

STUDENT MOBILITY POLICY
IN THE EUROPEAN UNION: 1946-1996

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ABSTRACT

**Title: Student Mobility Policy in the
European Union: 1946-1996**

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Student mobility, defined as the movement of students between national systems of higher education is an activity assuming growing importance within the region of the European Union (EU). In recent years, policy-makers in the EU have ascribed academic mobility a political and economic role of significant proportions. Indeed, student mobility is expected to contribute to the international competitiveness of the European economy, to create European elite identities with a commitment to furthering European integration and to produce a mobile labour force, which is central to the success of the Single Market. In this context, student mobility has been thrust onto the policy agenda of intergovernmental organisations, national governments and higher education institutions within the EU. Although student mobility has become an explicit issue of policy within the EU, there has been little attempt to carefully analyse developments. In fact, the research literature pertaining to academic mobility remains limited, parochial, atheoretical and centred on student experiences.

This thesis seeks to develop our knowledge and understanding of undergraduate student mobility in the EU through an analysis of policy at the intergovernmental, national and institutional levels in the context of a policy analysis framework. The result is new theoretically informed insights into the emergence, development, implementation and impacts of student mobility policy. Most notably, the creation of a systems model of the student mobility policy process facilitates an improved understanding of the relative contribution and interdependence of decision-makers at the intergovernmental, national and institutional levels during policy development and implementation. It is hoped that these insights enhance the understanding of those who make, implement and evaluate policy, such that the opportunities and constraints of future years are given considered attention in an area of increasing European significance.

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I declare that no portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree of qualification of this, or any other university, or other institute of learning.

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Glossary

Glossary of Terminology

EU Students: Students from member states of the European Union.

Non-EU Students: Students from outside the member states of the European Union.

Exchange Students: Students who pursue study abroad within the framework of organised programmes. Governments, institutions, and individual staff members within bi-lateral or multi-lateral agreements may agree to send and receive students. Alternatively institutions may support uni-directional mobility.

Free-Movement: A generic term describing all student mobility which occurs on individual student initiative outside the framework of organised programmes. This can be sub-divided into three categories:

- * **Transfer Students:** Home students with secondary school leaving qualifications who on their own initiative follow and complete a full higher education course in another country.
- * **Mid-Study Transfer Students:** Home students having completed a period of study abroad in higher education, or with intermediate qualifications, who on their own initiative follow and complete the remainder of the course in another country.
- * **Free-floaters:** Students who on their own initiative study for a short term in another country or countries. Students may or may not have a home institution and may or may not seek a final award at 'home' or abroad.

European Economic Community (EEC): Created in 1957 by the Treaty of Rome.

European Community (EC): Established in 1967 incorporating the EEC.

European Union (EU): Created in 1992 to replace the EC.

General Glossary

(Acceso de Pruebas): The national examination granting entry to Spanish higher education.

(Baccalauréate): The French secondary school leaving qualification, granting automatic access to university education.

Bundesausbildungsförderungsgesetz (BAföG): Means-tested student grants scheme in Germany.

(BEF): Belgian Francs.

Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD): Agency with responsibility for internationalising higher education in Germany.

Diplôme d'Études Universitaires Générales (DEUG): Qualification presented on completion of two years of university studies in France.

(DfEE): The Department for Education and Employment in Great Britain, previously the Department for Education (DfE).

Diplôme Universitaire de Technologie (DUT): Terminal qualification acquired after two years of study at an IUT.

The European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students (ERASMUS): EU student mobility programme supporting institutions and students participating in student exchange.

(Fachhochschulen): Non-university higher education colleges in Germany offering three to five years of practically-oriented courses leading to a degree.

(Fachhochschulreife): The certificate providing the right of access to a Fachhochschule.

(FRF): French Francs.

(GBP): Great British Pounds.

(Grandes Écoles and Écoles Supérieures): French élite selective establishments offering professional training in specific fields for four to five years. Two years in higher education is a prerequisite for admission.

(Hochschulen): Amalgamated German universities offering differentiated study programmes, combining those offered by universities and fachhochschulen.

(ICPs): Inter-University Co-operation Programmes promoted by ERASMUS.

(IEP): Irish Punts.

Institut Universitaire Professionnalise (IUP): Newly created French institutions, offering three years specific training for a profession. One year in higher education is a prerequisite for entry.

Institut Universitaire de Technologie (IUT): Selective French institutions, linked to a university, offering two year professional courses.

Joint Study Programmes (JSPs): The pilot EU student mobility programme and predecessor to ERASMUS.

(LAND): Individual regional states in Germany.

(Länder): The sixteen regional states in Germany.

Local Education Authority (LEA): Responsible for administering student grants and mandatory awards in the UK.

The Action Programme to Promote Foreign Language Competence (LINGUA): EU student mobility programme to support the learning of foreign languages for language students and students taking a component of their course in a foreign language.

The Network of National Academic Recognition Information Centres (NARICs): The EU recognition network dealing with issues of student mobility and recognition of 'foreign' qualifications.

National Information Centres on Academic Mobility and Recognition (NEICs): Network of recognition offices spanning the countries of the Council of Europe.

(SOCRATES): The new phase of EU programmes including ERASMUS, Action II of LINGUA and school education.

(UNESCO): United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

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Chapter One

Student Mobility Policy Analysis: The Analytical Framework

Chapter One

Student Mobility Policy Analysis: The Analytical Framework

1.1 Introduction

This thesis aims to develop our knowledge and understanding of undergraduate student mobility in the European Union (EU) through an analysis of policy at intergovernmental, national and institutional levels between 1946 and 1996. In particular, the thesis seeks to understand student mobility policy in terms of its emergence, development, implementation and impacts. To assist in this process, and to help make sense of the data, a policy analysis conceptual framework is engaged which offers insights into the definition of policy, the nature of the policy process, decision-making systems and policy implementation. The focus, however, remains on student mobility policy, which in recent years has received increasing attention and resource commitment from education policy-makers. In fact, student mobility has been ascribed no less a role than creating elite European identities among the future leaders of Europe as part of the project to further European integration (Council of the EC, 1986a). On this basis, the decision to examine student mobility as a policy case study is justified, not only from a social scientific perspective, but also in terms of contributing to the understanding of those who make, implement and evaluate policy, such that the opportunities and constraints of future years are given considered attention in an area of increasing European significance.

In practice, this thesis is most interested in exploring student mobility policy at the various policy-making levels. With reference to the European Community level, there is a strong emphasis on tracing the emergence, development, implementation and impacts of policy. Historical policy analysis is engaged to assist in this process, so that an analysis of the development of policy is used to understand, assess and explain the present and consider the future. In this context, student mobility policy is examined against the backdrop of European integration and in terms of the shifting power relationships between the different Community institutions. Thus, student mobility policy is understood as the product of both a political system and a process.

European Community policies and politics provide the context for an examination of student mobility policies at the national and institutional levels. In particular, the thesis examines the impact of European Community student mobility policy on policy and practice in six case study governments and sixteen higher education institutions. A comparison of policies across governments and higher education institutions permits an analysis of the main factors - other than the Community - influencing policy outputs at the national and institutional level. Consequently, the thesis attempts to identify not only the political, but also the social and economic determinants of student mobility policy. Clearly, national government and higher education institutions will differ in their policy positions on student mobility. This variance will reflect different relationships between the state and higher education institutions, as well as changing socio-economic conditions. An understanding of these inter-relationships is demonstrated through the development of a number of models of student mobility policy. The models are themselves a product of a multi-level approach to policy analysis, focusing on the relative contribution and interdependence of the various policy-making bodies on student mobility itself. In short, by comparing policy at national government and institutional levels, and by

examining the possible impact of student mobility policy developed at the European level on measures adopted by member states, the interconnections between policy-making levels are explored. These are conceptualised through the development of a systems model of the student mobility policy process. However, before embarking on such a task it is first necessary to:

- clarify definitions and terminology;
- set out the aims, objectives, focus and justification for the research;
- summarise the organisation of the thesis,
- undertake a critical analysis of the student mobility literature; and,
- outline the conceptual framework.

1.2 Definitions and Terminology

The movement of students between higher education systems for the purpose of acquiring higher education experience, credits and/or qualifications is a near universal phenomenon characteristic of most societies, with the exception of nations with highly isolationist policies, such as Burma and Albania (Fry, 1984). The activity of moving from one higher education system to another is variously referred to in the literature as 'student mobility', 'study abroad', 'foreign study' and 'academic mobility', terminology employed interchangeably in this thesis. Although these generic terms aim to reflect the nature of the phenomenon, they are unable to distinguish the fact that students interested in study abroad can choose to become mobile using two different avenues. First noted by Masclet (1976), students may study abroad on their own initiative as free-movement students or within the framework of organised exchange programmes.

Exchange mobility requires two or more higher education institutions, individual departments/faculties or even members of staff to agree to organise a period of study abroad on behalf of students. Recognition of the period of study by the home institution (namely, the institution where the student first enrolled) is dependent upon the intensity of the relationship between the home and host institution. According to Earls (1977), three types of institutional relationships can be discerned. First, there are "loose relationships" which require few obligations between partner institutions, allowing students to spend periods of study abroad which are neither recognized nor assessed by the home or host institution. Second, in "symbiotic relationships", recognition by the home institution for the study period abroad is forthcoming, since host institutions assume the responsibility of assessing the academic performance of incoming students, who take the same exams as indigenous students. In "synergistic relationships", finally, each partner is able to achieve jointly what it cannot achieve alone, resulting in the creation of new programmes - to which each partner contributes in equal measure - and the award of dual qualifications. Fully integrated courses offering dual qualifications, however, remain relatively rare.

An alternative to organised exchange mobility is where students decide to embark on a period of study abroad on their own initiative, at an institution of their choice, outside of an established institutional framework. Such free-movement mobility, which unlike exchange mobility demands that the student makes all the necessary arrangements to study abroad, may be categorised into several distinct forms. Following the Institute of Policy Research in Leiden (1992c), it is possible to distinguish, first, those students who already have a secondary school leaving qualification from the country in which they follow a higher education course: for example a French student with A levels studying in a UK higher education institution. A second category is transfer students who have secondary school

leaving qualifications of the home country and act on their own initiative to achieve a final qualification in another country. According to the Institute of Policy Research (1992c, p.11) transfer students "follow and finish a complete higher education course or part of a course in another member state". Such students may 'transfer' to another country at the start of their period of academic study or at some mid-point. A third category are free-floaters: short-term students who, on an individual basis, spend some time studying abroad in one or more countries before obtaining a final qualification either at home or abroad. This category of students may include a small number who do not recognise a 'home institution' at all.

1.3 Aims, Objectives, Focus and Justification for the Thesis

Academic mobility is a historically rooted phenomenon. During medieval times scholars travelled between universities and other learning centres in search of knowledge. Although such scholarly activity experienced a decline from the sixteenth century as a result of the intensification of political and religious conflict, more recently there has been a resurgence in student mobility. Currently, in each academic year over one million students enrol in a higher education system other than that of their origin (UNESCO, 1995). The vast majority travel from developing to industrialised countries, a phenomenon that has been well-researched (Salam, 1986; Chisti, 1984; Selvaratnum, 1988; Barnett and Wu, 1995; Escolano, 1986; Fry, 1984; Chinapah, 1986; Lee and Tan, 1984; Güclüol, 1986; Hanisch, 1982). In contrast, the more limited, but increasing intra-regional mobility, spearheaded by the Community is less examined. In fact, as will become apparent in the review of the literature on student mobility, the handful of existing studies pertaining to study abroad provide only very limited insight into student mobility policy in spite of its growing importance within the EU.

The absence of any significant policy-based research in the existing student mobility literature provides the opportunity to develop our knowledge and understanding of student mobility by engaging a policy analysis conceptual framework. This allows the researcher firstly, to identify and explain the reasons for policy-makers adopting a certain course of action or inaction and to assess its impact, and secondly, in view of the significance of student mobility, to promote a fuller understanding of the complex inter-relationship between European and national policy-making as a prerequisite to effective future policy-making. To distinguish between these two aims of 'policy analysis', Hogwood and Gunn (1984) offer the terms 'policy studies' for descriptive accounts and 'policy analysis' for prescriptive accounts. Equally, Gordon, Lewis and Young (1993, p.5) contrast 'analysis for policy', which aims to improve 'policy' or the policy-making process, with 'analysis of policy', which examines the 'content', 'process' and 'outcomes' of policy. This thesis is primarily concerned with the latter or 'analysis of policy', focusing for the most part on a critical examination of student mobility policy emergence, development, implementation and impacts. The assumption is that 'analysis of policy' is an essential prerequisite of 'analysis for policy'.

In view of the aims of the study, a typology of 'policy analysis' provided by Ham and Hill (1993) proves extremely useful. First, there are studies of 'policy content' which concentrate on describing and explaining the genesis and development of particular policies by tracing how a policy emerged, how it was implemented and what the results were. This branch of 'policy analysis' is an integral element of the methodology. Second, there are studies of the 'policy process' which focuses upon the various influences on policy formulation, also forming an important aspect of this study. Third, and central to this thesis, are studies of 'policy outputs' which seek to explain why policies differ. 'Evaluation' or 'impact' studies, fourthly, are

concerned with the impact policies have on citizens. An obvious evaluation criteria with reference to student mobility policies is the quantity and type of student mobility the policies stimulate, and with this in mind a review of developments in student mobility flows is undertaken.

While there is clearly considerable overlap in the different branches of the 'policy analysis' typology used by Ham and Hill (1993), this study will primarily undertake an analysis of:

- 'policy content' to explain the emergence, implementation and outcomes of student mobility policy at Community level;
- the 'policy process' to highlight the determinants influencing Community student mobility policy formulation;
- 'policy outputs', investigating why student mobility policies differ over time at the Community level and at the same point in time among six governments and sixteen higher education institutions; and,
- 'policy impact', to appreciate the effects of Community student mobility policy on the student mobility policy of six national governments and sixteen higher education institutions, as well as to explore the outcomes of student mobility policy at all levels in terms of the amount and type of student mobility stimulated.

1.4 The Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is organised into seven Chapters. Chapter One, as a matter of course, alerts the reader to the nature of the study by establishing the context, background, aims and objectives. The Chapter also seeks to provide a justification for the research, in turn highlighting the contribution made by the thesis to our knowledge and understanding of student mobility.

Chapter Two deals with the research methodology. In particular, the Chapter provides insight into the development of the research, highlights the precautions taken to ensure data reliability and validity and identifies the limitations of the research. It also, importantly, elucidates the reasons for organising the thesis by the distinction between free-movement and exchange mobility, when it was equally possible to arrange the thesis according to some other formula.

Chapter Three consists of an overview of developments in student mobility flows between 1974 and 1994. This statistical Chapter highlights trends, raises questions and therefore deals with policy impacts, completing the process initiated in Chapter One of establishing the context, the focus and the research questions of the study. The Chapter provides a much needed time-series analysis of developments in student mobility between 1974 and 1994.

Chapter Four is devoted to understanding student mobility policy at the intergovernmental level during the period 1946 and 1996. In particular, the Chapter seeks to appreciate the emergence, development, implementation and impacts of student mobility policy. This results in a particular focus on the work of the European Union, and to a lesser extent the Council of Europe. Although the

Chapter charts the development of student mobility policy from the 1940s, the greater part of Chapter Four centres on the period since 1970 to the present, which witnessed the evolution of the concept of student exchange, and an increasing commitment at all levels in the EU in favour of exchange mobility.

Chapter Five, in turn, concentrates on student mobility policy at the national governmental and higher education institutional levels. By engaging the material from the case studies, the Chapter is able to compare and contrast the student mobility policies of six case study governments and sixteen higher education institutions in France, Germany, Ireland, Spain, Sweden and the UK. As with any comparative study, Chapter Five is able to highlight the patterns and models vis-à-vis student mobility policies at the national and institutional levels and explain the anomalies.

The student mobility policies reviewed in Chapters Four and Five and the statistical impacts noted in Chapter Three are brought together in Chapter Six. The Chapter attempts an explanation of the Statistical Chapter in the context of the student mobility policies of the Community, national governments and higher education institutions. The models emerging from Chapter Five, facilitate an explanation of the statistical impacts experienced by both case study countries and countries which do not form a case study in this thesis, but which nevertheless correspond with one of the models.

Chapter Seven, finally, provides a Conclusion to the thesis. The Chapter reviews the main arguments and draws the thesis together by generating theoretical insights into the student mobility policy process through the creation of systems models. This facilitates a clearer analysis of the relative contribution, interdependence and mutual impacts of the different tiers of decision-making on student mobility policy

in the Community. The conceptualisation of the student mobility policy process provides the backdrop for a consideration of existing dilemmas, future prospects and policy measures required to enhance levels of student mobility in the EU.

1.5 Student Mobility in the EU: Literature Review

According to Teichler (1996) and Altbach (1991) the literature pertaining to student mobility in the EU is largely descriptive, atheoretical and peripheral to social scientific research. In part, this is explained by the fact that a number of the articles comprising the literature on student mobility are authored by practitioners at institutional level interested in sharing their experiences of participating in study abroad programmes (see for example, Badley, 1991; Blacksell, 1992; Cousins et al., 1990; Dimcock et al., 1992; Hudson, 1992; Linstead, 1990). The lack of analytical, social scientific and theoretically grounded perspectives on student mobility also reflects the fact that much of the literature pertaining to academic mobility is funded by the European Commission. In this context, a considerable number of researchers have produced reports for the purposes of policy evaluation. For example, Masclet (1976), Cox (1977) and the Institute of Policy Research (1992a, 1992b) identify the barriers to free-movement mobility, while Maiworm et al. (1990, 1991, 1993a, 1993b), Smith (1979, 1987), Baron and Smith (1987), Burn et al. (1990), Oppen et al. (1987, 1990), Oppen (1987, 1990), Oppen and Teichler (1990), Teichler and Steube (1987), Baron and Oppen (1990), Cerych and Oppen (1990), Cerych and Saab (1987) evaluate Community exchange programmes predominantly, though not exclusively in terms of impacts on staff and students. Such reports take an applied perspective in both describing policy impacts (analysis of policy) and informing policy development (analysis of policy). In this context, much of the literature funded by the Commission not only provides

background for policy analysis, but is also the subject of policy analysis. This is taken up in greater detail in Chapter Two.

The policy evaluations conducted on behalf of the European Commission are complimented by a series of articles which also seek to evaluate Community policy in order to improve our understanding of student mobility. Thus, Earls (1977), Burn (1979), Leibbrandt (1982), Boning (1982), Roeloffs (1982), Absalom (1990), Baron (1993), Seidel (1991), Bunt Kokhuis (1992), Teichler and Steube (1991) and Banks (1982) either assess the impacts of Community exchange programmes, examine the challenges facing policy-makers and/or prescribe action. This literature, which deals exclusively with exchange mobility policy impacts, is complemented by the more theoretically-oriented writings of Smith (1980, 1984, 1985) and Neave (1984, 1988, 199c, 1991d, 1992, 1994) who attempt to explain and understand Community exchange mobility in the context of broader political, ideological, technological and economic developments. This latter body of literature, which uses an implicit policy analysis theoretical framework, provides the most useful insights for an analysis of the development of Community student mobility policy in subsequent Chapters.

It is clear from the brief introduction that the body of the literature pertaining to student mobility predominantly examines exchange mobility policy of the Community either in terms of its development or impacts. There is limited attempt to understand student mobility policy at national or institutional levels. Moreover, with the exception of Smith (1985), Neave (1991c, 1994) and the Institute of Policy Research (1992a, 1992b, 1992c, 1992d), the remaining authors of the student mobility literature fail to acknowledge or appreciate free-movement mobility. This creates a significant gap in our understanding of the current state of free-movement mobility policy in the EU. In an attempt to highlight our

contrasting knowledge of free-movement and exchange mobility policy, this section, deals with the literature relating to the two distinct types of mobility independently. In so doing, an overview of the current state of knowledge relating to student mobility is presented.

1.5.1 Free-Movement Mobility

The limited literature pertaining to free-movement mobility is geared to reviewing the obstacles which inhibit free-movement students from embarking upon a period of study abroad. Masclet (1976) and Cox (1977) were among the first to document the barriers frustrating free-movement student mobility, which were subsequently confirmed in a more recent and comprehensive study by the Institute of Policy Research, Leiden (1992a, 1992b). Significantly, the Institute, identifies eleven barriers to free-movement mobility, which can be grouped under five main headings. It is helpful to briefly review the findings of this research since it is pertinent to an understanding of policy.

First, there is the problem of financing a period of study abroad as a free-movement student. At present, many potential free-movement students are inhibited from study abroad, since the portability of national grants, loans and scholarships in EU countries is exceptional. Free-movement students must therefore finance student mobility, including the additional costs associated with study abroad, from private sources. Tuition fees also have to be paid by free-movement students, although in most countries the amount at stake is determined nationally and is relatively low. Nonetheless, the costs involved with free-movement mobility for all students are prohibitive.

Secondly, the Institute of Policy Research highlights the fact that free-movement students seeking entry at the start of a course in another EU country must contend with national and institutional access and admission policies. Across the European Union, higher education institutions (and sometimes governments) are increasingly resorting to the use of 'numerus clausus' implementing strict numerical quotas for courses in order to regulate numbers of students. This is sometimes accompanied by entrance examinations facilitating selection on the part of institutions and encouraging competition amongst national students to secure a higher education place. For transfer students seeking entry at the start of a course in another member state, the existence of numerus clausus, and more importantly the use of entrance examinations in the host country, can reduce their chances of entry. For example, in the case where home students are required to take the same examination, as in courses regulated by numerus clausus in Germany, incoming students are subjected to direct competition for a limited number of places. Home students, however, may have the advantage of taking the examination in their first language, perhaps with the benefit of several years of specific preparation. This may put incoming students at a distinct disadvantage.

Thirdly, free-movement students must secure recognition for prior qualifications. According to the Leiden researchers, recognition for EU transfer students moving to other member states has generally been resolved, but the granting of recognition to partial qualifications and periods of study remains technically problematic. Assessment necessarily occurs at the institutional level where academics must decide whether the existing knowledge and skills of the prospective EU student will complement that which is being offered by the institution. Institutions are inevitably more scrupulous when examining the prior studies of incoming students intent on procuring a diploma of that particular institution or country. Stringent regulations concerning the recognition of prior studies are a strategy to protect

institutional reputation, but for students may lead to a prolongation of the study period. Recognition continues to pose a major obstacle for free-floaters and mid-study transfer students.

Fourth, the Institute of Policy Research acknowledges that the lack of proficiency in a foreign language continues to impede the opportunity to study abroad. Indeed, a normal prerequisite to student mobility is the ability to speak and understand the language of the host country. Most countries require students who move outside exchange programmes either to take a language test or to provide proof of proficiency in the language of the host country in the form of an official language certificate. The lack of foreign language proficiency limits the numbers of outgoing higher education students engaging in programmes of free-movement. Finally, there are logistical problems involved with free-movement mobility. Several of the barriers identified by the Leiden researchers come in this category. Free-movement students, unlike their exchange counterparts, must assume full responsibility for organising a period of study abroad. In practice, prospective free-movement students must identify potential higher education institutions abroad, understand application procedures and on arrival in the host country register with authorities, displaying proof of sufficient funds and in some cases health insurance and accommodation. Whilst arranging health insurance may be a simple process, accommodation is more problematic, since cheap university accommodation is scarce and allocated predominantly to home or exchange students, forcing incoming free-movement students to rent more expensive rooms in the private market. Significantly, the logistics of free-movement mobility may deter all but the most determined of students.

While the Institute of Policy Research (1992a, 1992b) is comprehensive in its review of the barriers to free-movement mobility, it is evident that the examination

of the barriers is tackled primarily from a student perspective, and does not seek to relate the existence of the barriers to policy. Where reference is made in the free-movement mobility literature to policy, this is dated. For example, Burn (1979) and Smith (1980, 1985) highlight the concerns of many countries about the costs associated with accommodating non-reciprocal free-movement mobility. In this context, the writers highlight the policy measures taken by governments during the late 1970s - including the increasing use of *numerus clausus* and tuition fees - to restrict the 'overspill' in student demand for higher education from some member states, particularly Greece. Smith (1985) also reviews the attempts by the Community during the late 1970s to address the barriers to free-movement mobility through a review of policy documents. However, it is impossible to ascertain current perspectives on free-movement mobility policy at either the Community, national or institutional levels from the limited literature on free-movement mobility. As a result, policy impacts cannot be discerned. Yet, the calculations in Chapter Three of this thesis show that in 1993/94 free-movement mobility accounted for 54% of total mobility in the EU. This appears somewhat paradoxical in the context of the significant obstacles - highlighted in the literature - which inhibit free-movement mobility in the Community. In 1993/94, some 80,000 students were studying abroad as free-movement students in the EU.

1.5.2 Exchange Mobility

In view of the high profile developments in exchange mobility at Community level, much of the literature on student mobility relates to Community exchange policy. As a result it is possible to achieve some insight into the emergence, development and impacts of exchange mobility policy in the EU. To begin with, several writers provide brief historical reviews of the emergence of exchange

mobility. Hence, Neave (1991d, 1992) and Smith (1980, 1985) examine the reasons for the increasing focus on exchange mobility among policy-makers in the EC during the 1970s. Neave (1984, 1991d, 1992) in particular, identifies the fact that the Treaty of Rome made no reference to education. Coupled with member state sensitivities in the area of education, particularly with regard to institutional autonomy, and the lack of success of other intergovernmental bodies using an interventionist approach, Neave (1984, 1988, 1991d, 1992) suggests this led to a facilitatory stance on the part of the Community resulting in the development of exchange mobility - a thesis examined in greater detail in Chapter Four. Smith (1985), on the other hand, attributes the development of organised mobility to the relative failure of students to study abroad on a free-movement basis. Exchange, according to Smith (1985) was designed to encourage mobility by overcoming the barriers faced by students before, during and after a period of study abroad. Smith (1980) also maintains that the focus on exchange at policy level was a function of the more austere economic environment of the late 1970s forcing policy-makers to concentrate their resources on tangible outputs.

Developments in student mobility during the 1980s which led to the launch of the European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students (ERASMUS) in 1987 are also explored by Smith (1985) and Neave (1988, 1991d, 1992, 1994). Smith (1985) and Neave (1988) identify the increasing pressure from the European Parliament, and support for a "Peoples' Europe" among European leaders, as key factors in the further development of student mobility policy. Indeed, according to Neave (1991d), student mobility became an explicit policy instrument through which to attain the goals of European integration. The intervention by the European Court of Justice, granting education a legal basis is also considered as extremely significant in terms of increasing the confidence of the Community (Smith, 1985; Neave, 1988, 1991d). Finally, Neave (1991c,

1991d, 1992) argues that developments in student mobility policy at Community level must be understood in terms of the increasing emphasis on human resource development in the context of the internal market which requires labour mobility. According to Neave (1991c, 1991d) ERASMUS is a product of the same forces which have linked higher education in recent times to economic and industrial priorities. The fact that student mobility has become increasingly linked with political, economic and social goals has precluded any attempt at a cost-benefit analysis of academic mobility in the literature. In fact, many of the goals of student mobility, such as the development of a European consciousness and the creation of a mobile workforce are intangible, and would seem to preclude objective assessment.

The relatively applied but extensive literature dealing with policy impacts (Maiworm et al., 1990, 1991, 1993a, 1993b; Smith, 1979, 1987; Baron and Smith, 1987; Burn et al., 1990; Oppen et al., 1987, 1990; Oppen, 1987, 1990; Oppen and Teichler, 1990; Teichler and Steube, 1987; Baron and Oppen, 1990; Cerych and Oppen, 1990; Cerych and Saab, 1987), whilst useful for an analysis of student mobility policy, has a number of key limitations. First, the policy evaluations by Smith (1979), Burn et al. (1990), Oppen et al. (1990), Baron and Smith (1987) and Teichler and Steube (1991) focus on student populations which participated in the JSP Scheme during the early 1980s and are therefore dated. Second, only experiences of students in terms of preparation, guidance, finance, recognition, reasons for studying abroad, cultural and academic impacts etc. are elicited. There is no attempt to engage the perspective of staff responsible for policy implementation. This is addressed to some extent by the more recent studies of Maiworm et al. (1990, 1991, 1993a, 1993b) and Teichler (1996) which focus specifically on the ERASMUS programme, and therefore on developments in exchange mobility policy since 1987. The authors examine the experiences of

students participating in the ERASMUS programme (Maiworm, 1991, 1993b; Teichler, 1996), analyse ERASMUS mobility statistics (Maiworm et al., 1990; Teichler, 1996) and examine the experiences of local co-ordinators of the ERASMUS programme, responsible for programme implementation (Maiworm et al., 1993a). However, since the studies by Maiworm et al. and Teichler (1996), are funded by the European Commission, they follow an applied framework and like their predecessors (Smith, 1979; Burn et al., 1990; Oppen et al., 1990; Baron and Smith, 1987), deal only with student preparation, guidance, finance, recognition, language, cultural and academic impacts, reasons for studying abroad etc. from either a student (Maiworm et al., 1991, 1993b) or project co-ordinator perspective (Maiworm et al., 1993a). Evidently, neither Maiworm et al. (1990, 1991, 1993a, 1993b) nor Teichler (1996) provide any insight into policy-making, or the relationship and interaction between different policy-making bodies which result in the policy outputs and impacts documented by the authors. There is also little attempt to understand how ERASMUS co-ordinators at institutional level - namely, members of staff responsible for implementing the ERASMUS programme - fit into the wider policy-making machinery, which includes the Community, national government, regional government and higher education institution management.

This is not to suggest the literature evaluating Community exchange policy and its impacts is unproductive. On the contrary, three themes emerge which are of interest to this study. First, Maiworm et al. (1991, 1993b) confirm that the decision to study abroad is primarily influenced by a desire to learn a foreign language (86%), personal development (81%), the acquisition of academic learning in another country (77%) and to develop an improved understanding of the host country (72%). This suggests that while policy-makers at Community level increasingly support student mobility on economic and political grounds, in

terms of increasing European competitiveness and achieving the political integration of Europe, students participate in academic mobility primarily for cultural reasons and for personal development. Second, Smith (1979), Burn et al. (1990) Opper et al. (1990) and Baron and Smith (1987) identify the development of a range of programmes at institutional level differing in goals, objectives, design etc. However, there is no attempt to explore the reasons for such diverse policy outcomes, a shortcoming addressed in Chapter Four. Finally, the vast body of the literature evaluating exchange programmes confirms the fact that exchange is able to overcome the barriers to student mobility (Smith, 1979; Burn et al., 1990; Opper et al., 1990; Baron and Smith, 1987; Maiworm et al., 1991, 1993a, 1993b) given the small percentage of students experiencing problems associated with recognition of qualifications, access to information, logistical difficulties, numerus clausus and so on. However, the extent to which these studies have influenced policy directions at Community level remains unclear providing an obvious gap which is addressed in Chapter Four of this thesis.

1.5.3 Summary

The literature pertaining to student mobility is largely parochial, descriptive and atheoretical, when approached from a policy analysis perspective. This is particularly true of the free-movement mobility literature, which fails to provide any insight into current policy at Community, national or institutional level, but even with reference to exchange mobility the gaps and limitations in our knowledge are significant. Indeed, the majority of researchers examine the impacts of exchange mobility policy, predominantly from a student or local co-ordinator perspective, without consideration of how policy emerges, develops or is implemented. To some extent these issues are addressed by Smith (1980, 1985),

Neave (1978, 1984, 1988, 1991, 1992d) and Fogg and Jones (1985) who identify a number of key factors influencing the development of Community policy. However, from these contributions it is difficult to ascertain a comprehensive picture of the political processes involved in student mobility policy development. In this context, a policy analysis theoretical framework is engaged to provide a more fuller understanding of student mobility policy development. Most notably, by assessing the impacts of key economic, political and legal variables on the shifting power relationships within the Community, a more detailed understanding of the development of student mobility policy is established. In short, this thesis brings the political system into the analysis as a significant variable. In examining the student mobility political system, the relative contributions of higher education institutions and national governments is incorporated into the analysis of policy. This allows us to examine the interconnections between the European, national and institutional levels of policy-making which remains the fundamental focus of this thesis. It therefore follows that the thesis provides a more comprehensive and coherent understanding of student mobility policy than is currently available in the student mobility literature. It is appropriate at this point to review the developing policy analysis literature.

1.6 Policy Analysis: Literature Review

1.6.1 Definition of Policy

Before reviewing the main body of the policy analysis literature, it is useful to establish a definition of 'policy'. According to Leichter (1979), as a concept 'policy' has suffered more ambiguity and abuse during the 1960s and 1970s than any other term in the social sciences. In part, this reflects the complexity of the

phenomenon which the term attempts to encompass. This point is reinforced by Cunningham (1963, p.229), who asserts that "policy is rather like the elephant - you recognise it when you see it but cannot easily define it".

This is not to say that political scientists have relinquished the task of defining policy. The definitions range from the broad and vague to the narrow and detailed. One general theme running through many definitions is that policy is a goal-oriented activity. Despite his earlier assertion, Cunningham (1963, p.229) contends that policy concerns the "settling of what it is we want to do, and of the broad means by which we hope to do it". Similarly, Titmuss (1974) and Leichter (1979) define policy as a series of goal-oriented actions, while Jenkins (1993) cites the definition adopted by Roberts (1971, p.152-53) where public policy consists of "a set of interrelated decisions taken by a political actor or group of actors concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specific situation where these decisions should, in principle, be within the power of these actors to achieve". As Jenkins (1993) observes, this more encompassing definition, in addition to dealing with ends and means, differentiates between preference and reality as dictated by resources and creates the possibility of policy encompassing a non-decision. Leichter (1979) similarly maintains that policy consists of what is not being done, an issue developed further when discussing agenda setting. For Hill and Bramley (1990), policy is virtually synonymous with decisions and patterns of decisions over time, or decisions in the context of other decisions. A decision in isolation does not constitute a policy, however. In contrast, Ham and Hill (1993) argue that a single decision, a non-decision or simply an orientation, may constitute a policy.

While Leichter (1979), Cunningham (1963), Jenkins (1993) and Roberts (1971) consider the setting of goals as an integral part of policy, Hill and Bramley (1990)

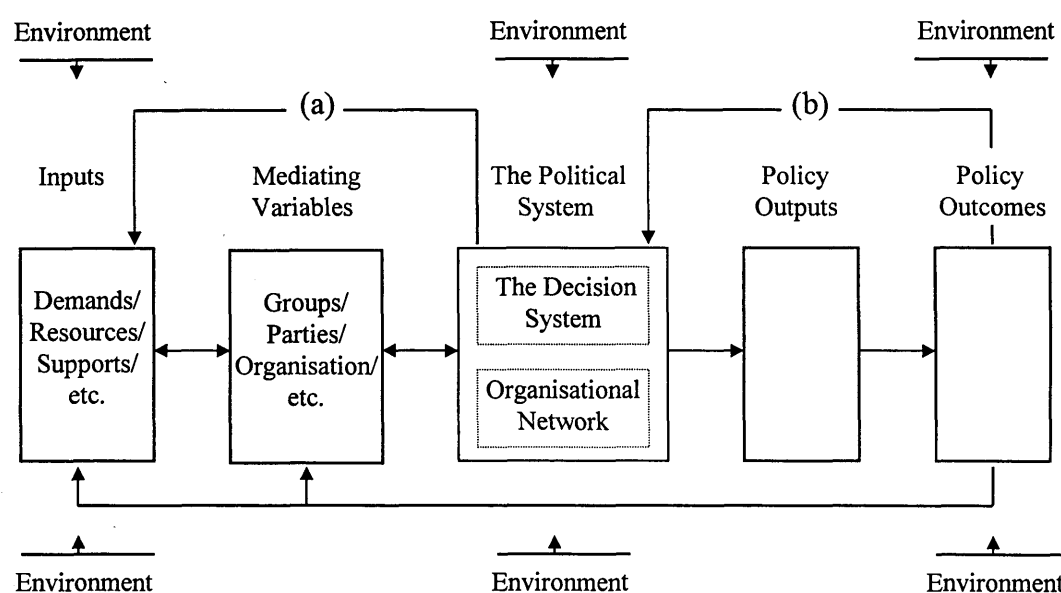
assert that political and administrative action is not necessarily goal-oriented, although policy can be concerned with the translation of goals into action. Gordon, Lewis and Young (1993) further argue against the study of identifiable things called policies which crystallise at a particular stage of the decision process. Instead, they perceive an iterative relationship between policy and action, precluding those models which propose that policy ends where action begins. Ham and Hill (1993) also contend that it is hard to identify particular occasions when policy is made, while Hill and Bramley (1990) highlight the risk of providing a definition of policy which treats as concrete something which is not. These latter definitions of policy implicitly challenge the policy-making/implementation distinction, which assumes that policies become concrete towards the end of the policy-making phase and prior to the implementation phase. The debate on the policy-making/implementation distinction is addressed later in this Chapter; suffice to say here that these latter models which reject the distinction between policy-making and policy implementation prove the most illuminating for an analysis of Community student mobility policy.

1.6.2 Systems Models

Policy analysis has attempted to capture the policy-making process through the development of systems models, as illustrated in Diagram 1. Systems models seek to bring some coherence to a number of fragmentary events - issues entering into a political system, feeding into decisions, emerging as policy, going through implementation - by conceptualising the interconnections between the different stages which result in policy. Most notably, systems models distinguish 'inputs' (demands, resources, supports, etc.) from 'mediating variables' (parties, groups etc.) and the 'political system' (the decision system and organisational network)

from which policy 'outputs' emerge. The system is contextualised within an all-encompassing 'environment' consisting of socio-economic, physical and political variables which can change over time.

Diagram 1: Systems Model of the Policy Process



Environmental Variables:

Socio-economic,
Physical,
Political

NB Environmental variables vary with time

Source: Jenkins (1993, p.40)

The development of systems models is justified on the grounds that a conceptual understanding of the policy process is fundamental to an analysis of public policy. According to Jenkins (1993), focusing on outputs and impacts alone, as is the case with much of the literature on student mobility, results in a partial and incomplete view of the dynamics and totality of public policy. In view of this argument, this

thesis seeks to understand the emergence, development and implementation of student mobility policy by understanding and conceptualising the student mobility policy process.

However, it must be noted that systems models provide only an initial focus of analysis. It is for the policy analyst to disaggregate and explore the policy process. In this context, it is evident from Diagram 1 that the political system is at the centre of the policy process. An analysis of policy therefore cannot be undertaken without a detailed consideration of the operation and impact of the political system. According to Jenkins, 1993, p.42) "policy analysis needs to disaggregate and explore the political system" rather than treat it as a "black box" from which policies emerge. In this context, it is necessary, *inter alia*, to examine the motivation and behaviour of policy-makers, the positions and stances adopted by political actors (Jenkins, 1993) as well as a detailed consideration of institutional arrangements and the distribution of power (Ham and Hill, 1993). The analysis of the political system must inevitably be related to policy outcomes, which directly influence the political system as indicated by (b) in the Diagram.

Equally, with reference to the all-encompassing environment, the analyst needs to be discerning. Distinct factors have a varying impact at different points in time. Indeed, policy analysts have discovered in their investigations of public policy that a whole range of exogenous factors including protest groups (Hofferbert, 1974); public pressure, (Mullard, 1995), technological change (Hofferbert, 1974; Hogwood and Gunn, 1984; Gunn, 1989; Kavanagh and Seldon, 1994), the judiciary (Hofferbert, 1974); external constraints (Conrad, 1995; Kavanagh and Seldon, 1994; Hindess, 1987); the international economy (Gamble, 1994); ideology (Gunn, 1989; Mullard, 1995; Burden, 1995; Robinson and Judge, 1988; Le Grand and Bartlett, 1993) etc. can affect the development of public policy. A

central aim of this thesis is therefore to identify the key variables from within the policy environment and their relative influence over time on the development and implementation of student mobility policy at the European Community, national government and institutional levels. Equally, it is important to bear in mind that the political system may influence and alter the policy environment, as indicated by (a) in the Diagram.

According to Jenkins (1993, p.42) systems model, such as that in Diagram 1, provide only a "useful heuristic map; useful in alerting one to areas that need more attention (e.g. the environment, the political system); useful in emphasising the links on which theory could be usefully brought to bear". In this context, systems model provide an overview of the policy process, which can be explored in greater detail by engaging different conceptual models relating to the different aspects of the overall process. For the purpose of this thesis, several concepts and models from the policy analysis literature - relating to agenda-permeation, incremental, rationalist and mixed-scanning models of decision-making and the policy-making/policy implementation distinction - are engaged to explore and understand student mobility policy as a product of the policy process. These key concepts, which provide an insight into the diverse directions in which policy theory has developed, are reviewed independently in the remainder of this Chapter.

1.6.3 The Policy Agenda

The policy agenda, according to Hogwood (1987), consists of those demands made upon government to which policy-makers choose or feel obliged to pay serious attention. Richardson and Jordan (1979, p.80) maintain that thousands of demands are made on government each year, but only a small proportion are taken on board

by the political system. The vast majority "are stillborn or suffer a premature death", since these demands or 'issues' (defined as disagreement about matters) have to compete with each other for limited attention and resources (Hogwood, 1987). If an issue manages to permeate the political agenda it is often accredited to the efforts of political leaders and parties (Hogwood, 1987; Richardson and Jordan, 1979), individual backbenchers, non-elected officials, interest groups, the media and so on (Hogwood, 1987; Richardson and Jordan, 1979). Indeed, a whole variety of factors can be responsible, including public opinion, for forcing issues onto political agendas.

Occasionally issues may permeate the political agenda against the wish of policy-makers. Here, certain strategies can be employed to deflect the challenge to the status quo. Benyon (1985), analysing the political response to the 1981 riots in the UK, highlights the many strategies, including 'cosmetic change', 'tokenism', 'show-casing' etc. deployed to diffuse unwanted demands. Forcing an issue into the political domain does not guarantee genuine action. Benyon (1985, p.149) maintains that, once issues have moved from the public agenda to that of the government, the issues are likely to encounter the greatest difficulties where "covert and insidious forms of power can greatly affect the outcome of issues". Bearing in mind these forces, an examination of the factors responsible for the permeation of student mobility onto the agenda of policy-makers in the EC provides a starting point of analysis for this thesis.

1.6.4 Decision-Making Models in the Policy Process

The tension in the definition of 'policy' is reflected in the models pertaining to decision-making in the policy process. In particular, the incremental decision-

making model proposed by Lindblom (1959, 1964) argues against definitions which consider policy as a goal-oriented process. Lindblom (1959) maintains that policy-makers develop policy without first clarifying objectives or values, since conflicts preclude the establishment of clear objectives (Lindblom, 1959; Minogue, 1993; House, 1982). Lindblom (1959, p.84) proposes that policy is continually made, evaluated and re-made in a series of small incremental adjustments which he terms "partisan mutual adjustment" and the "science of muddling through". According to Lindblom (1959, p.84) "Policy does not move in leaps and bounds". This type of policy-making is seen to be the product of a pluralist political system, characterised by processes of political interaction, negotiations and bargaining among groups promoting and protecting differing and competing interests and values. In short, incremental policy-making is the result of diffused power in society, and the product of pluralist models of power, in contrast to the central planning of totalitarian societies (Etzioni, 1967).

Lindblom's (1959) model not only sought to provide a model of policy-making consistent with reality, but also to replace the prevalent model of policy-making at the time, the rational-comprehensive or synoptic model. The latter assumes that decision-makers behave rationally, have clear objectives and comprehensive information, and select the option, from a range of policy alternatives, which maximises the decision-makers' values. Policy formulation, according to the synoptic model, follows a rational, orderly process with policy emerging out of the "black box" at a clearly identifiable stage. To a large extent, the synoptic model is discredited in the literature and regarded as more normative than explanatory. Minogue (1993), for example, points out that decisions emerge not out of orderly systems but from complex processes of bargaining, where competitive struggles take place both between and within policy areas. Lindblom (1959) asserts that the synoptic model assumes intellectual capacities, time and money that policy-makers

simply do not possess. Nor do policy-makers have comprehensive information (Lindblom, 1959; House, 1982). Lindblom (1959) further questions the validity of the synoptic model since it fails to appreciate that policy-makers are limited by legal and political considerations, so that they can only give their attention to relatively few different policies among the countless alternatives that might be imagined. According to Dror (1964, p.153) "there can be no doubt that in comparison with the 'rational-comprehensive' models of decision-making ... Lindblom's approach ... is more closely tied to reality, more sophisticated in theory, and more adjusted to human nature". In contrast, Smith and May (1993) argue that the debate between the rationalist and incrementalist is artificial since incrementalist models perform an explanatory function while synoptic models are more prescriptive. The two, according to Smith and May (1993), deal with separate phenomena, earlier distinguished as 'analysis of policy' and 'analysis for policy', respectively.

Support for the incremental model is widespread. Hague and Harrop (1987) and Leichter (1979) for example, observe that current policies are constrained by past decisions, leading Castles (1989) to demand a historical analysis of public policy development. Hofferbert (1974) points out that minor budget increases by politicians enhances routine decision-making and limits the capacity to innovate, resulting in incremental decision-making. Hague and Harrop (1987) also appreciate the virtues of the incremental method of policy-making, arguing that the entrenchment of interests precludes major policy change by governments. However, Hogwood and Gunn (1984) point out that mobilised interests are mainly found where government has established policy, and is often absent in areas where government has not seen fit to intervene.

Despite the foregoing, the incremental model has not escaped criticism. Gregory (1993, p.228), for example, contends that a theory which suggests that "governments in any modern society in effect do not really know what they are doing is to invite disbelief, impatience, and not a little opprobrium". Dror (1964), meanwhile, points out that incrementalist models of policy-making are only relevant when the result of present policies is in the main satisfactory, and there is a high degree of continuity in both the nature of the problems and in the available means of dealing with them. Further, incrementalism can operate only in the most stable societies, but there is no country today stable enough to fit the analysis. When policy outcomes are undesirable, then according to Dror (1964) it is often preferable to take the risks involved in radical new departures than resort to incremental tactics. Gregory (1993) and Dror (1964) also argue that incrementalism cannot cope with technical complexity and rapid change in modern society, which may require radical change from past policies. A particular criticism levelled by Dror (1964) is that incrementalism encourages pro-inertia and anti-innovation forces prevalent in all human organisations. Lindblom (1964, p.157) refutes this allegation, observing that "one can make changes in the social structure as rapidly through a sequence of incremental steps as through drastic - hence less frequent - alterations". This argument is vindicated by Moon (1995) who suggests that the application of a radical policy agenda during Margaret Thatcher's administration in the UK was largely achieved through a series of incremental steps which minimised potential conflict.

Lindblom (1964, p.157-158), however, accepts that the incremental "method is unquestionably one of less than universal usefulness ... there are a number of decision making methods and strategies in actual use". In so doing, Lindblom (1964) acknowledges that incrementalism is not universally applicable. This creates scope for Etzioni (1967, p.385) to offer a third approach to decision-

making "which, in combining elements of both earlier approaches [the comprehensive and incremental models of policy-making], is neither as utopian in its assumptions as the first model nor as conservative as the second". This third approach which is labelled "mixed-scanning" proves particularly relevant to an understanding of student mobility policy development in the Community. According to Etzioni (1967), in the exploration of mixed-scanning it is essential to differentiate fundamental decisions from incremental ones. Fundamental decisions are arrived at by exploring the main alternatives in the context of the goals which the actor wishes to achieve. Thus, Etzioni (1967) accepts that decision-makers can rank their goals to some extent and review a range of policy options, but not to the extent or detail advocated by the rational-comprehensive model. The fundamental decision subsequently sets the context for numerous incremental decisions designed to re-inforce, implement and elaborate on a fundamental decision. In many respects incremental decisions perform a dual role as they also form the precursor to other fundamental decisions, especially in cases where incremental shifts in policy fail to meet established goals and values. The combination of rational and incremental strategies leads Etzioni (1967, p.390) to argue that "each of the two elements in mixed-scanning [rationalism and incrementalism] helps to reduce the effects of the particular shortcomings of the other; incrementalism reduces the unrealistic aspects of rationalism by limiting the details required in fundamental decisions, and contextualising rationalism helps to overcome the conservative slant of incrementalism by exploring longer-run alternatives". Ultimately, Etzioni (1967) observes that the relative balance between incremental and fundamental decisions is a function of the power relations among decision-makers. As will become evident in Chapter Four, this is particularly true of decision-making *vis-à-vis* student mobility.

1.6.5 Policy Implementation

In recent years, the literature on policy analysis has challenged the wide, but often implicit, assumption that policy-making ends where implementation begins. Increasingly there is a recognition that individual 'professionals' responsible for policy implementation within organisations significantly modify policy. The modification of policy is the outcome of numerous distinct factors. For example, officials responsible for implementing policy have their own agendas, reflecting their own self-interests, which inevitably results in policy adjustments (Jackson, 1985). Sabatier (1993), identifying more practical problems, suggests that implementation involves policy-oriented learning and policy adjustments from this learning by policy implementers, given that policy developed in legislatures is by no means ready for immediate execution. Jackson (1985) maintains that policy implementation requires negotiation especially with those the policy is likely to affect, so that policy may change as a result of new bargains. Similarly, Lipsky (1993, p.382) argues that "the decisions of street-level bureaucrats, the routines they establish, and the devices they invent to cope with uncertainties and work pressures, effectively become the public policies they carry out ... public policy is not best understood as made in legislatures or top-floor suites of high ranking administrators, because in important ways it is actually made in the crowded offices and daily encounters of street-level workers."

To appreciate fully the fact that policy-making continues during the implementation stage is to acknowledge that bureaucrats responsible for policy implementation (including staff in higher education institutions responsible for implementing student mobility policies) operate with considerable levels of discretion. The nature of service provision calls for human judgement. Lipsky

(1993) argues that the discretion which is used by "street level bureaucrats" to protect their working environment, manage clients and develop coping strategies, resulting in policy modification, is not always judged undesirable by policy-makers and high level administrators. As Hill (1993) observes in his analysis of the exercise of discretion in the National Assistance Board (NAB) in the UK between 1960 and 1963, policy-makers had to delegate responsibility to NAB officers to make "value decisions" about the worthiness of certain applicants for relief, since the complexity of the issues involved defeated any attempt to resolve all the "value issues" at policy-making level. In short, bureaucrats must carry out much of the difficult rationing at client level so that "the carrying out of policy is itself policy-making" (Burch and Wood, 1986, p.189). Attempts to come to terms with the fact that implementation involves a continuation of the complex process of bargaining, negotiation, interaction and learning which characterises the policy-making process has led to the abandonment of the policy/implementation distinction. It is now recognised that "those with discretion are effectively full-blooded policy-makers" (Burch and Wood, 1986, p.185), and, as will become apparent in Chapter Four, higher education staff implementing Community student mobility programmes are no exception to this rule.

The abandonment of the policy/implementation distinction has also resulted in an increasing willingness to renounce the 'top-down' approach which accepts policy formulation by policy-makers and implementation by subservient bureaucrats within a hierarchy of control. The 'bottom-up' perspective as advocated in the models by Hjerm and O'Potter (1993) and Whitmore (1984) attempt to incorporate other actors, in addition to the central decision-makers, into the models. This is not to suggest the 'top-down' approach has been completely replaced by the 'bottom-up' models in policy analysis. Sabatier (1993), for example, is reluctant to remove the distinction between policy formulation and policy implementation

since this makes it very difficult to distinguish between the relative influence of elected officials and civil servants. Moreover, it precludes policy evaluation as policy becomes a seamless web of flows without decision points. Equally, Hogwood and Gunn (1984) sympathise with the 'top-down' perspective if only for the fact that those seeking to put policy into effect are usually elected while those responsible for action, are often not. Again, this is particularly relevant to an understanding of the interconnections between policy-making and policy implementation at European, national and institutional levels with respect to student mobility.

1.6.6 Summary

The foregoing review of the policy analysis literature provides the conceptual framework for this thesis. This establishes the ground for a more theoretically informed analysis of Community student mobility policy drawing on social scientific perspectives. More specifically, the analysis of the emergence of student mobility policy is undertaken through an examination of agenda-permeation; the analysis of the development of student mobility policy is informed by the rational, incremental and mixed-scanning models of decision-making; while the distinction between policy-making and policy implementation provides the framework for an understanding of student mobility policy implementation and outputs. Significantly, in applying a policy analysis conceptual framework to student mobility it becomes possible to create a systems model of the student mobility policy process by developing our understanding of the different levels at which policy is made and implemented.

1.7 Conclusion

This thesis seeks to improve our knowledge and understanding of undergraduate student mobility in the Community through an analysis of policy at intergovernmental, national and institutional levels between 1946 and 1996. The focus on academic mobility, as a case study of policy, is based on the fact that policy-makers in the EU ascribe it a political and economic role of significant proportions. Indeed, student mobility is expected to contribute to the international competitiveness of the European economy, to create European elite identities with a commitment to furthering European integration and to produce a mobile labour force, which is central to the success of the Single Market. In this context, it is of concern that our knowledge and understanding of student mobility policy remains limited. The literature dealing with free-movement mobility reviews the barriers inhibiting free-movement students from undertaking study abroad, while the exchange mobility literature concentrates primarily on policy impacts on students, with some reference to the key factors influencing policy development at Community level. However, much of this literature remains descriptive, atheoretical and relatively uninformed by social scientific research. This thesis seeks to develop our understanding of study abroad in the context of a policy analysis conceptual framework. The outcome is:

- an analysis of the development and implementation of student mobility policy over a period of fifty years utilising a systems model to understand policy as a product of interaction between different policy-making institutions with varying and evolving powers;
- an examination of student mobility policy outputs, with a focus on explaining why student mobility policies differ over time at the Community level and

between the six case study governments and sixteen higher education institutions at the same point in time;

- an analysis of the extent to which the implementation of student mobility policy at the institutional level leads to distinct policy outputs; and,
- an analysis of policy impacts, upon levels of student mobility in the Community and in terms of mutual impacts on policy-makers at the different levels of decision-making.

In summary, this thesis provides an analysis of the emergence, development, implementation and impact of student mobility policy in the Community in the context of a policy analysis analytical framework - a framework not previously applied to student mobility. The result, as will become evident during the course of this thesis is new theoretically informed insights into study abroad, beyond what is available in the current literature pertaining to student mobility. An attempt is made to demonstrate that these insights are important to a consideration of the opportunities and constraints for policy development in future years. This thesis thus, seeks to provide a fuller understanding for those who make, implement and evaluate policy in an area of increasing European significance. In view of these aims and objectives, it is now appropriate to turn our attention to the research methodology, with a particular focus on the development of the research, a review of the data-collection strategies and some assessment of the reliability, validity and limitations of the primary and secondary data.

Chapter Two

Methodology

Chapter Two

Methodology

2.1 Introduction

This Chapter provides an overview of the research methodology. It considers the processes involved in collecting and analysing primary and secondary data, identifying the decisions made by the researcher during the course of the research. In so doing, the rationale for focusing on certain research questions, strategies of enquiry and data-collection methods is set out. The Chapter also highlights the iterative and 'untidy' nature of the research, and thus does not seek to present the research as process, which is logical, orderly and systematic. In practice, while investigating student mobility policy and practice, the researcher moved continuously between research design, data collection, data analysis and writing-up, an experience which is by no means unique. For many qualitative researchers, the design of the research, data collection and analysis are simultaneous and continuous processes (Bryman and Burgess, 1996).

2.2 The Exploratory Stage

The focus for the thesis emerged from an externally funded research project, which sought to investigate the potential for an open market in European higher education. This required an examination of free-movement mobility - namely the ability of students to study anywhere in the Community on an independent basis.

An initial examination of the secondary literature relating to student mobility proved unproductive; as discussed in the previous Chapter most of the existing literature relates to exchange-based mobility. The exceptions are the Leiden (1992a, 1992b) reports dealing with the barriers to free-movement mobility. However, as with the exchange-based literature on mobility, it was clear that this research and analysis had only addressed the issues from a student perspective, precluding a comprehensive assessment of the potential for an open market in European higher education. In practice, such an assessment required an appreciation and understanding of student mobility policy at the European, national and institutional level within the Community. The absence of explicit reference to policy on student mobility in the secondary literature suggested that a policy-oriented study would address a significant gap in the literature and our knowledge about an increasingly important aspect of higher education.

In the early stages of the research, it was necessary to follow up a range of secondary and primary sources, both documentary and interview based, in order to establish a background understanding to the topic of research. As suggested above, an initial review of policy documents in the Official Journal of the European Communities provided some insight into the exchange mobility policy of the European Community, but reference to free-movement mobility policy was conspicuous by its absence. In this context the obvious alternative was to engage in exploratory interviews. Meetings were arranged with European Commission officials to coincide with a conference in Brussels in 1993, addressing EU student mobility programmes. The visit to Brussels proved instrumental in defining the research questions and providing the focus for the thesis. To begin with, the conference not only provided an overview of Community student mobility policy, but contacts were made with delegates, who in future would recommend names of potential interviewees in their respective countries. The meetings with

Commission officials were equally informative, especially since it was clearly confirmed that Community student mobility programmes do not attempt to promote free-movement mobility; they are exchange-centred. The relative neglect of free-movement mobility and the preference for exchange at the intergovernmental level clearly required some explanation.

The Brussels Student Fair, accompanying the student mobility conference raised further questions. The Fair was frequented by institutions from several EU countries, with an interest in recruiting non-nationals. However, institutions from some countries were absent. This raised the important issue of competition for free-movement students between institutions in some countries, and not others. It also significantly focused attention on the fact that 'policy' at several institutions sought to encourage incoming free-movement mobility. A number of the barriers to free-movement mobility identified by the Leiden researchers, such as admission requirements and numerus clausus, were clearly less prominent at institutions in some countries. However, the reasons for this phenomenon were less than apparent.

This early exploration of the topic of student mobility via an overview of the secondary literature and initial contacts with practitioners in the field, gave rise to a number of research questions exploring contemporary free-movement mobility policy and practice at the different policy-making levels as well as its relationship to exchange mobility policy. For example:

- What attempts have been made by policy-makers in the EU to dismantle the barriers to free-movement mobility, and with what success?

- To what extent is current policy at the European, national and institutional geared towards facilitating free-movement mobility, or otherwise?
- Why do higher education institutions in some countries appear to have a more favourable policy towards incoming free-movement mobility than others?
- What explains the preference for exchange mobility at the Community level and what are the implications of this bias for free-movement mobility?
- What is the relative balance between exchange and free-movement student mobility flows in the Community?

In view of the largely applied student-centred secondary literature, a focus on contemporary student mobility policy and practice at the different policy-making levels in the EU appeared fully justified. At the same time, the early exploration of the topic suggested that an understanding of the current state of student mobility policy in the EU would be incomplete without some reference to the past. The incremental model of policy-making draws attention to the way in which past decisions constrain future policy development. In this context it was appropriate that the thesis should explore the origins, development, content, outputs and outcomes of student mobility policy to provide a more comprehensive insight into our understanding of the phenomenon. The result was an examination of student mobility policy over a fifty year time-span from 1946 to 1996, with the greater emphasis on the period post-1987.

Given the focus on student mobility policy, policy-makers responsible for the development and implementation of student mobility policy provided the most obvious point of reference. An examination of secondary data, and in particular

the many policy documents relating to student mobility also provided an important data source. The remaining sections in this Chapter address the primary and secondary data collection and analysis. The rationale for selecting certain data-collection strategies and methods rather than others is identified, its implications for the research is assessed and some analysis of the validity, reliability and limitations of the data is also forthcoming. This is undertaken against the backdrop of the problems and difficulties associated with collecting primary and secondary data relating to student mobility.

2.3 Primary Data Collection

2.3.1 The Case Study Approach and the Selection of Case Studies: Criteria and Problems

The focus of the research on student mobility policy and practice at the different policy-making levels in the Community, potentially created the opportunity for the researcher to collect primary data from four intergovernmental organisations (UNESCO, OECD, the Council of Europe and the European Community), twelve national governments, twelve National Academic Recognition Information Centres (NARICs), a significant number of national agencies specifically charged with the Europeanisation/internationalisation of higher education and over 3,500 higher education institutions. Contact with all of the foregoing organisation and institutions was inevitably impossible, forcing the researcher to examine student mobility policy and practice within the context of a limited number of selected governments and higher education institutions. This resulted in the use of the case study approach.

According to Stake (1994, p.243) case study selection should normally aim to single-out cases which are typical. However, this should be a secondary consideration to cases which offer an "opportunity to learn" about the phenomenon in question: "often it is better to learn a lot from an atypical case than a little from a magnificently typical case." The only qualification to this is that the case study selection should emphasise variety. Following Stake (1994) this study placed typicality second to opportunity to learn about student mobility policy and practice, resulting in a selection of case study countries and institutions with considerable experience in the area of intra-EU student mobility. Indeed, France, Germany and the UK were selected as case study countries primarily because of their position as the major 'importers' and important 'exporters' of students in the EU. Sweden, as a proactive country in the area of student mobility policy, and with aspirations to join the EU, also presented an opportunity to learn about student mobility policy, especially from a Scandinavian perspective and that of a country outside the EU using a minority language. Ireland and Spain were selected in view of the issue of representation. Spain provided a much neglected Mediterranean perspective, and that of a country which joined the EC fairly recently, while Ireland qualified as a small and geographically peripheral country, but with the notable phenomenon of cross-border mobility between Southern and Northern Ireland.

It must be noted at this point that the case study country selection was not informed by the statistical analysis in Chapter Three, since the analysis was conducted following the primary data collection. The reverse scenario, namely the statistical analysis preceding the data-collection might have resulted in the selection of different case study countries, most notably Italy, Greece and Belgium, in addition to France, Germany and the UK. However, the research project was not conceived in this way. It was not the purpose of this research to

engage in detailed primary data collection in order to explain specific patterns or trends in student mobility, but rather to explore factors shaping national and institutional orientations to student mobility. As essentially exploratory, the case studies are illustrative and permit the tentative formulation of models which can be tested out and refined by further empirical research.

The identification of the case study countries defined the selection of the case study governments, the NARIC offices and the national agencies charged with the Europeanisation/internationalisation of higher education. Only the case study higher education institutions remained to be determined. Limited project resources dictated that the fieldwork in each case study country be restricted to five working days, and therefore only two or three higher education institutions with significant student mobility in each country could be selected. In fact, without prior knowledge of levels of student mobility at the higher education institutions in each case study country, the researcher depended on the 'snow-balling' technique to select case study institutions. The Swedish case study is instructive. Contacts in Sweden developed during the student mobility conferences were asked to identify a proactive Swedish higher education institution in the area of student mobility. Jönköping University College was recommended. On hearing about the aims and objectives of the research, the International Liaison Manager at Jönköping University College not only agreed to participate in the research, but also recommended the Swedish Institute as an important point of referral. The Institute, which is responsible for internationalising Swedish higher education, proved to be well-informed, and in response to the request to specifically identify Swedish universities with high levels of student mobility, Stockholm University was endorsed as a potentially interesting case study.

The emphasis on a University, together with a University College, was to ensure representation of both the university and non-university sector. This process was engaged with reference to all the case study countries. The thesis therefore provides insight into policy and practice at a diverse range of higher education institutions with significant experience in student mobility, but it does not make claims of being representative of the spectrum of institutions in a given country. The final case study selection, which can be found in Appendix 1, included six countries and sixteen higher education institutions. In fact, in each case study country, appointments were arranged with two or three higher education institutions, the Ministry of Education, the NARIC office, and in the case of Germany and Sweden with the organisations responsible for the Europeanisation/internationalisation of higher education.

2.3.2 The Selection of the Semi-Structured Interview

In all research the method of investigation must be appropriate for the problem at hand (Burgess, 1993) and in the context of the objectives of this research, the semi-structured interview offered the most apposite method to collect primary data on student mobility policy and practice. The decision to engage the semi-structured interview, rather than the structured or unstructured interview, was predicated on several considerations. First, as a qualitative method of data-collection, the semi-structured interview would complement the exploratory nature of the study by allowing the interviewer to examine in detail actual policies, practices, issues, structures, underlying processes, etc. Second, interviewees would simultaneously be allowed to direct the conversation into areas of particular interest, activity or concern, but within an overarching framework, facilitating data transcription and organisation. Finally, the semi-structured interview would allow

the researcher to overcome the main difficulties associated with comparative studies. These include securing definitional comparability, functional equivalence and identical stimuli in different settings and cultural contexts. Different value systems and cognitive structures inevitably create distinct stimuli and may result in diverse interpretations of questions (Lewis and Wallace, 1984). In this context, Warwick and Osherson (1973) propose that the researcher may have to ask several questions in one country but only one question in another. The semi-structured interview could accommodate this requirement. In short, the semi-structured interview provided the most suitable data collection method in the context of the methodological issues and the aims and objectives of the research.

2.3.3 The Identification of Interviewees and the Organisation of Interviews: Criteria, Problems and Precautions

In order to identify relevant persons for interview within the selected organisations and institutions, the snow-balling technique was engaged a second time. Using the simple criteria of access to information, contacts in the European Commission were asked to recommend the names of key officials dealing with student mobility policy in UNESCO, the OECD, the Council of Europe, and within Ministries of Education in the case study countries. Interviews were first arranged with officials in the intergovernmental organisations and with representatives of national governments, since these key officers were indispensable to the research. With the exception of the French and Irish Ministry of Education and Research, all officials contacted agreed to be interviewed. The Irish Ministry of Education referred the researcher to the Higher Education Authority, through whom Irish higher education policy is expressed. As part of its cultural assertion policy, the French Ministry of Education and Research refused to participate in the study if the interview would be conducted in a language other than French. It was claimed that

English or Spanish speaking officials were not available. Consequently, the researcher had to be content with a written response to the interview questions. Fortunately, interviewees in the remaining agencies did not stipulate conducting the interview in the official language of the country, with the exception of the official in the Ministry of Education in Spain. This interview was conducted in Spanish. Interviews could not be arranged with the German and Irish NARICs, because the responsible officers were on vacation during the week of the interview. Since interviews were already arranged with officials in the intergovernmental organisations and with representatives of national governments, it proved impossible to re-work the interview timetable to accommodate the NARIC officers.

A pre-booked interview timetable proved problematic whilst arranging engagements with higher education staff. Limited choice in interview dates particularly curtailed the ability to interview a range of personnel within higher education institutions. While European/International officers were prepared to accommodate the interview on specified dates, and at short notice, Directors of international departments and other key personnel, such as Rectors - in a position to provide a more strategic perspective - were unavailable. Relying on the account of one interviewee at some higher education institutions raises the significant methodological issue of data reliability (Robson, 1993), especially in view of the fact that interviewees may be selective in the information they disclose, sometimes deliberately and on other occasions unwittingly (Miles and Huberman, 1994). In the case of this research, there was the possibility, on the one hand, that staff in higher education institutions would attempt to portray the student mobility policies in very favourable terms to promote their institutions. On the other hand, restrictive practices, contrary to EU legislation, may be disguised or concealed altogether. In short, there was a strong incentive for European/International

officers to avoid self-criticism or criticism of institutional student mobility policies in order to protect institutional reputation in Europe as well as individual tenure.

To reduce the likelihood of interviewees deliberately offering selective information, several measures were taken to enhance confidence and reduce the risks. First, interviewees were offered the reassurance that they would be allowed to verify statements when the research was in draft form. If necessary, interviewees and the institutions they represented were guaranteed anonymity, which according to Punch (1994) should be an essential ethical consideration of any research project. The knowledge that the disclosed information would be anonymised if requested facilitated a degree of confidence among interviewees. Second, the organisation of the interviews was immediately followed by a letter to all interviewees confirming the specifics and, importantly, the research aims, objectives, outcomes and the questions that would be the subject of discussion during the interview. Such a high level of transparency throughout the period of communication with interviewees was intended to create a degree of trust between the two parties. Thirdly, the questions for the interview (See Appendix 2), which emerged from the more general research problem, were designed to avoid leading questions, ambiguous questions, long questions, double-barrelled questions etc. which are recognised to compromise the reliability of data. Attention was also paid to the use of terminology, especially since for most of the interviewees English was a second or even third language. It is evident in the next section dealing with the interview experience, that the foregoing measures may have counteracted some of the tendency to deliberately disclose selective information. Certainly, interviewees did not refrain from engaging in potentially controversial subjects or from making controversial statements, which in some cases have been allocated a non-attributable status on request from the interviewees. However, the

possibility of interviewees unwittingly offering selective information - for example, as a result of selective attention and retention of information - remains, and in this context the potential limitation of relying on the account of one interviewee is fully acknowledged.

2.3.4 The Interview Experience

Before the start of the interview some effort was made to re-iterate the aims and objectives of the research. To ensure the researcher and interviewee were discussing the same phenomenon, a clarification of definitions and terminology was also offered, particularly in recognition of the confusing nature of free-movement mobility. Most interviewees agreed to the request to tape-record the interview, with the exception of the representative(s) at Complutense University in Madrid, Fachhochschule Trier, University of Bonn and Dublin City University. Significantly, during the interviews the decision to use the semi-structured interview was fully vindicated. Given that English was not the first language for many interviewees, there was frequent misunderstanding and a constant need to rephrase or elucidate through the use of examples and synonyms some of the questions, ideas, concepts, terminology and hypothesis.

On the whole there was an accommodating reception from interviewees, although the status of the researcher as a student was occasionally significant. Indeed, some interviewees could not find the question sheet while others attempted to terminate the interview before its conclusion. This did not include the officials at the intergovernmental organisations who, in their capacities as Heads or Chiefs of the international section had accumulated a wealth of knowledge and talked authoritatively about the reasons for certain preferences and policies, and not

others. They considered policy options, were prepared to hypothesise and provided many perspectives for the research. This was also true of the officers at the agencies charged with internationalising higher education who provided strategic insights into national issues relating to student mobility. In contrast, representatives at the Ministries of Education predominantly directed the conversation towards efforts in the area of exchange mobility. In most cases this amounted to very little of substance. The nature of the interviews themselves thus validated an important finding of the research, that is, the absence of a significant policy on student mobility at the national governmental level.

This was less true at the institutional level. The selection of case study institutions with significant student mobility ensured that higher educational institutional representatives had considerable ground to cover during the interview. This is not to suggest the interviewees could address all the questions. On the contrary, either a lack of knowledge of a particular issue, or too great a distance from the institutional decision-making machinery prevented some European/International officers from providing perspectives on all the questions and issues. This itself was an important finding. On many occasions, the interviewer was referred to specific departments or to other key people in the decision-making machinery. Thus, the information in the thesis, where generalised, does not necessarily refer to all sixteen case study higher education institutions, but the vast majority. It also transpired during the interviews that European/International officers were unable to provide much historical insight into the development of student mobility at their institutions. The majority had been in post for less than six or seven years. Importantly, this led the researcher to rely primarily on secondary data for a historical analysis of policy and a combination of primary and secondary data for an analysis of contemporary student mobility policy, post-1987.

It became clear during the interviews that most institutional representatives were engaging in the interview on two assumptions which could bias the data. First, interviewees presumed without any hesitation that student mobility was fundamentally beneficial and desirable and that the only issue was how it should be extended. Second, most European/International officers equated student mobility with exchange mobility. Indeed, institutional representatives consistently directed the conversation so as to highlight their efforts in supporting exchange mobility. A re-focusing of the conversation to the theme of free-movement mobility policy and practice was not always appreciated. In fact, it became apparent that some interviewees did not recognise that the procedures, structures, admission requirements etc. for dealing with free-movement students could be regarded as institutional policy. Inevitably, the assumptive worlds of the interviewees, and particularly their reluctance to discuss free-movement mobility is recognised during a consideration of the primary data, which, otherwise is unambiguous, in places controversial, sometimes critical of the government and sufficiently penetrating to provide previously unavailable insights into student mobility.

2.4 Secondary Data Collection

2.4.1 Documentary Analysis

The problem with much comparative research, is the cost of translating material from other languages into the language of the researcher. This can be avoided through the use of a team-based approach, where national experts in different countries contribute to the research. For the purpose of a doctorate, such an approach is impracticable. At the same time, it was beyond the resources of the

research to translate case study government and institutional policy documents, which were provided in copious amounts by most interviewees. In this context, the thesis is essentially exploratory and there is clearly potential for larger scale analysis to follow up the questions posed in the following Chapters. For this study, the researcher had to limit the secondary data analysis to those policy documents of the Council of Europe, the European Community and national governments, which are written in the English language. A list of the documents can be found in Appendix 3. In particular, policy documents published for consultation by the European Commission, such as the Memorandum on Higher Education in the European Community, Brussels, 1991; and Towards a European Education Policy, Luxembourg, 1977 provided a central focus for the documentary analysis, as they represented significant landmarks in the development of student mobility policy. At a surface or literal level, the documents not only offered a snapshot of Community student mobility at a point in time, but also highlighted the aspirations of policy-makers in a particular Community institution. The aspirations provided an important benchmark for the research, since subsequent critical analysis of student mobility policy development was undertaken in view of the extent to which intentions outlined in the documents were achieved.

In practice, this required an analysis of two different types of documents. First, there is the Bulletin of the EC published by the Commission of the European Communities which provides a monthly update of policy developments in the Community. As a point of reference, the Bulletin not only offers an overview, but also provides the necessary information to locate the relevant working papers, parliamentary decisions, Communications, Economic and Social Committee opinions and Commission proposals. These documents, which can be found in the Official Journal of the European Communities, provide the subject of analysis, as

they outline the position of different Community institutions on the issue of student mobility generally, and on individual proposals specifically. This is not to suggest that a review of working papers, opinions and position statements provides an accurate reflection of reality. Documents also construct reality and versions of it. According to May (1993, pp.149-150) "What people decide to record, to leave in or take out, is itself informed by decisions which relate to the social, political and economic environment of which they are a part of." Documentary analysis must therefore incorporate an examination of the wider environment of which the documents are a product. While it follows that all documents leave out information, this is particularly true for many Community documents which are produced in view of their publication in the Official Journals. A considerable effort is geared towards offering a consensual viewpoint. Much remains undisclosed. However, by examining a range of documents over a period of time, in the wider social, economic and political context and by scrutinising them at two levels, to gauge both the literal and deeper meaning (Macdonald and Tipton, 1994), it becomes possible to analyse the documents and their content as the outcome of power struggles between competing and conflicting interests. Documentary analysis can provide insight into the exercise of power. The recommendations and proposals forwarded to the Council of Ministers and European Council by the Commission, and the decision finally adopted, provide considerable insight into the varying priorities of, and power relationships between, the different institutions in the Community.

Documentary analysis cannot facilitate an appreciation of the discussion, interaction and dynamics which result in a final Decision, Resolution, Conclusion or Recommendation at the Community level, since the meetings of the Council of Ministers and European Council, where final decisions are adopted, remain shrouded in secrecy. This precludes an analysis of the role and influence of key

actors. The secrecy does not prevent the researcher from critically analysing the formulation of student mobility policy as a product of interaction between different institutions. Nor does it preclude an examination of policy impacts. Evaluations of Community student mobility programmes by Smith (1979), Burn et al. (1990), Oppen et al. (1990) and Baron and Smith (1987); Maiworm et al. (1990, 1991, 1993a, 1993b) can be re-examined from the perspective of the models and concepts in the policy analysis literature. In particular, the application of the policy implementation literature helps to explain the reasons for the diversity in policy outputs and outcomes at the institutional level, most explicitly recognised by Baron, 1993; Oppen and Teichler, 1990 and Oppen et al., 1990. Importantly, documentary analysis forms an integral part of the main body of analysis, complementing the primary data-collection, and providing insight into another facet of the whole picture. This is also true of the statistical analysis which was undertaken contemporaneously with the documentary analysis. Re-working student mobility statistics for the purpose of policy analysis provides equally interesting and, otherwise unavailable insights into policy impacts on student mobility flows in the European Communities and Union. However, as is evident below, examining statistics is not without its problems.

2.4.2 Statistical Analysis

Any exploration of student mobility policy impacts could not be considered complete without some examination of the amount and type of student mobility stimulated by Community student mobility policies. An initial investigation into the availability of statistics revealed that several organisations, including EUROSTAT, the Institute of Policy Research and the International Association for Educational and Vocational Information (AIISUP) produced statistical tables

relating to study abroad. Each organisation, however, focused on providing a snapshot of student mobility flows at a particular point in time. As a result statistics were available at four points, namely 1974/78, 1978/80, 1988/89 and 1989/91. It was impossible from the available statistics to ascertain developments in student mobility flows between 1980 and 1988. A systematic review of developments in student mobility flows in the EU clearly required data for other academic years. As a result, the researcher had to consult the student mobility statistics produced by UNESCO, which annually reviews the mobility figures of the 50 main student importing countries in the world. First, the data for Community countries had to be extracted from the general figures and worked into matrices similar to those produced by the other agencies. Only then was it possible to undertake a time-series analysis of student mobility by analysing the amount of mobility at particular points of reference, namely 1974/78; 1978/80; 1982/83; 1983/85; 1988/89 and 1989/91. The non-standard time-spans for each reference point (such as 1974/78 and 1989/91) can be explained by the fact that many countries do not produce student mobility statistics on an annual basis. As a result, the researcher must find an academic year when most countries have produced student mobility statistics and then include mobility figures for the remaining countries from adjacent academic years. To illustrate this point, Table H in Appendix 4 is a matrix produced by AII SUP. For the majority of the countries (Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, and Luxembourg) the figures relate to the 1975/76 academic year. However, the figures for the UK correspond with the 1974/75 academic year and for Italy with the 1977/78 academic year. In precise terms, the matrix therefore provides an overview of student mobility flows between 1974/78. The same phenomenon applies to all the matrices at each of our reference points.

Notwithstanding, the limitations of combining into a single matrix data from different academic years - an issue taken up in greater detail in the next Chapter - the different data sources provided six reference points between 1974 and 1991. Statistics beyond 1991, whilst available, were incomplete. For example, Teichler (1996) and Gordon and Jallade (1996) have produced data on student mobility for the 1993/94 academic year, by analysing statistics sent by ERASMUS co-ordinators to the Commission and by approaching national agencies responsible for collecting statistics, but they do not consider exchange mobility outside of the Community programmes in their calculations. As a result, the data can be included in Chapter Three, but not as an integral part of the main body of statistical analysis. In contrast, there are no student mobility statistics relating to the period prior to 1974. Although the relatively limited period for statistical analysis between 1974 to 1994 appears problematic at first sight - since the thesis sets out to explore student mobility from a policy analysis perspective from 1946 to 1996 - the lack of developments in the area of student mobility policy, between 1946 and 1974 diminishes the need to examine the developments in student flows as policy impacts.

The researcher encountered several more problems while analysing the available statistical material. Most importantly, it became apparent that the statistics could only provide an estimate of mobility flows in the EU. While the reasons for this are addressed in considerable detail in the next Chapter dealing specifically with student mobility policy impacts on student flows, some of the problems in acquiring an accurate picture of levels of student mobility can be identified in the context of the difficulties the researcher encountered whilst attempting to acquire an overview of student mobility in Great Britain. In particular, Department for Education (DfE) statistics relating to incoming EU mobility to Great Britain, on close examination, revealed several shortcomings in definitions and data collection

methodologies, which undermined the exactness of the data. First, the DfE defines the national status of students according to their place of domicile, with EU students residing in Great Britain for a minimum of three years or more being regarded as home students. EU students resident in Britain for a significant period of time, but less than three years, therefore appear in the statistics, although they are by no means 'mobile'. Second, the figures only include those EU students present during the autumn term when the count is undertaken. Some free-floaters and ERASMUS students absent during the count are therefore excluded. Moreover, as with many other EU national agencies, the DfE makes no distinction between free-floaters, transfer students, mid-study transfer students and exchange students. Despite considerable effort to discern the levels of the different types of mobility, it proved impossible for the researcher to identify with any confidence the relative balance between each type of mobility. This is an issue taken-up further in Chapter Three. In fact, numerous telephone conversations with statisticians in UNESCO, EUROSTAT and the Institute of Policy Research confirmed that data relating to the different types of mobility was not collected, partly because the distinctions rarely arose as an issue at a policy level. In short, the many caveats suggested that available statistics mapping incoming student mobility to Great Britain and the EU as a whole would have to be analysed with some caution.

An analysis of the data was possible nonetheless. The EUROSTAT, AIISUP and Institute of Policy Research student mobility matrices, combined with the newly-created UNESCO tables, provided a comprehensive snapshot into Community student mobility flows at fairly regular intervals. On some occasions it was even possible to use data from different sources to triangulate mobility flows for a particular academic year. Not surprisingly, in view of the statistical caveats, significant differences emerged between separate data-sets, which could not

always be accommodated by potential margins of difference. Since data collection methodologies of the agencies are not always explicit it was difficult to identify the reasons for this. It was equally difficult deciding whether to include student mobility data for countries, if they were not a member of the Communities during a particular reference point. For example, the AIISUP data relating to the 1974/78 academic years does not include data for Greece, Spain and Portugal since these countries had not yet acceded to the EC. Yet, whilst compiling data from the UNESCO statistics, it was practicable to include Spain and Portugal in the 1982/83 matrix, in spite of the fact that both countries acceded to the Community three years later in 1986. In the event, to maintain consistency and bearing in mind that the thesis primarily focused on student mobility policy in the EU, Spain and Portugal were excluded from the statistical analysis until 1986. Significantly, since Sweden acceded to the EU in 1996, it was excluded altogether by the researcher from the statistical analysis in Chapter Three. Although this appeared problematic at first, especially in view of the fact that Sweden is also a case study country, in practice levels of mobility between Sweden and EU countries are negligible. The latest available figures corresponding with the 1991/92 academic year show that only 2,100 Swedish students were studying in EC countries and 1,900 EC students were enrolled in Sweden (UNESCO, 1995).

2.5 Writing-Up

The thesis is written in a relatively impersonal style. The interview material, documentary analysis and secondary literature have been combined to present and sustain the analysis. At the same time, effort has been made to ensure the reader is able to differentiate between the different sources. Quotes have been used in Chapters Four and Five to elucidate the arguments and to support and complement

the commentary. However, the rejection by some interviewees of a tape recording of the interview has meant an absence of direct quotations with reference to Fachhochschule Trier, University of Bonn, Dublin City University and Complutense University. In the case of the interview with the official at the Spanish Ministry of Education, care has been taken to translate the material verbatim from Spanish to English for the purpose of quoting.

The distinction between the intergovernmental, national and institutional levels of policy-making provided the basis for Chapter headings. Thus, determining the Chapters for the thesis proved relatively straight-forward. In contrast, the organisation of the material within the Chapters proved considerably more difficult as the writing-up process was complicated by several factors. To begin with the writing-up of the thesis commenced prior to the collection and analysis of the main body of secondary data. Thus, secondary data collection, analysis and writing-up became a simultaneous process with one re-inforcing the other. The writing-up - which is itself a form of analysis and a process of discovery - directed the secondary data collection and the data collection and analysis determined the writing-up. The availability of new material required a continuous refinement of arguments and a clarification of the relationship between the primary and secondary data in the context of the analytical framework.

Constantly changing policy at the Community and national governmental level also complicated the writing-up of the thesis. The availability of new policy documents required a continual need to re-write Chapter Four, especially with reference to developments in Community student mobility policy and to note changes in case study government higher education policy in Chapter Five. As an integral element of the documentary analysis, the Times Higher newspaper provided an accessible reference allowing the researcher to keep abreast of

developments in higher education policy. Equally, the statistical Chapter was subjected to several up-dates as new, more recent figures on student mobility became available. On each occasion the relationship between the quantitative and qualitative data had to be subjected to further analysis in Chapter Six. The increasing size of the statistical Chapter eventually forced the researcher to relegate the more detailed analysis to Appendix 4. In this way, the production of each draft of the thesis led to greater clarification of the arguments, the discovery of new associations between data-sets and the discarding of material mainly of a descriptive nature in favour of more analytical commentary. The result in the case of the next Chapter is an analysis of student mobility flows in the EU at six selected reference points between 1974 and 1994.

Chapter Three

Student Mobility Flows in the European Communities and Union

Chapter Three

Student Mobility Flows in the European Communities and Union

3.1 Introduction

This Chapter seeks to provide a time-series data analysis of undergraduate student mobility flows in the European Communities and Union between 1974 and 1991. To this end, the Chapter engages data on student mobility to examine and evaluate the trends, patterns and exceptions in Community student flows between 1974 and 1991. By highlighting policy outcomes, which are subsequently explained in the following Chapters, and particularly in Chapter Six, this Chapter completes the process initiated in Chapter One of establishing the context, highlighting the issues, and raising the questions for the main body of the thesis.

3.2 Data Sources and their Limitations

Student mobility statistics are collected and compiled by several different agencies in Europe. EU student flows are most comprehensively documented by the statistical branches of international governmental agencies such as UNESCO and the European Union. UNESCO produces a Statistical Yearbook containing figures on student flows, while the European Union both commissions independent research and publishes information collected by its statistical division, EUROSTAT. However, acquiring an accurate picture of the extent of student

mobility remains extremely difficult, since at a national level, where the statistics are collected and subsequently collated by UNESCO and EUROSTAT, very few responsible agencies and/or Ministries of Education update their student mobility statistics annually. In fact, the most recent count in many EU countries was undertaken for the 1991/92 academic year, but the figures for Belgium and Greece relate to 1990 and to 1989 for Portugal (Eurostat, 1995). This creates certain problems for the statistical analysis presented here which have already been discussed in Chapter Two.

It is also impossible to obtain an idea of the prevalence of different types of mobility from available statistics. Statistics collected from institutions by national agencies in most cases make no distinction between transfer and mid-study transfer students, free-floaters and exchange students. In fact, since the definitions are not standardised it would be difficult at present for these agencies to collect status-specific statistics on European students or for institutions to produce them. Consequently, organisations and agencies such as UNESCO and EUROSTAT, which are dependent on the information provided by national governments, deal only with total mobility figures. This, of course, reflects the policy concerns of politicians, civil servants and practitioners which, as indicated in the previous Chapter, results in the relative neglect of free-movement.

In June 1990, the European Commission financed the Institute of Policy Research in Leiden to quantify student mobility in the EU, excluding students participating in ERASMUS. By consulting national and higher education institutional sources in member states, the Leiden researchers uncovered a number of inconsistencies in the available data, which cast further doubt on the reliability and accuracy of the statistics produced by national agencies and governments and which are used by organisations such as UNESCO. Most notably, the Institute of Policy Research

realised that member states employ different definitions to categorise 'foreign' students. In all EU countries, except Ireland and the UK, students are classified as 'foreign' if they hold a foreign passport. Although this seems reasonable at first glance, when combined with the peculiarities of different national situations, the figures on student mobility can be heavily distorted, so that about 35% of the 'foreign' student body in the Netherlands, for example, consists of long term immigrants with Dutch secondary school leaving qualifications. Some German Länder (regional governments) also require institutions under their aegis to classify immigrants with German secondary qualifications as 'foreign' students. The result is an over-estimation of levels of student mobility in the Communities. At the same time, the Leiden researchers discovered that institutions in France, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal and Luxembourg exclude ERASMUS students from the total EU student numbers, resulting in an under-estimation of total levels of mobility. Even where countries include ERASMUS students in their total numbers, only those present during the count which is undertaken at the institutional level are included. This again suggests an element of under-estimation in total mobility flows.

In summary, the inconsistent availability of up-to-date statistics, the use of different definitions by member states to categorise EU students, the failure to distinguish exchange, transfer and free-movement students and the inclusion of ERASMUS students by some countries and not by others, requires that the available statistics mapping EU student mobility must be analysed with caution. Indeed, the figures below provide an overview of general patterns and of the scale of student mobility, rather than a detailed and precise picture of student flows.

3.3 Developments in Student Mobility Flows 1974/1991: Trends, Patterns and Exceptions

Despite the caveats, student mobility statistics can be used to reveal the general trends and patterns in student mobility flows between 1974 and 1991. While existing student mobility matrices compiled and published by EUROSTAT, the International Association for Educational and Vocational Information (AIISUP) and the Institute of Policy Research, provide useful insights into student flows in the Communities, especially for the 1970s, it is the student mobility data published annually in the UNESCO Statistical Yearbook which chiefly provides the material for the time-series data analysis. Together, the different sources offer six reference points (1974/78, 1978/80, 1982/83, 1983/85, 1988/89 and 1989/91). Corresponding with each reference point is a student mobility matrix in Appendix 4, accommodating an overview of the import and export of students between member state countries. This section synthesises the material in Appendix 4 to highlight several trends in student mobility flows between 1974 and 1991:

- Student mobility increased in absolute terms between 1974 and 1991;
- Student mobility also increased in relative terms *vis-à-vis* the growth in higher education student numbers between 1974 and 1991;
- Most countries experienced an increase in both student imports and exports between 1974 and 1991, but there were exceptions;
- By the mid-1980s, flows in student mobility became less predictable, and established flows between countries were compromised;
- The movement of students creates 'net importing' and 'net exporting' countries and imbalances in student flows.

The remainder of this section presents and analyses each of the five trends, in greater detail, in the process establishing the questions to be addressed in the remainder of the thesis.

3.3.1 Student Mobility: An Increasing Phenomenon

During the course of the 1980s, intra-Community student mobility increased with a degree of consistency. Table A shows that student flows increased fivefold from 21,679 in 1974/78 to 113,806 by 1989/91. It is evident in Table A that the proportional increase in total mobility varied at each of our reference points (1978/80; 1982/83; 1983/85; 1988/89; 1989/91). For example, mobility increased by only 15% from 21,679 in 1974/78 to 24,837 in 1978/80, and then by an overwhelming 106% between 1978/80 and 1982/83 from 24,837 students to 51,288. However, a majority of the 106% increase in student mobility was accounted for by the accession of Greece to the EC in 1981. In the absence of Greek student flows, amounting to 23,783 students, or nearly half of overall mobility in 1982/83, student flows in the EC only grew by 10% between 1978/80 and 1982/83. By 1983/85 student mobility in the EC had increased by a further 30% from 51,288 to 66,545 students. This was followed by an increase of 33% by 1988/89, although on this occasion, 24% of the additional students were accounted for by the Spanish and Portuguese accession to the EC. For the period 1983/85 to 1988/89, mobility therefore only increased by 7%. Finally, the period 1988/89 to 1989/91 witnessed an increase of 28% in Community student mobility. In other words, at each of our reference points mobility increased by 15%, 10%, 30%, 7% and 28% respectively. The thesis will seek to examine the extent to which the continual increase in student mobility between 1974 and 1991, and in particular the more spectacular increase of 30% from 1978/80 to 1982/83 and of 28% from 1988/89 to 1989/91 was a function of student mobility policy and practice in the Communities.

Table A: Developments in Student Mobility (1974/1991)

Imports	1974-78	1978-80	1982-83	1983-85	1988-89	1989-91	Exports	1974-78	1978-80	1982-83	1983-85	1988-89	1989-91
B	2916	2120	4509	9398	15128	13051	B	1264	1086	1104	2339	3084	4183
DK	730	684	690	694	878	1096	DK	454	382	364	670	985	1574
F	6480	7569	9337	13563	18800	23879	F	3200	3553	4098	5832	8559	15256
G	6750	8783	16710	17542	22019	27048	G	3641	5321	7619	9464	12660	17436
GR			139				GR			23783	25783	19871	21006
IRL	993	994	1429	1087	1273	1768	IRL	746	547	438	1244	2338	6416
IT	845	1319	14664	14664	9212	8316	IT	2911	3407	3029	7680	11874	12895
LUX	25	14					LUX	1969	1675	1504	3085	3848	3695
NL	693	1054	1947	2259	3776	4078	NL	2554	3719	3070	4762	5531	6689
P					340	340	P					4546	5578
SP					4056	4435	SP					8500	10348
UK	2247	2300	1863	7338	13111	29795	UK	4185	5147	6225	5686	6797	8730
Total	21679	24837	51288	66545	88593	113806	Total	21679	24837	51288	66545	88593	113806

Compiled from UNESCO Statistical Yearbooks, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1993, 1994; EUROSTAT, 1982; AII SUP, 1979.

3.3.2 Increases in Student Mobility Relative to Developments in Higher Education Student Numbers

An analysis of developments in total levels of student mobility becomes even more meaningful when undertaken in the context of developments in higher education student numbers in Community countries. Table B shows that student numbers in the EC increased from 4,438,110 in 1974/78 to 8,865,827 by 1989/91, or by almost 100% between 1974 and 1991.

Table B: Developments in Total Student Numbers (1974/1991)

	1974-78	1978-80	1982-83	1983-85	1988-89	1989-91
B	171746	194840	219591	240050	260608	276248
DK	109791	105933	110731	114678	126662	142619
F	1035639	1052544	1179268	1226066	1477084	1708826
G	1013534	1162304	1405478	1513741	1686725	1795549
GR	-	-	137453	166124	187644	249867
IRL	44889	50438	64116	67413	81133	92181
IT	1014113	1098744	1090775	1162533	1296298	1447914
NL	301388	346593	379047	393172	415847	469973
P	-	-	-	-	209818	177773
SP	-	-	-	-	1101297	1230993
UK	747010	804931	980538	1013209	1113341	1273884
Total	4438110	4816327	5566997	5896986	7956457	8865827

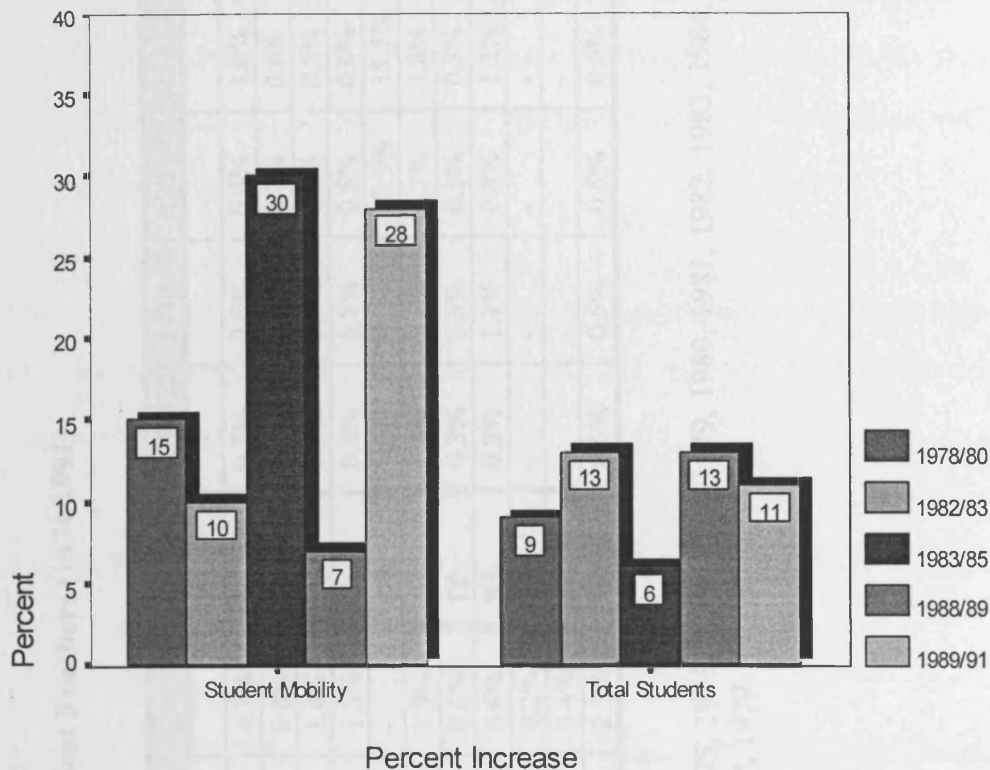
Compiled from UNESCO Statistical Yearbooks, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1993, 1994.

Table B confirms that the growth in total student numbers during the period 1974 to 1991 was less exceptional compared with the increase in student mobility in the corresponding period. Indeed, it is apparent in Table B that at each of our five reference points (1978/80; 1982/83; 1983/85; 1988/89; 1989/91) the number of higher education students in the Community increased respectively by 9%, 16%,

6%, 35% and 11%. Once again however, the accession of Greece to the EC in 1981, and of Spain and Portugal in 1986 exaggerate actual increases at two of our reference points. Higher education student numbers increased by 13%, rather than by 16% in 1982/83 if Greek students are discounted, and again only by 13% rather than 35% in 1988/89 with the exclusion of Spain and Portugal from the analysis. Total student numbers therefore increased by a more modest 9%, 13%, 6%, 13% and 11% respectively at each of our reference points.

Diagram 2 charts the increase in student mobility at each of our five reference points in the context of the growth in total student numbers in the Communities, taking the 1974/78 statistics as a base. It is clear from Diagram 2 that the proportional growth in student mobility outstripped the corresponding increases in higher education student numbers at three of the five reference points. This thesis is most interested in explaining the significant growth in student mobility from 1982/83 to 1983/85, and from 1988/89 to 1989/91, relative to the less spectacular increases in higher education student numbers in the same period. Interestingly, the period from 1982/83 to 1983/85 and from 1988/89 to 1989/91 witnessed a significant increase in student mobility relative to the growth in total numbers of higher education students.

Diagram 2: Increases in Student Mobility and Growth in Total Numbers of Higher Education Students (1974/91)



3.3.3 Student Imports/Exports Relative to Total Student Numbers: Individual Country Analysis

Table C, as a synthesis of Tables A and B, presents an overview of incoming and outgoing mobility for each individual country as a proportion of total student numbers. This facilitates two forms of analysis. First, the relative balance between national students and incoming student mobility can be gauged over a period of seventeen years. Second, it becomes possible to appreciate the extent to which students of a particular country acquire their higher education in other member state countries relative to the numbers who study in the home higher education system.

Table C Student Imports/Exports Relative to Total Student Numbers (1974/1991)

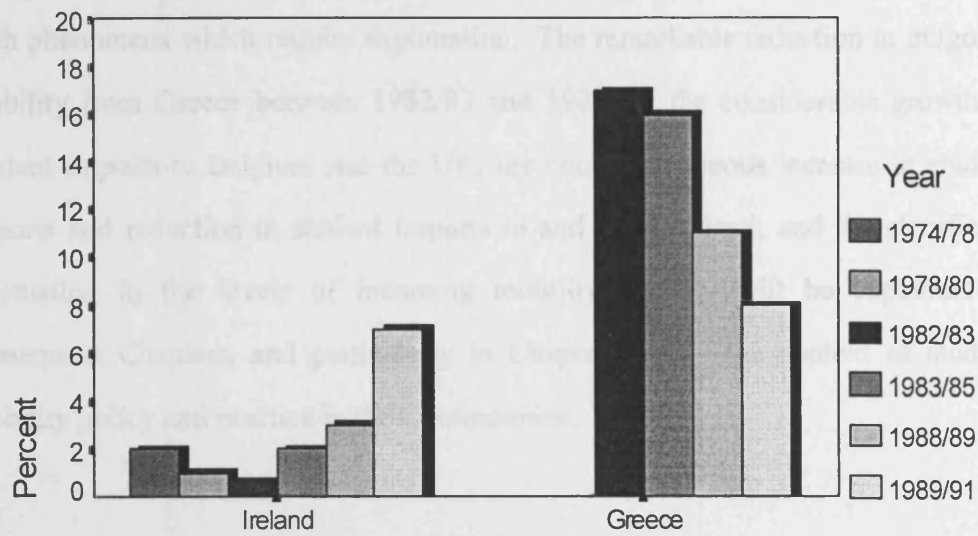
Imports	1974-78	1978-80	1982-83	1983-85	1988-89	1989-91	Exports	1974-78	1978-80	1982-83	1983-85	1988-89	1989-91
B	1.7%	1.1%	2.1%	3.9%	5.8%	4.7%	B	0.7%	0.6%	0.5%	1.0%	1.2%	1.5%
DK	0.7%	0.6%	0.6%	0.6%	0.7%	0.8%	DK	0.4%	0.4%	0.3%	0.6%	0.8%	1.1%
F	0.6%	0.7%	0.8%	1.1%	1.3%	1.4%	F	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%	0.5%	0.6%	0.9%
G	0.7%	0.8%	1.2%	1.2%	1.3%	1.5%	G	0.4%	0.5%	0.5%	0.6%	0.8%	1.0%
GR	-	-	-	-	-	-	GR	-	-	17.3%	15.5%	10.6%	8.4%
IRL	2.2%	2.0%	2.2%	1.6%	1.6%	1.9%	IRL	1.7%	1.1%	0.7%	1.8%	2.9%	7.0%
IT	0.1%	0.1%	1.3%	1.3%	0.7%	0.6%	IT	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%	0.7%	0.9%	0.9%
NL	0.2%	0.3%	0.5%	0.6%	0.9%	0.9%	NL	0.8%	1.1%	0.8%	1.2%	1.3%	1.4%
P	-	-	-	-	0.2%	0.2%	P	-	-	-	-	2.2%	3.1%
SP	-	-	-	-	0.4%	0.4%	SP	-	-	-	-	0.8%	0.8%
UK	0.3%	0.3%	0.2%	0.7%	1.2%	2.3%	UK	0.6%	0.6%	0.6%	0.6%	0.6%	0.7%

Compiled from UNESCO Statistical Yearbooks, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1993, 1994; EUROSTAT, 1982; AISUP, 1979.

It is evident in Table C that most member states both exported and accommodated an increasing proportion of students relative to the total student population between 1974 and 1991. In real terms, some countries witnessed either spectacular increases in incoming and/or outgoing mobility or an overall reduction in the proportion of student mobility between 1974 and 1991 in an environment otherwise characterised by moderate expansion in student flows. The most noteworthy exceptions, which are illustrated in Diagrams 3 and 4, include:

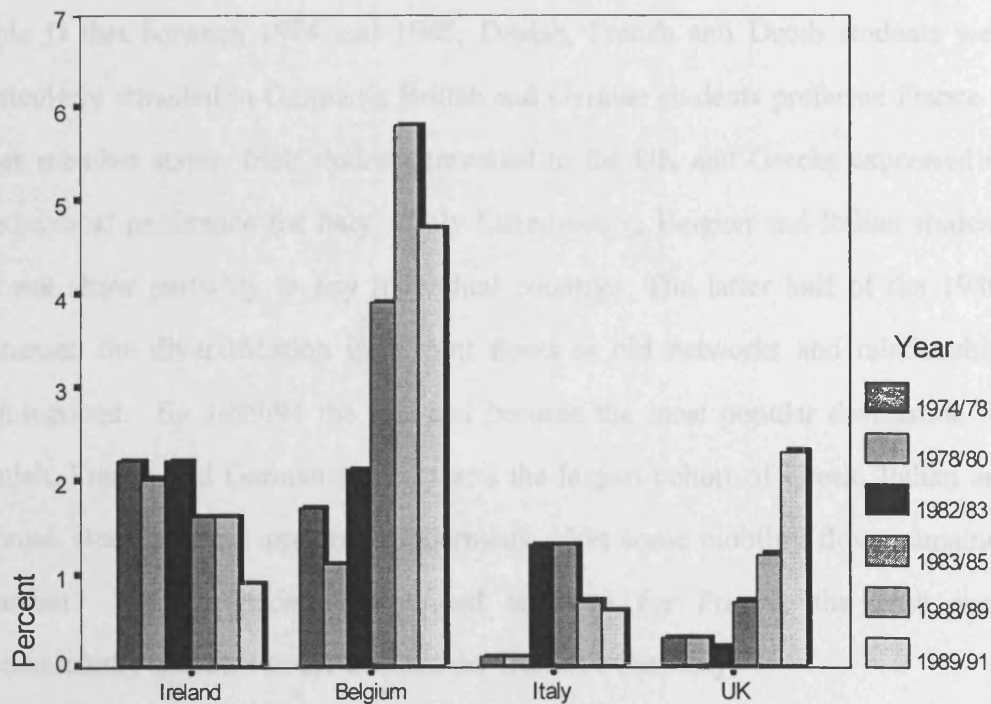
- The decline in Greek student exports which as a proportion of Greek higher education students represented 17.3% in 1982/83, but only 8.4% of the total student population by 1989/91;
- The decline in student imports to Ireland representing 2.2% of the total Irish student population in 1974/78 and only 1.9% by 1989/91;
- The increase in student imports to Belgium from 1.7% of the total Belgian student population in 1974/78 to an impressive 4.7% by 1989/91;
- The increase in student imports to Italy from 0.1% in 1974/78 to 0.6% of the total Italian student population by 1989/91;
- The expansion in student imports to the UK from just 0.3% in 1974/78 to 2.3% of all UK higher education students by 1989/91; and,
- The increase in Irish student exports, which as a proportion of all Irish higher education students represented 2.9% in 1974/78, but more than doubling to 7.0% by 1989/91.

Diagram 3: Exceptional Trends in Student Exports (1974/1991)



Developments in Mobility

Diagram 4: Exceptional Trends in Student Imports (1974/91)



Developments in Mobility

The exceptions illustrated in Diagrams 3 and 4 inevitably provide the researcher with phenomena which require explanation. The remarkable reduction in outgoing mobility from Greece between 1982/83 and 1989/91; the considerable growth in student imports to Belgium and the UK; the contemporaneous increase in student exports and reduction in student imports to and from Ireland; and the significant fluctuation in the levels of incoming mobility to Italy will be explained in subsequent Chapters, and particularly in Chapter Six, in the context of student mobility policy and practice in the Communities.

3.3.4 Flows in Student Mobility and the Diversification Process

Table D provides both an overview of the most popular destinations for different nationalities and insight into the nationalities most prevalent in any given member state at each of the six reference points between 1974 and 1991. It is evident in Table D that between 1974 and 1985, Danish, French and Dutch students were particularly attracted to Germany; British and German students preferred France to other member states; Irish students travelled to the UK and Greeks expressed an unequivocal preference for Italy. Only Luxembourg, Belgian and Italian students did not show partiality to any individual country. The latter half of the 1980s witnessed the diversification in student flows as old networks and relationships disintegrated. By 1989/91 the UK had become the most popular destination for Danish, French and German students and the largest cohort of Greek, Italian and Spanish students were attracted to Germany. Yet some mobility flows remained steadfast. British students continued to head for France, the Irish were predominantly attracted to the UK and the Dutch to Germany.

Table D: Most Popular Destinations for Different Nationalities (1974/1991)

Importers	1974-78	1978-80	1982-83	1983-85	1988-89	1989-91	Exporters	1974-78	1978-80	1982-83	1983-85	1988-89	1989-91
B	NL	NL	NL	IT	IT	IT	B	F	G	G	F	F	F
DK	-	G	G	G	G	G	DK	G	G	G	G	G	UK
F	G	G	GR	GR	G	G	F	G	G	G	G	G	UK
G	F	F	GR	GR	GR	GR	G	F	F	F	F	F	UK
GR							GR			I	I	I	G
IRL	UK	UK	UK	UK	UK	UK	IRL	UK	UK	UK	UK	UK	UK
IT	G	G	GR	GR	GR	GR	IT	F	F	G	B	B	G
LUX							LUX	F	F	G	B	B	B
NL	G	G	G	G	G	G	NL	G	G	G	G	G	G
P							P					F	F
SP					F	F	SP					F	G
UK	G	G	GR	GR	G	G	UK	F	F	F	F	G	F

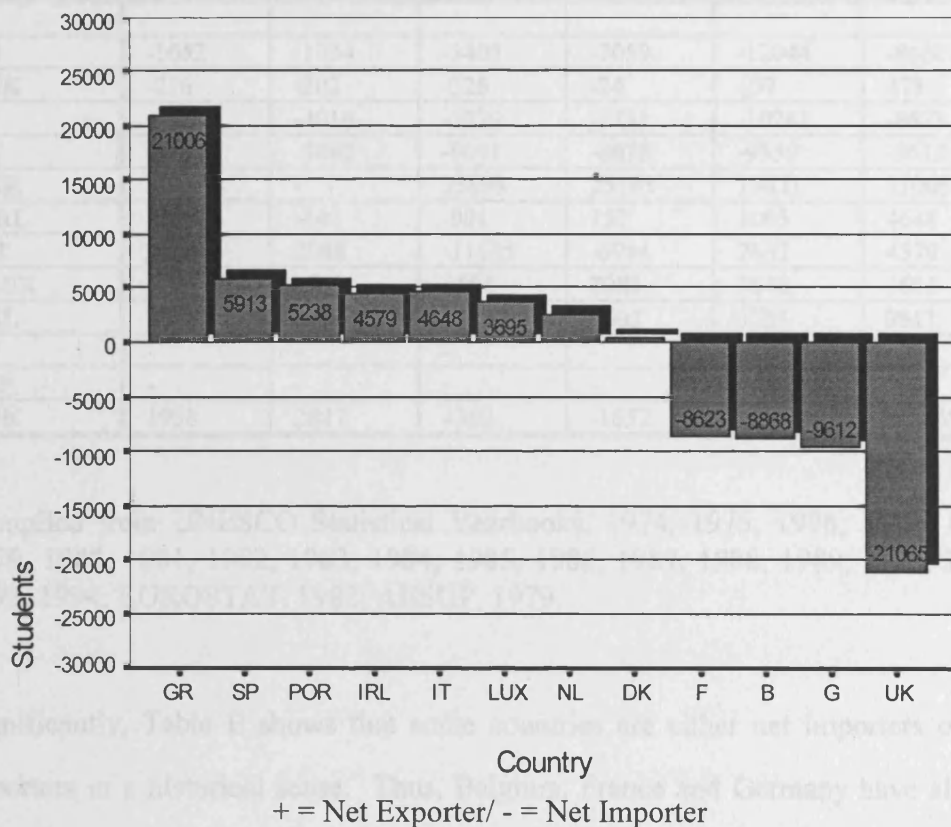
Compiled from UNESCO Statistical Yearbooks, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1993, 1994; EUROSTAT, 1982; AHSUP, 1979.

Incoming mobility to the member states experienced similar tendencies. Between 1974 and 1991 only Denmark and the Netherlands managed continuously to attract their largest group of students from Germany, while Ireland witnessed its largest influx of students from the UK. The remaining nations experienced the effects of the diversification process. To underline the point, during the first half of the 1980s, the Dutch outnumbered all other nationalities in Belgian higher education, but from 1985, Italian students were most prominent in Belgium, whilst German students displaced Greek students in French and UK higher education from 1988/89. The forces driving the process of disintegration, and the apparent ability of some relationships to be unharmed by these pressures, is taken up in Chapter Six during a consideration of student mobility policy outputs.

3.3.5 Importing and Exporting Nations and Imbalances in Student Flows

The fact that some countries experience a significant inflow of students without a commensurate amount of outgoing mobility, and other countries export more students than they import, creates 'net importing' and 'net exporting' countries. Diagram 5, corresponding with Table P in Appendix 4, illustrates the scale of imbalances in 1989/91.

Diagram 5: The Balance of Incoming and Outgoing Students in the European Community 1989/91



Source: Compiled from statistics published in UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1993 and 1994.

It is apparent that the UK, Germany, Belgium and France 'imported' more students than they 'exported' in 1989/91, while Greece, Spain, Portugal, Ireland, Italy and Luxembourg experienced the reverse. Only the Netherlands and Denmark experienced some balance in student mobility flows. A time-series based analysis of imbalances in student flows confirms that some countries have actually changed from net importers to net exporters as well as the reverse. This is evident in Table E.

Table E: Imbalances in Student Flows: Individual Country Analysis (1974/1991)

	1974-78	1978-80	1982-83	1983-85	1988-89	1989-91
B	-1652	-1034	-3405	-7059	-12044	-8868
DK	-276	-302	-326	-24	107	478
F	-3280	-4016	-5239	-7731	-10241	-8623
G	-3109	-3462	-9091	-8078	-9359	-9612
GR	-	-	23698	25783	19871	21006
IRL	-247	-447	-991	157	1065	4648
IT	2066	2088	-11635	-6984	2662	4579
LUX	1944	1661	1504	3085	3848	3695
NL	1861	2665	1123	2503	1755	2611
P	-	-	-	-	4206	5238
SP	-	-	-	-	4444	5913
UK	1938	2847	4362	-1652	-6314	-21065

Compiled from UNESCO Statistical Yearbooks, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1993, 1994; EUROSTAT, 1982; AII SUP, 1979.

Significantly, Table E shows that some countries are either net importers or net exporters in a historical sense. Thus, Belgium, France and Germany have always entertained negative imbalances, while student exports from Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Greece, Spain and Portugal have exceeded imports throughout the period in question. Only Denmark, Ireland, Italy and the UK have experienced varying fortunes between 1974 and 1991. In practice, the Danish experience does not require any detailed analysis since Denmark changed from a net importer of 276 students in 1974/78 to a net exporter of 478 students by 1989/91. The numbers involved are negligible. Ireland, Italy and the UK cannot be dismissed as easily since they experienced more significant shifts in mobility flows. Indeed:

- Ireland changed from a net importer of 247 students in 1974/78 to a net exporter of 4,648 students by 1989/91;

- From a net exporter of 2,066 students in 1974/78, Italy was by 1982/83 entertaining a deficit of 11,635 students, only to recover to a positive balance of 4,579 students by 1989/91; and,
- From a net exporter of 1,938 students in 1974/78 the UK was entertaining a deficit of 21,065 students by 1989/91.

The issue of net importing and net exporting countries, and the factors and reasons behind the phenomenon are fully explored in the remainder of this thesis. The experiences of Ireland, Italy and the UK are specifically addressed. Suffice to say at this point that the existence of importing and exporting countries has many ramifications for the development of student mobility policy at all policy-making levels. In fact, as will become apparent in Chapters Four and Five, the existence of imbalances in student flows is perhaps the most important and powerful consideration, directing student mobility policy and practice in the Communities and Union.

3.4 The Balance Between Exchange and Free-Movement Mobility

From the analysis presented so far it is impossible to discern the relative prevalence of exchange and free-movement mobility in the EU. In fact, it has already been established in the statistical caveats, that it is extremely difficult to quantify mobility predicated on free-movement. However, in 1994, the Commission Directorate General XXII requested the European Institute of Education and Social Policy (EIESP) to measure free-movement mobility in the EU (Gordon and Jallade, 1996). By focusing on students registered in EU universities through standard

procedures, and by taking account of students of long-term immigration, a network of consultants working in close co-operation with national statistical offices in home countries, calculated that there were 80,795 free-movement students in the EU in 1993/94. The results can be found in Table F. During the same year, actual ERASMUS mobility was calculated at 56,000 students (Teichler, 1996). This would suggest that free-movement mobility was more prevalent than exchange mobility. The figures do not, however, take account of other Community exchange programmes and the mobility they stimulate. For example, The Action Programme to Promote Foreign Language Competence in the Community (LINGUA) supported 5,550 students in 1993/94 and the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) a further 1,600 students which could increase exchange mobility to around 63,150 (Teichler, 1996). In fact, if exchange mobility driven by staff and institutions without the support of a third party such as the EU is included, total exchange mobility could be anywhere in the region of 70,000 students. In other words, in 1993/94 approximately 150,795 students were mobile in the EU, representing an increase of 33% from 1989/91. Around 54% of total mobility in the EU in 1993/94 was predicated on free-movement.

A brief analysis of Table F reveals that the UK accommodated 32,405, or 40% of total free-movement mobility in the EU during 1992/93. French, Greek, German and Irish students were particularly evident. France proved to be the other significant host of EU free-movement students. Meanwhile, Greece, Germany and France experienced high levels of outgoing mobility, especially to the UK. The reasons for these flows are fully investigated in Chapter Six, which seeks to explain many of the phenomena noted in this Chapter.

Table F: Free-Movement Mobility in the EU 1993/94

Origin	B	DK	F	G	GR	I	IRL	LUX	NL	P	SP	UK	Total
Host													
B (Fr)	-	15	1120	191	372	254	30	612	34	126	380	82	3216
B (NI)	-	9	39	116	93	46	21	3	1145	28	63	49	1612
DK	4	-	19	200	9	12	1	1	12	6	12	53	329
F	965	379	-	5137	2619	2252	498	913	614	792	2112	3535	19824
G *	327	93	1867	-	2325	1142	175	862	291	131	929	765	8907
GR *	0	3	8	38	-	12	2	0	4	2	0	2	71
I	162	25	458	1036	4585	-	18	21	75	19	108	278	6785
IRL	132	39	385	613	38	177	-		114	25	276	403	2202
LUX								-					
NL	150	15	61	329	13	74	0	0	-	6	63	47	758
P *										-			1134
SP	178	26	1074	1026	29	373	48	6	146	173	-	473	3552
UK *	1142	730	6257	6990	5937	2026	4499	0	1362	730	2732	-	32405
Total	3068	1334	11288	15676	16020	6368	5292	2418	3797	2038	6675	5687	80795

Source: Gordon and Jallade, 1996.

* 1992/93

3.5 Summary

This Chapter has identified the trends, patterns and exceptions in Community student mobility flows during the period 1974 to 1991. By collating and re-working statistics from the UNESCO Statistical Yearbooks it has been possible to build a preliminary picture of developments in student mobility over a seventeen year time-span. Although it has not proved feasible to distinguish between the distinct forms of mobility during the period 1974 to 1991, the analysis has nonetheless revealed several broad trends including the increasing levels of student mobility both in absolute terms and relative to the growth in higher education student numbers, the diversification in student flows, and the existence of net importing and net exporting countries. While the remainder of this thesis seeks to identify the factors behind the foregoing trends, it is useful at this point to underline the questions to be addressed in the substantial part of the study:

- What explains the increase in student mobility flows between 1974 and 1991, and the considerable increase between 1982/83 and 1983/85 and between 1988/89 and 1989/91?
- What factors account for the exceptional increases in incoming mobility to Belgium, Italy and the UK and outgoing mobility from Ireland and how can the reductions in Greek exports and Irish imports be explained in an environment of increasing student flows?
- What factors led to the disintegration in established student flows during the late 1980s, and why did some relationships withstand the phenomenon?

- What explains the existence of net importing and net exporting countries and how can the changing fortunes of Ireland, Italy and the UK be accounted for?
- To what extent can the foregoing trends and exceptions be identified as the outcome of different types of mobility - namely free-movement and exchange?

In subsequent Chapters an attempt will be made to assess the extent to which the trends, patterns and exceptions outlined above are the intended and unintended outcomes of student mobility policy in the EU. This is achieved through an analysis and appreciation of student mobility policy and its development, implementation and impacts. In practice, such an analysis shows that while student mobility policy and practice at the different levels of policy-making explain many of the developments in student flows, including the increases, diversification and imbalances in student mobility, other factors such as the personal circumstances of students, geography, language, culture, etc. also have a direct bearing on students' decisions to both study abroad and in terms of their destination. It is appropriate at this point to assume an examination of student mobility policy and practice in the Communities and Union between 1946 and 1996 beginning at the intergovernmental level.

Chapter Four

Student Mobility Policy Analysis at the Intergovernmental Level: 1946-1996

Chapter Four

Student Mobility Policy Analysis at the Intergovernmental Level (1946-1996)

4.1 Introduction

This Chapter specifically deals with student mobility policy at the intergovernmental level between 1946 and 1996. Its central purpose is to understand and analyse the emergence, development and implementation of student mobility policy at the intergovernmental level together with its impacts. Two key institutions provide the focus for the analysis: the Council of Europe which became involved in promoting student mobility immediately after the Second World War and the European Community/Union responsible for developing a significant student mobility policy between 1976 and 1996 including the ERASMUS programme. Since the student mobility policies of the Council of Europe failed to improve the conditions for mobility in Europe, Council policy is necessarily subjected to a relatively brief evaluation, primarily to establish the context for the Chapter. By examining the reasons for policy failure, it is possible to appreciate the immense task facing the EC in developing an effective and credible student mobility policy.

The majority of the Chapter is consequently devoted to an analysis of student mobility policy at the level of the Community which was much more successful in increasing the mobility of students within the EU and beyond. This is

achieved primarily through an analysis of policy documents, although some interview data is engaged to provide insight into the post-1987 period. The policy documents include the working papers and Communications of the Commission, the Opinions of the European Parliament and the Economic and Social Committee, the Resolutions, Conclusions, Decisions and Directives agreed by Education Ministers as well as the seminal verdicts of the European Court of Justice. The numerous policy evaluation reports, reviewed in Chapter One, also form an integral part of the documentary analysis. Importantly, when the primary and secondary data is examined in the context of a policy analysis framework, new perspectives are generated beyond what is available in the existing literature.

Most notably, the analysis shows that three key factors facilitate our understanding of the emergence, development, implementation and impact of student mobility policy at Community level. First, that student mobility policy at the intergovernmental level is the product of interaction between the different institutions comprising the Community. Thus, to understand student mobility policy formulation is to appreciate the policy aspirations of the key Community institutions and to examine their ability to achieve desired outcomes. An analysis of the shifting powers and resources of each institution shows how policy agendas vary over time. Indeed, institutions with relatively limited powers in the 1960s and 1970s became key players in the development of a Community student mobility policy during the course of the 1980s and 1990s as national governments conceded increasing powers to the EU as a whole. Second, as a product of the interplay between the different Community institutions, student mobility policy development at the Community level is the subject of incremental policy-making. The dispersion of power between several institutions encourages pluralist politics predicated on conflict, negotiation and compromise leading to incremental policy-making, although limited shifts in policy are infrequently

interspersed by 'fundamental' decisions. Third, an analysis of the implementation of Community policy and its impacts highlights the role of higher education institutions. This shows that higher education staff responsible for implementing student mobility policies significantly influence policy outputs, and precludes a standard student mobility experience for students. Importantly, this Chapter shows that to understand student mobility policy from its origins to its outcomes requires an analysis of the relative contribution of, and interaction between policy-makers situated at the intergovernmental, national and the institutional levels. Before assuming an analysis of student mobility policy at the intergovernmental level between 1946 and 1996, it is appropriate to review the conditions for student mobility following the Second World War.

4.2 The 1940s: An Era of Limited Mobility

In 1946 student mobility was a very limited phenomenon according to the Council of Europe (1989). Since no agencies collected mobility data at either a national or institutional level during the first three decades following the Second World War, it is impossible to ascertain precise levels of mobility. However, it is possible to appreciate the factors which made study abroad difficult. According to Kouwenaar (1994) during the course of the nineteenth century European higher education systems had largely abandoned their international orientation, which had facilitated mobility during medieval times. Moreover, a multiplicity of higher education systems had evolved, differing in their objectives, structures and qualifications resulting in conditions unfavourable to student mobility. In particular, students interested in academic mobility had to overcome:

- difficulties regarding the 'right' to reside and study in another country. Customs barriers, visa requirements and differential treatment generally compared with home students, were all characteristics of study abroad;
- problems with finance, since grants, loans and scholarships could not be transferred;
- the absence of a common language;
- intricacies surrounding the recognition of qualifications and periods of study;
- a lack of information about European higher education systems, qualifications and entry requirements.

In short, the climate in the 1940s was uncondusive for student mobility. The impetus to address the obstacles was also absent as policy-makers at the national level concentrated on re-building their economies which had been devastated by the Second World War. Student mobility as an issue finally permeated the agenda of policy-makers during the 1950s as a result of the efforts of the Council of Europe. In this context, the next section in this Chapter is devoted to an analysis of the content, objectives and outcomes of the student mobility policy of the Council of Europe.

4.3 The Council of Europe: 1946 - 1975

4.3.1 Student Mobility Policy Content, Objectives and Outcomes: 1946-1975

The Council of Europe was established by ten West European nations on 5 May 1949. The motive for its creation was essentially political, and its mission statement charged the Council with creating the conditions for international understanding, peace and co-operation. Importantly, from the beginning the Council equated educational co-operation and student mobility to its mission statement. In spite of limited resources and a legal mandate based on consent, which generally precludes the enforcement of sanctions against members who fail to enact or abide by 'agreed' policy, the Council strived to place the issue of student mobility onto the political agenda of higher education policy-makers at all levels throughout Western Europe.

In concrete terms, during the 1950s the Council focused its efforts on raising the issue of student mobility and enhancing awareness through publications and conferences, and promoting an exchange of information and good practice generally. The Council also identified the factors inhibiting student mobility, as set out above. This was followed by an attempt by the Council to actively address the obstacles to free-movement mobility. Most notably, the Council focused its efforts and energies on the creation of Conventions to tackle the legal obstacles to student mobility, an instrument widely used by the Council in its work to achieve agreement between the member states. For example the European Cultural Convention was promulgated in 1954, *inter alia* requiring signatories to remove barriers to mobility and to facilitate the movement of students:

"Each Contracting Party shall, insofar as may be possible, facilitate the movement and exchange of persons as well as objects of cultural value" (Council of Europe, 1954, p.3).

The Cultural Convention was complemented by a series of Conventions on the recognition and equivalence of diplomas, qualifications and periods of study. In fact, the 'European Convention on the Equivalence of Diplomas leading to Admission to Universities' had already been signed in 1953. This was followed by the 'European Convention on the Equivalence on Periods of University Study Abroad' (1956), and the 'European Convention on the Academic Recognition of University Qualifications' (1959). In establishing core principles of non-discrimination, the Conventions intended to encourage the mutual recognition of the equivalence of qualifications and periods of study, thereby making the higher education systems of signatory states more accessible for non-nationals. For example:

"1. Each Contracting Party shall recognize for the purpose of admission to the universities situated in its territory, admission to which is subject to state control, the equivalence of those diplomas accorded in the territory of each Contracting Party which constitute a requisite qualification for admission to similar institutions in the country in which these diplomas were awarded. 2. Admission to any university shall be subject to the availability of places ... 4. Where admission to universities situated in the territory of a Contracting Party is outside the control of the State, that Contracting Party shall transmit the text of this Convention to the universities concerned and use its best endeavours to obtain the acceptance by the latter of the principles stated in the preceding paragraphs" (Council of Europe 1987b, p.2).

The realisation of the Conventions depends not on detailed regulations concerning equivalence or recognition, but on mutual trust and confidence between Contracting Parties. Once a Convention is ratified, member states are obliged to apply it and, where institutions are relatively autonomous of the state, the state is

expected to use the tools at its disposal to effect application on the part of its higher education institutions. Importantly, the Council has no specific role to play in the application of the Conventions. The only obligation on the part of Contracting Parties is to provide the Secretary General of the Council of Europe a written statement of the measures taken to implement the Convention within a year of it coming into force (Council of Europe, 1987a, 1987b, 1991a).

In practice, the application of the Conventions has been limited. The 1953 Convention on Equivalence of Diplomas leading to Admission to Universities has been successfully implemented because of the unproblematic nature of the subject, rather than any special powers in the Convention itself. As the Chief of the Higher Education Section of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) pointed out during the interview:

"Despite the differences that exist amongst the European countries, there is the general view that the secondary level education in most European countries is comparable and therefore acceptance could be considered favourably everywhere. It is much more difficult when you consider admission of partial studies."

In fact, the 1956 Convention relating to periods of study and the 1959 Convention dealing with University qualifications have been reduced to little more than instruments promoting good practice. Granting equivalence to partial studies remains an institutional prerogative where judgements have to be made about compatibility between existing knowledge and future studies. In the context of the very different legal freedoms given to academic institutions across Europe, governments can at best inform higher education institutions of the Conventions. The evidence suggests that national governments have failed to use their "best endeavours" to transmit the text of the Convention to the Universities. Indeed, interviewees at many of the case study higher education institutions

remain ignorant of the existence of the recognition Conventions. It is therefore highly likely that the academics responsible for granting equivalence to periods of study are also unaware of the 1956 European Convention on the Equivalence on Periods of University Study Abroad. In other words, institutional practices in the area of recognition have evolved without reference to the Council of Europe Recognition Conventions. As will become evident during the course of this Chapter and the next, instrumental factors have largely determined the policies and practices of higher education institutions in the area of recognition rather than any Convention ratified by national governments.

The failure of the recognition Conventions appears somewhat inevitable with the benefit of hindsight. However, according to the Head of the Higher Education Section of the Council of Europe, during the 1950s there was a belief within the Council that ratification would result in meaningful application. Such idealism on the part of the Council was unfounded; ratifying the Conventions represented little more than a cosmetic response by member states. It is probable that many governments lacked not only the political means but also a genuine political will to facilitate mobility. The absence of detail in the Conventions, and importantly, the absence of machinery enabling the Council of Europe to enforce the Conventions, appears to have proved significant in member states' decision to become signatories. A legally binding document, carrying powers of enforcement and specifying detailed equivalence between qualifications and periods of study of different countries - as advocated by Masclet (1976) - would have attracted few, if any signatories. In fact, negotiating detailed equivalence would in itself have caused considerable difficulties as countries would protect the value and reputation of their qualifications. In short, during the 1950s it was politically impossible for the Council to produce anything other than a Convention espousing broad principles of non-discrimination rather than detailed equivalence. By ratifying the

Convention member states were able to express their positive intentions in the knowledge the Convention would make very little practical difference in the conditions for mobility.

Lack of success notwithstanding, the Council Conventions on Equivalence became part of a number of international recognition agreements which stand alongside Recommendations drawn up by the Council of Europe dealing with accommodation and social security, and an Agreement on the continued payment of state support. These later Recommendations and Agreements represent a re-focusing of attention by the Council on the practical rather than the legal barriers to mobility. The 'European Agreement on Continued Payment of Scholarships to Students Studying Abroad', for example, was signed in 1969 and, as its title suggests, requires signatories to ensure that students can transfer their grants or loans during integrated periods of study abroad. However, very few Council of Europe members have signed the agreement, and the total portability of grants and scholarships has not been a policy issue in most EU countries until very recently. 1974 witnessed another significant Recommendation encouraging Council members to establish National Information Centres on Academic Mobility and Recognition (NEICs), facilitating the exchange of information about different systems of higher education. This has been successfully implemented, and the same idea was adopted by the EU and UNESCO.

With the exception of the adoption of the Recognition Centres by other intergovernmental organisations, it was clear by 1975 that the Council of Europe had failed to secure its central policy objectives, namely the dismantling of the legal and practical barriers to free-movement mobility. As an intergovernmental organisation created to promote the interests and well-being of its membership, the Council has had to depend on a 'top-down' policy focusing on

intergovernmental agreements, which rely fully on the co-operation and goodwill of its members. This has not been forthcoming. Member governments failed to inform or persuade the mainly autonomous higher education institutions of the importance of the Recognition Conventions. The only consolation for the Council is that the Community adopted a highly successful policy to support student mobility flows within the EU, by drawing on the experiences of the Council of Europe, and specifically avoiding the 'top-down' approach favoured by the Council. This is taken up in greater detail in the next section which maps the emergence of student mobility policy at Community level between 1957 and 1975 by exploring the so called 'black box' or decision-making system of the Community, in the context of the theoretical framework. This shows that Etzioni's mixed-scanning model of decision-making is most helpful in promoting our understanding of the emergence of student mobility policy in the Community during the period 1957 to 1975.

4.4 The European Economic Community: 1957-1975

4.4.1 Institutions and Competences

The European Economic Community (EEC), the forerunner to the European Community (EC) and the European Union (EU), was founded in 1957 by Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg, Italy and the Netherlands. The Treaty of Rome establishing the Community recognised five key institutions (European Communities, Treaty of Rome, Part 5, 1957, pp.54-68):

- The European Commission, the unelected bureaucracy of the Community, charged with initiating policy proposals, ensuring implementation of Community policy and assuming the role of Guardian of the Treaties;
- The Assembly, later re-named the European Parliament, comprising elected representatives from national parliaments and performing a supervisory and advisory role in the Community legislative process;
- The Economic and Social Committee (ESC) with a membership of workers, employers and experts responsible for proffering advice on policy;
- The European Court of Justice (ECJ), charged with upholding Community law and interpreting Treaty Articles; and,
- The Council of Ministers, consisting of Ministers from member states, with the task of approving Community legislation on a unanimous basis.

At the 1974 Paris Summit, the Heads of State and Governments agreed to meet on a regular formal basis, resulting in the inauguration of the sixth Community institution in the form of the European Council. The European Council, which is also attended by foreign Ministers from each member state, assumed responsibility for agreeing the future course of Community development and for considering issues overlooked by the Treaty of Rome.

The EEC, and its successors, the EC and EU, in many ways resemble other intergovernmental organisations in seeking to further the common interests of member states and enhance co-operation. Article 2 of the Treaty of Rome defines the task of the Community as:

"establishing a common market and progressively approximating the economic policies of Member States, to promote throughout the Community a harmonious development of economic activities, a continuous and balanced expansion, an increase in stability, an accelerated raising of the standard of living and closer relations between the States belonging to it" (European Communities, Treaty of Rome, Article 2, 1957, p.5).

As with other international organisations, the European Community seeks to prevent future European conflict by promoting economic interdependency between European nations and "ever closer union among the peoples of Europe". However, in contrast to other intergovernmental organisations the powers of the Community differ markedly in three significant aspects. First, the Community can enforce binding legislation on its member states. Second, the Community has a relatively large pool of resources at its disposal which is derived from a 1.25% levy on all Value Added Tax transactions, customs levies and a proportion of Gross Domestic Product from each member state. Third, unlike the other intergovernmental organisations whose powers are defined and relatively static, the Community has the capacity to negotiate additional powers and competence. By its very nature the Community is designed to evolve. The establishment of the European Council in 1974 is testimony to this.

4.4.2 A Community Without an Education Policy: 1957-1969

Despite legal and financial powers, student mobility did not feature as an issue during the first twelve years of the Community's existence. Admittedly, during their meeting in Bonn in 1961, only four years after the establishment of the Community, EEC leaders did find time to consider the possibility of setting up a Council of Education Ministers and creating a large European university

(Commission of the EC, 1977), but this did not develop beyond a discussion. At the same time the Commission was prevented from initiating policy measures *vis-à-vis* student mobility since the founders of the Treaty of Rome failed to include an Article on education. The Treaty made reference to vocational training (European Communities, Article 128, 1957, p.50), but education as an area of Community competence was completely overlooked. As a result the Commission was not empowered to develop a student mobility policy. For the first twelve years, political support from EEC leaders or individual governments for student mobility was also absent.

In practice, during the early years student mobility as an 'issue' failed to command the attention of policy-makers, who concentrated on more pressing issues which formed the *raison d'être* for creating the Community, including customs union (European Communities, Part 2, Title I, 1957, pp.9-18) and the establishment of the Common Agricultural Policy (European Communities, Part 2, Title II, 1957, pp.18-23). Much effort and energy during the early days was also expended in defining the role and competence of the nascent Community. The Treaty of Rome had established an organisation which combined traits of supranationalism and intergovernmentalism (Andersen and Eliassen, 1993; George, 1991; Keohane and Hoffman, 1994; Sandholtz, 1994). Pryce and Pinder (1994) point out that institutions like the Commission, the European Parliament, the ECJ and the ESC have the characteristics of supranational institutions, while the Council of Ministers, and the European Council are essentially intergovernmental bodies. Supranational institutions promote and campaign for greater European integration with the consequential transfer of power and sovereignty from national seats of government to Brussels. In contrast, intergovernmental bodies relinquish national control of decision-making to Brussels only where the benefits (mainly economic) outweigh the political arguments relating to issues of national

sovereignty. In short, the Treaty of Rome created an inherent tension between the two distinct types of Community institutions. The relative distribution of power between supranational and intergovernmental institutions was therefore of fundamental importance. In the first instance the Treaty of Rome vested significant power within the Council of Ministers, empowering it with the task of approving Community legislation on a unanimous basis. This was, however, a provisional arrangement, since there was to be the transition from unanimous to majority voting in the Council from 1 January 1966; a measure expected to increase Commission power allowing it to predict the strength of a proposal based on potential alliances in the Council. This prospect proved anathema to the French President, Charles de Gaulle, who withdrew French participation from the Community in 1965. De Gaulle returned on the concession that unanimous voting would remain on most issues. This is commonly known as the 'Luxembourg compromise' which according to several European commentators (Boyce, 1993; Sasse, 1977 and Moravcsik, 1994) led to a period of 'Euro-sclerosis' forcing the process of European integration to a near halt. In this context, and in the absence of a legal mandate for education, it is not surprising that student mobility did not feature as an issue at the Community level during the early years.

4.4.3 The Emergence of a Community Education Policy: 1969-1976

Political support for Community action in the area of education, finally arrived in December 1969 when, at the Hague Summit, the European Heads of State and Government restated their intention to establish a European University (Commission of the EC, 1977). Higher education as an 'issue' received further support when the French Minister of Education, Olivier Guichard, in the same

year proposed the setting up of a European Centre for Educational Development, concerned with comparison of education policies in the different member states (Commission of the EC, 1977). However, the peculiarities of the Community decision-making process prevented any immediate development of a Community education policy. In particular, the tension between the intergovernmental and the supranational institutions dictated developments, with the former refusing to relinquish control of education policy-making to the Community. According to Banks (1982), who at the time was an official in the British Department of Education and Science, member states feared that the Commission, supported by the ECJ, would attempt to incorporate education into the Treaty of Rome, allowing the Commission to initiate policy proposals in the area of education. This could potentially lead not only to a greater role for the Community in educational matters at the expense of national control but also initiatives designed to harmonise education systems. In this environment of suspicion, scepticism and mistrust on the part of member states, progress in the development of a Community student mobility policy was inevitably difficult.

In the face of such strong resistance, potentially stalling the development of any policy, the Commission created the term 'co-operation', which according to Fogg and Jones (1985) was designed to reassure Education Ministers that they could come together without fear of legal intervention. Significantly, this would result in Resolutions and Conclusions rather than the legally binding Regulations and Decisions, facilitating the voluntary implementation of agreements, without fear of legal repercussions on occasions where aspirations and objectives were not translated into practice. According to Fogg and Jones (1985) the term 'co-operation' allayed Ministerial fears, and in November 1971, following a Belgian government initiative, Education Ministers of the six member states met within the Council. In their Resolution on Co-operation in the Field of Education

(1971) the Ministers agreed to co-operate in the field of national education (Council of the EC, 1983c). To give substance to the term 'co-operation' a Working Party of Senior Officials and Commission representatives was charged with:

- examining the various tasks to be assigned to a European Centre for the Development of Education;
- proposing ways of establishing active co-operation in the field of national education; and,
- identifying the legal basis for the co-operation envisaged in the field of education.

In short, Education Ministers expressed a genuine commitment to co-operate with their counterparts in other member states. The willingness to assume a proactive approach in the area of education was facilitated not only by the emphasis on co-operation, but also by wider developments underlining a greater social dimension for the Community. For example, in 1972, EC leaders acknowledged that the future of the Community did not lie solely in the field of economic expansion. Economic expansion was increasingly viewed as a means to create improvements in the standard of living of Community citizens. Subsequently, in January 1974, a Resolution Concerning a Social Action Programme was launched by the Community. In this climate reference to a Community education policy became increasingly acceptable.

From a decision-making perspective, the 1971 Resolution on Co-operation in the Field of Education was the first of a series of incremental decisions, resulting in

the development of a Community student mobility 'policy'. The establishment of a Working Party of Senior Officials, ensured that the momentum towards the development of a Community education policy based on 'co-operation' would continue. In July 1972 the Commission asked Professor Henri Janne, formerly Belgian Minister of Education, to investigate and report on the content of a Community education policy (Commission of the EC, 1977). This was clearly an attempt by the Commission to overcome the relatively narrow remit of the Working Party and to achieve a more comprehensive and alternative vision in the area of education to that provided by the national representatives on the Working Party of Senior Officials. In effect, the struggle between the supranational institutions and national governments was played out in a more subtle form. For the purposes of student mobility, such manoeuvring did not prove too important since both the Working Party of Senior Officials (Commission of the EC, 1977) and Janne (1973) confirmed that the mobility of teachers and students was integral to both educational 'co-operation' and to a Community education policy, respectively.

In this context, the work of the Council of Europe must be acknowledged. While the Council's efforts were not rewarded in the short term, in the longer term, the continuous campaign in support of student mobility, the dissemination of information and the organisation of conferences attended by government officials and representatives of higher education institutions inevitably created positive mind-sets towards student mobility. In many respects, it would not be unreasonable to argue that the Council had cleared the ground for both the Working Party of Senior Officials (Commission of the EC, 1977) and Janne (1973) to identify student mobility as part of a Community education policy, a view strongly advocated by the official at the Spanish Ministry of Education during the interview. In fact, the report by Janne (1973) highlights an awareness

of the work of the Council of Europe suggesting an element of policy learning, since the recommendations, which are discussed below in greater detail, explicitly avoid the type of 'top-down' policy favoured by the Council of Europe. In short, the emergence of student mobility as a policy issue at Community level cannot be divorced from a consideration of the Council of Europe which over a period of twenty years raised the profile of academic mobility.

In practice, the report by Janne (1973) entitled For a Community Policy on Education, appears to have been influenced as much by the experiences of the Council of Europe highlighting the incompatibility of a 'top-down' model with institutional autonomy, as by a realistic assessment of the political environment and the need to appease the doubting Education Ministers. Janne (1973) argued that harmonisation of education systems is best achieved by respecting the educational traditions and national structures of each member state. In other words, control of higher education systems should remain with national governments. According to Janne (1973) the Community should, as a matter of policy, facilitate co-operation at the grassroots level within higher education institutions, by encouraging preparatory contacts (leading to consortia based on well defined departments), and by establishing institutional and financial mechanisms calculated to stimulate educational exchanges and the compulsory mobility of students. The implementation of any student mobility policy should rest with higher education institutions:

"For higher education one semester at least should be spent in an establishment in another European country during a 'standard period' of two or three years of study. The system of study periods should be compulsory, given official sanction and make provision for this mobility. Here again, the Communities are in the best position to act and produce results. It is above all a question of conceiving and creating institutional and financial machinery" (Janne, 1973, p.58).

Janne's (1973) report in particular struck a chord with the Commission's Directorate-General for Research, Science and Education (Commission of the EC, Bulletin of the EC, 3/1974), whose inauguration in 1973 established the administrative machinery for, and added further impetus to, the creation of a Community student mobility policy. The reports from the Commission to the Council of Education Ministers were mainly predicated on the measures proposed by Janne (1973). For example, the Communication from the Commission to the Council in March 1974 entitled Education in the European Community, outlined the administrative, financial and linguistic barriers to free-movement mobility, identified the measures needed to address the obstacles, proposed an examination of the operation of *numerus clausus* and argued that harmonisation and co-ordination of education systems in terms of structure and content was not desirable. Instead, enhanced opportunities for the mobility of students and staff within the context of increased collaboration between educational institutions in the Community was suggested. The Community would assist the development of existing networks of contacts among higher education staff, including consortia of institutions, faculties and departments committed to common collaborative programmes of research and study. Although the proposal by Janne (1973) to make study periods compulsory was by-passed by the Commission because it could not be reconciled with a policy of voluntary co-operation, Janne's (1973) influence on the development of a Community student mobility policy was considerable. Janne (1973) managed both to clarify policy objectives and to review policy options, a development considered impossible by Lindblom's model of incremental decision-making. As a result, some semblance of a Community student mobility policy emerged, predicated on several incremental decisions which had been taken over a period of five years.

In June 1974, Education Ministers from nine member states, including the UK, Ireland and Denmark all of which had acceded to the Community in 1973, formally agreed to co-operate in the area of education. In their Resolution on Co-operation in the Field of Education (1974) Ministers authorised the Commission to pursue the proposals set out in the document Education in the European Community (1974). The Commission would be supported by an Education Committee which would liaise with the Commission, draw up an Action Programme and report to Education Ministers at their next meeting in June 1975. Education Ministers therefore effectively forced the Commission into partnership with an intergovernmental body charged with promoting the interests of member states. This suggests that Education Ministers refused to relinquish control of education policy-making to the Commission. Scepticism continued to dictate policy development at Community level.

The June 1974 Resolution on Co-operation in the Field of Education also established a remit for the Education Committee, which created the parameters of a Community student mobility policy. In the process, and contrary to Lindblom's theory of decision-making, Education Ministers managed to clarify their objectives. This included, among other things, a clarification of the practical arrangements for:

- the promotion of close relations between educational systems in the EC;
- the compilation of up-to date documentation and statistics on education;
- increased co-operation between higher education institutions;
- improved possibilities for academic recognition; and,
- the encouragement of freedom of movement and mobility of staff and students, by removal of language, social and administrative obstacles.

Although the Education Committee produced concrete proposals, in the context of the objectives established by the Ministers, progress was delayed when Education Ministers postponed their meeting arranged for June 1975. For the supranational institutions, particularly the European Parliament and the ESC, the continuing discussion and lack of action in the area of student mobility proved intolerable:

"The subject of co-operation in education, whether European or international, is one on which pronouncements of principle are easily made. There have been endless meetings on co-operation in recent years and a plethora of reports. The practical results have been almost nil. The enumeration of principles, however well-meaning has little or no effect. The Community should concern itself with action and concentrate on those proposals for action by the Commission, the Education Committee and the Economic and Social Committee which are specific and practical (ESC, 1975, p.17)."

The European Parliament took the opportunity to inform Ministers that educational co-operation was a matter for the Community (European Parliament, October 1975b). In response, and no doubt as a result of pressure from the mainly supranational Community institutions, such as the Commission, the ESC and the European Parliament, Education Ministers finalised an Education Action Programme, during their re-arranged meeting in December 1975 (Council of the EC, February 1976). Further delay, or cosmetic decision-making would have undoubtedly created a political backlash. In the context of the many incremental decisions, which over a period of seven years had essentially clarified principles, objectives and options, the Education Action Programme represented a watershed in the development of a Community student mobility policy. The Programme, which was promulgated as a non-binding Resolution in the absence of a legal mandate, *inter alia*, set out to promote improved communications and dissemination of information, a continuous exchange of ideas and policies, enhanced understanding of member states' educational systems, and an

examination of the current state of academic recognition. In addition, the Programme advocated the development of proposals to remove barriers inhibiting staff and student mobility, and acknowledged a new concept in the form of Joint Study Programmes (JSP), (addressed in greater detail later in this Chapter). The Education Action Programme also proposed a discussion of a common access policy to higher education institutions in member states. This coincided with an increasing tendency among governments to actively restrict incoming transfer mobility using numerical quotas to protect national students from external competition for higher education places (Burn, 1979; Neave, 1978; Smith, 1980, 1985). According to Burn (1979, p.17):

"For a variety of reasons the countries of Western Europe are moving towards more restrictions in foreign student enrolment in higher education: the need to ensure that students admitted are likely to succeed academically; the insufficient number of places, especially in such fields as medicine and dentistry; the high cost of subsidising the education of non-nationals. ... Restrictions are taking different forms. Early application for admission and evidence of foreign language proficiency and adequate funds are now commonly required. Several countries: Denmark, Federal Republic of Germany, Netherlands and Sweden, apply quotas to foreign students ... while Great Britain has called for reducing foreign student numbers."

As a consequence of more stringent entry requirements, some commentators such as Burn (1978, 1979) argue that student mobility not only stagnated in the EC, but may have even declined during this period. However, this phenomenon was not observed in the statistical analysis in Chapter Three, which shows that student mobility actually increased from 21,679 in 1974/78 to 24,837 in 1978/80. In practice, Burn (1978, 1979) does not provide any form of statistical analysis to confirm her claim of a reduction in intra-European student mobility. In this context, and based on the evidence in Chapter Three, it is probable that student mobility increased, between 1974 and 1980, although it remained a limited

phenomenon. The statistics in Chapter Three show that of the 4,438,110 higher education students in the Community in 1974/78, only 21,679, or 0.5% of all EC students were mobile.

Despite the efforts of the intergovernmental organisations such as the Council of Europe and the European Commission, by the 1970s the barriers to student mobility remained intact. Paradoxically, the obstacles to mobility may have become even more acute as member states used numerical quotas, language requirements and differential tuition fee rates to limit any significant expansion in intra-EU mobility. On a more positive note, the foundations were established at the level of the European Community for the development of a student mobility policy, although the absence of a legal mandate for education had in the process allowed member states to achieve their key objective, namely the preservation of higher education institutional autonomy and national control of higher education systems. Moreover, the Action Programme vested responsibility for "co-ordination and oversight" of the implementation of the Programme with an Education Committee again consisting of representatives of member states and the Commission. This suggests that Ministers continued to perceive the Commission as a potential threat to their control in the area of education. Precautionary measures notwithstanding, the Action Programme provided for the first time in the history of the Community, a formal commitment by member states to co-operate in education and to facilitate student mobility by both dismantling the barriers to free-movement and through the promotion of exchange mobility.

The Education Action Programme represented the culmination of numerous successive decisions based on several years of protracted negotiations between the supranational and intergovernmental institutions of the EC. In fact, the diffusion

of power between the different Community institutions and between the two policy-making levels, created the classic conditions for pluralist politics based on conflict, negotiation and compromise resulting in incremental decision-making. In this context, Lindblom's model of decision-making provides some useful insights into the emergence of student mobility policy at the level of the EC. However, Lindblom (1959) maintains that policy-makers take decisions without first clarifying objectives or values, since conflict resulting from a dispersion of power in society precludes the establishment of clear objectives. The evidence in this section shows that in fact, much of the discussion, conflict and negotiation between the supranational and intergovernmental institutions, resulting from a dispersal of power, was specifically designed to clarify the principles, objectives and aims of a Community education policy. Etzioni's (1967) mixed-scanning model of decision-making therefore provides the most appropriate model to understand the development of student mobility policy within the EC. Indeed, in line with Etzioni (1967), and contrary to the arguments of Lindblom (1959), decision-makers not only managed to clarify their objectives, namely to co-operate in the area of education and to support student mobility, but also to review some of the options to achieve the goal of promoting student mobility. Admittedly, the political environment precluded a comprehensive review of policy choices as espoused by the rational-comprehensive model, but a limited survey of policy alternatives, to encourage, support and promote student mobility was undertaken. Moreover, the several incremental decisions which emerged between 1969 and 1974, were followed in 1975 by a 'fundamental' decision, as defined by Etzioni (1967) in the form of the Education Action Programme, which established the foundation upon which Community student mobility policy would be based for the remainder of the twentieth century. As will become evident below, the landmark Education Action Programme, which managed to secure resources for student mobility, despite the absence of a clear legal mandate, was succeeded by

numerous incremental decisions designed to re-inforce, implement or elaborate the aims of the Programme. This is consistent with the model of decision-making promoted by Etzioni (1967). In fact, the next section which reviews the development of Community student mobility policy during the period from 1976 to 1980 shows that policy-makers at Community level assumed a highly incremental decision-making strategy. Exchange mobility was promoted by the Community, implemented by higher education institutions, evaluated and re-inforced at the expense of the development of a free-movement mobility policy.

4.5 Formulation, Implementation and Evaluation of Community Student Mobility Policy: 1976-1980

4.5.1 Exchange Mobility

The Joint Study Programmes Scheme: Aims and Principles

The most significant decision to follow the launch of the Education Action Programme was the introduction of the Joint Study Programme (JSP) Scheme. The Scheme was drafted by the Commission, approved by the Education Committee, responsible for maintaining an oversight for the Education Action Programme - and launched by the Community in April 1976, following consultation with representatives of higher education institutions (Commission of the EC, Bulletin EC, 4-1976). The JSP Scheme channelled Community resources to support the development of multi-lateral relationships and structured co-operation between higher education staff in different member states. Student mobility would be promoted within the context of institutional relationships. Full recognition of the study period for students, through a high level of curriculum integration, was the single requirement to secure JSP funding. In practice, staff

would therefore have to organise the practical and academic prerequisites for a period of study abroad, relieving the student of considerable risk. Participation in the JSP was not compulsory for either student, staff, or institution, but by offering between ECU 2,000 and ECU 10,000 for an entire project, the Scheme expected its financial provisions to attract staff interest and therefore programme implementation. Funds would cover staff costs including:

- travel and board for attending joint planning/organisation meetings;
- expenses for organising such meetings;
- production of teaching materials for use in JSPs;
- other expenses in connection with the initial phase of the programme.

The development and introduction of the JSP Scheme was influenced by the increasing realisation that the promotion of bi-lateral and multi-lateral exchange, resulting in institutional co-operation that would support student mobility, was more effective compared with the free-movement option. Certainly, by encouraging reciprocity in mobility flows, the JSP Scheme had the potential to address political concerns with reference to imbalances in student transfer. The concept of organised part-course mobility, promoted in the US since the 1920s, was even more attractive at Community level because of its inherent ability to stimulate student mobility, whilst at the same time respecting institutional autonomy and the prerogative of member states in the running of higher education systems (Neave, 1984, 1988, 1991d, 1992). As Baron (1993) points out, the JSP Scheme was a classic expression of the need to avoid a harmonisation of systems. In short, student exchange, operationalised in the form of the JSP Scheme, provided a politically acceptable formula, which was complementary to the policy of co-operation adopted by the Community between 1969 and 1975. This policy required the need for a flexible voluntary arrangement.

Implementation and Evaluation of the Joint Study Programme

The launch of the JSP Scheme was welcomed by staff in higher education institutions. For a small minority, already committed to higher education co-operation and student mobility, the Scheme provided funding for an ongoing activity. For others, according to Smith (1979) the search for new partners commenced, although existing links developed during meetings, conferences and research programmes organised by international agencies, such as the Council of Europe, provided automatic choices.

To complement the policy of co-operation and institutional autonomy, the JSP Scheme was intentionally designed to provide broad guidelines rather than detailed regulations. The single requirement of full recognition of the study period for students through a high level of curriculum integration meant that numerous decisions remained to be taken within an institutional context to effect the JSP Scheme. In other words, the design of the Scheme created scope for the exercise of discretion, granting staff a considerable policy-making role during policy implementation. Decisions regarding the selection of partners, the negotiation of relationships, the selection of students, etc. still had to be taken. Importantly, the exercise of discretion during policy implementation precluded the emergence of a standardised model of co-operation, as staff negotiated a diverse range of agreements with their counterparts in member states. As already established in Chapter One, several models of curricular integration emerged, described by Earls (1977) as "loose", "symbiotic" and "synergistic". Furthermore, as evidenced by the institutional representatives interviewed by this study, co-operation agreements could be based at the university level or the departmental level, they could be bi-lateral or multi-lateral, student participation could be

optional or compulsory and exchange mutual or unilateral. The variety of policy outcomes also precluded a common JSP experience for students, confirmed by a number of evaluation studies. Teichler and Steube (1991), for example, discovered that students could study abroad in courses specifically provided for foreign students or alongside students of the host institution. Some programmes would focus on academic issues, others on improving foreign language proficiency, or cultural enrichment and personality development may be emphasised. In some cases students may be expected to study in more than two countries. Equally, Baron and Smith (1987) found that the timing of the period of study varied, as did selection procedures and the amount of linguistic, academic and socio-cultural preparation given to students before they departed for their study period abroad. The quality of supervision received at the host institution was also diverse, as was academic recognition and certification on return to the home institution. In fact, Neave (1984, 1988) found that depending on arrangements between participating institutions, students could receive either:

- a qualification from all participating institutions;
- a qualification from the home institution and a certificate from all participating institutions;
- a diploma specifically devised to meet the needs of the particular JSP; or,
- recognition of the period of study as integral to home study programme.

The first evaluation of the JSP by Smith (1979) showed policy-makers in the EC that the Scheme made study abroad into a realistic proposition for some students. Many of the obstacles traditionally inhibiting student mobility had been addressed by the JSP Scheme. For example, since the period of study was organised by the 'home' institution the logistical problems associated with study abroad were addressed, recognition was forthcoming in most cases, the payment of tuition fees

was mutually waived and the whole problem associated with numerous *clausus* and admission requirements was by-passed. Smith (1979) also discovered a considerable impact on the intellectual development of participating students and an improvement in linguistic proficiency was also evident, presenting policy-makers further evidence in support of expanding exchange mobility. Project Directors also expressed their appreciation as JSP funding proved to be a valuable resource and was instrumental in attracting monies from other sources for European activities (Smith, 1979). For students, only language, accommodation and finance remained problematic.

4.5.2 Free-Movement Mobility

While the Education Action Programme aspired to promote exchange mobility in the form of the JSP Scheme, it was equally, if not more concerned with facilitating free-movement mobility by dismantling the many barriers encountered by free-movement students. In particular, the Programme made reference to the development of an informational network, to the drawing up of a report on the financial situation of mobile students and to a discussion of a common admission policy in an attempt respectively to tackle the information, financial and admission barriers noted in Chapter One.

Consequently, following the launch of the Action Programme, the Community wasted little time in developing proposals in relation to the different obstacles. In fact, to address the problem of limited information, the Commission launched the first student handbook in 1977, providing information to support students wishing to study in other member states. The Commission also drew up a number of reports on education in the Community (European Parliament, December 1978)

which particularly emphasised the development of a common admission policy to higher education institutions within the Community. The reports provided the basis for discussion in the Education Committee the results of which were eventually transferred into a Communication to the Council of Education Ministers entitled Admission to Institutions of Higher Education of Students from other Member States (1978a). The document, which was to form part of the agenda during the meeting of Education Ministers in November 1978, reviewed the diverse access policies of member states in relation to incoming mobility from the EC and highlighted a comprehensive range of measures to improve access, *inter alia*, including:

- quotas exempting member state students from numerus clausus;
- the payment of equivalent tuition fees by home and member state students;
- the transferability of national grants/loans/scholarships, on condition the period of study abroad is recognized by the home institution; and,
- generally, the extension of the principle of non-discrimination and equality of treatment for incoming member state students.

Education Ministers, however, cancelled their meeting in November 1978. This resulted in a rebuke from the European Parliament which in its Resolution on the meeting of the Council of Education Ministers (December 1979, p.59) pointed out that the Council of Education Ministers had not met since November 1976. In fact, according to Neave (1984) the development of a common admission policy had already been undermined by the Danish permanent representation in Brussels in 1979, on the grounds that no legal base in fact existed for such a harmonising measure. The Danes essentially reminded the Commission of the limits of its competence in the area of education. In this context, the Commissioner for Education advised the European Parliament that "we can only make progress,

however slow, in this matter [education] by being as cunning as the snake." (Smith, 1980, p.77).

During their re-arranged meeting in 1980 Education Ministers simply "agreed in substance" with the General Report of the Education Committee, which incorporated the key aspects of a common admission policy as proposed by the Commission. In practice, as evident in Chapter Five which deals with the student mobility policies of national governments, very little progress was made at the level of member states in implementing the measures associated with a common admission policy. The development of a common policy could not be reconciled with either the idea of voluntary co-operation, institutional autonomy or with the arguments espousing diversity rather than harmonisation of education systems. However, by "agreeing in substance" with a common admission policy, Education Ministers managed to neutralise the efforts of supranational institutions in the area of free-movement by effectively removing free-movement from the Community policy agenda. The unequivocal success of exchange, essentially extinguished any real will on the part of member states to facilitate what might be regarded as politically undesirable free-movement mobility. In fact, during the course of the 1980s reference to free-movement mobility became increasingly rare in Community policy documents. Instead, both supranational and intergovernmental institutions focused their attention and energies on the successful and politically acceptable exchange mobility. This is not to suggest an absence of conflict. On the contrary, as the next section shows, the supranational institutions spent the period between 1980 and 1986 campaigning for an extension of exchange mobility and the launch of a comprehensive student mobility programme. Member states, in contrast, refused to commit significant amounts of money for an activity which lacked a legal mandate. In this hostile political environment, the

result was further incremental decision-making in the form of limited budget increases.

4.6 Consolidation of Exchange Mobility: 1980-1986

The relative success of exchange and the tacit abandonment of a commitment to the promotion of free-movement mobility at Community level during the course of the early 1980s, allowed supranational institutions, in particular, to concentrate their energies towards achieving an expansion in exchange mobility provision. Most notably, as already observed by Smith (1985) and Neave (1988) during the early 1980s the now-directly elected European Parliament displayed growing impatience and became even more vociferous compared with the 1970s, at the modest scale of student mobility supported by Education Ministers. In March 1982, for example, there was scathing criticism of the Council of Education Ministers regarding their efforts in the area of higher education. In its Resolution the European Parliament stressed "its dissatisfaction at the deplorable infrequency with which meetings of the Council of Ministers are held" and drew attention "to the total inadequacy and irrelevance of the Council's 1976 budget decisions for the present-day needs" (European Parliament, April 1982, pp.93-94). Meanwhile, on 13 March 1984, the European Parliament passed a Resolution which stressed that in both the scientific and economic fields, member states had fallen behind the USA and Japan. This required the need to move beyond the "pilot stage" (namely, beyond the JSP Scheme) in the area of student mobility, by making higher education co-operation a major plank of Community policy, "to enable the scientific potential of the Community to be exploited to the full" (European Parliament, April 1984, p.52). By developing an explicit link between higher education co-operation and the economic well-being of the Community, the European Parliament clearly sought to highlight to Education Ministers the

economic, rather than cultural or humanist imperative of higher education co-operation. As a strategy, the spectre of EU higher education systems failing to provide graduates and researchers of a similar calibre to those produced by the USA and Japan, was clearly designed to create concern among Education Ministers. The European Parliament set the issue in stark terms. If EC graduates and researchers are to be "on a par with the standards set in the other leading industrialized nations" the Community's educational resources would have to be harnessed through higher educational co-operation (European Parliament, April 1984, p.52).

Education Ministers responded to the increasing pressure by acknowledging the success of the JSP Scheme (Council of the EC, 1983a) and by authorising limited budget increases for exchange mobility. In fact, according to Neave (1988) during the lifetime of the JSP Scheme, the Education Committee, which continued to represent and channel the views of member states into the decision-making machinery, endorsed increases in JSP funding allocations on thirteen occasions between 1976 and 1986. This does not include the introduction of the first round of "Student Support Scholarships" providing funds for students in particular need during study abroad (Commission of the EC, March 1985). However, the emphasis on 'particular need' meant that very few students qualified for the grant. In fact, the 1984 student scholarship scheme fell considerably short of the Commission's proposal which was designed "to cover the basic grant for accommodation and subsistence, social security and medical coverage, and minimal travel expenses." (Commission of the EC, 1978b, p.3). Not surprisingly, the grants had limited impact, confirmed by the fact that throughout the duration of the JSP Scheme student mobility levels remained limited. In fact, during the 1985/86 academic year, and therefore nearly a decade after its inception, the JSP Scheme could only mobilise 3,000 students (Commission of the EC, EC Bulletin,

4-1986). This suggests the increases in student mobility from 24,837 in 1978/80 to 66,545 by 1983/85, noted in Chapter Three, cannot be accounted for by the JSP Scheme. In spite of the many obstacles to free-movement mobility, including finance, recognition and numerus clausus, it appears that an increasing number of students managed to undertake a period of study abroad on a free-movement basis during the early 1980s. The considerable growth in free-movement mobility, in the context of apparently deteriorating conditions for free-movement students, and in the absence of a free-movement mobility policy at Community level, is explored in Chapter Five which deals with institutional and national student mobility policies.

In the final analysis, it is important to recognise that the JSP Scheme cannot be evaluated simply in terms of levels of mobility, since the Programme was never intended to stimulate mass mobility; its aim was to examine the feasibility and prospects for student exchange within the framework of higher education co-operation. This was successfully achieved on a negligible budget, which according to Neave (1991d) amounted to around ECU 1 million (GBP 760,000) per year. The Scheme confirmed the effectiveness of exchange mobility, created the experience at all levels to develop and implement exchange programmes, and helped to convince Education Ministers that a more comprehensive Community student mobility programme would be appropriate and beneficial. In 1987, Education Ministers agreed to take student mobility beyond the "pilot stage" and the ERASMUS programme, the successor to the JSP, was launched with a financial commitment of ECU 85 million (GBP 64.6 million), to cover the period 1 July 1987 to 30 June 1990. The tensions in the EU policy-making process which had mobilised Community student mobility policy in favour of student exchange and co-operation almost a decade before, however, ensured that negotiations would be protracted and that Community student mobility policy

would remain predicated on the principle of co-operation agreed in 1973. This is evident in the next section which examines the development and implementation of exchange mobility between 1984 and 1989.

4.7 Development and Implementation of Exchange Mobility Policy: 1984-1989

4.7.1 Student Mobility Policy Development: From JSP to ERASMUS: 1984-1987

The launch of the ERASMUS programme in 1987 represents a remarkable achievement for the supranational Community institutions, since Education Ministers were persuaded to commit a considerable sum of money for an area of action which still lacked a clear legal mandate. The success of the JSP Scheme and the perennial pressure from the European Parliament undoubtedly contributed to Education Ministers' decision to launch the ERASMUS programme. Higher education institutions also argued in favour of a more comprehensive student mobility programme. Staff in higher education institutions expressed their views and experiences directly to Commission representatives during higher education conferences and seminars, and via the "Liaison Committee of Rectors Conferences in EC Member States", an intermediary body charged with representing the higher education world at policy level (Commission of the EC, March 1985, December 1985).

ERASMUS was also a function of several other contemporaneous developments which between 1981 and 1986 combined to disrupt the incremental adjustments in the student mobility budget in favour of the commitment of an unprecedented sum of money for exchange mobility. For example, the commitment among European leaders to the creation of a "People's Europe" is identified by Smith (1985) and

Neave (1988) as a key determinant leading to the establishment of a number of Community programmes, including ERASMUS. A more detailed analysis confirms that during the early 1980s, there was increasing support among the Heads of State and of Government for the development of a European identity among the citizens of the EC. At Stuttgart, on June 1983 for example, the European Council signed a Solemn Declaration on European Union (1986c) which among other issues promoted "closer co-operation between establishments of higher education, including exchanges of teachers and students" as part of a wider goal of promoting European awareness. The rhetoric was transformed into concrete action at the June 1984 meeting at Fontainebleau where the European Council established a Committee to examine the options to enhance citizens' commitment to the EC (Commission of the EC, 1985). The Committee, chaired by Pietro Adonnino, endorsed academic mobility as an appropriate vehicle to enhance citizen commitment to the EC. In addition to requesting an examination of the possibility of introducing a European system of academic credits, the Adonnino Committee argued in favour of a comprehensive student mobility programme, based on the principles of the JSP:

"University co-operation and mobility in higher education are obviously of paramount importance [to a Peoples' Europe]. There already exists, between the Member States, an embryonic form of co-operation which should be developed and built upon, including the Community joint study programmes scheme." (Commission of the EC, 1985, p.24).

By approving the Adonnino report, the European Council signalled its support for moving beyond the JSP Scheme and therefore beyond the "pilot stage" in the area of study abroad (Council of the EC, 1986a). The endorsement of enhanced levels of student mobility at the highest political level, suggested the development of a significant Community student mobility policy was imminent. In response, Education Ministers placed their own co-operation on a firmer footing in June

1985, establishing a regular practice of informal meetings to supplement the formal meetings. Interestingly, this decision was taken in the wake of the February 1985 *Francoise Gravier* ruling by the ECJ (ECJ, 1985). The French student Gravier wished to study a four-year course in Cartoon Art at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Belgium, but refused to pay the high fees set for 'foreign' students. On grounds of discriminatory practice the issue was taken to the ECJ. The court declared in favour of Gravier preventing higher education institutions from levying differential fees for students from other member states:

"the imposition on students who are nationals of other Member States, of a charge, a registration fee or the so-called 'minerval' [Belgian term for tuition fee] as a condition of access to vocational training, where the same fee is not imposed on students who are nationals of the host Member State, constitutes discrimination on grounds of nationality." (ECJ, 1985, p.613).

More importantly, the ECJ defined vocational training to include all forms of higher education:

"Any form of education which prepares for a qualification for a particular profession, trade or employment or which provides the necessary skills for such a profession, trade or employment is vocational training ... even if the training programme includes an element of general education. The term 'vocational training' therefore includes courses in strip cartoon art provided by an institution of higher art education." (ECJ, 1985, p.594).

In effect, the ECJ took the opportunity not only to espouse the principle of non-discrimination but also to grant education a legal basis in the form of Article 128 of the Treaty of Rome. The ruling by the ECJ in favour of Gravier and the Commission, and against the Belgian authorities confirmed the suspicions entertained by member states of the supranational intentions of the ECJ. In the context of the development of a more comprehensive Community student mobility policy, the Gravier ruling proved extremely significant (Smith 1985; Neave, 1988,

1991d). The ruling created the potential for thousands of students to free-float in the Community, a prospect which did not appeal to member states. Shaw (1993) and Barnard (1992) argue that as a result of Gravier, the launch of a comprehensive student exchange programme became inevitable; a programme which would address any extra student demand for student mobility and ensure controlled and, in theory, reciprocal flows in student mobility:

"Faced with the possibility of large uncoordinated transfers of students within the Community and the inevitable complaints of the popular destination Member States that non-nationals were placing an excessive strain on national educational resources, the Council of Ministers acted on the Commission's proposal to institute the ERASMUS scheme." (Shaw, 1992, p.431).

In practice, economic issues also contributed to the inauguration of the ERASMUS programme. The failure of national economic strategies, and the increasing success of Japan and the South East Asian economies, forced member states to turn towards the Community for solutions to their economic troubles. In fact, any real or perceived political, economic or security threat from outside the EC had always catalysed the process of Community integration, and the mid-1980s was no exception. With the support of the European Parliament and the Roundtable of European Industrialists - an association of Europe's largest and most influential corporations - the Commission offered the internal market as the solution to member states' economic problems. The Single European Act (SEA) was subsequently signed in February 1986 by the 12 member states, coming into force in July 1987 (European Communities, 1987). The Act revised the Treaty of Rome and required the member states to relinquish further powers to supranational institutions to increase the efficiency and speed of decision-making as a precondition to completing the internal market by 1992. Most notably, the SEA extended the scope of majority voting and introduced qualified majority voting, allowing Ministers to proceed on the basis of 70% of votes in Council

rather than unanimity. Under qualified majority voting France, Germany, Italy and the UK received 10 votes; Spain acquired 8 votes; Belgium, Greece, the Netherlands and Portugal were granted 5 votes; Denmark and Ireland 3 votes and finally, Luxembourg 2 votes. 54 of the 76 votes would therefore constitute a qualified majority. A new decision-making system termed the 'Co-operation procedure' was also introduced by the SEA. This forced the Council of Ministers to act by unanimity where the European Parliament rejected or amended the Council's common position. In this context, the European Parliament was granted a more significant role in the decision-making process.

The Proposal for a COUNCIL DECISION Adopting ERASMUS was introduced by the Commission in December 1985 (Commission of the EC, December 1985) against the backdrop of further European integration and greater confidence in the Community among member states. Following the example of European Parliament, the Commission specifically highlighted the economic imperative of the ERASMUS programme, which aimed to take student mobility beyond the experimental stage:

"a higher level of mobility among the 6,000,000 students at the 3,600 universities in the European Community must be regarded as a crucial element in policies for ensuring the economic and social development of the Community as a whole. It is significant to note in this context that both Japan and the USA have recognised the need to boost student exchange. Thus the Japanese government recently announced plans to increase the number of foreign students in that country from the present 12,400 to 40,000 by 1992 and to 100,000 by the turn of the century ... By contrast, in the European Community the level of student mobility is still at an extremely low ebb. The present level of mobility [within the EC] must be considered totally inadequate, given the crucial need for an increasingly high proportion of graduates with first-hand experience of other Community countries" (Commission of the EC, December 1985, pp.3-4).

In effect, the desire among member states to become more economically competitive was used as the context to justify the ERASMUS programme. In addition to highlighting the economic imperative of ERASMUS, the Commission sought to gain the support of Education Ministers by ensuring the principles of the ERASMUS programme were consistent with the politically acceptable JSP Scheme. The Commission also proposed that the implementation of the Programme would rest with a Committee of representatives from member states, rather than with the Commission. Even the responsibility of allocating ERASMUS grants would be devolved to appropriate authorities in the Member States (Commission of the EC, December 1985, February 1986, p.7).

Palliatives notwithstanding, immediate ratification of the programme proved problematic for two reasons. First, Education Ministers disputed the legal basis of the programme, and second, the financial forecast of ECU 175 million proved exorbitant for some member states. In either case, the real concern among member states was the increasing involvement and growing competence of the Community in the area of higher education. In contrast to the Education Action Programme and the JSP Scheme - which were based on non-binding Resolutions - the Commission, in view of the Gravier ruling, sought to promulgate the ERASMUS programme on the basis of a legally binding Decision in the form of Article 128 relating to vocational training:

"The Council shall on the proposal of the Commission and after consulting the Economic and Social Committee, lay down the general principles for the implementation of a common policy of vocational training capable of contributing to the harmonious development of the economies both of individual states and of the common market." (European Communities, 1957, p.50).

Article 128 was considered a significant threat by member states, especially since the Article requires a simple majority, namely 51% of the votes in Council,

preventing recalcitrant governments from vetoing Commission proposals without support from several member states. Consequently, Education Ministers unanimously engaged Article 235 of the Treaty of Rome which stipulates that:

"If action by the Community should prove necessary to attain, in the course of the operation of the common market, one of the objectives of the Community and this Treaty has not provided the necessary powers, the Council shall, acting unanimously on a proposal from the Commission and after consulting the Assembly, take the appropriate measures." (European Communities, 1957, p.81).

This attempt by member states to preserve their veto on educational issues was challenged by the Commission who took its arguments to the ECJ on the grounds that the Gravier ruling had already provided Article 128 as a legitimate legal basis for action in the area of education. In the meantime, the inclusion of Article 235 appeased Education Ministers, and temporarily resolved the ongoing conflict in favour of intergovernmental institutions of the Community. It was evident, however, that the supranational institutions had in concert attempted to seize the initiative from Education Ministers through the introduction of simple majority which would have granted the Commission the opportunity to build coalitions in the Education Council to ease the passage of radical or controversial legislation.

Having secured an appropriate legal basis requiring unanimity in Council, Education Ministers failed to agree on the draft proposal of the ERASMUS programme during their formal meeting in November 1986 (Commission of the EC, Bulletin EC, 11-1986). The fact that the Education Committee (Commission of the EC, 1986b), the European Parliament (European Parliament, June 1986), the Economic and Social Committee (ESC, July 1986) and Finance Ministers (Commission of the EC, 1986b) had all approved the draft proposal of the ERASMUS programme confounded the decision even more. The objection was in fact financial. The Commission, the European Parliament and seven of the twelve

Ministers preferred a budget of ECU 175 million (GBP 133 million); two of the Education Ministers opted for a budget of ECU 100 million (GBP 76 million) (Commission of the EC, 1986b) and France, Germany and the UK objected to such a significant commitment. The objection was less a manifestation of the enduring dispute between supranational and intergovernmental institutions and more a conflict between the different member states. Under the terms of the Treaty of Rome, some countries such as Germany, France and the UK, pay disproportionate sums of money into the Community budget. The ERASMUS budget would essentially have meant that France, Germany and the UK would now subsidise other member states, in a policy area which lacked a clear legal mandate. Importantly, the use of Article 128 would have allowed the remaining member states to over-rule France, Germany and the UK. Article 235, in contrast, required unanimity.

In the face of a reduction in the ERASMUS budget the Commission withdrew the proposal. The Commission was clear that a diminished funding allocation would undermine the heart of the programme, namely the provision of student grants, which the report by Smith (1979) had identified as the key to enhanced levels of student mobility. Education Ministers immediately came under fire from all directions. Expectations had been raised, and the Rectors and Heads of forty of Europe's most prestigious universities had already met to discuss the implementation of the programme confirming the enthusiasm at institutional level (Commission of the EC, 1986b). The European Parliament, as a committed enthusiast of enhanced student mobility, did not hesitate to criticise the dissenting member states (European Parliament, January 1987) and importantly, in December 1986, the European Council requested the Ministers of Education to reconsider the original ERASMUS proposal (Council of the EC, December 1986). After all, student mobility was central to the wider objective of developing a

European consciousness. On 14 May 1987, the Council of Education Ministers reached agreement, and on 15 June 1987 adopted the ERASMUS programme, allocating ECU 85 million (GBP 64.6 million) to cover the period 1 July 1987 to 30 June 1990 (Council of the EC, June 1987), although this was subsequently increased to ECU 93.7 million (GBP 71.2 million). The budget was 50 times greater than funds spent during the first three years of the JSP. The distribution of the monies would increase from ECU 10 million (GBP 760,000) in 1987/88 to ECU 30 million (GBP 22.8 million) in 1988/89, and to ECU 45 million (GBP 34.2 million) the following academic year (Commission of the EC, 1989a).

Although the guiding principles of ERASMUS remained consistent with those of the JSP Scheme, the size of the financial commitment ushered in a new era in Community student mobility policy. In practice, ERASMUS represented a radical departure from existing policy, which had been characterised by incremental adjustments to the budget. Such incrementalism was able to meet earlier objectives which set out to promote student mobility on a limited basis, primarily to examine the efficacy of exchange mobility. It was unable to meet the new objectives established during the 1980s which equated student mobility with the development of a citizen's Europe and with the economic well-being of the Community. This required a more comprehensive student mobility programme which incremental budget adjustments could not achieve. As argued by Etzioni (1967) when remedial steps - in this case incremental increases in the budget - fail to achieve policy goals, a 'fundamental' decision becomes imperative. ERASMUS was established in such a context as a fundamental decision to meet new objectives. In line with Etzioni's (1967) mixed-scanning model of decision-making, the launch of the ERASMUS programme was followed by another decade of incremental decision-making designed to implement and re-inforce the fundamental decision.

In fact, in May 1989 the Commission proposed an amendment to the initial ERASMUS decision (Commission of the EC, May 1989), and on 14 December 1989 the programme was extended to June 1994 (Council Decision, December 1989). Phase II of the programme would cost the Community a further ECU 376.5 million (GBP 286.1 million). Phase III of ERASMUS would subsequently take the programme till the end of the century. This is discussed in greater detail at a later stage in this Chapter. Importantly, the 1989 amendment, launching Phase II was facilitated by the ECJ which, in May 1989, confirmed that "the measures envisaged under the Erasmus programme do not exceed the limits of the powers conferred on the Council by Article 128 of the Treaty in the area of vocational training." (ECJ, 1989, p.1455). The Court in other words adjudged that the Treaty of Rome provided the requisite legal mandate for a Community education policy and, by default, asserted that a simple majority in the Education Council was sufficient to authorise action. This altered the balance of power in favour of the supranational institutions in the ongoing battle for control of the student mobility policy-making process. The Commission could now propose action in the area of education, which, with the support of an alliance of Education Ministers, would become binding. For the second time over a period of four years, the ECJ increased the prospect for the development of a comprehensive Community student mobility policy. The ECJ decision was shortly followed by the launch of several new programmes such as LINGUA (The Action Programme to Promote Foreign Language Competence in the European Community) and TEMPUS (Trans-European Mobility Scheme for University Studies). Both programmes were justified on grounds of human resource development (Council of the EC, August 1989; May 1990). In fact, to emphasise the link between education, human resource development and the economy, the Commission

established the Task Force Human Resources, Education, Training and Youth in 1989.

LINGUA was launched in July 1989, *inter alia*, to enhance the linguistic proficiency of students and prospective teachers of foreign language, as well as young people undergoing professional, vocational and technical education. This would be achieved by increasing in-service training of language teachers and developing ERASMUS style networks to promote student mobility. TEMPUS, adopted in May 1990 meanwhile, supports student exchanges between EU countries and the countries of central and eastern Europe, through the creation of Joint European Projects (JEPs). Significantly, both programmes promote student mobility on an exchange basis. Although TEMPUS has to date only mobilised limited numbers of students, LINGUA between 1990 and 1995 supported the mobility of 32,000 students (Commission of the EC, October 1995). Notwithstanding the introduction of LINGUA and TEMPUS, ERASMUS was to remain the main vehicle for boosting levels of student mobility in the EU.

4.7.2 The ERASMUS Programme: Aims and Principles

ERASMUS is intended to boost student mobility and institutional co-operation between higher education institutions in the EU, through the provision of a comprehensive scheme of EU financial support for students and higher education institutions. In the first draft of the ERASMUS proposal the Commission sought to commit the Education Ministers to a 10% target in student mobility by 1992 (Commission of the EC, December 1985). However, such a legally binding commitment was conspicuous by its absence in the Council Decision of 1987 establishing the ERASMUS programme (Council of the EC, June 1987), although

as part of the 1989 amendment launching Phase II of the ERASMUS programme, the Commission and Parliament reiterated the objective "that by 1992 around 10% of all students in the Community will be following a university course organized by universities in more than one Member State." (Council of the EC, December 1989, p.23). This was not, however, an annual mobility rate of 10%; rather the intention was to ensure that by 1992, 10% of all EU graduates would have spent at least three months of their higher education in other member states. This meant an average annual mobility rate of 2.5% of the EU student population, or 150,000 students.

ERASMUS, like its predecessor the JSP, seeks to effect policy implementation on the part of higher education institutions through its financial provisions. Participation is voluntary. The programme operates first and foremost by providing grants to higher education institutions for the development of student and staff exchange programmes, known as Inter-University Co-operation Programmes (ICPs). An ICP is created through the establishment of a network of European departments of universities and colleges, which then set up multi-lateral relationships for exchanging students. It was initially estimated that institutions would receive on average ECU 10,000 (GBP 7,600) to a maximum of ECU 25,000 (GBP 19,000) annually for each programme, but in practice the figure has turned out to be much lower. Funding would also be available for the development of joint curricula, intensive study courses, the European Community Course Credit Transfer System (ECTS) - explained and assessed in Chapter Five - and the Network of National Academic Recognition Information Centres (NARICs), based on the idea of the Council of Europe NEICs, and established in the Community in 1983 to provide information on recognition.

ICPs promoting student exchanges arrange study periods of between three to twelve months in another country as an integral part of a normal full length higher education course. In principle, the period of study is fully recognized by the home institution. It is a basic premise of ERASMUS that tuition fees are mutually waived by partners and that maintenance grants available in the home country continue to be paid to ERASMUS students. The programme also makes top-up grants available to exchange students for the extra costs incurred in study abroad, including return travel, language preparation and differences in the cost of living. This support, averaging ECU 2,000 (GBP 1,520) to a maximum of ECU 5,000 (GBP 3,800) annually, is, in a minority of countries, also available to ERASMUS free-movers provided the study period is fully recognized by the home institution. As a result of the 1989 amendment to the ERASMUS programme, higher education institutions are obliged to provide foreign language tuition for students. Funding is also linked both to the overall quality of cultural and educational preparation given to students prior to the study period abroad, and to the guidance received at the host institution. In effect, ERASMUS strives to make student mobility into an attractive and feasible proposition for students by primarily altering institutional behaviour through its financial provision.

4.7.3 Implementation and Evaluation of the ERASMUS Programme

Policy Implementation - The Higher Education Institution Experience

The ERASMUS programme encountered limited success during the first year of operation, mobilising only 3,244 students (Teichler, 1996). This is not surprising since most staff in the case study higher education institutions were unaware of its introduction. The JSP Scheme had managed to acquaint faculties other than

business, language and engineering with student mobility, but by and large higher education staff remained unaware of the benefits of student mobility. Meanwhile, the few enlightened members of staff interested in supporting student mobility, for what appears to be mainly philosophical and economic reasons, discovered according to Hagen (1987) only nominal support from their institution and the absence of an infrastructure at national level.

However, the ERASMUS programme gradually captured the imagination of staff. Interviewees at the case study higher education institutions maintain that the availability of funding for the establishment of ICPs, together with the provision of student funding, encouraged staff at the case study institutions to transform existing bi-lateral agreements and multi-lateral JSP networks into ERASMUS ICPs. In fact, during a period when most national governments in the EU sought to restrict higher education funding, as highlighted in Appendix 5, and with European activities taking the brunt of the cutbacks, the value of ERASMUS funding was magnified among staff interested in higher education collaboration. ERASMUS also offered and continues to offer a number of other advantages to institutions, making the programme an attractive proposition. First, ERASMUS provides considerable staff control over the whole student mobility process, allowing institutions to select partners, to agree on the numbers of students to be involved in exchange, to negotiate curricula and agree a system of examination and assessment. Second, there is someone accountable in the host institution for academic supervision and guidance of home students, and third, the selection of students going abroad is in the hands of the sending rather than the receiving institution. This means that administrative time and effort is reduced as each partner institution assesses the language proficiency, academic ability, motivation etc. of its own students. Fourth, the reciprocal nature of the programme ensures, in theory, that home students accrue 'added-value' that is at least commensurate

with that received by their counterparts. Fifth, the requirement for periods of study to be integral to the student's course, for institutions as for students, removes the problem of recognition. Finally, ERASMUS allows for the development of 'mutual trust and confidence' by funding institutional representatives to meet, discuss, prepare curricula, iron out difficulties and importantly, develop institutional relationships based on personal contact. In this context ERASMUS funding is indispensable. The Acting Director of the international office at the University College, Dublin maintains that:

"For the staff to set up the original programme ... for the co-ordinator to get together, to travel to the other country ... to get the programmes up and going and make assessment arrangements ... it [ERASMUS money] is essential."

Most institutional representatives maintained during the interviews that the growth of student mobility at their institutions cannot be simply attributed to the financial and other provisions of the ERASMUS programme. According to most interviewees, credit must also be given to committed staff responsible both for introducing student mobility to the institution, and successfully campaigning for its extension. At most of the case study institutions, enthusiasm for ERASMUS was predominantly from the ranks of academic staff rather than from management; in exceptional cases the drive to promote student mobility came from above. For example, both the Rector at the Hochschule Bremen and the Vice-Rector of International Relations at the Universidad Autonoma in Madrid, persuaded members of staff to initiate or develop student mobility programmes with partner institutions. At the University of Derby, the role of encouragement was assumed by the newly-appointed Director of International Strategy, who as a high profile personality from within the European Commission, and responsible for the design of ECTS, was hand-picked by the Vice-Chancellor of Derby to join the University.

In concrete terms, the interview material shows that at some case study institutions, management mobilised institutional resources to support student mobility by establishing an international office and creating language support facilities. At other institutions, new structures were created to encourage staff participation. For example, the Vice-Rector at the Autonoma University in Madrid, pointed out that an international representative was appointed to the decision-making body of each faculty with a brief to encourage Europeanisation. Meanwhile, at Poitiers University according to the international officer, a primary reason for creating the COIMBRA group (a network including many of the oldest universities in Europe) was to provide a framework for international co-operation. Staff at Poitiers University could therefore develop relationships with partners abroad without having to expend time, resources and energy seeking counterparts or vetting standards.

Staff who continued to entertain reservations about student mobility not only had to contend with the growing commitment from management and colleagues, but also had to deal with increasing enquiries from home students interested in study abroad, a phenomenon experienced first-hand by most of the European/International officers interviewed by this study. According to the interview data, home student interest in the ERASMUS programme was often raised by ERASMUS publicity or through contact with either EU students or those home students returning from study abroad - a point confirmed by Maiworm et al. (1993b) who found that among the 1990/91 ERASMUS student cohort, 67% had learnt about the programme from staff, 28% from visual information and posters and 35% from friends and other students. Maiworm et al. (1993b) suggest that regardless of the many difficulties during study abroad, on return, most ERASMUS students hold a highly positive perception of the experience, often

acting as 'ambassadors' of student mobility, a proposition confirmed by the international officer at the Hochschule Bremen:

"From students coming back from abroad I often have heard that the time spent abroad was very interesting, not only in the sense of what they are studying, but in the sense of their personal development ... students often say afterwards that it was worthwhile going abroad."

Interviewees at many of the case study institutions pointed out that it also became increasingly difficult for less committed staff to ignore the presence of EU students. It was maintained by one international officer at the University of Humberside that some lecturers were converted to supporting student exchange simply through contact with EU students:

"People [staff] are very impressed by the quality of the incoming students from the rest of Europe ... And enjoyed them enormously. They found it very stimulating to have intelligent, articulate German students for example, ... And they were converted".

This experience is corroborated by practitioners at the University of Birmingham:

"Some academic colleagues reacted initially with a degree of reticence to the notion of admitting to their courses French undergraduate students spending a single year of study in the University. However, in practice, tutor reaction to exchange students has been extremely positive. The virtues of commitment and assiduity demonstrated by these students overcame the initial hesitancy. Their ability to cope satisfactorily with undergraduate work alongside their British counterparts, in what is after all their second or even third language, generated almost universal approval ... More surprisingly, perhaps, colleagues in different faculties in the home-based institution with whom academic packages had to be negotiated were drawn into the spirit of the ERASMUS programme" (Cousins et al., 1990, p.96).

In effect, the launch of the ERASMUS programme transformed student mobility from a disparate occurrence driven by isolated academics, into a widespread and

integral phenomenon at the majority of the case study institutions. This occasioned the development of an explicit policy on student mobility at some of the case study institutions, while, at others, despite large scale mobility, such a policy was deemed undesirable, as it could have a constraining effect. For example, the need to comply with laborious procedures or ensure that an ICP is compatible with an overall strategy could be prohibitive for staff members contemplating student exchange. This is in direct acknowledgement that initial interest in any co-operation agreement must originate at the grassroots. At the heart of any co-operation agreement are a few individuals prepared to carry the additional burden accompanying student mobility, including paperwork, responsibility for the welfare of students (although at some institutions this comes within the remit of the European or international office), liaising with colleagues at partner institutions and so on. According to the European development officer at Kingston University, co-operation agreements forced upon teaching staff by management are unlikely to bear much success: "if you do not have the personal contact and personal enthusiasm the thing will not work and will not last". The international officer at the Hochschule Bremen is of a similar view:

"We get letters of institutions of higher education abroad ... interested in starting up international relations. That is problematic because then the Rector, or I ... must find a colleague who might be interested. It is better when a colleague has some personal relations to other colleagues in foreign countries ... because then there is a highly motivated person who comes back with some information about the [foreign] institution ... then it is really growing up from the bottom ... and it is the way with most success of course."

The emphasis on grassroots involvement has not precluded managerial involvement altogether. The mobilisation of institutional resources to support student mobility has inevitably increased management supervision and to some extent compromised staff autonomy at some, but not all, of the case study institutions. According to interviewees at some of the case study institutions, staff

had previously negotiated bi-lateral agreements and implemented joint programmes of study with minimal managerial input. ERASMUS, on the other hand, had occasioned the development of procedures for establishing exchange agreements which include managerial involvement. The criteria and procedure for establishing exchange agreements vary from one institution to the next, but the 'bottom-up' approach is common to those case study institutions which consider it appropriate to develop a co-operation strategy. The procedure at the Complutense University in Madrid is explicit in its use of a 'bottom-up' developmental model. Staff interested in establishing an agreement with a European colleague or institution are requested to do some background work before presenting a case to the Department and Faculty Senate. The international relations office is subsequently informed and corresponds with the potential partner institution, exchanging information on courses, curricula content etc. In the meantime, and partly based on the information processed by the international relations office, management considers whether the agreement will be mutually beneficial for both sets of students. Some analysis of the standard of the potential partner institution is inevitable in this process. In the light of existing agreements within that particular geographical area, and available funding, if the response is positive, the agreement is prepared, scrutinised and if necessary revised. At this stage the co-operation process sometimes culminates in a ceremonial signing of documents to formalise the relationship and demonstrate that the agreement has the full support of the institutions, as opposed to faculties or individuals. The 'bottom-up' developmental model therefore encourages staff involvement during the early stages, in acknowledgement of the importance of personal contact, and managerial participation during the screening of prospective partner institutions, the assessment of the potential quality of the relationship and the signing of documents. In more decentralised systems of institutional management, the need for approval may not extend beyond Deans or Heads of Faculties.

Importantly, the evidence shows that at the point of promulgation from Brussels, the ERASMUS programme is not a fully operational policy. Broad principles regarding the exchange of students need to be transformed into concrete operational projects. In the process, higher education management and staff, together and individually, have to take numerous decisions concerning resource allocations, procedures for co-operation, the selection of partners, preparation of students and so on. The ERASMUS programme therefore necessarily assumes full 'policy' status at institutional level and not at the point of promulgation in Brussels. The importance of policy input at the institutional level is acknowledged and accommodated in the design of the ERASMUS programme by policy-makers in Brussels:

"ERASMUS does not impose a "model" of academic co-operation. It has permitted the emergence of co-operation schemes which are very diverse from all points of view: the motivation of their promoters, internal organisation, role of languages and language preparation, forms of academic recognition etc. Most experts have underlined this key point and insisted on the need for the programme to be flexible in order to respond to situations which vary considerably according to region, discipline, type of establishment and the objectives of ICP organizers." (Commission of the EC, December 1989b, p.9).

Such flexibility, allowing significant input at institutional level, precludes the prospect of a uniform policy, and consequently a common ERASMUS experience for students. In particular, the studies by Maiworm et al. (1991, 1993b) confirm that ERASMUS students, like their JSP predecessors, encounter differing levels of linguistic, socio-cultural and academic preparation; a range of selection criteria and procedures; differing levels of reception, accommodation, supervision and academic progress at host institutions; and varying levels of recognition of the study period abroad on return to the home institution.

It is clear from the analysis of the development of student mobility policy that the policy-making/policy implementation distinction cannot be sustained. The continuation of the complex process of bargaining, negotiation, interaction and learning, during policy implementation, results in a seamless relationship between policy-making and policy implementation. Consequently, an analysis of student mobility policy development cannot be complete without consideration of the significant policy-making role of those responsible for implementing Community policy at institutional level. Student mobility policy is necessarily the outcome of interaction between three distinct levels of policy-making.

An Evaluation of the ERASMUS Programme - Phase I and II

Within a relatively short period of time, the ERASMUS programme transformed student mobility into a widespread phenomenon at most of the case study institutions, by influencing minds, cultures, structures and procedures, and by introducing student mobility to faculties, departments and management previously oblivious to the concept of student exchange. As the international officer at the University of Poitiers points out, prior to ERASMUS "mobility was very rare ... and this is the great merit of the European Community, in my view, to have given really a boost to this type of exchanges." The traditional obstacles to student mobility have been by-passed and students who would otherwise not study abroad have been mobilised. Maiworm et al. (1991, 1993a, 1993b) acknowledge that academic recognition, finance, student accommodation and language remain problematic for some students, but this is often attributed to the significant proportion of new ICPs each year, which inevitably experience some teething problems.

Although policy evaluations by the Commission have confirmed the considerable success of the ERASMUS programme (Commission of the EC, 1988, 1989a, 1989b), there was a realisation that ERASMUS mobility was relatively expensive. Between 1987 and 1994, ERASMUS and ECTS mobilised 197,806 students (Teichler, 1996) at a cost of ECU 468.3 million (GBP 356 million). Each student participating in ERASMUS or ECTS between 1987 and 1994 therefore cost the Community ECU 2,367 (GBP 1,799). Importantly, despite allocating unprecedented amounts of money, the 10% target in student mobility, or an annual mobility rate of 150,000 students remained elusive. In fact, in the 1993/94 academic year, at the end of Phase II, the programme still only managed to support 54,500 students, representing a shortfall of 95,500 students. The inability of ERASMUS to meet the 10% target in student mobility was by no means a function of a lack of interest on the part of students or higher education institutions. The problem remained one of limited resources and the result was unsatisfied demand for student mobility. In an evaluation of the first two years of the Programme the Commission argued that:

"ERASMUS has received an exceptionally warm welcome in university circles. This enthusiasm has expressed itself in a massive demand to participate, a response way above the programme's resources ... This has given rise to numerous reactions of disappointment and frustration [at the higher education level]." (Commission of the EC, December 1989b, p.I).

Although the exact level of unsatisfied demand is difficult to calculate, it is instructive that during the first phase (1987-1990) of the ERASMUS programme, 42% of ICPs, potentially encompassing the mobility of thousands of students, were rejected by the Commission because of limited resources (Commission of the EC, December 1989b, Annex, p.2). In addition there are those students in faculties with approved ICPs, but who, as a result of stringent selection criteria, fail to secure an ERASMUS grant. Maiworm et al. (1993a) show that in 1989/90

only 8% of ICP co-ordinators did not have to resort to student selection; 6% operated on the basis of 'first come, first served', and the remaining 86% of ICP co-ordinators employed academic achievement, motivation and personality and proficiency in the host language as selection criteria. At the case study IUT, La Rochelle in France, ERASMUS students are selected on the basis of their academic performance, automatically disqualifying all but the top 30% of the student cohort. The ERASMUS officer at La Rochelle admits "there is a lot of competition for places, we don't send very many across."

ERASMUS appeals to students because the responsibility of arranging a period of study abroad lies with the home institution, rather than the individual student. This removes the recognition and information obstacles encountered by the free-floater. Equally, if not more important, is the possibility of undertaking a fully integrated period of study in another country without extending the overall length of time spent working towards a qualification, or encountering additional costs. The language, academic and cultural preparation provided by the host institution prior to the study period abroad, and the familiarisation with teaching methods to be encountered, also proves significant in attracting student interest. Furthermore, student accommodation is often arranged or provided by the host institution, and, significantly, students participating in organised study abroad programmes have the distinct advantage of not being alone, but travelling abroad as part of a group of students. In short, the design characteristics and financial provisions of the ERASMUS programme generated considerable interest among higher education students for student mobility, and triggered the dynamics for even more interest (namely, through the student 'ambassador' factor), which the programme was unable to meet. As a by-product of its success, the ERASMUS programme highlighted its own shortcomings.

4.8 Student Mobility Policy Development: 1989-1992

4.8.1 Exchange Mobility Policy - The Launch of Phase II of ERASMUS

The early evaluations of the ERASMUS programme by the Commission confirmed that the Community would have to increase its financial commitment if it was to achieve the 10% target in student mobility (Commission of the EC, 1988, 1989a, 1989b). The Commission, however, employed different reasons for justifying an extension of the programme:

"The fragility of the ICPs is also visible on the financial level: as a whole, ICPs are extremely dependent upon Community support, in both the short and medium term ... For this reason, if ERASMUS just provided finance for individual ICPs for a limited period, there could be a serious risk of jeopardizing the European University Network ... Community aid must therefore be kept up until the institutions are in a position to take over." (Commission of the EC, December 1989b, p.11).

In response to such pleas, Education Ministers extended the ERASMUS Programme till June 1994 (Council Decision, December 1989), a provision accommodated by the initial ERASMUS Decision. The financial commitment for the first three years of Phase II amounted to an annual average ECU 64 million. As Absalom (1990) points out, this was an increase of only 12.5% from the budget in the previous year to meet an anticipated demand in the order of 100%. In a statement to the European Parliament in 1989, a commission spokesman maintained that "the budget of 192 ECU million for the period until 1992 ... will - as the Commission itself is aware - be inadequate to achieve the quantitative objectives of the Programme." (quoted in Absalom, 1990, p.53). The apparent reluctance among member states to commit sufficient financial resources to meet the 10% target in student mobility resulted in another reprimand from the European parliament:

"A strategy for the optimization of the mobility programmes must give priority to measures designed to increase the available budget to enable the programmes to match the interest and within a short period of time to achieve and significantly exceed the planned 10% exchange level which, according to the original estimates, should be reached as soon as the Single Market has been completed [in 1992]." (European Parliament, February 1991, p.219).

In practice, attempts by the supranational institutions to cajole Education Ministers into increasing funding for student mobility had limited impact. Implicitly, member states conceded that the 10% goal in student mobility established by the Commission and the European Parliament was financially unattainable, at least in the short term. Instead, during the period from 1988 to 1993, Education Ministers used their Conclusions and Resolutions to increasingly emphasise the European dimension for non-mobile students or what is popularly termed as bringing 'Europe to the students'. For example, in November 1992, Education Ministers devoted a whole meeting on "developing a European dimension in higher education" emphasising "the need to complement student mobility with other measures" (Council of the EC, December 1992, p.3). While the Commission supported a greater role for the European dimension, it refused to abandon the 10% target in student mobility. Instead, in acknowledgement of the financial limits, the Commission made increasing reference to the less expensive free-movement mobility during the period 1989-1992.

4.8.2 Free-Movement Mobility Policy Development: 1989-1992

As early as 1989, there were signs that, for the first time in almost a decade, the Commission was prepared to place free-movement mobility back on to the political agenda of Education Ministers. Most notably, in June 1989, the

Commission introduced a Proposal for a Council Directive on the right of residence of students. The Directive was intended to eliminate the potential for member states to limit incoming mobility by withholding right of residence for students. Article 7 of the Treaty of Rome provided the legal basis:

"Within the scope of the application of this Treaty, and without prejudice to any special provisions contained therein, any discrimination on grounds of nationality shall be prohibited. The Council may, on a proposal from the Commission and after consulting the Assembly, adopt, by a qualified majority, rules designed to prohibit such discrimination." (European Communities, Article 7, Treaty of Rome, 1957, p.6).

Education Ministers approved the Directive in June 1990, but changed the legal basis from Article 7 to Article 235, and therefore from qualified majority to unanimity in Council. Education Ministers also incorporated a significant amendment to the Commission proposal requiring mobile students to have "sufficient resources to avoid becoming a burden on the social assistance system of the host Member State during their period of residence." (Council of the EC, July 1990). Although, the European Parliament and the Commission overturned the use of Article 235 by taking the matter to the ECJ (ECJ, July 1992), the host government is still not responsible for the maintenance of EU students from other member states who must normally prove their financial status ahead of a period of study (Council of the EC, May 1993). However, a significant legal barrier to free-movement mobility was removed. Attempts by the Commission to address the remaining barriers to free-movement during the early 1990s encountered less success.

In December 1991, the Commission launched a Memorandum on Higher Education in the European Community (1991), which together with the conference preceding it was designed to consider the future of European higher

education and specifically the new European dimension. The contents of the Memorandum were influenced by the IRDAC (Industrial Research and Development Advisory Committee) report, which argued that a deficiency in science and technical graduates could leave the EU lagging behind its main international competitors. Consequently, the Memorandum took the completion of the Single Market and the competitiveness of the EU economy as its starting point. The link between education and the economic well-being of the Community, first developed by the Commission in 1986, was therefore maintained.

While the Memorandum addressed a number of salient issues, ranging from continuing education and research, to access to higher education, it was mainly concerned with establishing a 'European dimension' in higher education. Integral to the European dimension was student mobility, justified on the grounds that the single market requires increasing numbers of graduates with "first hand experience of studying, living and working in another Community country." (Commission of the EC, November 1991, p.128). The Memorandum, however, conceded that:

"Possibilities of mobility will need to embrace a variety of different patterns, varying from students who merely wish to spend a brief period abroad for the purposes of conducting a particular project, course unit or part of a dissertation or gaining a measure of planned industrial experience, to those who for family, career or other reasons would like to receive their entire higher education or to study towards a further qualification in another member state. Much mobility in the future will be organized within the framework of the growing multiplicity of inter-university networks and university-enterprise partnerships of various kinds; but provision must also be made for the individual students who, for a whole variety of reasons, wish to take some or all of their higher education courses elsewhere in the Community" (Commission of the EC, November 1991, p.28).

In effect, the Memorandum argued that free-mover mobility should be a viable option for students who wished not to be restricted by exchange agreements. This would require a number of practical measures to remove the barriers to free-movement mobility. In particular, the Memorandum proposed to:

- explore the feasibility of introducing Euro-loans, available to students at favourable interest rates for the purpose of study abroad;
- examine the development of a database to overcome the problems of inadequate information;
- review existing programmes, to ensure less well-off students are not excluded from Community programmes; and,
- assess policies of *numerus clausus* in relation to student mobility to ensure fair play and non-discrimination.

While emphasising the need to continue to promote measures to facilitate student mobility, the Commission simultaneously accepted that:

"However successful the policies of enhancing mobility it must be assumed it will always be a minority of students who go abroad. Policies must therefore be developed to ensure that the great majority of students who will not be mobile in the geographical sense, may nonetheless partake of the European experience which will be vital for their future lives and careers" (Commission of the EC, November 1991, p.31).

To bring Europe closer to the remaining students, the Commission supported the exchange of teaching staff and encouraged the incorporation of European perspectives in the curriculum, through the provision of "units" of a course in a

foreign language, institutional co-operation in curriculum development and the creation of a multi-lingual environment within higher education institutions. In essence, the Memorandum encouraged institutions to incorporate a European dimension in all aspects of academic life.

The Memorandum generated considerable debate in member states and EFTA countries during 1992. While there was overwhelming support for the continued development of student mobility, member states in particular expressed reservations about the intended means to achieve this goal. Many of the solutions proposed by the Memorandum to tackle the barriers inhibiting further expansion in student mobility were deemed untenable by member states for practical and financial reasons, and, importantly, for fear of a centralisation of power in Brussels at the expense of member states' own control of national higher education systems. The suspicion that first manifested itself nearly 20 years ago regarding the aspirations of the Commission was still potent. Member states were assisted in their response to the Memorandum by developments in the Community during the consultation period of the Memorandum. On 7 February 1992, member states signed the Treaty of European Union (TEU), more popularly known as the Maastricht Treaty. Article 126 of the Treaty, for the first time in the history of the Community, acknowledged that higher education has a role to play in the pursuit of European Union, but this would exclude measures that would lead to a centralisation or harmonisation of national systems of higher education:

"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 organisation of education systems and their cultural and linguistic diversity.

Community action shall be aimed at:

- developing the European dimension in education, particularly through the teaching and dissemination of the languages of the Member States;
- encouraging mobility of students and teachers, inter alia by encouraging the academic recognition of diplomas and periods of study;
- promoting co-operation between educational establishments;
- developing exchanges of information and experience on issues common to the education systems of the Member States ...
- encouraging the development of distance education ...

In order to contribute to the achievement of the objectives referred to in this Article, the Council ...

"after consulting the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, shall adopt incentive measures, excluding any harmonisation of the laws and regulations of the Member States" (European Communities, 1992, p.47).

During their response to the Memorandum, several governments made specific reference to Article 126 of the Maastricht Treaty, emphasising that some of the ideas proposed by the Commission would directly breach the principle of subsidiarity. The principle which is enshrined in Article 3B of the Treaty of European Union maintains that:

"The Community shall act within the limits of the powers conferred upon it by this Treaty and of the objectives assigned to it therein. In areas which do not fall within its exclusive competence, the Community shall take action, in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity, only if and in so far as the objectives of the proposed action cannot be sufficiently achieved by the Member States and can therefore, by reason of the scale or effects of the proposed action, be better achieved by the Community" (European Communities, 1992, pp.13-14).

This was, in effect, an excellent opportunity for some governments to explicitly and publicly warn Brussels not to encroach on the authority of member states in the running of national higher education systems. The Commission should, instead, be a facilitator or enabler of co-operation as agreed nearly two decades before. The following quote from the Dutch national government response sums up the mood of those member states concerned about intervention by Brussels:

"The Netherlands attaches great importance to permanent international co-operation in higher education. This should, however, originate in the first instance from the higher education institutions themselves. Responsibility for the national education system should continue to lie with the national governments. The Commission's role is primarily to provide information and encourage activity in certain fields. It may also initiate and promote measures where new developments arise which could usefully be co-ordinated" (Netherlands Ministry of Education, 1992, p.16).

In other words, despite granting the Commission a definite mandate in the area of higher education, Article 126 of the Maastricht Treaty failed to increase the influence of supranational institutions. Paradoxically the Article diminished the power of the Commission. This is especially true since, before Maastricht, the Commission was granted extensive powers in the area of higher education as vocational education had been defined by the Court in its widest sense. During the response to the Memorandum many member states asserted that, within the context of Article 126, Union competence must be defined by member states through "constant dialogue" with the Commission. Far from securing a victory by incorporating education into the Maastricht Treaty, the Commission and the European Parliament may have undermined the 1989 ECJ decision, which had placed considerable powers in the hands of supranational institutions of the Community. Barnard (1992) argues that Article 126 may be counter-productive for two other reasons. First, the European Court will be forced to take a 'back-seat' now that the member states had legally clarified their position with respect to

Article 126. Second, Article 126 requires qualified majority voting, namely 70% of the votes, allowing recalcitrant governments a greater opportunity to veto Commission proposals that contradict national priorities, objectives and policies in higher education. In contrast, under Article 128 a simple majority of 51% of the vote sufficed.

The attempt by the Commission to tackle the barriers to free-movement mobility had clearly failed. By publishing a consultation document, the increasingly confident Commission sought to place the issue of free-movement mobility onto the agenda of policy-makers at the national and institutional levels. This was achieved, but the response of member states proved overwhelming and unambiguous. By underlining the principle of subsidiarity, member states indirectly but effectively undermined the development of a free-movement mobility policy. In this context, the Memorandum became a relatively futile exercise. However, as will become evident in the final section of this Chapter, the proposals to bring Europe to the students was seized by member states as a means of compensating the limited levels of student mobility. Meanwhile, in view of the response from national governments, the Commission assumed its traditional influencing role, during the period 1993-1996, by concentrating on the launch of Phase III of the ERASMUS programme.

4.9 Policy Development - The Launch of ERASMUS Phase III: 1993-1996

4.9.1. Policy Development - ERASMUS Phase III

In May 1993 the Commission adopted a working paper Guidelines for Community Action in the Field of Education and Training which took stock of the existing

situation and proposed ways to move beyond 1994 when most of the Community programmes in the area of education and training were to come to an end. The working paper contained all the characteristics of a document drafted in the context of member states' response to the Memorandum. The Guidelines made no reference to the measures outlined in the Memorandum to facilitate free-movement mobility, and simply proposed encouraging larger scale exchanges, with member states gradually assuming responsibility for promoting the European dimension in education. The Commission engaged in discussions with individual member states and following discussions in the European Parliament and Council, plans were revealed by the Commission for future activities in higher education as part of the SOCRATES initiative, to cover the period 1 January 1995 to 31 December 1999 (Commission of the EC, March 1994). The programme would bring all education activities of the EU (except research) under one programme, requiring a budget allocation of more than ECU 1 billion (GBP 760 million).

The proposal still had to go through the legislative process and conflict in the policy-making process again influenced outcomes. In addition to granting education a legal basis, the Treaty of European Union also revised the decision-making procedure granting the European Parliament the power of veto. The new procedure termed the 'co-decision procedure' - which applies to the area of education - is similar to the 'co-operation procedure' but allows the Council of Ministers to convene a meeting of the 'Conciliation Committee' if the European Parliament intends to reject the Council's proposal on its second reading. Here the Council of Ministers may explain its position to the European Parliament. If consensus cannot be found in the Conciliation Committee, the Council may still adopt its common position by a qualified majority, within six weeks, providing the European Parliament does not veto within this period. If the European Parliament decides to amend the proposal following the Conciliation Committee, the Council

may accept the proposal by qualified majority, if it has the support of the Commission, or unanimously otherwise. If the European Parliament decides to reject by an absolute majority the proposal fails (European Communities, 1992). Consequently, the Treaty of European Union marked a clear shift in power to the supranational level of the Community, and in particular to the European Parliament.

Under the new co-decision procedure of the Maastricht Treaty, the European Parliament made over 100 amendments on its first reading of the SOCRATES programme, re-asserting the 10% goal in student mobility, demanding that the programme is available to Central and Eastern Europe countries, Malta and Cyprus, and that there should be no reference to the cost of the programme (European Parliament, April 1994). The Economic and Social Committee had already in 1994 questioned the sufficiency of the funds earmarked for SOCRATES (ESC, 1994). Under the new decision-making procedure the Commission accepted the key amendments (Commission of the EC, June 1994b), and the battle lines were established between the supranational and intergovernmental Community institutions, when the Council rejected some of the amendments supported by Parliament and the Commission, particularly the commitment to a 10% target in student mobility and the proposal to remove all reference to the cost of the programme. The Council estimated that the SOCRATES programme would cost ECU 760 million (GBP 577 million) (Council of the EC, August 1994).

During the crucial second reading, the European Parliament, made 22 changes to the Council's common position (European Parliament, November 1994), of which the key changes, namely the inclusion of a 10% target in mobility, the opening up of the programme to third countries and mention of finances were again supported

by the Commission (Commission of the EC, November 1994). The persistence on the part of supranational institutions forced the Council to call a Conciliation Committee which failed to agree on a joint text in December 1994 (Council of the EC, December 1994) but a second Conciliation Committee in January 1995 found common ground and agreed a figure of ECU 850 million (GBP 646 million) (Council of the EC, January 1995). The programme would also be open to Central and East European countries, Malta and Cyprus, although, most importantly, there was no reference to a 10% target in student mobility. Once again, Education Ministers refused to be bound by a legally binding target which they viewed as potentially extremely costly. The SOCRATES programme was finally approved in March 1995 by the European Parliament and Council and demonstrated the first tangible example of the influence of the European Parliament in the development of a Community student mobility policy (European Parliament and Council, March 1995).

4.9.2 ERASMUS Phase III: Principles

Rather than replace existing action programmes, the aim of SOCRATES is to "simplify", "rationalize" and "strengthen" them, particularly by promoting the establishment of large networks of co-operation, and ensuring a European dimension in each student's education. The intention is to transform the 2,500 ICPs supported under ERASMUS into around 150-200 thematic networks, open to all institutions interested in developing co-operation. Continued support will also be forthcoming for student mobility, joint development of curricula, mobility of teaching staff, short courses, student language preparation and the ECTS.

ERASMUS Phase III proposes to centralise the payment of funding to institutions through the development of an 'institutional contract'. Under current arrangements, communication lines exist only between the Commission and network co-ordinators. The co-ordinators distribute funding to partners in the network, leading to a situation under which an institution may participate in several networks without developing any link or relationship with the funding body. In future, each institution will be required to make a central application to the Commission, incorporating all European activity eligible for EU funding. This will necessitate more co-ordinated procedures within institutions, and, it is intended, increase institutional responsiveness to criteria established by the Commission. Existing funding criteria include the overall commitment of institutions, the qualitative development of ICPs, student participation rates, the provision of accommodation at reasonable cost and the recognition of periods of study and award of credits. The guidelines in addition consider the measures taken to continue activities once Community funding has been withdrawn.

ERASMUS Phase III confirms the trend in Community student mobility policy during the last two decades, namely to promote student mobility based on exchange, with emphasis on an increasing diversification of partners and eligible countries. The value attached to the preservation of diversity in European higher education remains fundamental to policy considerations at national and European levels, and generally precludes measures aimed at convergence of higher education systems as a means to facilitate student mobility. This being so, the merits of 'mutual trust and confidence' and 'institutional networks' are currently fundamental to the implementation of EU policy in this area. As a product of a pluralist policy-making system, radical departures from existing policy remain impractical and politically impossible.

4.9 Conclusion

This Chapter has provided some insight into the emergence, development, implementation, impact and evaluation of student mobility policy at the intergovernmental level over a period of fifty years. In particular, the Chapter has identified the interplay between intergovernmental organisations and member states as a significant variable in the development of student mobility policy at Community level - as well as the considerable role of higher education institutions. In short, it has been the argument of this Chapter that an appreciation of Community student mobility policy in its entirety requires an analysis of the relative contribution of actors at three different levels of policy-making. The limited focus on the intergovernmental level provides only a partial picture of student mobility policy development.

In terms of understanding the emergence and development of student mobility policy at the Community level, two factors are particularly critical: the nature of the Community decision-making system and the absence of a legal mandate for education - which together concentrated decision-making powers in the hands of member states, collectively represented in the Council of Education Ministers and the European Council. In this context, and in view of the more significant issues occupying the Community policy agenda, student mobility failed to feature as an issue during the lifetime of the EEC. The eventual emergence of educational co-operation was not a result of any external pressure forcing the issue onto the policy agenda of the EC, but as a result of a genuine willingness among the member states to co-operate in the area of education. Given the support at the highest political level, educational co-operation did not have to overcome the many obstacles and bottlenecks usually encountered by issues seeking the attention of policy-makers. The subsequent link between educational co-operation

and student mobility, on the other hand, must be credited to Janne (1973) and the Working Party of Senior Officials (Commission of the EC, 1977). Both parties identified academic mobility as an integral part of an education policy designed to further co-operation between systems of higher education. The emergence of student mobility as an explicit issue of policy in 1973 did not necessarily result in immediate practical results. On the contrary, numerous incremental decisions had to be taken, in part to clarify the aims and objectives of a Community education policy, but also to pacify the Education Ministers, before a fundamental decision was finally taken in the form of the Education Action Programme in 1975.

As part of the Education Action Programme, the Commission launched the JSP Scheme which was designed to avoid the harmonisation of higher education systems, respect higher education institutional autonomy and promote reciprocal mobility flows. Positive evaluations of the JSP Scheme allowed Education Ministers to abandon measures to promote the less attractive free-movement mobility. By transferring responsibility for free-movement mobility to national governments, the issue was effectively removed from the Community agenda. As a result, during the course of the 1980s, supranational institutions focused their energies on the further development of exchange. In the absence of a legal mandate, supranational institutions encountered limited success during the early 1980s as Education Ministers resisted the attempts by the European Parliament and the Commission to commit significant sums of money for student mobility. The largely incremental decision-making - which usually follows a fundamental decision - in the form of limited budget increases was finally disrupted by a series of developments, of a political, legal and economic nature during the mid-1980s, resulting in the launch of a significant student mobility programme. In this context, the decisions of the ECJ proved seminal. Both the Gravier ruling and the 1989 decision undermined the power of member governments by granting

education a legal basis in the Treaty of Rome. The ECJ, in a stroke, strengthened the negotiating position of the Commission and the European Parliament. The result was that all student mobility programmes were promulgated as legally binding Decisions, as opposed to the less effectual and unbinding Resolutions and Conclusions. The intervention by the ECJ in particular, explains how a largely incremental policy-making system, accommodating competing interests and therefore characterised by conflict, negotiation and compromise could produce a fundamental decision in the form of the ERASMUS programme.

If power had shifted in favour of supranational institutions and therefore in favour of a more comprehensive student mobility policy, this had limited impact for students wishing to study abroad on a free-movement basis. Paradoxically, the incorporation of education into the Treaty of European Union precluded any potential for the development of a policy addressing the obstacles to free-movement mobility. During their response to the Memorandum, member states invoked the principle of subsidiarity to prevent the Community from supporting measures designed to dismantle the barriers to free-movement. Instead, Education Ministers agreed to launch Phase III of the ERASMUS programme. In this context, exchange mobility has provided a politically convenient alternative to the development of a free-movement mobility policy at Community level. The continued absence of a free-movement mobility policy can only be understood in the context of exchange mobility.

For staff and institutions responsible for policy implementation and oblivious to the power struggles between member states and the supranational institutions, Community student mobility policy displayed consistency and logic during the period 1976 to 1996. Emphasis remained upon voluntary co-operation and decentralised implementation. A consideration of the attraction of the ERASMUS

programme suggests that the design characteristics and the financial provisions prove extremely attractive to students and staff alike. The diffusion of student mobility throughout the case study higher education institutions is also explained by the commitment of individual staff and management. Although philosophical, cultural and social reasons are cited by staff for participating in academic mobility, in practice, instrumental reasons prove increasingly critical as will become evident in the next Chapter.

The inclusion of higher education institutions during a consideration of policy development is significant, since the difference between student mobility policy at Community level and institutional level is considerable. Community policy deals with broad principles, institutional policy with the practical details. In the process of transforming broad principles of Community policy into working programmes, higher education staff and management inevitably engage in policy-making. The varying policy outcomes experienced by students can only be understood as the product of the significant input at the institutional level. In short, student mobility policy in its entirety is the product of interaction between the Community, national and institutional levels of decision-making. This is even more evident in the next Chapter dealing with student mobility policy and practice at the national and higher education institutional levels in the context of the case studies.

Chapter Five

Student Mobility Policy at the National and Institutional Level

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Student Mobility Policy at the National and Institutional Level

5.1 Introduction

This Chapter is intended to complement the previous two Chapters by examining student mobility policy and practice at the governmental and institutional level. The Chapter has three key aims. First, it attempts to understand the nature of student mobility policy at the national and institutional levels. Second, the analysis seeks to appreciate the key factors influencing the policies of national governments and higher education institutions. In particular, the Chapter examines the impact of Community student mobility policy on policy orientations at these levels. The analysis confirms that like the Community, national governments and higher education institutions have also increasingly emphasised exchange mobility during the course of the 1980s. The third aim of this Chapter is to consider the impacts of national and institutional policy in the context of the student mobility flows noted in Chapter Three.

Although this Chapter is interested in understanding student mobility policy at the national and institutional level, it does not follow a similar format to Chapter Four which examined the development and implementation of Community student mobility policy over a 50 year time-span, mainly through documentary analysis. The focus of this Chapter is current student mobility policy and practice through an examination of six case study national governments and sixteen higher education institutions in France, Germany, Ireland, Spain, Sweden and the UK. Importantly, the Chapter assumes a comparative dimension as the student mobility

policies and practice of the case study higher education institutions and governments are compared and contrasted. According to Castles (1989) an analysis of similarities and differences between the different case studies remains a central aim of any comparative study. Equally, comparative study lends itself to building patterns, models and generalisations. Armer and Grimshaw (1971, p.19) maintain "that there are patterns is the argument of the comparative scholar", although Warwick and Osherson (1973, p.86) stress that "comparative analysis should ask what factors appear to be at work when the posited analytic association is not observed empirically", an argument upheld by several writers (Castles, 1989; Shalev, 1989; Therborn, 1989). A central feature of this Chapter is therefore to identify patterns, associations and generalisations in relation to the student mobility policies at the case study higher education institutions and governments, as well as to note and explain those cases which fail to correspond with the emerging patterns and models.

5.2 Student Mobility Policy and National Governments: 1970-1996

5.2.1 The Historical Context: 1970-1989

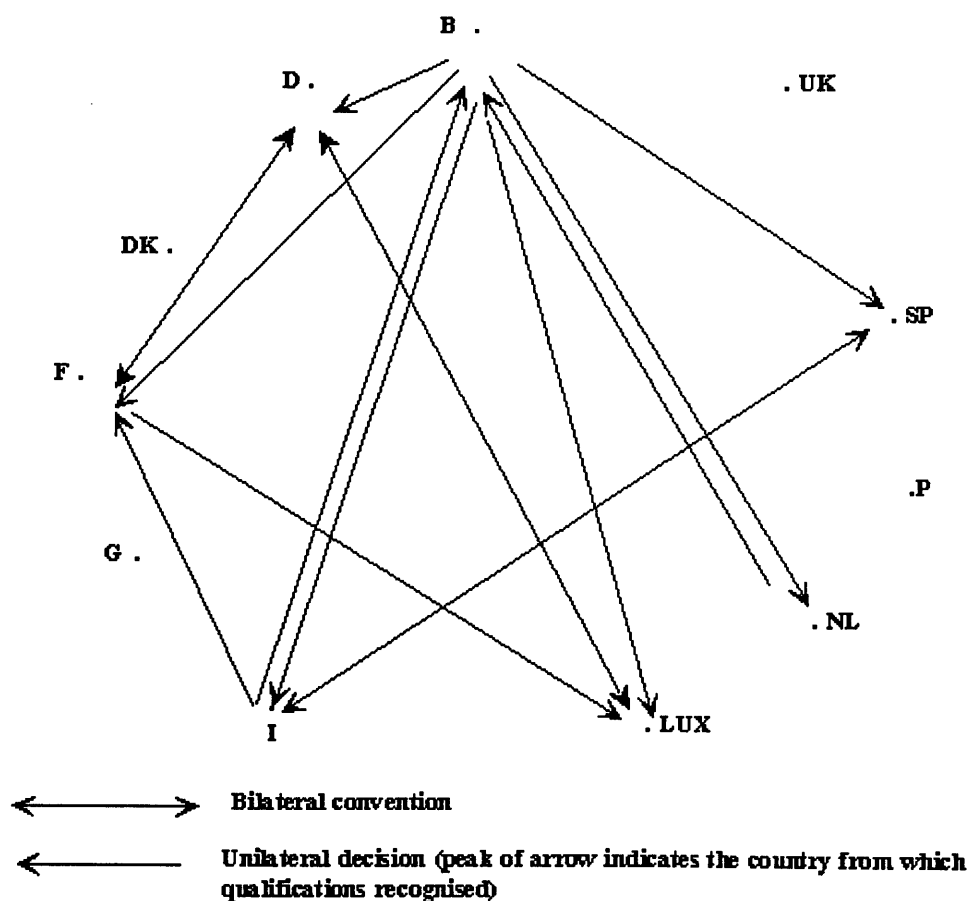
During the course of the 1970s and 1980s, in a national context, governments expressed limited interest in intra-EC student mobility. As most governments attempted to restrict public expenditure on higher education at a time of economic recession, incoming non-reciprocal student mobility was actively discouraged. In fact, some governments resorted to the use of a number of policy instruments, including differential fee rates and quotas, in order to limit incoming free-movement mobility during the late 1970s (Burn, 1979; Neave, 1978; Smith, 1980). Chapter Four has shown that attempts by the European Commission to

tackle this type of unilateral action through the establishment of multilateral agreements invariably failed. Governments simply ignored the Resolutions and Conclusions agreed by Education Ministers at Community level. After all, the Resolutions and Conclusions emphasised voluntary implementation requiring individual countries to dismantle the barriers to free-movement mobility as and when the national situation would permit. In practice, the Resolutions and Conclusions created limited incentives to tackle the barriers to free-movement mobility, since unilateral action by one country would create an inequitable situation leading to imbalances. In this context, the Resolutions and Conclusions assumed all the characteristics of a policy which was predestined to fail. Evidently, the real solution was to empower the Community to create a legally binding policy forcing member states simultaneously to remove the barriers to free-movement. In practice, however, such a development was politically impossible as it would require a transfer of responsibility for education policy-making to the Community. Moreover, countries with popular languages such as Belgium, Italy, UK, France and Germany might find themselves inundated with students. In short, in view of the potential for imbalances in student flows, most member states in a national context adopted a policy of inaction *vis-à-vis* free-movement mobility during the 1970s and 1980s. Where progress was achieved, for example in terms of the payment of equivalent tuition fees and the extension of principle of non-discrimination generally, this was forced upon member states by the ECJ.

This is not to suggest a total absence of concrete measures in support of free-movement mobility at national level during the period in question. Member states managed to agree and implement a number of practical measures, but these had limited impact on the barriers to free-movement. For example, the NARIC network was created in June 1983 by member states to facilitate the recognition of

qualifications. Based on the idea promoted by the Council of Europe, an office was established in each member state, with responsibility for giving advice and guidance to students, institutions and policy-makers concerning matters of recognition and equivalence of qualifications. The NARIC network also assumed responsibility for administering Council of Europe and UNESCO Conventions on recognition, which were complemented by numerous bi-lateral and unilateral recognition agreements negotiated between member states. Such agreements, which grant recognition to secondary school leaving qualifications for the purposes of full student transfer were encouraged by Education Ministers in June 1981, but variously implemented by some national governments, as Diagram 6 by the Institute of Policy Research (1992a, p.31) highlights.

Diagram 6: Recognition of Higher Education Entrance Qualifications



In practice, the creation of bi-lateral and uni-lateral recognition agreements relating to higher education entrance qualifications appears to have made little difference since recognition of secondary school leaving qualifications is considered relatively unproblematic. On the other hand, granting recognition to partial qualifications and periods of study remains technically problematic and in this context few member states have created bi-lateral and uni-lateral agreements. Assessment necessarily occurs at the institutional level where academics must review the existing knowledge and skills of the prospective student and decide to give or withhold recognition. This is inevitably a time-consuming process considered by interviewees at most case study institutions as an "administrative nightmare".

In this context, the European Community Course Credit Transfer System (ECTS), launched by the Community in 1987 to address the administrative problems associated with granting recognition to periods of study and partial qualifications appears to have had limited impact. The central aim of ECTS is to:

"develop credit transfer as an effective currency of academic recognition by providing universities admitting students from other member states with a straightforward and reliable means of assessing such students' previous performance in order to insert them at appropriate points in the host institution's array of courses, regardless of whether or not an integrated exchange programme exists in the area concerned" (Commission of the EC, no date, p.7).

Although aspiring to facilitate free-movement mobility, the ECTS Scheme was piloted between 1989 and 1995 within ERASMUS style networks where staff develop personal contact with their counterparts at participating institutions without harmonising structures or curricula. With the emphasis on course transparency, all departments participating in ECTS are required to assign credit ratings to courses on the basis of total study time of the course. Sixty credits

equate to one year of full-time study. Participating departments must also produce information packs describing the institution and course. The pack can be used by students and staff to assess the suitability of courses in participating institutions and to establish a 'learning agreement': if the student successfully completes the courses specified in the agreement then full credit transfer is automatic. Alongside the information package is the transcript of records which details the student's prior studies allowing host and home institutions to reach a speedy assessment regarding recognition.

The pilot scheme was concluded in 1995, but there is little evidence to date to suggest that ECTS is being used by institutions to award recognition to partial qualifications outside of organised exchange programmes. Some interviewees at case study institutions explicitly state that ECTS cannot successfully operate outside organised subject networks, a view confirmed by Coopers and Lybrand (1993, p.27), who were charged with evaluating the ECTS pilot:

"We suspect that even if information packages provided more information ... many co-ordinators would still consider it essential to maintain personal contacts with other co-ordinators: they do not only need information; they also need to establish and maintain confidence in the suitability of the courses and study conditions at other institutions. In their view this requires a level of personal contact."

The lack of confidence in ECTS is in practice a manifestation of a wider problem of confidence between different national education systems. In this context, personal contact between institutions and staff remains an indispensable feature of any credit transfer arrangement in the EU. For the time being at least, ECTS is therefore unlikely to facilitate the recognition of free-movement students. From a student perspective, it is clear that the barriers to free-movement mobility remain relatively intact. ECTS has so far failed to provide the answer to the problem of

recognition of partial qualification and periods of study, while policy at a national level has mainly addressed the barriers which have already been dismantled, namely those relating to information and recognition of secondary school leaving qualifications. National action in relation to barriers such as *numerus clausus* and student finance, has been conspicuously absent. As a result, in 1992 the Institute of Policy Research (1992a, 1992b) was able to identify a range of obstacles to free-movement, including *numerus clausus*, finance, recognition and language; the same barriers which member states resolved to eliminate in 1980 through the implementation of a common admission policy (Council of the EC, 1986a).

While national governments have generally pursued a policy of inaction *vis-à-vis* free-movement mobility, during the 1970s and 1980s they entertained more positive orientations towards exchange mobility. In exceptional cases, some governments, such as the Swedish, German and the British, established national exchange programmes during the 1970s which no longer exist. For example, the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD) launched the 'Integrated Foreign Study Programme', providing financial support to German staff and students interested in study abroad, the 'Internationalisation Programme' was founded in Sweden in 1976 with the aim of encouraging student exchange, among other activities, while the British Council introduced the 'Academic Link and Interchange Scheme', supporting British higher education institutions to promote structured co-operation. However, most governments expressed their student mobility policies through the Community. The comment by the official at the Spanish Ministry of Education is instructive:

"In principle the government looks favourably at student mobility, but it does not have a student mobility policy *per se*. It's policy on student mobility is expressed through Community programmes such as ERASMUS, LINGUA etc."

In short, in a national context the issue of student mobility remained relatively peripheral during the course of the 1970s and 1980s. Most governments either adopted a policy of inaction or took negative measures to limit 'undesirable' incoming mobility based on free-movement. At the same time national governments actively supported exchange mobility at Community level. Exchange mobility was perceived as encouraging reciprocal and apparently controlled mobility flows, and was therefore politically acceptable. Only the German, UK and Swedish governments managed to develop any significant national student mobility policy in an attempt to provide opportunities for exchange.

5.2.2 National Governments and Student Mobility Policy in the 1990s

If the issue of imbalances in student flows was rarely made an explicit policy issue during the 1970s and 1980s, more recently it has received increasing reference within the policy documents of the Community. Since the current legal situation requires member states to enforce the principle of non-discrimination or equal treatment of EU students, preventing the operation of differential fee rates, there is increasing concern about who pays for the higher education of incoming EU students. Most notably, during their response to the Memorandum, the UK, Belgium and France, as net importers of students, expressed reservations about any further increases in non-reciprocal incoming mobility given the financial implications (O' Callaghan, 1993). The position of the UK is particularly instructive. Unlike other major importing countries, where the size of potential imbalances is mediated by substantial outflows of students, the UK is unable to sustain reciprocal mobility flows. Table A in Chapter Three reveals that in 1989/91 Germany (27,048) and France (23,879) had EC student intakes slightly

below that of the UK (29,795), but this was mitigated by an outflow of 17,436 German students and 15,256 French students. In contrast, only 8,730 UK students undertook study abroad, requiring the UK Exchequer to meet the education bill for 21,065 EC students.

The lack of reciprocity is particularly apparent within the ERASMUS programme. The evidence from the interviews at institutional level suggests that staff at UK institutions, having signed agreements to exchange equal numbers of students, have frequently failed to generate sufficient interest among UK students to take advantage of the ERASMUS programme. The inability among many UK students to communicate in a second language remains problematic. According to the British government, in 1991/92 the UK taxpayer had to inject an additional ECU 16 million (GBP 12.1 million) into the higher education system to accommodate imbalances within the ERASMUS programme (Department for Education, 1992). Since ERASMUS does not require the involvement of national governments, the Department for Education and Employment (DfEE) remains powerless as staff in autonomous higher education institutions continue to exchange students on a numerically non-reciprocal basis. Britain remains an extremely popular destination particularly because of the English language. In the words of several interviewees "everybody wants to go to the UK and Ireland because of the English language"; "most of the European students ... they want to study in your country [UK] because they all studied English" and "Great Britain is very attractive indeed, not least because Swedish students manage English very well." According to the DfEE, the popularity of Britain as a destination for many students from abroad is a reflection not only of language factors but also the quality of UK higher education. However, it has meant that the case study UK institutions have been inundated with requests from institutions in EU and EFTA countries seeking co-operation agreements. In the hope of initiating some redress through financial

compensation, perhaps by an adjustment in the different levels of contribution made by member states to the Union, the UK government is seeking discussion of the issue at the European level (Department for Education, 1992).

Officials within the UK DfEE acknowledge that imbalances are not confined to ERASMUS. While questioning the accuracy of available statistics, officials accept that an imbalance also exists within the free-movement category. In fact, Table F in Chapter Three confirms that the imbalances are increasing. In 1993/94 the UK exported 5,687 free-movement students and imported 32,405, leaving a net import of 26,718 free-movement students. As a consequence the UK position was made explicit in its response to the EC Memorandum on Higher Education:

"The UK Government sees merit in the proposition that the sending country should be responsible for both maintenance and the tuition costs of its own mobile students" (Department for Education, 1992, paragraph 66).

In this context, during the interview, DfEE officials indicated interest in the Danish proposal for a European 'open market' (Danish Government, 1992a, 1992b) in higher education with 'portable' maintenance grants and tuition fees:

"Our initial views of that [Danish proposal] is that it seems to be a fair and reasonable system of compensating those countries which are net importers of students. After all, these countries go to the expense of providing higher education, a very expensive higher education for nationals of other EU member states, we think it is fair and reasonable net importers should be adequately compensated."

While the UK government prefers to see the introduction of a system of financial compensation, other net importers of EU students are actively seeking to prevent some member states from 'exporting' their educational problems. Belgium particularly suffers from an influx of EU students, who take advantage of the more

accessible Belgian higher education system to study courses denied to them in their own countries because of the operation of *numerus clausus*. In particular, as a result of an outflow of students from the Netherlands, Italy, Spain and France, there is ongoing debate in Belgium on whether to introduce *numerus clausus* policies in order to control the burgeoning costs of higher education. Meanwhile, Italy, inundated by Greek students, has already taken affirmative action by changing its admission requirements: since 1989 incoming EU students are required to possess the necessary qualifications granting access to the home system as a prerequisite to entering Italian higher education. This means that Greek students who have failed entry examinations in Greece are debarred from Italian higher education (Institute of Policy Research, 1992a). The flexibility allowing member states to admit students according to either national requirements or requirements to enter higher education in the home country was accommodated by the Council of Europe on the basis that the recognition Conventions created "an inequitable balance of obligations, for the states that apply an open door policy to their own nationals apparently have to hold the door wide open for foreigners, while the selective countries can keep them out entirely" (Council of Europe, August 1989, p.8). Consequently, a declaration was issued in 1974 stating that students should not enjoy a greater right of access to higher education abroad than in their own country. In this context the actions of the Italian authorities are entirely legitimate and in accordance with the Conventions. In contrast, France has contravened EU law to limit incoming mobility from Greece. France only admits Greek students if they have scored at least 15 out of 20 in their national examinations. However, Greek students who score 10 out of 20 are considered qualified to enter higher education in Greece. Consequently, in breach of EU law, which espouses the principle of non-discrimination, France automatically disqualifies Greek students whom Greece regards as qualified for entry to higher education. Importantly, member states are resorting to a range of

policy instruments to limit levels of incoming mobility predicated on transfer. This, in turn, has a direct impact on student mobility flows. For example, the decline in Greek outgoing mobility during the course of the 1980s, as well as the changing fortunes of Italy from a net importer to a net exporter, is explained by the increasing reluctance on the part of the Italian authorities and higher education institutions to enrol Greek students. This is taken up in greater detail in Chapter Six.

Fundamentally, and despite the passing of half a century since the end of the Second World War, higher education systems primarily remain national entities geared to provide higher education for national students. The existing situation in the EU, where most governments subsidise higher education with less than full-cost tuition fees, means that the arrival of large numbers of non-nationals on a non-reciprocal basis is generally deemed undesirable. It becomes even less attractive if incoming mobility results in the exclusion of national students from higher education. The official in the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science made this point clear during the interview, stating that "we cannot ignore our national demand". It is not surprising then that for financial reasons most governments, concerned to increase national participation rates, prefer to support and promote exchange mobility, which in theory at least, results in reciprocal mobility flows. Further, member states do not savour the prospect of thousands of free-movement students causing administrative problems throughout the EU. This was most evident following the Gravier ruling and proved a primary reason for launching the ERASMUS programme as argued in the preceding Chapter.

In practice, during the past 40 years member states have undermined attempts by intergovernmental organisations to dismantle the barriers to free-movement mobility. Combined with their own inactivity at the national level, which will

become even more evident in the context of the case studies below, there has been limited free-movement policy development in the post-war era at either the Community or national level. Prospective free-movement students in the 1990s face the same practical and financial barriers encountered by their predecessors some four decades ago; confirmed in the recent report by the Institute of Policy Research (1992a, 1992b) in Leiden. Yet paradoxically, in 1993/94, 54% of total mobility in the EU was predicated on free-movement. To understand the prevalence of free-movement mobility, in the face of apparently adverse circumstances, requires some appreciation of policy and practice towards free-movement students at the institutional level. In this context, wider issues including competition among students for higher education places, competition among institutions for students, financial incentives for higher education institutions and the funding of higher education generally emerge as significant, as the country case studies will highlight.

5.3 Student Mobility Policy and Practice at the Case Study Higher Education Institutions

The case studies below deal primarily with student mobility policy and practice at the higher education institutional level by drawing on material from the interviews with institutional staff responsible for student mobility policy. The sixteen institutional case studies are grouped together by country, since it is within the context of national higher education strategies and funding policies that institutional strategies towards student mobility are largely determined. Each country case study begins with a brief review of national government higher education policies and funding strategies, and is followed by an examination of student mobility policy and practice at the case study higher education institutions. Given the considerable emphasis on the development of exchange mobility as

explored in the previous Chapter, this Chapter is particularly concerned to examine policy positions on free-movement mobility at institutional level, for the sake of providing a comprehensive picture of student mobility policy, and simultaneously for appreciating the relative importance of both free-movement and exchange at the case study institutions.

5.3.1 Sweden

The Swedish Higher Education System and Higher Education Policy

In 1991 Sweden elected a Conservative government. Ideologically committed to market principles, the government sought the deregulation of the higher education system which, with the exception of one private institution, is predominantly a state system. The aim of the Conservative government, which has since been replaced by a Social Democratic government, was to grant greater administrative and financial autonomy to institutions as a means of enhancing choice, diversity and quality. In practical terms, the government introduced radical changes to the way higher education institutions are funded. Under the old funding system, institutions would send a budget request to central government to perform future activities. This was substituted by a system whereby funding is provided according to student numbers and other performance criteria. From July 1993 funding allocations have been based on:

- the number of full time students;
- the number of study credits achieved by students;
- performance in pre-determined areas.

To optimise funding, institutions of higher education not only have to maximise the student intake, resulting in competition for prospective students, but must also ensure high retention rates. With a national credit transfer system *in situ*, the mechanisms exist for dissatisfied students to leave one institution for another, having financial implications for both, although the national tradition of living at home and studying at the local higher education institution may limit the intended impacts. The intention has been to align higher education closer to the market, thereby forcing institutions to respond to changing student demands. The philosophy behind the reorganisation is that "student choice should determine the direction of higher education" (Swedish Ministry of Education, 1993, p.7). To assist student decision-making, the Chancellor's Office of the Swedish Universities evaluates the quality of higher education provided by each institution and distributes the information to students and others.

Government Policy on Student Mobility: Implications for Student Mobility Policy at Jönköping University College and Stockholm University

A more market-oriented system is having a positive impact on the development of student mobility policy at the case study institutions for two primary reasons. First, the Swedish government, committed to promoting Sweden in Europe, and ensuring that its future leaders can represent Sweden in the international arena has established internationalisation as a performance indicator. The number of Swedish students abroad during an academic year is an integral criterion for institutional evaluation. Institutions are free to decide whether or not to incorporate internationalisation as a performance indicator, but according to the Swedish Ministry of Education and Science the evidence suggests that most institutions will use internationalisation as one criterion of assessment. Indeed, at the case study institutions, internationalisation has been elevated to unprecedented

importance not only to obtain the accompanying funding, but also because of the fact that the quality indicators directly influence the position of the institution in quality league tables. This information is distributed to students and other interested parties offering an official indication of the status and performance of an institution. The league tables are designed to form a basis for student choice, and influence the decision of European institutions to establish links with particular Swedish institutions. Co-operation with renowned European institutions is expected to enhance the reputation of the Swedish institution and increase national recruitment. The indication is that Swedish institutions are using their international activities as a marketing strategy both by highlighting the international profile of the institution and by attracting national students through the opportunities available to study abroad.

Market forces and the previous government's incentive steering policy is encouraging Swedish institutions to internationalise. This is unequivocally having a favourable impact on student mobility in Sweden. The need to be attractive, the need to 'sell' the institution abroad, and the link between student mobility and quality ranking, is encouraging institutions to pursue Europeanisation and internationalisation with new vigour. According to the Head of International Affairs at Stockholm University:

"Under the new system we have to demonstrate what has been achieved in the area of internationalisation to secure increased funding. This is having a favourable effect on institutional policy towards student mobility."

Swedish universities are at an advantage with respect to internationalisation in contrast to the University Colleges. Traditional international research links between professors have been developed to promote mobility at the undergraduate level. In contrast the lack of an international research base at university colleges

has meant that student mobility is a new phenomenon. Despite the unequal start, Jönköping University College has been forced to respond with a coherent strategy to ascend the quality league tables. With very little in terms of an existing student mobility policy, Jönköping is currently focusing on ERASMUS and exchange mobility, especially in view of the availability of funding from Brussels. However, the International Liaison Manager maintains that "the new financial freedom has allowed Jönköping to develop an ambitious international programme designed to make it cheaper for foreign students to come to Jönköping rather than other institutions." In concrete terms the programme sets the following objectives:

- develop joint curriculum and joint degree programmes;
- introduce literature in English for Swedish students;
- establish an international Business school with government funding;
- co-operate with the best institutions abroad to enhance College reputation;
- make Jönköping an attractive and financially viable proposition for incoming students by providing cheap accommodation;
- recruit English-speaking lecturers for one or two years or even permanently.

In contrast to Jönköping University College, Stockholm University is advancing at a moderate pace with a more receptive policy towards free-movement. Many impediments to student mobility currently being addressed by Jönköping, such as student accommodation and language courses, were given attention as early as 1985 at Stockholm. According to the one of the interviewees "during the early 1980s, considerable thought went into the question, how best to facilitate foreign students". The result is that transfer students are already eligible for a one year free Swedish language course at Stockholm University, a provision established in all university towns in Sweden by 1978, with the exception of Linköping (Duckenfield, 1978). As part of its marketing strategy, the University also

recognises the 'ambassador' factor, placing considerable emphasis on guidance and pastoral care of incoming students and by mobilising the Students Union to organise social events. According to the Head of International Affairs:

"the policy of the University is to take such good care of foreign students that they become ambassadors for Stockholm University on return to the home country. It is then also much easier for Stockholm to send students out."

Given the efforts of other institutions to join the 'premier league' of higher education institutions, Stockholm maintains that, far from taking a back seat and watching other institutions advance in the field of internationalisation, it will make every effort to stay ahead. Current energies are focused on the recruitment of English speaking lecturers for the benefit of both home and incoming short term EU students, especially as the latter cannot be expected to spend a year learning Swedish. In this way, Stockholm seeks to address the lack of reciprocity in mobility flows by dismantling the language barrier for incoming students from around the world.

In practice, the provision of courses in English is unlikely to address the lack of reciprocity in student flows. According to the officer at the Swedish Institute, non-nationals are discouraged from studying in Sweden for a variety of reasons including a lack of information and a number of misconceptions about the cost of living in Sweden:

"There is this huge problem for Sweden and, I think, for some other Nordic countries as well. It is very difficult to attract European students to Sweden: they know too little about Sweden, about Swedish society and education, they still think that Sweden is a far too expensive place which is no longer the case [given the devaluation of the Swedish Krona] and they are afraid of the language. Sometimes they don't know that a number of courses are now available in the English language just to make it possible for foreign students to come here."

Implicit within the comments made by the officer at the Swedish Institute is the need for a co-ordinated marketing strategy for Sweden and Swedish higher education, which, *inter alia*, highlights the provision of courses in the English language. As countries increasingly channel their efforts to teaching English as a second language, minority language speaking countries, such as the Netherlands, Portugal and Greece have little choice but to offer courses in English to sustain reciprocal student mobility.

The internationalisation of Swedish higher education is facilitated by three other significant factors. First, Sweden embarked upon a deliberate 'Internationalisation Programme' as early as 1975, resulting in the establishment of an organised student mobility exchange programme. Swedish institutions, and universities in particular, therefore have the relevant experience and mind-set to participate in student mobility. Second, the existence of the foreign study loans scheme allows thousands of Swedish students to go abroad on their own initiative, mainly to English-speaking countries. As a result, in Sweden, outgoing free-movement mobility exceeds organised exchange mobility. Third, the Conservative government expansion programme to provide 50,000 extra places in higher education by the mid-1990s (a 20% increase in supply) gave institutions, besides the financial incentives, the physical capacity to attract students from Europe. In fact, according to the Swedish Ministry of Education and Science, institutions will probably not fill all the additional places immediately, providing a greater financial incentive to look towards the European student market. There is already a marked presence of Swedish institutions at international student fairs.

Changes in Sweden's higher education funding policies may, however, have some unintended consequences on the drive to internationalise. It is likely that both Stockholm University and Jönköping University College will tighten the screening

procedure during recruitment of transfer students, since student drop-outs will carry financial penalties for institutions. According to the International Liaison Officer at Jönköping "the need to attract the best students takes on greater significance given funding is linked to completion rates." Moreover, for the same financial reasons, institutions will not only compete to ensure that recruited students do not defect to other institutions in Sweden, but to Europe as a whole. This potential and probable outcome was overlooked by policy-makers at the Swedish Ministry of Education during the development of policy. The possibility that institutions may seek to discourage outgoing mobility predicated on transfer occurred to the official during the interview:

"Here I can see a problem with this new funding system. It's going to be centred on the fact that you want to keep students at your university."

It is clear that the Conservative government's higher education policy has encouraged institutions of higher education to expend resources, time and effort in developing and implementing policies to stimulate both incoming and outgoing student mobility. In this context, the previous government effectively transformed positive intentions in the area of Europeanisation into concrete action at institutional level by engaging an 'incentive steering' policy, which directly and indirectly links funding to internationalisation and student mobility in a market driven system. All the interviewees at institutional level acknowledge that competition for resources and reputation is providing the drive to internationalise. In the words of the international officer at Jönköping:

"Competition is bringing internationalisation to Jönköping University College. In the past when education was non-competitive, institutions never had to go out and market to attract European students."

5.3.2 Spain

The Spanish Higher Education System and Higher Education Policy

In Spain, the universities (of which four are private), comprising the whole of the higher education sector, have only recently gained autonomy. Following the death of Franco, the 1978 democratic constitution recognised university autonomy, and the new Socialist government devolved administrative and financial powers to the universities through the 1983 University Reform Act. Although central government retained a high degree of control as the main provider of institutional funding, regional authorities have gradually assumed this responsibility, reducing central control and signifying a considerable shift in power from national to regional government. Although the process of devolution is now complete, at the time of the interviews in June 1993 only the regions of Catalunya, Basque Country, Galicia, Andalucia, Valencia and the Canary Islands had responsibility for higher education.

The funding strategy employed by the government is formula based. The universities prepare their own budgets for the forthcoming academic year (and increasingly for several academic years) based on the number and type of students, the resulting demand for staff and salaries, infrastructural needs and so on. Student numbers are determined by individual institutions and negotiated with the University Council, a government body which promotes greater national participation rates. The funding authorities calculate a total funding figure, subtract anticipated revenue from student tuition fees, and thereby arrive at a final allocation for each individual institution. Resources obtained from contracted research and other external sources are not introduced into the calculation and the

formula does not include criteria linked to internationalisation or student mobility. As pointed out by the international officer at Complutense University "government funding has no implications for internationalisation." This is also true for Barcelona University which receives the majority of its funding from the autonomous region of Catalunya. Within the framework of institutional autonomy - and with the right to co-operate with institutions abroad enshrined in the 1983 University Reform Act - the decision to invest resources and take part in European activity is an institutional one.

In Spain, the direct payment by students of tuition fees - approximately GBP 400 (ECU 526) per academic year - makes up a significant proportion of institutional income. As a result of a 200% increase between 1974 and 1988, by the mid-1990s tuition fees amounted to 12% of institutional income (Mora et al., 1995). Nonetheless, any resulting competition for national students and for the income generated from their tuition fees is annulled by the fact that government policy ensures that the universities receive the necessary resources to remain operational. The Socialist government in Spain supports the view that education is a public good, too important to be subject to the full impact of the market, although this policy may change with the election of the right wing Popular Party in 1996, which advocated a series of relatively controversial proposals for higher education in its manifesto (Warden, 1996b). In the meantime, the funding of institutions is determined as much by the objective criteria cited above, as by an institution's ability to negotiate. Consequently, some universities receive twice the cost per student as others (Mora et al., 1995).

The need to attract and recruit national students through proactive marketing is absent for several other reasons. First, the massive demand for higher education created by a policy of open access for all students who pass the entrance

examination, 'Acceso de Pruebas', cancels any potential for competition between institutions for students. Student numbers increased by 64% between 1983 and 1991 (Mora et al., 1995). In fact, while negotiating student numbers, institutions often successfully fend off attempts by the University Council to increase the student intake. Second, the limited nature of the student support system compels most students to study locally since they cannot afford the costs of living away from home. This effectively removes student choice during institutional selection. The resulting lack of national mobility was until recently compounded by a government policy obliging universities to give preference to local students. Such monopoly over the local student market reduces the need for institutions to attract national students through European strategies or the provision of opportunities to study abroad. The Vice-Rector for students at the Autonoma in Madrid maintains that:

"There is not really much need by the University to attract students; they come and they come in numbers superior to what the University can hold. There is no need to do marketing."

Government Policy on Student Mobility

The Spanish government prefers to maintain a favourable "state of opinion" towards Europeanisation and study abroad, rather than offer financial inducements to institutions. Officials at the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science concede that current efforts in the field of student mobility do not extend beyond ERASMUS. Since the national student support system is limited, with a minority of students qualifying for a small means-tested grant, the government contributes the equivalent of a third of the ERASMUS grant to all ERASMUS students. The regions also make a significant contribution. Free-floaters, however, are not entitled to this support. Interviewees at the case study higher education

institutions criticise the government for adopting a policy of inaction in the area of student mobility, with the exception of the very limited support for ERASMUS students. According to the Vice-Rector for students at the Autonoma in Madrid:

"The government doesn't really have anything to say about mobility in the universities ... it is the university that decides whether they will have foreign students or not ... I would say there has been no influence by the government in this matter ... the drive behind student mobility is as a result of the EC rather than the government."

The Spanish government is, however, considering the portability of national support for the purpose of free-movement as part of its wider equal opportunities strategy. In this context, the official at the Spanish Ministry of Education pointed out that "at the moment the people who go [abroad] are the better off because they can finance it." In practice, the limited nature of student support makes a nonsense of the proposal to make national grants portable, since students from socially deprived backgrounds would still be unable to meet the considerable costs associated with free-movement. According to the international officer at Complutense University "ERASMUS remains a middle class phenomenon since students cannot finance the difference between living at home and living abroad". A genuine policy of equal opportunities, including enhanced levels of national support for the purposes of study abroad does not appear to be on the political agenda of the Spanish government. In the meantime, a small proportion of the more affluent students continue to escape an over-crowded, under-resourced higher education system, especially if they fail to access the course of their choice because of the operation of numerus clausus. Table F in Chapter Three shows that in 1993/94, 6,675 Spanish students were studying in other EU countries outside of exchange programmes, including 41% in the UK.

Student Mobility Policy at the Autonoma University (Madrid), Complutense University (Madrid) and Barcelona University

It is clear that the current situation in Spain - an absence of any significant student mobility policy at governmental level, high national demand for higher education, a lack of national student mobility, guaranteed student intakes and a government funding system relatively independent of student numbers - dampens institutional incentives to develop a European profile. Only where several institutions are in competition for the 'best' students because of geographical proximity, as in the vicinity of Madrid, is the opportunity to study abroad used as a marketing strategy.

In the words of the Vice-Rector of the Autonoma University, Madrid:

"In all the information that we send to high school students to attract them to come to this university we mention among others the fact that several hundred [students] ... each year ... can study abroad. We have done this because one part of the marketing is to attract good students."

Student mobility and student mobility policies at the Spanish case study institutions are, on the whole, driven by a combination of factors including home student pressure for study abroad, dynamic staff, the availability of ERASMUS funding, the desire to have an international ambience and the acknowledgement at institutional level that Europeanisation can prevent isolation, and allow Spanish institutions to measure their standards against the rest of the EU. According to the international officer at Barcelona University "we want to improve and we think to improve things we must know people from other countries, know their [higher education] systems and get their influence". Importantly, the pressures of competition are not significant. Consequently, participation in ERASMUS is pronounced at all three case study institutions, and relatively generous institutional budgets are allocated specifically for student mobility. However, student demand for study abroad comprehensively exceeds the number of ERASMUS places at all

three case study institutions. At the Autonoma University in Madrid, for example, applications currently exceed the number of places by 100%, making competition and selection inevitable. The option to encourage students to free-float is deemed untenable since rigid curriculum structures make recognition of periods of study difficult for Spanish free-floaters. In other words, institutions refuse to grant equivalence to periods of study abroad which do not correspond exactly with the content of the course at home for which exemption is sought. In fact, there is little urgency in finding solutions to satisfy unmet demand other than to sign more exchange agreements as resources allow. Rigid curriculum structures provide the rationale for an absence of political will at the institutional level to encourage free-floating. The incentives simply do not exist to expend the time and energy on the necessary assessment. Indeed, interviewees at the IUT in La Rochelle, Poitiers University and Barcelona University respectively perceive free-floating as "an administrative nightmare", "very difficult to handle from an institutional point of view" and "so much bureaucratic trouble, it's not possible". According to the international officer at Barcelona University "the great merit of ERASMUS is that recognition is agreed for the whole group" rather than on a case by case basis. In short, the main obstacle for free-floaters is the fact that movement between institutions creates administrative burdens. Moreover, all the interviewees at the case study institutions in Spain took the view that short-term free-floating was financially unviable without the Community, national government and regional support offered only to students participating in the ERASMUS programme. The international officer at Barcelona University maintains that:

"independent or individual mobility for our students is very difficult ... so we focus all the mobility on the frameworks. If you don't get grants from ERASMUS it is very difficult, and if you are not in a framework, you get into difficulties with academic recognition."

There is simultaneously no incentive for Spanish institutions to actively attract incoming free-movement mobility. This is not to say that free-movement students are excluded. All the case study universities have the necessary structures *in situ* in the form of assessment committees and procedures to validate the partial studies and diplomas of free-floaters and mid-study transfer students. Transfer students must apply directly to the Ministry of Education to secure recognition of their secondary school leaving qualifications, and sit an entrance examination, similar to that taken by Spanish students. On passing the entrance examination, transfer students are allocated an institution, a decision which cannot be challenged by the universities or the students. In this context, institutional autonomy does not appear to be as significant as argued by the official at the Ministry of Education. The argument that entrance examinations operate to the advantage of home students, was accepted as valid by the official at the Ministry of Education. Home students have the distinct advantage of taking the examination in their first language, perhaps with the benefit of several years of specific preparation. As a result, non-nationals may fail to secure the necessary grades to access courses regulated by *numerus clausus*. However, the official at the Ministry of Education proposed that outgoing Spanish transfer students encounter even greater obstacles in some EU countries:

"There is an inevitable advantage for Spanish students when taking the exam compared with incoming students - they have had the benefit to prepare; but Spain does not put obstacles in the way of incoming students ... In fact, if Spanish students go to the UK they have to face interviews with tutors etc. which is far more daunting."

In 1993/94, Spain accommodated 3,552 incoming free-movement students, mainly from France (30%) and Germany (30%). This includes a proportion of free-floaters, who are allowed to access the Spanish higher education system without having to meet normal entry requirements. The system of 'open access' allows

incoming students - referred to as 'oyentes' - to attend lectures, learn the language and appreciate the culture, while dispensing with the formalities of recognition of prior qualifications, numerous clausus restrictions, and demonstration of proficiency in the Spanish language. According to the official at the Autònoma University "the most difficult part [for incoming free-floaters] is to have a place to live in Madrid." At the end of the academic year the students receive a certificate confirming their attendance and achievement at the university. Although the certificate does not hold any official validity for progression in Spanish higher education, it is potentially of value if the student can negotiate recognition before departing the home institution. Whether home institutions are ready to recognise a period of study abroad at an institution with which they have limited contact and knowledge remains questionable as already discussed in this Chapter. The system of open access for free-floaters remains viable as long as there are limited and manageable numbers of EU students taking advantage of the opportunity. According to the international officer at Barcelona University, any great influx of incoming free-floaters would force institutions to reconsider the 'oyente' system:

"Until now there is no problem because there are not so many [incoming free-floaters], but if it increases we would have to say in Economics, [for example] we will only take 50 people."

With the exception of the system of 'oyentes', student mobility policy and resource allocation at the Spanish case study institutions is exchange centred. Facilities provided for EU students tend to be exclusive to ERASMUS and other exchange students. At one institution, incoming free-floaters are debarred from the free language courses, free sports facilities, special information sessions and other cultural activities organised by the institution for ERASMUS students. At another, prospective Spanish free-floaters are not eligible to take free language courses which are "only for ERASMUS students and any other students from bi-lateral programmes". Without financial compensation or incentives, the extension

of these facilities to non-exchange students cannot be contemplated. In the current climate, Spanish institutions appear content with ERASMUS. The lack of financial incentives from government funding and the absence of institutional competition, combined with the financial and curricular obstacles for students wishing to free-float, preclude consideration of policies promoting or accommodating mobility predicated on free-movement. Nonetheless, it is acknowledged that institutional autonomy is slowly promoting diversity, as institutions pursue different and distinct missions. The devolution of financial and political responsibilities for universities to regional governments will inevitably catalyse this process, as different regions increasingly use incentive funding to achieve regional priorities. The Valencian government has already linked funding to staff and student numbers (Warden, 1996a). The evidence to date suggests that this phenomenon has not yet assumed sufficient momentum to affect positively institutional policies on internationalisation and student mobility in Spain.

5.3.3 France

The French Higher Education System and Higher Education Policy

In France a distinction has to be drawn between those institutions of public higher education funded by the government (universities, the university institutes of technology, public grandes écoles and écoles supérieures) and those private institutions of higher education (grandes écoles and écoles supérieures) which are funded from private sources. First, there is the issue of institutional autonomy. While the state exercises control over public sector institutions in such domains as administration and financial decision-making, this does not extend to private institutions. The private grandes écoles and écoles supérieures are responsible for

their own internal affairs. Second, a further distinction must be made concerning entry requirements. Universities are by law obliged to admit all students with the secondary school leaving qualification - the Baccalauréate - to the first year of a course. In contrast, the public and private grandes écoles and écoles supérieures as well as the university institutes of technology are selective institutions. With reference to the Grandes Écoles, applicants must meet several entry requirements including passing a written examination, an oral examination and finally an interview. In this system of differing relationships between the government and higher education institutions, government policies inevitably have a varying impact on different institutions.

In France, Law Number 84-52 on Higher Education, adopted in 1984, saw the replacement of the old incremental funding system in favour of a system of contractual arrangements requiring universities to prepare a four year 'development project' outlining future activities and their associated costs (French Ministry of Education, 1993). Each contract deals with matters as diverse as student accommodation, the internal organisation of the institution, library facilities etc. Importantly, each institution is required to provide an exhaustive statement of existing resources, future demands and methods of evaluation to ensure resources are spent according to objectives. In this system, there is not necessarily a direct link between student numbers and funding. The reforms were primarily designed to enhance both institutional autonomy and government opportunities to regulate and co-ordinate the university system, rather than introduce competition between universities for students and resources. The lack of institutional competition for students is also a product of several other factors. First, student enrolment fees are symbolic - amounting to FRF 450 (GBP 45) in 1990/91 - and provide little incentive to compete for students. Second, the French tradition of obliging students to pay for their own maintenance, with only 10%

qualifying for a significant grant (Guin, 1990), counteracts any tendency to institutional competition, since a high proportion of students live at home and study locally. Finally, and most importantly, high national demand for higher education, resulting from the government's expansion programme prompts universities to limit student numbers in the second year of courses through the application of *numerus clausus*. In a system where funding is generally divorced from student numbers, there is little incentive for institutions to maximise student admissions.

Government Policy on Student Mobility

In France, a proactive government policy on student mobility is by and large absent. The four year development project compels institutions to "answer both to national objectives and local educational needs" (French Ministry of Education, 1993, p.3), but there is no reference to European objectives or the international dimension. As a result, in France the national funding system does not offer institutions any incentive to promote student mobility. In practice, French government policy on student mobility does not extend beyond a small financial contribution to each public higher education institution to sustain an international office. Additionally, students who study abroad for the full academic year receive a grant of FRF 300 (GBP 30) a month, and all ERASMUS students receive the cost of one return rail ticket. In France, as in Spain, the regions also make a significant contribution, sometimes up to FRF 10,000 (GBP 1,000), to complement ERASMUS grants. As the French regions gain greater administrative, political and financial autonomy, so their financial contribution to higher education institutions and influence is likely to continue to increase (Guin, 1990).

Student Mobility Policy at Poitiers University

Poitiers University is involved in a number of European mobility programmes, including ERASMUS, and is a founding member of the COIMBRA group, which is a network of many of the oldest universities in Europe. Mobility predicated on exchange is relatively widespread at the University and both staff and students are encouraged to take advantage of ERASMUS funding for educational and humanist reasons. In contrast, the University does not actively entertain non-exchange mobility and there is no mention of transfer students in the University's international mission statement. According to the international officer at Poitiers "we prefer to give preference to exchange students because we know that our students get something out of it as well". Although prepared to accept students outside exchange programmes, the University, like its Spanish case study counterparts, maintains that it cannot contemplate active recruitment of EU students on a non-reciprocal basis, given the lack of financial incentives and the abundance of national students. The international officer at Poitiers University contrasted this situation with that of many UK institutions maintaining that:

"In your country [UK] it is an economic must I would say for survival ... simply to attract 'foreign' students because of the money it represents every time 'foreign' students come and pay their tuition fees ... In this country higher education is practically free ... so what incentive do we have, when we already have lots of problems to accommodate the French students themselves ... we've no practical interest in attracting foreign students simply as transfer students."

In spite of the lack of enthusiasm on the part of French universities, EU free-movement students do arrive in significant numbers. In 1993/94, France was the second largest importer in the EU accommodating around 20,000 member state students. This is in part explained by the popularity of the French language,

resulting in considerable short-term part-course mobility, especially from the UK, but also by the absence of *numerus clausus* in the first year of French higher education, allowing EU transfer students to take courses which they failed to access in their own countries as a result of the existence of *numerus clausus*. Students from countries with *numerus clausus*, such as Germany, Spain, Italy and Greece appear to take full advantage of the circumstances as evident in Table F in Chapter Three. The operation of selection and *numerus clausus* in subsequent years, ensures that the number of students on university courses in France becomes more manageable. In this context, the international officer acknowledges that only the most competent non-nationals progress beyond the first year:

"One of the main barriers for foreign students is the first two years in a French university. It is the survival of the toughest. There are large classes ... limited support ... and poor facilities. In some subjects, only 70% of students are admitted onto the second year of the course. French students have a much better chance of survival because they know the ropes."

Poitiers University does not encourage its own students to free-float because of the accompanying difficulties with administration and recognition. Further, the international officer felt that most French students would not be interested in free-floating for two reasons. First, the French student population is not nationally mobile and therefore does not necessarily share a positive orientation to European mobility. The international officer at Poitiers maintains that "if someone does not leave Poitiers to study in Nantes which is two hours away, then the same person will be unlikely to study abroad". Second, education in France is free and therefore "the French population is not used to spending money on education for their children." Financing mobility is problematic. Many students cannot afford to study abroad without ERASMUS and the accompanying complementary funds made available to students by the French government, the regional authorities and the University. The international officer maintains that, "I think to be a free-

floaters with that spirit is a luxury you have to afford financially". In practice, while free-floating may be inhibited by cultural, financial and recognition factors, the mobility of French transfer students is in fact pronounced. Table F in Chapter Three shows that in 1993/94 around 11,288 French students were studying in other EU countries, and over half (6,257) in the UK. While this includes a proportion of students who may have failed to overcome the selection hurdles at the end of the first academic year, there is an increasing tendency for French students to complete two year courses in France, and then take the final year of a degree at British higher education institutions, not necessarily as part of an exchange programme. This development is considered in greater detail in the next section.

Student Mobility Policy at the Institut Universitaire Technologie at La Rochelle

The Institut Universitaire Technologie (IUT) in La Rochelle, linked to but independent of La Rochelle University, offers two year courses and is funded by the French government along similar lines to the universities. Consequently, until recently, faced with high student demand and lacking financial incentives from government funding, the IUT had little need or desire to promote student mobility other than to meet increasing demand by home students for study abroad. Several developments have, however, changed the role and significance of student mobility at the institution.

To meet national expansion targets the government has created more higher education institutions offering two year courses, and also a new type of publicly funded institution, the Institut Universitaire Professionnalis   (IUP), providing four year courses. In theory, there is no direct competition for students between the IUPs and IUTs, since to enter an IUP a student must already have completed one

year of higher education elsewhere. In practice the IUT at La Rochelle has witnessed a decrease in both student applications and the quality of applicants as student demand is re-channelled to the newly created institutions. Although applications continue to outnumber the places available, intentionally or not the French government has created a competitive environment prompting the IUT at La Rochelle to begin marketing study abroad opportunities as one means of attracting quality applicants. The sudden prominence of student mobility is not limited to IUT La Rochelle; most IUTs in France are now using the opportunity to study abroad as a marketing strategy. The ERASMUS officer at the IUT La Rochelle notes that:

"There is a bigger element of competition among IUTs. More and more have been created and that is one of the things [student mobility] we hold out as a carrot to attract more students. The numbers of applicants are going down dramatically, year by year because you know the IUPs have been created recently too ... It is a four-year thing rather than a two-year thing which corresponds much better to the European standard. So the IUTs are getting frightened basically that they will be getting students who are not as good academically speaking. The good ones will go off to the IUPs after a single year in higher education rather than the two years IUTs impose, so now they need to start highlighting the advantages they can offer to attract students away from other IUTs and the IUP strand and this [student mobility] is one of them".

One of the main difficulties for the IUT at La Rochelle is that legally it can only provide two-year courses. This means that IUT students can only participate in short three-month exchanges and prospective partners are often deterred by this restriction. To tackle this problem, and to become more attractive to high quality national students, the IUT at La Rochelle is currently negotiating the possibility of creating a dual qualification with a UK partner. In effect, on completion of the Diplome Universitaire de Technologie (DUT), IUT students would take the final year of a three year degree course at the partner institution, and simultaneously complete a project for the IUT. The French institution would meanwhile create a

special course to accommodate students from the partner institution. Although IUT students would receive a dual qualification, the French qualification would not be a nationally recognized one. This is an attempt by the IUT to overcome the legal bind that is adversely affecting attempts to create new exchanges. It highlights the correlation between competition for high quality students, the threat of under-subscription and the drive and enthusiasm behind student mobility. However, it is clear that policy is focused on exchange mobility. The IUT will not encourage outgoing free-movement, despite high student demand for study abroad because of recognition problems on return. Notwithstanding issues of comparability, the financial incentives simply do not exist to undertake the additional administration accompanying free-floating. Incoming free-movement mobility is accommodated where possible.

Student Mobility Policy at the École Supérieure de Poitiers

Policy at the private École Supérieure in Poitiers towards student mobility is also being moulded by the need to be attractive in a highly competitive élite market of Business schools. Funded by the regional Chambers of Commerce and other local and regional bodies, and reliant on relatively high student tuition fees (FRF 10,000 to 40,000 - GBP 1,000 to 4,000) which account for over a third of institutional income, the École Supérieure has to compete with other Business écoles in France to attract the most talented French students. For the Director of International Affairs at the École Supérieure, this was clear: "These days no [business] school ... can stay alive without being international. We couldn't compete, we couldn't live".

In the competitive world of the écoles, the quality and reputation of the institution are central factors dictating institutional strategies and policies. In order to develop a marketing advantage, the École Supérieure of Poitiers consciously decided to out-compete all other institutions in the area of Europeanisation. According to the ERASMUS officer at the École "we are a small school. Instead of being good across the board, we decided to shine in certain areas; international programmes is one of them". Resources were allocated and partners carefully selected for co-operation and student exchange within the framework of the ERASMUS programme. Since the École is an International Business School this has proved a highly successful strategy according to the interviewee at the École:

"A lot of students come here and when you ask them, why they came ... the answer you get nearly all the time is ... because of your International Programme."

Student applications have remained buoyant and, importantly, the Europeanisation programme has proved central in the decision to promote the École Supérieure of Poitiers to the Confédération de Grandes Écoles, a highly élite organisation incorporating the best écoles in France. Following its promotion, the École Supérieure ensured that every existing partner institution and prospective student was notified about the new league tables, in an attempt to capitalise on its new élite status.

Given the relatively small size of the École Supérieure of Poitiers, ERASMUS is currently able to satisfy student demand for mobility. The élite nature of the institution effectively debars consideration of outgoing free-floaters, since all host institutions have to be vetted for standards. The élitist attitude also makes access for incoming free-floaters a difficult task. A thorough examination of the home institution, the student's qualifications and performance is an essential prerequisite for entry. The fact that the École has never had an application from an incoming

free-movement student can be explained by the high fees, the highly competitive and selective entrance examinations, and the lack of information concerning the role and status of the écoles. Moreover, the nature of the entrance qualifications requires a student to possess the secondary school leaving qualification and at least two years of higher education. To return to year one of a course having already completed two years of higher education may be incomprehensible to many member state students according to the European Officer at the École.

Although all three of the French case study institutions express a preference for, and in practice promote mobility through the ERASMUS programme, there exist significant differences between them in the importance attributed to student mobility. In line with Swedish case study institutions, the very well-being of the École Supérieure, and of the IUT, La Rochelle, is dependent on having a successfully marketed student mobility policy as a matter of national reputation. The University of Poitiers, in contrast, could dispense with student mobility without suffering any great loss in resources or recruitment.

5.3.4 Germany

The German Higher Education System and Higher Education Policy

The German higher education system is a public system, with the exception of one private University. In Germany, the Federal Framework Act of 1976 gives shared responsibility for higher education to the federal government and the sixteen regional authorities or Länder. The federal government establishes a framework for higher education within which the Länder and the institutions under their aegis establish policy. Responsibility for financing higher education is largely assumed by the Länder, with central government taking only shared responsibility for capital expenditure such as buildings, large scale scientific equipment and student maintenance. Since student tuition fees were abolished in Germany in the 1970s, institutions are highly dependent on Länder support, which accounts for 80% of total institutional funding (Taylor, 1991).

Each Land employs its own distinct criteria for funding higher education, but the procedures are similar. Universities, and the more vocationally oriented Hochschulen and Fachhochschulen are required to submit detailed budgetary requests, which are generally reduced as they pass through the negotiation process within the various Land ministries and parliament. There is no direct association between student numbers and funding, although institutional requests for capital expenditure, personnel, materials, etc. are variables largely dependent on student numbers. Since the acknowledged task of the President or Rector of the institution is to negotiate for more money, irrespective of student numbers, the correlation between student enrolment and funding is often tenuous. In effect, in Germany the funding system is divorced from institutional performance and

student recruitment. Consequently, institutions increasingly seek to use numerous clausus to limit student numbers. In practice, such attempts are undermined by a policy of open access for all students who have successfully completed secondary school and secured the Abitur for access to universities, and the Fachhochschulreife for access to the Fachhochschulen. Combined with Germany's vigorous policy of increasing student participation, this has resulted in a four-fold increase in higher education student numbers during the last 25 years (Gellert, 1989). Although accompanied by resource increases during the early years, more recently under the weight of recession and reunification, German higher education has become under-resourced and overcrowded. For example, the near doubling of student numbers in higher education over the last decade has been accompanied by only a 22% increase in current expenditure (Federal Ministry of Education and Science, 1990). As a result, German institutions, like their French and Spanish counterparts, find themselves inundated with students above and beyond actual capacity. In fact, according to all the interviewees at the German case study institutions, the situation is critical with high student - staff ratios, over-crowded lecture theatres and poor facilities generally resulting in a sub-standard higher education experience for students. The federal government has only recently managed to agree the principles of a Higher Education Bill which is expected to grant universities greater autonomy, possibly including the independent setting of tuition fee rates (Brookman, 1997b).

Student Mobility Policy of the Federal Government and Student Mobility Policy at Fachhochschule Trier, Hochschule Bremen and the University of Bonn

In a higher education climate characterised by high national student demand, the German case study institutions, prefer to participate in exchange programmes based on reciprocal student flows. In this context, all the interviewees at the case

study institutions recognise the importance of the ERASMUS programme, which according to the Head of the European Business Division at the Fachhochschule Trier "has contributed to the co-operation of European institutions in an invaluable way". Indeed, the majority of students from EU countries studying at the case study institutions are part of some reciprocal arrangement. This is not to suggest institutions refuse to accept incoming free-movement mobility. International officers at the University of Bonn and Hochschule Bremen confirm they have the necessary procedures in situ to accommodate incoming free-movement mobility; but in view of the high national demand they are not willing to encourage EU students to come to Germany. In contrast, the Head of the European Business Division at Trier insists on reciprocity, since student mobility is regarded as one aspect of Europeanisation. According to the officer at Trier "exchange allows the development of links between institutions in which staff mobility and research collaboration can take place as well as the award of dual qualifications". Free-movement mobility is generally unable to facilitate this broader process of Europeanisation. Besides, as the interviewee at Trier pointed out "to support free-movement mobility you must enforce an administrative system to handle individual applications." Such a system does not yet exist at Trier.

While incoming free-movement mobility is limited at the case study institutions, outgoing free-floater mobility is pronounced, and in contrast to Spain and France, actively encouraged at the University of Bonn and Hochschule Bremen. This partly reflects the efforts of the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD) - created by the federal government to oversee and facilitate the Europeanisation and internationalisation of German higher education. Germany, perhaps more than any other EU government, has developed a proactive student mobility policy. The need to re-integrate Germany into international society and to erase the spectre of Nazism, has forced the federal government to both create

DAAD and make international co-operation compulsory for all higher education institutions. The results are impressive. As early as 1979, DAAD launched the 'Integrated Foreign Study Programme', providing financial support to German staff and students interested in exchange mobility. A higher proportion of German higher education institutions were therefore exposed to organised mobility at a comparatively early stage, compared with most other countries. Like Sweden, Germany is now supporting the mobility of German free-movement students.

At the Hochschule Bremen students are invited to open days and introduced to the possibility of study abroad. The international office (by federal law each institution of higher education must have one) funded by DAAD, provides the necessary information for interested students. Information for prospective free-floaters is abundant in DAAD publications and literature, which address student funding, explain other European education systems, specify entry requirements and provide contact names and addresses, thus enabling students to take the initiative and make the necessary arrangements with a prospective host institution. Occasionally DAAD may request and translate information directly from a country "where the material is more detailed, updated or comprehensive". The officer maintains that "DAAD makes it a point to acquire and translate such material for the benefit of German students wishing to study abroad outside exchange programmes". Similarly the international office at the University of Bonn holds open days and provides information if students seek study abroad opportunities as free-floaters. The office also attends secondary school fairs to highlight the possibilities of study abroad. The intention, however, is not to recruit, but to boost awareness among would-be higher education students. According to the international officer at the University of Bonn, available places would be filled regardless of any international marketing campaign.

The means-tested BAföG (half grant-half loan) received by about 25% of students (Berchem, 1991) is pivotal to free-floater mobility. Specifically extended for two to three semesters for study abroad purposes, it allows students who have either failed to secure a place on ERASMUS, or who are not interested in studying at any of the available partner institutions to contemplate free-floating. Students who qualify for the BAföG are also eligible for extra national funding to cover the additional costs of study abroad, such as increased living expenses, travel and tuition fees. Consequently, BAföG students are not penalised financially if they fail to secure recognition of the study period on return to the home institution. In fact, the flexible nature of German higher education (allowing students to take exams when they feel appropriately prepared) mediates the importance of recognition and permits students to contemplate the free floater option. Students who do not qualify for the BAföG are more limited with regard to free-floating. Not only must study abroad be funded from private sources or by taking a government loan, but subsequent protraction of the study period inevitably carries a financial penalty. In this context, Germany appears to have developed a genuine system of equal opportunities for students from socially deprived backgrounds.

Although the funding system and high student demand for higher education fail to stimulate institutions into encouraging recruitment of EU students, the German government has created a financial and informational infrastructure, through DAAD, which is conducive to outgoing free-movement mobility. Ultimately, however, the decision to take advantage of the opportunities rests with individual institutions and students. There are no financial rewards nor is there a threat to institutional survival. Much depends on the dynamics within individual institutions. At the University of Bonn, student demand for study abroad accounts for high levels of outgoing mobility. Meanwhile, at the Hochschule Bremen, according to the international officer the commitment to "encourage as many

students to go abroad as possible" is predicated on the enthusiasm of the Rector who wishes "to reduce the dissonance in the spirit of people" with particular reference to ethnocentric and xenophobic attitudes. At Bremen, student mobility is therefore primarily supported for humanist reasons and for personal development. As a result, at Bremen, greater importance is attached to the student's experience of study abroad, rather than to matters of academic recognition; indeed, recognition is not guaranteed. In the words of the international officer:

"it doesn't happen so often that you can study the same at the other institution as here ... so it is only partly recognised, which means the studies will be longer."

Since the only penalty is a prolongation of study, outgoing free-floater mobility from Germany is pronounced. Table F in Chapter Three shows that in 1992/93 Germany accommodated 8,907 incoming EU free-movement students, including 2,325 Greek students escaping the numerous *clausus* restrictions in their own country. In contrast, Germany exported 15,676 students to other EU countries, most notably to the UK. The creation of a favourable financial and informational framework for both exchange students and free-floaters undoubtedly stimulates the high levels of outgoing free-movement mobility from Germany. According to the international officer at Bremen:

"these conditions are so good that ... my problem is how can I give this information to the students ... the universities do not have to make such form of advertising because many students are interested to go outside ... but at the Fachhochschule this office is not so well known ... so for the Fachhochschule it is more important to make advertising ... in induction week, the Rector's speech is followed by the international officer who sells study abroad to the students."

In practice, although outgoing German free-floaters are pronounced, a growing proportion of German student exports are based on transfer, consisting of students who have failed to secure a place on courses regulated by *numerus clausus* in Germany. This may include a small minority of German students taking their undergraduate years abroad to avoid an over-crowded and under-resourced higher education system, where the average length of a degree course often exceeds seven years. In a financial context, the German government is clear about the advantages of outgoing non-reciprocal transfer mobility for Germany, and acknowledges the considerable costs incurred by receiving countries such as the UK. However, perhaps unsurprisingly, the German government does not look favourably at the idea of reimbursing net importing countries. It is equally hostile to the Danish proposal of a voucher system. In the words of the official at the German Ministry of Education "we were completely against that because it would be very expensive." In practice, the German government appears to be developing a policy to exploit existing financial arrangements by considering the transferability of the BAföG grant for the whole of the study period abroad. This would make study abroad financially viable for many more German students, who until now have been excluded from following full undergraduate courses in other EU countries. It will simultaneously ease some of the pressure from the overstrained German higher education system and perhaps even institutional demands for enhanced funding.

5.3.5 Ireland

The Irish Higher Education System and Government Higher Education Policy

In Ireland there have been a number of significant developments in higher education policy during the past two years, including the abolition of tuition fees. While these developments are acknowledged, they are not incorporated into the case study for analysis, since the data for Ireland, as with all the other case studies, relates predominantly to the period 1993 to 1995.

In Ireland a funding system based on incremental adjustments was phased out by the Higher Education Authority in 1993 in favour of a system under which institutions are funded on the basis of student numbers recruited into different subject areas. Eight subject areas have been defined, with laboratory-based subjects generally carrying a higher funding rate, as in the UK. It is calculated by the Higher Education Authority that under the new funding system institutions receive approximately 62% of total funding from the government, 31.7% from student tuition fees and 6.3% from 'Other Income'. The tuition fee element, which increased as a proportion of total funding throughout the last decade, requires students to pay anything between IEP 1,500 and 2,200 (GBP 1,500 and 2,200). Currently, approximately 40% of Irish students benefit from the government's means-tested Higher Education Grants Scheme, which is related to parental income. Tuition fees are paid directly to institutions by the state on behalf of eligible students, and students may also qualify for a maintenance grant. However, the full grant does not fully redress the cost of maintenance and a private contribution from individual students is expected.

The existence of high tuition fees, accounting for almost a third of institutional income, and the interdependence between government funding and student numbers, provides a potential situation of competition between institutions in attracting both national and European students. However, the Higher Education Authority claims that neither the current nor the previous funding system can stimulate competition for students between institutions, since student demand for higher education exceeds the number of available places. This is despite the payment of high tuition fees from private sources by 60% of students, and the inadequacy of the maintenance grant for the eligible 40%. While the government intends to increase participation to 100,000 by the end of the century, at present the competition for places in Irish higher education is such that some students who meet the minimum specified academic requirement for entry cannot obtain a place. In this environment of guaranteed student intakes, competition for students between institutions did not materialise even after a 200% increase in student fees during the last decade. Of course, institutions vie to attract the best academically qualified students but, like their Spanish, French and German counterparts, faced with overwhelming student demand, Irish institutions can maximise intakes regardless of reputation or 'quality'. According to the Acting Director of the international office at the University College Dublin (UCD), "there is an oversupply of well qualified students applying to UCD, currently we do not have to actively market our courses." Indeed, although opportunities for student mobility are mentioned in the UCD prospectus, they are in no way emphasised as a particular attribute or used as a marketing tool to attract national students. It is acknowledged that competition is unlikely to develop until the anticipated demographic decline starts to take effect in higher education from 1998.

Government Policy on Student Mobility and Student Mobility Policy at University College Dublin and Dublin City University

Irish national government policy in the area of Europeanisation appears to be a policy of relative inaction. Although an interview was denied by the Irish Ministry of Education, interviewees at the case study institutions and at the Higher Education Authority - an intermediary body responsible for implementing government policies - suggest a general disinterest in student mobility at governmental level. In this policy vacuum, the case study institutions have developed their policies and responses to student mobility in the context of a national higher education environment characterised by high national demand for higher education places.

Most notably, institutional attitudes and policies among Irish institutions are somewhat harsher towards free-movement mobility compared with those held by institutions in the other case study countries. The Irish case study institutions explicitly regard incoming mobility that is not a result of exchange as undesirable. This is because every incoming student arriving on a non-reciprocal basis occupies a place that could be offered to an Irish student. According to the interviewee at UCD "the Irish system is an elitist system and many nationals do not get a place ... we must give priority to national students." Equally, Dublin City University maintained that its loyalty lay with Irish students and, although applications from EU free-movement students are dealt with fairly, they are certainly not encouraged. Experience showed that most potential EU free-movement students, attracted to Dublin City University because of the English language and the perceived quality of Irish higher education, tend not to arrive once informed of the cost of tuition fees. The recent abolition of tuition fees by the Irish government will inevitably enhance EU student interest in Irish higher education and will probably result in an increase in member state students at Dublin City University.

This will not be the case at UCD where free-floaters are not accepted despite numerous enquiries since courses are full and the institution is unable to cope with additional students. The Acting Director of the international office at UCD points out that:

"We have a huge number of enquiries about free-floating. We don't take free-floaters. We take people within a planned course ... We actually at the moment want to try and have parity [within planned courses] between the numbers going out and the numbers coming in: we currently have more coming in than going out".

In effect, current policy at UCD seeks to promote reciprocal mobility which is proving difficult to achieve even within the ERASMUS programme. Consideration to free-floaters is given only in exceptional circumstances, for instance where the student arrives at the institution in person. On this evidence, it can be assumed that the majority of the 2,202 EU free-movement students accommodated by Irish higher education institutions in 1993/94 (See Table F in Chapter Three) were probably fee paying transfer students seeking to take a full higher education course in Ireland. For member state students interested in part course mobility, ERASMUS appears to be the most effective, though by no means assured channel of spending a period studying at an Irish institution.

There also appears to be little support for Irish free-floaters at institutional level. The current demand to study abroad among Irish students is limited, largely because of the financial obstacle, allowing institutions to satisfy student demand through ERASMUS, to which by and large Irish institutions are favourably disposed. Participation in ERASMUS allows the case study institutions to meet the twin goals of satisfying home student demand for study abroad and creating the desired European presence on campus which according to one interviewee at

UCD is "desirable and must be strived for". Free-floating does not have to be examined by institutions as an alternative avenue to mobility. Moreover, Dublin City University felt that it would be inappropriate to mobilise free-floaters, since the rigidity of the curricula could not guarantee credit transfer and recognition of study periods abroad. For similar reasons, it was maintained that UCD students interested in study abroad outside an ERASMUS ICP would have to take a year out. A prolongation of the study period and additional financial costs for UCD free-floaters is therefore automatic. The deliberate preservation of the recognition barrier by Irish institutions effectively diminishes potential Irish free-floater mobility. As a result of the introduction of the new funding system in 1993, inertia towards outgoing free-floaters is likely to increase since payment is only continued by the Higher Education Authority if the student is participating in a EU scheme.

In Ireland, the lack of financial incentive and high national demand obviates the necessity or desire for institutions to facilitate incoming free-movement mobility, while rigid curricula and an apparent lack of student demand precludes consideration of Irish free-floaters. The disinclination at institutional level towards free-floater mobility is further compounded by the perception that free-floating is administratively problematic. Institutions fear impending confusion caused by numerous free-floaters wishing to spend a few months at several EU institutions. The assessment of applications on a case by case basis and certification on completion of the chosen study period are daunting prospects. The Acting Director of the international office at UCD, like some of her European counterparts, was of the view that:

"you do need some rules and regulations ... it might be good for the student and great fun ... but in academic terms and assessment terms and administrative terms there are problems ... it could be chaos if you had students free-floating all over Europe."

In comparison, exchange mobility is not only relatively straight-forward, but tried and tested. Moreover, as observed by the Assistant Registrar at Dublin City University, exchange facilitates "economies of scale" whereby institutions can vet prospective partners and subsequently award recognition to students travelling in both directions on a group rather than individual case by case basis. In short, the availability of Community funding, high national demand for higher education and the perceived administrative efficiency of the ERASMUS programme explain the unequivocal preference for exchange mobility at institutional level in Ireland.

The situation for Irish transfer students is significantly different. To an extent the operation of *numerus clausus* in Ireland prompts some unsuccessful applicants to consider study abroad. Students who qualify for a means-tested maintenance grant may carry their grant to Northern Ireland, since the Irish constitution stipulates that the North is part of the Republic. Given geographical proximity, some students commute from the Republic to universities in Northern Ireland on a daily basis, effectively resulting in 'cross-border' mobility.

Less disputable is the 'cross-border' mobility of those Irish students who study in Britain in ever-increasing numbers as a result of the operation of *numerus clausus* in Ireland. In 1993/94, 85% of the 5,292 Irish free-movement students were studying in the UK. For many of these students, mobility is eased by the absence of many of the obstacles to free-movement mobility - namely, finance, language and *numerus clausus*. First, since approximately 60% of the Irish student population fund higher education from private sources, it is often attractive and affordable to study in Britain, where tuition fees do not have to be paid - whereas until recently they had to be paid in Ireland - and the cost of living is cheaper compared with an Irish university town. However, the opportunity to consider

study in the UK does not extend to those students dependent upon the Higher Education Grants Scheme who cannot carry their grants abroad. This suggests that students from privileged social backgrounds, as in all the other case study countries with the exception of Sweden and Germany, continue to exercise greater choice than those dependent upon government support. Second, the language obstacle is absent since English is spoken in the Republic. Third, and perhaps most important, numerous *clausus* policies have until recently been relatively unobtrusive in the UK since the British government embarked on a higher education expansion scheme. This may explain why some Irish students find it easier to access UK higher education institutions than Irish universities (Walshe, 1993). In fact, during the expansionary phase in UK higher education, UK institutions have actively sought to recruit Irish students.

5.3.6 United Kingdom

The UK Higher Education System and Higher Education Policy

Significant changes have occurred in higher education in the UK over the last six years. It has been the aim of the Conservative government to make higher education more cost-efficient by subjecting it to market principles. The preferred method has been to fund the whole of the higher education sector (consisting of old universities, new universities - previously the polytechnics - and colleges of higher education) on the basis of student numbers according to pre-determined targets established between individual institutions and the national funding agencies. In addition, institutions also receive tuition fees from Local Education Authorities (LEAs) for each recruited student. A second objective has been to increase the participation rate. To encourage institutions to recruit more students,

in 1991 the government enhanced the tuition fee element as a proportion of the total funding received for each student. Targets for expansion would therefore be largely met through institutions recruiting significant numbers of 'fees only' students. These students, as the term suggests, do not carry any accompanying central government contribution. By linking institutional well-being to student recruitment and raising the value of 'fees-only' students, the government provided a strong incentive to institutions to increase recruitment.

Government Policy on Student Mobility

The British government does not actively encourage institutional Europeanisation through the development of a national policy on student mobility. In defence of this position, an official of the Department for Education maintained that the government does not seek to intervene in the internal affairs of "autonomous" higher education institutions: the decision to pursue a European policy is an institutional one. The UK government does, however, positively support student mobility. Unlike many other EU countries, UK students currently receive relatively substantial state grants for maintenance which those eligible can take abroad, providing the study period is an essential part of the course. In fact, for the purposes of study abroad, the level of the grant can be specifically increased by local authorities, although a cut of £35 million in student discretionary awards by county councils in England and Wales during 1993 and 1994 (Charter, 1995) may in future result in a diminished grant for study abroad students. Moreover, although EU law compels the UK government to pay tuition fees on behalf of incoming transfer students, this obligation does not extend to incoming free-floaters and mid-study transfer students, since UK students only receive mandatory awards if they register for a full course. As a positive European

gesture, however, the UK government also pays tuition fees for the latter groups of incoming free-movement students through what is popularly known as the 'Essex Scheme'. In effect, Essex LEA, reimbursed by central government, pays UK higher education institutions tuition fees for matriculating free-floaters and mid-study transfer students from the EU. In 1993/94 this amounted to GBP 2,257,000. The gesture on the part of the UK government has continued despite the problem of imbalances in student flows at the expense of the UK taxpayer. In fact, the DfEE emphasises that the UK government, far from reducing student mobility, is supportive and intends to diminish imbalances by stimulating outgoing mobility rather than curbing incoming mobility.

Although institutional representatives variously acknowledged the aforementioned government contributions, some still maintained that the government has taken little interest in the area of student mobility. According to some European/International officers the UK government has failed to provide direct support to encourage institutions to pursue student mobility either in the form of explicit policy or incentive funding. The interviewee at the University of Kent acknowledges that:

"Institutions always respond when resources are at the end of the line, and so if they were told [that] the extent to which they exemplified the European dimension would influence their grant income, I think they would respond to that - there is no doubt about it."

The British government's commitment to stimulating outgoing mobility reflects its adherence to the principle of institutional autonomy and a cautious approach to outcome related funding policies. Hence, an 'official' policy position which states the intention of stimulating outgoing mobility may in practice stand alongside the pragmatic consideration of actual costs. In fact, DfEE officials, in contradiction to

previous statements, question the logic of encouraging greater levels of mobility, contrasting the relative expense with the cheaper option of bringing Europe to the students:

"We are very keen on a European dimension. We're very supportive of it, and we are keen to see it develop not just in terms of student mobility, but in other ways, such as lecturer mobility and the development of open and distance learning and common curricula ... physical mobility is extremely expensive ... there are other ways which are just as effective, and perhaps more cost-effective in delivering the European dimension."

However, according to most interviewees at the case study institutions, the broader process of Europeanisation can never be a substitute for spending a period studying in another country. Open and distance learning, the movement of staff between institutions, common curricula and the presence of students from member states may create a European ambience, but it cannot produce graduates with the survival skills, experiences, insights and appreciation of cultural nuances of another country to the same degree as a period studied abroad. This particular outcome of study abroad is most valued by policy-makers at Community level in the context of further European integration.

Student Mobility Policy at the Universities of Derby, Edinburgh, Humberside, Kent, Kingston, Middlesex and Ulster

In many ways the UK case study institutions do not differ from their European counterparts with respect to their reasons for supporting student mobility. Persuaded by the educational and humanist arguments, and acknowledging the interdependency of economies, UK institutions have accommodated exchange mobility, despite such costs as sustaining an international office and the time-cost of addressing the queries and problems of students from partner institutions. It is

widely acknowledged that non-nationals more frequently than their national counterparts require institutional support with respect to academic, financial, social and accommodation problems.

UK institutions, like some continental institutions, have also fostered student mobility for reasons other than the cultural and philosophical. For example, during the early 1980s one institution capitalised on student mobility both to enrol students and to help its cause in achieving polytechnic status. The institution actively profiled itself as a 'European' institution which, according to the international officer, "was an important marketing ploy in the mid-80s". This policy, driven by the need to obtain market advantage in a competitive environment, in many ways resembles the experience of Jönköping University College, IUT La Rochelle and the École Supérieure in Poitiers. At all these institutions the active promotion of student mobility is the product of competition. The launch of ERASMUS, however, and the arrival of student mobility at most UK institutions, has rendered mobility policies less effective in attracting students. Providing opportunities for study abroad is no longer a matter of choice, especially since the student market is more aware of study abroad opportunities. According to the European development officer at the University of Kingston, UK institutions can now only ignore student mobility at a significant "cost":

"If for example our University was one of the few European universities that could not offer elements of Europeanisation I think it would have to promote itself as offering excellence in some other area".

Although student mobility has surfaced as a policy issue at most UK institutions in recent years, this has not prompted all the case study institutions to develop an explicit European policy. The reasons for this have already been explored in Chapter Four. However, where a policy exists, this has implications for mobility

flows and the nature of relationships with EU institutions. For example, there seems to be a greater tendency for institutions with a clearly articulated European policy to insist on reciprocity in student flows within ERASMUS. This stance is influenced by the fact that students arriving on a non-reciprocal basis, as ERASMUS exchange students, are not supported by the Essex scheme, but they contribute to the costs of the institution. With reference to the need to maintain equal flows one interviewee at the University of Kent at Canterbury stated that:

"There are two or three reasons but the tuition fee factor is a very important one. There are no resources for taking extra students under an exchange programme and they cost. There is the opportunity cost of tuition fees and in terms of the use of all facilities, student accommodation and everything else".

Where institutions do not have a clearly defined European policy there exists a greater tendency for ICP Co-ordinators to exercise discretion and accommodate imbalances within ERASMUS. This is often a function of EU institutions sending more students than agreed, or UK institutions failing to motivate the requisite numbers of home students to participate in exchange programmes. When transposed to the national level alongside significant numbers of incoming transfer students, this makes the UK into the main student 'importing' country in the EU.

In contrast to the case study institutions on the continent, with the exception of Sweden, UK institutions have welcomed, and even encouraged, incoming free-movement student mobility. In fact, at a time when UK institutions were competing to recruit increasing numbers of home students in order to capitalise on the high tuition fees, some institutions diversified their marketing to incorporate EU students. The University of Kent as a matter of policy 'Europeanised' courses, specifically to make them more attractive to EU and overseas students. For some institutions the student market was obvious given physical proximity. The University of Ulster focused its activities in the Republic of Ireland (which partly,

explains the prominence of Irish students in the UK) while the Universities of Derby and Kent attended European student fairs on the continent. Kent also toured UK schools in Europe - attended by the children of British nationals living in the country - not only to increase student recruitment but also to attract what was believed to be superior quality UK students. This is not to suggest marketing in Europe always resulted in enhanced recruitment. The University of Derby acknowledged that it attracted only a small number of applications from individual EU transfer students.

The financial drive to actively recruit European students is not limited to transfer students. Government funding reforms have prompted UK institutions increasingly to behave like commercial organisations, and some UK institutions have developed links with European institutions specifically to recruit mid-study transfer students. Within this arrangement, the UK institution offers a final year of a first degree to students who have completed a two year diploma, such as the French DUT or DEUG. The partnership currently being negotiated by the IUT at La Rochelle with a UK institution illustrates that such an arrangement is mutually beneficial, although many French students arrive outside of organised programmes. As already argued this explains the high proportion of free-movement students leaving France for the UK. The 'top-up' courses, in addition to raising tuition fees, are offered partly in the hope that the French students stay on to take more lucrative postgraduate courses, thereby generating 'real' income for the institution.

European activity has also been used as a route to more financially rewarding markets: 'European' profiles have been created to attract EU transfer and mid-study transfer students, but more importantly to recruit overseas students from outside the EU who pay the full tuition fee rates. The European officer at the

University of Humberside, highlights the motives for developing a European profile:

"What is driving the European policy is the desire to maintain the reputation that we have built up, in order to underpin the international drive ... and to maintain the undergraduate levels of European students in order to develop the postgraduate area ... It seems that there are going to be increased opportunities particularly for UK institutions to offer students 'top-ups' to degrees and then beyond that to take them through to higher degrees".

While UK institutions, like their European counterparts, are to a large extent supporting exchange mobility for humanist and cultural reasons, including providing home students with the opportunities to study abroad, it is apparent that in many cases the underlying reasons for developing student mobility policies and European profiles are also instrumental in economic terms. Undoubtedly, competition for national students combined with the expansion in higher education, the existence of differential fee rates for EU and non-EU students and the higher costs of postgraduate courses are factors driving student mobility. Financial incentives in one form or another influence free-movement mobility policy at UK institutions.

Surprisingly, efforts by UK institutions to attract EU students do not extend to free-floaters. Despite the existence of the Essex scheme, this category of free-movement students continues to be perceived by case study institutions as administratively burdensome. The cost and time required to assess individual short term free-floaters on a case-by-case basis fails to offset any potential financial or cultural benefits. For the same reason, UK free-floaters receive little encouragement. Besides, like Ireland, but unlike the remaining case study countries, UK institutions are generally able to satisfy demand for study abroad through ERASMUS. Only in a minority of cases do UK students fail to secure a place to study abroad, because of an absence of exchange programmes within their

departments. In these circumstances, free-floating remains a financially unviable option, in the absence of complementary funding, as the European officer at the University of Derby discovered, when experimenting with outgoing free-floater mobility:

"I would say that they [prospective free-floaters] have almost all not been very successful because in the end they come down to the question, how am I going to pay for this, and the answer for most of them is I cannot."

Despite the problems faced by outgoing students at the University of Derby, UK students do manage to study abroad as free-movement students, presumably using private financial sources. Table F in Chapter Three shows that in 1993/94 the UK managed to export 5,687 students to other EU countries on a free-movement basis, of whom 3,535 students or 62% enrolled in French higher education. Possibly, these are language students securing first-hand experience of French on a free-floater basis.

It is clear that institutional student mobility policies in the UK have been relatively successful. Although failing to generate sufficient enthusiasm among home students to maintain reciprocity, UK institutions have accommodated disproportionate numbers of incoming exchange and free-movement students. Indeed, the latter category has even been encouraged. The student statistics of UK case study institutions in most cases indicate that, in contrast to the continental case study institutional experience, incoming free-movement mobility outnumbers ERASMUS mobility. For example, during the academic year 1992/93, at the University of Kent at Canterbury, 810 students were classified as EU students. Only 175 of these students came through ERASMUS, and while a proportion may be normally resident in the UK for one reason or another, the prevalence of free-movement is clear. When transposed nationally the result is that in 1992/93, the

UK imported a massive 32,405 free-movement students from EU countries. Admittedly, the willingness on the part of UK institutions to accommodate incoming free-movement mobility explains the influx of so many EU students. However, it is equally important to appreciate the outflow of EU students from their own higher education systems for a whole host of reasons including failure to access the course of their choice. For the majority of these students, the UK is the obvious destination given the use of the English language and absence of tuition fee payments. The willingness on the part of UK institutions to accommodate incoming free-movement mobility from the EU may, however, change with the introduction by the UK government of a policy of consolidation rather than expansion of student numbers.

The End of the Expansion of Higher Education: Implications for Student Mobility Policy

The higher education expansion strategy has been so successful that the UK government in 1994 indicated an end to the expansionary phase in UK higher education, in favour of a period of consolidation. In order to achieve this goal, the tuition fee element has been reduced and financial penalties introduced for institutions which recruit below or above the government student number target established for each individual institution. Initial signs suggest that this may adversely affect incoming student mobility. According to some European officers the more difficult financial climate has directly prompted management to question both the financial costs of student mobility to the institution and the imbalances in student flows within ERASMUS. The predicted outcome is a move towards balancing student flows through a reduction in incoming exchange mobility at a time when EU institutions want to send increasing numbers of students to the UK.

For the European officer at the University of Humberside, the repercussions were clear:

"I think not just for this institution but for institutions across the UK, these changes in government policy are going to have very important repercussions for European exchanges, and I think, unfortunately, they are going to make relations with the rest of Europe more difficult once again, and the British government is going to be seen as not totally European in its outlook."

Incoming transfer student mobility may also suffer. As strict quotas on student numbers are imposed by the government, institutions may begin to perceive EU student mobility as contrary to the national interest, if UK students are excluded from higher education. This possibility was clearly articulated by one interviewee who prefers to remain anonymous:

"If they [the students] wanted to come for the whole programme I think until this recent switch in government policy we would have welcomed them as extra students ... we were expanding, we wanted more student numbers ... to broaden the European dimension and the European experience of our students etcetera. Now of course, if we are going to have these limits imposed on us then we have to say every student we recruit for the whole programme from Belgium, just to take an example, is an exclusion of a British student. Do we want to do that? And I think that is a very difficult question ... I know strictly speaking we cannot do this but the way it works would probably be that we will take the British students first".

The Administrative Manager of the European and International Centre at the University of Derby, also expects negative repercussions for incoming student mobility because of the changes in government policy, but for different reasons.

"I could envisage that it could be quite easy for a member of staff who wasn't very keen to say, I can fill my course with British students, so why should I have somebody whose native language isn't English, and who might be unable to follow the course ... However unfortunate, that is an attitude that exists."

Meanwhile, since 1994/95 the UK government has transferred the administration of the Essex scheme to the British Council on a cash limited basis. Although the limit is calculated on the basis of actual demand over the past few years, the financial ceiling of GBP 1.7 million will effectively constrain any potential for expansion in the numbers of incoming free-floaters and mid-study transfer students to the UK.

In the new circumstances, some of the case study institutions with significant student mobility expect to see a decline in incoming mobility. Kingston University, on the other hand, intends to pursue a different policy. Faced with under-recruitment in the 1993/94 academic year, apparently as a result of the change from polytechnic to university status, it initiated a review to examine possibilities of exploiting the huge EU student interest for study in the UK. In the past the institution had not used the EU market since under-recruitment was never a serious problem. According to the European development officer:

"Hitherto we have just about recruited enough students, give or take, and so we have not felt the pressure to go out shopping, but there has been as I say, a small change in that climate".

Developments at Kingston again reveal the explicit link between national recruitment and the willingness of market-driven higher education institutions to exploit the European student market to the benefit of student mobility. Interestingly, Kingston University prefers to recruit within the EU rather than from overseas since the funding is guaranteed. The European development officer at Kingston pointed out that:

"EC students get their tuition fees paid, so there is none of this hassle of the student from Hong Kong who's got to be able to stand up £7,000 before they even start."

The UK case study, perhaps more than its continental counterparts, highlights the contrasting positions of institutions towards incoming student mobility in response to changing government policy. While in most countries institutions either actively seek transfer students (Sweden), or mediate somewhere between receptiveness (Spain, France, Germany) and reluctant acceptance (Ireland), UK institutions within a short period of time will have adopted both extremes in response to shifting government policies. The interdependence between government funding strategies and student mobility policy at the case study institutions is significant.

5.4 Conclusion

Having explored student mobility policy at six case study governments and sixteen higher education institutions, it is now possible to draw together a comparative analysis with a view to developing some generalisations and models of student mobility policy. Table G is designed to facilitate such an analysis by providing a basis for comparing student mobility policies at national and institutional level in terms of the key determinants from within the policy environment. These, it is argued, shape institutional responses to student mobility. In practice, a consideration of environmental determinants leads to a focus on three key variables.

First, the extent to which student mobility policy is actively encouraged in policy terms. Second, the nature of the higher education funding system, as a market-driven, contractual or a negotiated process. Third, the level of home student demand for higher education (relative to capacity). All three variables can be attributed directly to government higher education policies. To understand the

impact of these variables on institutional student mobility policies, Table G also includes a consideration of the level of competition engendered by government policies within the different higher education systems. Finally, there is some examination of the significance of student mobility for institutional status and welfare as a preface to a consideration of the rationale for promoting exchange mobility as well as the varying policies towards free-movement mobility at institutional level. Importantly, it is the aim of Table G to provide an overview of the relationship between student mobility policy at institutional level on the one hand, and national government policies on the other, by concentrating on the key processes which provide a link between the two.

Table G summarises from the case study material the limited range of factors, controlled mainly by national governments, which shape the policy environment of higher education institutions. This provides the context for institutional responses to student mobility. Significantly, the explicit student mobility policy positions of national government appear to be among the least important of factors. In most case study countries with the exception of Sweden and Germany, student mobility as an 'issue' has not been on the agenda of national higher education policy-makers. As a result, in Spain, France, Ireland and the UK, national student mobility policy is limited to complementing Community exchange mobility programmes. In contrast, in Sweden and Germany, where national governments have historically shared positive orientations to student mobility, national policy seeks to support and encourage greater levels of free-movement mobility. The implications of this are discussed in greater detail at a later stage in this section.

Table G: Student Mobility Policy at National and Institutional Level: Key Determinants

Country/ Institution	National Student Mobility Policy	National Higher Education Funding System	National Student Demand for Higher Education	Institutional Competition for Students etc.	Significance of Student Mobility for Institutional Welfare & Status	Institutional Rationale for Promoting Exchange	Institutional Policy Towards Free- Movement
UK	Limited	Market	Low	High	Significant	Economic	Supportive
Sweden	Proactive	Market	Low	High	Significant	Economic	Supportive
Fr- École	Limited	Market	High	High	Significant	Economic	Hostility
Fr - IUT	Limited	Contract	Moderate	Moderate	Significant	Economic	Disinterest
Ireland	None	Market	Very high	None	Inconsequential	Humanist	Hostility
Spain	Limited	Negotiated	High	None	Inconsequential	Humanist	Disinterest
Fr - Uni	Limited	Contract	High	None	Inconsequential	Humanist	Disinterest
Germany	Proactive	Negotiated	High	None	Inconsequential	Humanist	Supportive

The absence in most case study countries, of any significant explicit national policy on student mobility, has meant that student mobility policies have been determined at institutional level, but shaped by a range of factors strongly influenced by national government higher education policy. Table G shows that it is possible to discern two broad groups of institutions in these terms. First, there are those institutions which operate in a competitive higher education environment, and are heavily dependant on student mobility for institutional welfare. This includes institutions in market oriented systems, where funding is linked to student numbers, such as institutions in Sweden, the UK and the private *École* sector in France, but also the IUT sector in France, which perceives a competitive threat from rival institutions. This is in spite of government claims and attempts to preclude the development of competition between public institutions of higher education in France. Consequently, like its counterparts in more market driven higher education systems, the IUT seeks to use student mobility to 'sell' the institution and attract national students.

Interestingly, the considerable significance attributed to student mobility for institutional welfare among institutions in a competitive environment does not necessarily lead to similar student mobility policies. In this context the level of national demand for higher education proves significant. High national demand for higher education, as in France, mediates against the introduction of an accommodating free-movement mobility policy. In the absence of financial incentives to recruit from the EU student market, priority is given to national students, and resources allocated to support exchange mobility. In contrast, in both Sweden and the UK, the competitive funding system and importantly, under-subscription, provides financial incentives to accommodate incoming free-movement mobility. As a result institutions have dismantled barriers and adopted more flexible policies towards incoming free-movement mobility. This suggests

that the obstacles to incoming free-movement mobility, far from being of a permanent nature can be removed with relative ease, should the incentives exist. The consequences for mobility flows are considerable. By 1992/93 the UK was accommodating 40% of total free-movement mobility in the EU, with implications for imbalances in student flows and the diversification process. Such policy impacts are explored in greater detail in the next Chapter.

The second broad category of institutions are those located in a non-competitive higher education environment with limited dependency on student mobility for institutional welfare. This includes institutions in Spain, Germany and the French university sector, where both the funding systems and high national demand preclude competition between institutions for students and resources. It also includes institutions in Ireland where high student demand counteracts the potential for institutional competition arising from a market based funding system. In view of the high national demand for higher education, institutions in Spain, Germany, Ireland and the French university sector do not actively recruit from the European student market. In fact, some institutions, particularly in Ireland, appear openly averse to non-reciprocal incoming student mobility for reasons of national loyalty. Instead, institutions in non-competitive higher education systems promote exchange mobility for mainly traditional educational, cultural and humanist reasons and also to meet home student demand for study abroad.

The lack of financial incentives, resulting from high national demand, not only creates inertia with respect to incoming free-movement mobility, but also a lack of urgency in meeting home student demand for study abroad. The free-floater option is considered impracticable since inflexible attitudes, rather than inflexible curricula, preclude recognition of the study period abroad. Besides, it is argued that students cannot afford to finance study abroad outside of the ERASMUS

programme. In practice, with the requisite political will and resource allocation, even free-floating can become a reality. For example, in Sweden, the interdependency between funding and the numbers of students abroad in any given year, combined with the provision of portable study loans, is prompting institutions to make a concerted effort to mobilise Swedish free-floaters. In Germany, meanwhile, the creation by the federal government and DAAD of a conducive financial and informational framework for students helps to explain the willingness among higher education institutions to encourage free-floater mobility. Combined with the relatively high numbers of German transfer students, this makes Germany the second main exporter of students in the EU. Recognition for German free-floaters, however, remains problematic, with no clear solution in sight. In this context the absence of competition between institutions makes German higher education unresponsive to home student needs.

It is clear that the development of student mobility policy at institutional level is dependant on a whole range of factors which combine in distinct permeations. These factors, which include higher education funding systems, national demand for higher education, etc. constitute the policy environment of higher education within which the institutional strategies relating to student mobility are formed. From an analysis of the different permeations, three distinct models of student mobility policy at institutional level can be generated. The first model relates to institutions which support exchange mobility, but which are also receptive to incoming free-movement mobility, as in Sweden and the UK. In this context, a market based system, coupled with over-capacity within the higher education system generates sufficient financial incentive for institutions to seek to recruit from the EU student market. The second model includes institutions with a predominantly exchange-based student mobility policy. This includes French, Irish and Spanish higher education institutions. Interestingly, institutions in Spain,

Ireland and the French university sector support mobility for mainly educational and humanist reasons, compared with the non-university sector in France which supports exchange for mainly economic and instrumental reasons. Thus, although the outcome is the same, namely exchange-centred mobility policies, the motives for promoting mobility are very different. The third model incorporates German institutions, who on the one hand, refuse to encourage incoming free-movement mobility, given high national demand for higher education, but who actively encourage outgoing free-movement, particularly to broaden student horizons. The conducive financial and informational framework created by the Federal government through DAAD proves instrumental in this respect. Derived from the analysis of the case study material, these models of institutional policy orientations to student mobility draw attention to the interconnectedness of policy at European, national and institutional levels. The same process can also be applied to an understanding of national policy relating to student mobility.

By changing the focus of the analysis from the institutional to the national level - in particular, by concentrating on government higher education policies and the national demand for higher education - models of student mobility policy at national level can be developed. Importantly, these models can be extended to EU countries which have not formed a case study in this thesis, but for which the information concerning government higher education policies and student mobility inflows and outflows, and the level of national student demand is available. For the purpose of understanding the statistical analysis in Chapter Three, the identification of two models is particularly relevant. The first 'import-oriented' model includes countries such as the UK, France and Germany but also Italy and Belgium, where the barriers to incoming mobility, such as language, tuition fees and numerus clausus are relatively unobtrusive. In the case of Germany, the continued use of special quotas, in breach of the principle of non-

discrimination allows EU students to by-pass numerus clausus restrictions. The second 'export-oriented' model relates to countries, such as Germany and Ireland, but also Portugal and Greece where high national demand for higher education and the extensive use of numerus clausus results in an outflow of students to other member state higher education systems.

The models presented here are tentative; it is for future research to test and develop their application to different member states and institutions. The models have potential for helping us to understand variations in policy orientation both over time and through comparative analysis on a country by country basis, or in relation to institutions within a specific region. It is likely that further research might identify additional models and so build a more detailed typology of institutional responses. Since the nature of the research for this thesis has been essentially exploratory, the tentative nature of the models must be acknowledged. However, as both a descriptive and explanatory tool, the models support a more comprehensive understanding of student mobility policy. The models also prove useful in the next Chapter which explores the statistical impacts noted in Chapter Three in the context of the European, national and institutional policies examined in Chapters Four and Five.

Chapter Six

Impacts of Student Mobility Policy on Student Flows (1974-1991)

Chapter Six

Impacts of Student Mobility Policy on Student Flows (1974-1991)

6.1 Introduction

Having explored the development of student mobility policy at European, national and institutional level, it is appropriate to examine the relationship between the student mobility policy and practice identified in Chapters Four and Five and the statistical impacts noted in Chapter Three. In particular, this Chapter attempts to evaluate the outcomes of student mobility policies on student flows within the EU, with particular reference to the relative contribution of exchange and free-movement. Such an analysis provides the background for the final Chapter which attempts a theoretical analysis of the student mobility policy process, and in this context, considers the current dilemmas, future prospects and policy options facing policy-makers as they approach the new millennium and potentially Phase IV of the ERASMUS programme.

6.2 Student Mobility Policy and Student Flows (1974-1994)

Before attempting an evaluation of the student mobility policies in the context of the statistical picture outlined in Chapter Three, it is useful to first remind ourselves of the questions raised in Chapter Three which provide obvious sub-sections for this Chapter:

- What explains the increase in student mobility between 1974 and 1991, and the considerable increase between 1982/83 and 1983/85 and between 1988/89 and 1989/91?
- What factors account for the exceptional increases in incoming mobility to Belgium, Italy and the UK and outgoing mobility from Ireland and how can the reductions in Greek exports and Irish imports be explained in an environment of increasing student flows?
- What factors led to the disintegration in established student flows during the late 1980s, and why did some relationships withstand the phenomenon?
- What explains the existence of net importing and net exporting countries and how can the changing fortunes of Ireland, Italy and the UK be accounted for?
- To what extent can the foregoing trends and exceptions be identified as the outcome of different types of mobility - namely free-movement and exchange?

It is evident that some of the trends identified in Chapter Three relate to countries which do not form a case study in Chapter Five. This includes Italy, Belgium and Greece. As stated in Chapter Two, the choice of case study countries was not determined by the statistical patterns of mobility. Notwithstanding a lack of specific insight into the student mobility policies of these countries, the previous Chapter has suggested that these countries may be accommodated into either an 'import-oriented' or 'export-oriented' model. This provides the basis for understanding the trends experienced in student mobility flows by these countries.

6.2.1 Student Mobility: An Increasing Phenomenon

Chapter Three shows that between 1974/78 and 1989/91, student mobility in the EU increased from 21,679 to 113,806. A more detailed breakdown of the period in question reveals that between 1974/78 and 1983/85, student flows increased by 19,081 if Greek mobility is discounted from the analysis. In percentage terms, student mobility grew by 15% between 1974/78 and 1978/80, by 10% between 1978/80 and 1982/83 and by a noteworthy 30% between 1982/83 and 1983/85. The limited growth in JSP mobility during this period suggests that the average increase in student mobility of 2,000 students each academic year was mainly a function of a burgeoning population of free-movement students, who decided to study abroad on an independent basis in spite of the many obstacles. The contribution of national exchange programmes does not appear to be significant.

The increase of 27,000 in student mobility between 1983/85 and 1989/91, excluding Spanish and Portuguese mobility, as well as the considerable increase of 28% in student mobility between 1988/89 and 1989/91 is mainly attributable to Community exchange programmes. As has been demonstrated in Chapter Four these have been enthusiastically received by institutions mainly because of the financial provisions, design characteristics and the assumption of control implicit within exchange programmes. In 1989/91, for example, ERASMUS, LINGUA and ECTS in concert mobilised around 19,000 students (Teichler, 1996), again with the exclusion of Portuguese and Spanish mobility. In other words, Community exchange programmes accounted for around 70% of total increases in student mobility during the latter half of the 1980s. Free-movement mobility probably accounted for the remaining increase of 30% or 8,000 students, suggesting an average growth of 1,000 free-movement students each academic year between 1983/85 and 1989/91. The more moderate increases in free-movement

mobility during the latter half of the 1980s compared with the period from the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s is most probably the outcome of the introduction of Community exchange programmes. Indeed, it has been argued that the Community introduced ERASMUS to limit any potential expansion in free-movement mobility flows, following the Gravier ruling. It appears that this strategy proved more than successful, channelling existing demand for part course mobility into the self-financing, more attractive Community exchange programmes. However, ERASMUS could not accommodate the needs of students wishing to take a full course in another member state, which in the context of the increasing use of *numerus clausus* by home governments, was increasing during the late 1980s. In the absence of status-specific statistics, it can only be proposed that the increase of 1,000 free-movement students each academic year between 1983/85 and 1989/91 was most probably a function of mobility predicated on transfer.

Significantly, in recent years total increases in student mobility in the Communities is mainly accounted for by exchange and, in particular, the ERASMUS programme. The ERASMUS programme is altering the relative balance between free-movement and exchange mobility in the EU. For example, by using the ERASMUS figures produced by Teichler (1996) it is possible to note that in 1988/89, of the 88,593 mobile students only 9,914 or 11.2% were ERASMUS students. By 1990/91, ERASMUS mobility had increased to 29,040, or 25% of total mobility, which now stood at 113,806. Finally, by 1993/94, total mobility was approximately 150,795, of which ERASMUS students accounted for 56,000 or 37% of the total. In fact, if LINGUA, ECTS and other forms of exchange mobility are taken into account then exchange mobility probably accounted for 46% of total mobility in the EU in 1993/94. Although exchange mobility has experienced a more pronounced growth in recent years compared with free-

movement, the analysis in Chapters Four and Five lead to the conclusion that this trend will be reversed by the end of the twentieth century. The reasons for this are explored in greater detail in the final Chapter.

6.2.2 Exceptions to the Moderate Increase in Student Mobility

It is evident in Chapter Three that most countries experienced moderate increases in student imports and exports between 1974 and 1991 relative to the growth in overall student numbers. Some countries, however, sustained relatively spectacular increases in incoming mobility (Belgium, Italy and the UK) and outgoing mobility (Ireland), while others encountered a reduction in student exports (Greece) and student imports (Ireland) in an environment otherwise characterised by enhanced student flows. In practice, these exceptions are a direct consequence of national government higher education policy and community student mobility policies.

The increase in incoming mobility to Belgium, UK and Italy noted in Chapter Three can be explained from the evidence in Chapters Four and Five which confirms their status as 'import-oriented' countries. Indeed, the relative absence of *numerus clausus* in these countries proves particularly significant. At the same time, the increasing use of *numerus clausus* in 'export-oriented' countries, such as Greece, Germany, Portugal, Ireland etc. encourages EU students to turn to Belgium and the UK to study the courses denied to them by national higher education systems. In the case of Italy, incoming Greek mobility proves particularly significant. In fact, in 1989/91, Italy imported 8,316 students, including 5,172 Greek students. ERASMUS appears to reinforce the trends. Thus, the ERASMUS programme contributed a sixth of the increase in student mobility experienced by Belgium and a third in the case of the UK. Since ERASMUS mobility is excluded

from overall mobility figures produced by Italian authorities, it can be assumed the majority of the increase was accounted for by free-movement mobility. The notable expansion in Irish student exports is also stimulated by the operation of *numerus clausus* in Ireland, resulting in an increasing amount of Irish student transfers, particularly to the UK. Only a fifth of the total increase in Irish student exports is attributable to the ERASMUS programme.

Chapter Three shows that reductions in mobility were only experienced by Greece and Ireland. Greek student exports declined by over 50% between 1982/83 and 1989/91 chiefly because of the measures adopted by Italian authorities to limit incoming Greek mobility. Indeed, Greek student exports to Italy fell from 12,222 students in 1982/83 to 5,172 by 1989/91. This is discussed in Chapter Five. The reduction in EU student imports to Ireland from 2.2% of the total Irish student population in 1974/78 to 1.9% by 1989/91 is also a function of a reduction in incoming free-movement mobility. In particular, the increase in Irish tuition fees in the 1980s, coupled with the antipathetic attitude of Irish institutions towards non-reciprocal mobility proves significant. The total reduction in free-movement mobility to Ireland was not 0.3%, but more in the region of 1.3% if one considers that in 1990/91 incoming ERASMUS mobility to Ireland amounted to 1% of the Irish student population.

The exceptions noted in Chapter Three to the phenomenon of moderate increases in student flows, are mainly accounted for by the policies of national governments. In some cases government policies are designed deliberately to have a specific outcome, as in the case of the Italian authorities seeking to limit incoming Greek mobility. However, most of the time outcomes are unintended. For example, the use of *numerus clausus* by member states, in an attempt to plan for the future needs of the labour market results in an outflow of students from countries like Ireland

and Greece. Meanwhile, countries with more open higher education systems such as Belgium and until recently Italy and the UK, inadvertently create the conditions to attract outgoing mobility from other countries. As will become evident during the course of this Chapter, the remaining trends outlined in Chapter Three, also reflect the deliberate and involuntary outcomes of Community student mobility policies and government higher education policies respectively.

6.2.3 Flows in Student Mobility and the Diversification Process

The movement of students between countries is a complex phenomenon which cannot be explained by any single variable. A combination of factors explain why a significant proportion of students of the same nationality gravitate towards a particular country. First, the ability of students to communicate in a foreign language clearly dictates their study abroad destination. In practice, since neighbouring countries share similar linguistic and cultural traits, cross-border mobility is particularly apparent, as evidenced in the Irish and UK case studies in Chapter Five. Between 1974/78 and 1988/89, the largest cohorts of outgoing students from Denmark, France and the Netherlands studied in Germany, German and UK students enrolled in France, Irish students travelled to the UK and Greek students to Italy.

Chapter Three shows that during the late 1980s established flows in student mobility, based upon shared borders, language and cultural similarities disintegrated. New flows emerged. Most notably, Danish, French and German students switched their allegiance in favour of the UK and Greeks went to Germany rather than Italy. To find explanations for the diversification process it is again necessary to consider the relationship between developments in government

higher education policy and the observed outcomes. A number of 'push' and 'pull' factors were at work. The statistical evidence confirms that Greek students did not actually change their allegiance in favour of Germany during the course of the 1980s, rather, as we have seen, the Italian authorities successfully limited incoming Greek mobility. As a result Germany, which was the second most popular destination for Greek students, became the most popular. As some countries erected barriers to restrict incoming mobility predicated on free-movement, UK higher education institutions, in response to changing government policy, actively sought to attract EU students. The result, as evident in Chapter Three, was a relatively large influx of EU students escaping *numerus clausus* in their home countries into the UK higher education system, including significant numbers of Danish, German and French students. In fact, between 1988/89 and 1989/91 mobility to the UK from Denmark increased by 123%, from France by 152% and from Germany by 93%. The concerns expressed by the DfEE about imbalances in student flows is particularly valid in view of the fact that during the same period outgoing mobility from the UK to these countries diminished slightly.

While changing national government higher education policy and its consequences for free-movement mobility explain the diversification process, the contribution of ERASMUS to this process cannot be overlooked. In 1989/91, ERASMUS mobility accounted for 25% of total mobility. In specific terms, an analysis of Tables Q and R in Appendix 4 shows that 20% of all Danish mobility, 44% of all French mobility and 32% of all German mobility to the UK was predicated on ERASMUS. The Community programme therefore proved instrumental in the diversification process. In fact, in 1990/91 the UK was the most popular destination among ERASMUS students of all nationalities, with the exception of Ireland, Luxembourg and Spain. In concert, developments in national government education policy and the intervention in the free-movement mobility student

market through programmes such as ERASMUS, has created sufficient pressures to disrupt established student mobility flows predicated on geography, culture and language.

6.2.4 Net Importers and Exporters and Imbalances in Student Flows

Chapter Three highlights the phenomenon of net importers and net exporters of students. While most countries are either net importers (Belgium, France, Germany) or net exporters (Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Greece) in a historical sense, other countries, particularly Ireland, Italy and the UK have experienced changing fortunes during the course of the 1980s. As will become evident the barriers to free-movement mobility, which are a function of national and institutional policies, prove particularly relevant in an understanding of the imbalances in student flows.

'Import-oriented' countries such as Belgium, France and Germany share several characteristics which make them popular destinations for EU students. Language remains a significant factor. As important Community languages, many EU students have the necessary language proficiency in French and German to take higher education courses in France, Germany and the French-speaking part of Belgium. Second, higher education in Belgium, France and Germany is relatively accessible for member state students. Belgium has no *numerus clausus*, France only operates *numerus clausus* in the second year of studies and Germany has *numerus clausus* only in some courses, accompanied by a positive attitude towards internationalisation, which may include relatively generous quotas for incoming EU students. Consequently, EU students turn towards France, Germany and Belgium, having failed to access a place in higher education in their own

countries. Finally, tuition fees are relatively unobtrusive in Germany, France and Belgium. In short, the absence of the language barrier, *numerus clausus* and tuition fees results in substantial levels of EU free-movement mobility in favour of Belgium, France and Germany. The inability of these countries to export an equal number of free-movement students has meant that France, Belgium and Germany have entertained negative imbalances in student flows ever since 1974. It is important to confirm that the status of these countries as net importers is mainly a consequence of free-movement, rather than ERASMUS mobility. France does not include ERASMUS mobility into overall figures and therefore the imbalances documented in Chapter Three can only be explained by free-movement mobility. Table R in Appendix 4 shows that Germany entertained a positive balance in ERASMUS mobility in 1990/91. Only Belgium accommodated a deficit within ERASMUS of 511 students in 1990/91. However, since Belgium entertained a total imbalance of 8,868 students in 1989/91, the status of Belgium as a net importer in 1989/91 can only be accounted for by incoming mobility predicated on free-movement.

The 'export-oriented' countries, meanwhile, are those that are unable to satisfy national demand for higher education (Portugal and Greece), those with incomplete higher education systems (Luxembourg), and those with strong internationalisation programmes (the Netherlands). These countries also assume the status of exporting countries because of limited incoming mobility, primarily as a result of the fact that most EU students cannot converse in Portuguese, Greek or Dutch. Since Portugal, Greece, Luxembourg and the Netherlands do not include ERASMUS mobility into their overall mobility figures, their status as net exporters can only be explained by outgoing free-movement mobility from these countries. Interestingly, if ERASMUS mobility is included into the analysis, then the position of these countries as net exporters is further strengthened. In fact,

Table R in Appendix 4 shows that in 1990/91, Portugal, Greece, Luxembourg and the Netherlands all exported more ERASMUS students than they imported.

It is documented in Chapter Three that Ireland, Italy and the UK experienced changing fortunes in their status as net importers and net exporters during the course of the 1980s. Ireland changed from a net importer of 247 students in 1974/78 to a net exporter of 4,648 students by 1989/91. From a net exporter of 2,066 students in 1974/78, Italy was entertaining a deficit of 11,635 students by 1982/83, only to recover to a positive balance of 4,579 students by 1989/91. The UK, meanwhile, entertained a positive balance of 1,938 students in 1974/78 which by 1989/91 had changed to a spectacular deficit of 21,065 students. In many respects, the factors accountable for these trends have already been reviewed as significant explanations in relation to the other statistical trends. Thus, in the case of Ireland, the 200% increase in tuition fees in the 1980s, the increasing reluctance among higher education institutions to entertain non-reciprocal mobility and the increase in Irish transfer students, particularly to the UK, explains the change in Ireland's position from a net importer to a net exporter. The case of Italy has also been documented with reference to Greece. Finally, a combination of the popularity of the English language, the absence of tuition fees for incoming EU students and the dismantling of the admission barrier for incoming free-movement students converted the UK from a net exporter in 1974/78 to a prodigious net importer by 1989/91. Table R in Appendix 4 shows that in 1990/91, the UK also accommodated an imbalance of 2,336 students within the ERASMUS programme. This suggests that the imbalance of 21,065 students in 1989/91, documented in Chapter Three, was mainly the consequence of high levels of non-reciprocal incoming mobility predicated on free-movement; a type of mobility which may diminish in future years as a result of the proposed introduction of tuition fees in the UK in the 1998/99 academic year.

6.3 Conclusion

This Chapter has attempted to explain some the trends highlighted in Chapter Three in the context of the student mobility policies examined in Chapters Four and Five. With reference to the mobility flows experienced by countries such as the UK, France, Germany and Ireland it has been possible to establish a clear relationship between developments in policy and developments in student flows. In the case of countries which have not formed a case study, it has still been possible to understand the developments of student flows experienced by these countries by applying the models emerging from Chapter Five to these countries. Thus, 'import-oriented' countries such as Belgium and the UK encounter similar problems because of the relative absence of key barriers such as numerus clausus, tuition fees and language. In contrast, 'export-oriented' countries, such as Germany and Greece experience a substantial outflow of students because of a combination of numerus clausus and high national demand for higher education.

This Chapter has shown that to understand many of the trends highlighted in Chapter Three cannot be attributed to the high profile exchange mobility policy of the Community. Instead, it is necessary to analyse both the intended and the inadvertent impacts of national government and institutional policies as they directly and indirectly alleviate or compound the barriers to free-movement mobility. On the one hand, outgoing mobility from a particular country may result from a proactive student mobility policy as in Sweden and Germany where financial incentives are provided. On the other hand, outgoing mobility may be a reaction to the application of numerus clausus forcing home students to seek their higher education abroad, as in Ireland, Greece or Germany and therefore a 'unintended' outcome, although most case study governments do appreciate the

link between outgoing mobility and the application of *numerus clausus*. For countries at the receiving end of incoming free-movement mobility, the outcome is undoubtedly unintended. The absence of *numerus clausus* in France, Belgium and until recently the UK is a decision taken in a national context to meet national priorities. In some cases, as in Sweden and the UK, higher education institutions willingly accommodate incoming free-movement mobility. On the other hand, institutions in France, Germany, Ireland, Spain accommodate incoming mobility with considerable reluctance. In this context, the funding system and level of demand for higher education prove extremely significant. Importantly, from the evidence in this Chapter, it is possible to present the hypothesis that Italian and Belgian institutions, like their French, German, Irish and Spanish counterparts will consider incoming free-movement mobility as undesirable, and that this is, at least in part, explained by either high national demand for higher education or an uncompetitive higher education funding system. This hypothesis remains to be tested by future research. The final Chapter attempts a theoretical analysis of the student mobility policy process, and in this context, considers the current dilemmas, future prospects and policy options facing policy-makers. This shows that the future for student mobility policy in the Community lies in free-movement rather than exchange.

Chapter Seven

Student Mobility Policy in the EU (1946-1996): Theoretical Insights and Future Prospects

Chapter Seven

Student Mobility Policy in the EU (1946-1996): Theoretical Insights and Future Prospects

7.1 Introduction

This thesis set out to develop our understanding of student mobility in recognition of the fact that in recent years it has become an explicit issue of policy within the region of the European Union. In addition to its traditional philosophical and humanist role, study abroad is increasingly associated with imbuing future national elites with European identities and positive orientations towards European integration. The association between European integration and student mobility has meant that the policies of intergovernmental organisations, national governments and higher education institutions assume increasing significance and prove worthy of academic interest. In this context, the use of academic mobility as a case study in policy serves two purposes: it provides a subject for the study of policy analysis, and simultaneously develops new insights into the development and implementation of student mobility policy on behalf of those who make, implement and evaluate policy so that the factors influencing student mobility flows are better understood in an area of increasing European significance.

In view of the aims and objectives of this thesis, this Chapter begins by developing a systems model of the student mobility policy process. This facilitates a clearer analysis of the relative contribution, interdependence and mutual impacts of the different tiers of decision-making on student mobility policy development and implementation. It is the contention of this Chapter that student mobility policy experienced by students at the higher education institutional level,

is the outcome of decisions and actions at the intergovernmental, national and institutional levels of policy-making. In practice, each tier of decision-making - particularly in view of notions of subsidiarity and autonomy - is responsible for developing its own student mobility policy in the context of the policy environment; yet the policy environment is itself in a constant state of flux affected by international developments and more importantly, for the purposes of this thesis, by the decisions taken at other levels. In short, each tier of decision-making is at the same time independent, and interconnected, but not necessarily through formal channels.

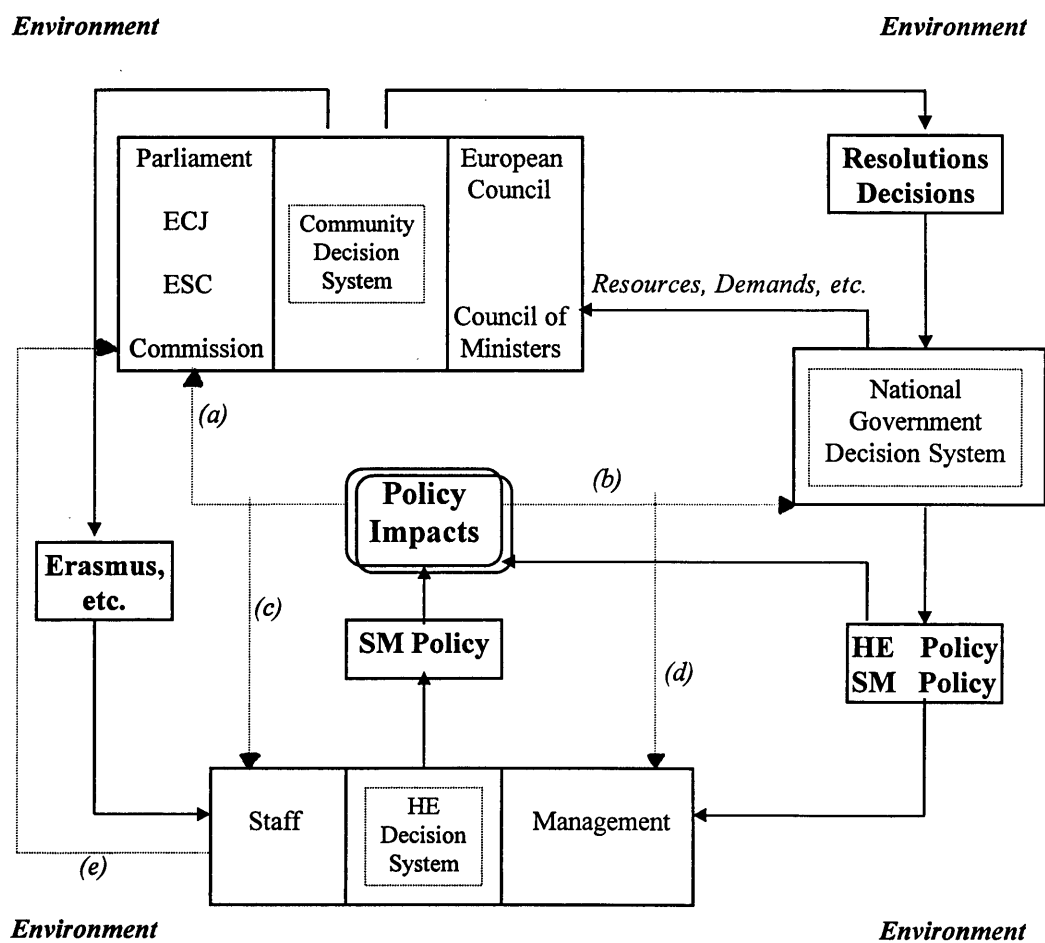
The conceptualisation of the student mobility policy process, coupled with the historical analysis of student mobility policy in the Community, provides the backdrop to an evaluation of existing student mobility policies. This shows that student mobility in the EU is likely to stagnate at around the 5% mark unless efforts are made to create a European 'open space' in which relatively inexpensive free-movement mobility can thrive. However, the analysis confirms that the removal of the barriers to free-movement mobility will be politically difficult to accomplish in the short term, given issues of imbalances in student flows. In the longer term, in the context of further European integration, it is the argument of this Chapter that the development of an open space in European higher education will be inevitable.

7.2 The Student Mobility Policy Process: Theoretical Insights

In order to understand the policy-making process in relation to student mobility, we can construct a systems model to represent the key inputs and influences shaping policy. Diagram 7 attempts to capture the student mobility policy process

in schematic form, providing a framework to appreciate the relative contribution of different institutions in the emergence, development, implementation and outcomes of student mobility policy in the Community.

Diagram 7: The Student Mobility Policy Process



- Evaluation:**
- a) Levels of Mobility;
 - b) National Imbalances in Student Flows;
 - c) Impacts on Students;
 - d) Institutional Imbalances in Student Flows;
 - e) Difficulties/Experiences.

Environment: Socio-economic, political, etc. which vary over time.

Diagram 7 shows that the student mobility policy process incorporates three interdependent tiers of decision-making, each responsible for developing its own policies in the area of student mobility. These policies are developed in the context of the policy environment which consists of political and socio-economic factors which vary with time. Diagram 7, in particular, seeks to highlight the iterative relationship between policy development and policy evaluation. In this context, it is important to note that the evaluation of policy assumes a number of dimensions depending on the priorities of the evaluators. Thus, governments primarily assess policy in terms of the national inflow and outflow of students, higher education institutional managers focus on the imbalances in student flows at institutional level, while staff responsible for policy implementation, evaluate policy relative to its impact on mobile students. In contrast, the Commission is most interested in the level of mobility stimulated in the Community. The experiences of higher education staff is also a key consideration for the Commission during the process of policy evaluation.

Diagram 7, like any other systems model, provides a "useful heuristic map" of the student mobility policy process, and an initial focus for analysis. However, it is unable in itself to provide an insight into the relative contribution and influence of each tier of decision-making in the development and implementation of student mobility policy. As argued in Chapter One, this requires a comprehensive analysis and disaggregation of the political system. Some examination of the motivation and behaviour of policy-makers, a detailed consideration of institutional arrangements and the distribution of power, and an analysis of the relationship between the political system and policy outcomes is also necessary. Finally, any analysis of policy development and implementation must take account of the policy environment, and the key variables from within the policy environment as they impinge upon and influence decision-making. In this

context, it is necessary to draw on the material in the preceding Chapters which provides a detailed analysis of the student mobility political system in the context of a policy analysis theoretical framework. The model of the student mobility policy process, presented in Diagram 7, thus provides an overview of the whole system and an important reference point for a more detailed analysis of the specific contribution of each level of decision-making.

7.2.1 The European Union and the Student Mobility Policy Process

The EU performs a pivotal role in the student mobility policy-making process by providing financial incentives to higher education institutions to support student mobility based on exchange. To fully understand this approach by the EU requires an appreciation of the Community decision-making system. First, the relative powers of the different institutions residing under the Community umbrella, as well as the distinction between supranational and intergovernmental institutions must be acknowledged. In this context, the Treaty of Rome (1957) vested decision-making power mainly within the intergovernmental institutions, a situation perpetuated in the case of education by the absence of a legal mandate. This allowed Education Ministers to monopolise the decision-making at Community level. The key concerns of member states, namely national control of higher education systems, respect for institutional autonomy, co-operation rather than harmonisation of higher education systems, and balanced flows in mobility, account for the development of a Community student mobility policy based on incentive funding and exchange. Attempts by supranational institutions (namely, the Commission, the European Parliament, the ESC and the ECJ) to address the barriers to free-movement mobility, through a harmonisation of admission policies, were effectively nullified through inaction by Education Ministers. In

creating non-binding Resolutions and Conclusions the issue of free-movement was indirectly removed from the Community political agenda.

This is not to dismiss the contribution of the supranational institutions in the development of Community student mobility policy. In the absence of a legal mandate, the Commission, the European Parliament, the ECJ and the ESC managed to convince Education Ministers in the 1980s to launch a comprehensive student mobility programme in the form of ERASMUS through the use of several strategies. First, the Commission engaged the process of policy evaluation to highlight the efficacy of the JSP Scheme and therefore of exchange mobility. Second, the ECJ effectively granted education a legal mandate by judging in favour of Gravier in 1985. Third, the relatively weak European Parliament and the ESC maintained the pressure on member states by continuously highlighting the inadequacy of Community student mobility policy. Finally, concerns about competition from Japan and the USA, as well as the relative absence of a European consciousness among the citizens of Europe mobilised both Education Ministers and the European Council to support the launch of the ERASMUS programme. In short, a combination of factors from within and without the Community decision-making system forced Education Ministers to abandon a largely incremental decision-making strategy, in favour of a 'fundamental' decision in the form of the ERASMUS programme. In this process, supranational institutions managed to mobilise considerable pressure on Education Ministers, despite what appeared to be a relatively weak negotiating position.

The development of a comprehensive student mobility policy at Community level has not necessarily altered the distribution of power between supranational and intergovernmental institutions in the area of education. Notwithstanding the granting of a legal basis for education policy-making and the use of qualified

majority voting, post-Maastricht, the balance of power has not shifted. In practice, as argued in Chapter Four, any potential increase in Community competence in the area of education is compromised by the principle of subsidiarity, which asserts the fundamental competence of national governments in the area of higher education. This appears to preclude any sharp departure in Community policy in the near future as national governments continue to successfully channel their preferences into the Community decision-making system - an issue taken up later in this Chapter.

7.2.2 National Governments and the Student Mobility Policy Process

Having preserved their prerogative in the area of higher education, national governments occupy a strategic role in the student mobility policy process. On the one hand, governments dictate the pace of developments in Community student mobility policy, and on the other hand, governments directly and indirectly influence both student behaviour and institutional policies, albeit most of the time 'unintentionally' or indirectly through their higher education policies. In fact, purposeful action by governments in the area of student mobility in a national context remains a limited phenomenon. With the exception of the Swedish and German governments, who have historically adopted positive orientations towards student mobility for reasons outlined in Chapter Five, the remaining case study governments have adopted what may be considered a policy of relative inaction in relation to academic mobility. In general action does not extend beyond providing a nominal amount of complementary funding for ERASMUS students. In fact, at a time when Western governments have sought to reduce the role of the state, which in the area of higher education means less central intervention and enhanced institutional autonomy (a trend incidentally reversed in the case of the

UK) the decision to participate in student mobility has been considered a matter for institutions. In this context, the many Resolutions, Conclusions and other attempts by the Commission to tackle the barriers to free-movement mobility threatened not only to increase imbalances in student flows, but also conflicted with national trends which increasingly emphasised institutional autonomy, diversity and subsidiarity. ERASMUS, on the other hand, predicated on voluntary co-operation and incentive funding, was compatible, if not consistent, with national higher education policies.

The absence of explicit national student mobility policies in the case study countries has not necessarily prevented national governments from influencing student mobility flows. On the contrary, the strategic position of national governments in the student mobility policy process allows Education Ministers to exercise influence both at the level of the Community and at the level of higher education institutions. For example, government officials maintain that their role in the development of student mobility policy at Community level cannot be ignored. Some officials even suggest that their student mobility policies are expressed through the Community. In this context, it is impossible to divorce the influence of national governments from policy outcomes, as noted in Chapter Six. This becomes even more accurate if one considers the impact of national higher education policies on both students and on the student mobility policies of higher education institutions. It is evident in Chapters Five and Six that *numerus clausus* and tuition fees, which are usually determined by national governments, have a particular impact on student flows. The application of *numerus clausus* encourages outgoing mobility from one country in favour of more accessible systems where governments have ensured that both *numerus clausus* and tuition fees remain relatively limited. In short, the existence of 'import-oriented' (France, Germany, the UK, Belgium and Italy) and 'export-oriented' (Ireland, Germany,

Greece and Portugal) countries is a direct function of government higher education policies.

The response of higher education institutions in the area of student mobility, is also a response to national higher education policies. Governments across Western Europe have increasingly implemented higher education policies designed to introduce competition between institutions for students and resources, in the hope that institutions increase efficiency and become more responsive to economic and social needs. The evidence in this thesis is that higher education institutions, like other economic enterprises, respond to financial incentives. In fact, by reducing funding for higher education, institutions have been forced to diversify their resource base and respond to financial incentives. The considerable enthusiasm at higher education institutional level in support of the ERASMUS programme and institutional responses to free-movement mobility can be seen in this context. Chapter Five, in particular, shows that where a higher education market exists, as in the UK and Sweden, under-subscription to higher education has forced institutions to attract incoming free-movement mobility. In contrast, where home student demand is over-subscribed then incoming free-movement mobility remains unattractive. Institutions highlight a number of barriers to free-movement mobility, especially finance and recognition. However, the institutional case studies indicated that European/International officers were equally concerned about issues of academic 'loyalty' to home students, as well as financial disincentives, given the additional administration associated with non-nationals. This is taken up in greater detail in the next section which evaluates the relative role and contribution of higher education institutions in the student mobility policy process. In spite of failing to develop strategic student mobility policies of their own, it is clear that national governments significantly influence student mobility flows in the EU through their higher education policies, which

influence student flows directly and indirectly through institutional responses to student mobility.

7.2.3 Higher Education Institutions and the Student Mobility Policy Process

In the context of institutional autonomy, responsibility for student mobility policy rests ultimately with higher education institutions. The Community and national governments seek to influence institutional behaviour, but the decision to respond is an institutional one. At this point it is necessary to draw an important distinction. Community student mobility policies have been designed to engage higher education staff within institutions on an entirely voluntary and decentralised basis. The provision of funding by the Community for an activity much valued by higher education staff for its humanist and social dimensions, secured enthusiasm and therefore policy implementation. Consequently, the development and implementation of exchange mobility at institutional level is directly attributable to the relationship between the Community and individual members of staff within higher education institutions generally to the exclusion of management and national governments.

In contrast, free-movement mobility policy at institutional level appears to be a management decision with policies designed on an institution wide basis in response to national higher education policies. Chapter Five shows that the higher education funding system, the level of student demand and the amount of competition between institutions for students and resources are all significant factors indirectly affecting the stance of an institution towards incoming and outgoing free-movement mobility; factors which tend to be determined by national governments. Where the higher education system financially rewards institutions

for accommodating free-movement mobility, the barriers to free-movement are removed with relative ease by institutions, as evidenced in the Swedish and British model in Chapter Five. In the absence of financial incentives, the barriers remain intact, and free-movement mobility is perceived as an administrative and academic burden (Spain, France, Ireland) as well as a potential threat to home students (Ireland). In this second model, institutions attempt to meet the needs of home students for study abroad through exchange-based policies. In spite of sharing a similar policy environment to their Spanish, French and Irish counterparts, German institutions share more positive orientations towards outgoing free-movement mobility, resulting in a third institutional model of student mobility policy. This stance on the part of German higher education institutions is, however, mainly attributable to the actions of the federal government which has created a conducive financial and informational framework through DAAD. In this context, it is impossible to consider free-movement mobility policy at institutional level without reference to national government higher education policies, and exchange mobility policy without reference to Community student mobility policies.

This relatively simple and straight-forward relationship between national governments and management on the one hand, and the Community and higher education staff on the other, requires a number of qualifications, especially in view of recent developments. In particular, institutional responses to Community exchange mobility policy must acknowledge the increasing influence of both institutional managers and national government. First, the response of higher education staff to Community funding cannot be divorced from the generally more austere financial climate created by national governments. Second, the use of ERASMUS as a marketing tool by management and staff alike, as in Sweden, the UK and the non-university sector in France must also be attributed to national

government policy which has created competition for elite international status and for students at the level of higher education institutions. Finally, managerial involvement in ERASMUS cannot be overlooked. At some case study institutions, management assumes a strategic role in the student mobility process by creating a conducive environment for staff to take advantage of ERASMUS funding. This is discussed in greater detail below.

In relation to student mobility flows, the important issue are the opportunities for exchange and free-movement at the institutional level. In considering policy outputs at higher education institutional level, it is instructive to note that the results are not always those desired by policy-makers at either the Community or national level. The clearest example of this are the imbalances in student flows, particularly experienced by the UK. The development of the ERASMUS programme was supported by national governments to encourage balanced and reciprocal student mobility flows. However, relatively independent members of staff within higher education institutions have exercised their discretion during policy implementation, resulting in imbalances. Admittedly, where management has developed a formal institutional student mobility policy, the scope to accommodate non-reciprocal mobility flows is diminished. Whether increasing managerial control, especially in the context of the 'institutional contracts' proposed by SOCRATES, resolves the problem of imbalances remains to be seen. The paradox is that as governments have devolved power to higher education institutions, power within the institutions, at least in the area of exchange mobility, appears to be moving in the opposite direction.

Imbalances are not, however, confined to exchange. The evaluation of policy impacts in Chapter Six shows that imbalances within free-movement mobility are even more prevalent. Ironically, governments denounce imbalances in student

mobility, yet their higher education policies precipitate the problem. This is particularly true in the case of the UK where higher education policy has actively encouraged institutions to attract incoming free-movement mobility. The same managers who on the one hand, demand reciprocal mobility flows within ERASMUS to control institutional spending, on the other hand, encourage and even actively market non-reciprocal incoming free-movement mobility in response to government higher education policies. The British government, along with its Belgian counterpart, has sought to place the issue of imbalances on the Community policy agenda. In the context of EU law, which espouses the principle of non-discrimination, it is recognised that the problem requires resolution at the intergovernmental level. As a result, student mobility is now a permanent agenda item at Community level and the subject of further discussion later in this Chapter.

7.2.5 The Student Mobility Policy-Making Process: Overview

The opportunities for exchange and free-movement experienced by students at the level of the higher education institution represent the end product of numerous interactions within and between three different levels of policy-making in the context of their policy environments. The policy environments are themselves in a constant state of flux affected on the one hand by global economic, technological and political developments, and on the other hand, by the decisions adopted at other levels of decision-making. Thus, any alteration in national higher education policy in response to a changing policy environment, has a direct bearing on the policy environment of higher education institutions. For example, a change in national funding policy, resulting in a more competitive policy environment, could have significant implications for the development of student mobility policies at

institutional level. In turn, institutional student mobility policies, and more specifically the outcomes of these policies, influence national governments. Most notably, where institutions have encouraged incoming non-reciprocal mobility, in response to financial incentives, Education Ministers have raised concern at Community level. In short, the student mobility policy of the Community, national governments and higher education institutions cannot be understood in isolation or divorced from activity at other levels of decision-making. The whole system is highly interconnected and interdependent. This is not to suggest a simple linear relationship between the different tiers; a decision taken at one level, sometimes bearing little relationship to student mobility, is often able to impinge on student mobility policies at another level in a circuitous manner. The examination of current dilemmas and the future prospects of student mobility policy within the Community is inevitably undertaken against the backdrop of the Community student mobility decision-making system.

7.3 Student Mobility in the EU: Current Dilemmas

The period 1988/89 to 1993/94 witnessed a spectacular 80% increase in Community student mobility flows as demonstrated in Chapter Three. Chapter Six shows that this was a direct consequence of the introduction of the ERASMUS programme, and to a lesser extent a function of increasing free-movement mobility flows, prompted in part by the widespread application of numerous *clausus* restrictions in home higher education systems. In the present climate, an equally prodigious growth in student mobility flows during a comparable period in the second half of the 1990s is highly unlikely. In fact, the Community may even fail to achieve its long-standing 10% target in student mobility by the end of this century. The consequences of failing to achieve the

10% target in student mobility is difficult to assess since many of the intended outcomes, such as the creation of a European consciousness among future elites, are intangible. In examining the barriers to increasing levels of student mobility within the EU, three factors prove particularly significant.

First, the Community can no longer support increasing levels of ERASMUS mobility at current funding levels, and since 1993/94 has made only modest increases to the student mobility budget. In 1992/93 the Community approved a 23,484 increase in student mobility, supported by an additional ECU 22.0 million (GBP 16.7 million) (ERASMUS Bureau, 1993). In contrast, in 1993/94 a similar increase of 25,909 in student mobility was sustained by a limited increase of ECU 5.6 million (GBP 4.2 million) in student mobility grants. During the interview with the officer at the UK ERASMUS Students Grants Council it was stressed that while the UK ERASMUS budget in 1993/94 increased by only 3%, ERASMUS student mobility was up by 30%. Thus significant increases in student mobility have been sustained despite diminishing levels of funding. ERASMUS Phase III is unlikely to reverse this trend, since it has only committed an average annual budget of ECU 77 million (GBP 56 million) for the period 1995-99 (Commission of the EC, January 1994). In contrast, ERASMUS Phase II spent ECU 376.5 million (GBP 286 million) between 1989-94 resulting in an annual commitment of ECU 75.2 million (GBP 57 million). The annual increase from Phase II to Phase III is therefore only ECU 1.8 million (GBP 1.4 million). The financial freeze on ERASMUS student funding will force the Community to make some difficult decisions in the near future. The Community may opt to meet student demand by devaluing the ERASMUS grant, consequently deterring students who are economically disadvantaged. Alternatively, the Community may opt to ignore student demand and maintain the size of the grant, thereby postponing the 10% target in student mobility even further. This would mean that mobility rates

would remain at 1993/94 levels, when ERASMUS managed to mobilise 56,000 students (Teichler, 1996), representing a shortfall of 94,000 students per annum.

Second, in the context of the financial freeze, institutions could opt to support free-floater mobility as a means of meeting unsatisfied demand for study abroad among home students. However, the evidence in Chapters Four and Five shows that institutions express an unequivocal preference for exchange mobility which excludes consideration of free-floating at institutional level. This is, in part, attributable to the ERASMUS programme which has created expectations within institutions that work to the detriment of free floater mobility. ERASMUS has created financial dependency and an expectation that student mobility is only viable providing EU initiatives and accompanying financial support is forthcoming. In fact, case study institutions regard enhanced EU funding for both students and institutions as the only solution to the problem of unsatisfied student demand for study abroad. Such a position cannot be reconciled with the existence of student mobility at institutional level prior to the introduction of the ERASMUS programme. This suggests that the ERASMUS programme has created an increasing convergence in case study higher education institution policy, at the expense of creativity, ingenuity and diversity prevalent prior to the introduction of the programme. ERASMUS has also prompted a dependency on personal contact as a precondition to mobility. Much policy assumes an attempt to maintain control over both quality and student numbers through the establishment of 'mutual trust and co-operation' based on personal contact and institutional co-operation. In this context, institutions are reluctant to promote free-movement mobility, in spite of the existence of mechanisms such as ECTS, where personal or institutional contact and the resulting control, trust and confidence are absent. Even where there are financial incentives to accommodate incoming free-floater mobility, as in the UK, institutions still consider free-

floating as administratively burdensome: free-floater mobility is therefore an unlikely source for further increases in student mobility in the near future.

Third, the conditions for mobility predicated on transfer also appear inauspicious. Under the current financial arrangements, non-reciprocal incoming mobility is considered as undesirable by governments, since the host country is responsible for subsidising the education of students from other member states. Unless the burden of payment rests with the sending country, it is highly unlikely that importing countries like the UK will continue to entertain increasing levels of incoming free-movement mobility based on transfer. This was already evident during the meeting of Education Ministers in November 1993, where there was clear consensus on the principle that opportunities for mobility should be improved, although the UK expressed reservations about the financial implications arising from even greater imbalances (Council of EC, November 1993). In the absence of a solution, net importing countries like the UK and Belgium are likely to refuse to support policies designed to dismantle the barriers to free-movement mobility. In fact, if the issue of imbalances fails to be resolved then countries may even contravene EU law, and, like Italy, adopt protectionist policies undermining existing levels of free-movement mobility.

In considering the problem of imbalances in student flows, it is instructive to compare the position of EU member states on student mobility with that of the Nordic countries. A Nordic Treaty signed in May 1994 between Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Iceland and Finland has created an 'open market' of Nordic higher education institutions intended to increase free-movement mobility. In particular, the Nordic Treaty has been able to effect agreement on the funding of students who study in one of the member countries. Initially the host country paid for incoming students, but from 1996 responsibility for both tuition fees and

maintenance grants has been assumed by the sending country. If mobility is to increase in the EU, then a similar system of portable grants and fees or, alternatively, a system of compensatory adjustments will be essential.

In practice, a system of portable maintenance and tuition fees would prevent countries unable to meet the national demand for higher education, from channelling students to other higher education systems. For example, outgoing mobility on a transfer basis would diminish considerably where a government would expect prospective free-movement students, in accordance with national traditions and student funding policies, to pay the bill. It is highly unlikely that member states, benefiting under existing arrangements, by effectively exporting a part of their 'problem' to other higher education systems, will agree to either a system of compensatory adjustments or to portable tuition fees. This was clearly articulated during the interview by the German Ministry of Education which benefits under the existing arrangements. In the short term, net importing countries may have to follow Italy, and adopt protectionist policies, especially in light of the proposed German initiative to make the portability of student support into a realistic proposition for the whole of the study period. In this context, potential growth in transfer mobility during the remainder of this century appears to be heavily circumscribed.

7.4 Student Mobility in the EU: Future Prospects and Policy Options

The probability of EU mobility stagnating at around the 5% mark is considerable. Each of the three distinct types of mobility face restrictions in their potential growth for very different reasons. In view of the financial restrictions facing exchange, the dismantling of the barriers to free-movement mobility appears to be

the most financially viable policy option to enhance student mobility levels within the EU. This would create opportunities for large numbers of students as opposed to a privileged few to study abroad. However, in the current climate, and in view of the Community decision-making system, addressing the barriers to free-movement is extremely problematic. The Community, to a large extent has been rendered impotent in this area by the principle of subsidiarity and the need for "constant dialogue". In future the Community will continue to support institutional co-operation and student mobility, by encouraging staff within higher education institutions to exchange increasing numbers of students within subject based networks. In the area of free-movement mobility Community influence will remain limited. Equally, the evidence in this thesis suggests that higher education institutions will only be proactive in seeking to overcome the barriers to free-movement mobility given financial incentives (the UK and Sweden) or the creation of appropriate financial and informational infrastructures for students to contemplate foreign study (Germany).

Responsibility for addressing the barriers to free-movement remains with national governments who have preserved their prerogative in the area of higher education. The willingness among governments to accommodate incoming free-movement mobility is dependant on the resolution of the problem of imbalances in student flows through either a system of compensatory adjustments or portable tuition fees. In the short term, a settlement of the issue is improbable for the reasons already cited. However, in the longer term the relative success or failure of the Community will itself prove significant. Successful European integration, and a move towards European Union will increase the momentum and pressure on member states to encourage students to treat the whole of the Community as a natural area of activity for the purpose of acquiring a higher education. In this context, a resolution to the problem of imbalances may be found. Indeed, in June

1993, Education Ministers supported the idea of an open European space in which "citizens as a long term aim have the opportunity to choose a place of study in any of the Member States" (European Communities, June 1993, p.1). Although only a gesture it nonetheless suggests that member states acknowledge the long term future of student mobility is predicated on free-movement rather than exchange.

A system of compensatory adjustments, combined with several other factors, could stimulate free-movement mobility, but on a 'pull', rather than a 'push' basis. First, the increasing trend across the EU for governments to replace institution-centred funding strategies with student-centred strategies, by directly or indirectly linking student numbers to funding, is likely to make institutions more market-oriented. Second, the effects of the predicted demographic decline resulting in fewer students entering higher education could leave some institutions under-subscribed. A diminishing national student body may prompt institutions (despite diversifying their student intake, for example by recruiting more adult students) to look abroad to fill available places; a development which would not be opposed by national governments given a system of compensatory adjustments. Potentially therefore, not only will UK institutions compete with institutions abroad for EU students, but simultaneously UK institutions will compete with their EU counterparts to hold on to UK students. At this point experience of well-tested credit transfer mechanisms based on ECTS will be invaluable, if not indispensable, as institutions increasingly need to assess the prior qualifications of free-floaters and mid-study transfer students. This could be the vision of an EU educational space for the twenty-first century resulting in the creation of a European elite with a genuine commitment to European integration.

Appendix

Appendix 1

The Interview Schedule

Belgium (1993)

February 9: European Community: Education Task Force, Brussels, Sandra Pratt, Consultant and Finbar O'Callaghan, Consultant.

Sweden (1993)

April 19: Jönköping University College, Jönköping, Johan Wilkland, International Liaison Manager.

April 20: NAMIC - The Swedish Agency, Stockholm, Marie-Anne Roslund, Counsellor.

April 21: Stockholm University, Stockholm, Iréne Olausson and Ewa Chatti Plass, International Student Officers; Jonas Engberg, Head of Division of International Affairs; Angelica Montero, ERASMUS Co-ordinator.

April 22: NARIC, Stockholm. Marion Hilderbrand, Deputy Head of Division.

April 23: Ministry of Education and Science, Stockholm, Johannes Bäckman, Head of International Section.

Spain (1993)

May 31: Ministry of Education and NARIC, Madrid, Maria Teresa Diez Iturioz, Head of International Unit.

June 1: Complutense University, Madrid, Jeanine Gaston, Head of International Relations Unit.

June 2: Universidad Autonoma, Madrid, Carmen Ruiz-Rivas Hernando, Secretary to Rector for International Relations; Eugenio Hernandez, Vice-Rector of Students.

June 4: Barcelona University, Barcelona, Carlos Martí i Jufresa, International Officer.

France

- June 7: University of Poitiers, Poitiers, Jon-Louis Deshra, International Officer.
- June 8: École Supérieure De Poitiers, Poitiers, Vivianne Bourdin, Director of International Affairs; Gillien Piget, Lecturer, English Department.
- June 11: UNESCO, Paris, Dimitrus Chitoran, Chief, Section of Higher Education.
- June 15: OECD, Paris, Yu Kameoka, Administrator, Centre for Educational Research and Innovation.
- June 16: Council of Europe, Strasbourg, James Wimberley, Head of Higher Education Section.
- Jan 14 1994: Institut Universitaire Technologie, La Rochelle, Sue Ryan, ERASMUS Officer.

Germany

- June 21: Fachhochschule TRIER, Trier, Gerhard Jansen, Head of European Business Division.
- June 22: Hochschule Bremen, Bremen, Birgit Ganteföhr, International Officer.
- June 23: University of Bonn, Bonn, Franz Rexhausen, International Officer.
- June 24: DAAD, Bonn, Bernd Wächter, Referent.
- June 25: Federal Ministry of Education and Science, Bonn, Helge Engelhard, Officer for European Affairs; Thomas Schöeder, Officer for European Higher Education Affairs.

Ireland (1993)

- July 19: University College Dublin, Dublin, Geraldine O' Connor, Acting Director - International Office; John Dean, Consultant, Europe Desk.
- July 20: Dublin City University, Dublin, Christine Burke, Administrator - International Desk; Tony Lynn, Head of Industrial and International Affairs; Tony Bradley, Assistant Registrar.
- July 21: Higher Education Authority, Dublin, Brendan O'Dea, Deputy Secretary.
- July 23: University of Ulster, Ulster, Naureen Taggart, Administrative Officer.

United Kingdom (1994)

- January 4: University of Humberside, Bill Deakin, International Manager-Europe Officer.
- January 5: Department for Education, Neil Murray and Sue Garner, International Students Team.
- January 6: British Council, Michael Snoxall, Head, NARIC.
- January 11: University of Kent, John Reilley, Secretary of Faculties and Deputy Registrar of ERASMUS Students Grants Council.
- January 12: University of Derby, Patricia Norman, Administrative Manager - European and International Centre; Fritz Dalichow, Director of International Strategy and Dean School of European and International Studies.
- January 27: Kingston University, Dierdrie Finch, European Development Officer.
- February 10: University of Edinburgh, Randall Stevenson, International Officer.
- February 14: Middlesex University, Klaus Heidensohn, Principal Lecturer.

Appendix 2

The Interview Questions

Intergovernmental Organisations

- 1) How has the COUNCIL OF EUROPE/UNESCO/EU/OECD influenced and contributed to Europe-wide undergraduate student mobility policy specifically, and 'Europeanisation' or 'internationalisation' generally since its foundation?
- 2) What has been the COUNCIL OF EUROPE/UNESCO/EU/OECD's main contribution to Europe-wide undergraduate student mobility policy and institutional 'Europeanisation/ internationalisation' during the last decade?
- 3) Who or what has been the driving force behind COUNCIL OF EUROPE/UNESCO/EU/OECD policy ?
- 4) How, if at all, have individual institutions, higher education bodies, regional and national governments, and other intergovernmental organisations influenced COUNCIL OF EUROPE/UNESCO/EU/OECD undergraduate student mobility policy development and implementation?
- 5) How, if at all, has the COUNCIL OF EUROPE/UNESCO/EU/OECD influenced the policies/strategies of any of the afore-mentioned organisations?
- 6) What has been the impact of COUNCIL OF EUROPE/UNESCO/EU/OECD undergraduate student mobility policy?
- 7) How successful has the COUNCIL OF EUROPE/UNESCO/EU/OECD been in facilitating undergraduate student mobility and in influencing the 'Europeanisation/ internationalisation' of institutions?
- 8) Which obstacles in the view of the COUNCIL OF EUROPE/UNESCO/EU/OECD, if any, continue to impede undergraduate student mobility and institutional 'Europeanisation/ internationalisation' in Europe?
- 8) What can the COUNCIL OF EUROPE/UNESCO/EU/OECD do to facilitate the elimination of these obstacles?

9) What type of policy can the intergovernmental, national and regional governments, higher education bodies and institutions pursue to facilitate the removal of these obstacles?

11) Is there a need to improve co-operation between the COUNCIL OF EUROPE/UNESCO/EU/OECD?

12) What are the COUNCIL OF EUROPE/UNESCO/EU/OECD's views on the Danish proposal for an 'Open Market in Higher Education in Europe'?

13) In the view of the COUNCIL OF EUROPE/UNESCO/EU/OECD is there a need for a European wide credit transfer system?

14) Could you supply me with policy documents, statistics and any other literature you feel is relevant to this research project?

National Governments

1) Does the Government have a policy or strategy on undergraduate student mobility and Europeanisation/internationalisation? If so, please explain.

2) Who or what has been the driving force behind these policies?

3) How, if at all, have the following organisations influenced Governmental policy?

- a) Council of Europe
- b) OECD
- c) UNESCO
- d) European Community
- e) Regional government
- f) Higher education bodies
- g) Institutions

4) How is this policy implemented and monitored?

5) What has been the impact of student mobility policy?

6) Which obstacles, if any, impede undergraduate student mobility and institutional 'Europeanisation/ internationalisation' in Europe?

7) What can the Government do to eliminate these obstacles?

- 8) How can intergovernmental organisations, regional governments and higher education institutions facilitate the removal of these obstacles?
- 9) In the view of the Government is there a need for a European wide credit transfer system?
- 10) In the view of the national government is there a need for a more comprehensive student funding system?
- 11) What is the government's view on the Danish proposal for an 'Open Market in Higher Education in Europe'?
- 12) Could you supply me with policy documents, statistics and any other literature you feel is relevant to this research project?

National Academic Recognition and Information Centres (NARICs)

- 1) What is the role and responsibility of your office?
- 2) What procedures, conventions etc. are used to grant equivalence and recognition to periods of study and diplomas acquired in another European country?
- 3) In which areas, if any, is there a problem with granting equivalence or recognition to foreign European diplomas and periods of study?
- 4) Do undergraduate students face a prolongation in their study period as a result?
- 5) Do national undergraduate students on return from studying abroad face any problems with recognition or an extension in the length of study?
- 6) How can these problems be eliminated?
- 7) What can higher education institutions, regional and national governments and intergovernmental organisations do to eliminate these problems?
- 8) In the view of the NARIC is there a need for a European wide credit transfer system?
- 9) Could you supply me with policy documents, statistics and any other literature you feel is relevant to this research project?

Higher Education Institutions

1) Do you have full-time undergraduate students from other European countries on your courses?

- a) How many?
- b) How many of these students are on exchange programmes?
- c) How many are independent of exchange programmes?

2) How many of your undergraduate students are studying in other European countries during this academic year?

- a) How many of your students are on exchange programmes?
- b) How many are independent of exchange?

3) What have been the main developments at your institution in the last decade in the area of undergraduate student mobility?

4) Who and what has been the driving force behind these developments?

5) What have been their motives?

6) To what extent does this policy support incoming/outgoing mobility that is predicated on free-movement (i.e. non-exchange based)?

7) Is this policy institution wide or confined to individual faculties, departments or courses?

8) How, if at all, have the following organisations influenced institutional undergraduate student mobility policy?

- a) Council of Europe
- b) UNESCO
- c) OECD
- d) European Community
- e) National government
- f) Regional government
- g) Higher education bodies

9) What special provisions do you have for European undergraduate students (i.e. special admission policies, an international office, international programmes etc.)?.

10) What arrangements are made for granting recognition to foreign diplomas and periods of study?

- 11) Do all your undergraduate students interested in study abroad get to go?
- 12) Do you in anyway raise the awareness of undergraduate students regarding opportunities to study abroad? Are the students encouraged to study abroad?
- 13) Which obstacles, if any, inhibit undergraduate student mobility? Free-movement and Exchange!
- 14) What can the institution do to facilitate the elimination of these obstacles?
- 15) What can the agencies (listed in question 7) do to facilitate the removal of these obstacles?
- 16) Could you supply me with policy documents and literature you feel are relevant to this research project.

Appendix 3

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Appendix 4

Individual Country Statistical Overview: Time-Series Analysis of Developments in Student Flows

A1 Introduction

This section provides a more detailed analysis of the development of student flows in the EU between 1974 and 1991. Importantly, this Appendix provides much of the background data upon which the statistical analysis in Chapter Three is based. In this context, the Appendix performs an important role in the thesis, permitting the body of the thesis to highlight and address the key trends without being inundated with the detail of developments in student flows between individual countries. This is the subject of this statistical Appendix.

A2 Developments in Student Mobility Flows 1974-1991: Figures and Facts

Table H shows that in 1974-78, the nine member states of the EC managed to mobilise 21,679 students. Germany (6,750) and France (6,480) attracted more Community students than any other member state, accommodating 61% of all mobile EC students. The UK (4,185), Germany (3,641) and France (3,200), meanwhile, sent more students abroad than any other member state country.

Table H: Student Mobility in the EC 1974/78

Host Country	Country of Origin									Total
	B	DK	F	G	IRL	IT	LUX	NL	UK	
B (1975-76)	-	13	463	382	14	576	555	774	139	2916
DK (1975-76)										730
F (1975-76)	612	144	-	1770	81	1208	691	269	1705	6480
G (1975-76)	392	208	2264	-	54	817	654	1327	1034	6750
IRL (1975-77)	4	1	9	15	-	7	0	2	955	993
IT 1977-78)	7	4	76	503	4	-	4	8	239	845
LUX(1975-76)										25
NL (1976-77)	148	16	70	299	13	28	6	0	113	693
UK (1974-75)	101	68	318	672	580	275	59	174	-	2247
										755*
Total	1264	454	3200	3641	746	2911	1969	2554	4185	21679

Source: AII SUP, 1979

* Unspecified

By 1978/80 intra-community student mobility had increased by 15% to 24,837. Table J shows that Germany (8,783) and France (7,569) again hosted the largest cohort of member state students. Germany (5,321) also exported more students than any other member state, forcing the UK (5,147) into second place in terms of student exports.

Table J: Student Mobility in the EC 1978/79/80

Host Country	Country of Origin									Total
	B	DK	F	G	IRL	IT	LUX	NL	UK*	
B (1979)	-	3	16	438	11	103	109	1388	52	2120
DK (1979)	8	-	103	287	13	16	1	67	189	684
F (1978)	74	0	-	2582	0	1475	854	423	2161	7569
G (1979)	542	247	2655	-	107	1441	692	1600	1499	8783
IRL (1979)	11	5	24	39	-	9	3	6	897	994
IT 1978)	132	17	282	637	9	-	9	32	201	1319
LUX (1978)	0	0	1	3	0	7	-	3	0	14
NL (1979)	219	10	72	535	7	56	7	-	148	1054
UK (1979)	100	100	400	800	400	300	0	200	-	2300
Total	1086	382	3553	5321	547	3407	1675	3719	5147	24837

Source: EUROSTAT, 1982.

* EUROSTAT Estimates

Table K shows that by 1982/83 the overall rate of student mobility had increased by 106% from 1978/80 to 51,288. The accession of Greece to the Community in 1981 was however significant, since Greece alone exported 23,837 to member states in 1982/83. The exclusion of Greek mobility results in only a 10% increase in student mobility between 1978/80 and 1982/83.

According to Table K, Germany (16,710) and Italy (14,664) were prominent importers of students in 1982/83. Greek exports (23,837) meanwhile surpassed outgoing mobility from Germany (7,619) and UK (6,225). In fact, in 1982/83 Greek students accounted for 46% of all outgoing mobility in the EC.

Table K: Student Mobility in the EC 1982/83

	Country of Origin										Total
	B	DK	F	G	GR	IRL	IT	LUX	NL	UK	
Host											
B (1983)	-	17	617	780	461	13	829	639	996	157	4509
DK (1983)	7	-	73	311	14	10	16	1	53	205	690
F (1983)	0	0	-	3311	3749	0	0	0	0	2277	9337
G (1983)	541	267	2555	-	6758	137	1925	825	1850	1852	16710
GR (1982)	2	4	8	42	-	0	19	2	4	58	139
IRL (1982)	11	9	22	100	8	-	11	7	12	1249	1429
IT (1983)	95	17	336	1740	12222	7	-	18	55	174	14664
LUX											
NL (1982)	397	21	113	934	64	10	146	9	-	253	1947
UK (1983)	51	29	374	401	561	261	83	3	100	-	1863
Total	1104	364	4098	7619	23837	438	3029	1504	3070	6225	51288

Compiled from statistics published in the UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1985, 1986 and 1987.

By 1983/85 (Table L) overall student mobility in the Community had increased to 66,545, or by 30% from 1982/83. Germany (17,542), Italy (14,664) and France (13,563) continued to host more students than any other country, whilst Greek (27,783) mobility still overwhelmed student exports, accounting for 39% of total student mobility in the EC. As in the past, Germany (9,464) sent the second largest

group of students to member states, but UK (5,686) student exports were eclipsed by Italy (7,680) and France (5,832).

Table L: Student Mobility in the EC 1983/84/85

Host Country	Country of Origin										Total
	B	DK	F	G	GR	IRL	IT	LUX	NL	UK	
B (1985)	-	37	1563	713	843	23	3201	1017	1734	267	9398
DK (1985)	5	-	70	320	13	14	25	0	54	193	694
F (1984)	887	185	-	3643	3649	198	1453	996	495	2057	13563
G (1985)	586	269	2654	-	6693	171	2266	958	1985	1960	17542
GR											
IRL (1984)	18	7	51	0	6	-	8	5	10	982	1087
IT (1983)	95	17	336	1740	12222	7	-	18	55	174	14664
LUX											
NL (1985)	444	39	123	1271	72	22	221	14	-	53	2259
UK (1985)	304	116	1035	1777	2285	809	506	77	429	-	7338
Total	2339	670	5832	9464	25783	1244	7680	3085	4762	5686	66545

Compiled from statistics published in the UNESCO Statistical yearbook 1987, 1988 and 1989.

Table M shows that by 1988/89 student mobility in the EC had increased by 33% to 88,593. In practice, 24% of the increase was accounted by Spanish and Portuguese accession to the EC. There was an actual increase therefore of 7% in mobility flows from 1983/85.

The 1988/89 threshold is significant in that it marked the beginning of a period of disintegration in established mobility flows. This is particularly evident in the more detailed review of individual countries below. With respect to the major importers and receivers of students, Germany (22,019), France (18,800) and rather than Italy (9,212), Belgium (15,128) hosted the largest cohorts of incoming students from the EC. Meanwhile, Greece (19,871), Germany (12,660) and Italy (11,874) maintained their status as the three main student exporters, although Greek student exports now only accounted for 22% of total mobility.

Table M: Student Mobility in the EC 1988/89

Country of Origin													
Host	B	D	F	G	GR	IRL	IT	LUX	NL	P	SP	UK	Total
B (89)	-	58	938	73	1103	42	5917	1660	1908	412	2023	344	15128
DK (88)	5	-	72	424	21	11	34	2	51	5	14	239	878
F (88)	970	229	-	3931	2613	223	1623	935	584	2835	2770	2087	18800
G (88)	630	308	3076	-	6434	216	2972	1090	2165	687	2283	2158	22019
GR													
IRL(88)	24	7	99	179	10	-	39	8	29	7	57	814	1273
IT (88)	90	27	290	1400	7010	8	-	12	70	28	92	185	9212
LUX													
NL (88)	668	52	154	1604	102	31	307	16	-	91	271	480	3776
P (89)	7	0	177	55	0	0	12	0	3	-	47	39	340
SP (88)	166	30	1541	1305	26	17	211	6	148	155	-	451	4056
UK (88)	524	274	2212	3039	2552	1790	759	119	573	326	943	-	13111
Total	3084	985	8559	12660	19871	2338	11874	3848	5531	4546	8500	6797	88593

Compiled from statistics published in the UNESCO Statistical Yearbook 1990, 1991 and 1993.

Table N also pertaining to the 1988/89 academic year provides an insight into student mobility in the EC from a different source. According to the Institute of Policy Research, 90,075 EC students were studying in member states in 1988/89, supporting the conclusion that intra-EC student mobility in 1988/89 was between 88,000 and 90,000. However, the individual country statistics provided by the Institute of Policy Research are not entirely consistent with the matrix in Table M compiled from the UNESCO Statistical Yearbooks. The Institute of Policy Research data suggests that Germany (21,499), France (20,666) and instead of Belgium (5,681), the UK (17,247) were the main importing countries, and the main exporting countries were Greece (21,374), Germany (14,962) and instead of Italy (7,534), France (11,764). Moreover, while Table M (the UNESCO figures) calculates that Belgium imported 15,128 EC students in 1988/89, the Institute of Policy Research (Table N) puts this figure at 5,681. The reasons for the incongruity are unknown, but the fact the statistics between the two sources fail to correspond, dramatically in some cases, underlines the problems with available statistics on student mobility, and reaffirms the need to treat the figures with caution.

Table N: Student Mobility in the EC 1988/89

		Country of Origin											
Host	B	DK	F	G	GR	IRL	IT	LUX	NL	P	SP	UK	Total
B	-	35	1014	337	543	32	1125	738	851	171	669	166	5681
DK	5	-	72	414	21	11	34	2	51	5	14	239	868
F	1070	278	-	4450	2724	249	1944	990	657	3072	2870	2362	20666
G	631	330	3273	-	6190	244	2843	1091	2056	571	2181	2039	21449
GR	5	1	8	44	-	0	11	0	3	1	3	18	94
IRL	30	0	136	193	0	-	40	0	38	0	60	260	757
IT	88	21	327	1828	8607	10	-	13	65	23	101	201	11284
LUX													
NL	666	53	159	1540	105	33	304	18	-	92	271	483	3724
P	7	0	177	55	0	0	12	0	3	-	47	39	340
SP	479	28	3498	2315	69	24	217	11	193	368	-	763	7965
UK	655	386	3100	3786	3115	2542	1004	0	830	396	1433	-	17247
Tot	3636	1132	11764	14962	21374	3145	7534	2863	4747	4699	7649	6570	90075

Source: Institute of Policy Research, 1992

By 1989/91 (Table P) student mobility had increased by a further 28% to 113,806. Existing student mobility networks continued to disintegrate and new flows became increasingly apparent. Indeed, from relative obscurity, the UK (29,795) now hosted more EC students than any other member state, followed by Germany (27,048) and France (23,879). Greece (21,006) still exported more students than its counterparts, but its total share of mobility diminished further to 18%, as other countries, particularly Germany (17,436) and France (15,256), continued to increase outgoing mobility.

The UNESCO data used to create Table P is verified by the EUROSTAT matrix (Table Q) pertaining to the same academic years. EUROSTAT estimates that 113,900 EC students studied in member states in 1989/91. Importantly, Table Q confirms that the UK (30,000), Germany (27,200) and France (23,800) hosted, and Greece (21,000), Germany (17,600) and France (15,400) exported more students than any other EC country. The only significant distinction between the two sources is that EUROSTAT figures are rounded to the nearest hundred.

Table P: Student Mobility in the EC 1989/90/91

Country of Origin													
	B	DK	F	G	GR	IRL	IT	LUX	NL	P	SP	UK	Total
Host													
B (1990)	-	35	2734	513	898	28	3649	1307	1946	321	1339	281	13051
DK (1991)	15	-	83	535	16	19	43	2	58	7	18	300	1096
F (1991)	1242	329	-	5674	2631	370	2434	999	790	3349	2957	3104	23879
G (1991)	790	433	4158	-	7090	366	4293	1139	2377	955	3071	2376	27048
GR													
IRL (1991)	34	20	169	273	14	-	24	10	20	4	116	1084	1768
IT (1991)	236	44	644	1476	5172	20	-	26	105	32	153	408	8316
LUX													
NL (1991)	700	73	193	1710	103	17	300	18	-	87	313	564	4078
P (1989)	7	0	177	55	0	0	12	0	3	-	47	39	340
SP (1991)	182	28	1508	1347	29	42	265	7	183	170	-	574	4435
UK (1991)	977	612	5590	5853	5053	5554	1775	187	1207	653	2334	-	29795
Total	4183	1574	15256	17436	21006	6416	12895	3695	6689	5578	10348	8730	113806

Compiled from statistics published in UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1993 and 1994

Table Q: Student Mobility in the EC 1989/90/91

Country of Origin													
	B	DK	F	G	GR	IRL	IT	LUX	NL	P	SP	UK	Total
Host													
B (1990)	-	0	2700	500	900	0	3600	1300	1900	300	1300	300	12800
DK (1991)	0	-	100	500	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	300	1000
F (1991)	1200	300	-	5700	2600	400	2400	1000	800	3300	3000	3100	23800
G (1991)	800	400	4200	-	7100	400	4300	1100	2400	1000	3100	2400	27200
GR (1990)	0	0	0	100	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
IRL (1991)	0	0	200	300	14	-	0	0	0	0	100	1100	1700
IT (1991)	200	0	600	1500	5200	0	-	0	100	0	200	400	8200
LUX													
NL (1991)	700	100	200	1700	100	0	300	0	-	100	300	600	4100
P (1989)	0	0	300	100	0	0	0	0	0	-	100	100	600
SP (1991)	200	0	1500	1300	0	0	400	0	200	200	-	600	4400
UK (1991)	1000	600	5600	5900	5100	5600	1800	200	1200	700	2300	-	30000
Total	4100	1400	15400	17600	21000	6400	12800	3600	6700	5600	10400	8900	113900

Source: EUROSTAT, 1995.

Table R provides some insight into ERASMUS mobility during the 1990/91 academic year. The Table confirms that ERASMUS mobilised 29,040 students in 1990/91, accounting for 25% of total mobility in the Community. A more detailed analysis of the ERASMUS programme can be found in Chapter Six. In this context, Table R provides an important reference point for the analysis.

Table R: ERASMUS mobility in the EC 1990/91

Country of Origin														
	B(f)	B(nl)	DK	F	G	GR	IRL	IT	LUX	NL	P	SP	UK	Tot
Host														
B		-	9	132	131	40	49	176	13	508	39	224	162	1474
DK		30	-	59	53	11	3	66	1	127	11	60	147	568
F		102	59	-	1313	152	217	641	36	412	109	956	1997	5994
G		85	65	1146	-	96	189	395	13	629	48	404	1035	4105
GR		20	2	60	91	-	8	49	0	99	5	35	95	464
IRL		15	16	274	260	14	-	79	0	95	16	98	93	960
IT		45	38	402	398	25	37	-	7	255	39	420	429	2095
LUX		0	0	6	0	0	0	2	-	0	0	0	0	10
NL		109	13	136	276	46	36	192	0	-	25	211	444	1488
P		18	4	69	94	4	7	59	0	49	-	92	70	466
SP		87	59	866	492	26	79	427	0	338	55	-	602	3031
UK		118	124	2440	1876	177	103	764	33	856	129	790	-	7410
Unsp		13		128			19	294						
Tot	321	642	389	5709	4984	591	747	3144	105	3368	476	3290	5074	29040

Source: Institute of Policy Research, Leiden, 1992c.

A3 Individual Country Profiles

Belgium

In 1979 Belgium hosted 2,120 students, mainly from the Netherlands (65%) and Germany (20%). Although Dutch (22%) and German (17%) students were again prominent in 1983, Italian (18%) students also accounted for a significant proportion of the 4,509 Community students hosted by Belgium during that year. In fact, this was only the beginning of Italian student interest in Belgian higher education and subsequently in 1985, 34% of the 9,398 EC students hosted by Belgium were Italian. The Netherlands (18%) and France (17%) exported the other significant cohorts of students to Belgium in 1985. By 1989 Italian students accounted for 39% of the 15,128 Community students hosted by Belgium. Students from Spain (13%), the Netherlands (13%) and Luxembourg (11%) were also evident in increasing numbers in Belgian higher education. Despite a diminution in incoming student mobility to Belgium in 1990, the flow of students from some countries continued unabated. Of the 13,051 EC students entertained by Belgium, Italy (30%) again sent the largest group, followed by France (21%), the Netherlands (15%), Spain (10%) and Luxembourg (10%).

Outgoing mobility from Belgium between 1978 and 1991 was by no means numerically reciprocal and neither Italy nor Spain proved to be a popular destination for Belgian students, as Belgium was for Italian and Spanish students. Belgian students expressed a clear preference for neighbouring countries, chiefly the Netherlands, Germany and France. In 1978-80 50% of the 1,086 Belgian students embarking on a period of study abroad in the EC went to Germany; in 1982-83 of the 1,104 Belgians studying in member states 49% went to Germany

and 36% to the Netherlands, while France (38%), Germany (25%) and the Netherlands (19%) attracted 82% of outgoing student mobility from Belgium in 1983-85 when 2,339 Belgians studied abroad. The popularity of France, Germany and the Netherlands among Belgian students was also apparent in 1988-89 when 73% of the 3,084 Belgian students in member states were based either in France (31%), Germany (20%) or the Netherlands (22%). Such consistent student flows from Belgium were finally disturbed in 1989-91 when the UK hosted 23% of the 4,183 outgoing Belgian students. Only France (30%) enrolled more Belgian students during that year, while Germany (19%) and the Netherlands (17%) attracted fewer than the UK.

Denmark

Denmark imported less than 1,000 students from other member states between 1978 and 1989, peaking to 1,096 in 1991. Between 41% to 49% of the students hosted by Denmark during this period were from Germany and between 27% to 30% from the UK so that at least two-thirds of all students hosted by Denmark at any given time were either from Germany or the UK.

On the whole outgoing mobility from Denmark also remained below 1,000 students, except in 1989-91 when 1,574 Danish students embarked on a period of study abroad. 65% of all outgoing mobility from Denmark was directed to Germany in 1978-80, increasing to 73% in 1982-83. The popularity of Germany among Danish students however, showed a marked decline to 40% in 1983-85, to 31% in 1988/89 and eventually to 28% in 1989/91 as Danish students turned to other countries for their study abroad experience. France became the second most attractive destination in 1983-85 and subsequently the UK in 1988/89. By 1989-

91 the UK was hosting 39% of a total 1,574 Danish students studying in member states, followed by Germany (28%) and France (21%).

France

In 1978 France hosted 7,569 Community students, predominantly from Germany (34%) and the UK (29%) and in 1983, Greek (40%), German (35%) and UK (24%) students accounted for 99% of the 9,337 EC students hosted by France. However, during the following year Greek (27%), German (27%) and UK (15%) student representation as a proportion of overall incoming mobility to France (totalling 13,563) diminished to 69% signalling that France, like most member states would encounter the diversification process. By 1988 when France imported 18,800 EC students, Germans (21%), Greeks (14%) and UK (11%) students only accounted for 46% of total incoming mobility, while Portugal (15%) and Spain (15%) having joined the EC in 1986 exported more students to France than either Greece or the UK. By 1991 French student imports totalled 23,879 students, including significant numbers of students from Germany (24%), Portugal (14%), the UK (13%), Spain (12%), Greece (11%) and Italy (10%).

In 1978-80 France exported 75% of the 3,553 outgoing French students to Germany and 62% in 1982-83 when outgoing mobility from France numbered to 4,098. A further 15% of French students enrolled in Belgium. Although Germany (46%) and Belgium (27%) continued to attract a significant proportion of French mobility in 1983-85, the UK (18%) also hosted a sizeable percentage of the 5,832 French students marking the beginning of the importance of the UK as a study abroad destination for French students. Indeed, 1988 witnessed 8,559 outgoing French students of which Germany hosted 36%, the UK 26% (registering a 100%

increase) and Spain 18%. By 1991 French student mobility (totalling 15,256) expressed a clear interest in the UK (37%) followed by Germany (27%) and Belgium (18%).

Germany

In 1978-80 Germany hosted 8,783 EC students, including 30% French, 17% UK and 16% Italian students. By 1982/83 among the 16,710 Community students accommodated by Germany, Greeks (40%) were prevalent followed by French (15%) students and in 1983-85 of the 17,542 EC students enrolled in German higher education, 38% were Greek, 15% French and 13% Italian. Like its counterparts, Germany increasingly accommodated other nationalities during the course of the 1980s so that by 1988-89 although Greece (29%) and France (14%) still sent the largest groups of students to Germany, Italians (13%), Spaniards (10%), British (10%) and Dutch (10%) students were also well represented among the 22,109 EC students studying in Germany. In 1989-91 the proportion of Greek students in Germany diminished to 26% as the diversification process gained momentum. In total, Germany accepted 27,048 EC students, of whom 26% were Greek, 16% Italian, 15% French, 11% Spanish, 9% Dutch and 9% British.

German mobility also diversified in its destination during the course of the 1980s. In 1978-80 Germany exported 5,321 German students, of whom nearly half (49%) went to France, and in 1982-83 of a total 7,619 German student exports, 43% went to France and 23% to Italy. Although by 1983-85 France (38%) still attracted the largest cohort of the 9,464 German students studying abroad, its popularity among German students was dwindling. In contrast the UK (19%) became increasingly prominent and replaced Italy (18%) as the second most

popular study abroad destination for German students. Not surprisingly, in 1988-89 outgoing mobility from Germany which totalled 12,660 chiefly enrolled in France (31%), the UK (24%) and to a lesser extent the Netherlands (13%), Italy (11%) and Spain (10%) and by 1989-91 the ascendancy of the UK was complete as the 17,436 German students undertaking study abroad primarily travelled to the UK (34%) and France (33%). The remaining member states enrolled fewer than 10% of German students, so that the increase in German student mobility in 1989-91 was largely accommodated by the other 'big' countries.

Greece

Greece throughout the 1980s was the main exporter of students in the EU. In 1982-83 (following accession in 1981) Greece imported 139 EC students and exported 23,837, primarily to Italy (51%), Germany (28%) and France (16%), while in 1983-85 Italy (47%), Germany (26%) and France (14%) again hosted 87% of the 25,783 outgoing Greek students. In fact, between 1982 and 1985, Italy alone accommodated around 50% of all Greek mobility. Student flows from Greece to Italy decreased considerably in 1988-89 as did Greek student mobility in general, which totalled 19,871. As argued in Chapter Six this was as a result of the fact Italy changed its admission requirements to specifically limit incoming Greek mobility. Consequently, Italy (35%) entertained fewer Greek students in 1988-89, but Germany (32%) accommodated a higher proportion of Greek students compared with previous years. By 1989-91 Italy was only hosting 25% of the 21,006 outgoing Greek students and was succeeded by Germany (34%) as the most popular destination for outgoing Greek mobility. The UK (24%) replaced France (13%) in third place and again showed its increasing popularity as a host nation.

Ireland

Between 1978 and 1985 around 90% of all EC students studying in Ireland were of UK origin. This near monopoly presence of UK students among the EC student population in Irish higher education changed only in 1988 as Ireland diversified its intake and the number of UK students as a proportion of all incoming students fell to 64% and subsequently to 61% in 1991, when Ireland hosted 1,768 Community students, including 15% German and 10% French students.

Irish mobility was complementary and predominantly directed to the UK. In 1978-80, 73% of all Irish students studying in the EC were based in the UK. Although this figure decreased to 60% in 1982-83, it gradually increased again to 65% in 1983-85, 77% in 1988-89 and 87% in 1989-91. These developments, in contrast to the diversification in student flows experienced by most countries can only be explained through an understanding of developments in higher education policy in Britain and Ireland, as argued in Chapter Six.

Italy

Italy, as already confirmed, featured as an important host to EU student mobility during the first half of the 1980s. However, the high rates of student flows to Italy were mainly accounted for by the presence of significant numbers of Greek students. For example, in 1983, 83% of the 14,664 Community students in Italy were Greek. This presence diminished however, through the course of the 1980s and 1990s to 76% in 1988 and finally to 62% in 1991 as a result of a change in admission policy specifically devised to limit the numbers of Greek students. This

is explained in more detail in Chapter Six, but it confirms that mobility flows are not independent of national government policies. The outcome of the reduction in Greek student imports to Italy was that the latter became one of the few EC countries which experienced a real decline in incoming mobility between 1983 and 1991. From hosting 14,664 students in 1983, Italy only entertained 8,316 students in 1991. Corresponding with the decline in Greek exports to Italy was the logical increase in student flows from other countries so that by 1991 Italy was accommodating a sizeable proportion of students from Germany (18%) and France (8%). In 1983 of total incoming mobility to Italy only 12% was German and 2% French.

As with other nationalities, increasing numbers of Italian students took the opportunity to study abroad so that by 1989-91 Italy exported 12,895 students, compared with 3,407 in 1978-80. However, unlike other nationalities, the mobility flows of Italian students were relatively erratic. In 1978-80 France (43%) attracted the largest cohort of Italian students followed by Germany (42%). By 1982-83 (when Italy exported 3,029 students) Germany (64%) became the most popular destination for Italian students, second to Belgium (27%) and in 1983-85 Belgium (42%) replaced Germany (30%) as the most popular destination for the 7,680 Italian students studying in EC member states. Belgium again attracted the largest cohort of Italian students (50%) in 1988-89, followed by Germany (25%) and France (14%), when 11,874 Italians went to study in member states and remarkably in 1989-91 Germany (33%) surpassed all other countries and enrolled more Italian students than Belgium (28%) or France (19%).

Luxembourg

The fact that Luxembourg does not have a developed higher education system accounts for the absence of published figures relating to incoming mobility to Luxembourg. However, records of outgoing mobility from Luxembourg can be gauged from the statistics compiled by host nations. In 1978-80 Luxembourg exported 1,675 students, of whom 92% went either to France (51%) or Germany (41%). In 1982-83 Germany (55%) and Belgium (42%) hosted 97% of the 1,504 outgoing Luxembourg students and in 1983-85 96% of all Luxembourg student exports enrolled in Belgium (33%), France (32%) and Germany (31%). By 1989-91, 3,695 Luxembourg students were studying in member states, again chiefly in Belgium (35%), Germany (31%) and France (27%). In fact, between 1983 and 1991 Belgium became the most attractive destination for students from Luxembourg, followed by Germany and France. During this period outgoing mobility from Luxembourg doubled from 1,504 to 3,695.

The Netherlands

As with most other countries the Netherlands experienced a gradual but substantial increase in student mobility during the 1980s so that by 1991 the Netherlands was hosting 4,078 EC students compared with 1,054 in 1979. Despite the increase, student flows between the Netherlands and its neighbours, Germany and Belgium were sustained during this period. In fact, during the five years in question (1979, 1982, 1985, 1988 and 1991) German students respectively, accounted for 51%, 48%, 56%, 42% and 42% of all incoming mobility to the Netherlands. The considerable decline in German students as a

proportion of total EC student numbers in the Netherlands from 56% in 1985 to 42% in 1988 was consistent with the dispersion in student flows experienced by most EC countries from the mid-1980s. Belgian students meanwhile, accounted for 20%-21% of all EC student mobility to the Netherlands between 1978-85. This figure diminished subsequently to 18% in 1988 and 17% in 1991.

Mobility from the Netherlands (which increased from 3,719 in 1978-80 to 6,689 by 1989-91) was also primarily directed towards Germany and Belgium, and therefore to some extent mutual. The time-series data reveals that Germany attracted 43%, 60%, 42%, 39% and 36% and Belgium 37%, 32%, 36%, 34% and 29% of total Dutch student exports in 1979, 1982, 1984, 1988 and 1991, respectively. In other words, Germany and Belgium hosted 80% of all Dutch student mobility in 1978-80 and only 65% in 1989-91, as increasing numbers of Dutch students explored higher education opportunities in other EC countries.

Portugal

Since Portugal joined the EC in 1986, the student mobility statistics for Portugal begin with a snapshot of the situation in 1988-89. This is not to suggest student mobility between Portugal and other member states only developed following Portugal's accession to the EC. The figures presented below are the culmination of developments in student flows between Portugal and other member states over a number of decades.

In 1989 Portugal was a net exporter of students hosting 340 and exporting 4,546 students. France (62%) and to a much lesser extent Germany (15%) were the most popular destinations for Portuguese students, a trend which was sustained in

1989-91 when France (60%) and Germany (17%) between them hosted 77% of the 5,578 Portuguese students studying abroad.

Spain

Spain, like Portugal acceded to the EC in 1986 and so coverage begins from the 1988 reference point, although like Portugal, Spain has a history of student mobility with EC member states. 70% of incoming mobility in 1988 totalling 4,056 to Spain and 64% of all EC mobility (4,435) entertained by Spain in 1991 was either from France or Germany. Spanish student mobility was complementary. In 1988-89 France (33%), Germany (27%) and Belgium (24%) entertained the better part of the 8,500 outgoing Spaniards and in 1989-91 Germany (30%) hosted the largest cohort of the 10,348 departing Spaniards, followed by France (29%) and the UK (23%).

The UK

While most EC countries registered significant increases in incoming student mobility between 1978 and 1991, the UK experienced relatively much larger increases. From hosting 2,300 students in 1979; to 1,863 in 1983; 7,338 in 1985 and 13,111 in 1988, the UK suddenly accommodated a 127% increase in incoming student mobility in 1991 when it hosted 29,795 EC students. During this period outgoing mobility from the UK almost stagnated or increased modestly, turning the UK into one of the main importing countries in the EU. To illustrate the point, UK student exports amounted to 5,147 in 1978-80 and only 8,730 by 1989-91 while student imports increased from 2,300 in 1979 to 29,795 in 1991 making the

UK a net exporter of 21,065 EC students. This net imbalance in student flows is a particular concern for the UK government, as explained in Chapter Five.

As with most of the bigger member states, (namely France, Germany and Italy), the UK hosted considerable numbers of Greek students between 1982 and 1991. For example, of the 1,863 Community students enrolled in the UK in 1983, 30% were Greek and 22% German. The preponderance of Greek (31%) and German (14%) students continued when in 1985 the UK attracted 7,338 EC students. By 1988 there was evidence that the Greek/German dominance was weakening as the diversification process had its effect upon incoming mobility to the UK. The UK hosted 13,111 EC students, including significant mobility from Germany (23%), Greece (19%), France (17%) and Ireland (14%). By 1991 new mobility patterns were prominent as Germany (20%), France (19%) and Ireland (19%) replaced Greece (17%) as the major groups hosted by the UK.

UK students (like most other nationalities) expressed a clear preference for France and Germany throughout the 1980s. In 1978-80 France attracted 42% and Germany 29% of the 5,209 UK students studying in member states. France (37%) and Germany (30%) continued to be the most popular destination for the 6,225 British students in 1982-83 and again in 1983-85 when France (36%) and Germany (34%) together hosted 70% of all outgoing student mobility from the UK, which totalled 5,686. Although in 1988-89 Germany and France entertained 62% of UK student mobility and 63% in 1989-91, their popularity among UK students endured and is explained largely by the inability of British students to converse in languages other than French or German. This is discussed in Chapters Five and Six.

Appendix 5

Spending on Higher Education by Country (1960-1986)

Table S: Proportion of national resources (GNP) spent publicly on higher education - selected EU countries - 1960/86

Country	1960	1970	1975	1980	1986
Belgium	0.34	0.77	0.87	1.04	0.95
Denmark	0.35	1.46	1.41	1.21	1.51
France	0.28	0.55	0.45	0.39	0.43
Germany	0.51	0.71	0.71	0.71	0.85*
Netherlands	0.87	1.59	1.92	2.17	1.62
Sweden	0.42	1.13	0.79	0.84	0.88
UK	-	1.29	1.24	1.25	1.07

Source: Eicher, 1990

*1985

Table T: Public expenditure per student - selected EU countries - 1970/85. In constant 1970 prices - based 1970=100

Country	1970	1975	1980	1985
Belgium	100	143.5	157.8	119.2
Denmark	100	76.6	68.0	97.8*
France	100	80.4	71.6	73.6
Germany	100	47.6	41.1	47.7
Netherlands	100	101.3	91.3	73.8**
Sweden	100	76.2	60.2	77.9
UK	100	80.0	74.1	58.9

Source: Eicher, 1990

* 1986

**1984

Appendix 6

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