

FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN
PROGRESSIVE STUDIES
FONDATION EUROPÉENNE
D'ÉTUDES PROGRESSISTES



Arbetarrörelsens
Tankesmedja

How should Europe handle globalisation? *An educational perspective*

Part IV: HIGHER EDUCATION

Final Research Report

Pavel Zgaga

*CEPS – Centre for Educational Policy Studies
University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Education*

Ljubljana, 26 October 2009



CENTRE FOR
EDUCATIONAL POLICY STUDIES

Contents

Foreword by Pär Nuder	3
1. Introduction	4
2. Setting the context: ‘European Higher Education’ – what is it?	5
2.1 Understanding higher education today: traditions vs. contemporaneity	5
2.2 National vs. European higher education	7
2.3 The European Union higher education agenda	8
2.4 The Bologna Process and the wider European higher education agenda ...	9
2.5 The Lisbon vs. Bologna relationship	10
2.6 European Higher Education and its ‘full range of purposes’	11
3. How is Europe performing in higher education?	13
3.1 Inputs and outputs of European higher education systems	13
3.2 Higher education mobility within Europe	18
3.3 The higher education and labour market	21
3.4 The internationalisation of higher education	23
3.5 The attractiveness of the European Higher Education Area	26
4. European Higher Education strengths and weaknesses	27
4.1 Quality in European higher education	28
4.2 European overarching qualifications framework	30
4.3 The diversity of European higher education	32
4.4 Excellence in European higher education	34
4.5 The ‘social dimension’ of European higher education	36
5. Conclusion	38
ANNEX	41
Bibliography	59
Abbreviations	64

Foreword

Skills and human capital are of great importance for prosperity and social cohesion. All over the world, policy-makers have realised this and invest heavily in education to boost their competitiveness. This poses a number of questions for us as Europeans:

- How is Europe performing?
- What needs to be done to improve our human capital?
- How should we make sure that investments in education improve social cohesion?

This has been the starting point for a project on Education and Skills that is being organized by FEPS with the support of Arbetarrörelsens Tankesmedja.

Since last year I have been gathering information on different educational systems, both within and outside Europe. Meeting scholars, politicians, businessmen and representatives from different organizations have been valuable in the quest to understand where Europe stands and what needs to be done.

One major part of our project is that we have assigned six scholars from different parts of Europe to write a about education:

- **Pre-School**, Juana Maria Sancho y Fernando Hernández, *Spain*,
- **Compulsory Education**, Giorgio Allulli, *Italy*
- **Upper Secondary Education and Vocational Training**, Volker Köditz and Rainer Peek, *Germany*
- **Higher Education**, Pavel Zgaga, *Slovenia*
- **Research and Development**, Lars Geschwind, *Sweden*
- **Life Long Learning**, Ari Antikainen, *Finland*

The report you are holding in your hand is one of these. I am very happy that we managed to gather this eminent group to help in this immense task.

All reports will be presented in the home country of their authors except for the reports on R&D and Life Long Learning, which will be presented in France and Great Britain, respectively. The conclusions in these reports are the authors' own.

At the beginning of December a comprehensive report of the entire educational system will be presented.

Pär Nuder

1. Introduction

The initiative to prepare this report came from Pär Nuder, Sweden's former Minister for Finance, who has been asked by the *Foundation of European Progressive Studies* ('FEPS') and *Tankesmedjan*, the Swedish Labour Movement Think Tank, to conduct a study on how Europe should face the challenges of globalisation with regard to education. The study will be completed by late 2009 and covers the entire educational vertical, addressing questions like: *How are European countries performing on different parts of the educational chain, and what needs to be done to improve their performance? What can be done on the supranational level, and what should be done in each country?* I gladly agreed to prepare one of the six reports: a report on higher education.

A set of broad initial questions posed by Pär Nuder led me to develop the detailed structure of this report. An overarching question in Europe of modern times concerns its 'global competitiveness in the higher education and research area' and it is also the common thread here. More precisely, the initial questions I received at the beginning were:

- *How is Europe performing compared to other economies, and how are different countries performing within Europe?*
- *What needs to be done to improve the quality and attractiveness of European universities and polytechnics? Do we need to increase spending? Should a European body be created to monitor the quality of European universities? How do we create European equivalents to Harvard?*
- *What changes need to be made in order to be able to cope with the demands of the labour market?*
- *How many of each annual cohort continues to higher education in different European countries? What is the distribution according to social background, sex etc? Should we establish European goals?*
- *How should the demands of growing internationalisation be taken care of? Should entire university programmes be taught in English? Is there anything that can be done at the European level to speed up the Bologna process? Can the EU facilitate universities finding partners abroad?*

These questions were very helpful in the preparatory phase. In relation to European and international issues and with regard to other parts of the educational vertical, higher education (and research)¹ finds itself in a particular situation. On one hand, universities have always been much more involved in cross-border and international co-operation than other segments of national education systems. On the other hand, higher education has increasingly been observed as a 'the jewel of education systems' yet the reality has often been quite controversial. Lastly, for a more than a decade reforms of national education and higher education have been challenged by compatibility, harmonisation and common benchmarks on the European and international levels ('Lisbon' and 'EU-27' vs. 'Bologna' and 'Eu-46'). Our investigation will try to chart the landscape within this triangle and to respond, at least partly, to questions like those above.

¹ Research and development is the subject of another report. However, it is impossible to discuss higher education completely separately from research issues. Therefore, in this report research is considered insofar as it is understood as an integral part of higher education but not as R&D *per se*.

2. Setting the context: ‘European Higher Education’ – what is it?

2.1 Understanding higher education today: traditions vs. contemporaneity

Since their inception in the Middle Ages, universities have been an important actor in societies and always under public and political scrutiny; yet, in recent times their position has importantly changed. Universities – and higher education at large – were traditionally mainly an issue of elites and for elites. It seems that since the last half of the 20th century this characteristic has changed profoundly and that we have entered a period of a deep reconceptualisation of higher education. Today’s universities and the whole rapidly expanding tertiary education sector² no longer only serve elites. Since the 1960s we can observe the process of a gradual but exponential ‘massification’ of higher education. This process brings a number of challenges for the higher education sector and contemporary societies generally.

The history of higher learning institutions is long, yet not simply linear. It would be very difficult, almost impossible, to regard institutions of the e.g. 12th and 19th or 21st centuries as equivalent. Particularly today, it is understood as a mark of honour if a university can refer to – or if it can at least ‘tell a story’ about – its deep *historical roots* in some period from around the middle of the previous millennium. On the other hand, there is a similar feeling of pride today in declaring one’s own university a *research* university or perhaps an *international* university. These three characteristics – historical roots, research and international context (we could easily add more but these three will suffice) – seem to lie at the very centre of today’s discussions of the ‘essence’ and/or ‘quality’ of the university.

However, we should not forget that each of these concepts was born in a substantially different period and context. When the oldest European universities were being founded there was no room yet for ideas like ‘research’ (in fact, with von Humboldt it was ‘*Wissenschaft*’ – a German concept which defies a simple, clear-cut translation into English as research) or ‘global’ (‘international’) of an individual university. Similarly, medieval *peregrinatio academica* should not be mixed with modern Erasmus mobility (Scott, 1998, p. 123). Von Humboldt declared the university a ‘research institution’ in the context of the early 19th century and then newly born nation states in Europe; that is, a century and a half before our age – a time of growing ‘internationalisation’ and ‘globalisation’.

Therefore, we should be careful when seeking to link various concepts in higher education which at first glance seem to be so familiar and clear. On the first pages of the exceptional study *A History of the University in Europe*, Walter Rüegg (1992) warned us about the *mythology of the university*. This warning should also be taken seriously today when we discuss our understandings of universities and the roles of higher education in general. We are living in very dynamic times – also with regard to education, the production of new knowledge etc. – and this is a suitable context for mythologies to develop, e.g. by uncritically mixing and interpreting different sources, factors and backgrounds. Universities and higher education are deeply rooted in cultural traditions and we should also take this into account when discussing their future.

² ‘Tertiary education’ was invented two or three decades ago and is today a generally accepted term, sometimes used as a synonym for ‘higher education’. In fact, it is a broader term referring to the formal, non-compulsory, education that follows secondary education. As distinctions between ‘traditional’ university and ‘other’ higher (further) education institutions have become blurred, today this term is being used ever more frequently.

Everyone agrees that higher education institutions should provide *quality teaching and research at the highest possible level*. This seems to be an undoubted principle of today that is often interpreted as the ‘eternal essence’ of the very idea of the university. However, not only would it be difficult to identify such an idea in periods *before* von Humboldt, not only has the teaching vs. research nexus (as we now understand it) not followed von Humboldt’s idea in a linear way,³ but today’s very understanding of research seems to be fundamentally different than two centuries ago. Medieval dialectics and academic disputes, Kant’s »conflict of faculties« and von Humboldt’s stressing »of the principle that knowledge is to be regarded as something not wholly found and never wholly findable« and in »isolation and freedom« (Humboldt, 1963) have not much in common with the current popular understanding of research as e.g. »essential to making Europe a leading knowledge society« (Commission, 2007).

However, strong voices have been heard in contemporary discussions that research – in particular research understood in an instrumental way as ‘the economic engine’ – *is not the only purpose* of higher education. If we want to understand higher education today – and in the foreseeable future – it is crucial to consider its purposes in total. Eight years after the *European Higher Education Area* (‘EHEA’) idea was politically confirmed in Bologna, it was recognised in an important political document that higher education should be considered with regard to its »full range of purposes«. In the London Communiqué (2007), European ministers responsible for higher education agreed as follows:

»We recognise the important influence HEIs exert on developing our societies, based on their traditions as centres of learning, research, creativity and knowledge transfer as well as their key role in defining and transmitting the values on which our societies are built. Our aim is to ensure that our HEIs have the necessary resources to continue to fulfil their full range of purposes. Those purposes include: preparing students for life as active citizens in a democratic society; preparing students for their future careers and enabling their personal development; creating and maintaining a broad, advanced knowledge base; and stimulating research and innovation.«⁴

This passage is not quoted to claim it paints ‘the total picture’; the issue is surely more complex. Yet, it is proof that we should *consider higher education against a broad background of politics, the economy, society and culture*. Today, higher education is in the forefront of political, economic and broader social interests. A view approach has also been maturing in recent times that all ‘partners’, ‘stakeholders’ should be taken seriously when discussing higher education, its aims and its purposes. However, besides ‘external’ elements today particularly in those of politics and the economy there is also an ‘internal’ one: a specific ‘cultural purpose’ (not a general one) or an ‘inner purpose’ of the university as a traditional actor of knowledge production.

History – including the history of theories of knowledge – warns us against reducing knowledge production to the mere production of knowledge regarded as a ‘commodity like all

³ The transfer of the 19th century German university model to the USA proved to be »a most fruitful misunderstanding of the Humboldtian model« (Enders, 2006, p. 6).

⁴ This position statement was recently reconfirmed in the Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve Communiqué (29 April 2009). However, it took quite a long time for this idea to finally enter political documents signed by 46 European education ministers. We can trace it back to at least 2002 in various documents and discussions concerning the EHEA. Archives prove that stressing ‘a full range of purposes in higher education’ was in particular promoted by the Council of Europe’s agenda – an organisation which covers the ‘large’ Europe (the EU-46 in this case).

other commodities'. The substance of academic knowledge production has traditionally been identified as 'disinterested research', as 'the pursuit of the truth', as 'knowledge for the sake of knowledge'. Yet, is that still important *today*? Yes, it is: »A democratic society needs information about important questions that people can rely upon as reasonable objective and impartial. Universities have long been one of the principal sources of expert knowledge and informed opinion on a wide array of subjects [...]. Once the public begins to lose confidence in the objectivity of professors, the consequences extend far beyond the academic community«. Any damage to the reputation of universities »weakens not only the academy but the functioning of our democratic, self-governing society« (Bok, 2005, 117-118). This is a key point which should not be ignored when discussing and understanding higher education of today and the future.

2.2 National vs. European higher education

Universities and higher education sectors of our societies in general are today found in the midst of Europeanisation and globalisation processes. There are two European higher education agendas: the 'EU-27' ('Lisbon') and 'Eu-46' ('Bologna'). Both refer to other world regions as well and seek to give higher education a broader international and/or globalised profile. On the other hand, we should not forget that there is *no* European higher education *system* yet; the EHEA will not be a 'system' but an 'area'. The European higher education still consists of legally independent *national systems*, sometimes with a number of peculiarities even within them (e.g. regions), but which are due to Bologna and Lisbon incomparably more compatible and connected than two and more decades ago.

The birth of the university as an institution has often been claimed to be a European invention. The growth of universities we can observe from the late 11th century on has clearly had a close connection to European political, economic, social and cultural trends; however, we should not forget similar Arabic, Chinese etc. traditions when seeking to claim that universities worldwide are a 'European invention'. The 'Europeanness' of the medieval European university was a quality quite different from the 'Europeanness' of today. There was an extremely important 'mediator' between medieval and contemporary 'Europeanness': the 19th century and the post-19th century *nation state and its education system*.

National (higher) education systems are the children of nation states. Since they did not all appear at the same time but continuously, literally throughout the last two centuries, and due to different traditions a huge diversity among them has developed. This diversity is equally a result of the politics, government and administration of a particular country or region and the outcome of cultural, religious, linguistic etc. traditions. Polarisation between nation states, their grouping in political blocs, economic co-operation as well as protectionism have also influenced their characteristic features and differences.

Particular features of individual national education systems have traditionally been jealously guarded as aspects of national identity, in certain contexts perhaps even sovereignty (e.g. issues of denomination, ideology, history, language etc.). However, as soon as nation states are not taken in isolation from each other but a need for their co-operation arises these particular features may turn into obstacles. Not only are science and arts 'cosmopolitan', or that commerce is 'global' but education by its very nature also exceeds national boundaries. We have learnt from our histories that the potential of teaching, research and artistic creativity has always been dangerously reduced when a country has decided to hermetically close its borders. But when people travel from country to country – and they have always been

travelling, either as free citizens or illegally and in the face of difficulties – they not only need to change their money into the local currency but also to ask for recognition of their own or their children's educational credentials. Unconnected and incompatible education systems do not merely hinder individuals but obstruct political and economic co-operation between countries. This is a lesson for which Europeans have paid a lot to learn.

Until today, all countries have had quite a long tradition in internationalising their education systems. In principle, it has not been a painful or 'menacing' process but has usually only opened new perspectives and encouraged new developments in national education without endangering it. In the final instance, the nation state remains fully responsible for educational provision in the country. Yet, towards the end of the previous century it started to appear as an obstacle to further development or at least as a problem needing to be addressed. The importance of education for human welfare and progress which was in principle understood as 'the national interest' became apparent via the rapidly progressing science, commerce and art which are largely international in their very nature and transcend national boundaries. At this point, education stepped beyond the limits of national education.

2.3 The European Union higher education agenda

During the last 20 to 30 years this problem has been addressed in several ways: inspired by agents of politics, the economy and business as well as education and culture. As a combination of all these aspects it has been addressed in a fresh way within the European integration processes. As we remember, the 'new European story' started after World War II with coal and iron, and then continued to atomic energy and the economy at large; finally common political bodies – a single Commission and a single Council of the three Communities – were established. For a long time there was no direct reference to education or culture in the legal treaties of the Communities; 'soft' subsystems were kept solely within the responsibility of the member states, i.e. nation states.

We remember the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 which not only included new provisions on defence, justice and home affairs but for the first time also on education. It was agreed that the Community »shall contribute to the development of quality education by encouraging co-operation between Member States and, if necessary, by supporting and supplementing their action, while fully respecting the responsibility of the Member States for the content of teaching and the organization of education systems and their cultural and linguistic diversity« (Maastricht Treaty, Article 126). Thus, the Community also received certain responsibilities in education but the *subsidiarity principle* was applied and the final responsibility for national education systems again remained with the member states. This provision is still in place today. It is a step *beyond* the traditional form of international co-operation in education.

The European Union has grown into an entity which far exceeds a simple iron and coal community. If the Community had merely remained focused on iron and coal it would have stayed more or less a 'free-trade zone' – and would not need the EHEA or ERA. However, the ambitions have always been greater. Recently, Anne Corbett presented a detailed 'story' of how higher education and universities entered the European agenda; her story starts back in the mid-1950s. This process was decisively pushed forward by the Erasmus decision (1985-87) and, at least partly, took its own logic: a logic of an »educational Europe« vs. a »technocratic or economic Europe« (Corbett, 2006, p. xi). An '*educational Europe*' developed during the next two decades – a community of students, teachers, researchers etc.

who co-operate across borders and past divisions. This is indeed something new and something the old continent may be proud of.

However, the ‘Europeanisation’ of higher education – even in the ‘small’ Europe – has never been an easy task. Nation states (i.e., ‘EU member states’) have always jealously guarded their full responsibility based on the ‘subsidiarity principle’ while at the supra-national level an agreement was only achieved that »the Community« can merely »contribute to development« by »encouraging co-operation« between nation states and by »supporting and supplementing« their actions. Yet an objective need for greater and more direct co-operation was growing rapidly in the political, economic and social context of the 1990s and at the end of the decade ministers responsible for higher education from four large EU countries sent quite a peculiar call to »Member States of the Union and other European countries«; namely »to engage in the endeavour to create a European area of higher education, where national identities and common interests can interact and strengthen each other for the benefit of Europe, of its students, and more generally of its citizens« (Sorbonne Declaration, 1998). The call was transmitted beyond the ‘EU-15’ borders of that time.

2.4 The Bologna Process and the wider European higher education agenda

Jealousy did not disappear in relation to this call. It was addressed to ‘smaller’ EU countries as well as to associate countries – and received quite some hesitant echoes. In 1998-1999, there was a huge debate against the ‘harmonisation’ of higher education (understood as a legal concept) and Claude Allegre, the then French Minister for Education and the host of a ministerial meeting at the Sorbonne, had many problems arguing that he had used the term ‘harmonisation’ as a metaphor and not as a legal term from the Maastricht Treaty (excluding any »harmonization of the laws and regulations of the Member States«; Article 126).⁵

Finally, the call received a positive response and ministers from the ‘EU-15’ countries plus 12 countries associated with the EU at this time plus Iceland, Norway and Switzerland met in Bologna in June 1999 and signed the Bologna Declaration. At the final round table which agreed on the text of the Declaration, a European Commission representative was sitting in the second row and no supra-national body at all was mentioned among the signatories. Yet, two years later (2001), at the next ‘Bologna’ conference in Prague, the European Commission formally acquired an equal position in the Bologna Process to the signatory countries.

An important step came in Prague as a decision was taken to accept Croatia and Turkey in the ‘Bologna Club’ (today, both are EU associated countries but this was not the case in 2001) followed by another one in Berlin (2003) where Russia, four Western Balkan countries as well as Andorra and the Holy See joined the Process, and in Bergen (2005) where Moldova, Ukraine and three Caucasus countries rounded out the Bologna family as we now know it. Today, it consists of 27 EU and 19 non-EU countries. The political arithmetic of the Bologna steering is asymmetrical but this reflects European asymmetries.

⁵ »Yet I became aware that some people in Europe did not understand what this expression meant. ‘Harmony’ is the guiding principle of the orchestra some of whose members play the drum, others the trumpet and yet others, the piano or violin. To each, his or her instrument and differing musical score, yet with ‘harmony’ the end result. As I see it, Europe is like such an orchestra. If, in future, Europe were to lose the diversity of its culture and range of reactions vis-à-vis the problems we experience, it would be the poorer for doing so. We have no wish, any of us, to lose our identity« Speech by Claude Allegre at the 51st bi-annual conference and the 40th anniversary of the European Rectors' Conference; Bordeaux, 20 and 21 May 1999.

2.5 The Lisbon vs. Bologna relationship

Therefore, we should finally say a word or two on the *Lisbon vs. Bologna relationship*. Historically, ‘Bologna’ (1999) precedes ‘Lisbon’ (2000) but they have been quite parallel processes. Observed in a politically structured way, the ‘Bologna scope’ has been different from the ‘Lisbon scope’ from the beginning. In Bologna, signatories were empowered by their responsibility for national higher education systems; yet limited »within the framework of our institutional competencies and taking full respect of the diversity of cultures, languages, national education systems and of University autonomy« (Bologna Declaration, 1999). This position was not suitable for even thinking about a ‘supra-national body’ in charge of administering the EHEA: the Bologna Process has always been a voluntary intergovernmental (in fact, interministerial) process of nation states, working together with the Commission (‘EU-27’), the Council of Europe (‘Eu-47’) and UNESCO (European Region) as well as a number of non-governmental organisations. Its voluntary nature is a characteristic which is at once a strength and weakness of the Bologna Process.

The Lisbon Process is substantially different. It is a systemic response to the challenges of globalisation from a strong transnational organisation with 15 member states in 2000 and 27 today and assisted by a huge apparatus. ‘Lisbon’ is not primarily about higher education but it is also about it. It declared »a new strategic goal for the next decade: to become 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« (Lisbon European Council, 2000).⁶ The Bologna language has sometimes been coquetting with these ambitions but its nature has nevertheless been different. At more concrete levels, concerns were also raised within the Lisbon Process »about the quality of teaching; access to learning; the content of learning; openness of schools and training institutions to the outside world; and the effectiveness with which resources in the education systems are used« and »the open method of co-ordination put forward by Lisbon« was employed in further work (Commission, 2001).

Focusing more closely on higher education and universities in particular, a series of key issues on »the role of universities in a Europe of knowledge« were identified as e.g. »adequate and sustainable incomes for universities«, »autonomy and professionalism in academic as well as managerial affairs«, »the conditions in which universities can attain and develop excellence«, »local and regional needs«, »closer co-operation between universities and enterprises« etc. Last but not least, a question was also raised of »how to foster, through all of these areas, the coherent, compatible and competitive European higher education area called for by the Bologna Declaration, as well as the European research area set out as an objective for the Union by the Lisbon European Council, in March 2000« (Commission, 2003).

This is mainly the focus which has so far been illustrative of the ‘Lisbon pole’ of the European higher education agenda. The ‘Bologna pole’ consists of *ten action lines*: readable and comparable degrees, two main cycles (‘BA-MA’), a common credit system, strengthened mobility, co-operation in quality assurance, the »European dimension« in higher education (Bologna Declaration, 1999), lifelong learning, partnership (»the role of higher education institutions and students«), worldwide attractiveness (Prague Communiqué, 2001), a linkage between European higher education and research areas⁷ and the modernisation of doctoral

⁶ We are not first to ask whether the ambitions of the Lisbon Process have actually ever been realistic.

⁷ It was already mentioned that the EHEA is an initiative of the national ministers of higher education and the key goal of the Bologna Process, while the European Research Area (‘ERA’) was initiated by the European Commission and is part of the Lisbon Process.

studies (Berlin Communiqué, 2003). The Lisbon and Bologna agendas partly overlap (e.g. in a credit system, quality assurance, lifelong learning, attractiveness etc.) although in some details there are also pronounced differences (e.g. qualification frameworks).

We leave aside ‘technical’ variations and focus only on the political, strategic or ‘philosophical’ ones. The Lisbon Process aimed »to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world« and we have already mentioned that some similar sounds have also been heard regarding the Bologna Process, e.g.: »We must in particular look at the objective of increasing the international competitiveness of the European systems of higher education« (Bologna Declaration, 1999). Yet, on the other side it was argued at the very conception of the EHEA »that Europe is not only that of the Euro, of the banks and the economy« but »it must be a Europe of knowledge as well« (Sorbonne Declaration, 1998). This is the other side of the ‘Bologna coin’: globalisation and economy on one side, identities and culture on the other.

2.6 The European Higher Education and its ‘full range of purposes’

The ‘Lisbon’/‘Bologna’ dichotomy has often been aligned with the ‘economic competitiveness’/‘social cohesion’ dichotomy. It deeply affects the understanding of the potential purpose(s) and role(s) of the modern university. In the last few years, criticisms have been often made that higher education is now progressively understood ‘only as an economic drive’. On the other side, it has also been said that ‘higher education romanticism’ has no real grounds and harms social and economic development. The objections of ‘one-sidedness’ (i.e., a dominance of one purpose/role of higher education and the neglect of any other purposes/roles) have been a matter of various polemics and considerations. That is why a broader horizon is needed when addressing the pains of European higher education, that is, its present and its future.

Globalisation has also brought new and huge challenges to European higher education; there is no longer any doubt about that. Europe likes to tell the world (and itself) that it has been ‘the cradle of universities’. However, much has changed over all these centuries and the university as a human institution is not in a cradle any more. There is these days a ‘competition’ (this term can be understood in different ways) among universities and other higher education institutions; it would be irresponsible to ignore this fact. A question which should be answered today is: how to become ‘better’ and how to improve ‘our performance’ in the new circumstances characterised by globalisation? The way we answer this question depends on a number of sub-questions but here we will only focus on two of them: how do we understand the term ‘globalisation’ and what do we understand by ‘Europe’?

The enthusiasm in Europe following the fall of the Berlin Wall (1989) calmed down quite some time ago and something similar has happened with the historical enlargement of the EU (2004). This decade has been marked, on the ‘hard’ side, by further growth and global economic competition while, on the ‘soft’ side, it seems that it has returned more to local identities as well as partial and even directly selfish interests. At first blush, it looks strange but in essence it is not a surprise: in our ‘global villages’ of today, in the so-called ‘age of globalisation’, we are again encountering phenomena which were supposed to be creatures of the past: protectionism, nationalism, exclusion, homophobia, intolerance etc. This is far from being only a European problem, it is also global.

The term ‘globalisation’ which was launched two or three decades ago and entered into everyday language has slowly turned from *a promise* to *a menace*. Globalisation in general, including the globalisation of education, today most probably attracts more opponents than defenders in the public at large. However, we continue to buy cheap items made far away and save money to send our child to a good university abroad. In the mass of an everyday life, the term ‘globalisation’ is often taken as a synonym for a number of seemingly similar terms; as a result, misunderstandings often arise.

An important distinction has been proposed in this regard by Ulrich Beck: he distinguishes between *globalisation* as an analytical concept and *globalism* as an ideology: »To me globalism is the view that the world market displaces or replaces political action; it is the ideology of world market power, the ideology of neoliberalism. This is a monocausal and economic view which reduces the multi-dimensionality of globalisation to one dimension, the economic dimension (which is also envisaged as a linear process) and which only formulates other dimensions – globalisation of ecology, culture, politics, civil society – as subordinate to the system of the world market, if they are formulated at all« (Beck, 1997, p. 26). This distinction is particularly crucial when we discuss ‘soft’ subsystems like education.

In this light we should reconsider the question on what could be ‘better’ education and how to improve its performance. The situation of today is marked, on the surface, by a world economic crisis and, beneath the surface, by growing scepticism of improving our performance and making the world ‘better’ simply by keeping to our direction and discourse hitherto. In this context we need to draw a ‘whole picture’.

Higher education is an important actor of economic development, perhaps the most important one. This should not be ousted by critical reconsiderations of globalism but strengthened – strengthened by including it within the required ‘whole picture’. The political recognition of the ‘*full range of education purposes*’⁸ was a result of the critical discussion of previous years; recently, it also received an empirical confirmation. In a Eurobarometer survey European students were asked about three objectives of higher education: »to improve students’ employability, to enhance personal development and to educate people to play an active role in society« (Eurobarometer, 2009, p. 10). A representative sample of European students – almost 15,000 of them from 31 countries – put a *strong emphasis just on all three purposes*: the first purpose is recognised as very or relatively important by 97%, the second by 91% and the third by 87% of them.

Europe can optimally improve its competitiveness in higher education if it turns away from monocausal views. Even more: Europe risks a lot by shifting to ‘monocausal paradigms’. This is a point to consider with our second sub-question: which ‘Europe’? We should bear European asymmetries in mind. Is it a ‘full’ Europe or a ‘reduced’ Europe (e.g. ‘EU-27’, ‘EU-19’, ‘EU-15’ etc.)? The idea of Europeanisation – in fact a species of globalisation – was born in the smoke of a burned Europe after World War II and has aimed at overcoming previous divisions and conflicts. To follow up this idea, ‘Europe’ as a whole should not be monopolised in one or other ‘reduced’ way.

Recent processes of modernising European higher education – a necessary modernisation to respond to the challenges of globalisation and improve its performance – have taken place in a

⁸ Within the EHEA context, the first reference to the range of purposes of higher education has been the Council’s of Europe project on public responsibility for higher education and the seminar on the ‘social dimension’ in Athens in February 2003. See Weber and Bergan, 2005.

context determined by two diverse legal and political discourses: the European Treaty (and the European Union as a strong political entity of a ‘reduced’ Europe) and the European Cultural Convention (and the Council of Europe as a weak political organisation of a ‘full’ Europe). They have also taken place in the context of global economic competition which has not only strengthened European ‘coming together’ but has also provoked new ruptures and dissociations. They can also be observed in ‘soft tissue’, e.g. in culture.

European universities and higher education in general can do a lot in the triangle of politics, the economy and culture. At the beginning of this decade French philosopher Alain Renaut proposed that »one way of enhancing the existing economic and financial union and making it less soulless could be for our universities to make a genuine contribution to the establishment of a common European culture« but also added the rhetorical question: »to put it bluntly, has the time not come to include in at least the first phases of higher education the cultural requirements necessary to create a European citizenship?« (Renaut, 2002, p. 126).

Is the aim to become ‘the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world’ limited to a ‘reduced’ Europe or to the ‘full’ one? Is the European Higher Education Area – to be established until 2010 with 46 countries – also an answer to the challenge of establishing ‘a common European culture’ and ‘European citizenship’? It is not necessary to answer these questions immediately (and they are not easily answered); however, they do offer the necessary dynamism in the discussion we are part of.

3. How is Europe performing in higher education?

This chapter deals with evidence about Europe’s higher education performance. On one hand, we have plenty of data today which can support our presentation. On the other, there are several mainly methodological limitations. Indeed, we can learn a lot from e.g. Eurostat surveys and various other surveys commissioned or supported by the European Commission. However, as the map of the 46 Bologna countries does not overlap with a map of the EU plus EU associated countries there is a lack of data or, at least, sometimes we cannot draw a complete picture. Similarly, we have available sound data from the OECD and they can give us an opportunity to make comparisons between EU countries and some other larger countries around the world. But again, not all Bologna countries and even not all EU countries are OECD members and so also from this angle the picture often remains incomplete. Finally, monitoring of the Bologna Process has shown that there are several gaps (as well as methodological enigmas) in data collecting and information. In fact, systemic data collecting and information in EHEA countries only seems to have started (and this can be viewed as a good result of the Bologna Process; see Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve Communiqué, 2009, point 21). Bearing in mind these and similar limitations we will try to provide some answers about the performance in key areas and the horizons of the European higher education.

3.1 Inputs and outputs of European higher education systems

Usually, the most popular and seemingly informative indicator concerning education systems is the level of *educational achievements in the population*. For the purposes of this report we will of course only focus on the upper part of the educational vertical. Among several recent reports, data from the OECD (2006; in a few cases a little older) can probably serve us best at the beginning of this chapter as they give insights into a sample of European countries and at the same time allow comparisons with some other non-European countries. According to

these data, within the *25-to-64-year-old population* in the ‘EU-19’⁹ an average share of 24% has completed the tertiary level of education while the OECD average is a little higher – 27% (OECD, 2008, p. 42).

At a more detailed level, we can of course find a number of differences. As always in such cases, huge differences appear within Europe: the score for the best performing ‘EU-19’ country is as twice that (Denmark, 36%) than for one of the lowest performing EU countries (Italy 13 %). There are nine EU countries above the OECD average while 10 of them are below. If the ‘large’ Europe is taken into account, Turkey is at the bottom with 10% (although some ‘Eu-46’ – or EHEA – countries are not included in this list). The best performing country is from Europe: the Russian Federation (53%). It is followed by a group of non-European countries which are positioned above the ‘EU-19’ average: Canada (47%), Israel (46%), Japan (41%), USA (39%), New Zealand (38%), Australia (33%) and Korea (32%).

The OECD data refer to its 30 member and 5 partner countries; they cover a majority of EU member states (21) but only a little over one-half (26) of the ‘Bologna’ (‘Eu-46’) countries. Even though the above picture is only partial it well presents the main characteristics of European higher education (if taken as a whole): *it is just a little below the OECD average score. In general, educational achievements in the populations of European countries to the West and North are higher and those to the South and East are lower; in extreme cases the differences are huge.* This general characteristic is also validated by other indicators. Not only geographically and historically but in this regard as well Europe is definitely a ‘picturesque continent’ and for this reason it is better to focus on trends than absolute figures which are a result of complex processes in (higher) education and society at large.

Therefore, we should be aware that this picture is affected by various dynamics in (higher) education systems of the last half a century (if not more); yet, it changes when we focus on ***particular age groups in the population***. If we compare shares of the ‘senior’ (55-to-64 year) and ‘junior’ (25-to-34 year) age groups then we can observe huge shifts in the last three decades (OECD, 2008, p. 44): *a shift from 18% to 30% (‘EU-19’ average) and from 19% to 33% (OECD average).* During the last decade(s), some countries have at least doubled their achievements, e.g. Ireland (17% vs. 42%), Belgium (22% vs. 42%), France (16% vs. 41%), Spain (15% vs. 39%), Poland (13% vs. 28%), Greece (13% vs. 27%), Italy (9% vs. 17%) and Portugal (7% vs. 20%). The ‘junior’ age group has much better conditions to enter tertiary education than the ‘senior’ one. However, there are also somewhat stagnating systems (Germany, 23% vs. 22%, Austria, 14% vs. 19%, Slovak Republic, 12% vs. 17%, Czech Republic, 11% vs. 15%).

Within the ‘EU-19’, Belgium and Ireland top the ‘junior’ group (42%) while Czech Republic is at the bottom (15%). The leading European system is again the Russian one with no less than 55%, but Canada registered the same share. A similar trend can be observed with other countries outside Europe: there are countries which have at least doubled their score (e.g. Korea, 11% vs. 53% and Japan, 23% vs. 54% on one side; Mexico 8% vs. 19% and Chile, 9% vs. 18% on the other) as well as relatively stagnating countries in this respect (e.g. USA, 38% vs. 39%).

⁹ So far, only 19 EU member states are members of the OECD. In the last OECD report, data from Slovenia and Estonia as ‘partner countries’ are also included. The same refers to the Russian Federation. – ‘Tertiary level education’ includes ‘type B’ (ISCED 5B), ‘type A’ (ISCED 5A) and ‘advanced research programmes’.

The extraordinary educational achievements of the 'junior' group first of all relate to the extremely **increased access to tertiary education** during the last two decades. More precisely, between 1995 and 2006 access to type-A programmes only was increased »by 20 percentage points on average in OECD countries« (OECD, 2008, p. 53). According to statistical data for 2006, the OECD average entry rate to tertiary education was 56% for type-A and 16% for type-B programmes while in 'EU-19' countries it was 55% and 13%. This means that on average *well above two-thirds of young people* »will enter different types of tertiary education during their lifetime« (p. 52) if the present trend continues (for a definition of entry rate, see p. 54). Of course, this increase should be observed in the context of the education system as a whole: »The higher the upper secondary graduation rates, the higher the expected entry rates in tertiary education« (p. 57).

Absolute figures and trends are really exceptional: »About 19 million students were in 2006 enrolled in higher education in EU, nearly 3 million or 18% more than in 2000« (Commission, 2008c, p. 64). Access has been increasing in an exponential way in practically all countries in Europe and worldwide; however, in absolute figures there are still differences in entry rates (type A and type B taken together; see footnote 7): the traditional 'leaders' plus the more and more countries which have made huge progress in the last decade or two now already reach *an entry level of around four-fifths* while many other countries are *between one-half and two-thirds* today (OECD, 2008, p. 69). These differences are a result of a number of factors ranging from the economic situation and culture to characteristics of the national system of higher education and its traditions.

On one hand, *a high level of entry rates is a characteristic of strong economies but there is no absolute rule here*; e.g., some 'old' EU countries like Austria and Germany are still below 50% in this regard while Turkey is at 52%, and some countries with very high entry rates like Greece (80%) and Poland (79%), do not really represent strong economies. On the other hand, greater participation in tertiary education is most closely linked with increased **financial resources invested in (higher) education** but, again, there is no absolute rule. »Expenditure on educational institutions per tertiary student increased on average by 11 percentage points in OECD countries between 2000 and 2005 but not faster than GDP per capita in most countries in which expenditure per tertiary student increased« (p. 216). Expenditure increased »in around two-thirds of the 30 countries« but only 11 of them (Australia, Austria, Denmark, Greece, Iceland, Mexico, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland and the United Kingdom) »had a larger increase in expenditure on educational institutions per tertiary student than in GDP per capita«. By contrast, in pre-tertiary education, expenditure »increased by 19% on average and faster than GDP per capita in the 22 countries«.

According to data available for 2005, *the OECD average of expenditure on educational institutions from public and private sources is 1.5% GDP; the 'EU-19' lags behind with an average of 1.3% GDP* (p. 237). This is a consequence of the significant proportion of private sources in non-European countries: while public sources are equal if the OECD and 'EU-19' averages are compared, private sources in the OECD members from outside Europe are twice as high in the 'EU-19' (0.4% vs. 0.2%). Of course, between individual countries the differences can be immense: in the United States public sources only make up one-third of the total (which is the highest within the OECD club: 2.9%); a similar situation is seen in Korea (yet public sources only represent one-half of those of the United States); in Canada, Japan and Australia private sources are around 1% or a little less but – with the exception of Canada – public sources are in both cases well below 1%. In the 'EU-19' club, only public sources in three Nordic countries are above the OECD average of 1.5% but private sources in those

countries are negligible. Greece and Poland are also just above 1.5%; the first one with no private sources and the second with a quarter of the total from private sources. Six EU countries are equal to or above the 'EU-19' average and eight of them are below that average.

It is clear that in this respect there is a substantial difference between non-European and European countries; however, even within European countries the differences are still huge. It would be naïve to interpret them exclusively in terms of governmental 'willingness' or 'non-willingness' to support educational performance. Higher education systems are complex realities; different learning structures, durations of study etc. may also result »in significant differences in the expenditure allocated to tertiary education« (p. 229).

Therefore, these and similar findings should always be carefully interpreted; the relationship between finances and performance in tertiary education is complex. The OECD notes that »spending per student between 1995 and 2005 has fallen in some cases, as expenditure failed to keep up with expanding student numbers« (p. 213). As national education systems (and their social backgrounds) differ, a direct and linear comparison between financial resources and educational performance in different countries can be quite misleading: »comparatively low annual expenditure on educational institutions per student can result in comparatively high overall costs of tertiary education if the typical duration of tertiary studies is long« (p. 209).¹⁰ This does not mean that we should not analytically and critically examine higher education systems and their structures, e.g. in the light of financial as well as learning efficiency, but again, this should not be done in a direct and linear way but by taking into account the complex realities of the various education systems.

The fact that »PISA performance on the reading scale which tends to remain flat in the majority of countries over the period from 2000 to 2006« is interpreted by the OECD report as »an indication that performance is not necessarily linked to the level of investment and that the increase in resources could be used more efficiently« (p. 216). Obviously, *financial resources* are a *necessary* but not a *sufficient* factor of educational performance. In a much more 'discrete' way educational performance is also determined by several factors linked with *social and cultural contexts*.

From this point of view, an important part of expanding higher education can be explained if we observe the *gender composition of entrants*. Traditionally, men prevailed over women in higher education; however, recent data show (p. 68) that with regard to entry rates *women have definitely overtaken men both in type-A and type-B programmes* – the 'EU-19' average in 2006 was 78% vs. 60% in favour of women while the OECD average was even more extended (80% vs. 54%). It should be added here that the 'EU-19' share of women enrolled in type A is higher than the OECD one (63% vs. 62%). We can observe similar trends in well-performing countries worldwide: higher education is 'getting feminised'. However, this points more to a new question than an answer to previous questions.

Recently, Eurostat provided us with »key indicators on the social dimension and mobility« and a detailed picture of *gender distribution of entrants in the European higher education at large*. We can read that in »all Bologna countries except Turkey, women make up the

¹⁰ »For example, annual spending per tertiary student in Japan is about the same as in Germany, at USD 12 326 and USD 12 446, respectively [...]. But because of differences in the tertiary degree structure [...], the average duration of tertiary studies is slightly more than one year longer in Germany than in Japan (5.4 and 4.1 years, respectively). As a consequence, the cumulative expenditure for each tertiary student is almost USD 16 000 lower in Japan than in Germany – USD 50 167 compared with USD 66 758.« Ibid.

majority of entrants (all fields), but feminisation has not reached similar levels across all fields and countries« (European Communities & HIS, 2009, p. 54). Everywhere in Europe women prevail in education sciences and humanities and in more than half the countries they account for more than two-thirds »in journalism and information services, humanities, veterinary medicine, teacher training, health, education and social services«. On the other side, they »are still a minority in the broad subject groups of science, engineering and agriculture« and their shares »are especially low in computing (15 %), engineering and engineering trade (17 %) and transport services (18 %).«

A more balanced gender composition is likely to be a factor of increased access but also important for the 'social dimension' and equal opportunities (we will come back to these issues later). Now, we turn to *graduation rates* as the most popular indicator of the effectiveness and productivity of education systems. However, a methodological and systemic note is needed first. Similar as with other indicators, differences between various education systems and the way specific features of an individual system are interpreted very much influence any attempt to draw a comparative picture on graduation rates in Europe and worldwide. The main problem is the nature of study programmes, their location (e.g. university or non-university institution) and types of degrees ('short' or 'long'; 'academic' or 'professional').

In recent times, these distinctions have become blurred and disturb statistical pictures and comparative insights. Mostly, the ISCED classification is still used as a basis but it is ever more obvious that with structural changes in higher education this classification should be revised.¹¹ If a country has a binary system (type A and type B) then there will be most probably fewer type-A graduates than in another country with a similar background but operating with a unitary system (type A only).¹² Even in unitary systems there is often a 'popular' differentiation between their 'A' and 'B' divisions which everybody knows. Conversely, summing up both types in binary systems can be problematic as learning outcomes (perhaps) differ too much. The OECD report presents data separately for each 'type', although there are also reports which aggregate ISCED 5A and 5B.

In any case, it is not very disputable that the *number of graduates has grown in the recent period as a consequence of the increase of new entrants*. However, the really interesting question is by how much the number of graduates has gone up and what can we learn from a comparative overview of statistical results. For the reasons mentioned above this is again a tough question as many factors influence graduation rates and not simply a cohort which enters education a few years earlier. Yet some answers are relatively clear – and they are not really a surprise if we relate them to the policy discussions of the last ten years or beyond.

A comparative insight into the data shows huge differences among countries in the proportion of *students who enter tertiary education but leave without a degree (drop outs)*. On average,

¹¹ »In international statistics, the BA and MA degrees are both classified in one and the same 'level-of-study' category (ISCED 5A), and thus indistinguishable« (Kelo et al., 2006, p. 4).

¹² »In Switzerland, for example, the creation in 1997 of the *Fachhochschulen* and their later extension [...] increased the numbers of new entrants (with an annual increase of 11% from 1995 to 2000) and thus from 2001 the number of tertiary-type A first-time graduates, which rose by an annual 19% from 2000 to 2006. However, this increase has corresponded to a decrease in the numbers of tertiary-type B graduates. Since quite a number of tertiary-type B programmes have become *Fachhochschulen* programmes, graduates of such programmes can receive permission to attend second degree programmes at the new *Fachhochschulen*, which means they can also become first-time tertiary-type A graduates« (OECD, 2008, p. 76).

almost one-third fails: »among the 24 OECD countries for which data are available, some 31% of tertiary type A students fail to successfully complete the programme they enter« (p. 94). On one extreme, in some countries this figure goes up to 40% and beyond (e.g. Italy, the USA, Hungary and New Zealand) while, on the other, it is around 20% or even less in others (e.g. Japan, Denmark, the UK and Russia). Again, European higher education is not a monolith differing here from non-European countries. It seems that the most important factor in fighting drop outs is the meaningful policy approaches of individual countries: there are cases of good practice where non-completion is not necessarily linked to students' failure, e.g. the completion of part of a qualification¹³ and reorientation.¹⁴

A Comparative insight into the data also shows that *the shorter the study programme the higher are the participation and graduation rates*: »Two-thirds of all OECD students graduate from programmes with a duration of three to less than five years compared to less than 55 % in EU countries« (p. 77). This was already well known in Europe at the birth of the Bologna Process¹⁵ but ten years later it is still somewhat too early to make a detailed and systemic study on the real effects of structural reforms recently implemented in the 'Eu-46'. According to 2006 data, graduation rates in 'long' (at least five-year; type-A) programmes in central Europe and in Greece »are at or below 30%« while in countries with a tradition of 'medium' (three to less than five-year; type-A) programmes »graduation rates are around 40%«. In Australia, Finland, Iceland and New Zealand »the proportion exceeds 50%« while in Belgium, Mexico and Turkey and Chile »the graduation rate is less than 20%« (p. 78).

High graduation rates are a result of several other factors. Recent surveys show quite well some countries achieve high graduation rates due to **high enrolments of international students** and that the true domestic graduate output is overestimated. »In Australia, Germany, Switzerland and the United Kingdom, more than 30% of tertiary-type A second degrees or advanced research degrees are awarded to international students« and to a lesser extent »the graduate output is also significant [...] in Austria, Canada, Japan, New Zealand and the United States« (p. 80). This trend is even higher in advanced research programmes; however, it is much less visible with most other European countries.

At this point, we have a good opportunity to briefly look in the next few paragraphs at mobility and some other specific topics which are also important when we discuss higher education performance.

3.2 Higher education mobility within Europe

International mobility is today both at the centre of higher education policy and public interest. Students who cross national borders for the purpose or in the context of their studies

¹³ »In Canada, for example, one year of study can provide students attractive opportunities for employment. [...] In Sweden, students can leave a tertiary-type A programme before completing it, be employed for some time and later decide to continue their studies« (pp. 96-97).

¹⁴ »Thus, in France [...] a significant proportion of students (15% [...]) who have not completed tertiary-type A level are successfully re-oriented to tertiary-type B level. In other words, in France, out of 100 students who start a tertiary-type A programme, 64 will receive at least a first tertiary-type A qualification, 15 will be reoriented to a tertiary-type B programme and only 21 will leave without a tertiary qualification« (p. 95).

¹⁵ »There is a strong and growing governmental push towards shorter studies, first aimed at reducing the real duration of studies to their official length (which is typically exceeded by 2 to 4 years in many countries), and more recently through the introduction of first degrees in countries with traditionally long curricula without an intermediate exit point.« (Haug et al., 1999, p. 7)

are generally perceived as ‘mobile students’. However, it is not easy to talk about a phenomenon with a number of faces: mobility refers to students but also to teachers and recently to other higher education staff. Student mobility in particular can be distinguished as horizontal or ‘credit’ mobility (studying abroad for a short period of time, e.g. one semester) and vertical or ‘diploma’ mobility (studying abroad for a full degree); as ‘free movers’ mobility (on ‘your own’) or programme mobility (i.e. organised and funded; e.g. Erasmus). Mobility flows are differentiated regarding national vs. international students, inwards vs. outwards mobility etc. For the scope of our report it is particularly important to distinguish between *genuine European* (mobility within the EHEA) and *international mobility* (mobility between Europe and other world regions; mobility worldwide).

Student mobility has long traditions but its nature has substantially changed in recent decades. Traditionally, it was relatively marginal and largely based on individual motivation, encouraged by individual professors and sometimes by institutions. In the last few decades, the number of mobile students (as well as teachers) has grown immensely almost everywhere in the world. What is really new with this immense change is the *development of mobile policy and the systemic stimulation of mobility* at institutional (interuniversity co-operation), national (special support schemes; bilateral agreements) and international levels. The best case of the last level is the Erasmus programme (1987) with an original – overambitious (i.e., achievements are still below the target) – aim to enable 10% of students in Europe to study for at least a short period of time in another European country.

The enhancement of mobility was placed at the core of the Sorbonne and Bologna Declarations and the European Union’s *Education and Training 2010* agenda (the ‘educational part’ of the Lisbon Process) made mobility one of its key »concrete future objectives« (European Commission, 2001). In the recent period, mobility has become an issue of heightened political importance in Europe. In April, a new and very ambitious goal was stated: »In 2020, at least 20% of those graduating in the European Higher Education Area should have had a study or training period abroad« (Leuven-Louvain-la-Neuve Communiqué, 2009, point 18).

Therefore, what has been achieved in this area in the last ten years? With this question again we encounter a number of problems of methodology and data collection. All main surveys and reports complain about a lack of comprehensive, reliable and up-to-date information and data on mobility. This complaint (similar as we have already seen above) means it is not easy to measure progress in this area and that we should be careful not to make conclusions too fast. One of the best recent studies on student mobility in European higher education found »that the available ‘mobility statistics’ do not, in most cases, report on mobility at all. Instead, they report on foreign students, using the foreign nationality of students as a measure for mobility« but »up to two fifths of all foreign students had already been resident in the country prior to taking up tertiary studies« (Kelo et al., 2006, p. 3).¹⁶

In this chapter we focus solely on *European mobility*; further issues of international mobility will be discussed later (Ch. 3.4). According to this study, the proportion of foreign students (but bear in mind the above warnings) among all students in 32 countries of the Bologna Process of the survey amounts to 5.8%. Of the total of foreign students, more than one-half comes from European countries (50.1%); 45.6% are from non-European countries and the rest

¹⁶ The study adds (p. 4) that »there are strong reasons to believe that up to half of temporarily mobile students do not find their way into official statistics.«

are students with an unknown nationality; see *ibid.*, p. 15). We can say that one out of two foreign students in Europe is from another European country. *Student mobility within Europe is today higher than ever before*; however, there are *huge differences among individual countries*.

Today, within Europe the most common are programme-mobile students. This is a result of the systemic approaches of the last two decades. The leading programme provider is the European Commission but at least two other initiatives should also be mentioned in this context: *Nordplus* (Nordic Council of Ministers) and *Ceepus* (ten countries of the Central and South-east Europe). *Erasmus* is obviously the ‘flagship’ programme. It started in the 1987/88 academic year in ‘EU-12’ countries and with 3,244 students in total. Today, »[a]round 90% of European universities take part in Erasmus and 1.9 million students have participated since it started in 1987. The annual budget is in excess of €400 million, more than 3,100 higher education institutions in 31 countries participate, and even more are waiting to join.«¹⁷ However, with over 160,000 Erasmus students per year today (Commission, 2008c), fifty times more than in its first year, and with those included in other programmes, mobile students are still quite a small segment of the overall student population.

It was calculated that the »annual total number of mobile students in the programmes [...] is 141 229« and that »123 897 (or 87.7%) are Erasmus students«. ¹⁸ Compared to 1.1 million foreign students in the EURODATA region, this means that »slightly more than a tenth of all foreign students in EURODATA region« are programme-mobile (data for 2002/03; see Kelo et al., 2006, p., 163). In absolute figures, student mobility is incomparably higher than staff included in programme mobility;¹⁹ however, staff should be observed as ‘exploratory’ and preceding future student mobility. In comparison with student mobility there is even less reliable and up-to-date information on academic staff mobility and it seems that there are several problems in this area as well as an urgent need for »a “complete and consistently articulated” vision of academic staff mobility« (Cradden, 2007, p. 47) in the near future.

The immense growth of intra-European mobility has been accompanied by identifying a number of problems of and barriers to mobility. They have often been presented in reports and surveys by academic, student and staff organisations (e.g. Crossier, Purser & Smidt, 2007; ESU, 2008 and 2009; Cradden, 2007), European bodies (e.g. Commission, 2008c; Pack, 2008) and Bologna Process reports: mobility should not only be about figures but about quality; implementation of the Bologna agenda is too slow and sometimes contradictory; there are persisting problems in the recognition of periods of study abroad and with visa procedures; there is a constant lack of financial support and the portability of support awarded in a home country to another country is still limited; mobility should also be viewed in terms of a brain drain and the aspect of students with special needs etc..

¹⁷ See http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-programme/doc80_en.htm (accessed 5 June 2009). According to a recent Eurostat survey, »[i]n 2006 at EU-27 level, Erasmus exchange students represented less than 1% of total enrolments at ISCED 5A level, with an average stay of 6 to 7 months« (European Communities & HIS, 2009, p. 99).

¹⁸ This means that other EU mobility programmes (mainly intended to attract non-EU and non-European student; e.g. Tempus, Alban, EU-US co-operation programme etc.) are still marginal in this respect. In absolute figures, Nordplus and Ceepus contribute to overall figures relatively symbolically (around 2,000 students per year each).

¹⁹ According to a recent Eurostat survey, »only few academic staff take the opportunity to visit another country’ as »the number of stays abroad represent around 2% of all academics« but »[o]n average, the annual growth rate was +7% from 2001 to 2006« (European Communities & HIS, 2009, pp. 110-111).

A recent Bologna report on the ‘social dimension and mobility’ (European Communities & HIES, 2009) offers evidence-based insights into a number of them, in particularly those linked to the social backgrounds of students. It is no surprise that financial barriers appeared to be the most significant for students but they also look like only the peak of the iceberg of students’ social backgrounds. »In most countries, students from highly educated backgrounds are more likely to have experienced a study-related stay abroad: in some countries, this share was more than three times higher than for students from low-educated families.« On the other hand, »financial constraints are the most important obstacles in planning a study-related stay abroad« (ibid., p. 97). We will return to this aspect later (Ch. 4.5).

Despite a relatively small proportion of mobile students and staff and a number of identified barriers to mobility it can be concluded that intra-European student mobility is a strength of European higher education: it is growing, it brings a new quality to teaching and learning but also contributes importantly to the ‘European dimension’ in higher education (yet, this is a vague term and would deserve a separate discussion) and personal development. *The intra-European academic mobility is a dominating new feature of the emerging EHEA, a phenomenon different from international mobility at large, and in this respect also a factor of European ‘attractiveness’ worldwide.*

3.3 The higher education and labour market

The Sorbonne Declaration already »aimed at improving external recognition and facilitating student mobility as well as employability« and the Bologna Declaration put the promotion of »European citizens’ employability and the international competitiveness of the European higher education« through adoption of »a system of easily readable and comparable degrees« as the first out of its six objectives. Employability has also been at the heart of the Lisbon strategy from the beginning: it »is designed to regain the conditions for full employment and to strengthen social cohesion by 2010« (Commission, 2008c, p. 144).

However, there has been quite a lot of debate on whether the higher education sector should contribute and how can it contribute to the employability of graduates. As higher education is not simply a ‘vocational’ education and since various areas within higher education have specific positions towards the economy and the labour market it is really not easy to answer these questions all at once. Nevertheless, in recent times a large consensus has been achieved that higher education institutions have a lot to do in order to boost graduates’ employability, in particular by reconsidering the knowledge and skills they provide in study programmes. A definition has also been agreed within ‘Lisbon’ as well as ‘Bologna’: employability is understood as »a person’s capability of gaining employment« (Commission, 2008c, p. 144) or »the ability to gain initial meaningful employment, or to become self-employed, to maintain employment, and to be able to move around within the labour market« (Rauhvargers et al., 2009, p. 43). How well are graduates in Europe achieving this ability?

In the population higher qualifications run parallel to lower shares of unemployed. However, that does not mean that today’s higher education graduates do not encounter problems when changing from education to the labour market. The above just quoted recent Bologna survey on the ‘social dimension’ reports that in the ‘EU-27’ »more than one recent graduate in eight (13%) is unemployed; this is nearly three times more than those who graduated at least three years ago (5%)«; and a similar pattern is also found for the ‘Eu-46’. The report adds that, on average, a »discrepancy between recent and other graduates applies equally for men and

women« but the situation is »especially impeding for women in Luxemburg and Austria« (European Communities & HIS, 2009, p. 126).

We have already mentioned that different areas of study enjoy various positions regarding a professional orientation and the labour market; therefore, (un)employment rates differ importantly when we focus on *different fields of study*. Eurostat's study shows that »[t]he field of humanities, languages and arts appears to be the field most affected by unemployment in all age groups« (ibid, p. 128); however, these fields are more inclined to self-employment or even gray-employment and perhaps these figures should not be observed with the same rigour as figures in fields like health and teacher education (i.e., fields with the lowest unemployment rates and with predominantly female graduates). On the opposite side of this picture, there are graduates from disciplines and professions who are lacking in the labour market or who are supposed to be »vital to the knowledge-based and increasingly digital economy« (Commission, 2008c, p. 72): graduates in mathematics, science and technology – predominantly male graduates. Within 'Lisbon', the growth of enrolments and graduates in this field, in particular female, has been promoted as one of the key 'European benchmarks'.

A particular problem of the employment of higher education graduates is the vertical and/or horizontal *qualification mismatch*. Eurostat's study offers the most up-to-date picture of this: »In nearly half of the Bologna Area, more than one in five graduates aged 25-34 are employed below their skill level. This vertical mismatch affects 25% of tertiary graduates in the EU-27« (European Communities & HIS, 2009, p. 132). The situation differs across countries: the vertical mismatch rate is sometimes below 10% (e.g. Czech Republic) but it can be as high as 40% (e.g. Spain). When fields of study are considered, the picture again sharpens: »More than a matter of gender, vertical mismatch is correlated with the field of study [...]; in the field of services, nearly half of employees with tertiary education occupy a position below their skill level« (ibid., p. 136).

The Bologna Process has declared a reform of degree systems in order to make European higher education systems comparable and compatible, to make mobility easier and to promote international competitiveness and European citizens' employability. Where are we today with these noble aims, in particular the last one?

The first *Trends Report* stressed a number of negative consequences of the relatively long duration of university studies in Europe (e.g. high drop-out rates, late entry to the labour market, lack of attractiveness to foreign students, high costs etc.) and argued in favour of a necessary »push towards shorter studies« (see Haug et al., 1999, p. 14). These warnings importantly contributed to a decision on »a system essentially based on two main cycles« (Bologna Declaration, 1999). Ten years later, the crucial issue seems to be *employability after the first cycle (the 'Bologna' Bachelor)*.

The Bologna Declaration stated that the »degree awarded after the first cycle shall also be relevant to the European labour market as an appropriate level of qualification« but the Bologna Stocktaking Report in 2009 diplomatically ascertains that »the employability of graduates with bachelor degrees has been a particularly strong issue in some countries«. In a more critical manner it adds: »However, the fact that bachelor graduates successfully enter the labour market in countries where the bachelor-master system has been in place already for a longer time suggests that the issue of employability of bachelor graduates might be mainly a transitional problem caused both by the perceptions of employers and by some countries

rushing to introduce the reforms without sufficient effort to make bachelor degrees more relevant to the labour market« (Rauhvargers et al., 2009, p. 45).

Interestingly, while the London Communiqué was aware of this problem (e.g. priorities for 2009: »to consider in more detail how to improve employability in relation to each of these cycles«) the Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve Communiqué did not even mention it. Nevertheless, with regard to employability and European higher education there are at least three urgent issues regarding ‘Bologna at the finish line’ (i.e. 2010): a meaningful positioning of new Bachelor degrees in the national qualifications frameworks (preparation for most of them is delayed; see Ch. 4.2), avoiding a simple cutting of old curricula into two ‘BA-MA’ parts at universities and, finally, more consultation and co-operation with ‘higher education stakeholders’ and in particular employers. These issues are also relatively crucial for the promotion of international competitiveness – an aim stated in the Bologna Declaration parallel to employability.

3.4 The internationalisation of higher education

During the last decade or two, three key words have marked internationalisation in higher education: *co-operation*, *competition* and *attractiveness*. The relationships between these three words are complex: oppositions as well as coalitions among them are possible. *Internationalisation* as such has a long tradition in higher education, mainly rooted in various kinds of academic co-operation: individual or institutional, often supported for economic, political or cultural reasons by governments. The attractiveness of one’s own higher education system – or at least of part of it: a good university; famous in a discipline – was a necessary condition to develop international contacts. Since the 1980s or at least the 1990s, internationalisation has been overshadowed by *globalisation in higher education* and competition has started to dominate over co-operation – a process which has until today been supported to a large degree by an increasing wave of globalism (in Ulrich Beck’s sense). In competition, national systems as well as individual institutions of higher education also need to be ‘attractive’; but now, ‘attractiveness’ is sometimes not achieved through the ‘appeal’ of scientific and/or cultural exchange but through advertisements and commercials.

In the 1990s, there were clear feelings in Europe that it was losing in this game. In preparation for the Bologna Conference in 1999 Guy Haug warned against »mounting challenges from overseas«²⁰ (Haug et al., 1999, p. 17) and the Declaration was quite clear about the need to enhance »the international competitiveness of the European systems of higher education«. It added: »The vitality and efficiency of any civilisation can be measured by the appeal that its culture has for other countries. We need to ensure that the European higher education system acquires a world-wide degree of attraction equal to our extraordinary cultural and scientific traditions« (Bologna Declaration). This position has been further elaborated in the Bologna Process; its ‘external dimension strategy’ or ‘the EHEA in a global context’ (see European Higher Education in a global setting, 2007; The European Higher Education Area..., 2009) are a result of the discussions so far.

The ‘worldwide degree of attraction’ has also been at the centre of the Lisbon Process. In »pursuing ambitious but realistic goals« an objective was also established to turn Europe »for the benefit of citizens and the Union as a whole« into »the most-favoured destination of

²⁰ See *ibid.*: Higher Education in Europe is confronted with a new environment marked by globalisation, new communication technologies, English as a lingua franca, increased competition and growing commercialisation.«

students, scholars and researchers from other world regions« (Council..., 2002, p. 10). By contrast to the 'poor' Bologna Process, the European Commission has had substantial funds to develop a number of effective programmes and activities in this area (Erasmus-Mundus, Alban etc.).²¹ Also at the national level, support schemes intended to home students to go abroad – within or outside Europe – have been established and enhanced in most European countries; on the other side, campaigns have been launched to make national higher education attractive to students from other countries and world regions, in particular to attract the best ones. Many national initiatives have been linked to programmes and activities of the Commission.

Lying in the very focus of the 'global competition in higher education' are *international students*; not so much 'credit' or horizontally mobile students but 'diploma' or vertically mobile ones. We have already mentioned mobile students within Europe but now our interest mainly encompasses *student mobility worldwide*. We should maintain our precautions regarding data and methodology when noting the observed trends and details but the OECD report (2008), which has already proved useful in this chapter, offers relatively good insights into the comparative position of Europe – better, individual European countries – within the ongoing 'global competition for students'.

The growth has indeed been immense. According to this source (data for 2006), »2.9 million tertiary students were enrolled outside their country of citizenship« worldwide, »of whom 2.4 million (83.5%) in the OECD area«. »Since 2000, the number of foreign tertiary students enrolled in the OECD area and worldwide increased by 54.1 and 54.4%, respectively« while over the past three decades it has risen »dramatically« and »a more than four-fold increase« has been registered (OECD, 2008, p. 352).

The best performing European countries are not doing badly here: »The United States received the most (in absolute terms) with 20% of all foreign students worldwide, followed by the United Kingdom (11%), Germany (9%) and France (8%)«; these four countries received in total one-half (49%) of all foreign students worldwide (p. 354).²² However, we can find huge disparities across Europe again and, what is less encouraging, between 2000 and 2006, »on average, the number of foreign students has grown faster in the OECD area than in 19 EU countries of the OECD, by 111 and 78%, respectively«²³ (OECD, 2008, p. 352).

There are also significant disparities regarding proportions of foreign students by level and type of education. In advanced research programmes they »make up more than 20% of enrolments« in Belgium, Canada, New Zealand, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States (p. 349). On the other side, a similar situation in 'type-B' programmes is registered in Belgium, Japan, Korea, New Zealand and Slovenia (p. 359). With regard to fields of higher education, the picture is very complex and within the framework of this report we cannot set out all the details.

²¹ See http://ec.europa.eu/education/index_en.htm; »External Programmes and Policies«.

²² If we put Europe as a whole, the United States and Australia (Canada and Japan would be the next two on this list) 'in opposition', then – with regard to foreign tertiary students in their total enrolments – in absolute figures, Europe (i.e. the EURODATA region) with 1,117,735 students (a share of 5.8%) is ahead of the United States (583,323; 4.6%) and Australia (179,619 but a share of 17.7%). See European Communities, 2006, p. 53.

²³ It should be added at this point that »over a six year period, a share of the United States [...] dropped from 25.1 to 20.0%« (a post-9/11 effect most probably) while other leading countries dropped only a little and France and New Zealand grew (1 to 2%). During this period, some Asian countries joined the club of 'attractive destinations' (see *ibid.*, p. 354).

Some countries recruit many more foreign students than others; to observe these trends it is necessary to search for the proportion of international students among all students in a country. From a previous footnote we may remember that this share in e.g. Australia is almost at one-fifth (four times more than in the EURODATA region). The internationalisation of higher education is today very often linked to financial pressures on education institutions and/or systems and this is also a factor of greater recruiting students from abroad. It may have positive financial effects – but it should also be questioned what are (or could be) the academic, social, developmental and other effects of the international commercialisation of higher education. This is in particular a serious problem in less developed countries.²⁴

There are other serious issues to be discussed in the context of the growing internationalisation of higher education: a burning one for many countries is *the language of instruction*. It may be a crucial factor in attracting foreign students and it is widely known that the predominantly language in higher education today is English. On one side, it is relatively clear that in a highly internationalised sector like higher education and research, a lingua franca is necessary (as has always been the case in academia). However, it is impossible to ignore a few dilemmas which appear at this point e.g.: is the education delivered in a quality lingua franca? What are effects on the access and promotion of home students? Is English the only possible lingua franca (in particular with regard to specific linguistic contexts of specific disciplines)?

International students should be regarded as part of the *necessary openness of higher education*: ‘mobility windows’ should be opened wide for the sake of academic learning and production of new knowledge. A true international campus gives – to both students and staff – much better opportunities to develop curriculum and teaching methods in a culturally and linguistically and paradigmatically diverse context: this is precisely what future professionals need during their training and exactly what academic staff need to be positioned better in global academic arenas. In certain cases, it would be impossible to reach the critical mass needed to sharpen the profile of certain study programmes only with home students and internationalisation can be observed as an intermediate factor of quality and excellence. Finally, there has been no progress at universities and in academia in general without academic competition: progress in science and in the arts importantly depends on disputing, comparing, contesting etc. various ideas and methods: The bigger the ‘racecourse’, the better the results.

This ‘global racecourse’ is, last but not least, necessary *to address global problems with means of higher education, science and research*. There is a growing list of issues – e.g. global disasters and challenges like global warming, global citizenship, global peace and sustainable development etc. – which cannot be effectively addressed by means of science and research at an ‘isolated’ institutional or national level. They crucially depend on large academic networks and global academic co-operation.

Here we just said: co-operation. In fact, *competition and co-operation* are not so far from each other. However, it is important to know that academic and commercial ‘racecourses’ are not the same. It is important to bear in mind what Derek Bok, former President of Harvard

²⁴ See e.g.: »The past two decades have indeed been difficult for Africa’s universities. Deteriorating economic conditions, pressure from external funders and internal constituencies to reduce costs and redirect resources to basic education, and leaders’ perception that university communities were more a political threat than a development engine combined to undermine higher education« (Samoff and Carrol, 2003).

University, wrote few years ago: »If there is an intellectual confusion in the academy that encourages commercialization, it is confusion over means rather than ends. To keep profit-seeking within reasonable bounds, a university must have a clear sense of the values needed to pursue its goals with a high degree of quality and integrity. When the values become blurred and begin to lose their hold, the urge to make money quickly spreads throughout the institution« (Bok, 2005, p. 6).

3.5 The attractiveness of the European Higher Education Area

We have to bear in mind this warning when, finally in this chapter, examining the issue of attractiveness. In fact, it is necessary for both competition and co-operation. But as it is more a metaphor than an exact term, its role and understanding depends on various interpretations which arise from the dichotomy between genuine interests of academia (‘the search for truth’) and commercial interests (either ‘external’ or ‘internal’ when observed from the academic viewpoint).

Four years ago, a survey on ‘*perceptions of the European higher education in third countries*’ was performed and published by the Academic Co-operation Association (‘ACA’). This is surely the most systemic and complex study on ‘European attractiveness’ to date. It had two main aims: »to acquire an in-depth understanding of the current perception of European higher education [...] outside of the EU« and »to advise and make recommendations to the European Commission as to the feasibility of creating a European higher education brand« (European Communities, 2006, 18). As we have already seen, according to this study »Europe’s share of non-European students is not bad« (p. 9) but its »relative disadvantage with regard to its competitors is predominantly with Asian students«²⁵ and foreign students in Europe »are far from evenly spread«²⁶ (p. 56).

The study reports that in the United States there is »no national action to attract and recruit foreign students« (obviously a country which is ‘attractive per se’)²⁷ while on the other side »Australia has a clear national policy [...] and is surely the country which is investing the most heavily in international marketing« (p. 9) but in Europe there are only a few countries (the United Kingdom, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Ireland and the Nordic countries) which are active in this sense. With regard to the enormous energy invested so far to build ‘a common EHEA’ perhaps the most exciting finding – but not a surprising one – is that »Europe is not perceived as a union as regards higher education: the perception of individual countries dominates« (p. 236). Respondents in the survey »saw large differences between the quality of education provided in individual EU member states« (p. 10) but »only “a reduced Europe” exists« in their minds. Therefore, »the challenge is to create a more “complete” perception« (p. 236).

This is precisely the point which the Bologna Process has targeted in the last ten years. At least among experts, there is growing awareness of the important results achieved so far and higher education policies in countries worldwide have already been positively affected by the

²⁵ »Europe has better standing in Russia and Latin America, while US and Australia are at the top in the Asian target countries’ (p. 221). Mentioning Russia in this context is methodologically justified (‘third countries’) but also a sign of internal European dichotomies regarding attractiveness, competitiveness and co-operation.

²⁶ The UK, Germany and France »host three out of five foreign students in the EURODATA zone« (p. 56).

²⁷ However, »Europe and Australia were perceived as safe destinations, but not the US« (p. 222); Europe and Australia are also »more accessible than US at least as far as visas are concerned« (p. 223). This is of course relative and the recent change in US politics may change this perception again.

Bologna good practice. Two years ago, a strategy on »the EHEA in a Global Setting« was adopted (London Communiqué, 2007) consisting of five core policy areas; the second one aims at »promoting European Higher Education to enhance its world-wide attractiveness and competitiveness« (EHEA in a global setting, 2007). A report on developments was recently published (EHEA in a global context, 2009) which presents a broad range of activities at institutional, national and European levels. Due to the relatively recent implementation process of the 'external strategy' it is not yet possible to measure related developments in detail.

Indeed, in the middle of this decade there were already many »echoes« from outside Europe which proved there is growing interest in the Bologna developments – not only at ministries and governments but also at universities (Zgaga, 2006). It was indeed surprising that there was no response from the USA where former Secretary of Education Margaret Spellings' Commission finished an important policy document entitled *A Test of Leadership* in late 2006. Yet, one could hear warnings from academics.²⁸

Much has been changed in recent times, even in just the last year – and not only in higher education. Among a number of fresh studies on various aspects of the EHEA, at this point one deserves our special attention: it is a non-Bologna Bologna study: *The Bologna Process for U.S. Eyes* by Clifford Adelman. There is a clear »polemic side of this essay«, even »a purposeful slap« for official ignorance against involving students in US policy development as well as against developments in Europe: »Such purblind stances are unforgivable in a world without borders« (Adelman, 2009, pp. 193, 2 and viii).

When reading it in the atmosphere of the last Bologna Conference (late April 2009) I was really surprised how gentle its melody may sound to 'European ears'. Ten years after the Bologna initiative was raised it is truly fantastic to read sentences like this: »While still a work in progress, parts of the Bologna Process have already been imitated in Latin America, North Africa, and Australia. The core features of the Bologna Process have sufficient momentum to become the dominant global higher education model within the next two decades« (p. viii). It is not a matter of politeness; there are arguments for such a statement; there are strengths and weaknesses. And there is a long and winding road ahead.

4. European Higher Education strengths and weaknesses

Compared to the early 1990s, European higher education has certainly made a strong push forward. At least, it is possible to talk about a 'European higher education' today and 'a common European Higher Education Area' is no longer merely a sweet dream. A serious and profound questioning of the overall performance and the relationship with other world regions which have been either keeping their advanced position or progressing very fast in recent times has led to a promising result: higher education is high on the public policies priority list of most countries and a joint European higher education and research policy has been established. Higher education systems are being modernised everywhere; yet, from today's perspective we should seriously and profoundly ask: are they modernised in more or less the same direction and making systems indeed more 'comparable and compatible'?

²⁸ At an ACA Hamburg conference (Germany) in Autumn 2004 Catharine Stimpson said: »Ignorance is always dangerous, but the United States' ignorance of the Bologna Process – outside of some educational experts – may be particularly dangerous.«

The ‘Bologna winds’ and EU co-operation programmes with other world regions prove that *European ‘internal’ and ‘external’ strengths and weaknesses are interdependent*: the best way to improve global attractiveness is to abolish the ‘internal’ weaknesses, and an ability to develop and co-ordinate a common higher education policy can be treated as the main strength. In other words, improvements and the overall modernisation of European higher education systems is the best way to improve the esteem and attractiveness worldwide. There are certain issues on this policy agenda which look decisive for the future of the Bologna Process and the success of the newly born EHEA next spring (2010).

4.1 Quality in European higher education

In modern times, quality in higher education is both a matter of urgency and hesitation.²⁹ It is a ‘psychological’ element in relation to higher education’s ‘tools’ and ‘structures’: it is about *mutual trust*. It is crucial for the recognition of qualifications and therefore for mobility. All three key concepts – co-operation, competition and attractiveness – depend decisively on it. It lies at the heart of internationalisation processes but it took time for it to receive a firm and influential position in common higher education policy.

Quality assurance is a concept imported to Europe from the other side of the ocean. By »1997, all countries participating in this study, except the French Community of Belgium, had introduced some form of nationally (in German at *Land* level) defined quality assessment system« (Eurydice, 2000, p. 177). At the dawn of ‘Bologna’, almost shamefully, it was only stated that the promotion of »European co-operation in quality assurance with a view to develop comparable criteria and methodologies« is needed (Bologna Declaration, 1999), then basic criteria were set out and it was asked »to develop an agreed set of standards, procedures and guidelines on quality assurance« (Berlin Communiqué, 2003) and finally »the standards and guidelines for quality assurance in the European Higher Education Area as proposed by the ENQA« (i.e., *ESG*) were adopted (Bergen Communiqué, 2005). From the other side, ‘Lisbon’ acted as a godfather to the ENQA (2000), since 2004 the European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education with members from 23 EHEA (so far only two of them non-EU) countries. In the context of these developments, joint OECD and UNESCO Guidelines for Quality Provision in Cross-border Higher Education (2005) were also agreed – an important step for Europe and worldwide.

Quality issues remain the responsibility of nation states also in the EU (and the jealous persistence on ‘full responsibility’ has been a ‘natural phenomenon’ in ‘Bologna’ and ‘Lisbon’) but, on the other side, successful European co-operation in quality assurance should upgrade them to an international level. As a formal responsibility within the national system they are administered at the *national level* but as a matter of mutual trust they are *international*. This is like in recognition matters: recognition needs at least two sides and its substance is confirmed *between* systems. To make recognition work it should be mutual and this is similar with quality. Fruitful European co-operation in quality assurance can contribute immensely to quality enhancement in national systems while, on the other side, it can strengthen the global position of European higher education as a whole.

²⁹ Lisbon Recognition Convention (1997) was drafted (see Section VIII) in an atmosphere characterized by disagreement among potential signatories as to whether formal external quality assurance was required or not. Just five years later, there was no longer any discussion of whether a formal system of external quality assurance was needed – the discussion was of what it should look like.

The first step in this direction came with the adoption of ESG in 2005. The second step was the *European Quality Assurance Register* ('EQAR').³⁰ It is an NGO: it was established by the 'E-4' Group³¹ in early 2008 to run a list of European quality assurance agencies that substantially comply with the adopted ESG, but the idea is older. Already 10 years ago Guy Haug openly said: »A missing element in Europe is that institutions do not have independent European bodies to which they could turn for an evaluation of their curricula that would not be biased by national stakes« (Haug et al., 1999, p. 21). In an EU document of 2004 (Commission, 2004), the idea was launched on *Five Steps to Achieve Mutual Recognition*; one included a »European register of quality assurance and accreditation agencies« (a third step), and another, »university autonomy in the choice of evaluation or accreditation agency from a register« (a fourth step). This idea seems to be too radical at this time; however, the Bergen Communiqué (2005) is the first political document signed by European ministers of education to confirm the idea: »We welcome the principle of a European register of quality assurance agencies based on national review.«

The EQAR aims at transparency in European quality issues, increasing mutual trust and confidence in quality assurance and preventing 'accreditation mills'. To be included in the Register, quality assurance agencies are required to undergo an external review by independent experts and submit their external review report to the EQAR. During the first year of its existence, (only) nine European agencies were included on this list. Nevertheless, »the creation of a European register for quality assurance agencies« was regarded as being among the Bologna »achievements and consolidation« in the Leuven/Leuven-la-Neuve Communiqué (2009).

Quality in higher education remains a hot issue. The last Bologna Stocktaking Report (2009), prepared on the basis of national reports which cannot be seen as being 'free from national stakes', critically noted: »Given that full membership of ENQA requires compliance with ESG, this suggests that the standards and guidelines for external quality assurance and the work of QA agencies are not yet fully implemented in the countries that are not full members« and in the future it is likely the EQAR »will be the main indicator of the credibility of a QA Agency«. Students were of course more critical: »more than half of respondents qualified their support to the ESG as "general", due to it having some key weaknesses« (ESU, 2009, p. 49). And the last Trends Report (Crosier et al., 2007, p. 61) found that »[m]any institutions and agencies currently consider only local or national dimensions to quality assurance and enhancement« while »[g]reater communication about developments across Europe in the QA field is vital«.

To conclude: regarding quality, there is an obvious *strength* of the emerging common EHEA – Europe has succeeded in establishing framework conditions of its own system, hopefully not 'biased by national stakes'. As always in reforming social sub-systems, actual implementation of the agreed framework conditions is crucial – and problems reported in implementation of the Bologna Process may represent risks and *weaknesses* also in this area. When educational performance is in question, broadly agreed principles and a well-developed policy are less important than their strict implementation. This is also the case with our next issue.

³⁰ See <http://www.eqar.eu/>.

³¹ The European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education ('ENQA'), the European Students' Union ('ESU', formerly 'ESIB'), the European University Association ('EUA') and the European Association of Institutions in Higher Education ('EURASHE').

4.2 European overarching qualifications framework

In ten years European higher education has made – in terms of its structures – an immense move forward: from the broad idea of »a system essentially based on two main cycles« to be achieved »in the short term, and in any case within the first decade of the first millennium« (Bologna Declaration, 1999) via encouraging »the member states to elaborate a framework of comparable and compatible qualifications for their higher education systems, which should seek to describe qualifications in terms of workload, level, learning outcomes, competences and profile« (Berlin Communiqué, 2003) and adopting »the overarching framework for qualifications in the EHEA« (Bergen Communiqué, 2005), the »central element of the promotion of European higher education in a global context« (London Communiqué, 2007), to postponing the deadline beyond 2010: »We aim at having them implemented and prepared for self-certification against the overarching Qualifications Framework for the European Higher Education Area by 2012« (Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve Communiqué, 2009).

The overarching Qualifications Framework ('QF') for the EHEA is perhaps the best example to prove that the Bologna Process has not been (and could not have been) an immediate process of the straightforward implementation of the 'ten action lines' inscribed in the Declaration at the outset. On the contrary, the initiative and its basic principles had to be elaborated in several details; in addition, one-third of today's Bologna countries joined the process between 2001 and 2005. In more realistic terms, we may say that the 'frontal' Bologna implementation only started after 2005 when the ESG in quality assurance and QF for the EHEA were approved. Some other 'dimensions' were elaborated and translated into strategies even later (e.g., 'social dimension'; 'global dimension').

If we remind ourselves of Europe's past, characterised by incomparable and incompatible systems, the key question in e.g. recognition matters was: what does each level of a degree an institution awards within the system actually mean? How do we compare e.g. 'Bachelor's', 'Diplom', 'Diplôme', 'Licenciado' etc. With the stronger convergence of national higher education systems (in terms of structures) since the late 1990s, another type of question has been raised: what do the various degrees represent in terms of student learning? The key question has *shifted from form to content*: well, structures are now 'comparable and compatible' but a degree – for the sake of its 'transparency' – should be described in terms of 'learning outcomes', 'competencies', 'students' workload expressed in ECTS credits' etc. This is more than a shift in language – it is a change of concept: a change towards a 'student-centred approach'.³²

On one hand, this shift has had to be addressed at the institutional and even study-field level – and it was addressed with great success in the European *Tuning project* (running between 2001 and 2008 with support from the EU Socrates programme).³³ On the other hand, at the

³² At this point, we should ask, to what extent a change toward a 'student-centred approach' is already a reality. What will it make a reality throughout EHEA, in particular in countries with little tradition of interaction between students and teachers?

³³ »Tuning Educational Structures in Europe – Universities' contribution to the Bologna Process« (Tuning, 2006) started from a conviction that the introduction of a new system »implies a change from a staff centred to student oriented approach« and that the »use of learning outcomes and competences approach [...] imply changes regarding teaching, learning and assessment methods« (pp. 1-2). Also see <http://tuning.unideusto.org/tuningeu>. Tuning has also been a success in terms of 'the external dimension': a large network of Latin American universities associated with Tuning; Tuning has many echoes within the EU Tempus programme and, last but

system level, an »overarching framework« based on a new philosophy was needed – and it was elaborated just before the Bergen Conference (A framework..., 2005). A QF for the EHEA – understood as »a systemic description of the full range of qualifications within a given education system« and covering »the full purpose of education« (p. 26) – aims principally to help »the Bologna Process establish a real transparency between existing European systems«, to »improve the recognition of foreign qualifications, enhance the mobility of citizens and make credential evaluation more accurate« and to »provide guidance to those countries developing their national frameworks« (p. 19).

On these bases, European ministers committed themselves in Bergen to *elaborating national frameworks* (NQF) »compatible with« and »self-certificated against« the overarching QF for the EHEA but, as we have seen, this »challenging task« (London Communiqué, 2007) had to be postponed to 2012 since by April 2009 only six countries (from the North-west of Europe) had fulfilled it. On the green-yellow-red score card of the last Stocktaking Report this point looks most critical. »The deadline to have completed the implementation of NQFs for HE by 2010 appears to have been too ambitious« has been recognised and stressed at the same time that »developing and describing learning outcomes is one of the greatest challenges that the EHEA will face over the next few years« (Rauhvargers et al., 2009, p. 41).

There are several reasons for this delay. One of them is, most probably, that parallel to the ‘Bologna’ QF for the EHEA ‘Lisbon’ elaborated its own »European Qualifications Framework for Lifelong Learning« (Commission, 2005c), which is even more demanding as it includes the secondary level of education as well. At least at the beginning there were some tensions between both which seem to have been accommodated later.³⁴ All in all, the key problems seem to be: (1) too formal approaches to the Bologna QF implementation in many countries; (2) the too rigid separation between formal (reforms of national systems run by the ‘Bologna chase’) and content (curricular reform at institutional level) aspects; and (3) a conceptual shift to a ‘student-centred approach’ in higher education (partly underestimated or ignored and partly not well understood) which has proven very demanding for ministerial ‘bureaucrats’ and academic ‘conservatives’.

However, there is no way back. New degree systems – interpreted in whatever way – are now at least in a formal light part of reality. On the other side, reports presented at the Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve Conference in April 2009 showed, for example, that the two main Bologna cycles have not been implemented uniformly and those who expected ‘a single European structure’ may be disappointed. According to the Eurydice report, »it is possible to identify three models to describe the cycle structure as implemented in the Bologna signatory countries«: (1) the »180 + 120 credit (3+2 academic years) model dominates in 17 countries«; (2) the »240 + 60 credit (4+1 academic years) model« respectively the »240 + 90 credit model« predominate in two countries (systems); and (3) the »240 + 120 credit (4+2 academic years) model is commonly used in five countries«. In addition, in »the remaining countries and regions – approximately half of the countries of the Bologna process – no unique major mode seems to dominate« and »programme structures depend largely upon institutions and study fields concerned« (EACEA/Eurydice, 2009, pp. 20-21).

not least, recently and supported by the Lumina Foundation for Education, »three state systems in the U.S. (Utah, Minnesota, and Indiana) have established Tuning study groups« (Adelman, 2009, p. 170).

³⁴ In 2005 – 2006 there were sever fears that the EQF would develop in a different direction from the QF-EHEA. Later, EQF got closer to the QF-EHEA. Now we have two QFs that are not identical but that are nevertheless compatible, and above all, it is possible to develop NQFs that are fully compatible with both overarching frameworks, i.e. EQF and QF-EHEA.

This variety of models is not a major problem. Within the Bologna Process, there has never been a vision that the duration of each of the three cycles should be fixed for all systems and study areas with one sole rigid 'arithmetic formula' (the so-called '3+2'). It was the need to make structures comparable and compatible and to ensure a high level of convergence among them which was firmly agreed from the beginning and reconfirmed later. Abstractly unified degrees (with the sales brands of the 'Bologna Bachelor' and 'Bologna Master'), which may in addition differ only by the length of studies but hide their 'inner features', could not »establish real transparency« as promised by the QF for the EHEA. On the contrary, it can be only achieved through the relatively filigree work of defining learning outcomes, including competencies, credits and workloads, profiles etc. To make systems and degrees really convergent we need to *recognise their diversity*, not to drown it by singing that 'we are all Bologna now'. This is also the point, according to our understanding, where the *strengths and weaknesses* of the ongoing European higher education reforms are put in the sharpest contrast.

4.3 The diversity of European higher education

When observing the Europeanisation process in higher education it seems, at first sight, that *convergence* and *diversification* are parties in conflict. In the first plan after the Sorbonne Declaration, this feeling was offered a »harmonised architecture« of higher education systems (see above, Ch. 2.4). Yet, the relationship is not so simple. Harmonisation can be understood as either 'standardisation' or 'unification' or as 'the guiding principle of the orchestra' (see note 5). In order to comprehend its dialectics the term can be contextualised within the already mentioned dichotomy of form and content, or perhaps a dichotomy of ends and means. 'European diversities' are as a rule treated as 'richness' but they »can be mutually and fully enjoyed only if we create solid "common roads" among us. Richness is the end; "common roads" are the necessary means« (Zgaga, 2003, p. 92). We could also say that we need to »organise that diversity«³⁵ formally – i.e., through structural reforms – to 'enjoy the content'. Therefore, a certain convergence of education systems is necessary to diversify the provision of education.

From this point of view, the Bologna reforms should be an attempt to promote and not abolish diversities. The Sorbonne Declaration already stated that »national identities and common interests can interact and strengthen each other for the benefit of Europe« and the Bologna Declaration took »full respect of the diversity of cultures, languages, national education systems and of University autonomy«. It is also the common thread of subsequent documents. Not only is European higher education embedded in different cultural and linguistic traditions which should be respected and protected but there is a variety of needs in our societies and within academia which can and should be fulfilled by higher education. 'Bologna' aims to make differences between systems understandable and manageable, so as to build bridges between them.

On one hand, there are diverse needs and expectations from (future) students as well as employers concerning particular aspects of the aggregated 'richness'. As a result, there are 'academic' as well as 'professional' programmes at diverse higher education institutions. It is

³⁵ Expressed in the 'Lisbon language': »The structural reforms inspired by the Bologna process constitute an effort to organise that diversity within a more coherent and compatible European framework, which is a condition for the readability, and hence the competitiveness, of European universities both within Europe itself and in the whole world« (Commission, 2003, p. 5).

impossible to neglect their legitimacy. ‘Academic’ and ‘professional’ institutions and programmes are often put in a hierarchical relationship but within each group further hierarchies can also be identified. In this regard, the differentiation of e.g. *vertical* (i.e., academic prestige and reputation of an institution) and *horizontal* (i.e. institutional missions and profiles) *diversity* has been proposed to help clarify the dynamism of relations between higher education and society (Teichler, 2007). We should also be aware of *disciplinary diversity* and not forget that not only institutions but also individual disciplines or study areas within an institution are diverse and that they serve different needs and purposes. There is ample evidence from the past that imposing a ‘unified’ logic on different disciplines or subject areas may seriously hinder the development of an institution or system as a whole. But we cannot enter into all the details of higher education classification at this point.

According to Tuning, in the ongoing wave of higher education reforms across Europe »universities do not look for uniformity [...] but simply for points of reference, convergence and common understanding« (Tuning, 2006). On the subject-area level, Tuning has shown that »convergence and common understanding« does not mean »imposition«: clear ‘common denominators’ in curricula at different institutions in different countries were identified (and ‘Pythagoras is everywhere Pythagoras’) but cultural, linguistic and academic contexts contribute their particular impacts to teaching and learning. These impacts and diversities are very often what attracts students, teachers and researchers and make them mobile. Finally, divergence has always been an important source of scientific and artistic creativity.

It seems, however, that Europeans still enjoy their ‘organised diversity’ more than guests from other world regions. According to the abovementioned ACA survey on perceptions of European higher education, the »[d]iversity of cultures and languages is mainly seen as attractive, but their ‘abundance’ is regarded as a problem«. It reports that »diversity issues were perceived as enriching and partly even as Europe’s main strength« especially in Latin America while a significant group of Asian »respondents perceived diversity of languages as a barrier to communication and diversity of cultures as confusing« (European Communities, 2006, p. 225). Therefore, European diversities in the view of non-European students (and staff) may at the same time be both – *strengths and obstacles*.

In this regard, what everyone definitively needs is *transparency in diversity*. Recent discussions on ‘Bologna in a global context’ have shown there is a huge lack of information and data for non-European students and staff unfamiliar with European diversities but this is also often a problem for their European colleagues. There have been several proposals and projects have also been launched concerning how to overcome these difficulties. Let us mention one of them: CEIHE (Classifying European Institutions for Higher Education), which aims at contributing to a »better understanding of the various types of higher education institutions, their mission and provisions, [...] increasing student mobility [...] and hence the international competitiveness of European higher education«³⁶ In its last phase, the project designed a U-Map to allow the interested public »mapping diversities«, thus making the institutional diversity of the European higher education landscape more transparent. »U-Map will not rank the institutions league-table-style, but will position institutions on a number of dimensions, each representing an aspect of the function and performance of higher education institutions.«³⁷

³⁶ Project performed by CHEPS, University of Twente; see <http://www.cheeps.org/ceihe>.

³⁷ See <http://www.u-map.eu/>.

4.4 Excellence in European higher education

There is no doubt that ranking higher education institutions ‘league-table-style’ is receiving growing media attention today and it is more and more widely known and popular. Two worldwide rankings have drawn the most interest in the last few years: the *Academic Ranking of World Universities* (‘ARWU’; ‘Shanghai ranking’)³⁸ and the *World University Ranking* (‘WUR’; the Times Higher Education; London).³⁹

The ARWU was launched by Jiao Tong University in Shanghai and released for the first time in 2003; despite frequent criticisms regarding serious limitations in its methodology it has attracted immense attention worldwide. It is chiefly based on research output indicators (SCI and SSCI); the quality of education is ‘measured’ by alumni winning Nobel prizes and field medals; prizes and medals are again considered with the quality of staff together with highly cited researchers. Performance relative to the size of an institution adds a marginal share to total points. The most common criticism of the ARWU has been that the ‘measuring’ of quality is dubious and that there is no real attention paid to the quality of teaching but scientific performance is in the forefront.

If the statement that scientific paper production and citation indexes are a trustful measure of research excellence⁴⁰ then universities in the overall ‘internal’ European scientific production are very strong: »On average, universities in Europe produce 75% of total scientific papers«. ⁴¹ However, »the US has more universities that act as poles of scientific reference« (European Communities, 2008, p. 93). Reports show that research activities are very much in the front of reforms of higher education systems in Europe; there is also an obvious trend to increasing their ‘research competitiveness’. In particular, the changing funding models of universities push institutions to search for »third-party funding« (p. 96). This trend is recent and it is still quite difficult to assess its real impact in details. On the other side, what seems a sign of good promise for the future, research networking and transnational links in general between universities in Europe are growing but mainly »centred in a triangle covering Western and Northern Europe« (p. 101).

Observed from this angle, a similar picture has also been drawn by the ARWU. In 2007, »[o]ut of the top 100 universities, 54 are located in the United States and only 29 in the EU. ⁴² The USA leads especially in terms of institutions at the very top: it has 17 of the ARWU top 20 universities« (Commission, 2008c, p. 66). The picture drawn by the WUR is somewhat

³⁸ See <http://www.arwu-org/>.

³⁹ See <http://www.thes.co.uk/>.

⁴⁰ This mode of understanding ‘research excellence’ is widespread today despite several serious criticisms. E.g.: »The faith being placed in the use of statistics to provide accurate judgment of the quality of academic research is ‘unfounded’, says a group of leading international statisticians«, i.e. the International Mathematical Union (Times Higher Education, 26 June 2008); »Sylvia Walby, professor of sociology at Lancaster University, has been examining bibliometrics. She said that in most social science subjects less than half of the scholarly communication took place through journal articles. But if the sources were broadened to include books and policy reports, citation analysis could help reduce the amount of material peer reviewers had to wade through« (Times Higher Education, 17 January 2008) etc.

⁴¹ Again, it is not evenly spread across the continent: »The universities in Europe with the highest citation impact are located in the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Germany« (p. 94).

⁴² If the top 500 universities are observed, Germany and the UK »had the highest number of top institutions in Europe« but considering the number of relevant institutions, the Netherlands, Sweden and Denmark »perform particularly well«. »Out of the new Member States only Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic and Slovenia have universities in the top 500« (Ibid.)

more favourable for Europe but also has a different methodology: the quality of faculty is evaluated by peer reviewers and the opinion of employers is important for the quality of graduates. Citations and bibliometrics form bases for the quality of research but the assessment of the quality of the teaching environment is also considered important by the WUR and additional weight is given to institutions according to the percentage of their international students and staff.

In addition, national rankings are also growing (not only) in Europe.⁴³ Despite methodological deficiencies and problems the idea of league tables is obviously winning. Ongoing disputes involving ranking will most probably lead to certain improvements in methodology along with more comprehensive approaches.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, dilemmas about ranking will most probably persist as it is crucified somewhere between commercial and academic interests. For this reason, more substantial questions should be asked: what do we actually measure when ranking universities in one way or another? Last but not least: what is excellence? Thus, we come back to open questions which are similar to, if not the same as, those in the area of quality assurance and quality enhancement.

There are Olympic as well as Para-Olympic games every four years; if we consider both of them seriously then athletes competing in the latter are not less challenged; on the contrary. However, the former count much more in terms of prestige, media coverage and – what today seems to be most important – capital invested.⁴⁵ Therefore, what is the excellence in global sport competition? Attempts to achieve an absolute hegemony in defining excellence – ‘an excellence of excellence’ – are dangerous and against the spirit of academia: they are like striving for ‘the truth about the truth’ (as opposed to ‘the pursuit of the truth’).

A desire for ‘excellence of excellence’ can e.g. destroy some good regional universities which have served regional needs relatively well but which – overnight and led for instance by a super-ambitious rector – ‘decided’ to enter the ‘ARWU 500 club’. There are various needs in different societies and there are varying missions of universities embedded in these societies. Excellence in higher education should only be meant to serve these needs in the best possible way: in research and in teaching, in economic and social development, yet also in a continuous critical consideration of the ways these societies choose as a path towards their future.

In this regard, however, the low rankings of European universities in global league tables should not be simply ignored. It is a *weakness*; yet it is not a weakness because we believe they express the ‘truth about the truth’ but because they are influential in public opinion and, even more, because they stimulate a *‘gambling spirit’ within academia*. However, there are also *strengths* in discussions of excellence: increasing EU co-operation leading towards excellence (traditionally fragmented national systems or institutions can build a much higher critical mass; this is in particular important in research and in doctoral studies) as well as several cases of good practice at the national level which prove that alternative approaches to excellence are possible.

⁴³ For a list of national university rankings in the EU (ten countries), see Commission, 2008c, pp. 82-83.

⁴⁴ Differences indicated by a ranking exercise, even if methodology was sound, may not be meaningful. Is the difference between institution ranked as, say 25 and 35 in a given exercise really an *indication of a meaningful difference* in quality?

⁴⁵ If there are serious doubts about its validity than using a ranking for e.g. funding purposes is abdicating public responsibility for higher education.

In the last few years, there have been more admonishments that the concept of excellence in higher education does not solely encompass *research excellence* but there is also *excellence in education, i.e. in teaching and learning*. Early this year, an international seminar⁴⁶ organised in the atmosphere of the forthcoming Bologna conference in Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve presented two interesting Nordic cases of good practice in this area. An initiative of the Finnish Ministry of Education (commissioned the FINHEEC – the Finnish Higher Education Evaluation Council) to improve the quality and relevance of education (*Centres of Excellence in University Education*) was presented parallel to a similar process for the selection of Centres of Excellent Quality in Higher Education organised by the Swedish National Agency for Higher Education (Högskoleverket).

The underlying principle adopted by the FINHEEC is »enhancement-led evaluation« (Hiltunen, 2009, p. 17): the objective is to produce information which institutions can use for developing their own operations as well as to disseminate good practice. A selection of national »centres of excellence in education« (in university education, adult education, polytechnics, regional development) aims at emphasising the significance of education parallel with research. These centres are the only part of evaluation procedures where financial incentives are utilised.

Högskoleverket, on the other hand, »uses quality aspects, rather than fixed criteria, in the assessment process« (from a presentation at the seminar) in order to avoid an extreme normative approach, to encourage non-traditional and innovative units and to make them possible to define their own factors of success. The presentation at the seminar of some institutional ‘units’ from Finland and Sweden was instructive and persuasive: awards for »excellence in education« should also be seriously considered – and launched – in other European countries as they activate potential within institutions which otherwise remains hidden and ineffective. However, the Finnish and Swedish presenters critically added that they feel a need for a new evaluation method (e.g. should the selection process follow the imperative of continuity or of change etc.).

In rounding up this brief passage on excellence we can already turn to our last sub-chapter by saying that excellence is ‘socially constructed’. The so-called ‘social dimension in higher education’ therefore plays an important role in reducing the weakness and strengthening the existing strengths of European higher education.

4.5 The ‘social dimension’ of European higher education

The term ‘social dimension’ has entered contemporary European higher education reforms in the last decade. It is more ‘Bologna’ than ‘Lisbon’: it is not only about ‘social cohesion’ but raises issues of ‘social equity’ in (higher) education. Among all Bologna partners, the European Students Union (‘ESIB’, since 2008 ‘ESU’) deserves the most merit for the term achieving a quite central position in policy and political documents.

In the Sorbonne and Bologna Declaration it appeared only in the very broad context of »the intellectual, cultural, social and technical dimensions of our continent« while the Prague Communiqué (2001) already »emphasized the social dimension of mobility« and, even more, ministers »reaffirmed the need, recalled by students, to take account of the social dimension

⁴⁶ International Seminar on Centres of Excellence in University Education; 24 - 25 February 2009, Helsinki. See <http://www.kka.fi/index.phtml?l=en&s=84>.

in the Bologna process«. They reaffirmed it in the next communiqués, always again stressing that the »need to increase competitiveness must be balanced with the objective of improving the social characteristics« of the EHEA (Berlin Communiqué, 2003), proclaiming it »a constituent part of the EHEA and a necessary condition for the attractiveness and competitiveness of the EHEA« (Bergen Communiqué, 2005), recognising »the importance of students being able to complete their studies without obstacles related to their social and economic background« (London Communiqué, 2007) and, finally, stating that the »student body within higher education should reflect the diversity of Europe’s populations« and promising that »[e]ach participating country will set measurable targets for widening overall participation and increasing participation of underrepresented groups in higher education« (Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve Communiqué, 2009).

At the London Conference, the ‘social dimension’ was recognised as »the societal aspiration that the student body entering, participating in and completing higher education at all levels should reflect the diversity of our population« and was included among the Bologna priorities for the 2007 – 2009 period. Within the working plan for this period, each Bologna country was asked for the first time to report on national strategies it had developed in this respect. The summary report on this issue finds »a great variety in the detail, quality and focus of these reports« and complains that they »simply do not contain the empirical evidence« (Rauhvargers et al., 2009, p. 125). Nevertheless, the report – presented at the last Bologna Conference – gave some good insights into the matter; in addition, it was accompanied by a survey report which contains quite a lot of ‘empirical evidence’ (see European Communities & HIS, 2009).

It should not be a surprise that ‘the student body entering, participating in and completing higher education at all levels’ according to data from this survey does not reflect ‘the diversity of our population’. Europe encounters challenges on a number of horizons. The good news is that a systemic survey has finally been made and that new ones will most probably follow soon. However, in this limited place we cannot focus on more than a few aspects, although they will provide us with at least a trend snapshot.

First of all, the survey again presents *enormous differences across Europe* (in a number of cases data are not available) and some of them could be really worrying. We have already seen some of them (e.g. access, gender, mobility etc.) in Chapter 2. From a specific ‘social’ point of view it could be mentioned here that e.g. »students with non-traditional routes to higher education« (pp. 59-60) are still very rare and that only a few countries report on this category which is so crucial from a lifelong learning perspective.

Similarly, *public support to students* may differ a lot: »in all Bologna countries a median of 15 % of public expenditure on higher education was dedicated to financial support to students in 2005. This proportion ranged from less than 5 % in Greece, Poland and Switzerland to more than 20 % in the Nordic countries (except Finland), Cyprus, the Netherlands, Slovenia and the United Kingdom« (p. 87). Not only the extent of support but also its definition may differ as two groups of countries were identified: one with indirect cash support *via parents* and the other with support *directly to students* (p. 91).

Also the share of *part-time students* ranges from null or negligible (five countries) to less than 10% (three countries) on one extreme and, on the other, to more than 30% (nine countries reported in the survey). »In half of the Bologna countries, the proportion of part-time students is lower than 11 % for students aged under 30. Conversely, half of the Bologna countries

register more than 50 % of part-time students among those aged over 29« (pp. 61-63). Part-time studies appear almost everywhere to be a problem. A problem already emerges at the level of a definition since traditions and approaches in Europe differ so much.

The survey rests on a definition that a part-time student is one whose commitment is less than 75% of the study week. Students were asked »how many hours they spend during a typical week on study-related activities« (p. 64). The results discover »de facto full-time« and »de facto part-time« students: In almost all countries »70 % or more of full-time students declare they dedicate more than 20 hours a week to higher education studies. Among these de facto full-time students, a majority even devote more than 30 hours a week in 15 of the 20 countries« but in three countries, »Estonia, Slovakia and Finland, more than one third of students with full-time status declared spending 20 hours or less studying during the past week. This share is six times higher than that of Portugal, which registered the lowest share of de facto part-time students« (ibid.) These findings are not only important to enter into a further analysis of the 'social dimension' but also to address some other key topics of the Bologna Process like e.g. student workload, ECTS, learning outcomes etc.

Addressing the 'social dimension' we address the European higher education reform agenda in total. Compared to other world regions, Europe obviously takes the lead when discussing issues like this. As we have already seen, the 'social dimension' was declared in Bergen to also be »a necessary condition for the attractiveness and competitiveness of the EHEA« in the global context. However, to what degree is it a matter of fact and to what degree is it only a politically approved 'action line'? At this point, we can perhaps help ourselves by again quoting from the ACA survey on perceptions of European higher education in third countries: »Free tuition is regarded as an asset, but Europe is not perceived as particularly affordable. [...] This applies both to living costs and tuition fees«. Further, »especially Asian students thought that it was easier to obtain a scholarship in the United States« (European Communities, 2006, pp. 224-225). A conclusion is simple: this discussion should take European students as well as students from other world regions into account.

The 'social dimension' of European higher education reflects both aspects – *strengths* and *weaknesses*. Equity issues are no longer priorities for only a few (like Nordic) countries; at least verbally equity has been upgraded to a list of 'European values in higher education' and this should also be regarded as a strength. The key weaknesses are huge disparities within Europe and the danger that the 'social dimension' will remain a verbal promise or perhaps diminish in the future. A joint effort to minimise extreme disparities between countries – a *conditio sine qua non* for the further development of co-operation and mobility in Europe – would be a push against verbalism. Last but not least, verbalism here could be dangerous for the success of other 'action lines' as the 'social dimension' is also part of the Bologna 'accountability loop': a crosscutting part.

5. A conclusion

The metaphor of the '*accountability loop*' belongs to the American analyst of European higher education Cliff Adelman whom we already met above. In a study published in spring this year he talks about the inner logic of the Bologna 'action lines' as follows: »student mobility is an objective then one needs a recognition system (we would translate that as a transparent and reliable credit transfer policy) hence Qualification Frameworks, a common credit system, Quality Assurance, and comparable degree structures. All these, under

Bologna, became supra-national phenomena, and all are glued together in what this monograph calls an “accountability loop”« (Adelman, 2009, p. 24).

As we just indicated, the social dimension should also be included in the ‘accountability loop’ – not as a ‘structure’ or ‘tool’ but as a ‘transversal’ (not less important, though). In a similar way, the ‘performance dimension’ could be interlaced in the loop as a kind of the Bologna ultimate reason: »improving external recognition and facilitating student mobility as well as employability«, »to consolidate Europe's standing in the world through continuously improved and updated education for its citizens« (Sorbonne Declaration, 1998).

When considering questions like: ‘How should Europe handle globalisation?’ and ‘How to improve its performance’ from *an educational perspective* it should be recognised that there is no need to invent a ‘new’ higher education reform discourse or invent a ‘new’ policy agenda for Europe. Within a decade, a broad agenda targeting ‘2010’ has been established and any attempt to target beyond this landmark should begin critically with what has already been discussed, agreed – and even disagreed. ‘Lisbon’ started with lofty ambitions but soon got tired and the Commission declared it ‘time to move up a gear’ already in 2006. ‘Bologna’s’ ambitions at its start were also very high but some ‘devils of details’ were only clarified during the race and caused some confusion about the goal and pace needed to achieve them ‘until 2010’. It is obvious that both ‘Bologna’ and ‘Lisbon’ need a critical reconsideration today: a critical analysis of their implementation and conceptualisation. The recently opened perspective on ‘Bologna beyond 2010’ gives us a good opportunity.

The question of how to handle globalisation in Europe should be approached with adequate attention. The period we just left behind was highly characterised by ‘monocausal views’ (Beck). Goals consecrate means but means can over-determinate goals. Which goals? It seems that it has become more or less clear that Europe with its standards of welfare, democracy, human rights, social security, health care, education, environmental protection etc. cannot compete much in the free global market with economies which do not uphold similar standards. This is not a mere discussion of standards; it is a discussion of values. We cannot give up our values in order to win the global competition. Why should we?

Higher education can importantly contribute to values in society. Yet, higher education also has its own values – and should preserve them in order to contribute to society. The key value is *university autonomy*: not as a capacity of an enterprise to make autonomous decisions in a risky environment (however, this is an issue which universities of today should also address as part of their governance) but as a guarantee of the unrestrained ‘pursuit of the truth’. However, this particular value is not always and everywhere in the world recognised. Success in global competition and the best global performance in higher education is absolutely no argument for giving up autonomy.

The key question for the future, therefore, should not be how to climb to the top of a global ranking but what does the top of a global ranking actually mean in terms of the ‘full range of values’. We should not forget that the very idea of a united Europe is some kind of ‘accountability loop’.

Finally, at the end of this dynamic decade and looking beyond 2010, the following *general recommendations* can be made. European higher education systems should:

- reconsider their state of the art at the end of a decade and *critically confront aims and objectives with results* of the Bologna Process achieved until 2010;

- continue to *modernize structures* at national as well as institutional level and to increase their *comparability* and *compatibility*;
- shift the existing trend of European co-operation in quality assurance into establishing a *new quality culture* in European higher education;
- put stronger focus on modernizing and *improving teaching and learning* at institutional as well as course levels and shorten the time needed for graduation;
- continue to increase *participation* in and *graduation* from tertiary education and *improve social background* ('social dimension');
- substantially increase *mobility of students and staff* and enhance '*organised diversity*' of European HE landscape;
- firmly support HE networking aiming at increasing *critical mass and excellence* (in teaching and in research) supporting a growth of 'top institutions' in Europe;
- support *institutional autonomy* and academic values;
- broaden the implementation of the '*EHEA in a Global Context*' Strategy to all five policy areas;
- finally, increase *investments in tertiary education*,
- take the involvement into the Bologna '*accountability loop*' as serious as possibly
- and work hard on gaining a new '*momentum*' for the next decade.

ANNEX

Contents

Overview of the Bologna process 1999 – 2009: from Bologna to Leuven	42
Map of the European Higher Education Area (Source: Eurostat)	43
Table 3.1.1 Educational achievements in the population (Source: OECD)	44
Tables 3.1.2a/b Entry into tertiary education (type A, B) (Source: OECD)	45
Table 3.1.3.1 Expenditure - tertiary education (Source: OECD)	46
Table 3.1.3.2 Expenditure – over the duration of studies (Source: OECD)	46
Table 3.1.3.3 Changes in expenditure 2000 – 2005 (Source: OECD)	47
Table 3.1.4.1 Gender composition – new entrants by field (Source: OECD)	47
Table 3.1.5.1 Type-A graduation rates by gender (Source: OECD)	48
Table 3.1.5.2 Growth in new entrants and graduates (Source: OECD)	48
Table 3.1.5.3 The gap between access and graduation (Source: OECD; Eurostat)	49
Table 3.1.5.4 Science graduates (Source: OECD)	49
Table 3.1.6 International graduates in total output (Source: OECD)	50
Table 3.2.1 HE mobility within Europe – foreign students (Source: Eurostat)	51
Table 3.2.2 HE mobility within Europe – students abroad (Source: Eurostat, UNESCO)	51
Table 3.3.1 The HE and labour market: unemployment (Source: Eurostat)	52
Table 3.3.2 The matching of tertiary education to skilled jobs (Source: OECD)	53
Table 3.3.3 The vertical mismatch (ISCED 5-6) (Source: Eurostat)	53
Table 3.3.4 Employability of the ‘Bologna 1st cycle’ (Bologna Stocktaking)	54
Table 3.4.1 Boom in the internationalisation of HE (Source: OECD, UNESCO)	54
Table 3.4.2 Foreign students by country of destination (Source: OECD)	55
Table 3.4.3 The percentage of international students (Source: OECD)	55
Table 3.5.1 The attractiveness of the EHEA (Source: ACA Report, 2006)	56
Table 3.5.2 Foreign students in European countries (Source: ACA Report, 2006)	56
Table 3.5.3 What do European universities plan? (Source: EUA, Trends 5 Report)	57

Overview of the Bologna process 1999 – 2009: from Bologna to Leuven

Bologna Declaration, 1999

Setting six main “Bologna action lines”:

- ✓ a system of easily readable and comparable degrees
- ✓ a system essentially based on two main cycles (Bachelor-Master)
- ✓ a system of credits (ECTS)
- ✓ promotion of mobility
- ✓ European co-operation in quality assurance
- ✓ European dimension in higher education

29 countries signed the Bologna Declaration.

Prague Communiqué, 2001

Setting three more “Bologna action lines”:

- ✓ lifelong learning in higher education
- ✓ higher education institutions and students as partners in the Bologna Process
- ✓ attractiveness of the EHEA

33 countries in the Bologna Process.

Berlin Communiqué, 2003

Setting the tenth “Bologna action line”:

- ✓ doctoral studies as the third cycle; connecting EHEA and ERA

40 countries in the Bologna Process.

Bergen Communiqué, 2005

The first “stocktaking report” (progress report).

Adoption of

- ✓ the overarching framework for qualifications in the EHEA
- ✓ the standards and guidelines for quality assurance in the EHEA

45 countries in the Bologna Process.

London Communiqué, 2007

The second “stocktaking report” (progress report).

Adoption of

- ✓ the strategy "The European Higher Education Area in a Global Setting"

46 countries in the Bologna Process.

Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve Communiqué, 2009

The third “stocktaking report” (progress report).

Preparation for 2010: establishment of the EHEA.

Setting a new goal in mobility:

- ✓ “In 2020, at least 20% of those graduating in the EHEA should have had a study or training period abroad.”

46 countries in the Bologna Process.

Next conference: Budapest and Vienna on 11-12 March 2010.

Map of the European Higher Education Area (2009)

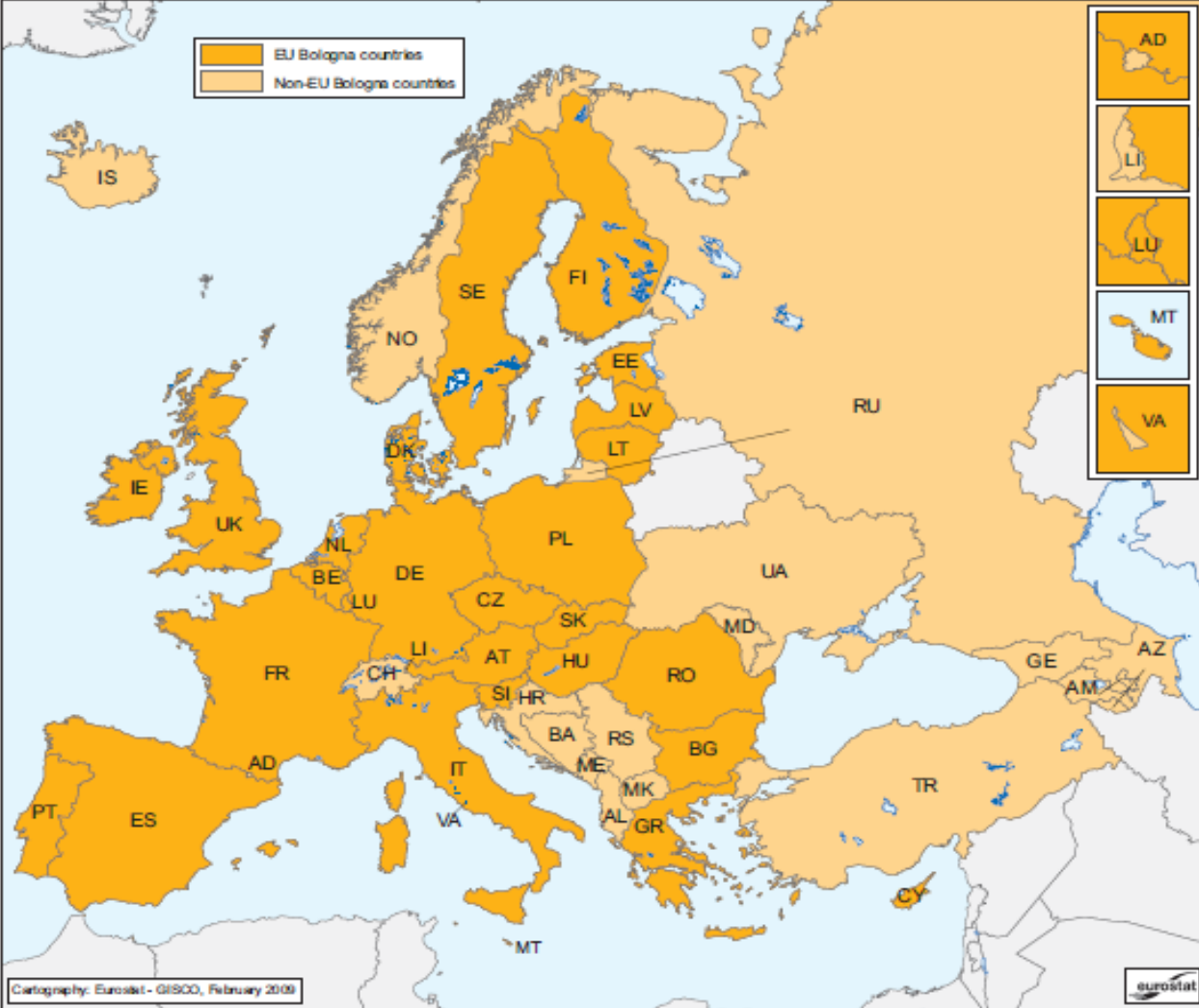
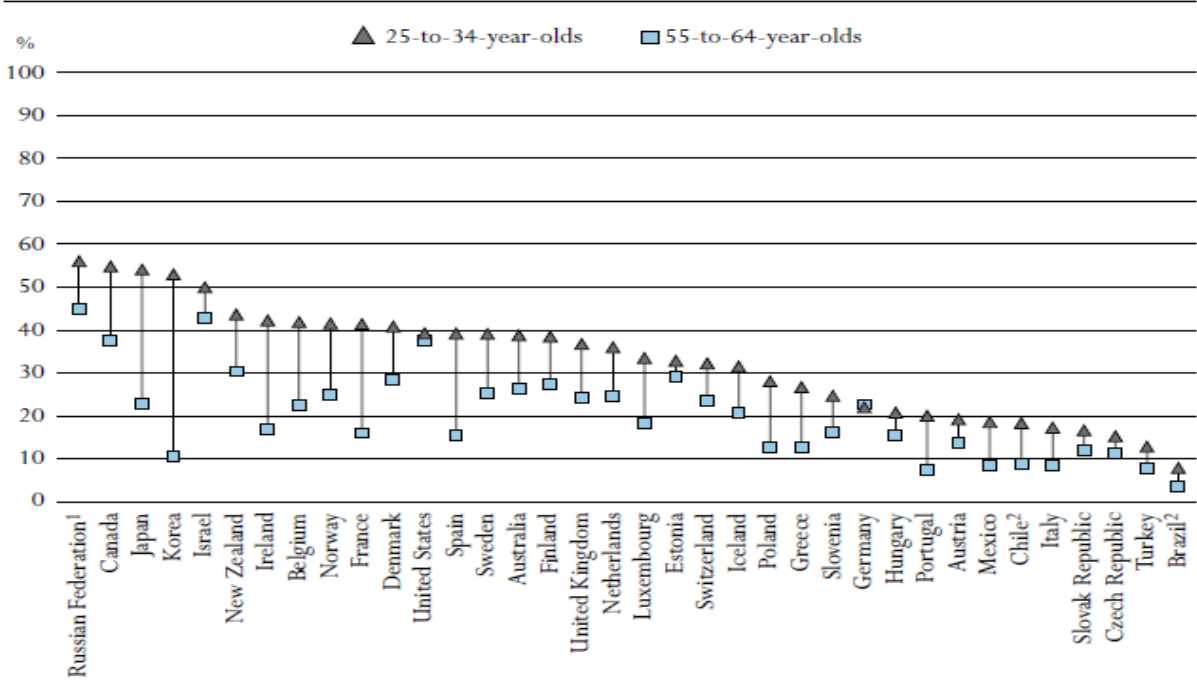


Table 3.1.1 Educational achievements in the population

Chart A1.3. Population that has attained at least tertiary education (2006)
Percentage, by age group



Tables 3.1.2a/b Entry into tertiary education (type A, B)

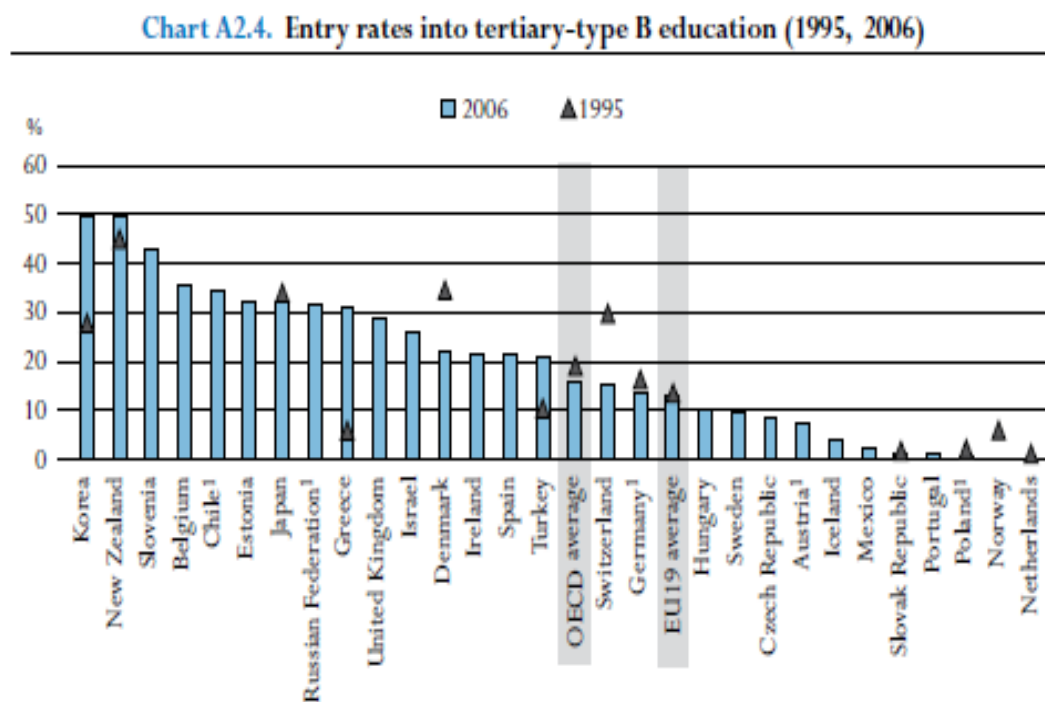
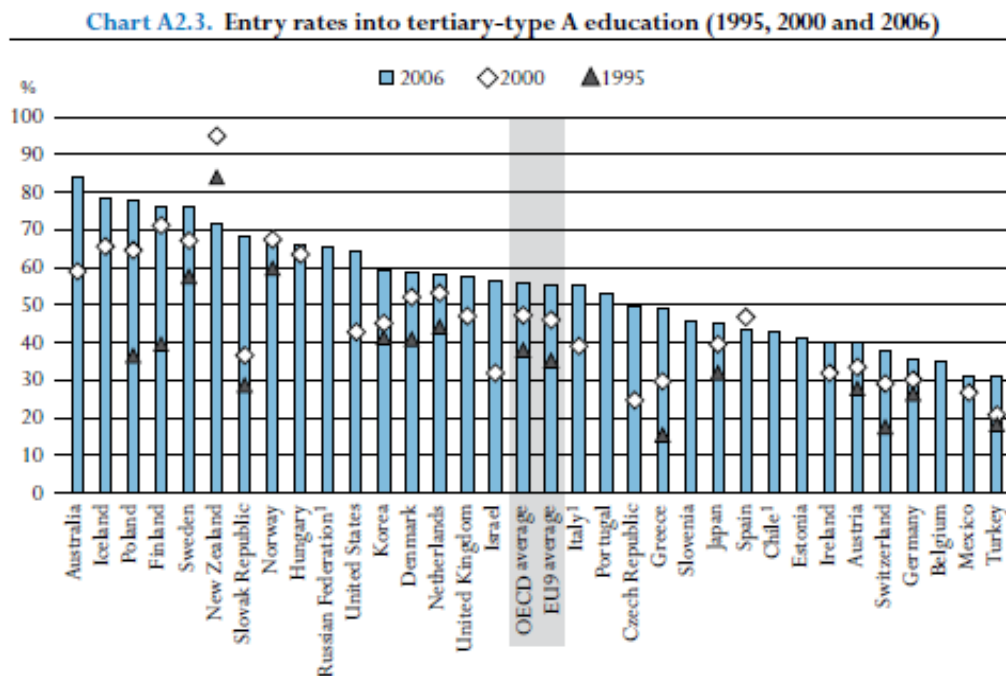
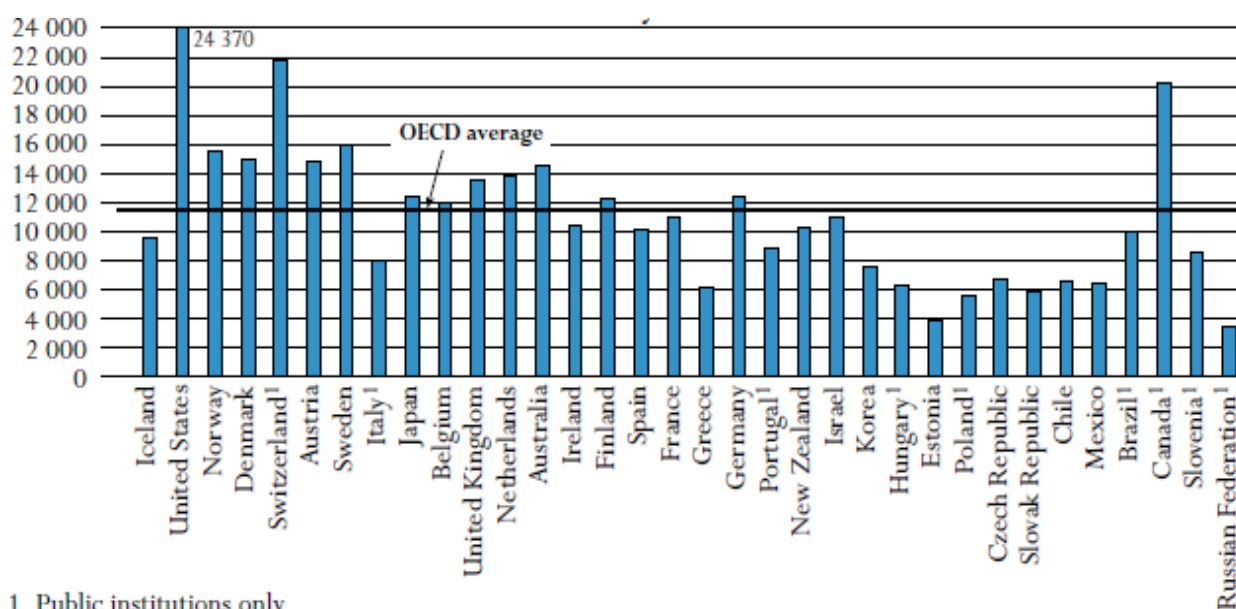


Table 3.1.3.1 Expenditure - tertiary education

Chart B1.2. Annual expenditure on educational institutions per student for all services, by level of education (2005)

In equivalent USD converted using PPPs, based on full-time equivalents



1. Public institutions only.

Table 3.1.3.2 Expenditure – over the duration of studies

Chart B1.5. Cumulative expenditure on educational institutions per student over the average duration of tertiary studies (2005)

Annual expenditure on educational institutions per student multiplied by the average duration of studies, in equivalent USD converted using PPPs

In equivalent USD converted using PPPs

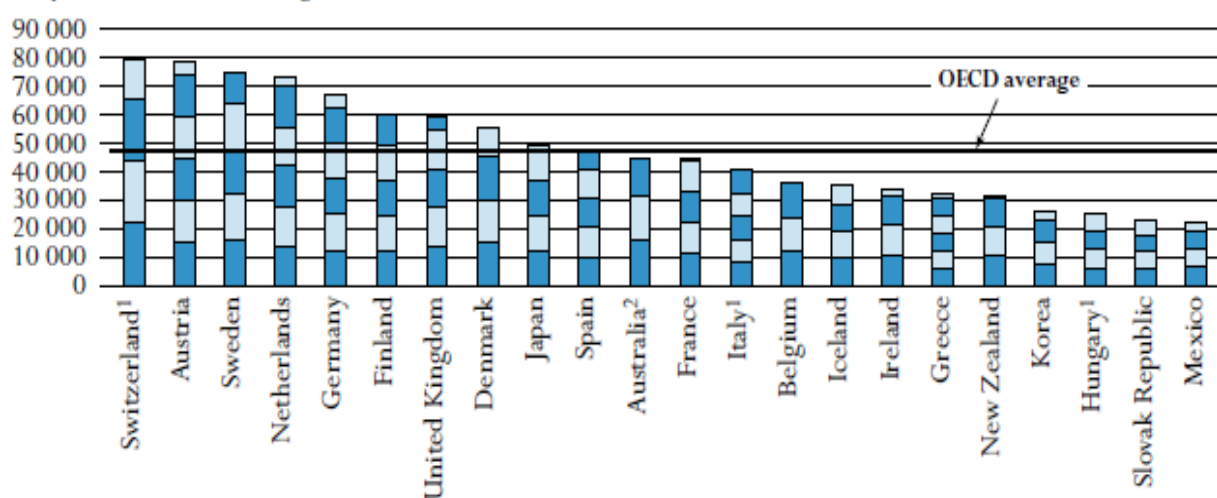


Table 3.1.3.3 Changes in expenditure 2000 – 2005

Chart B1.8. Changes between 2000 and 2005 in expenditure on educational institutions per tertiary student compared with GDP per capita
(2005 constant USD and 2005 constant PPPs)

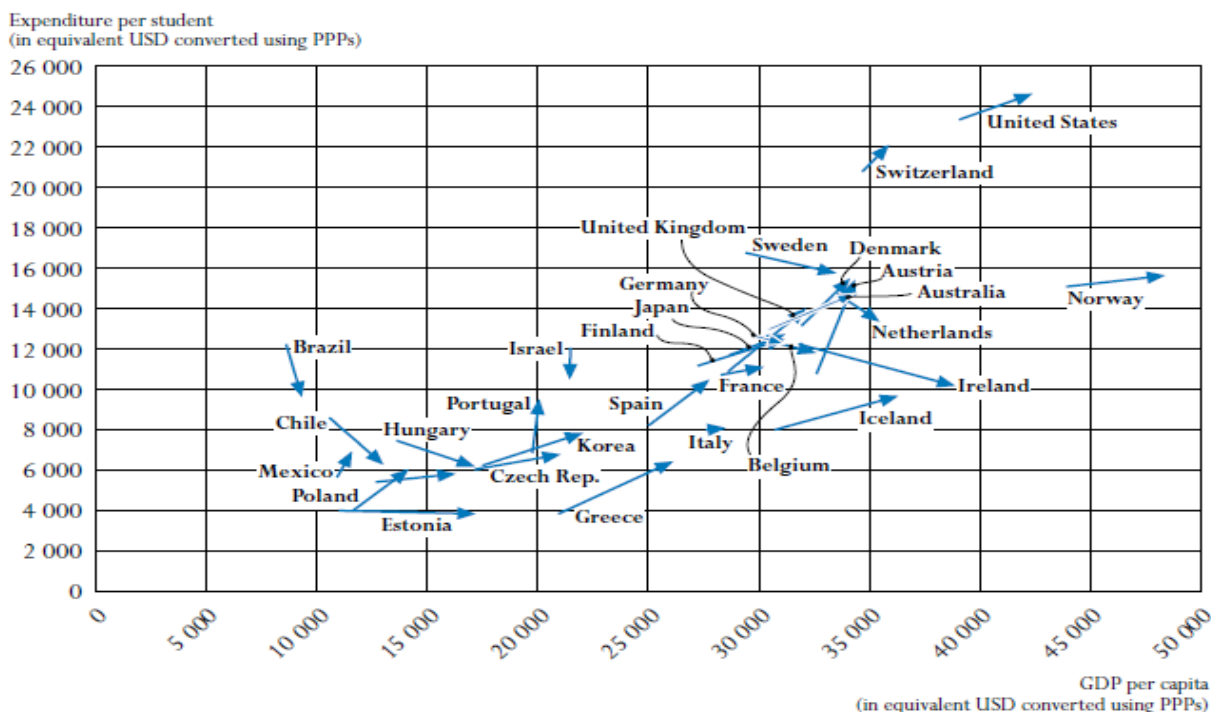


Table 3.1.4.1 Gender composition – new entrants by field

Chart A2.5. Proportion of females in new entrants at the tertiary level, by field of education (2006)

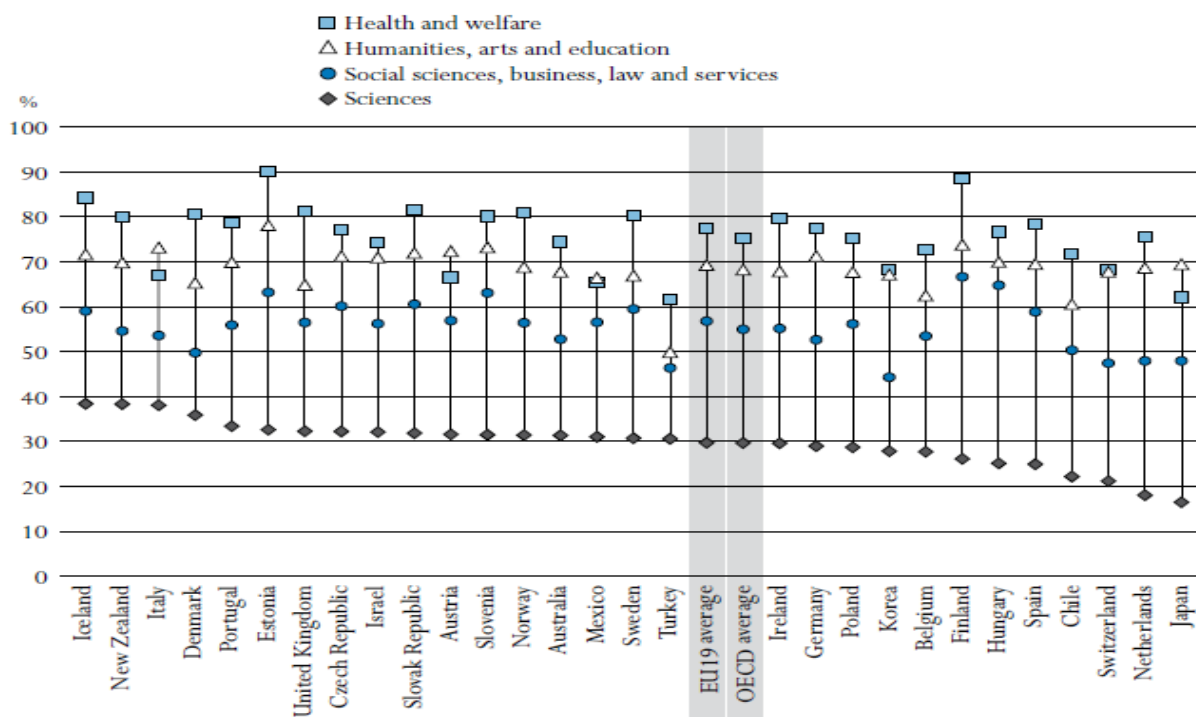


Table 3.1.5.1 Type-A graduation rates by gender

Chart A3.1. Tertiary-type A graduation rates by gender in 2006 (first-time graduation)

The chart shows the number of students completing tertiary-type A programmes for the first time in 2006 by gender, as a percentage of the relevant group.

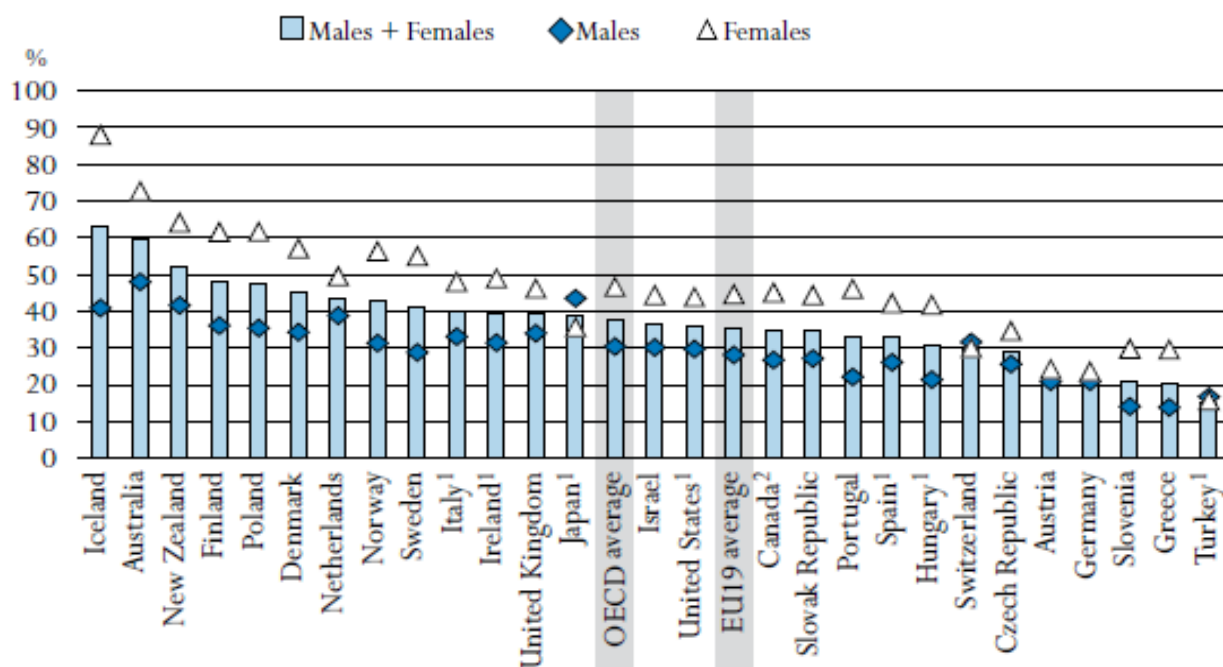


Table 3.1.5.2 Growth in new entrants and graduates

Chart A3.2. Tertiary-type A graduation rates in 1995, 2000 and 2006 (first-time graduation)

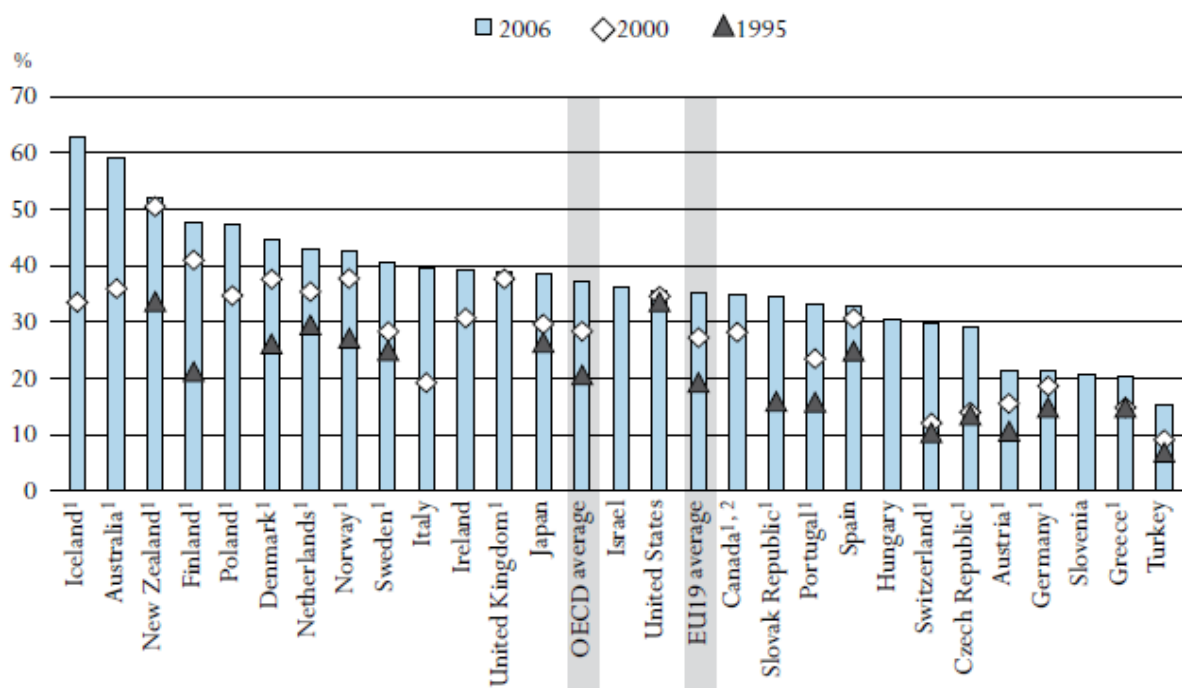
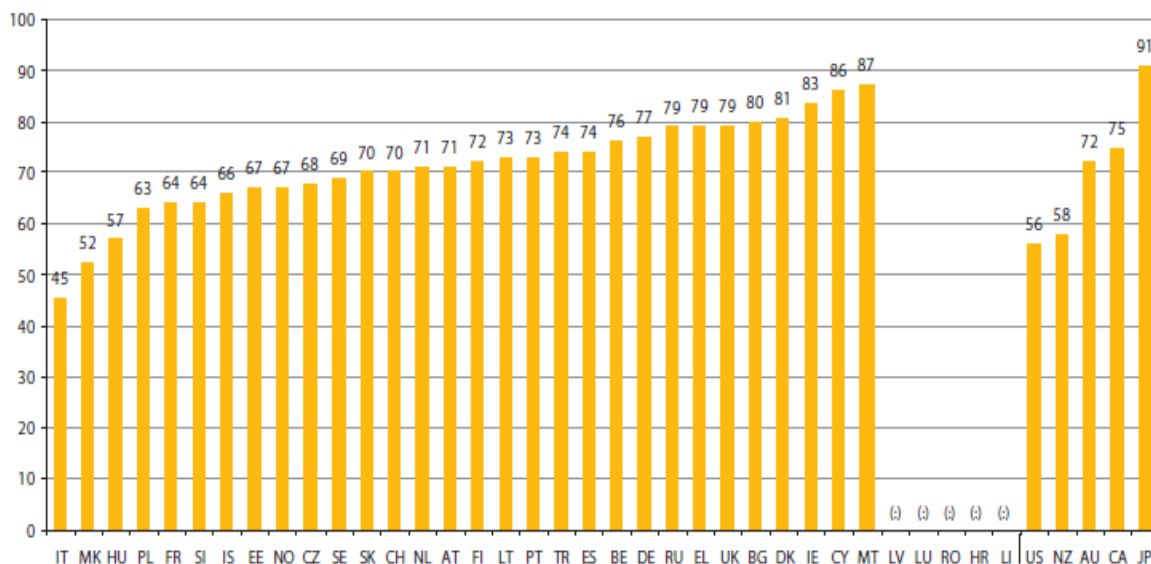


Table 3.1.5.3 The gap between access and graduation

Figure D.2c: Completion rates (%), ISCED 5A (at least first 5A programme) — 2005



Note: EL, ES, EI, CY, LT, MT, TR, MK: 2004 data.

Source: OECD.

Table 3.1.5.4 Science graduates

Chart A3.6. Number of tertiary science graduates per 100 000 employed 25-to-34-year-olds (2006)

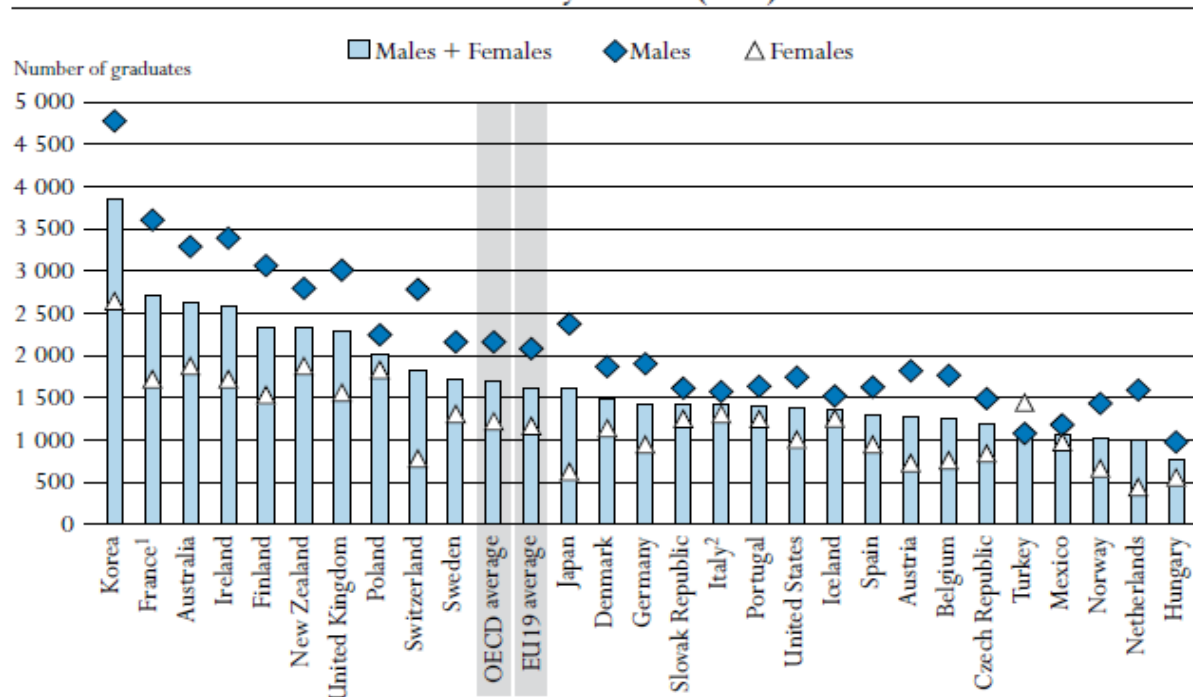


Table 3.1.6 International graduates in total output

Chart A3.4. Proportion of international and foreign graduates in total graduate output, by type of tertiary education (2006)

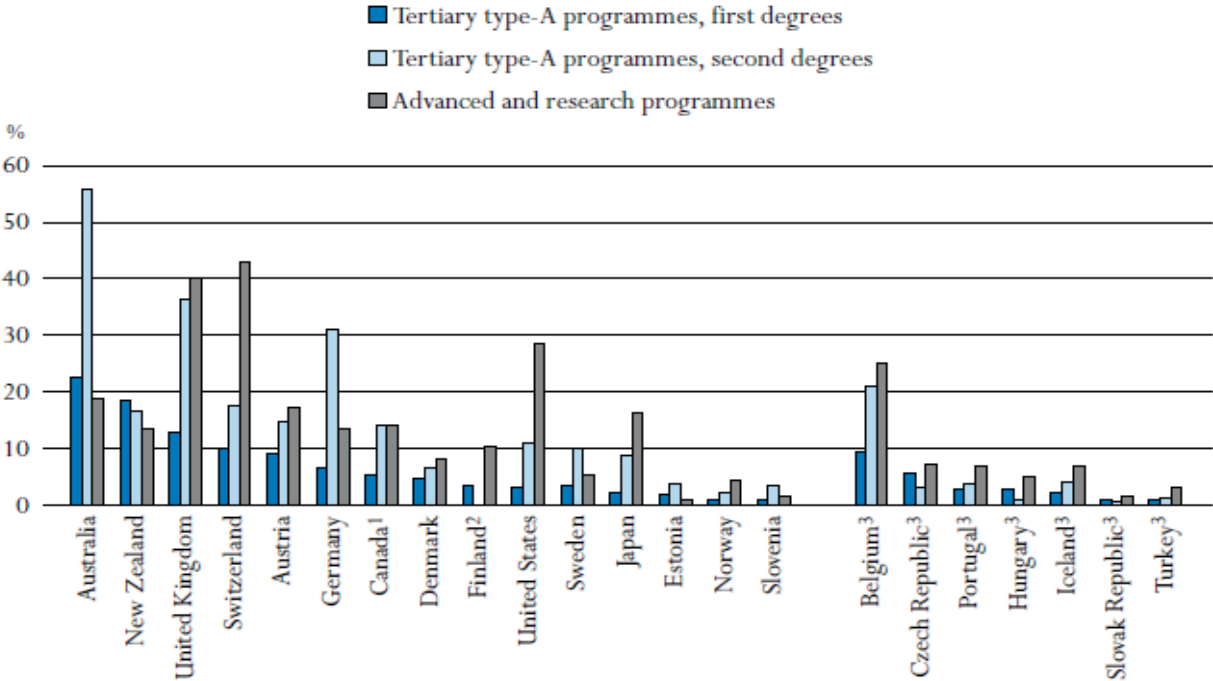


Table 3.2.1 HE mobility within Europe – foreign students

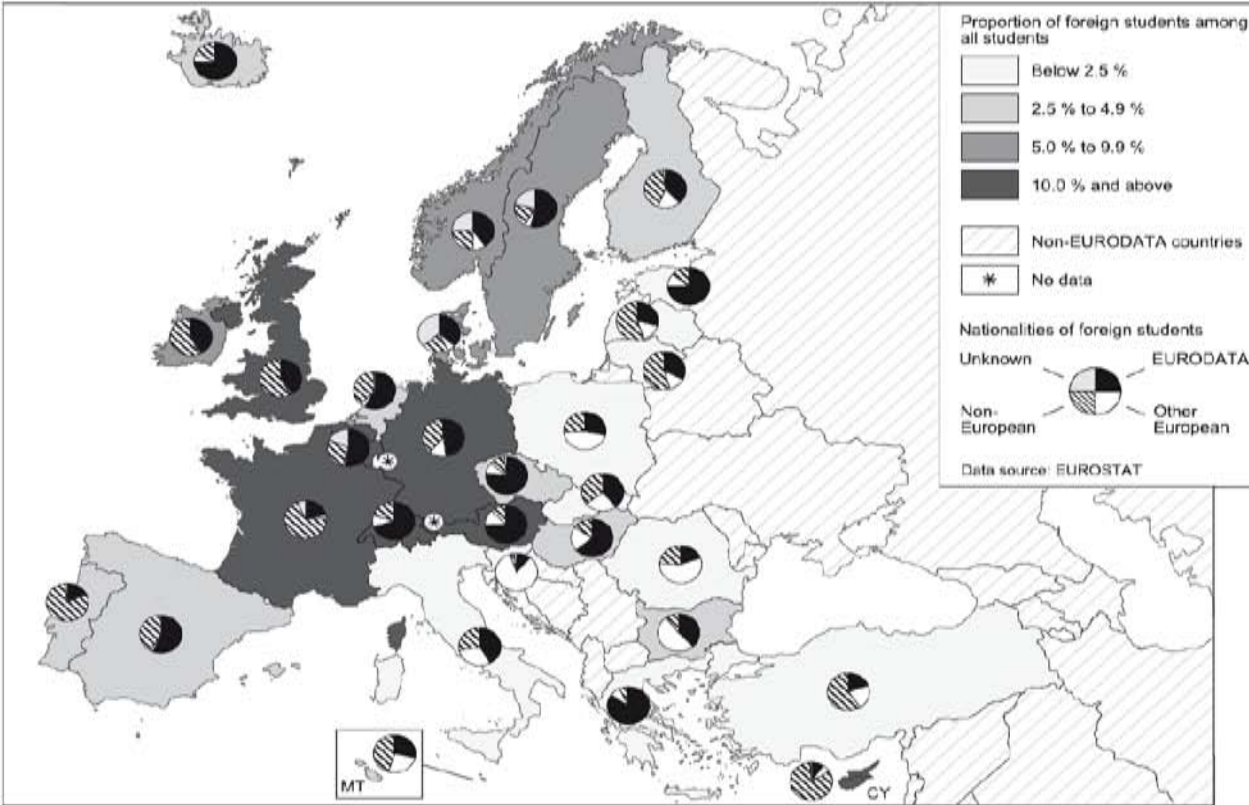


Table 3.2.2 HE mobility within Europe – students abroad

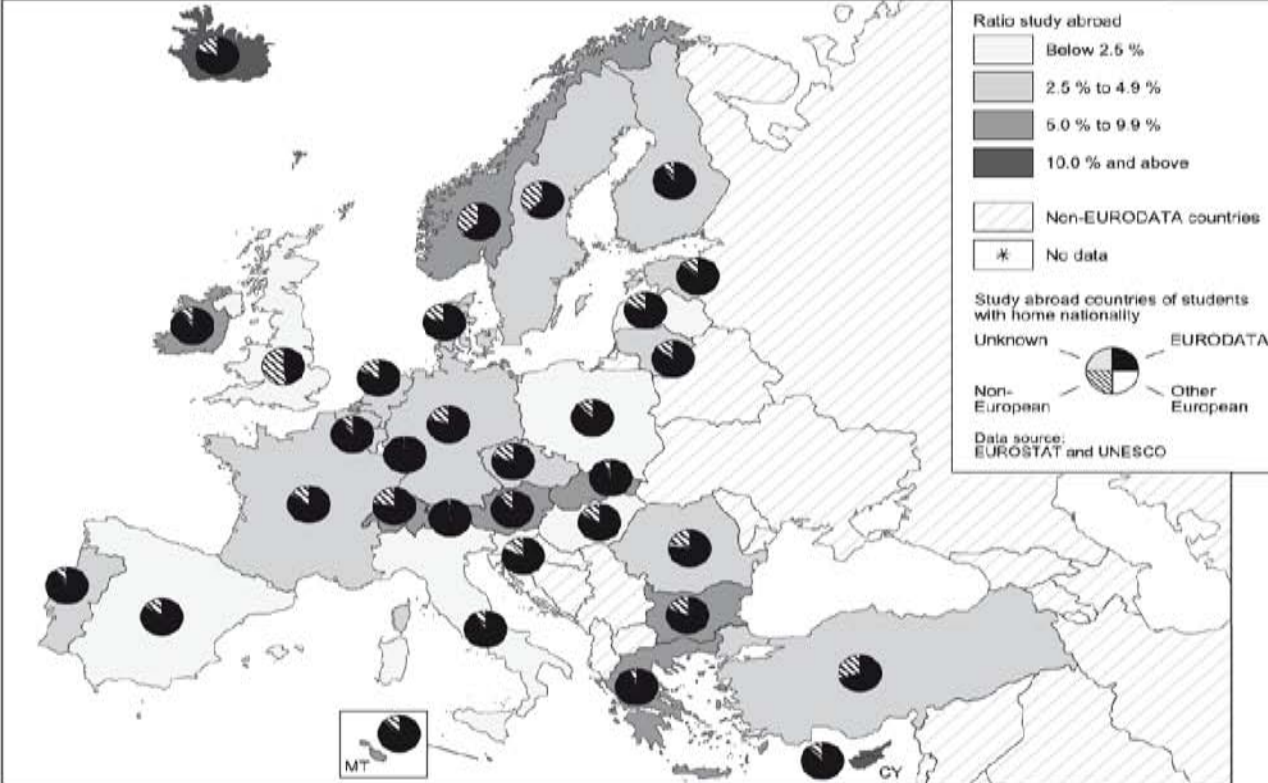


Table 3.3.1 The HE and labour market: unemployment

Figure D.3b: Unemployment rate of tertiary education graduates (ISCED 5-6) aged 20–34, by sex and number of years since graduation (%) — 2003–2007, cumulated

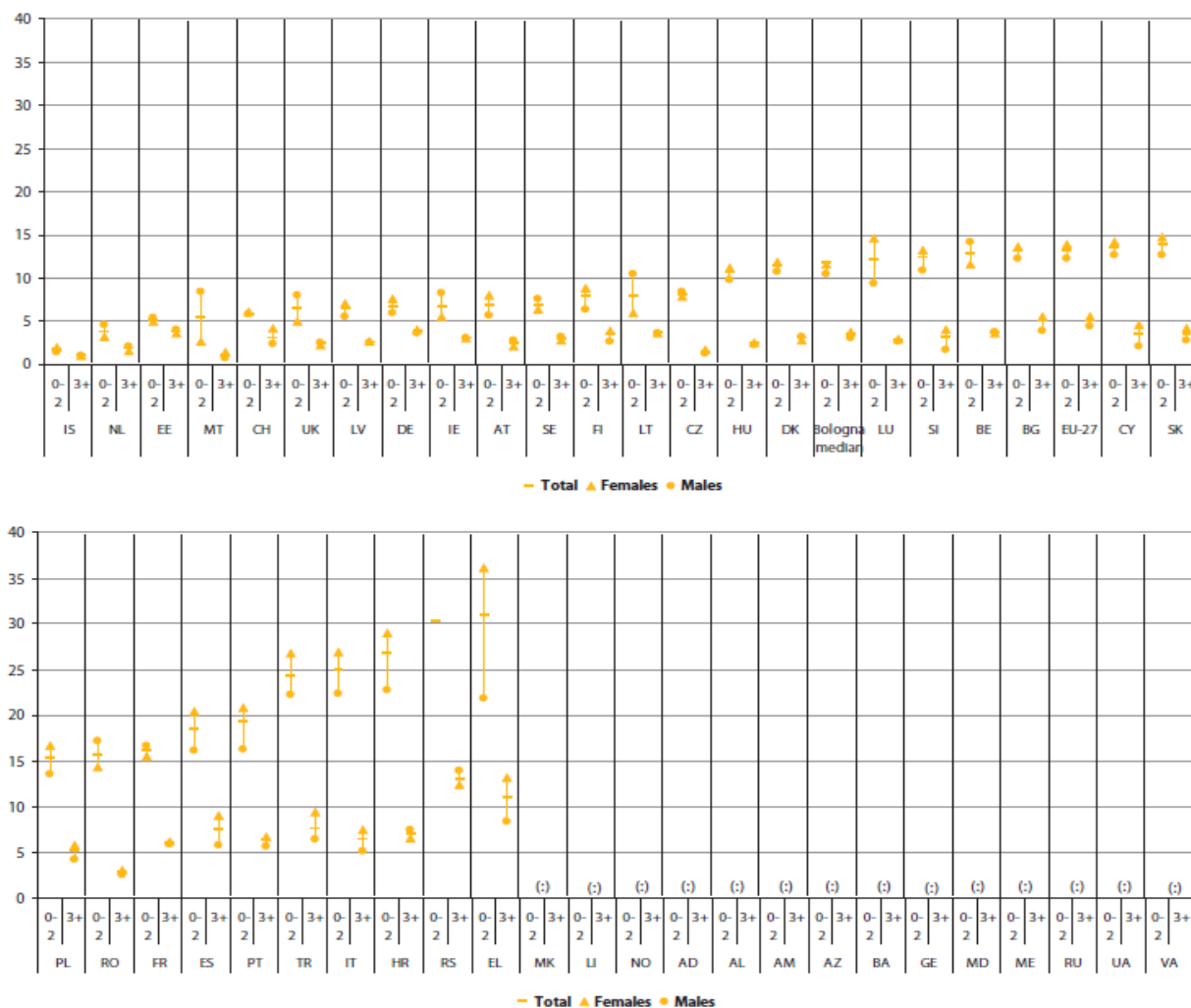


Table 3.3.2 The matching of tertiary education to skilled jobs

Chart A1.7. Relationship between the matching of tertiary education (5A/6) to skilled jobs and the difference between skilled jobs and the proportion of tertiary educated in the economy

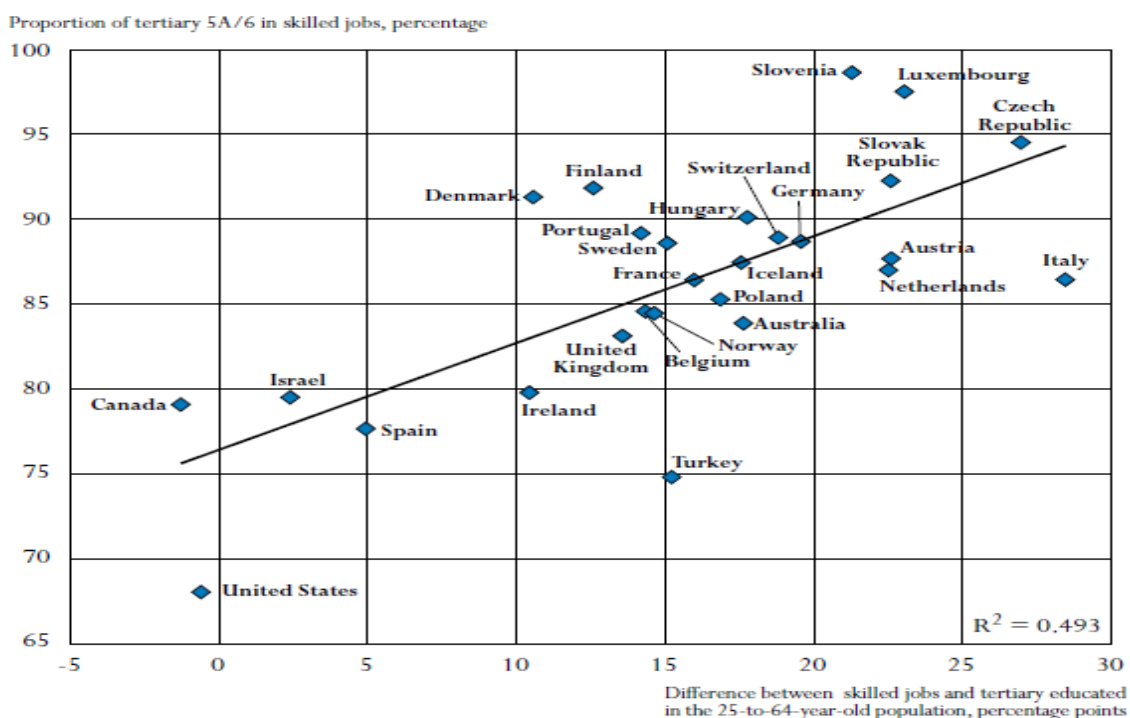
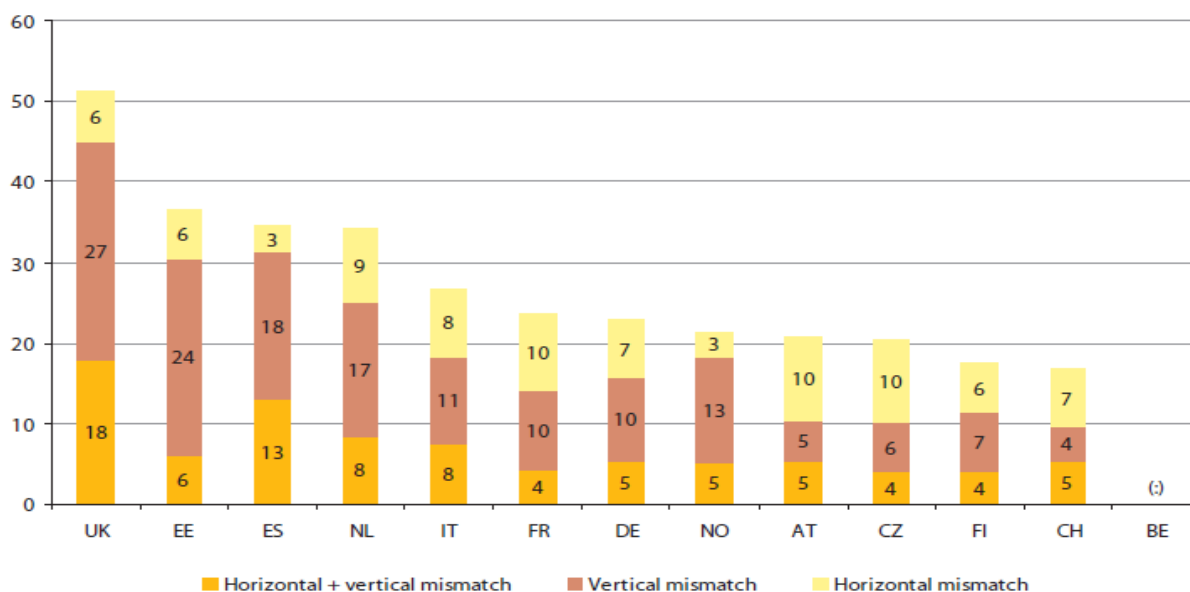


Table 3.3.3 The vertical mismatch (ISCED 5-6)

Figure D.5d: Qualifications mismatch as reported by employed graduates with more or less 5 years of experience since leaving higher education, by type of mismatch (horizontal, vertical, or both), %, ISCED 5A second degree — 2005



Note: Countries are sorted in ascending order by exact match. BE: data not reported due to a low return rate.

Source: Reflex, 2005.

Table 3.3.4 Employability of the ‘Bologna 1st cycle’

Figure 10. Measures taken to ensure that first cycle graduates are able to pursue careers in the public service (number of countries giving each answer)

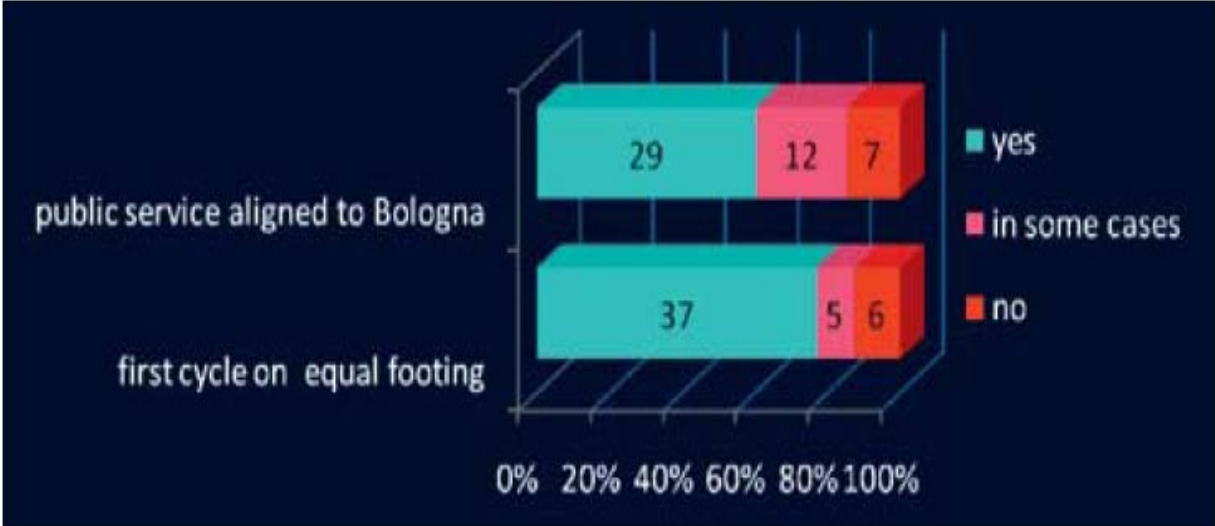


Table 3.4.1 Boom in the internationalisation of HE

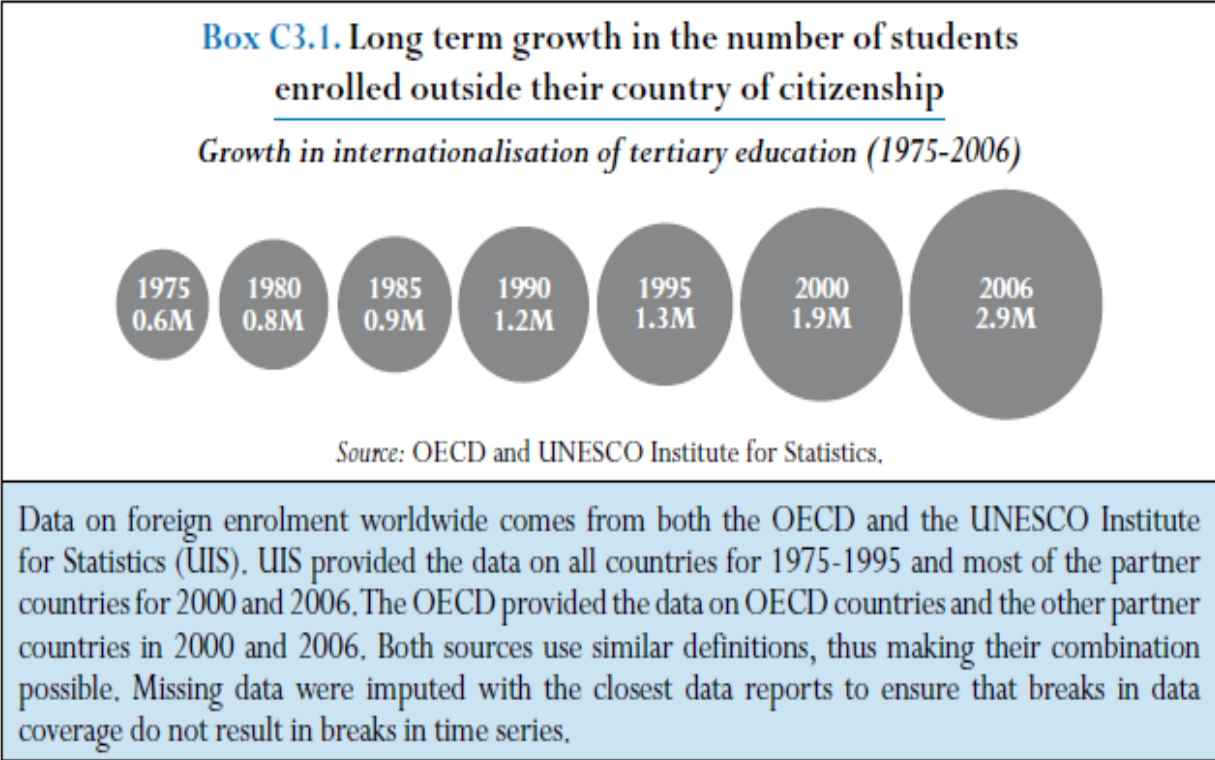


Table 3.4.2 Foreign students by country of destination

Chart C3.2. Distribution of foreign students in tertiary education, by country of destination (2006)

Percentage of foreign tertiary students reported to the OECD who are enrolled in each country of destination

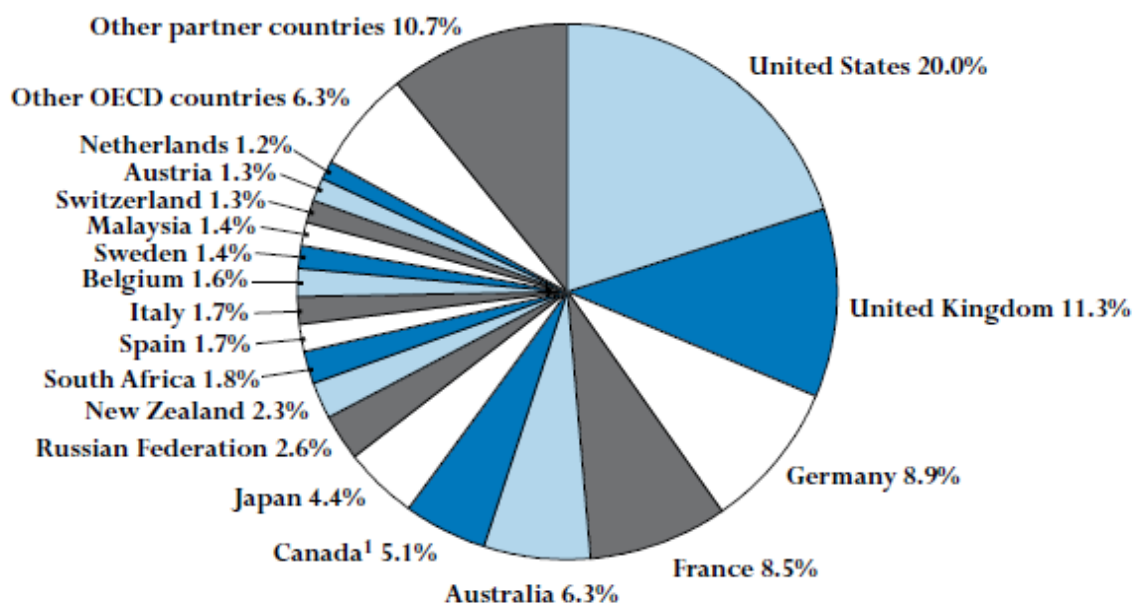


Table 3.4.3 The percentage of international students

Chart C3.1. Student mobility in tertiary education (2006)

This chart shows the percentage of international students in tertiary enrolments. According to country-specific immigration legislations and data availability constraints, student mobility is either defined on the basis of students' country of residence or the country where students received their prior education.

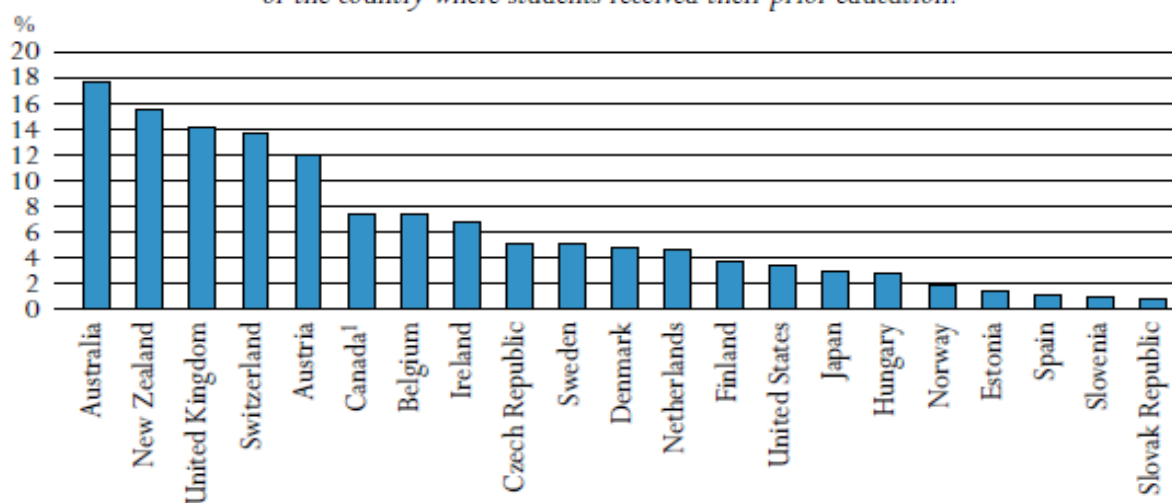


Table 3.5.1 The attractiveness of the EHEA

Table 1.1 & 1.2: Foreign Tertiary Students and Total Enrolment by Host region (2002/03)				
	'Europe 1'*	'Europe 2'*	USA	Australia
All students	19.430.382	18.916.234	12.853.627	1.012.210
Foreign students	1.117.735	600.634	583.323	179.619
Foreign in %	5.8	3.2	4.6	17.7
* - 'Europe 1' = EURODATA and non-EURODATA Origins				
* - 'Europe 2' = non-EURODATA Origins only				
Source: ACA Report, 2006				

3.5.2 Foreign students in European countries

Table 1.4: Foreign tertiary students in EURODATA countries 2002/03 (ACA 2006)							
EURODATA countries	All tertiary students	All foreign students	Foreign %	EURO DATA countries %	Other Europe an %	Non-European countries %	10 most frequent nation. of students %
AT Austria	229 802	31 101	13.5	74.6	13.3	11.7	97.1
CZ Czech Rep.	287 001	10 338	3.6	77.0	8.9	12.3	82.0
DK Denmark	201 746	18 120	9.0	36.9	6.3	19.9	38.3
EE Estonia	63 625	1 090	1.7	75.1	11.2	13.7	94.8
FI Finland	291 664	7 361	2.5	38.4	17.3	42.4	58.5
GR Greece	561 457	12 456	2.2	84.9	8.3	6.3	92.5
HU Hungary	390 453	12 226	3.1	63.7	20.9	15.5	84.6
LV Latvia	118 944	2 390	2.0	29.4	15.4	55.2	93.2
NL Netherland	526 767	20 531	3.9	57.8	3.5	38.0	70.0
SE Sweden	414 657	32 469	7.8	53.7	4.6	20.0	44.9
SI Slovenia	101 458	963	0.9	11.2	83.8	3.1	92.9
SK Slovakia	158 089	1 651	1.0	39.4	25.0	35.6	72.0
Total	19 430 382	1 117 735	5.8	42.1	8.0	45.6	56.8

Table 3.5.3 What do European universities plan?



International regions of interest

In which areas would your institution most like to enhance its attractiveness?

■ EU	86%	(T3 91%)	-
■ Eastern Europe	62%	(T3 62%)	
■ Asia	58%	(T3 40%)	+
■ US/Canada	50%	(T3 57%)	-
■ Latin America	32%	(T3 32%)	
■ Africa	26%	(T3 24%)	+
■ Arab world	21%	(T3 16%)	+
■ Australia	20%	(T3 23%)	-

...16...

Bibliography

- Adelman, C. (2009). *The Bologna Process for U.S. Eyes: Re-learning Higher Education in the Age of Convergence*. Boston: Institute for Higher Education Policy.
- Agion, Ph., Dewatripont, M., Hoxby, C., Mas-Colell, A. and Sapir, A. (2008). *Higher aspirations: An agenda for reforming European universities*. Bruegel Blueprint 5. Brussels: Bruegel.
- Allegre, C. (1999). Speech at the 51st bi-annual conference and the 40th anniversary of the European Rectors' Conference; Bordeaux, 20 and 21 May 1999.
- Beck, U. (1997). *Was ist Globalisierung? Irrtümer des Globalismus - Antworten auf Globalisierung*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag.
- Bok, D. (2005). *Universities in the Marketplace. The Commercialisation of Higher Education*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- [*Bergen Communiqué*] (2005). *The European Higher Education Area - Achieving the Goals*. Communiqué of the Conference of European Ministers Responsible for Higher Education, Bergen, 19-20 May, 2005.
- [*Berlin Communiqué*] (2003). *Realising the European Higher Education Area*. Communiqué of the Conference of Ministers responsible for Higher Education. Berlin, September 19, 2003.
- Bok, D. (2005). *Universities in the Marketplace. The Commercialization of Higher Education*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Bologna beyond 2010. Report on the development of the European Higher Education Area. Background paper for the Bologna Follow-up Group prepared by the Benelux Bologna Secretariat. Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve Ministerial Conference, 28-29 April 2009.
- [Bologna Declaration] (1999). *The European Higher Education Area*. Joint declaration of the European Ministers of Education Convened in Bologna on the 19th June 1999.
- Boulton, G. and Lucas, C. (2008). *What are universities for?* Brussels: League of European Research Universities.
- Brennan, J., Patel, C. and Tang, W. (2009). *Diversity in the students learning experience and time devoted to study: a comparative analysis of the UK and European evidence*. Report to HEFCE. London: Centre for Higher Education Research and Information.
- CHEPS (2008). Mapping Diversity. Developing a European Classification of Higher Education Institutions Enschede: Centre for Higher Education Policy Studies, University of Twente.
- Commission of the European Communities (1991). Communication from the Commission to the Council. Memorandum on Higher Education in the European Community. Brussels, 5.11.1991 COM (91) 349 final.
- Commission of the European Communities (2000) Communication from the European Commission to the Council, European Parliament the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. Towards a European Research Area. Brussels, 18.1.2000 COM(2000) 6 final.
- Commission of the European Communities (2001). Report from the Commission. Concrete Future Objectives of Education Systems. Brussels: Commission of European Communities, 31 Jan. 2001. COM(2001) 59 final.
- Commission of the European Communities (2003). Communication from the Commission. The role of the universities in the Europe of knowledge. Brussels, 05.02.2003. COM(2003) 58 final.
- Commission of the European Communities (2004). Proposal for a Recommendation of the Council and of the European Parliament on further European cooperation in quality assurance in higher education. Brussels: Commission of the European Communities, 12 October 2004. COM/2004/ 0642 final - COD 2004/0239.
- Commission of the European Communities (2005a). Commission staff working paper. Annex to the: Communication from the Commission. Mobilising the brainpower of Europe: enabling universities to make their full contribution to the Lisbon Strategy. European Higher Education in a Worldwide Perspective. {COM(2005)152 final}. Brussels, 20.4.2005. SEC(2005) 518.

Commission of the European Communities (2005b). Communication from the Commission. Mobilising the brainpower of Europe: enabling universities to make their full contribution to the Lisbon Strategy. {SEC(2005) 518} Brussels, 20.4.2005. COM(2005) 152 final.

Commission of the European Communities (2005c). Commission staff working document. Towards a European Qualifications Framework for Lifelong Learning. {SEC(2005) 957} Brussels, 8.7.2005.

Commission of the European Communities (2006). Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament delivering on the Modernisation Agenda for Universities: Education, Research and Innovation. Brussels, 10.5.2006. COM(2006) 208 final.

Commission of the European Communities (2007). *Green Paper. The European Research Area: New Perspectives*. {SEC(2007) 412}. Brussels, 4.4.2007 COM(2007) 161 final.

Commission of the European Communities (2008a). Report from the Commission to the Council on the Council Resolution of 23 November 2007 on Modernising Universities for Europe's competitiveness in a global knowledge economy. {SEC(2008) 2719}. Brussels, 30.10.2008. COM(2008) 680 final.

Commission of the European Communities (2008b). Commission staff working paper. Accompanying document to the Report from the Commission to the Council on the Council Resolution of 23 November 2007 on Modernising Universities for Europe's competitiveness in a global knowledge economy (COM(2008) 680 final). Brussels, 30.10.2008. SEC(2008) 2719.

Commission of the European Communities (2008c). Commission staff working paper. Progress towards the Lisbon Objectives in Education and Training. Indicators and benchmarks 2008. Based on document SEC (2008)12293. Brussels: European Commission, DG for Education and Culture.

Corbett, A. (2005). *Universities and the Europe of Knowledge. Ideas, Institutions and Policy Entrepreneurship in European Union Higher Education Policy, 1955-2005*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Council of the European Union (2002). Detailed Work Programme on the follow-up of the objectives of education and training systems in Europe. Adopted by the Council and the Commission on 14 February 2002. Brussels, 20th February 2002. 11762/01 EDUC 102 - COM (2001) 501 final.

Council of the European Union (2007). Council Resolution on modernising universities for Europe's competitiveness in a global knowledge economy – adoption of Council Resolution. Brussels, 6 December 2007. 16096/1/07 REV 1.

Cradden, C. (2007). *Constructing Paths to Staff Mobility in the European Higher Education Area: from Individual to Institutional Responsibility*. Study for Education International. January 2007.

Crossier, D., Purser, L. & Smidt, H. (2007). *Trends V: Universities shaping the European Higher Education Area*. An EUA Report. Brussels: EUA.

Davies, H. (2009). *Survey of Master Degrees in Europe*. Brussels: EUA Publications.

EACEA – Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (2009). *Higher Education in Europe 2009: Developments in the Bologna Process*. Brussels: Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA P9 Eurydice).

Ehlers, S. (Ed.) (2006). *Milestones towards Lifelong Learning Systems*. Copenhagen: Danish University of Education Press.

Enders, Jürgen (2006) 'The Academic Profession.' In: Forest, James J.F. and Altbach, Philip G. (eds.), *International Handbook of Higher Education*. Part I. Dordrecht: Springer, pp. 5-21.

ENQA (2005). *Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance in the European Higher Education Area*. Helsinki: European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education.

ESIB (2007). *Bologna with Student Eyes. 2007 Edition*. Brussels: The National Unions of Students in Europe.

ESU (2009). *Bologna with Student Eyes 2009*. Brussels: The European Students' Union.

EUA (2008a). *European Universities Charter on Lifelong Learning*. Brussels: European University Association.

EUA (2008b). *Implementing and Using Quality Assurance: Strategy and Practice*. A selection of papers from the 2nd European Quality Assurance Forum. Rome, 15-17 November 2007. Brussels: European University Association.

- EUA (2009). *Trends in Quality Assurance*. A selection of papers from the 3rd European Quality Assurance Forum. Budapest, 20-22 November 2008. Brussels: European University Association.
- EUA (2009). Prague Declaration. European Universities – Looking forward with confidence. European University Association. Prague, 21 March 2009.
- Eurobarometer (2007). *Perceptions of Higher Education Reforms. Survey among teaching professionals in higher education institutions, in the 27 EU Member States, Croatia, Iceland, Norway and Turkey*. Summary. Flash Eurobarometer Series 192. European Commission. March 2007.
- Eurobarometer (2009). *Students and Higher Education Reform. Survey among students in higher education institutions, in the EU Member States, Croatia, Iceland, Norway and Turkey. Special target survey*. Summary. Flash Eurobarometer Series 260. European Commission. March 2009.
- European Communities (2003). *Education across Europe 2003*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- European Communities (2006). *Perceptions of European Higher Education in Third Countries*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- European Communities (2008). *A more research-intensive European Research Area. Science, Technology and Competitiveness key figures report 2008/2009*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- European Communities & HIS, Hochschul-Informationen-System GmbH (2009). *The Bologna Process in Higher Education in Europe. Key indicators on the social dimension and mobility*. 2009 edition. Eurostat & Eurostudent. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- The European Higher Education Area (EHEA) in a global context: Report on overall developments at the European, national and institutional levels. Approved by BFUG at its meeting in Prague, 12-13 February 2009. Vienna: Austrian Federal Ministry of Science and Research.
- European Higher Education in a global setting. A Strategy. Bologna Process. Oslo: Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, September 2007.
- European Parliament (2008). Draft Report on the Bologna Process and student mobility (2008/2070(INI)). Committee on Culture and Education. Rapporteur: Doris Pack. 11.4.2008.
- Eurydice (2000). *Two Decades of Reform in Higher Education in Europe: 1980 onwards*. Brussels: Eurydice.
- Eurydice (2007). *Key Data on Higher Education in Europe: 2007 Edition*. Brussels: Eurydice.
- A Framework for Qualifications of the European Higher Education Area. Bologna Working Group on Qualifications Frameworks. Copenhagen: Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation, February 2005.
- Haug, G., Kirstein, J. and Knudsen, I. (1999). *Trends in Learning Structures in Higher Education*. Project Report prepared for the Bologna Conference on 18-19 June 1999. København: The Danish Rectors' Conference.
- Hiltunen, K. (ed.) (2009). *Centres of Excellence in Finnish University Education*. Helsinki: Finnish Higher Education Evaluation Council.
- Humboldt, W. von (1963) *On the Relative Merits of Higher Institutions of Learning*. [An excerpt from *Collected Works*, Vol. X, translated by M. Cowan; Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1963, pp. 250-260; © Association for the Public University Inc. (Vic.) 2001-2004, see http://www.publicuni.org/doc/humboldt_printable.html].
- IAU (2003-a). *Internationalization and Globalization Higher Education. A Selected Bibliography 1998-2003*. Prepared by the International Association of Universities under contract by UNESCO. [The Second Global Forum on Globalisation and Higher Education: Implications for North - South Dialogue. Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research and UNESCO. Oslo, 26-27 May 2003].
- Kehm, B.M., Huisman, J. and Stensaker, B. (2009). *The European Higher Education Area: Perspectives on a Moving Target*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Kelo, M. (ed.) (2006). *The Future of University. Translating Lisbon into Practice*. Bonn: Lemmens Verlags & Mediengesellschaft mbH.
- Kelo, Maria, Teichler, Ulrich & Waechter, Bernd (eds.) (2006). *Eurodata. Student mobility in European higher education*. Bonn: Lemmens Verlags- & Mediengesellschaft.

- Kohler, J. & Huber, J. (Eds) (2006). *Higher Education Governance between Democratic Culture, Academic Aspirations and Market Forces*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.
- [Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve Communiqué] (2009). The Bologna Process 2020 - The European Higher Education Area in the new decade. Communiqué of the Conference of European Ministers Responsible for Higher Education, Leuven and Louvain-la-Neuve, 28-29 April 2009).
- Lisbon European Council (2000). *Presidency Conclusions* (Lisbon, 23-24 March 2000).
- [*Lisbon Recognition Convention*] (1997). *Convention on the Recognition of Qualifications concerning Higher Education in the European Region*. See <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/reports/html/165.htm>.
- [London Communiqué] (2007). *Towards the European Higher Education Area*. London, 18 May 2007.
- [The Maastricht Treaty] (1992) Provisions amending the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community with a view to establishing the European Community. Maastricht, 7 February 1992.
- Muche, F. (ed.) (2005). *Opening up to the Wider World. The External Dimension of the Bologna Process*. ACA Papers on International Cooperation in Education. Bonn: Lemmens Verlags & Mediengesellschaft.
- OECD (1996). *Lifelong Learning for All*. Meeting of the Education Committee at Ministerial Level, 16-17 January 1996. Paris: OECD.
- OECD (2004). *Internationalisation and Trade in Higher Education. Opportunities and Challenges*. Paris: OECD.
- OECD-UNESCO (2005). *Guidelines for Quality Provision in Cross-border Higher Education*. Paris: OECD and UNESCO.
- OECD (2008). *Education at a Glance 2008. OECD Indicators*. Paris: OECD.
- Pack, D. (2008). Draft Report on the Bologna Process and student mobility. European Parliament, Committee on Culture and Education. Rapporteur: Doris Pack. 11.4.2008. (2008/2070(INI)).
- [*Prague Communiqué*] (2001). *Towards the European Higher Education Area*. Communiqué of the meeting of European Ministers in charge of Higher Education. Prague, May 19, 2001.
- Rauhvargers, A., Deane, C. & Pauwels, W. (2009). *Bologna Process Stocktaking Report 2009*. Report from working groups appointed by the Bologna follow-up Group to the Ministerial Conference in Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve, 28-29 April 2009. Brussels: Benelux Bologna Secretariat.
- Reichert, S. and Tauch, Ch. (2003). *Trends 2003. Progress towards the European Higher Education Area. Bologna four years after: Steps toward sustainable reform of higher education in Europe*. Brussels: EUA, July 2003.
- Reichert, S. and Tauch, Ch. (2005), *Trends IV: European Universities Implementing Bologna*, [Brussels: EUA].
- Reichert, S. & Tauch, Ch. (2005). *Trends IV: European Universities Implementing Bologna*. Brussels: EUA. Available at <http://www.eua.be/index.php?id=60>.
- Renaut, A. (2002). The Role of Universities in Developing a Democratic European Culture, in N. Sanz & S. Bergan (Eds), *The Heritage of European Universities*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.
- Report from working groups appointed by the Bologna follow-up Group to the Ministerial Conference in Leuven / Louvain-la-Neuve, 28-29 April 2009. Antwerpen: Benelux Bologna Secretariat.
- Rüegg, W. (Ed) (1992; 1996; 2004). *A History of the University in Europe*. Vol. I (1992), II (1996), III (2004). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Samoff, J., Carrol, B. (2003). *From Manpower Planning to the Knowledge Era: World Bank Policies on Higher Education in Africa*. Prepared for Unesco Forum on Higher Education, Research and Knowledge, 15 July 2003;
- Scott, P. (2005). Divergence or Convergence? The links between teaching and research in mass higher education, in Barnett, R. (Ed) *Reshaping the University. New Relationship between Research, Scholarship and Teaching*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

[Sorbonne Declaration] (1998). *Harmonisation of the architecture of the European higher education system*. Joint declaration of four ministers in charge of higher education in Germany, France, Italy and United Kingdom on the occasion of the 800th anniversary of the University of Paris. Paris, Sorbonne, 25 May 1998.

Teichler, U. (2007). The Changing Patterns of the Higher Education Systems in Europe and the Future Tasks of Higher Education Research. In: European Science Foundation, *Higher Education Looking Forward: Relations between Higher Education and Society*. Strasbourg: ESF (pp.80-103).

A Test of Leadership. Charting the Future of U.S. Higher Education. A report of the Commission Appointed by Secretary of Education Margaret Spellings. Pre-publication Copy September 2006; <http://www.ed.gov/about/bdscomm/list/hiedfuture/reports/pre-pub-report.pdf>

Tuning ([2006]). *Tuning Educational Structures in Europe. An Introduction*. Bilbao: University of Deusto; Groningen: University of Groningen.

UNESCO-UIS and OECD (2005). *Education Trends in Perspective. Analysis of the world education indicators*. 2005 edition. Paris: UNESCO-UIS and OECD.

Vught, F. A. van (ed.) (2009). *Mapping the Higher Education Landscape. Towards a European Classification of Higher Education*. Springer Science + Business Media B.V.

Weber, L.E. and Duderstadt, J.J. (2004). *Reinventing the Research University*. London, Paris, Genève: Economica.

Weber, L. & Bergan, S. (eds.) (2005). *The Public Responsibility for Higher Education and Research*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.

Zgaga, P. (2004). The Bologna process between Prague and Berlin. Report to the Ministers of Education of the signatory countries commissioned by the Follow-up Group of the Bologna Process. In: *Realising the European Higher Education Area*. Bologna process, Berlin 2003. Bielefeld: W. Bertelsmann; pp. 90-198.

Zgaga, P. (2006). *Looking Out: the Bologna Process in a global setting. On the 'external dimension' of the Bologna Process*. Oslo: Ministry of Education and Research.

Zgaga, P. (2007). *Higher Education in Transition. Reconsiderations on higher education in Europe at the turn of the millennium*. Umeå: Umeå University.

Abbreviations

ARWU	Academic Ranking of World Universities ('Shanghai ranking')
ACA	Academic Co-operation Association
BA-MA	Bachelor-Master
BFUG	Bologna Follow-up Group
ECTS	European Credit Transfer System
EHEA	European Higher Education Area
ENQA	European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education
EQAR	European Quality Assurance Register
EQF	EU Qualifications Framework
ERA	European Research Area
ESG	European Standards and Guidelines in QA
ESIB/ESU	The National Unions of Students in Europe; European Students' Union (2007)
EUA	European University Association
EURASHE	European Association of Institutions of Higher Education
EU-12	European Union in the 1980s
EU-15	European Union in the 1990s
EU-19	European Union Member States which are OECD member countries
EU-25	European Union (since 2004)
EU-27	European Union (since 2007)
Eu-46	European countries – members of the Bologna Process
Eu-47	European countries – members of the Council of Europe
FINHEEC	Finnish Higher Education Evaluation Council
HE	Higher Education
HEI(s)	Higher Education Institution(s)
ISCED	International Standard Classification of Education
(N)QF	(National) Qualifications Framework of the EHEA
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
QA	Quality Assurance
R&D	Research and Development
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WUR	the World University Ranking (the Times Higher Education)

