the postgraduate level by academics and students alike. This is clearly leading to the gradual dissociation between public and free education. Whereas it is undeniable that all academics stand for education as a public good it is evident to a number of academics that high quality education entails costs that are not covered by the current levels of state funding.

The understanding that an increase in state funding is highly unlikely, has led some academics to argue for a pervasive legal reform regarding tuition fees and the re-allocation of funds in a more rational manner. Three out of the four interviewed Medicine professors in α argue for the introduction of a US model of scholarships to promote excellence and quality. This mentality change is noticeable in academics in highly internationalised and research-oriented fields of study, such as Medicine (α), Engineering (β2) and Natural Sciences and Computer Studies (β1, β2 and γ).

7.4.2 Goals: culture, values and agency

Internationalisation is not an issue of equal priority for all HEIs, disciplines or academics. Internationalisation is promoted if contributing to a heightened institutional profile (nationally, across Europe or internationally). Internationalisation activities vary widely at the organisational and/or faculty level. Successful implementation of policies depends on the agency of academics. The common ground for the promotion of internationalisation and especially Europeanisation policies is the agreement that some EU policies are congruent with the goals of the institutions/faculties and beneficial to profile building. This is indicated by the common goal, stated in the EPS of all HEIs, namely participation in the EHEA and ERA. The view that Greek higher education is and should remain a part of the EHEA seems to lead to the expression of a more "pragmatic" approach that indicates changes in the normative and regulative pillars and may lead to changes in the regulative pillar. For example, although the view that an evaluation process does not measure quality is widely supported, a number of academics acknowledge that since "such processes are already widespread in the international environment, they will eventually influence Greece". In the interviews and in private discussions academics agree that something has to be done about it. They agree that higher education is in need of pervasive legal reform. It was indicated that a law regarding evaluation and quality assurance is not dealing sufficiently with Bologna, as it is not touching upon the issues of institutional autonomy, degree structure or joint postgraduate degrees. In interviews the MoE was criticised as not adopting a clear position on these issues. Here, it should be pointed out that during the summer of 2004, when the fieldwork was completed, the MoE passed the law (3255/22.7.2004) setting the legal framework for the operation of transnational study programmes and joint degrees. The implementation of a quantitative evaluation process specifically is incongruent with the goal of projecting a positive image in Europe. Therefore the immediate implementation of such an evaluation process would – as one interviewee remarked – "end up in results that do not reflect accurately the potential of Greek universities" and "would compromise their international standing and networking". It was suggested that if the MoE wants to promote it, it should develop weighted quality indicators taking into consideration the specific circumstances of each university (related to size, age, disciplines, location and infrastructure) and it should provide universities with:

- time to reorganise, in a way that would maximise quality indicators;
- adequate resources to do so; and

- a regulative framework that will give the universities the authority to take quick action, so as to enter the game on favourable terms.

The MoE until March 2004 insisted that legislative action was not necessary, as the existing law does not preclude the suggested activities, and in the framework of institutional autonomy universities are free to decide the implementation of policies. Upon a change of government in 2004, the position of the MoE is now changing and a discussion was held in the parliament concerning future education policy and the implementation of Bologna.

7.4.3 Participants: Power, values and resistance

The role of participants is highly important for changes in the three pillars. In the case of Greece, the most striking example of the influence of participants on the regulative pillar has been the successful blocking (in 2003) of the draft law for the establishment of the National Council for Quality Assurance and Assessment of HE.

The grounds for the collective resistance of the academics have been sufficiently described and analysed. Student associations also oppose Bologna processes and there is no Greek representation in ESIB. Students, especially in the fields of study with long first cycles, object to establishing two cycles of study which could effectively downgrade current degrees to the first cycle. They strongly object to the need for specialisation through a second cycle degree. So far, and as long as academics object to the implementation of Bologna, student protests have been avoided. University leaders are aware of the potential student mobilisation.

The deadlock cannot be fully comprehended if not placed within a political framework that takes into consideration the coalitions of power in the university sector which involve the MoE, academics and student associations. The fear of student protest and the potentially high political costs are the reasons why the MoE avoids passing legislation. This is an additional reason why academics object to an immediate implementation of Bologna.

One may note a change in the attitude of the central leadership in α regarding evaluation and ECTS. This change might be facilitated by the fact that there is more tolerance towards the new government. Given the size of α, and its importance and positioning in the local university hierarchy, one may expect that other university leaders will follow this course of action. The policies proposed are the same but the tolerance of the university leadership towards the new government appears stronger. The deadline of May 2005 seems inevitable for the implementation of Bologna.

7.4.4 Technology: Values, status and level of studies

Current practices at the undergraduate level do not promote a change of mentality concerning internationalisation. Incentives for the involvement of academics in student exchange schemes are limited and the integration of a European or international dimension in the curriculum is a tradition in Greek HEIs relating to the international experience and training of academics and not a result of internationalisation policies. The limited internationalisation at the undergraduate level and the cultural grounds given for the use of the Greek language seem to indicate that normative or cultural changes at this level are minimal. This situation may change if HEIs proceed with the implementation of ECTS/Diploma Supplement. By contrast, the development of internationally oriented teaching initiatives at the postgraduate level and the activities of research-oriented academics and faculties, high in the national hierarchy, seem to be more influential in changing norms and values. Collaborative programmes with courses in English are more ready to overcome the language barrier and promote student and staff exchange and internationalisation of the curriculum. Changes related to the normative and cultural-cognitive pillar are fostered by the activities of research-oriented faculties where academics and students take internationalisation activities for granted and consider them as part of what they are expected to do. Such faculties, some already participating in centres of excellence, are ready to accept the evaluation of their performance. They have established international links and regard participation in research networks and international publication of their research results as integrated in their routine activities.

7.5 Summary and conclusions: factors that promote and impede internationalisation

Internationalisation activities reflect historical circumstances, institutional histories and missions of HEIs. Internationalisation appears related to profile building and the positioning of HEIs in the European and national hierarchy. In this respect internationalisation activities are developed and pursued by HEIs/faculties in order to (a) heighten the standing of the HEI/faculty at the EU level and/or (b) heighten or consolidate the reputation of the HEI/faculty nationally.

The centrality accorded to internationalisation in the HEI/faculty agenda depends on the agency exhibited by the internationally minded social actors for the development of the relative activities. The goals set relate to different internationalisation practices, which may coexist within a HEI as different faculties/disciplines may promote teaching or research based internationalisation policies, depending on the disciplinary culture and available networking.

1. Internationalisation as attracting students at the undergraduate level is dependent upon cultural-cognitive elements, has a uniform response and cannot be considered as a potentially extensive activity for the following reasons:

a) The regulative frame in the Constitution provides for free university education for all and open, free access to EU exchange students.

b) It seems incongruent with the values and culture of the academics and the administrative and executive bodies in all universities, which (i) value free undergraduate education as a vital principle in educational policy and practice and (ii) refuse to implement the legal frame to charge fees to any foreign students (outside EU), indicating a very strong political and cultural position regarding this issue

c) It is obvious, therefore, that the policy (set by the MoE) of specific numbers of non-EU students will continue, as it is unlikely that there will be a sharp increase of state funds to support an open admissions policy.

2. Europeanisation as conforming to the Bologna process has to be considered in terms of each constitutive issue:

a) The structuring of university education in undergraduate and postgraduate (masters) cycles is adopted and integrated in the regulative frame, it has been practiced through the development of postgraduate programmes across the board since the early 1990's, and it is highly valued by the academics as well as the administrative and executive bodies of the HEIs. In this sense there is congruence among the regulative, the normative and the cultural frames.

b) The adoption of Master's programmes is often promoted with an internationalisation and Europeanisation dimension, including joint programmes and teaching in another language (usually but not exclusively English) by the MoE and the academics. At the HEI level there is often a criticism towards the MoE for not providing the legal amendments considered necessary. TEIs, to enhance their positioning in the national hierarchy and their status as new universities, promote Bologna objectives. They also promote joint masters programmes, despite the unclear legal framework. They have submitted numerous proposals for the establishment of joint masters programmes with UK universities (mostly ex-polytechnics), including universities that have franchise agreements with Centres of Free Studies, through which the same degrees are currently granted (but are not recognised by the Greek State). In this instance it is the MoE that has

blocked (i.e. not approved) the operation of joint masters programmes with foreign universities, due to the influences of the normative and cultural pillars, promoting instead a small number of joint masters programmes between Greek Universities and TEIs.

c) The adoption of ECTS and the Diploma Supplement varies across HEIs from accentuated implementation to partial adoption. On the one hand they are not contested per se. On the other hand there is no legislation (MoE) to enforce speedy and uniform implementation. The MoE considers that there is no need for legislation, a decision can be made by the Senate, and transfers a prerogative on the regulative frame, which has always been controlled by the State. In the framework of a strategy of acquiescence described above and in order to strengthen their position in the field of higher education, the TEI sector has accepted the view of the MoE. Each TEI has accepted individually both the ECTS as a basis for transfer and accumulation and the issuing of the Diploma Supplement.

d) It is important to note that the historical circumstances in the establishment of the institution as well as the hierarchical positioning of the HEI in the country and its individual faculties within the HEI all play an important intertwined role in the internationalisation initiatives undertaken and their outcomes.

e) Quality assurance receives uniform response across HEIs. No regulative frame appears to function, although the MoE appears to be firm on implementing this. The normative and cultural frames of the academics are quite clear: quality assurance is understood and accepted only in qualitative terms and for the purpose of promoting quality education in the HEIs, which should be given the funds and the time to develop the infrastructure and ameliorate the administrative personnel. It is interesting to add that in an evaluation carried out at international level for one of the MAs in α it was pointed out that the qualifications of the participating academics were very high, although a point was made about the weak infrastructure. TEIs have been given time to reorganise and restructure curricula until 2008. On the understanding that funding would be provided to help them upgrade their infrastructure and "alter the overall image of the institutions", the teaching staff have accepted the need to upgrade their qualifications. Such course of action is expected to result in the positive (quantitative) evaluation of TEIs. One should note that the debate concerning Bologna is not yet over and things change even as this chapter is being written. Following a change in government in March 2004, a discussion concerning future

education policy and the implementation of Bologna started in the Parliament (November 2004). The government has announced its intention to pass a law on evaluation and the implementation of Bologna by May 2005. Meanwhile, the issue concerning the operation of collaborative and joint Master's programmes has been resolved and the related Law passed (summer 2004).

3. Internationalisation of research appears related to the hierarchy of disciplines and varies across HEIs:

a) In the university sector, involvement in research varies more across faculties/disciplines than across universities. In many cases research is the prerogative of individual academics and in many others it is the prerogative of teams working within a research institute, mainly in medicine, science and engineering. The regulative, normative and cultural frames for evaluating research are congruent and well established.

b) The technological sector until 2001 did not have the right to conduct research. They do not yet offer PhD degrees, so their involvement in research is just developing. Only recently appointed staff have research activities that were developed in the framework of past employment as researchers in the university sector or with Institutes. The views and values of such personnel are congruent with the views of academics.

The normative and cultural frames for internationalisation and Europeanisation of research are congruent across HEIs and within disciplines. The normative and cultural elements are nevertheless more established than the regulative ones.

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3.7. Chapter 8. Austrian higher education institutions go international

Thomas Pfeffer, Jan Thomas and Brigitte Obiltschnig

8.1 Introduction

For a long time the higher education (HE) system in Austria has been a federal monopoly, exclusively provided by state universities (Hackl et al., 2003). Public universities used to be institutions of the Federal Ministry with little responsibility of their own and have been regulated by detailed laws. All universities were subject to a single organisational law and, in principle, were organised in the same way. Staff were mainly civil servants. Universities have received their earmarked resources from the federal budget. Everybody with a higher secondary school leaving exam has been allowed to enrol at any university of his or her choice. With the exception of the universities for arts and music, there has been and still is, in principle, no other access regulation than the school leaving exam.

During the last decade, most of these topics have been subject to reforms, aiming to increase universities' autonomy and to establish business-like structures for enhancing their quality, efficiency and financial transparency. The HE system became diversified by the foundation of a new, publicly funded sector for professionally-oriented HE, the *Fachhochschule* sector, in 1993, and by legal regulations for the development of a private sector in 1999.

8.2 The Austrian case studies

In selecting the case studies, the diversity of the Austrian HE system was covered by choosing institutions which represent the most relevant differences, e.g. sectors and subject areas, size, age, mission and regional distribution. We therefore selected a traditional, comprehensive university (α), a large specialised university (δ1), one representative from the group of universities of arts and music (δ2), and two examples for the *Fachhochschule* sector (γ1, γ2). Due to limited resources, we could not examine additional cases, e.g. from the new private HE sector, or from postsecondary institutions (e.g. academies for teacher training or for social work), which would have helped to further differentiate and enrich the picture.

Table 8.1.

2003/04	α	δ1	δ2	γ1	γ2
Total degree students	23,361	20,134	1,404	2,715	842
Year of start	1585	1898	1841	1993	1994
Disciplines	Comprehen-sive (Social and Economic Sciences, Humanities, Law, Natural Sciences, Medicine, Theology)	Specialised (Business and Economics)	Rather specialised (Music, Fine and perorming Arts, Arts Pedagogy)	Rather comprehen-sive (Technology, Media, Business, Social Affairs and Health)	Rather comprehen-sive (Technology, Media, Business, Social Work)
% foreign degree students	8.3%	20.8%	55.8%	2.8%	13.0%
% incoming ERASMUS student	1.2%	1.3%	1.3%	1.8%	8.8%
% outgoing ERASMUS students	1.5%	1.3%	0.4%	3.6%	8.6%

8.2.1 HEI α

Founded in 1585, α is one of the oldest universities in central Europe. It is located in the south-east of Austria, in the regional capital, which also hosts a technical university, a university of music and a *Fachhochschule*. With more than 23,000 regular students (8.3% of whom are foreign students), α is the second largest university in Austria. Being a traditional comprehensive university, it is organised in six faculties: social and economic sciences, arts and humanities, law, natural sciences, medicine[9], and theology. This very heterogeneous structure is reflected in 62 study programmes.

α maintains good relations and contacts with actors in the regional government and the municipality of its hometown, as well as with the regional community. These actors also support the international activities of the university. Beyond that, the university has been cultivating contacts to South Eastern European (SEE) countries even in times of the cold

[9] By January 2004, all three faculties for medicine in Austria were separated from their former institutions and became independent universities of their own.

war. During recent years, this already existing focus became formalised as an institutional priority of its internationalisation policy. The aim is to develop a special competence for SEE as a distinctive feature of the institution in the European area for research and HE.

8.2.2 HEI δ1

Founded as an imperial export academy in 1898, the institution was transformed into a higher education institution (HEI) with special focus on world trade in 1919 and upgraded to university status in 1975. The national capital Vienna is the hometown of δ1, located in the east of Austria. With about 20,000 regular students (20.8% of which are foreign students), δ1 is said to be largest university for business administration in Europe. Another outstanding feature is the extremely high student/faculty ratio and a very low budget per student.

Given its outstanding status as *the* national university of economics, the institution has to take an international perspective and regards this as a core competency of the institution. Its disciplinary focus makes it easy to find a clearly defined competitive environment and to develop respective strategic goals. During the coming years, δ1 wants to reach the top five among the German speaking HEIs, and the top 15 among all European HEIs in its field. The goal of international competitiveness is the main driver behind current reforms of all study programmes. Reforms are starting at the undergraduate level, and are aiming for efficiency gains and at leveraging resources to be invested in increased research activities and in the development of graduate and postgraduate programmes. The main target areas for international activities are English speaking countries, Western Europe and Central Eastern European (CEE) countries, the last one being a new institutional priority.

8.2.3 HEI δ2

Founded in 1841, δ2 has changed its name and legal status several times. It already has been a conservatory, an academy for music and performing arts as well as an HEI, until it gained the formal status of a university for music and performing arts in 1998. It is located in the western part of Austria, north of the Alps and near the traditional transit route between Germany and Italy. The hometown is the regional capital, world famous for its culture and the annual summer festival. The university hosts about 1,400 students, with an outstanding 55.8% of foreign students.

Even if the clear focus of δ2 lies in classical music, the university provides education in fine arts and performing arts as well. In quantitative terms, one can cluster the 34 study programmes into three major groups: instrumental study programmes (more than 20,

comprising the entire range of a classical philharmonic orchestra), fine arts and performing arts, and pedagogical studies for arts education. While for the performing arts obviously the German speaking countries are the main catchment area, the instrumental study programmes attract students globally, to a very large extent from Asia. In this global context, the university increasingly feels the need to improve its institutional profile with respect to quality and reputation.

8.2.4 HEI γ1

γ1 was among the pioneers of the *Fachhochschule* sector, which was founded a decade ago. In 1993, the regional government together with the cities of A and C founded an association for the preparation and realisation of *Fachhochschule* study programmes, which started to provide first programmes in 1994. The same year, the city of B joined the association and was followed by the city of D in 2001. In the initiating phase, local objectives were predominant. From 1997 onwards, coordination and the development of a comprehensive institutional strategy became more important. The former association became a holding with limited liability, which now coordinates all activities for the *Fachhochschule* sector in the region. Remarkably, the central management is mainly an administrative one, without academic counterparts such as a rector or a senate.[10]

In all four locations mentioned above, γ1 runs campuses which all focus on specific thematic priorities:

- A technology and economy (8 programmes);
- B management and leadership (5 programmes);
- C IT and media (11 programmes);
- D social welfare and health (4 programmes).

These 28 study programmes have been designed in response to local demands and to complement existing HEIs in the highly industrialised region, which is located in the central-northern part of Austria. γ1 has about 2,700 students enrolled (of which 2.8% are foreign students), which makes it the largest institution in the *Fachhochschule* sector. Generally speaking, internationalisation is important, but not a top priority of γ1, since it has to meet regional demands and is still busy with its ongoing expansion. Different forms

[10] As a consequence, Gamma1 AT does not hold the formal status of a *Fachhochschule*, but that of an institution providing Fachhochschule study programmes only. However, we will ignore this distinction and call Gamma1 AT a Fachhochschule to secure the readability of this text.

of international activities depend very much on the thematic focus of the individual locations.

8.2.5 HEI γ2

Located far in the West, the home province of γ2 is physically separated from the rest of Austria by the mountains. In 1994, an association was founded to provide *Fachhochschule* study programmes. In 1997, this institution was turned into a limited liability company, owned by the regional government. Being the only domestic provider for HE in the region, γ2 enjoys a unique status and the unrestricted attention of all local stakeholders.

The institution has been continuously growing. Currently, about 850 regular students (13.0% of which are foreign students) are enrolled. The thematic variety of its six study programmes is quite broad and ranges from technical studies and IT to business studies and social work. Given the close proximity to Germany and Switzerland, cross-border activities in the region of the Lake of Constance (Bodensee) became everyday business for the institution, an experience that is helpful for international activities at a longer distance as well. γ2 tries to serve the economic interests of the regional economy in a pro-active way, sometimes even taking the lead. Given the high export rate of its region, the institution wants to gradually match its international activities with the regional foreign trade statistics and therefore is trying to improve contacts with South Western European (SWE) countries, especially France, Italy and Spain. Beyond that, it is building up partnerships with universities on every continent.

8.3 Perceptions of internationalisation

8.3.1 The regulative dimension

The reforms of the HE system in the 1990s can be seen as part of the internationalisation of HE policy, since they were partly triggered by the preparations for Austria's accession to the European Union. Austria wanted to participate in the European research and HE programmes. By diversifying the HE system and by increasing the autonomy of HEIs, the Austrian government wanted to adapt the national HE system to the perceived EU standards and to make HEI fit for international competition. One of the first regulations in this respect was the provision of earmarked funding for the foundation of international offices at research universities as early as the beginning of the 1990s.

It is clear that EU funds and regulations enhanced the internationalisation of HEIs. HEIs generally welcomed EU funds as an additional source of revenue and welcomed the related ideas of a European area for research and HE. All HEIs in our study have developed international offices or at least specialised administrative positions for observing the

developments of respective EU programmes and for managing access to them. As respondents from some of the international offices observed, there is a certain dependency on EU funding. This raised some concerns and the fear of declining budgets for internationalisation. It is expected that an increased number of EU member states might weaken the funding basis for international activities, e.g. by reducing the per capita funding in ERASMUS. If these anticipated declines cannot be compensated by other funds (e.g. individual contributions), the position of specialised international offices might come under internal pressure as well.

Even if HEIs generally welcome EU programmes as an additional funding source, there was some criticism about funding mechanisms, since some of their consequences seem problematic. A frequent complaint concerned the requested size and the obligatory high numbers of participants in EU projects, a pattern which does not fit all types of research in the same way. A faculty member in α held the opinion that, apart from high administrative costs, these funding structures sometimes support social activities and travel opportunities more than research quality and innovation. His colleague from a different faculty stated the need for smaller, more flexible funds (e.g. € 15,000) for individual visits or to build up bilateral partnerships. A similar suggestion came from the rector at γ2.

Additionally, it was mentioned that the possible gains from EU programmes vary considerably. While EU research funds can be used to employ additional research staff, funds for student mobility go to students directly, but cause high administrative costs for the institution. Especially for smaller HEIs, as *Fachhochschulen* tend to be, it is crucial to balance costs and revenues, and to carefully consider in which internationalisation activity they should participate and to what extent. A respondent from γ1 therefore was keen to warn against a too prominent use of ERASMUS data to describe or measure international activities of a HEI. She expressed a concern that other forms of international activities, like internships, research or internationalisation at home, which are more difficult to document and to put in figures, might be outweighed by ERASMUS data, which are easier to grasp from an external evaluator's perspective.

Since EU programmes lead to the development of organisational structures, shifts in EU policies can lead to unintended damages. A prominent example was reported by a dean at α. Former ERASMUS coordinators feel ignored by the introduction of institutional contracts in the SOCRATES programme. Apart from the personal humiliation of individuals this was also seen as an institutional loss of an extremely valuable contact network, which otherwise could have been kept in place, for example with small funds for contact meetings of coordinators.

The Bologna process has been implemented into the Austrian HE system in a slightly ambivalent way. Immediately after the Bologna Declaration was signed in 1999, the respective Act on university studies was amended, including the possibility of introducing bachelor/master programmes as substitutes for (not in parallel to) diploma programmes on a voluntary basis. However, even if the individual study programmes still are free to opt for the old diploma structure or for the new bachelor/master structure, the government on the other hand set up the general goal that by 2006, 50% of all courses for new entrants are to be bachelors courses.

HEIs perceive these regulations differently. Some see the bachelor/master structure as a tool to overcome existing problems, or as an opportunity to diversify their range of study programmes, e.g. by developing two specialised masters programmes on the basis of one comprehensive bachelors programme. Others are more hesitant and want to observe how the situation develops. Some are even irritated, wondering how to interpret these regulations and additional national requirements and how to apply them to the specific reality of their discipline.

8.3.2 The normative dimension

A wide range of motives for internationalisation was mentioned in our interviews, starting from general self-experience for character building, interest in subject areas, research opportunities, humanistic motives (e.g. development aid) and economic interest. Interaction and partnership per se are regarded as humanistic and political goals, e.g. to overcome the old distinction between Eastern and Western Europe.

One of the most commonly mentioned motives for internationalisation was the idea of widening the horizons of participants by becoming able to switch between perspectives and by learning from each other. The possibility of cooperating through joint activities was regarded as being especially valuable, in comparison with more unilateral forms of internationalisation. Mutuality, therefore, is of high value, even if it is not always available.

Even after the introduction of tuition fees (€ 365) for domestic and EU students, and of double fees (€ 730) for non-EU students, most of our case institutions still see HE as a public good in the context of their international activities as well. By and large, they do not regard foreign students as a possible source of additional revenues. The only exception from this general picture is δ2, the university of music with about 56% foreign students. Given its large amount of wealthy students from Asia and much higher tuition fees at comparable institutions, some respondents felt hindered by the Austrian regulation and would like to charge higher fees to foreign students.

Even if it is widely understood that Austrian HEIs are increasingly becoming autonomous institutions and in the long run will have to implement the bachelor/master system, it is not always clear for HEIs what the goals of these mainly structural reforms are and how they might have an impact on the mission of different parts of the national HE system. For example, Austria has three universities for music, all providing training in the entire range of classical instruments, which is an impressive structure for a small country such as Austria. It is not clear for them if they are regarded as luxurious oversupply or as a potential to set a national priority in an international context. The rector of δ2 suggested a national board, like the German council for music (*Musikrat*), to coordinate music education in Austria both horizontally and vertically. Vertical coordination with primary and secondary education institutions would be necessary, since early training is extremely important for musicians. Horizontal coordination with the other universities of music would be crucial to define their relationship with respect both to their domestic tasks and to their international position.

Uncertainty about the goals of formal regulations was shown in some other cases as well. In α, the dean of the faculty of humanities reported that his faculty was highly irritated about the requirement that bachelors programmes should provide employability, which is regarded as a different purpose than the traditional research orientation, e.g. in history or philosophy. For his faculty, it is not clear what the intention of the legislator was, which causes hesitation to implement the Bologna process. The manager of γ2 reported that international exchange seems to be easier than mobility inside the *Fachhochschule* sector. This is due to older regulations and the history of the sector, when study programmes were designed in a highly specialised and rigidly structured way, to define a unique selling proposition in the national context. Even if the regulation had already changed, the tradition still prevails and hinders possible cooperation in the sector, for example with respect to the transition from diploma programmes to the bachelor/master structure. The respondent suggested these barriers could be overcome by reducing strong specialisations and by clustering study programmes to a rather limited number of subject areas, e.g. "technical programmes", "economic programmes", and so on.

8.3.3 The cultural dimension

A very important aspect of the cultural dimension is the socio-political development beyond the framework of specific HE politics, and the way in which HEIs make use of them. The most obvious example is the huge transformations in CEE countries. Both large universities in our sample, α and δ1, are taking this transformation as an opportunity to set new strategic goals and to sharpen their institutional profiles by strengthening their contacts in these countries. Another example was reported by γ2. During the 1970s,

provinces from Austria, Germany and Switzerland started a close cooperation to preserve the ecological balance of Lake Constance. A very effective network of HEIs of the respective provinces, called *Internationale Bodensee Hochschule* (*IBH*) became a later spin-off of this political initiative. IBH produces a joint study guide for all member HEIs and serves as a label for joint activities in the network. α is a member of similar regional networks, e.g. the *Central European Initiative University Network, the Danube Rectors' Conference* and the *Rectors' Conference of Alps-Adriatic Universities.*

One of the most apparent outcomes from our interviews was the impression that the respective subject areas of HEIs and their subunits strongly determine the perceptions of opportunities and limitations for international activities, especially in research, which will be described in the next section.

Subject areas also differ very much with respect to their links to the labour market and to professional groups, which indirectly shape their curricula. Respondents from the faculty of law at α and from "hard-core" engineering studies at γ1 claimed that their curricula very much reflect national traditions for the respective professions (e.g. lawyers, judges, technical engineers, etc.). These traditions are often influenced by professional associations and regulated by mechanisms, which lay beyond the regulations of the HE system. International adaptations of curricula or degree structures therefore have to be synchronised with international adaptations of professional practices in the mentioned subject areas.

8.4 Organisational responses

8.4.1 Research

For economists, geographic areas with high economic activity and global socio-economic trends are of great importance. This reflects for example in the institutional strategy of δ1. It currently focuses on three world regions: English speaking countries, Western Europe and CEE countries. While the first two priorities are well established already, the current vice rector for international affairs puts much emphasis on the development of the third one. However, a respondent suggested there is a need to react to the next economic mega-trend as well: the booming economies in Asia.

The faculty of law at α reported remarkable examples of a fortunate interplay between academic interests and unique socio-political developments. In the 1980s, some members started to shift the faculty's scientific approach to law from the historic-analytical to a more international-comparative perspective. The collapse of the communist regimes in neighbouring countries supported this process. During the war in former Yugoslavia,

refugees were hosted as students. After the war, faculty members were engaged in various roles: as "development aid" workers (e.g. rebuilding the legal faculty in Sarajevo); consultants for international institutions (e.g. as a member of the torture committee for the Council of Europe); as practitioners (e.g. as an international judge at the constitutional court in Bosnia) and so on. In all these roles, geographical proximity and a deep cultural understanding, as well as language skills, were major assets in performing the respective tasks. Another fascinating phenomenon of internationalisation was the competition of legal systems for replacing communist legislation in reform countries during the 1990s. Respondents observed attempts of legal associations from English speaking countries to export the Anglo-Saxon legal system, e.g. by setting up large symposia in CEE countries. However, this contest has been decided in favour of the Central European system, which seems to be more compatible with the understanding and the tradition of the neighbouring countries. The model of the Austrian constitutional court, for instance, turned out to be a special "bestseller" among reform countries.

Again, the options for the humanities and natural sciences are different. Development aid and cultural interests can match and can generate academic returns. Since 1994, some members of the faculty of humanities at α have been cooperating with the university of Shkoder in Albany in various projects, e.g. helping to set up institutes for German and English language. In return, the faculty of humanities was able to widen the range of languages taught by setting up a small programme for Albanian. Not having been accessible for decades, Albany also is a *terra incognita* for some natural sciences. A scholar from the faculty of natural sciences discovered two new species during a very short field trip. However, these opportunities can not be generalised. Another respondent mentioned that those in disciplines that rely on work in laboratories and high tech equipment are far less attracted to CEE countries.

Even if there exists a worldwide interest in classical music, its obvious centre is Western Europe. In no other region do the classical arts have a comparable status. This rich cultural environment is part of the European lifestyle. A special aspect of this market situation is the fact that most European orchestras, opera houses and theatres rely on public funding. In a global context, teachers of δ2 sometimes see themselves as unilateral exporters of a specific cultural product, while their graduates from abroad often seek employment in Western Europe.

Fachhochschule institutions, which like to call themselves "universities of applied sciences", orient themselves closely to the interests of their regional business communities. This does not mean that their subject areas are of local relevance only. γ2 defined product development, innovation and sustainability as meta-goals for its research

strategy, trying to contribute to the international competitiveness of its local business community. γ1 also performs applied research for local companies. It sometimes serves international clients as well, e.g. by developing highly specialised software, or by performing non-invasive material tests (e.g. on running engines) with its sophisticated equipment for computer tomography.

8.4.2 International students

Compared to an OECD average of about 4%, most of our cases show rather high rates of foreign degree students. They range between 2.8% and 55.8%. Generally speaking, foreign degree students are treated as domestic students. HEIs neither approach them as a special target group for recruitment, nor discriminate between them formally. The only significant activities of HEIs with respect to foreign degree students can be found at universities: courses for German as a foreign language and preparatory courses for those who do not yet fulfil the formal requirements to become regular degree students.

This strategic indifference of HEIs towards foreign degree students seems to be caused by a long tradition of open access (secondary school leaving exams entitle to study at universities without further assessment) and by the EU policy for equal treatment of all citizens of Member States (Pechar and Pellert 2004). Most foreign degree students are either from EU countries or from countries soon to become Member States, which does not leave much opportunity to discriminate along the distinction domestic/foreign.

Several reasons for the attractiveness of Austrian HEIs have been mentioned, such as geographic location, language, and the cultural environment. For students from Germany or northern Italy, Austria is one of the few options to study abroad in their mother tongue. For students from CEE countries, it might be academically more attractive to study in Austria than at home. Some of the reasons are less flattering, such as "cheap" provision, both in academic and in economic terms. Interviewees observed that Germany has a more restrictive *numerus clausus* system in certain subjects, in contrast to the Austrian entitlement system for studies at research universities. For students from Sarajevo, it is cheaper to study at α than at home. Since instrumental study programmes are very expensive in international comparisons, the provision at δ2 is a bargain.

Due to its large proportion of foreign students (55.8%) and the privilege to control access via examinations, the case of δ2 is especially interesting. Even if the university is allowed to charge twice the fee of domestic students for its large proportion of non-EU students, € 730 per semester by far undercuts the prices of serious competitors on a global market and is not enough for a serious business model. Additionally, the university faces quality problems as well. The university executes performance based entrance examinations, but

does not regard itself as very successful in attracting the most talented students worldwide. But even then the second choice of foreign applicants is comparatively more successful than domestic applicants during entrance examinations. Since the university is funded by the federal government, the rector feels uncomfortable about this situation, since it might cause tensions between the service for national/regional demands and the competitiveness in the context of international quality standards. Two explanations for this problem were suggested. In comparison to other countries, Austrian music education at the primary and secondary level seems to be less efficient in fostering talent in young children soon enough and in guiding them towards university. And the focus of entrance examination at δ2 seems to be predominantly put on technical skills, without much consideration of social skills and cultural understanding, elements which are also regarded as crucial for the career of musicians. As a result of this analysis, the university wants to improve its position in competing for the most talented students, but does not plan to increase the number of foreign students.

8.4.3 Student mobility

ERASMUS clearly is the most prominent, but by far not the only, driver for exchange mobility. In the case of α, ERASMUS is responsible for 54% of the outgoing and 73% of incoming exchange mobility, and in the case of δ1 for 52% of the outgoing and 49% of the incoming exchange mobility. There exist vast differences between subject areas with respect to student mobility. Social and economic studies show generally the highest rates of student mobility. At δ2, for example, about half of their graduates have been abroad, a rate the institution still wants to raise to 70% in the near future. In the study programme international business administration, mobility has even become mandatory. *Fachhochschule* study programmes with an economic focus show the highest rates of student mobility in their institutions as well. Comparatively less mobility can be found in the hard sciences and in technical studies. Since social and cultural experience is less important in these fields, and study programmes are very laboratory intensive, student mobility tends to occur less often and at a later stage in the course of studies. Since regular study programmes in law prepare students for professional careers in national labour markets, student mobility is less attractive for them. Given the high rate of regularly enrolled foreign students, mobility is of comparatively less importance in δ2, even if the university welcomes the participation in the ERASMUS scheme.

Exchange programmes, like ERASMUS, normally aim for mutual exchange. Most *Fachhochschule* institutions, which are often located in smaller cities, perceive their location to be a certain handicap for attracting foreign students. In other cases, the imbalance is due to subject areas. While economic study programmes at δ1 enjoy well-

balanced incoming/outgoing ratios, this is more difficult to achieve in subjects such as language studies. The department for German language at α is reported to be highly attractive for students from abroad. The contrary is true for departments teaching foreign languages. In other cases, study programmes are attractive for incoming students, since they are rare or even unique in an international context (e.g. history of science at α, or pedagogy for arts education at δ2). In these cases, balanced exchange rates cannot be achieved at the level of the study programme, but rather on an institutional level.

While student mobility is often observed under the focus of studying abroad only, internships are another important form of mobility, especially in the *Fachhochschule* sector, where internships are an obligatory part of all study programmes. Many students use internships as an opportunity to gain international experiences. At universities, where internships are not obligatory and not always possible, there exists less documentation on this type of student mobility. δ1 claims that 25% of its graduates gained international experience via internships.

8.4.4 Staff mobility and staff development

A respondent in γ2 regards it as a strategic necessity to send faculty members abroad as pioneers for more intense forms of cooperation to follow. The institution therefore set the strategic goal to raise the mobility of faculty members to 30%. However, there are some obstacles. Participation in shorter programmes results in additional work for the individual. On the other hand, the longer absence of faculty members is hardly manageable at small *Fachhochschule* institutions, since specialised lectures cannot be substituted by their local colleagues. Additionally, some lectures feel uncertain about their English language competency.

γ1 also sees a special importance in international research and staff mobility. A specialist was hired to coordinate applications for research and development programmes, which are offered on a European, national and regional level. She also provides support for staff mobility, which mainly is based on the personal contacts of individual faculty members. Visiting scholars are welcomed, since they stimulate thematic developments and can contribute to research cooperation. An additional advantage can be that they can offer courses in English as well, which could extend the supply of courses in English.

About half of the faculty members at δ2 come from abroad. Additionally, many of them are very active internationally, as musicians, teachers or as judges in contests. The institution also participates in bilateral exchange agreements and in staff mobility within the ERASMUS framework. Since many of these activities are not systematically

documented, the learning effects are largely informal and on a personal level only. Nevertheless, these activities contribute to the reputation of the institution.

δ1 Tries to foster faculty mobility as a means of improving research contacts. Currently, faculty mobility is less developed than student mobility. Faculty exchange is generally limited to a few days rather than longer time spans, since a longer absence could do harm to the regular teaching operations of study programmes. This is one of the reasons why the institution is considering reducing the variety of courses, parallel to employing more staff with similar competencies.

α distinguishes itself in the great mobility of its teaching staff, which is supported by various multinational education programmes. Additionally, the university supports individual mobility on the basis of bilateral institutional contracts, which are more flexible for individual needs and better contribute to cooperation with partner institutions. Another recent development is the programme for international guest professors, which has been designed especially for guests from South Eastern Europe. It should provide the possibility to invite guests who are of interest for more than one study programme only. As a complementary measurement to support incoming faculty, the institution set up a programme of special events for international guests.

8.4.5 Language

Part of the problem for balancing exchange rates is foreign language competencies, both of outgoing and of incoming students. Outgoing students frequently prefer HEIs in the English speaking world, since English is the *lingua franca* and most commonly known among students. In return, for students from English speaking countries, it normally is less easy and less attractive to study at German speaking universities. A similar phenomenon is observable with domestic students who are reluctant, for example, to learn languages used in CEE countries.

Some of the institutions have developed strategies in relation to foreign languages. For both *Fachhochschule* institutions, a foreign language has been an obligatory part of all study programmes through the duration of studies. On this basis, a new language strategy for the whole institution has been developed γ2. After the first semester, all students will be examined on their English language competency via a standardised test (e.g. TOEFL). If they pass a defined minimum level, they can opt to substitute English with another foreign language. The institution tries to strategically link the issue of language competency with the question of studying abroad in an early stage, when training for another language (e.g. French, Spanish, Italian) is still possible.

Foreign languages courses in business communication are obligatory in all study programmes of δ1. The amount of contact hours in a foreign language differs between 4 and 28, depending on the respective study programme. Currently, the university is expanding its provision of courses held in English, developing one track for undergraduates (starting in the second year of studies) completely taught in English and planning to provide large parts of Master and PhD programmes in English.

α Has developed bilingual (German/English) descriptions for all courses and lectures, and publishes them at the universities homepage as an early orientation for prospective incoming students. Lecturers sometimes teach their courses in English on a voluntarily basis. Even if this is regarded as a positive development, respondents were opposed to making this mandatory. Many lecturers are not prepared to teach in another language. A foreign language as an additional requirement sometimes even contradicts the main educational goal. For example, it might be too much of a challenge to learn abstract mathematical concepts in a foreign language, and it is seen as contradictory to teach folklore or local history in any other language than the native language. Similar concerns were stated at γ1 as well.

8.5 Consequences on the organisational building blocks

8.5.1 Social structure

To a large extent, the professionalisation of internationalisation can be seen as a reaction to increased international activities created by EU programmes. It is a frequent pattern that internationalisation starts as an activity of academics and, with increasing volume, becomes a distinct task of specialised personnel and service units. HEIs found different ways to organise the crucial interplay between academic and administrative responsibilities.

In the mid 1980s, the dean of humanities at α was asked to act as an informal "minister of foreign affairs" and to intensify international activities of the institution. Political changes in the SEE countries and Austria's rapprochement to the EU increased the general interest in international affairs and led the foundation of the first office of international relations at an Austrian university at the beginning of the 1990s. The office was staffed with 12 people and subordinated to the vice rector for international relations, a management position established in 2000. A recent reform led to a clearer distinction between the front office for advising and service, and a back office for strategic tasks. In its role as interface, the office sees itself confronted with increased demand for information on internationalisation activities. Given the complexity of the institution, it is an unusually large expenditure of time and personnel to regularly give structured information. Therefore it became a top

priority of the vice rector to commission the development of a comprehensive "database international". In the meantime, the respective software became a tool which raised the interest of other universities as well. Some faculty members regretted the abolishment of the integrated university commission for international relations in 2004 due to the implementation of the new university act. They showed interest in the creation of a similar body, composed of representatives from the different faculties. One respondent missed the position of a specialised manager for international affairs for each faculty, a deficit that sometimes leads to an overburden (or disinterest) among faculty members.

During the 1980s, an academic commission on international contacts tried to gain an overview of the international activities at δ1. In the early 1990s, this also led to the foundation of a specialised unit, the centre for studying abroad, which reports to the vice rector for research, international affairs and external relations since the foundation of this management position in the late 1990s. To increase the involvement in institutional internationalisation, a special concept of academic advisors (*Kooperationsbeauftragte*) was created. For each partner university, an academic advisor is nominated and appointed by the vice rector. While the centre for studying abroad does most of the administrative work, the main function of an academic advisor is to serve as the "face" of the university towards partner institutions, e.g. by visiting them or by welcoming guests. This task is not only formally acknowledged by the vice rector, but also financially supported by the university.

At δ2, internationalisation is very much performed and organised on an individual level. The institution set up a bureau for foreign relations within the section for public relations, events and foreign affairs. Responsible to the rector, the bureau does not only manage student and staff mobility, but it is also involved in the arrangement of exchange concerts or guest concerts.

γ1 Employs a specialist for international programmes as a member of the central administration, responsible mainly for R&D programmes, but also for mobility programmes. She mainly concentrates on aspects of common interest, e.g. on standardising application procedures, finding access to new programmes or stimulating activities in the workgroup for international affairs. Most of the international activities are organised locally by international coordinators: regular faculty members who additionally administrate international activities. Since the institution (and therefore the amount of international activities) is quickly growing, most international coordinators hope to receive administrative support. The workgroup for international affairs, which mainly consists of the international coordinators from all locations, serves as a platform for institution-wide know-how transfer.

At γ2, the responsibility for international activities started as the task of a language teacher, but soon became functionally differentiated in a comparatively well-equipped international office (three staff members). The international office directly reports to the rector and is responsible for mobility programmes, the coordination of networks and observation of international research schemes. Here there is an interesting split between academic and administrative tasks. Often the heads of study programmes start with personal contacts, but it is up to the international office to regularly cultivate them. In addition to intensive informal interaction, the international office has annual meetings with the heads of each study programme, as well as annual workshops with the rector.

8.5.2 Goals

The interplay between internationalisation and increased institutional autonomy is crucial for the development of goals. These goals can take different forms. Sometimes HEIs gather already existing activities, create organisational self-descriptions and reformulate these collections as coherent institutional priorities. Sometimes this can lead to the discovery of potential connections between formerly distinct tasks or aspects of internationalisation (e.g. research and education) and to integrative goals. And sometimes change is used to trigger change, when the need to adapt to external requirements is used as an opportunity to set additional institutional goals. Examples of all these different forms of institutional goals were found in our case studies, and in some cases all forms are present.

In 2000, the newly established management of α initiated a process to develop a comprehensive strategy for the university. The section on international relations was dealt with by a special work group, composed of representatives from all faculties. As a result, the institution set the strategic priority to further develop its special competency on SEE countries, also to use it as a distinctive characteristic in the European area of HE.

A comprehensive change management project has been performed at δ1 in 2002/03 as well. A major institutional goal derived from the so-called ALFA-project was the idea to improve the international competitiveness of the university, partly based on an institutional benchmarking with prestigious European peer institutions. As mentioned above, the university wants to increase efficiency in undergraduate studies and wants to shift resources towards research activities and (post)graduate education. In a bottom up process, the university wants to develop criteria for the assessment of research productivity and excellence. Increasingly, it also intends to use international examples for quality control, for example the use of ratings for journal publications developed by the

German association of HE teachers for economics, or international accreditation for study programmes.

In January 2004, δ2 was the first Austrian art university to undergo an external evaluation, as it is regulated by the university act 2002, involving international peers from five European countries. On the basis of the results, the management drafted a development plan, which now has to be approved both by the senate of the university and by the federal ministry. One of the results of this review is an increased awareness of international peer institutions and their organisational behaviour, for example with respect to salaries and contact hours of faculty members.

In 2002, γ2 involved all employees in the development of a new, comprehensive strategy for the institution. Internationalisation became an essential part of this strategy, making clear that it is not only a task of a distinct unit but of the entire institution. The international office suggested gradually matching mobility programmes with the foreign trade statistics of the domestic region, especially improving contacts to SWE countries. Other bold strategic developments are the coordinated transformation of all study programmes to the new bachelor/master structure and the foundation of three research centres to overcome fragmentation of research activities and to sharpen the research profile of the institution both nationally and internationally.

Commissioned by the central management, in 2002 the work group for internationalisation at γ1 started to develop an institutional concept for internationalisation. The main idea was to avoid a mere imitation of other HEIs and to build on existing strength and demands of the institution. Analysing the main activities at the different locations, the workgroup found out that three types of internationalisation are typical for the institution: research cooperation, internationalisation at home, and mobility (which in any case should not exceed the importance of the other two types). These three types of internationalisation were taken as pillars for the comprehensive internationalisation strategy and defined by qualitative and quantitative objectives. They also structure the electronic, centrally maintained database that is currently being built up.

8.5.3 Participants

Most HEIs have a goal of increased student mobility, even if the efforts differ. In some cases, the expansion of student mobility has reached quantitative limits, where study places abroad and available funds become scarce. In this situation, HEIs have to become more selective, e.g. by linking the access to resources to the academic achievements of students. Additionally, the achievements abroad are more rigidly observed.

Both staff mobility and staff development are generally recognized to be of growing importance for HEIs. Beyond the support for individual mobility of faculty members, institutions gradually start to link mobility with staff development measurements. γ2 Plans to set up a staff development programme including language training and increasingly makes language competency a requirement for the employment of new staff. δ1 is planning to at least double the amount of staffing in selected fields, which would help to set priorities in certain subject areas and would offer the opportunity to make more use of the system of leave (*Freisemester*), which is generally not used as much in Austria as in Germany. To improve the impact of visiting scholars, the institution wants to foster the networking between guest and domestic faculty by organising informal meetings on a regular basis. Internationalisation also is an issue in the trainee programmes of the institution, both for general staff and for junior faculty. The programme for junior faculty contains training for international competency, such as a two-day seminar on teaching in English. The institute for English business communication also offers one-to-one coaching for the presentation of conference papers. Apart from financial support for attending international conferences, the institution also funds proofreading for scholarly publications in foreign languages.

A unique initiative is the international internships programme at α, which addresses both academic and general staff of the university. Carried out in cooperation with partner universities, these programmes offer their participants insights into other university systems and broaden their inter-cultural competence. The internship programmes are regarded as highly successful, which is also reflected in a prize awarded to the university by the European Association for International Education (EIAE) for this example of internationalisation policy.

8.5.4 Technology

Bologna process and curricula reform

For a comprehensive university like α, the implementation of the Bologna process is an extremely complex task, because a huge number of diverse study programmes is involved. Since expertise in international structures, networks and mobility programmes is regarded as essential, the office of international relations became responsible for the coordination of this task and the position of a promoter was created. Apart from steering the process by linking it to the strategic development of the university, it is also supported by the organisation of events and the provision of extensive information material via a special homepage. The university wants to use the process for widening the range of programmes. Currently, 14 curricula for bachelor and 12 curricula for master study

programmes have been developed, which started to operate in 2003/04. Economics and social sciences have been among the first to introduce the new system. Other fields have been more hesitant; for example, the humanities have not been amenable to the notion of employability and labour market relevance for bachelor programmes. Additionally, the implementation of the bachelor/master structure follows recent reforms, which sometimes makes it necessary to simultaneously deal with three generations of curricula. The faculty of law has another problem, created by the new three year limitation for bachelor programmes. In contrast to the humanities, law schools provide education for very distinct professions. For most of the traditional professions in law, three years are not enough to acquire the necessary job qualification.

A recent study reform at δ1 lead to the foundation of a new diploma study programme for international business administration, and to the transformation of business informatics into the bachelor/master structure. Both study programmes started operation in 2002. Interestingly, the Bologna process was not regarded at the time to be of general importance for the whole institution. This perception has subsequently changed. Under the new rector, a comprehensive transformation of all study programmes towards the bachelor/master structure became a top priority. Increased harmonisation in Europe was one, but not the only reason for this step. The main motive was to use the new structure as a means for standardisation and cost reduction, to lever resources for other tasks. Mass HE would be concentrated at bachelors level to reduce costs and to increase productivity. Differentiation and research-oriented education would mainly take place in masters and PhD programmes. Prestigious MBAs will be developed for the continuing education segment. While the number of new bachelor programmes is not decided yet, the university has already reorganised the first year for all new entrants, extensively using standardised modules and new technologies. While the harmonisation of the study architecture in Europe is widely accepted, some concerns have been raised with respect to a lack of compatibility between European and US-American bachelor degrees.

For instrumental study programmes, δ2 has responded early to the Bologna process. Partly having been pushed by the government, the university introduced four year bachelors and consecutively two year masters programmes for instrumental studies, which already meant a significant reduction in the length of studies, compared to eight years of the old diploma programmes. A respondent regarded the university as lucky to have shifted to the new structure early, because the new university law 2002 allows only three years as a maximum length for newly introduced bachelors studies. Most other study programmes at δ2 still continue to be organised as diploma studies.

At γ1, a steering group was formed out of representatives from all four locations, trying to develop a Bologna strategy for the whole institution. Soon it became clear that a unified process would not fit the needs and particularities of the different subject areas. Therefore it was agreed to dissolve the group and to return the responsibility to the local level. Location C found out that the bachelor/master structure seems to be a standard in IT studies in Europe. Three bachelor programmes have started already, and most of the other programmes will switch to the new structure. Location B is considering whether to build one comprehensive, economic bachelor programme and several different masters programmes. In the next two years, location D is expected to shift its programmes for social welfare to the new system. The "hard-core" technical programmes at location A are still hesitant.

γ2 regarded Bologna as a useful instrument for already envisioned reforms. Instead of aiming at incremental adaptation (programme by programme), the institution set a more ambitious goal to rebuild the entire study structure of the whole institution. In 2002, it submitted a new application to the *Fachhochschulrat* (the responsible accreditation agency), a concept for the synchronised transfer of all study programmes into the new structure. Most of the programmes will start as bachelors in 2004. Technically speaking, one of the biggest problems was the lack of experience with respect to transfer rates from bachelor to master programmes. This is crucial for *Fachhochschule* institutions, since they are funded on a per capita basis per study place. Clear assumptions on transfer rates and respective funding commitments have been a prerequisite to take this step. The institution investigated transfer rates internationally, both in countries with longer traditions (30%), as well as in countries with shorter traditions (70%). In the long run, □2 expects a transfer rate of about 50%.

Postgraduate programmes, joint degrees, summer schools

δ1 Is involved in two special joint study programmes, called CEMS-MIM and JOSZEF, which provide additional qualifications to more advanced students. Both programmes try to recruit and train a young generation of prospective managers. Basic requirements are foreign languages, studies abroad and an internship. Based on networks of business schools in Europe, CEMS consists of 16 members mainly located in western Europe, while all 12 partners in the JOSZEF programme are located in CEE countries. These programmes are developed in cooperation with the business community and sponsored by many companies. Graduates hold either the CEMS-MIM (Master in Management) or the JOSZEF certificate. On the level of postgraduate education, the university is also involved in two double degree MBA programmes with institutions in the USA. Additionally, the university provides a considerable number of international summer universities. One of these

programmes is held in Vienna, predominantly focusing on international students, the rest are organised in different locations abroad. Students can earn ECTS credit points, which count towards their general course work. Summer universities can help to relieve the university from student numbers during term-time and fulfil quotas in exchange contracts. All of these programmes charge fees, but in most cases these fees cover the costs only.

Having been founded in 1916, the international summer academy for music at δ2 was among the first of its kind. It attracts participants from all over the world. On the first day of a session, a few students are chosen as active participants, while the others can register as listeners. The summer academy enables prospective students to get in contact with the university and to meet with domestic and international instructors. Every year, some of them decide to apply for regular study programmes. In addition to boosting student recruitment, the summer academy is also an active way to maintain contacts amongst artists and instructors, and serves as a platform for international meetings. Fees cover the costs of organising this special programme.

In one of the locations of γ1, two international summer schools have already been organised. A third one was planned aimed especially at China. Due to external reasons it came to a halt, since visa arrangements could not be made in time. The contact was made by the regional chamber of commerce, which has a partnership with a similar institution in a province in China.

γ2 is currently preparing joint degrees in 2 study programmes, for a masters programme in media design, and a bachelors programme in economics, both with universities in the UK. The main idea is that students start the first half of the programme at home and finish at the partner institution. A special department for postgraduate education is organising programmes for postgraduate education. Two of these programmes have been developed in cooperation with partners in the region of Lake Constance, another is rooted in the region as well, but also involves partners in Canada, Great Britain and China. The institution additionally organises visiting programmes and summer schools for partner institutions. One of the summer schools is an instrument to improve the exchange balance between the British university and the Austrian *Fachhochschule* institution, since the British participants in the summer school count towards Austrian exchange students in regular programmes.

8.6 Feedback loop: effects on the institutional environment

8.6.1 The regulative dimension

HEIs are not only objects of external pressures: sometimes they also can influence their institutional environment. An interesting example for this possible influence was given by the association of Austrian *Fachhochschule* institutions (*FHK*). After signing the respective international agreements, both the Ministry and the *Fachhochschulrat* (the responsible accreditation agency for the *Fachhochschule* sector) regarded *Fachhochschulen* as a national peculiarity. Therefore only the legal regulations of the university sector were amended to the Bologna Declaration in the first place. Successfully lobbying to be treated on equal terms, the *FHK* prevailed on the Ministry to introduce similar regulations for *Fachhochschulen*, which gave them the chance to introduce the bachelor/master structure on a voluntary basis as well. Another example was given by the collective outcry of the HE sector against recent plans of the Ministry to reduce the additional national contribution for outgoing ERASMUS students to one semester only. The Ministry quickly dropped the issue. However, this episode also can serve as an indication that the quantitative success of mobility programmes slowly endangers their current funding schemes.

It also is observable that some normative implications of national regulations are not accepted by all HEIs and that there are ways to undermine regulations. Among others, the university of economics in case δ1 decided to circumvent the new national regulation to charge students from non-EU countries twice the domestic fee by refunding everything beyond the regular domestic fee to students from most non-EU countries (mainly South Eastern European countries and Turkey). This refund is called a voluntary social contribution of the university to ensure its legality.

8.6.2 Normative dimension

Very clearly, Austrian HEIs increasingly think about the internationalisation of the institution in contrast to that of individuals. This new self-awareness of the organisation has at least three possible consequences: self-monitoring and increased selectivity in partnerships; profile development and the search for the most similar peer institutions; and internationalisation as a tool and driver for institutional competition.

In the past, α had a summative description of its international contacts, counting about 300 partner institutions in Europe and about 500 worldwide. In the meantime this picture became more precise and differentiated. The university now distinguishes between university partnerships (18), faculty partnerships (18) and departmental partnerships (76). Additionally, α has developed a special software to monitor all its international activities, a tool in which other universities also are interested. γ2 is also consolidating its partnerships, trying to find those which could be used for more than only one type of international activity (e.g. student exchange and research co-operation).

Similarity is an important criterion, especially for specialised HEIs, since it raises chances for shared interests and for easier cooperation. For its outgoing ERASMUS students, δ2 looks out not only for other music universities, but especially for those with the full range of classical instruments, since only those can offer students training on the individual instrument, on playing in chamber music ensembles and large orchestras. And it is starting to compare itself with other institutions in economic terms (e.g. salaries, workload, etc.) This is even more true for δ1, which uses other European universities of economics as benchmarks for basic institutional data.

Since it was founded in the early 1990s, the rector of γ2 regards his institution as a latecomer in an increasingly structured European area for HE and research. Most of the older HEIs in Western Europe already had a sufficient number of institutional partnerships, which makes it difficult for newer institutions (or for those from the new EU-member states) to enter this market. On the other hand, he sees international partnerships as a way of overcoming national status hierarchies between the *Fachhochschule* and the university sector. This idea is confirmed by the fact that *Fachhochschulen* name themselves universities of applied sciences in international contexts. Traditional universities compete for reputation on an institutional level as well. One way to do this is by participating in highly exclusive networks. α is the only Austrian university to be member of the UTRECHT NETWORK and of the COIMBRA GROUP. δ1 participates in CEMS (Community of European Management Schools and International Companies) and in the PIM (Programme in International Management) network.

8.6.3 Cultural dimension

Internationalisation can challenge, but also improve national concepts, by both changing and confirming them. Having gained much international experience via the student mobility within his institution, the rector of γ2 gained the impression that the system of the *Fachhochschule* sector has worked well in the past, but cannot stay a protected niche in an international context any longer. For him, several characteristics of the *Fachhochschule* sector turned out to hinder mobility and international exchange, e.g. the focus on too narrow job descriptions, rigidly organised curricula and the lack of research orientation. On the other hand, the obligatory internship in all study programmes is still regarded as an outstanding feature that can provide a competitive advantage internationally. In contrast to the normal procedure, where individual study programmes are submitted for accreditation, γ2 asked the responsible accreditation agency to accept its synchronised proposal for the entire organisation.

8.7 Factors impeding/fostering internationalisation

There exist large differences between the described HEIs with respect to geographic locations, to institutional profiles and to subject areas. Still, it is striking how much these differences determine the perceptions of internationalisation, the connected rationales and the respective challenges and problems. A first conclusion therefore has to be to acknowledge the resulting variety in strategies and activities, both from inside the institution by the management, as well as from outside by governments or by steering agencies. Appropriate evaluation measurements therefore have to find the suitable complexity (which indicators to consider), but also the right granularity (which unit/entity to observe). Oversimplified comparisons (e.g. on exchange mobility only) could lead to frustration and impede internationalisation.

On the level of the individual HEIs (or of sub-units like departments or faculties) it seems to be helpful to analyse the specific environment of the organisation, especially the peer group of competitors and (potential) partner institutions, to create a clear picture of its position in an international (European, global) space for research and HE. For this analysis, it is also necessary to include non-academic institutions and actors which are outside the HE system, for example private companies, but also public institutions or associations, since these clients of the HEI have international interests of their own.

This analysis should lead to consequences inside the individual HEIs. First of all, an HEI has to be selective with respect to its goals. For example, it does not have to perform all types of international activities, at least not to the same extent. Secondly, the HEI has to set up an appropriate support structure in balance with its goals and, equally important, to ensure sufficient interaction between support units and academic units for the regular adaptation of aims and measurements. Thirdly, the HEI should aim at integrating different international activities or international goals with other goals of the institution to raise synergies.

On a national, maybe even on a European level, we observed many activities in the regulatory dimension, but a certain lack of activities with respect to the normative and the cultural dimension. While there are many new regulations which effect the structure and the funding of HE, institutions sometimes seem to miss orientation about the national (European) objectives behind these changes. They sometimes do not know how they are expected to behave, or what their room for the interpretation of regulations might be, which can lead to mere structural adaptations, e.g. of the bachelor/master structure. In this situation, additional regulations do not help. It would be more helpful if political actors on the one hand would clarify and publicly negotiate their expectations with HEIs. On the

other hand, political actors could help HEIs to orient themselves by organising debates, e.g. discipline-specific debates on the interpretation and options of the Bologna structure.

All of the Austrian cases are public institutions that predominantly produce education and research as public goods. They can not be left alone with the decision as to how far they behave competitively or cooperatively in their international activities, or if they try to generate revenues from these activities. These decisions also affect the national HE system as such, in how far the system positions itself in an international context. Since in the past HE has been defined as a public good in the boundaries of national territories, the question has to be asked what the status of this public good might be in an international (European, global) context. The answer to this question can not be given by the individual HEIs.

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4. International comparative analysis

Kelly Coate, Gitsa Kontigiannopoulou-Polydorides, Anneke Luijten-Lub, Yiouli Papadiamantaki, George Stamelos, Marijk van der Wende and Gareth Williams

This chapter presents the international comparative analysis of the case studies carried out in the seven countries involved in this project, which were presented in the preceding chapters. Following the structure of these reports and linking back to our theoretical assumptions presented in chapter 1, we will first present an analysis of the views and perceptions of internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation by the main actors involved. This analysis will be followed by an overview of the actual activities that are undertaken by the higher education institutions in this study. Then the effects of internationalisation on the organisation as such will be discussed with reference to the various building blocks of the organisation, followed by an analysis of the internationalisation strategies and the relationship with change in the various institutional pillars (see chapter I). Finally, the factors impeding or fostering internationalisation are discussed.

1. Perceptions of internationalisation: global, regional and local dimensions

The reports from the seven countries illustrate that all higher education systems are undertaking changes in response to the challenges of internationalisation and globalisation. However, most respondents in all countries do not differentiate conceptually between internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation.

Overall one may note that globalisation is not perceived as a process currently affecting daily practice or the development of internationalisation activities. When prompted, UK respondents found useful the idea that globalisation refers to a worldwide competition for student fees, research and consultancy contracts, while internationalisation refers to the more traditional activities of study abroad, student exchanges, academic networking and collaborative research. In Greece it is clear that we can identify the counterpart of such a view in that some respondents identify the commercialisation of education as a globalisation effect. The commercialisation of education is exemplified in the operation of so-called Centres for Free Studies under franchising agreements and the export of education services to Greece (mainly from the UK). However, given that the regulative framework does not allow for State recognition of the awarded degrees, the HE system is currently seen as protected from such globalisation effects.

Respondents do not distinguish clearly between internationalisation and Europeanisation, although internationalisation is generally understood as a concept broader than

Europeanisation. One may note an inherent tension between the varying meanings assigned to internationalisation, which is seen by respondents as a process encompassing a multitude of activities that may have a global, European or regional focus and may take place both at home and abroad.

This lack of clarity over the meaning and scope of internationalisation activities appears related to the fact that neither all HEIs in the same country, nor all faculties within a particular HEI, pursue internationalisation activities with equal determination. Perceptions of internationalisation, and the range of internationalisation activities pursued, differ by type of HEI and appear to relate to the institution's historical background, mission and its cultural (national and organisational) environment.

The academic profiles of the case study institutions are wide-ranging, and are a strong factor in organisational responses to European, international and global issues. In some of the universities, particularly the α case studies, research-led strategies of development figure prominently in their international priorities. Other case studies, such as some of the β and γ universities and colleges, put more specific emphasis on contributions to their local region and its relationships with the wider world. There are also case studies with a mixture of both regional and international missions. For example, the γ case study in Germany promotes itself as at home in Bavaria and successful in the world. Similarly, one of the γ case studies in the UK is aiming for global excellence regionally and the university sees itself as playing an important role in promoting the external visibility of the region. In the two cases mentioned, the strong, historical links to their regions have provided foundations for the development of international activities, and while both the regional and international missions are considered to be important the international work is seen as underpinning the regional role.

Much of the general data collected through interviews across the case studies indicates that there are mixed perceptions about the effects of the drivers of internationalisation and globalisation, and difficulties with making a clear-cut contrast between competition as opposed to cooperation. In some cases, academic cooperation on an international level is also a form of global competition, as partnerships and other forms of networking enable institutions to compete on an international basis or to distinguish themselves from national competitors. There is a fine line between the mutual benefits derived from academic cooperation, and the enhancement of institutional status derived from financial gains and/or advancement on an international level that improves competitive positions. Therefore, some actors in the case study institutions were inclined to view cooperation and competition as two sides of the same coin.

It is perhaps within the α universities where synergies between international cooperation and competition were most likely to be expressed. In these institutions certain faculties have established international relationships that are cooperative but also enhance their competitiveness on a global scale. As some of the respondents in the α UK suggested, it is possible to collaborate with competitors, and competition for the best students may occur concurrently with collaboration in research – and vice versa. Joint and collaborative teaching programmes may develop in departments that are fiercely competitive in seeking funding for research. In addition some of the smaller, more specialised case study institutions are also competitive on an international basis through cooperation with other institutions within their fields of specialisation. In one of the Austrian δ case studies, for example, the institutional strategy is to continue to enhance its international profile in the arts, and thus its international competitive position, through cooperation with arts faculties in other countries. The Greek δ case study also offers competitive postgraduate programmes in its specialist field of economics and business, and it is seeking to develop further international links in teaching and research.

2. Internationalisation activities

The following overview presents the broad ranges of internationalisation activities that can be distinguished across the institutions and countries involved in this study. The various activities will be discussed in more detail in the following sections.

- *Student and staff mobility*. All HEIs in this research are involved in student mobility and exchange. This concerns on the one hand exchange of students in programmes like ERASMUS and the recruitment of degree students on the other. Staff mobility, particularly for teaching staff, such as visiting lecturers for teaching, is a less frequent activity.

- *Curriculum development*. In the area of curriculum development several activities are undertaken by all different types of institutions in the countries in the study. In many countries, as a follow-up to the Bologna Declaration, the institutions are changing their programmes in line with the Declaration. Furthermore, various aspects of internationalisation of the curriculum can be observed, as well as the development of joint degree programmes. Language training is an ongoing activity almost everywhere, and in various countries an increase in programmes taught in the English language can be observed.

- *Research and scholarly collaboration*. International activities as part of research and scholarly collaboration are something quite common for most of the universities (particularly α and β institutions) in this study. The picture is more varied amongst

the institutions, where research is not a core activity. In most cases reference is made to the funding of the international research projects by the EU.

- *Export of knowledge & transnational education*. Transnational education and the overseas provision of higher education programmes (i.e. the recruitment of international students for economic reasons, whether they take the programme at the home or branch campus, or through distance learning) is less common in most countries than the activities described above.

- *Other activities*. Other activities than the ones described above may involve technical/financial assistance programmes or extra-curricular activities aimed at internationalisation. The most noticeable activities in terms of technical assistance are the programmes involving North-South cooperation.

3. Internationalisation activities by type of institution

The international activities of most of the α universities are driven to a considerable extent by research aspirations and their desires to recruit students competitively with other major global universities. This is expressed most clearly in the case of the English α institution whose "international strategies... were quite explicitly driven by the university's self image as one of the world's leading universities and the desire to consolidate that image... the main driver of all these activities and of much else is for α to be one of the top global players".

The Dutch α university has, of old, been internationally oriented, especially in the area of research. This line has continued to the present, as α has stated it wants to be a top European research-intensive university.

In Norway α "has long traditions with international activities profiled under the label 'the most international university of Norway'. Moreover, (it) had a comparably early focus on the importance of attracting international scholars which can be reflected in the guest researcher programme that was established in 1977, aiming at inviting international scholars to the university …".

In Germany there is a vivid debate with regard to developments on the global market for higher education and the positioning of German higher education in this market. The recent opening up of the debate on elite universities seems to strengthen the competitive dimension in the German context. The United States is perceived as the greatest competitor with regard to attracting young talents globally. According to many interviewees, German universities are only the "second choice" of the international students with high potential. Most of the interviewees that felt challenged by the dominant

attractiveness of the US universities stressed that Germany could only catch up or play in the first league if the legal framework was reformed (in particular with regard to tuition fees), if student services were enhanced and if grants for high talents were more generously and broadly awarded.

In Austria, Greece and Portugal the aspirations of the α universities are slightly more modest. In the Austrian example "the aim is to intensify this priority and to develop a special competence for South Eastern Europe as the distinctive feature for the institution among European universities".

In the Greek α a major driver of its international work is the promotion of the Greek language, culture and civilisation and especially the strengthening of the links of ethnic and migrant Greeks with Greece and the university.

In Portugal internationalisation processes are essentially rooted in research links established between foreign PhD holders and the awarding organisation, favouring the development of subsequent research projects.

The institutions designated as β are in general of considerably more recent origin than α but otherwise have a similar international focus. However, there are differences in the international profiles of these institutions. Some overlap with α and have broadly similar aspirations while others have more local origins and substantial international work has developed more recently. For example, when the English β was founded in the early 1960s, international activities were part of its core mission and were not the money-making ventures they tend to be regarded as now. Involvement with the world was intellectually driven. A School of European Studies and a School of English and American Studies were part of the university from the outset. Economic and Social Development Studies has always been a significant focus of both teaching and research.

Both the Greek β institutions have somewhat similar origins to their English counterpart. One was established in the 1960s with a view to building an international and European profile in both teaching and research, both of which are actively promoted, including a university policy for Erasmus/Socrates student mobility schemes. The other β institution, a 1980s university, is developing a policy as a means to promote international activities in teaching and research and to attain a higher position in the hierarchy of universities. Both universities have extensive research activities, which support their internationalisation policies. The Portuguese β also has a somewhat similar pedigree. One of its vice-presidents claimed that "internationalisation is in the institution's genes".

The Dutch β has had a slightly different trajectory of growth. It is the most recently established Dutch university, founded in 1976, and its intrinsic internationalism is linked to its geographic location near the German and Belgian borders: "Attracting foreign students came naturally to β due to its geographical location". However, β has stated in its latest policy documents that it wants to broaden its regional view and recruitment to a more European and international one. In the German β the international focus also seems to have followed rather than led the initial development of the university. It was founded in the early 1970s to try to bring some reform to the rather rigid university system, but its initial profile was more regional and it was only in the 1990s that its mission has been recognised as regionally based, but internationally oriented.

Just as the β institutions overlap to some extent with the α universities so there is considerable overlap between the γs and the εs. The main differences that are relevant to the internationalisation issue are that the γ universities and colleges all started as regionally and locally focussed institutions with a predominantly teaching role. While internationalisation is an important constituent of the self image of all the universities and colleges in the case studies it was frequently mentioned in the γ institutions in particular as a means of raising their profile within their national higher education systems. International activities are also acting as a gateway to the wider world for their local communities and also, especially in England, as a means of increasing income.

Both the Austrian γ institutions started as *Fachhochschule* in the 1990s with specific missions to serve their local communities. One of them is situated in a region that connects Germany, Switzerland, Liechentstein and Austria. Regionalisation is identical with cross-border cooperation. This became everyday business for the institution, an experience that helps long distance internationalisation as well. However, both γ institutions are anxious to transcend the image of being local high schools and training establishments by taking part in broader international networks. They also see their role as providing a link between their local communities and the wider world. One of them defined "product development, innovation and sustainability as meta-goals for its research strategy, trying to contribute to the international competitiveness of its local business community".

These Austrian examples are similar to the English γ universities which until the early 1990s were specifically teaching-oriented and locally-focused polytechnics. In one case, "international activity was seen to a large extent as one way of consolidating the institution's self image as a university". The university was also seen as "a gateway for the local community to a wider world". One respondent commented that "… we're a regional university with an international dimension, rather than an international university".

Examples were quoted of joint bids by the university and local councils for funding from various EU regional funds. The Greek γ has a similar genesis having been established in 1983 as the largest Technological Education Institution (TEI) in Greece. However, its international aspirations have been developed exclusively in relation to the EU framework and aim to foster Erasmus mobility, and the international experiences its students acquire through these programmes are considered to be very important.

The Dutch γ case study was established in its present form only in 1996 with primarily a local teaching and training function. It has only recently started to develop an internationalisation strategy but "… internationalisation is now high on the agenda …for several strategic, educational, cultural and economic motives. Strategic motives are to adapt to the impact of international developments on higher education, adapt to the influence of the Bologna Declaration and GATS as well as increasing competition in the market for higher education. The main educational argument for internationalisation is that the international dimension is part of the primary process, as knowledge knows no borders. Other educational arguments are that (γ) wants to prepare students for a European or international labour market and wants to improve the quality of programmes by internationalisation. Teachers can learn from international contacts and furthermore, internationalisation is part of the criteria for accreditation of programmes. Cultural arguments … are the worldwide communication through ICT, interculturalisation of society, the cultural and ethnical diversity of the (local) population as well as the opportunities through internationalisation to contribute to a global, durable society and awareness for development cooperation in education. Finally, economic arguments are that foreign fee paying students are an extra source of income …"

The two Portuguese γ institutions (polytechnic institutes) both undertake international activities in order to further their local and regional missions and are not primarily viewed as ends in themselves or as raising their status in the national higher education system. In the German γ institution internationalisation was implicit until recent years but now an explicit internationalisation strategy is developing. However, the Norwegian γ example -a regional university college in the east of the country -has so far resisted the allure of internationalisation and regional aims still dominate the institution's strategic plans until 2007. Its international work is confined largely to sending a number of students abroad on Erasmus exchanges.

It is convenient in this brief overview to consider the δ and ε institutions together since they form heterogeneous categories. The international work of the former δ depends in large part on the specialist subjects covered: Economics and Business (Austria, Greece), Music and the Arts (Austria, the Netherlands and Portugal), and Applied Sciences and

Technology (Germany). The latter, ε, are by definition special cases and cover distance education (England), an agricultural university (the Netherlands), a school of theology (Norway) and a fairly small private university (Portugal). It is relevant here only to highlight features that have some general relevance to an understanding of institutional responses to internationalisation generally.

The German specialised institution is a major technical university, situated in a regional capital. It is strongly linked to regional industry (automobile, aviation, biotechnology, agriculture and food technology). The word "entrepreneurial" was used in the case study to describe the university. It was one of the first German universities to explicitly formulate an internationalisation strategy in the second half of the 1990s and was the first German university to establish an offshore campus abroad. It sees its higher education environment as highly competitive, but it also profits from the attractiveness of its host city and the strong regional economy. A quarter of its students are from outside Germany, considerably higher than the German average and the other German institutions in the study. The number of its students taking part in ERASMUS programmes has grown very rapidly in recent years. Performance indicators show it to be one of the top 3 German research universities.

One of the Austrian specialist institutions, that in Economics and Business, was founded in the 19th century. It is said to be the largest economics university in Europe reaping considerable economies of scale from its size and extreme specialisation enabling it to have a very low cost per student. About one-fifth of its students come from outside Austria. It aims to be in the top five German-speaking and the top fifteen European higher education institutions in its field. To improve its international profile, it aims to sharpen its profile both in research and education, e.g. by developing high ranking MBA-and PhD-programmes and by increasing research activities. These goals should be achieved by leveraging efficiency gains in undergraduate study programmes. Economics is one of the most internationalised subjects and this Austrian university regards internationalisation not only a necessity, but a core competency of the institution. Internationalisation forms an integral part of nearly every policy paper at the university. Geographically, the university focuses on three areas: English speaking countries, Western European countries and Central Eastern European Countries.

The Greek specialised institution is also a long established specialised economics university with a European orientation in the internationalisation of teaching and research activities and specific policies to that end. In the 1990s it has attracted faculty with extensive links to prominent UK universities and prominent economists that have worked with the EC. This has contributed to the development of an important European

orientation in both teaching and research, and extensive participation in competitive EU 5th and 6th Framework research programmes. The university has recently concentrated on developing links with universities in the US and Canada in parallel with activities through EU programmes.

Another group of specialised institutions is in Music and the Arts. The Austrian example is a small institution that has more than half its students and about half its staff coming from outside Austria. However, the university still aims to raise further its international profile and use international comparisons to assess its standing. International concerts and performance are more central to the work of the institution than research. Much of its international work is based on individuals but it has set up an office for foreign relations. Responsible to the rector, the office manages student and staff mobility and is also involved in the arrangement of exchange concerts or guest concerts.

The Dutch specialised institution, also in the Arts, has just under a fifth of its students from outside the Netherlands. It is very strongly felt within the university that art is international and education in art should be internationally oriented. This institution illustrates one issue that is very important in many specialist areas: "Competition in arts education … … is something very specific. All the schools for the arts in the Netherlands, but also abroad, compete with each other for the best, most talented students. However, students in arts are very particular in the education they seek and, maybe even more important, with whom they seek it. Music students for instance do not necessarily come to δ for δ, but for a specific programme or teacher. The relationship between teacher and student is very important in arts education, as this type of education is very individual. When the wishes of students are so specific, it is difficult to compete in general terms. Also, the registration of students already exceeds the possible intake of students, which means that δ does not need to compete with other schools to get enough students in. However, the search and competition for the best students remains".

In such circumstances, which many would claim is the normal situation in universities, the international reputation of the academic staff and the international strategy of the institution are closely intertwined.

Amongst the ε institutions there is even more variety. The Dutch example is a relatively small agricultural university. As a small institution its international work benefits considerably from the various national initiatives of the Dutch government to promote its higher education internationally. The agriculture discipline is internationally oriented and the Dutch case study institution has been heavily involved in development aid to developing countries. However, as a small specialist institution the university is also very

vulnerable to changes in student demand and part of the pressure to expand its recruitment base arises from a decline in the number of Dutch students wishing to study agriculture.

The Norwegian special case is a small private theological college which since the 1970s has received some support from public funds. Less than 3 per cent of its students are from outside Norway. However, it also sees assistance to developing countries as an important part of its work. Apart from this, the institution, like other universities and colleges in Norway, sees internationalisation as a means to profile and market the institution domestically for quality improvement and further development.

Finally, the UK special case is a very large distance learning university, generally acknowledged to be a world leader in the area. It was created in the 1970s to provide second chance higher education opportunities for adults in the UK who had missed out on higher education after leaving school and who were unable to afford the costs or to fit their adult lives into the rigidity of conventional university courses. It has since developed a worldwide market based mainly on the expertise it has developed in distance education and is currently developing a comprehensive strategy for its global activities. Its international operations are driven by a complex set of motives that include income generation, global leadership in distance education and the promotion of social justice. The university engages with the international market by selling course materials, tutoring and student assessment and through partnerships with overseas academic institutions. The university is planning a new form of globally dispersed academic community. Its position with regard to international students has always been very complex in comparison with other universities. Because nearly all its students are part-time and are distance based, visa restrictions, as well as their own life patterns (full-time work for example) make it difficult for many of them to come to the UK for even part of their courses. There is an expanding operation in developing countries that is in keeping with the university's social justice mission. This is particularly important in Sub-Saharan Africa where the university has, *inter alia*, a mission to ameliorate the loss of a cohort of teaching capacity through HIV/AIDS: "However the university cannot operate at a loss even in such an area: in Africa it is intending to operate in partnership with indigenous higher education institutions; through third party funders and through keeping student fees low".

4. Changes in organisational structures

The development of international activities as discussed in the previous sections is driving many institutions to implement far-reaching changes within their organisations and is shifting the teaching, research, and administrative functions within many of the HEI case

studies. This section examines and compares the ways in which higher education institutions are adapting the organisational structures they are using to achieve their international ambitions.

4.1 Social structure

Internationalisation is gradually becoming part of the regular operations and structure of many of the institutions in this study. This is most obvious in the setting up of international or international relations offices at central levels of the institutions. Most international offices appear to have been established in the 1990s. An exception is the UK, where all case study institutions have had international offices for many years. There are some other institutions where such an office was already set up in the 1960s as with α Norway and α Greece. Others have more recently established an international office, for example ε Portugal. The size and scope of these offices has expanded very considerably over the past decade and several of them, certainly in the α, β and ε HEIs, have direct access to the highest levels of decision-making in the universities. Some smaller institutions, such as ε Norway, have not set up a separate international office, as they are so small that this would not make sense for them.

The tasks of the international offices vary. Some are mainly involved in the administration of mobility programmes, such as ERASMUS, while others are also involved in policy-making and are actively expanding the internationalisation activities in their institution. In most of the Netherlands and the UK case studies, for example, international offices or support units for international activities are fairly well established. The staff members are centrally located but vary in the extent to which they influence institutional strategies. The international offices of the UK case studies are often focused on international student recruitment; however, there are differences between organisational structures based on the missions and backgrounds of the institutions. The α case study of the UK, for example, has a strong international orientation and reputation. In order to maintain and enhance its position in the global higher education market, certain strategies have been promoted, such as the university-wide encouragement of study abroad programmes for its students. In contrast, the ε case study of the UK has a background of providing distance-learning programmes for home students, but has subsequently exploited opportunities to market similar courses worldwide. The Dutch case studies are operating with both top down and bottom up approaches to internationalisation. The central offices support the international activities of students and staff, and some are involved in strategic decisions about new initiatives. However, the academic respondents in the Netherlands tended to cite difficulties in obtaining enough support, especially in terms of time and resources, to

enable them to develop international activities alongside their core teaching and research functions.

In Germany, a major reorganisation of international offices was implemented at four of the five institutions surveyed. Different units were put under the leadership of the international office, and their tasks were broadened. Intra-and cross-institutional cooperation and networking was enhanced. New systems of coordination were established for services provided to international programmes. In some cases, the traditional name of *Akademisches Auslandsamt* was substituted by "International Offices" or similar terms in order to underscore a stronger emphasis on service. Most Dutch institutions are also considering a reorganisation of tasks for student support into one office for both national and foreign students.

The establishment of international offices may be one noticeable change in the organisational structures of many HEIs. Yet their largely administrative roles are not always appreciated or perceived positively by academics. In some of the countries and case study institutions, but to varying degrees, certain tensions were evident between academic interests in international activities, and the increasingly professionalised, administrative function of international support offices. Particularly in relation to EU activities such as ERASMUS and EU research programmes, administrative support has been perceived as a necessity. These new roles are sometimes viewed less as strategic decisions that are central to institutional goals, but more than as a bureaucratic response to external pressures. Academic staff may be inclined to see international activities as an inherent aspect of their roles, while they view some of the functions of administrative support units for international activities as imposed upon the decentral units. For example, some of the respondents in the German case studies perceived the administrative hurdles in acquiring various EU funds as the rules of the game that must be played, and felt it was simply necessary that someone be appointed to administer them.

Internationalisation is rarely mentioned as part of institution-wide and departmental (financial) planning, budgeting and quality review systems amongst the institutions in this study. Only δ D and γ No refer to this. At δ D internationalisation is part of the institutional development plan and γ No is planning to integrate internationalisation in the institution wide planning. All Austrian institutions have developed an international policy statement, with a varying degree of impact on the institution wide planning. Some cases translated their statements into coherent planning processes, integrating internationalisation with other policy goals.

Adequate financial support and resources are not always available in the institutions and in some cases funding of internationalisation is part of strategic (*ad hoc*) funding, meaning that the sustainability of funding is unsure. In some countries internationalisation is also perceived as a means to obtain financial resources. For the Austrian institutions EU funds have clearly enhanced internationalisation. The Austrian institutions generally welcomed EU funds as an additional source of revenues, even if they showed increasing concerns about the related costs. All German case study institutions have modified their internal funding system to provide funding for internationalisation. However, respondents are concerned for the sustainability of some of the internationally oriented activities and programmes which seems to be threatened with the ceasing of third party funding as they have not been institutionalised as core elements within the institutions. At ε Portugal it was reported that due to a lack of financial resources, little is/can be done about internationalisation. Finally, institutions in the Netherlands and UK perceive internationalisation also as a mean to obtain financial resources.

The expressed commitment of senior leaders to internationalisation can be found in all types of institutions in all countries. Senior leaders in α institutions appeared to be especially committed. Some α institutions have appointed vice rectors/presidents for internationalisation, e.g. at several German institutions, or have the international office report directly to the rector's office. At α Gr and ε UK senior leaders have expressed commitment for working on a particular topic of higher education. Such activities are perceived as compatible with the university's mission. Other internationalisation activities are seen as peripheral to the university's overall activities. At ε UK senior leaders have expressed commitment particularly in the area of North-South cooperation.

Finally, the social structure of the institutions is affected by the partnerships and networks in which many of them are involved. This type of cooperation can be sought for different reasons, such as exchange of information, influencing other parties in higher education, or building critical mass and funds to work on joint research projects. Calculating the (financial) investments and benefits of such partnerships and cooperation can be difficult as is shown by ε NL. Nevertheless, setting up partnerships and cooperation with foreign institutions is important to all types of institutions and in all the countries involved in this study. For example, in the UK partnerships or cooperation with foreign institutions is not a new phenomenon, but its present form is a development of the 1990s: "The basic idea is of some form of sharing of teaching and qualification awarding responsibilities …The main focus of most partnerships with universities and colleges in other countries is now student recruitment in order to generate income". A similar remark was made by a dean of β Nl who explained that these types of networks can be of specific use in attracting and selecting foreign students. As this dean argued, recruiting students with the help of a

familiar network has the advantage of greater certainty about the quality of students coming into the programme. Germany also reports an increase in activities in networks. Networks are not only sought after at the institutional level, but particularly also at the departmental or faculty level, for networks at the institutional level may not always be of interest to the departments.

4.2 Goals

Many institutions have an articulated rationale and/or set goals for internationalisation. In most cases the articulation of a rationale and/or setting of goals goes together with recognition of an international dimension in the mission statement of the institutions or in other institutional policy documents. Some institutions have chosen to aim for a specific international profile or specific goals. For example, in Greece β institutions have established linkages both with the EU and US, while both γ GR and δ GR are both very EU-oriented, but for different reasons. At Portuguese HEI's, strategies for internationalisation are also driven by participation in EU programmes. In Norway the rationale for internationalisation and the goals in this area are put under the framework of the "Quality Reform', which introduced a new degree structure (bachelor/master degrees), the ECTS and a new grading system (A-F), new commitments within quality assurance and evaluation, and a new incentive-based funding system. This Reform influences all institutions, and they have ambitious goals regarding internationalisation. However, the institutions are developing their own distinct profiles in internationalisation, as is mentioned in the chapter on Norway: α Norway and δ Norway come close to the national quality rhetoric, while internationalisation as a means for competition is evident at β Norway. Ambitions differ also in levels and focus: γ Norway is an example of ambitious goals, but mainly restricted to student mobility.

Furthermore, even though some institutions might have an articulated rationale and/or set goals for internationalisation, this does not necessarily mean internationalisation is a high strategic priority for an institution, as is remarked in the Portuguese and UK chapter. In the case of the UK this remark is made specifically in the context of a claim that in the institutions that mainly serve a particular region their international work is seen as supporting this core mission and not supplanting it. However, a general remark that might be made about all English institutions is that internationalisation is seen as one of the factors, and usually not the most important, that bear upon the academic and financial success of the university. Internationalisation may have a high salience in the university because of its role in raising income and broadening staff and student experiences, even though it is not considered to be of particularly high priority as an end.

4.3 Participants

Students

As for student mobility, most of the HEIs participate in the ERASMUS programme (Table 1 and 2) and some have their own mobility and exchange schemes on the side. The number of students participating in the ERASMUS exchange generally does not vary much between the HEIs from one particular country (exceptions are the Netherlands and the UK and one Austrian institution).

Table 1. percentage of incoming ERASMUS/mobility students at case study institutions

γ 2At	8,8%	δ 1At	1,3%	δ Pt	0,1%
ε Nl	7,0%	δ 2At	1,3%	δ NO	0,08%
β Nl	5,3%	γ 2Pt	1,2%	ε NO	0,06%
α Nl	2,5%	α At	1,2%	γ NO	0,02%
γ D	2,3%	γ South UK	1,1%	γ North UK	N/a
α UK	2,0%	α 2D	1,0%	ε UK	N/a
β Pt	2,0%	γ 1Pt	1,0%	ε Pt	N/a
δ Nl	1,9%	β NO	0,9%	α Gr	N/a
γ1At	1,8%	δ D	0,5%	β 1GR	N/a
β UK	1,6%	α 1D	0,4%	β 2Gr	N/a
α Pt	1,5%	β D	0,3%	δ Gr	N/a
α NO	1,4%	γ Nl	0,3%	γGr	N/a

Table 2. percentage of outgoing ERASMUS/mobility students at case study institutions

β Nl	9,3%	α Gr	1,3%	γ2 Pt	0,5%
γ2At	8,6%	δ 1At	1,3%	δ Nl	0,4%
γ1At	3,6%	δ D	1,1%	β 2 Gr	0,4%
δ Gr	2,7%	γGr	1,1%	δ 2 At	0,4%
α Pt	2,0%	γ D	1,0%	γ Nl	0,3%
β Pt	2,0%	γ1Pt	1,0%	δ No	0,05%
α Nl	2,0%	δ Pt	1,0%	γ No	0,04%
α 2D	1,7%	ε Nl	1,0%	εNo	0,03%
α UK	1,7%	α NO	0,8%	γ North UK	Negligible
β UK	1,7%	α 1D	0,7%	γ South UK	Negligible
β 1GR	1,6%	β NO	0,6%	ε UK	N/a
α At	1,5%	β D	0,5%	ε Pt	N/a

The numbers of international students, however, does vary considerably between and within countries, as well as between the same types of institutions in different countries. In this area institutions do indeed have very different strategies (see Table 3).

Table 3. percentages of international students registered at case study institutions

δ 2AT	55,8%	γ 2AT	13,0%	γ Nl	4,0%
δ D	25%	α 1D	12,5%	α NO	3,5%
ε Nl	24,7%	γ Gr	12,2%	α Pt	3%
β Nl	23,1%	δ Gr	10,0%	γ 1AT	2,8%
α UK	22,7%	ε UK	9,0%	β NO	1,9%
γ South UK	22,4%	γ NorthUK	8,7%	ε NO	1,8%
δ 1AT	20,8%	α AT	8,3%	δ NO	1,3%
δ Nl	17,8%	α Gr	7,2%	γ NO	0,03%
β UK	17,1%	β 1Gr	7,2%	γ Pt1	N/a
γ D	16%	α Nl	5,8%	γ Pt2	N/a
β D	14,7%	β Pt	5,2%	δ Pt	N/a
α 2D	13,7%	β 2Gr	4,5%	ε Pt	N/a

Recruiting students for economic reasons is an activity undertaken by almost all Dutch and UK institutions in this study. As is stated in the chapter on the UK: whatever their strategic aims, all the universities were actively involved in trying to increase their income from non-EU students and a wide variety of strategies and tactics were being adopted. The country with the most experience in transnational education is the UK. In Austria the institutions were not recruiting foreign students for economic reasons. δ 1 Even decided to circumvent the new national regulation of charging fees to both domestic and foreign students by treating students from most non-EU countries (mainly South Eastern European countries and Turkey) like domestic students and were refunding everything beyond the regular domestic fee. δ 2, However, which has a large amount of wealthy students from Asia, would like to charge higher fees to foreign students, as the Austrian fee is relatively low internationally compared to similar institutions. In Germany economic relevance is one of the guiding principles of the core activities of the universities; however, the institutions usually do not charge tuition fees. In Greece, recruitment of students for economic reasons or organising profit base courses does not fit with the general outlook of Greece on higher education. In Norway, emphasis is put on higher education as a public good and the institutions were not thinking about establishing for-profit arrangements for foreign students wanting to study in Norway. The norm of

international competition as a driver for quality is affecting the goals of the institutions. However, this does not mean an opening up of the market. On the contrary, informants reported that the tendency in their own and other Norwegian universities and colleges is to go into partnerships with foreign institutions as a way of escaping the competition.

Support for foreign students is usually provided through the international office of the institutions. In some institutions the support for international students is integrated within the regular structures for student support. The HEIs that are expanding their international recruitment are finding themselves in the position of having to meet the particular needs of students from other countries. The types of support they may need are wide-ranging, and include help with visas, language support, cultural and social acclimatisation, and compatibility issues with study programmes in their own countries.

Studying abroad also requires certain types of specialised support. This was mentioned in several of the larger case study universities but was not widely seen to be an important issue. One exception in a country where study abroad has been declining in recent years is the α case study in the UK, which has recently implemented a strategy to encourage all of its students to consider a period of study abroad. To this end, they are extending the types of support they offer to their students in order to enable them to participate. Yet many of the HEI case studies do not yet seem to have developed extensive support systems for outgoing students, apart from certain types of support for outgoing ERASMUS students.

Staff

With respect to staff mobility, it can be observed that in many cases this is encouraged at faculty level rather than being managed centrally. Most case study institutions reported an active involvement of staff in internationalisation. This is increasing at the Austrian institutions to varying degrees. In the case of α Gr the development of specific internationalisation initiatives at the faculty level depends on the agency exhibited by the academics, whereas the central level does not specifically aim at promoting internationalisation activities. In the Netherlands the picture is varied. The involvement of staff varies per department. A typical scenario was for a few staff members to develop an initiative and to bring other interested staff members into the activity.

On the whole, there are only few examples for connecting internationalisation to human resource development. For only six institutions some activities in this area are mentioned in the country chapters. In Austria, both staff mobility and staff development are generally recognized to be of growing importance for the institution. γ 2 At plans to set up a staff development programme including language training and increasingly makes language

competency a requirement for the employment of new staff. At δ 1 At internationalisation also is an issue in the trainee programmes of the institution, both for general staff and for junior faculty. α At has a special internship programme, which addresses both academic and general staff. This programme is carried out in cooperation with partner universities. The programme offers its participants insights into other university systems and broadens their inter-cultural competence. Furthermore, one of the goals set by δ Gr is "full institutional support to academics involved in trans-national cooperation projects; the university encourages and gives credit to academics that wish to prepare common study programmes, intensive programmes and new curriculum development. It also encourages incoming academics, who offer the chance to non-mobile students to enrich their knowledge in topics emphasising the European dimension". In Portugal both γ type institutions pay attention to the development of their human resources. γ 1 aims at strengthening the competencies of its teachers, researchers and administrative staff in drafting projects and giving advice on mobility procedures. The director of one of the γ 2 schools was providing incentives to the academic staff to go abroad in order to get ideas for new types of courses.

4.4 Technology

The technology used at the institutions, i.e. the processes of teaching and research, has undergone many changes because of internationalisation activities. We will concentrate here mainly on the teaching side. Curriculum development and internationalisation of the curriculum is undertaken in different types of HEIs in all countries in the study. This may include the development of joint and double degree programmes and in certain countries also a change in the language of instruction.

Curriculum development and internationalisation of the curriculum are most obvious in the follow up of the Bologna Declaration by the institutions. Many institutions, especially in Norway, the Netherlands, Germany and Austria, report on redeveloping their programmes to be in line with the Bologna Declaration or developing new bachelor and master programmes. The impact on the structure or content of degree programmes in the English case study institutions has been minimal, particularly in comparison with the other countries. In Greece, the Ministry of Education puts pressure on the institutions to work on the implementation of the Bologna Declaration. However, there is strong resistance to this from both the university sector and the students.

Many institutions are also introducing the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS). For example, in Greece, the institutions were accepting ECTS as a mobility tool, while δ and γ are ready to implement ECTS as a basis for credit accumulation. Institutions in the

Netherlands have changed their original credit system to ECTS, as this change was part of the new higher education law introducing and implementing bachelor and master programmes in the Netherlands.

Other changes in technology are the activities mentioned in the country chapters on joint and double degree programmes. This is something taken up by α institutions in Portugal, Norway and the Netherlands. Some other institutions in Portugal (β) and the Netherlands (β, ε) are also involved in joint/double degree programmes. In Austria the γ and δ-type institutions are involved in or are preparing joint/double degree programmes. In Greece, joint Master's programmes between Greek and French universities are promoted by the Ministry of Education and three are already in operation. In the case studies one may note the existence of a collaborative Master's programme, between α Gr and a UK university. Joint Masters programmes between UK universities and γ Gr are promoted in the TEI-sector of Greece to enhance its status as a "new university".

Furthermore, many institutions have started to offer, or have expanded their offer, of courses taught in English. This is particularly the case in Germany and the Netherlands. Norwegian institutions are also expanding their offering of English taught programmes. This is a tendency that can be related to the Norwegian Quality Reform and the need to develop and implement new study programmes as a part of this reform. Norwegians, Swedes and Danes have a good understanding of each other's languages. Due to these similarities in language, courses and study programmes have not traditionally been offered in English. Thus, with the new emphasis on developing English study programs it seems that the Nordic students is taken for granted, or at least not prioritised. Portuguese institutions are working on the internationalisation of their curriculum, but the trend is to maintain Portuguese as the teaching language. In several of the institutions, courses teaching foreign languages are offered to home students, with English as the most common language to be learnt by these students. Often these courses are on a voluntary basis, but in some institutions they are obligatory as part of the regular programme. For example, foreign language study is obligatory in the two γ institutions in Austria and in some courses of δ 1 Au.

In Greece, δ Gr offers courses in English, to promote its Europeanisation policy and facilitate Erasmus exchanges. Institutions in Portugal, Austria and the Netherlands are trying to improve the knowledge of the English language of both students and staff. Local language and culture training are provided to students by the institutions in the university sector of Austria and Germany. All institutions in the study in Greece and Portugal provide this type of training to incoming foreign students.

International activities as part of research and scholarly collaboration are something quite common for most of the universities in this study. The picture is more varied amongst the institutions in the non-university sector. All the α and β institutions in this study are involved in international research projects. Many of the γ institutions and some of the δ institutions are also involved in international research projects. In most cases reference is made to the funding of the international research projects by the EU, for example through the framework programmes or EU regional funds. It is worth noting, however, that in the chapter in the UK it is mentioned that EU funded projects are perceived as financially less viable.

β 1 in Greece attracts attention because of its activities on internationalisation of research and scholarly collaboration. This institution participates in projects involving the internationalisation of PhD programmes and the mobility of PhD students. β 1 Gr has also developed a policy of attracting top postgraduate students, both Greek and foreign.

5 Internationalisation strategies

Institutional managers and academic staff involved in the development of institutional policy, at central and faculty level, consider internationalisation activities necessary or desirable for a variety of reasons. Their responses can be placed along a continuum that ranges from the formulation of a more or less explicit, institutional strategy (or faculty, or departmental strategy) to carve a niche for itself in a competitive global education market, to responses based on a more traditional framework of cooperation in higher education that promote activities with a predominantly, but not exclusively, European or local focus.

International activities reflect different national traditions, institutional histories and missions. The national chapters show that internationalisation is seen as related to institutional profile building and the position the institution seeks in a global, European, regional or local hierarchy. The main drivers of internationalisation activities result from the pursuit of some combination of four main goals. The weight given to each of the goals varies very considerably between institutions.

- The university aims to be a global player with worldwide standing and reputation in an open and highly competitive global education market.
- The institution or faculty wishes to consolidate or raise its reputation and standing in the EU or a cross-border region.
- Internationalisation activities, especially the recruitment of foreign students, are seen as being important or even necessary for the survival of a faculty or programme of studies.

- A belief that involvement in international work, especially the attraction of international finance to the local area, enhances the reputation and standing of the HEI or faculty locally and nationally.

These drivers relate to different internationalisation strategies; they are not mutually exclusive and may coexist within an institution or a country. In the same institution one faculty may use a globally competitive approach to internationalisation, aiming to achieve world player status, while another is more concerned to enhance its local reputation. The choice of a strategy rests ultimately with the agency of academics involved in the development of the relevant activities. However a combination of broader contextual factors may influence the policy choices towards a cooperation or competition framework. A combination of factors may prompt different responses at the organisational level or boost different types of internationalisation activities, depending on the prominence of disciplines and the teaching or research orientation of the institution.

5.1 Competition: Elitism and the Achievement of World Player Status

A few universities, mainly in the UK and Germany in the present study, aspire or have a strategy for becoming recognised global players. These universities understand internationalisation as being related to worldwide competition among elite universities for the recruitment of bright, talented students, young researchers and renowned teaching staff. The recent appearance of global university league tables will undoubtedly help to focus the efforts of such institutions to retain and improve their position. For example, in a UK research oriented university (case α), there is a perception of internationalisation as a process that encompasses the whole world. It is accompanied by an explicit international student recruitment strategy, comprising highly selective student recruitment, where international applicants are slightly more highly qualified than UK applicants since much of the institution's postgraduate work is heavily dependent on international students. The recruitment strategy is supported by a policy of encouraging local students to do part of their degree programmes in another country.

In Germany too, there are instances (cases δ and α) of research oriented HEIs that seek internationalisation and excellence on a broad scale with a touch of entrepreneurialism. Marketing strategies were designed and an alumni network was set up to promote a highly internationalised profile. Three of the German universities included in the sample have opened (or plan to open) representation or contact offices abroad (New York, Brussels, Singapore and China). Such HEIs undertake radical internationalisation and attract foreign students through specially designed programmes offered in English. The German chapter indicates that this process was linked to institutional profile building (at least of certain

faculties and departments) with a view to ensure competitiveness and performance in order to export education services and become fit for the global market.

5.2 Co-operation and Networking: Strengthening the Regional Institutional Profile

The majority of interviewees involved in institutional policy-making, in all the countries taking part, acknowledge both the changing landscape and the trend towards heightened competition in education. However many consider an internationalisation strategy based on global competition as either out of reach or undesirable. The main internationalisation activities developed in most universities and colleges do not explicitly aim to position them as global players. Many higher education institutions undertake internationalisation activities in the more traditional academic context of co-operation and networking (in research and teaching) for mutual benefit. Such universities and colleges usually prioritise the European or regional level with the aim of creating a strong profile within the European Union or regionally, especially in cross-border areas.

Much cross-border cooperation of this type is based on mutual trust, occasionally shaped by long standing links and is enhanced by geographical proximity, linguistic ties and cultural affinity. In an analogous manner cultural and linguistic affinity appear important for the development of internationalisation activities of Portuguese and Greek universities, based in the former case on the relations to Brazil and former colonies, and in the latter on relations with ethnic and migrant Greeks abroad. Networking in all disciplines or in a specific field, reinforced especially through EU policies, appears to be especially valuable for the development of internationalisation initiatives based on cooperation. Such cooperation is based on collaborative research, the exchange of practices, exchange of students and staff or jointly working on the development of programmes of study or quality assurance.

The Austrian report indicates that the location of the country itself favours the attraction of foreign students from Germany or Northern Italy, since they can still study abroad in their mother tongue. For one regional institution (δ), its location near Lake Constance is so important that internationalisation is identical with cross-border cooperation in the closer region. The importance of this geographic location, at crossroads of Germany, Switzerland, Austria and Liechtenstein, is also supported by the existence of a network of higher education institutions, the *Internationale Bodensee Hochschule*. This network, which has a strong regional orientation, is a spin-off of a political network of provinces (of the four countries) located around the Lake of Constance. It supports the establishment of joint study programmes and applied research projects.

β University in the Netherlands is involved in the ALMA network, which is a cooperation platform for four universities of the Meuse-Rhine region. The universities are aware of the unique character of their geographic location and their mutual connections and on these grounds they want to create and maintain particular forms of cooperation in the field of education, continuing education and the sector of the services to the community. The Norwegian report indicates that Nordic cooperation, which has a long tradition, is perceived as a self-sustained activity. Although the Nordplus programme is not actively promoted, participation is consistent and Nordic educational cooperation is seen as well integrated. Such cooperation is seen as more important in fields where the Nordic countries operate in related ways (e.g. law), in fields where the academic environments could benefit from a larger critical mass (of students) than the home institutions can provide, and in the natural sciences where expensive equipment might be shared. Sometimes such links are the result of historical and cultural ties rather than geographic proximity. The Portuguese report states: "…the cultural/linguistic issues play an important role in the internationalisation process of higher education… Portuguese is important to attract people from former colonies". In Greece cultural issues are prominent in the formation of policy in A Gr while in other universities research and advance training cooperation are aimed at strategically.

5.3 Internationalisation for survival

The case studies contain accounts of a number of institutions for which international recruitment of students is essential for the existence of the institution. Some of them were founded explicitly for this purpose. In one of the Austrian δ institutions, for example, nearly 60 per cent of its students are from outside Austria and about half of the faculty members come from abroad. Additionally, many of them are very active internationally, as musicians, teachers or as judges in contests. The Austrian chapter notes that in a global context, teachers (at δ) automatically see themselves as missionaries or unilateral exporters of a specific cultural product, while their graduates from abroad often seek employment in Western Europe. A somewhat different slant is provided by some of the English institutions where it is remarked that even in the α university "the viability of much of its postgraduate work is heavily dependent on the recruitment of international students; 55 per cent of its postgraduate students are from outside the United Kingdom". More generally the UK case study reports that in the γ institutions particularly "… the other and much more powerful driver at the beginning of the 21st century is to fill gaps left by weaknesses in UK student recruitment. Some departments are unable to fill their available places with UK students, and students from other countries of the European Union help them to meet their student number targets and in some cases to become economically

viable. Science, Engineering and Technology were most frequently mentioned in this respect".

5.4 Internationalisation as a means of improving the institutional profile within the country

For the γ group of higher education institutions in particular, internationalisation activities often do not aim primarily at the positioning of the institution (or the faculty) in Europe or globally. Rather internationalisation is seen as a means to consolidate institutional status, increase prestige and to project an international profile locally or nationally. This appears to be the case of a teaching oriented, Greek higher education institution (γ Gr), operating within the technological education sector, which recently acquired university status. In this case internationalisation activities heavily depend on EU funds and mainly encompass participation in Socrates student exchange programmes and the establishment of joint Masters" programmes. A similar trend is observable in two Norwegian HEIs. For γ, the idea of becoming a university within the next 5-7 years is an important driver for the internationalisation of the college, while δ uses internationalisation as a way to market and profile the institution nationally. In the γ case studies in the UK, international activity was seen to a large extent as one way of consolidating the institutions" self image as universities. In γ South, there was much talk of the university being a gateway for the local community to a wider world. The director for international affairs in γ South stressed the regional orientation with an international dimension, rather than an international orientation as such. This is an integral part of emerging regional development policies. In γ North, the regional and international orientation were also combined: the university tendered for EU regional funds together with local councils.

6 Change in the institutional environment

6.1 The regulative pillar

National policies, regulations and developments

In general, internationalisation policies foster the international activities of the case studies. Alongside general national policies, regulations and developments are important factors shaping many of the international activities within each category of institution in this study. The seven countries differ markedly in the ways in which the national cultural, legal, financial and administrative contexts and system structures are an influence on the activities of individual institutions and their responses to internationalisation issues. There are some characteristics of certain types of institutions that have led to broadly similar responses between HEIs in the seven countries; but it is very clear that the national

contexts do strongly influence all institutions, and not necessarily in a positive sense in terms of increasing the international activities of the institutions. For example, in Greece, the regulative framework constrains the power of academics on issues that are perceived as important for the development of internationalisation policies at the university level. In Portugal, where the internationalisation process can be seen more as reaction than anticipation, organisations feel the need for some national political direction fostering internationalisation.

The Dutch β case shows that national policies and regulations can also impede internationalisation. It has far-reaching cooperation with a Flemish university. However, as a board member explained, it has proved to be very difficult to come to far-reaching cooperation when having to deal with two different sets of rules and regulations in two different countries. Portuguese case studies were critical of the lack of clear policies from the state that would enable them to respond to challenges of internationalisation.

European and international policies, regulations and developments

Several European policies and international developments have had an influence on the internationalisation of the case study institutions. The most frequently mentioned developments and policies are the ERASMUS/SOCRATES programme, EU research funds and the Bologna Declaration. In some countries the ERASMUS programme opened up possibilities to the universities and colleges that would not have been possible without the programme. This was, for example, the case in Germany, where the ERASMUS activities are now so common that they are seen as core activities, even though they are funded from outside Germany. European mobility programmes also have an influence in Portugal, where it is said that most of the internationalisation efforts and activities are linked to these programmes.

That other EU funds can also have an influence on higher education institutions is made clear in the Austrian chapter, where it is stated that it is clearly visible that EU funds and regulations enhanced the internationalisation of HEIs. All HEIs in our study have developed international offices or at least specialised administrative positions for observing the developments of respective EU programmes and for managing access to them. In England, however, the opinions expressed about EU programmes were somewhat more sceptical, as their financial viability was questioned and their bureaucratic requirements criticised. English universities and colleges tend to view EU programmes as just another source of students and research funding.

The Bologna Declaration is an important example of a European development which has had much influence on national policies of the countries in the study (see Huisman & Van

der Wende, 2004) as well as in the higher education institutions, often mediated through the national policies. Some respondents even felt that it is has become a domestic affair, as for example is remarked in the German chapter: the Bologna Process comprises basically internal reform efforts undertaken jointly. One interviewee pointed out: "Bologna has nothing to do with internationalisation, it is about national reform". European harmonisation has become a domestic affair. In some countries, such as the Netherlands, Norway and Austria, the Bologna/Prague/Berlin framework has been largely implemented throughout the national systems. Also German HEIs have started to implement the new degree structures on a broad scale. There are, however, some differences in the responses of individual institutions due to well-established characteristics of certain sectors of the national higher education systems. In Austria and the Netherlands, for instance, some of the γ institutions are finding the Bologna reforms problematic due to the particular historical functions of their degree programmes as serving their local economies.

In contrast to the countries which have gone some way towards the adoption of the Bologna frameworks are the responses of higher education institutions in Portugal and Greece where the academic communities have been less positive about the Bologna framework, in the case of Greece also about the issue of quality reform. In Portugal and Greece, national debates about Bologna have led to much disagreement and uncertainty, and the governments in these countries have not passed legislation requiring the institutions to respond. Particularly in the Greek case, there has been a collective resistance on behalf of academics to the Bologna process. In Portugal and Greece, therefore, and also in England, the actors interviewed in the case studies indicated that responses to the Bologna degree structure reforms have varied in accordance with institutional strategies, and to some extent through individual champions within the institutions, rather than through national reforms.

However, the Bologna Declaration and its follow-ups have prompted debates -if not always active changes in qualification frameworks -throughout most of the case studies. Institutional characteristics seem to be a lesser influence than national (policy) characteristics, but are still a factor in the decisions of some of the case studies. In countries where there is, as yet, no national legislation concerning the implementation of Bologna reforms, the larger institutions with a wide range of study programmes may be more likely to adapt to credit transfer and compatibility with Europe-wide degrees in courses where these changes are in accord with their general international aspirations. The notion that Bologna could be used as a lever for changes believed to be in the national or institutional interest, rather than a direct driver of change, was mentioned by respondents in several of the case studies.

Of particular concern to some of the HEIs that have implemented Bologna reforms is the management of the new cycle of progression from Bachelors to Masters degrees, and the fear that there may not be enough potential Masters students in their regions. The UK case studies, in contrast, are already well situated within the international student market for postgraduate courses, and all have significant numbers of international students at Masters level.

Quality assurance

Quality assurance plays a part in the international activities of several case studies. In some countries new developments in internationalisation are combined with developments in internationalising quality assurance. Most HEIs that are participating actively in the Bologna process are concerned with the harmonisation of degree programmes and the proposed structure of Bachelors/Masters degrees. This attempt to harmonise degree programmes is related to quality assurance in the sense that greater harmonisation across Europe should enable institutions to ensure the compatibility of their programmes with similar institutions in other countries and offer improved credit transfer capabilities for students.

In Germany the implementation of quality reforms and new degree structures have been driven by government policies that affect the whole higher education sector. These changes have largely been perceived as steps intended to strengthen the national higher education system, although the interviews with academics revealed a lack of consensus about the value of the new degree structures. The German chapter states that an implicit goal of internationalisation is that of quality assurance. It is conventional wisdom at German universities that international research cooperation often contributes to the quality of research. On the other hand, internationalisation and globalisation are often viewed as leading to growing instrumentalisation and commercialisation of research, and not necessarily contributing to quality enhancement.

Norway, which is not a formal member of the EU, has implemented quality assurance mechanisms in higher education through government regulation. The system of accreditation which is an integrated part of The Quality Reform, can as such be viewed as a potential driver for the internationalisation of Norwegian higher education.

In the UK, where a rigorous quality assurance system has been established by government legislation outside of the Bologna process, the responses of universities to the Bologna framework have been highly variable, partly due to the extreme difficulty of any strong leverage being exercised by government. However, the adoption of the Bologna

framework in other European countries presents potential challenges to the structures of some UK degrees, which some of the case studies are beginning to recognise.

Funding and resources

Many of the institutions in this study expressed concerns that not enough financial resources are available for internationalisation, although some institutions do have resources specifically available for working on internationalisation. The strongest concerns appear to have been expressed by German respondents, who stated that the available resources hardly suffice to take care of traditional tasks while new tasks and efforts to raise the position of the university nationally and internationally would require additional resources.

A general shortage of financial resources is also having a major influence on internationalisation policies in Dutch and UK institutions. However, in both these countries the recruitment of larger numbers of international students is seen as an important source of supplementary income.

General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS)

So far none of the case studies have reacted to possible developments resulting from the GATS. Although governments and some senior higher education managers are discussing GATS proposals, in general the potential challenges they might bring to universities and colleges are not yet perceived as threats at the institutional level. For example, the actors interviewed in the α Norwegian HEI do not see the Norwegian higher education system as particularly vulnerable to the opening up of the trade in higher education services. In most of the countries, there seemed to be little discussion or knowledge of the intricacies of the GATS proposals, at least amongst the academic actors interviewed.

Nevertheless, despite the general belief that GATS will not affect public service activities such as higher education the increased marketisation of higher education in some countries renders them vulnerable and this is beginning to be recognised. The case study institution with the most visible strategy to generate income through developing a worldwide market for its courses is the ε case study in the UK. This institution has successfully marketed its distance-learning programmes to a worldwide student market and it is aware of possible implications of GATS. However, the other UK case study institutions are also exceptional within the seven countries in the development of postgraduate courses that recruit large numbers of high fee-paying, international students. The potential for exploiting the international postgraduate student market is

rising on the agenda within case studies in other countries, some of which are now seeking to expand their recruitment.

6.2 The normative pillar

Institutional autonomy

Within national contexts there are issues related to the degree of institutional autonomy in relation to the state. Of particular importance in this regard is the extent to which the different types of institution are dependent on government funding and legislation for international activities, or whether they can act autonomously and in an entrepreneurial fashion in response to international challenges and opportunities. There were mixed reactions within the seven countries to government funding policies and legislation, and the impact of these factors on international activities. Interviewees in the German case study institutions were largely critical of the under-funding of the higher education system in general, and their inability to charge tuition fees, and cited these factors as inhibiting their ability to foster certain international activities. The higher education funding system in the UK, in contrast, has encouraged English universities and colleges to recruit international students who pay high tuition fees. Institutions are able to set their own strategic goals with respect to the numbers of international students they recruit and the fees they charge.

It is at the α HEIs in particular where most of the common ground concerning autonomy in relation to international activities is found. The α universities across the seven countries are all seeking to maintain or enhance their international profiles, although the types and extent of international activities vary between faculties. The sizes and histories of these institutions have enabled them to establish distinct international profiles. The α case study in Greece, for example, continues to emphasise its promotion of Greek language and culture around the world, whereas the α universities in Germany and the UK are seeking international excellence and competition for the best students worldwide. An important priority for all α case studies is to build on their international profiles through long-established, international research links.

HE as a public or private good

In some countries, in particular Germany and Greece, the status of higher education as a public good is particularly emphasised, and undergraduate education for both national and foreign students is free. In Greece, undergraduate student admissions are centrally controlled; a factor cited by some of the actors interviewed as hampering the international competitiveness of Greek universities at the undergraduate level. Austrian HEIs charge

minimal tuition fees only very recently and there is little emphasis on international student recruitment as a strategic goal.

In Norway, where there is also a strong conviction that higher education should remain a public good, several respondents believed that an increased commercialisation of higher education conflicts with higher education as a public good. Yet this fear is more related to the HEIs in developing countries than perceived as a threat for Norwegian higher education. This conviction of higher education as a public good is considered to have both a positive and negative influence on internationalisation of Norwegian HEIs: negative, because it may hinder them from attempting to export their academic services, and positive when they have programmes for students from developing countries.

Cooperation and competition

Although most of those interviewed in the case studies did not, if unprompted, make analytical distinctions between the terms internationalisation and globalisation (see also 9.1) it is clear that in all seven countries taking part in this study their higher education institutions are making changes in response to the challenges of both internationalisation (academic cooperation) and globalisation (economic competition). However, the data also indicated that there are difficulties in making a clear-cut distinction between global competition and international cooperation. International academic cooperation may be a way towards global competition, as partnerships and other forms of networking enable institutions to compete on an international basis. The perceptions of the challenges of global competition and international cooperation vary between the countries. In Germany, for example, the national debate has turned recently towards competition with the US. The actors interviewed often cited the civil service employment regulations under which they work, and the legal constraints of free higher education to students, as a hindrance to developing German higher education into a global competitor. This emphasis on global positioning is somewhat similar to the UK context, in which the α and β universities in particular, perceive themselves as competing within an international market for research and the most able international students.

There are some constraints impeding the advancement of international activities and the development of cooperative relationships across countries that are shaped by the national contexts. In some of the seven countries, particularly the UK, HEIs benefit from their attractiveness within the international student market and from a very long history of serving a student clientele that spans all five continents. This country is also in a unique position in relation to the other six countries in that the use of English as a major

international language has for many decades enabled its higher education institutions to derive particular benefits from international activities.

6.3 The cultural cognitive pillar

Opportunities for international activities are powerfully influenced by such factors as disciplines and subject areas, language, culture, region, and historical links. Whether or not the HEIs work to develop opportunities depends upon their overall missions and also rather arbitrarily on whether they decide strategically to exploit certain advantages. Several of the α and some of the β universities are capitalising on their strengths within an international elite range of universities. Some of the actors interviewed within other types of HEIs are asking whether they can position themselves within this group. Others, for example in Greece and Portugal, emphasise their strong positions in regional and European networks.

Disciplines and subject areas

Differences between subject areas were mentioned in all seven countries as factors affecting responses to the challenges of internationalisation. These differences are difficult to categorise, and are complicated by issues such as the level of study, the location of the universities, historical links and the fact that there was no rigid comparability in the subjects examined in the institutional and national case studies. The international activities reported in different subject areas vary in their nature between institutions and countries.

Yet it is possible to make some general comments about the effect of different academic subject areas. A professional subject such as law has tended traditionally to concentrate on national legal systems and jurisprudence. This situation is changing considerably as European and international law becomes more significant within the field. There are also differences between undergraduate law programmes, which tend to focus on national and European law, and postgraduate law programmes that are more likely to recruit international students. In Norway, which stands outside the EU, the case studies offering law programmes value cooperation with other Nordic countries. However, as was mentioned in the Austrian case, there exist tensions between the internationalisation of curricula and national requirements for professional practices in the respective countries, which are often controlled by professional associations. Other professional subjects such as engineering and medicine have been perceived as international in character and generally operate with a high level of international activities. The academics interviewed in the science fields and economics also often reported a high level of involvement in international research in particular.

The arts and humanities subject areas are more difficult to compare in terms of their international orientations. As has already been mentioned, the Austrian δ 1 case study focusing on the arts has cultivated international links. This is also true of the δ case study in the Netherlands, which strongly promotes arts education as being international in scope. The location of certain arts-related subject areas in particular regions or countries can enhance their international standing. As noted in the Portuguese chapter, the faculties of Arts, Architecture and Design in Portuguese HEI's may be attractive to international students and scholars in ways that their Science faculties cannot take for granted.

Some of the subjects in the humanities offer contrasting and very particular challenges. As noted in one of the Netherlands case studies, some of the actors in humanities-related fields felt it was not realistic to offer courses in French philosophy taught in English at a Dutch university. Therefore, competition for international students in some subjects can be limited by language. This was also mentioned in the Austrian α institution, which has developed German and English descriptions for all of its courses, and encourages lecturers to voluntarily teach courses in the English language. Some academics remain resistant to teaching in English, e.g. in such areas as Austrian history and folklore, where it would seem absurd to offer these courses in languages other than German.

The Bologna process has posed more difficult challenges in some subject areas than in others. Those subjects that have traditionally been based on a long cycle of first year degrees will need to be reviewed fundamentally in light of the proposed 3-4 year Bachelors degree structure. Respondents in subjects such as engineering and law also sometimes raised this prospect as one that will need to be confronted. In Greece in particular, student opposition to the 3-4 year degree remains high in subjects such as engineering, agriculture and medicine, which all have long cycles of first degrees.

There have been other external drivers of change in some subject areas. Global changes might result in opportunities to develop the activities of academics in subject areas that can be related to political or economic events. Some academics in the Faculty of Law in the Austrian α case study, for example, became active in Central and Eastern European countries after the collapse of communism, and participated in a variety of roles during the changes to legal systems in these countries. Academics who specialise in areas associated with development aid may also find their international activities shifting as a result of particular wars or crises in other countries. The ε case study in the UK has developed one strand of its work in sub-Saharan Africa, where there is a teacher shortage due to HIV/AIDS. The ε case study in the Netherlands is also active in the area of development aid, initially based on links with former Dutch colonies, but which is now expanding elsewhere in South East Asia as well as in Europe.

The data collected from various faculties in the case studies indicates that in relation to internationalisation, most subject areas are active at least to some extent. Yet this is not to suggest that all academics are involved in international activities, or perceive their involvement as important. There were aspects of the perceived challenges of internationalisation that were resisted by some of the academics interviewed. Not surprisingly, the subject areas that tend to be more international in their epistemological frame of reference, such as the physical sciences, were more likely to take for granted the importance of international activities. Institutional characteristics and national contexts also play a role in shaping international activities in all subject areas.

University profile and mission

The 36 case study universities and colleges were selected on the basis of the diversity of characteristics, such as size, geographical location, predominant mission, age, and subject areas offered. Within each country, the selected case study HEIs help to illustrate the range of institutional types and the orientations towards international activities that they have developed through their particular combination of institutional characteristics. In general, the categories range from the large, comprehensive universities with extensive international links in teaching and research, to the smaller, more specialised institutions that have established more sharply focussed relationships with other regions or specialised faculties. Some HEIs have developed both extensive and diverse global networks, as well as more regionally-based and specialised ventures within the same organisation (see also section 3 of this chapter).

Location is clearly an important factor shaping the missions and strategies of universities. The case studies that are located in capital or major cities are often more easily able to attract international students and scholars, and to build international links, in ways in which the more remote or rurally-based institutions find more challenging. Yet some of the regions in which a few of the case studies are situated offer other benefits. In Austria, for example, δ 1 profits much from the historic attractions of its location in a culturally rich region. The location of one of the β universities in Greece was specifically chosen to function as a bridge between Greece and the Middle East.

Language and internationalisation of programmes

There are indications of strategic responses to the challenges of internationalisation that attempt to transcend some of the more opportunistic factors that certain institutions enjoy. The case studies vary in the extent to which they attempt to market their courses internationally.

For instance, in several countries foreign language competency is mentioned as a barrier to internationalisation. Offering programmes in the local language can exclude international students. As already mentioned some case study institutions in Germany, Austria and the Netherlands, are offering courses taught in the English language and are producing marketing material written in English. This widespread use of the English language gives the UK a natural advantage in recruiting international students, but English students are notoriously bad at other languages and they prefer to visit other English speaking countries. In student exchange programmes such as ERASMUS, this leads to imbalances between incoming and outgoing students.

7. Factors fostering or impeding internationalisation

In this final section we will summarize the main factors that foster or impede internationalisation, many of which have already been referred to in the previous sections of this chapter. It seems that a different combination of factors may influence HEIs towards a rather competitive or cooperative attitude to internationalisation. The case studies indicate that a combination of the following factors may foster the competitive approach:

- A change in the steering mode and public funding of HE and a national policy context that encourages entrepreneurial activity in universities;
- A flexible regulative framework that accords to the universities" increasing institutional autonomy, especially with regards to the power to take decisions concerning the recruitment of students (including fee setting) and the ability to quickly set up new programmes;
- Increased use of the English language in teaching programmes (English as a *lingua franca*);
- Implementation of the policies which enhance transparency with respect to degrees, quality, standards and performance of institutions and systems, i.e. as proposed by the Bologna process and the Lisbon strategy. This includes the development of a unified EHEA and ERA, and the implementation of European (or more widely international) quality assurance (accreditation) frameworks, which enable the international benchmarking and comparison of quality and standards.

By contrast, the traditional collaborative approach seems to be fostered by a combination of the following factors, some of which may involve deeply embedded normative and cultural perceptions and values of academia and society:

- Secure public funding for universities and high regard for education as a public good accessible to all;
- A regulative framework that supports free education, sets quotas on the number of foreign students in the higher education system and restricts the institutional autonomy concerning recruitment of students, staff and administrative employees;
- Instruction in the national language as a way to preserve cultural and linguistic diversity and in order to stimulate foreign language learning and cultural exchange;

Implementation of EU policies and programmes, in force since the 1970s -80s, concerning student and staff exchanges and curriculum development. With the partial exception of the UK, respondents in most countries acknowledged the increasing importance of EU programmes and funding as fostering networking and collaboration among European universities and the mainstreaming of internationalisation activities in their faculty or HEI.

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