Jeroen Huisman & Marijk van der Wende (eds.)

On Cooperation and Competition II

Institutional Responses to Internationalisation, Europeanisation and Globalisation

ACA Papers on
International Cooperation in Education

Lemmens

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Bibliografische Informationen der Deutschen Bibliothek
Die Deutsche Bibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbiografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über http://dnb.dbb.de abrufbar.

ISBN 3-932306-68-6

NE: ACA Papers

Anschrift des Verlages
Matthias-Grünewald-Straße 1-3
D-53175 Bonn
Telefon: + 49 228 42 13 70
Telefax: + 49 228 42 13 729
E-Mail: info@lemmens.de
Internet: http://www.lemmens.de

Gesamtherstellung: WienandsPrintmedien GmbH, Bad Honnef

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Preface

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

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

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

The first phase of the project focused on national policies for internationalisation of higher education in the various countries (Austria, Germany, Greece, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and the United Kingdom) as well as on European-level policies in this area. It was published previously in this series under the title: "On Cooperation and Competition: National and European Policies for the Internationalisation of Higher Education". This work concerned in fact a pre-study of contextual factors which are expected to determine the policy context for the responses of higher education institutions to the challenges of Europeanisation, internationalisation and globalisation, which are presented and analysed in the current volume.

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

The editors

Foreword

by Bernd Wächter

The Academic Cooperation Association (ACA) is proud to be able to publish this second volume with findings from the HEIGLO project in the ACA Papers on International Cooperation in Education.

The first book resulting from the HEIGLO project, „On Cooperation and Competition“, which came out a year ago, explored the framework conditions for the internationalisation of tertiary institutions in the form of national and European governments' policies. This second volume now takes the reader into the heartland of internationalisation, i.e. onto the territory of these institutions themselves. The analysis of national policies contained in „On Cooperation and Competition“ had already displayed very important shifts in the concepts of internationalisation, compared to earlier years. A tendency to complement cooperation-oriented by competition-focused rationales, if not to wholly substitute the cooperative paradigm by a competition-grounded logic in the case of some countries, was only one strong tendency identified. Another one was that internationalisation, by integrating systemic structural reform (Bologna Process) and general innovation policies (Lisbon Strategy), had widened its scope to integrate large parts of what was earlier on simply perceived to as mainstream higher education policy.

With the present volume, the changed semantics of the word “internationalisation” can now also be traced at the institutional level. It is probably fair to say that the institutional approaches by and large mirror the shifts in the concept of internationalisation described and analysed in the first HEIGLO report. This broad statement obviously accommodates important differences between individual institutions and between countries. But this also already went for the national policies, which, while displaying an overall general trend towards the „entrepreneurial“ and the „systemic“, were characterised by changes of a not solely mono-directional sort.

ACA hopes that this book will be widely read, in order to have an effect. Its “natural” readers are leaders of higher education institutions involved in internationalisation, who find in it examples of good practice to follow, but also a map of possible pits and how to avoid falling into them. But the volume is also a good read for higher education policy-makers, whom it helps to study the effects – or otherwise – of their national policies for internationalisation. And for anyone else in the growing community of those interested in and affected by the internationalisation of higher education.

1. Introduction

Anneke Luijten-Lub, Jeroen Huisman and Marijk van der Wende

The internationalisation of higher education is entering a new phase. In addition to the mobility of students and staff, higher education institutions are becoming key players in the global knowledge society. Increasingly, they are driven by economically oriented rationales, which may be related to improving the international competitiveness of the higher education institutions or the sector itself, or to enhancing the international competitive position of the national economy. Approaches chosen to achieve these aims range from European-wide cooperation to straightforward international competition, with many forms of interaction between the two. Regulatory frameworks are being adapted and the international dimension is gaining importance in national policies for higher education. The Bologna Declaration has an undeniable impact on this process with a certain convergence resulting from it. However, different national contexts, constraints and priorities explain a great deal of the diversity that can still be observed. It is clear that the increasing impact of both internationalisation and globalisation requires further reconsideration of higher education policies, notably in the area of quality assurance, funding and (de)regulation.

These are some of the key findings of the first phase of the study on Higher Education Institutions' Responses to Europeanisation, Internationalisation and Globalisation: Developing International Activities in a Multi-level policy context (HEIGLO). This project aims to analyse the dynamic interaction between changing international, European and global contexts of higher education. In particular, it seeks to identify and analyse higher education institutions' responses to the challenges of Europeanisation, internationalisation and globalisation and the (supra) national contexts, the organisational settings, and the policies and activities aimed to support these responses. These responses are approached as a process of organisational innovation, change and adaptation in an international and multi-level policy environment.

In the first phase, the project undertook an analysis of governmental policies for internationalisation in seven European countries (Austria, Germany, Greece, The Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and the United Kingdom) and of the policies of the European Commission. The project's results were published in a previous volume in this series (Huisman and Van der Wende, 2004). The present volume presents the second part of the project, which investigated the implementation of internationalisation in a number of universities and other higher education institutions in the seven countries mentioned above. In other words, the second phase provides the institutional mirror image to the national and European policies, as presented in the first volume.

The organisational case studies presented in this volume analyse higher education institutions' internationalisation policies and activities; the underlying views and perceptions of the challenges of Europeanisation, internationalisation and globalisation; the relevant policies, activities and the organisational settings in which they are implemented; and the extent to which these foster or impede internationalisation. Therefore, the main research question to be answered is: how are higher education institutions responding to the challenges of internationalisation, globalisation and Europeanisation?

These three terms are generally employed to characterise some of the important challenges that the higher education sector is facing. However, precise demarcation of the concepts is complicated and these terms are often used in an inconsistent way. Still, some different points of emphasis can be distinguished.

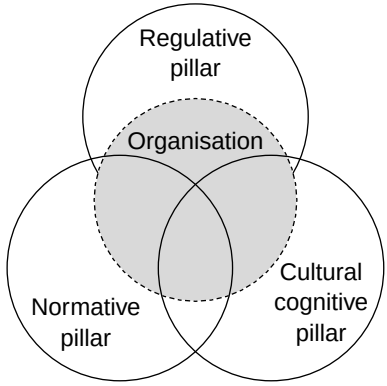
- "Internationalisation" assumes that nation states continue to play a role as economic, social and cultural systems, but that they are becoming more interconnected and activities crossing their borders are increasing. Co-operation between nation states is expanding and national policies are placing a stronger emphasis on regulating or facilitating border-crossing activities.
- "Globalisation" emphasises an increasing convergence and interdependence of economies and societies. In contrast to internationalisation, a de-nationalisation and integration of regulatory systems as well as a blurring role of nation states are taken for granted. The liberalisation of international trade and global markets are often viewed as the strongest move in this direction.
- "Europeanisation" is often employed for describing the phenomena of internationalisation on a "regional" scale. Cooperation between EU countries and economic, social and cultural activities crossing their national borders are expanding quickly based on the notion that such cooperation is required for stability and economic growth within the region. This regional cooperation is also intended to enhance the global competitiveness of the European region as a whole.

In this report, we use the term "internationalisation of higher education" to depict all the policies and activities of governments and higher education institutions aimed at making higher education (more) responsive to the challenges of internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation. This choice was clearly supported by the empirical findings of both the first and the second part of the study: in their views and perceptions, most actors do not make a very sharp distinction between these concepts or challenges (see also chapter 9).

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

The basis of the theoretical framework lies in institutional theory. Institutions are the rules of the game in a society, or more formally, are the humanly devised constraints that shape interaction. They reduce uncertainty by providing a structure to everyday life (North, 1990). Institutions include both the formal constraints (such as the rules human beings devise) and the informal constraints (such as conventions and codes of conduct); both types of constraints are devised by human beings to shape human interaction (North, 1990). Although North's definitions are widely accepted, it must be stressed that there are many different interpretations of the institutional approach. We will follow Scott's (2001) distinction between the three pillars of institutions (regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive) (see figure 1.1), his conceptualisations of organisations, and operationalise his concepts in the context of (the internationalisation of) higher education.

Figure 1.1 Institutions and organisations



Organisations as open systems have – in order to survive – to adapt to their institutional environments. At the same time, organisations are able to influence the institutional pillars, i.e. bottom-up changes within organisations may impact upon the wider institutional structure. This impact may lead to changes in the institutional structure, which can be distinguished into regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive elements (Scott, 2001). In reality, the distinction between the three pillars is not always that strict and might sometimes overlap (see figure 1.1). In the context of higher education, the regulative pillar refers to state – higher education relations and steering models (e.g the extent of institutional autonomy), legislation, funding arrangements, etc. The normative pillar includes the underlying norms and values, i.e. those of the higher education profession (e.g. ideas around academic freedom, good quality education, etc., and informal and formal hierarchies (e.g. between different types of higher education institutions). The cultural-cognitive pillar concerns "the shared conceptions that constitute the nature of social reality and

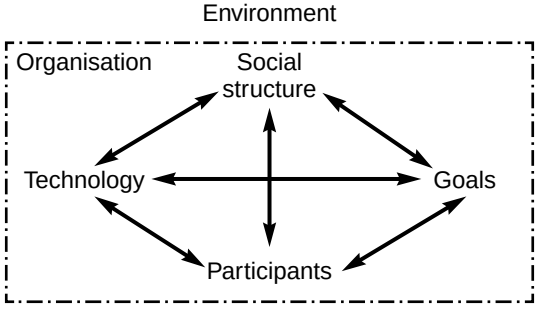
the frames through which meaning is made" (ibid.: 57), i.e. the dominant higher education policy paradigm in a country (e.g. the "Humboldtian model"), and shared understanding and taken-for-grantedness at the discipline level. These changing institutional elements may impact upon the way in which organisations (higher education institutions) operate. Actors, and in particular their perceptions of the proposed changes, are expected to have a specific role in, or are likely to influence, how an organisation responds to changes, especially when it comes to the rate of the adoption of change.

Organisations can respond to changes in the environment with changes in their "building blocks" (i.e. social structure, participants, goals and technology, see figure 1.2):

- Social structure
  "Social structure refers to the patterned or regularised aspects of the relationships existing among participants in an organisation" (ibid.: 17). Regarding higher education, important elements of the social structure are the organisation of the main tasks, the division of power and authority across different levels, and the level of loosely-coupledness. Dimensions that are taken into account are, for example, centralised or decentralised decision-making, a marginal or central role for internationalisation, and pro-active or reactive strategies.
- Participants
  "Organisational participants are those individuals who, in return for a variety of inducements, make contributions to the organisation" (ibid.: 19). An individual can be part of more than one organisation at the same time. These shared members are one possible way of organisations influencing each other. In the context of higher education, the main types of participants are: academic staff, managers/administrators/leaders, support staff and students.
- Goals
  "Goals are tentatively defined as conceptions of desired ends – ends that participants attempt to achieve through their performance of task activities" (ibid.: 20-21). Regarding higher education, goals relate to the mission of higher education in general and that of the specific organisation. Many organisations will refer to the handling of knowledge (either refining this through research, or transferring this through education, or both). It should be kept in mind that higher education organisations are service organisations and that the objectives of such organisations are often ambiguous.
- Technology
  Technology of an organisation is approached broadly. It is not just the pure technology, such as machines and mechanical equipment, which are used in an organisation, but it is also the technical knowledge and skills of participants. In the context of higher education, the main technologies are research and education. As Clark (1983: 12) puts it: "In varying

combinations of efforts to discover, conserve, refine, transmit, and apply it, the manipulation of knowledge is what we find in common in the many specific activities of professors and teachers …. However broadly we define it, knowledge is the material. Research and teaching are the main technologies".

Figure 1.2 Organisational model (Scott, 1998:17, adapted from Leavitt, 1965)



These changes in the building blocks or organisations may, for example, refer to legislative pressures that may lead to changing goals, or changing normative pressures that may lead to changing social structures. Furthermore, each building block can influence one of the other building blocks; changes in one block can thus be followed by further change in the organisation. For example, a change in goals may require a different type of technology. Participants are expected to have a specific role in how an organisation responds to changes, especially where it comes to the rate of the adoption of changes. The perceptions of the proposed changes by the participants are likely to influence the response.

The institutional structure surrounding higher education organisations is adapting to processes of internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation. These changing institutional elements may have an impact on the building blocks of the organisation. Of course, change can happen both ways: changes in institutions may affect the organisations, but organisations may also influence institutions.

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

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

- Alpha (α): universities: large major national universities that teach and do research in a wide range of disciplines. They are usually among the oldest universities in the country and are located in a major city.
- Beta (β): universities: younger and mostly smaller than the previous group, but they are also involved in both teaching and research.
- Gamma (γ): these institutions are usually more professionally oriented in their teaching and less involved in basic research. Many of these have a regional focus.
- Delta (δ): specialised institutions, involved mainly in one discipline (e.g. arts, business or technology).
- Epsilon (ε): this group comprises the “odd cases” that are difficult to place in the previous groups but were included because they were expected to be interesting because of the particular interest in internationalisation (e.g. open university, international institutes).

The starting point for the empirical work was the data previously gathered in phase one of the project on national policies for internationalisation. These already describe an important part of the institutional environment of the HEIs. Specific data on the case studies were gathered along two lines: organisational data and interviews.

The case study HEIs were asked to provide documents setting out both the main building blocks of the organisation and their activities and policies regarding internationalisation (e.g. mission statements, strategic plans, policy documents regarding internationalisation, EPS, etc.). In addition, interviews were held with key actors in the HEIs, including academic staff, managers/ administrators/leaders, support staff and students.

The following seven chapters report on the case studies undertaken in the respective countries. They present: an introduction of the higher education institutions chosen as case studies for the particular country; an analysis of the views and perceptions of internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation by the main actors involved; an overview of the actual activities that are undertaken; the effects of internationalisation on the organisation as such; and the relationship with change in the various institutional pillars. Finally, the factors impeding and fostering internationalisation are discussed. The following chapter presents the international comparative analysis based on the preceding national reports. The last chapter presents the main conclusions of this study, which will show that the main drivers of internationalisation in recent years are global, regional and national aspirations of higher education institutions and that these aspirations have been pursued through a combination of competitive and internationally collaborative activities and strategies. These strategies have indeed been strongly influenced by regulatory factors such as national legal, financial and administrative contexts and

international attempts to harmonise qualification frameworks; by normative factors such as the extent of institutional autonomy and the extent to which higher education is seen as public service or a private good; and by cultural cognitive factors such as characteristics of disciplines and subject areas, language, culture, region, and historical links. This last chapter also reflects on the theoretical assumptions presented in this first chapter and presents the main recommendations for policies in the area of internationalisation.

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2. German universities in the process of globalisation, Europeanisation and internationalisation

Karola Hahn

2.1 Introduction

Internationalisation has been a key topic of higher education policy in Germany since 1996, when the First Action Scheme to Enhance the International Attractiveness of the German Site of Higher Education was launched by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD). Accordingly, higher education is expected to be increasingly shaped by an international dimension as well as by efforts to enhance its performance, international attractiveness and global competitiveness in general. Reforms of the study and degree structure, curricula, institutions and the services they provide are viewed as an integral part of an internationalisation process. The reform efforts can be characterized as a) internationalisation mainstreaming, b) Europeanisation mainstreaming and c) globalisation mainstreaming.

German universities, as a rule, consider themselves as “internationalised”. They are strongly involved in international research cooperation, internationally oriented study programmes and cross-border exchanges. This is also partly true for the more practically or professionally oriented universities of applied sciences (Fachhochschulen). These institutions succeeded in entering the international arena in the nineties with a strong focus on student exchange, cooperation in curriculum development and international internships.

The strong emphasis in internationalisation, Europeanisation and global attractiveness by no means remained a lofty debate. The German higher education institutions took up these challenges with a broad range of activities. Though some observers interpret the national agenda setting as a strong top-down approach, the influence of the higher education institutions, individual scholars and higher education leaders and their coordinating bodies on shaping the entire national higher education policy should not be underestimated.

2.2 The German case studies

The five institutional cases vary according to size, age, type, mission, range of disciplines offered and geographic location. They belong to four different regional higher education systems (Bundesländer), governed by regional higher education laws (Landeshochschulgesetze) varying in many respects but only moderately as far as international activities are concerned. In accordance with the Higher Education Framework Act, internationalisation and

international cooperation are regular tasks of these higher education institutions. Only the higher education law of Lower-Saxony – site of one of the case study universities – is more specific in presenting a detailed catalogue of future tasks of internationalisation.

Three of the institutions are located in the capital of the Land – one each in a metropolis in the south and in the north and the third in a medium-size town in the south-west. The five higher education institutions vary substantially as far as institutional traditions, profiles and organisational structures are concerned. All institutions selected are public (though one within a special legal form of a public law foundation), because the private sector has remained a quantité negligeable in Germany.

University $\alpha 1$ is a prototype of a Humboldtian teaching and research university with a broad range of subjects. It was founded in the beginning of the 20th century, but has academic roots reaching back into the 17th century as a Scientific State Institute. It is one of the largest German universities with more than 40,000 students and a 12.5% ratio of international students. In allusion to its geographical location next to an important overseas harbour, its mission is to serve as a gate to the world of science. It is located in a highly competitive environment with a high number of other higher education institutions. Its location in a world-famous cosmopolitan city contributes to its national and international attractiveness. It has undergone a major institutional reform process in recent years accompanied by various evaluation activities, among them one focussing on internationalisation. According to a national ranking on research funding, it belongs to the top 15 universities.

University $\alpha 2$ has been selected as a prototype of the old German research university, also being among the top 15 in the national ranking on research funding. It is one of the oldest and most prestigious universities in the country, proud of its 44 Nobel prize winners. It hosts more than 20,000 students, among them 13.7% international students, and covers a broad range of disciplines. It cooperates strongly with various independent neighbouring research institutes, notably Max-Planck Institutes. Recently, it has been transformed into a public law foundation. This pro-active fundamental reform of loosening the university-government relation was preceded by a broad reform process. The new legal status is viewed as supporting autonomy and flexibility and thus strengthening the institutional profile as a research university with a strong international emphasis.

University β is an example of a young experimental reform university. It was established in the 1970s as a comprehensive university (Gesamthochschule), integrating the functions of universities and universities of applied sciences. It was regarded for a long time as an organised outsider within the German higher education system, notably because it had established a stage structure of programmes and degrees by the 1970s. It is of medium size – ca. 18,000 students, 14.7% of them international students – and offers

a broad range of disciplines. Many programmes are similar to those at other universities, but it also has a special focus on niche programmes in cutting-edge fields. Since the beginning of the 1990s, its mission was formulated as "interdisciplinarity, innovation and internationalisation" as well as "regionally based, but internationally oriented", later being complemented by "excellence and competence in the fields of human resources, environment, fine arts and high tech". In the process of the establishment of a stage structure of programmes at degree level in all universities in Germany, university β decided to discontinue the label of "comprehensive university". It is located in a region with infrastructural deficiencies and economic disadvantage, in the borderland to the former German Democratic Republic, but it considers itself as a "university in the heart of Europe". With regard to research, it is a latecomer, although it is known for research excellence in some special niches.

University γ is one of the ten largest universities of applied sciences (Fachhochschulen) in Germany, hosting nearly 9,000 students, among them 16% of non-German nationality. It was founded in the early 1970s. It is a multi-campus institution in the economically strong Rhine-Main-Area encompassing the regional capital and with a distance of around 50 km between its northern and southern campuses. It offers a comparatively broad range of programmes mainly designed for practical application and vocational orientation, some of which are strongly interlinked with the regional economy (e.g. automobile industry, viniculture, banking, insurance). Despite its strong regional focus it has some highly internationalised departments.

University δ is an example of a specialised higher education institution. It is a prestigious research-oriented technical university (among the German top 3) and hosts 20,000 students, among them 25% international students. Its disciplinary focus lies in the natural and engineering sciences alongside medicine, food and life sciences. It is situated in a regional capital in the South and has three main campuses, one of which is around 40 km away from the central city campus. It is strongly linked to the regional industry (e.g. automobile, aviation, biotechnology, agriculture and food technology). It was one of the first German universities explicitly formulating an internationalisation strategy in the second half of the 1990s, and it was the first to establish a campus abroad. Its leading motto is "At home in Bavaria, successful in the world". It is located in a highly competitive higher education environment, and it profits from the attractiveness of its hosting city and the strong regional economy.

Table 2.1 Basic data on the German case studies

	α1	α2	β	γ	δ
Size (student numbers) 2004	40,422	23,555	18,077	8,845	20,076
Age (founded in)	1919 (older roots)	1737	1971 (older roots)	1971	1868
Disciplines	Theology, Law, Economics, Medicine, Social sciences, Arts, Natural sciences, Life sciences, Earth sciences, Mathematics, Informatics, Sports	Natural sciences, Mathematics, Arts, Theology, Law, Economics, Social sciences, Medicine, Life sciences, Earth sciences	Education, Social sciences, Arts, Art, Architecture, Urban planning, Engineering, Natural sciences, Mathematics, Informatics	Architecture, Economics, Engineering, Social sciences, Design, Viniculture, Computer sciences, Natural sciences	Engineering, Medicine, Life sciences, Food sciences, Economics, Technology, Architecture, Landscape planning, Natural sciences, Mathematics Informatics
Foreign (degree) students (2003)	12.5%	13.7%	14.7%	16%	25%
Incoming ERASMUS students (2002/03)	179 (0.4%)	238 (1.0%)	48 (0.3%)	206 (2.3%)	98 (0.5%)
Outgoing ERASMUS Students (2002/03)	297 (0.7%)	405 (1.7%)	88 (0.5%)	91 (1.0%)	219 (1.1%)

2.3 Views of internationalisation, europeanisation and globalisation

The universities addressed in the study show a variety of perceptions with regard to the challenges they are facing. Some of the perceived challenges are viewed as inherent to higher education, while others are interpreted as contextual. A strong challenge is seen in the rising national and international competition. The developments of the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) and the inclusion of higher education into the catalogue of transnationally tradable services is critically observed and discussed by the leadership and senior management, in the senates or other bodies. Generally, GATS is not perceived as a direct challenge to German universities, at least not in the medium term. It is seen as part of the general economisation of higher education (institutions) and a mandate for the corporative actors at the political level (i.e. the Ministries and Agencies). At the faculty level GATS is not debated, unless there is a disciplinary link to the topic.

However a vivid debate is going on about the developments of the global market for higher education and the positioning of German higher education

in this market. This debate has also reached the faculty level, where often a concern is expressed about science and engineering doctoral students and post docs opting for the US or other countries. Two issues play a major role in current debates: brain drain/brain gain as well as the issue of elite universities.

Another major challenge is seen in the lack of young talented researchers: particularly in science and engineering, fear is expressed of lagging behind the standards in teaching and research at elite universities of the US. Thus, suggestions to establish elite universities are linked to calls for strengthening the internationally competitive position of German universities. A substantial proportion of the interviewees stressed that Germany could only catch up or "play in the first league" if the legal framework was reformed (in particular with regard to tuition fees and work permits), student services and supervision were enhanced, and grants for high talents were granted more generously and broadly.

The German language is seen as another challenge. It is generally perceived as a barrier to international student mobility, to attracting the best teachers and scholars world wide as well as with regard to the recognition of German research. For example, one respondent from the field of philology expressed the need for a more pragmatic view with regard to language, and to differentiate between language as a communication tool and language as a feature of cultural identity. All interviewees agreed that German language course provision should be enhanced for foreign students and scholars and to pragmatically use English where it seems appropriate.

The interviews revealed a widespread negative perception of the position of German higher education on a global market. One President stated that "Germany has overslept and missed Europe" by not having taken the initiative to set the European standards in time but rather having waited for others to set the standards. Concerns were often voiced in the interviews with terms such as: lagging behind, lack of international attractiveness of German higher education, missing the train, losing ground, not being present in time at the places where new economic potentials are emerging, lack of sense of reality, selling too low internationally, bargain sale of universities through politics, performing badly in international comparison, lack of pioneer or entrepreneurial spirit, and so on.

However, the dominant self-perception is ambivalent. Self-critique or even self-accusation was mostly combined with pride of a high quality of the German higher education and research system. Most of those voicing critique emphatically perceived ample opportunities for a strong role of German higher education internationally.

Altogether, a broad consensus seems to have emerged in Germany that universities should be better prepared to play a strong role in the emerging

knowledge society and knowledge economy. A strong will is perceived as needed in order to strive for innovation, internationalisation and quality improvements even under conditions of substantial constraints. In spite of the widespread view that German higher education has lagged behind in addressing the changing conditions, most interviewees consider German higher education as ready to face the challenges of Europeanisation, internationalisation and globalisation.

Strongest concerns were expressed about increasing financial constraints. A substantial proportion of interviewees consider the available resources as hardly sufficient to take care of traditional tasks while new tasks and efforts to raise the position of the university nationally and internationally would require additional resources. Efforts to reduce the number of programmes and disciplines within individual universities in order strengthen core areas are considered by some as threatening the international potential of their universities. Others opted for sharpening the international profile of the institution, for example by radically internationalising and attracting foreign students through specially designed programmes.

Some interviewees expressed concern about a future decline in the size of the age cohorts typically enrolled in higher education. This is often perceived as a major challenge for a knowledge-intensive economy. Some interviewees called for stronger efforts to attract highly talented students and graduates from abroad.

The views of Europeanisation and internationalisation clearly have changed in the recent years. In the early 1990s, many representatives of higher education institutions expressed concern that policies of the European Union were a threat to national sovereignty as far as higher education policies were concerned. Nowadays, Europeanisation is accepted as a matter of fact. Some interviewees pointed out, however, that they do not want “to get instrumentalised” or be limited in their actions by the European Commission, in particular with regard to setting their own research and cooperation agenda. They pointed out that they “hold a critical eye on their autonomy in self-determining with whom to cooperate and in which fields”. An over-politicised and bureaucratised steering of the Commission through its educational and research funding programmes was largely criticized. European cooperation often is viewed as distinct from an overall process of internationalisation. Accordingly, the Bologna process comprises basically internal reform efforts undertaken jointly. For example, one interviewee pointed out: “Bologna has nothing to do with internationalisation, it is about national reform”. In their view, European harmonisation has become a domestic affair. The introduction of the stage structure of programmes and degrees, the modularisation of study programmes, ECTS, Diploma Supplement, or accreditation, tend to be viewed as national reform tasks, while reference to Europe is popular among politicians wishing to superimpose reform agendas. Or as one interviewee

said: “The Europeanisation is like a Trojan horse that has snuck national higher education reforms on the agenda of German higher education policy”. Views substantially vary within German universities, notably among academics, as to whether the implementation of the Bologna Declaration will lead to quality improvement in higher education and will be eventually a gain for German universities. Only a minority of interviewees – mainly at the level of higher education leadership, senior management and some highly internationally active scholars – seemed to be convinced that the reforms intended in the Bologna process were crucial in order to cope with the diverse challenges of internationalisation.

2.4 Measures actually taken

The German universities addressed showed various reactive and pro-active responses to globalisation, Europeanisation and internationalisation. According to their (implicit or explicit) internationalisation strategies the universities might be classified (see Hahn, 2004a) as:

- “strategic players”(α1, α2, β and δ);
- “seeking internationalisation and excellence on a broad scale” (α1, α2 and δ);
- “internationally strategic niche player”(β), and
- “casuistic player” with an implicit laissez-fairestrategy with supportive benevolence from the central level (γ).

In all five cases, internationalisation is more or less explicitly linked to the formation of an institutional profile or at least to the profile-building of certain faculties or departments. Some institutions integrate internationalisation explicitly or implicitly into their mission or slogan. University β had, at a relative early stage in its history, explicitly linked its profile-building under the attributes of “innovative, interdisciplinary and international”. University α1 understands itself as a “gate to the world of science”. The motto of δ is: “At home in Bavaria, successful in the world”. In most cases, internationalisation was not a comprehensive policy from the outside, but internationalisation policies evolved from international cells within the higher education institution.

All universities surveyed took concrete steps to implement the Bologna Declaration. On the level of university leadership and senior management, the Bologna process seems to be more favourably viewed than on the faculty level.

The actual measures taken for internationalisation are in part outwardly oriented and in part inwardly oriented. The four major strands of the outwardly oriented activities are:

- efforts to increase in international visibility of German higher education (i.e. through information in English);
- international marketing of higher education;

- cooperation with partners (i.e. strategic partners, industry, research institutions);
- lobbying and aiming at influencing the policy makers.

A significant number of "internationals" both at the faculty and the central level of the higher education institutions are actively involved and contribute to the shaping of the political agenda of internationalisation and the policy of funding of internationalisation. Many persons interviewed participate actively in working groups, funding committees and events of the main corporative actors in internationalisation, e.g. the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), the German Rectors' Conference (HRK), the Alexander-von Humboldt-Foundation and in the German Science Foundation (DFG). Some regularly act as consultants for the Federal Ministry of Education and Research and other ministries as well as for development cooperation agencies. Some are involved in more or less informal advisory or expert groups and circles to exchange experiences. All interviewees engaged in these activities were quite satisfied with the outcome of their engagement. They consider themselves influential with respect to the character of support programmes. The DAAD, for example, was generally conceived as a "learning institution" with an open ear for universities, supporting internationally oriented initiatives at the universities, and it was viewed as a strong agent of the internationalisation of German higher education institutions, though critique was voiced as well about its growing political influence and about deficiencies of its funding policies (e.g. short-term funding).

Formulating strategies was not customary in German higher education. The growth of international activities was often viewed by the university leadership as a starting point for establishing explicit institutional strategies.

University $\alpha 1$ undertook major activities of evaluation and policy formulation. In this process, the internationalisation activities were evaluated in a specific procedure, and selective steps of reform were undertaken, e.g. the establishment of an International Centre for Graduate Studies, along efforts of eventually formulating a comprehensive internationalisation strategy. University $\alpha 2$ is also in the process of discussing its mission and of reformulating its internationalisation policy in the wake of substantial institutional reforms. Select strategies, e.g. the establishment of international programmes at post-graduate level as a contribution to research, have been implemented in the meantime. University β defined its mission with an internationalisation dimension early in the 1990s and elaborated an explicit internationalisation strategy around 2000. In 2003, an interim evaluation was undertaken of this strategy and the measures taken subsequently. First steps were taken to formulate contracts with respect to internationalisation activities between the president and the departments. University γ is still in the process of discussing how to approach a policy and strategy formulation. A special post has been created for conceptual work. University δ formulated an internationalisation

strategy in 1998 which was integrated subsequently into an institutional development plan. The internationalisation strategy, however, seems to be hardly known among academics and does not seem to play a significant role in the daily work.

All five universities changed the infrastructure serving internationalisation activities. The number of staff in international offices was increased. Some institutions established new posts linking conceptual and strategic activities with operational tasks. This notwithstanding, most interviewees considered the international offices as under-staffed.

A major reorganisation of offices was implemented at four of the five institutions surveyed (α1, α2, β and δ). Different units were put under the leadership of the international office, and their tasks were broadened. In University β, the language centre and the Studienkolleg (responsible for international students not possessing the equivalence of the German Higher Education Entrance Certificate) were merged. The student service units of the central administration took over responsibilities both for German and international students at three universities (α2, β and δ) in order to create synergies and freeing resources for a single central service point for all the students. University α1 has put under a single roof different administrative and academic units concerned with international affairs in a representative building, thereby transforming them partly into an entrepreneurial service unit. At four universities (α1, α2, γ and δ), new systems of coordination were established for services provided to international programmes. In some cases, the traditional name of Akademisches Auslandsamt was substituted with International Offices or similar terms in order to underscore a stronger emphasis on service.

Decentral provision of language courses was viewed as fragmented, and three universities (α1, α2 and β) took measures to bundle these courses for all students. Self-learning programmes were established at some universities to broaden the opportunities for enhancing language proficiency both in the foreign language as well as in the German language.

Some universities modified the academic calendar in select international programmes. University α2 introduced an “intensive” programme structure in their postgraduate programmes of life sciences, offering modules outside the regular lecture period, thus breaking-up the traditional semester structure, using time efficiently and cooperating with the independent Max-Planck Research Institutes. A packed academic calendar was also reported in different programmes of the International Centre for Graduate Studies and other masters programmes of the Universities α1 and β. Most universities offer various kinds of programmes for foreign students outside the regular lecture periods (Summer Schools, Prep Courses, Intensive Courses, Thematic Modules etc.).

Some universities decentralised the admission procedures with respect to foreign students, and others have taken first steps in this direction. This is

favoured in order to reflect conditions of the individual programmes and to increase the flexibility for programme-specific options. Moreover, this takes account of the fact that many international programmes have introduced specific regulations regarding the capacity of the programmes. In addition, some institutions (α1, β and γ) undertook steps towards outsourcing the formal check of the Higher Education Entrance Certificates of the international students and the check of the equivalences of international degree students.

At all five universities a need was identified to offer more services for foreign students than tended to be provided in the past for German students. Various measures were taken to enhance student services – and also services for international guest scholars or visitors. All universities established so-called orientation weeks for incoming students, comprising social and cultural services, usually centrally provided, as well as academic expert consultation. University δ provides bridging courses to enhance the incoming students' academic level, notably in the areas of science and engineering. University α2 created a new post at the international office to enhance and professionalise services for international delegations and guest scholars – a task that often is managed ad hoc and decentrally at German universities.

Several of the universities surveyed declared individual counselling, language courses, tutoring, social services (e.g. formalities with regard to residence permits, health insurance, opening of bank accounts, the procurement of accommodation) for foreign students as additional services that have to be paid for. University α1 sells service packages designed for foreign postgraduates and guest scholars. Some universities considered the introduction of admission fees to cover the costs for the formal check of the documents of international students applying at their institutions. In all cases, means are looked for to cover the costs incurred by international students in a system where students do not have to pay tuition fees.

All five universities have modified their internal system of funding international activities in recent years. In most cases, the proportion of funds earmarked for international activities was increased, and seed, incentive and matching funds were provided by the university to the individual units. University β introduced a system of seed funding open for application on the part of projects fitting into the new internationalisation strategy. All universities introduced a parameter-based funding of international activities, whereby the criteria vary (e.g. the number of international students enrolled, the number of international students enrolled in the standard period of study, and the number of international graduates). In some cases, funds are provided to match third party funding for international activities (for example through public-private partnerships, alumni networks, national agencies supporting international academic exchange). These funds might serve to employ programme coordinators or student tutors (serving in some cases as grants for international students taking over tutorial tasks). Universities α1 and γ, however, reported that they are striving for

sustainability of their international programmes and thus are trying to avoid a too strong dependency on external funding.

At all universities surveyed, concern was expressed that international activities often had to rely on resources lacking sustainability. Specific funding for staff and tutors often was made available for a few years and hardly could be taken over by the regular university budget thereafter.

The German universities surveyed differ substantially in the extent to which they systematize and professionalize their processes of reflection and decision-making with respect to international activities. For example, two universities (α1 and β) evaluated their international activities, and two universities (α2 and δ) hired external consultants before formulating and implementing their own internationalisation measures.

In general, the implementation of internationalisation policies seems to have proceeded faster the more the institutional leadership declared it as a top priority and became actively involved in the process. Internationalisation was driven forward at institutions that have assigned a Vice-President for internationalisation (α1, α2 and δ) or where the President or Rector is the person in charge for international relations and declared it as a major affair and profile element of the institution (β).

2.5 Effects on the four building blocks of the institutions

The internationalisation trend at German universities can be described in quantitative and qualitative terms. In quantitative terms, we note in all universities analysed an increase of:

- international students: at university δ, the number even tripled since 1996;
- outbound mobility: an increase between 40% and 87% from 1997 and 2002 (with the exception of a 8% decline of SOCRATES students at university β);
- international cooperative research and internationally funded research (mainly EU-funded);
- international programmes offered;
- Bachelors, Masters and PhD programmes offered (Bologna-implementation);
- partnerships (in particular within the SOCRATES programme);
- programmes and modules offered in the English language;
- persons involved in internationalisation activities;
- funding of international activities.

2.5.1 Social structure

Qualitative improvements in the wake of internationalisation in the sense of reforms and changes in the organisational and social structures are less clearly visible at first glance, but they are obvious in various respects. Cer-

tainly, increasing activities in networks can be viewed as a potential for qualitative improvement. At various universities analysed intra-institutional international networks evolved alongside the formal bodies. For example, university $\alpha 2$ has an informal network of coordinators of international programmes and representatives of the administration and service units that meet to exchange experiences and find solutions for common problems (i.e. German language courses for international graduates, and services for students). In the informal networks of the international practitioners, hierarchies do seem to play a lesser role than in formal bodies.

At all universities, we note an increasing number of academics strongly involved in international activities. The number of visible “internationals” or “cosmopolitans” is clearly on the rise: as a rule, involvement in international research cooperation is more likely to guarantee reputation than involvement in study and student-centred international activities. There is perhaps a hidden hierarchy headed by those that are successful in international research networks or prestigious mega-projects. On the hidden agenda of social roles, it is increasingly expected that the “international academic tourists who travel extensively” (quotation of one president) show a particular involvement in academic self-administration. Thus at various universities, the internationally most active academics are strongly represented in the academic self-administration activities.

At most universities surveyed, a trend towards professionalisation of the international activities is obvious in two respects. First, international cooperation is increasingly administered by permanent staff both at faculty and university level. This often was reinforced by the discontinuation of ERASMUS support for networks of departments in the late 1990s and its substitution by institutional contracts between partner universities. A side effect of the discontinuation of the ERASMUS network structure is a decline of the feeling of ownership by the former coordinators at faculty level with regard to ERASMUS exchanges. Second, the permanent staff members are increasingly characterized by high professional competence, and obviously seize a stronger power of coordination.

Altogether, the persons and the offices in charge administering international activities are highly appreciated at German universities. The general tenor with regard to the services of the international offices was positive, whereby a trend is seen towards professional quality, dynamic service and increasingly strategic thinking. Some interviewees at the faculty level but also on the level of the higher education leadership expressed great respect for the efficiency and expertise of the international officers.

Notably, faculty members surveyed perceived all central administrative units directly in charge of international activities or primarily in charge of matters of teaching and learning or of research as high expertise service-oriented units. In contrast, they often view the classic administration units (personnel, fi-

nances, organisation) as a hindrance in the internationalisation process (stating problems, not solving them), even though improvements in these sectors were noted as well.

2.5.2 Goals

An implicit goal of internationalisation is that of quality assurance. It is a conventional wisdom at German universities that international research cooperation often contributes to the quality of research. On the other hand, internationalisation and globalisation is often viewed as leading to growing instrumentalisation and commercialisation of research not necessarily contributing to quality enhancement.

With regards to teaching and learning, however, the views are even more ambivalent. A few interviewees expressed concern that a large proportion of foreign students in the classroom or integrated study programmes could lead to a decline in quality. Scepticism was widespread as far as the introduction of Bachelors programmes are concerned: some raise doubts whether students can be qualified appropriately in such a short period, and concern was voiced that the short study period reduces opportunities for temporary study and internships abroad. Moreover, a substantial proportion of the interviewees on faculty level and some representatives of the senior management criticized the establishment of an accreditation system for the newly established bachelors and masters programmes. They conceived it as over-bureaucratised, too costly and inefficient and raise doubts as far its contribution to quality is concerned.

However, there seems to be a quality shift, evident through the instruments of accreditation of new programmes, internal evaluation, the quality oriented changes in admission procedures of international students and the choice of cooperation partners.

2.5.3 Participants

The internationalisation of the universities also has impacted on the organisational settings and the participants. It was generally assumed that university leadership at German universities has paid increasing attention to matters of internationalisation. Several German universities created the function of a Vice-President for International Affairs or Internationalisation. Moreover, the presidents or vice-presidents in charge of internationalisation at four of the five universities surveyed nominated single persons or small teams for guiding and supervising the implementation of internationalisation strategies. These teams are comprised of representatives of the institutional leadership, central management, international offices and the academics. A new type of actor has been defined at some universities on a meso-level between the higher education leadership and the special units of the central administration. These newly created posts serve as strategic units led by directors

superimposed on enlarged international offices at operational level (university α1 and δ) and even larger administrative units (university α2). A clearer division between the more conceptual, strategic and coordinative tasks and the operational tasks seems to evolve. The creation of these new posts at a time when universities are forced to cut down on personnel can be interpreted as an upgrading of the issue of internationalisation and its strategic dimension. These posts are also an acknowledgement of internationalisation becoming a cross-cutting issue that needs more coordination than classical administration would need. Various departments of the universities surveyed have created a new position of internationalisation coordinators, often filled by a junior academic staff member.

2.5.4 Technology

The effects on the organisational building block "technology" (notably the universities core functions "teaching and research" as well as new activities) are diverse. The range of activities of the universities has become broader, but also more focused. The frame of reference of teaching and research and other new activities (e.g. further education) has been constantly widened to a European and global frame of reference. The guiding principles of the core activities of the universities surveyed have become more focused: quality assurance, (economic) relevance and enhancement of competitiveness.

As already noted above, many interviewees consider the implementation of a stage structure of programmes and degrees in the framework of the Bologna-process as such a contribution to internationalisation. Some consider the emergence of new programmes in cutting-edge science fields and in new professional, economically relevant fields as a response to globalisation. At several of the universities surveyed, programmes were established (in particular postgraduate programmes) that are taught completely or partially in the English language. Some interviewees raised concerns about the emerging Anglophonisation of teaching.

Finally, several interviewees considered a growing involvement of academics in information management, reporting, public relations, marketing and lobbying as caused by the general trends towards internationalisation.

2.6 Effects on the three institutional pillars

The most decisive effect of internationalisation on the regulative pillar is the introduction of the accreditation system for the new stage programmes and degrees. As already noted, a large number of the interviewees at German universities criticised the new accreditation system as costly, bureaucratic and binding human and financial resources at faculty and at central level.

Various changes of laws, regulations and procedures might be interpreted as measures to support the internationalisation of universities. With respect to

funding, for example, international parameters were introduced in all the universities surveyed. Incentives are provided to stimulate international activities. As already pointed out, several of the universities enhanced the role of internationalisation in the allocation of tasks of the leadership, and reorganised the various administrative and service tasks.

Contracts (Zielvereinbarungen) between the government and the universities or between the university and the departments as well as between the higher education leadership and units of the central administration put a strong emphasis on international activities.

Altogether, ambivalent perspectives on certain developments were noted at the German universities as far as the coordination of international activities is concerned. On the one hand, international activities increase opportunities for a broad range of autonomous activities which might be viewed by others as “wild flowers growing” and as undermining any general strategy of the university and the department as a whole and which obviously can neither be ignored nor be streamlined. On the other hand, there seemed to evolve an increasing dependency of the faculty on support-services at the central administration level and on the symbolic support from the higher education leadership to initiate or continue international activities. On the part of the university and department leadership, increasing efforts to channel and streamline internationalisation activities were noted. The frequent creation of semi-formal committees and working group reflects this tension between autarkic activities and coordination efforts.

In the normative pillar we see an implicit legitimisation of direct communication between the personnel charged with international activities and the higher education leadership. These direct and informal channels are used bottom-up but also top-down. The direct access to the presidential level sometimes also opens up direct access to special funding or to projects, which seems to strengthen the position of the “internationals” in the informal faculty hierarchy. Other normative changes are visible with regard to the general expectation that international activities and orientations of faculty members have become an implicit norm: academic reputation rests on increasing involvement in international research cooperation, organisation of student exchanges, publications in the English language, raising funds internationally etc.

With regard to the cultural-cognitive pillar of the institutions it can be stated that the most visible influence on internationalisation has been promoted by the unconventional, the visionaries, the courageous pioneers, the disobedient, even subversives, sometimes acting on the edge of legality or loyalty (with their faculties or university). Most of those actors interviewed had either an intercultural or an international dimension in their private or professional biography. In the processes of internationalisation, they tended to become more influential within their university because they are often viewed as better prepared for the new challenges.

Effects that are not visible at first glance can be identified in the institutional culture. Altogether, internationalisation seems to lead to an intensified intra-institutional cooperation and communication culture. As many issues became more complex in the process of internationalisation (i.e. the creation of new international programmes, the introduction of international doctoral schools), intensive communication is increasingly required, and new informal and formal communication channels emerge. This holds true for communication between various sectors of the administration, between the administration and the service units, between the centre of the university and the departments, across the departments, between the administration and the academics and between the universities and its partner institutions. Task-oriented cooperation across traditional regulations and organisational segments benefits from the facts that many persons involved in the process of internationalisation are highly committed to substantial reforms, are open to seeking new solutions and have experienced other cultures that are less strongly shaped by clear regulations and marked hierarchies. However, some interviewees miss transparent and clear decisions, whereas others still consider the informal communication culture as not having been generally accepted and matured.

In contrast to the strengthened cooperation and communication structure in the more formal “issue or target focused” channels and networks, there seems to be a hidden lack of communication culture on the more informal level. Some interviewees emphasized a lack of a Begegnungskultur in the behavioural structure: communications and brief meetings on an informal level rather than by appointment (e.g. in an international faculty club). This particularly helped make contacts with international guests at the faculty.

It seems as if hierarchy is becoming less important and expertise is playing an increasingly essential role. The relative loss of the significance of hierarchy might not only be mono-causally linked to the process of internationalisation but also to a slowly changing culture with the generation change in general that is taking place on a large scale at all German universities.

2.7 Factors fostering and impeding internationalisation

At German universities, internationalisation seems to be fostered by various exogenous factors and developments. There is a growing awareness in the public debate, and a national internationalisation policy (see Hahn, 2004b). The universities have been responsive to funding schemes for innovative international programmes, and shown a growing interest in recruiting students from other countries to study in Germany as well as acknowledging a growing relevance of international knowledge.

From the interviews with the experts of the universities it seems that internationalisation has been driven forward when the following conditions were met:

- international research cooperation on a broader scale: the more internationalised the research, the more internationalised the university;
- existence of a group of committed faculty members or influential individual visionary and courageous pioneers (sometimes acting subversively);
- existence of a group of faculty members with international experiences;
- a comprehensive or strategic approach to internationalisation by linking internationalisation to institutional mission, profiling and development;
- a supportive central internationalisation strategy guided by the higher education leadership;
- a professional international office with service orientation, internationalised administration and services;
- modified governance structures (internationalisation committees, a strategic coordinative and conceptually working unit, management by prior agreed objectives);
- reorganisations and mergers of units in charge with internationalisation; and
- a shortage of young researchers and a decline in student numbers.

The interviewees also stated a number of factors impeding internationalisation. The most often mentioned obstacles to internationalisation were seen with regard to funding and the legal frameworks. The general under-funding of higher education institutions and the lack of additional funds are seen as major obstacles e.g. the inadequate financial support for innovative internationally oriented programmes, for the implementation of the Bologna process and for grants for international students. The restrictive and inflexible legal framework was largely criticised with regard to the still lacking immigration law and the regulations concerning the residence and work permits of foreigners, the Civil Servants Law, the Budget Laws of the Länder, as well as the Higher Education Framework Act.

Other factors mentioned were the lack of internationalisation of the central administration, for instance the lack of flexibility to change personnel, the difficulties of implementing a “spirit of service” and developing the competencies needed (such as language competencies, international knowledge, intercultural competencies), and the general lack of an informal communication culture in Germany, notably with regard to international students and guest scholars.

Some interviewees reported inter-faculty conflicts, especially where parallel national and international programmes were established. Conflicts evolved when the international programmes were binding faculty resources (staff and finances) and a disadvantage of the core programmes was perceived. Concern about the present form of internationalisation was expressed with regard to the progressing anglophonisation of the study programmes and the increasing teaching in English. A loss of cultural identity and a loss of language diversity were perceived. Some interviewees criticized the incompati-

bility of the European Commission"s official dogma of cultural and language diversity and the actual anglophonisation and standardisation (Americanisation) that are taking place at the universities.

Another conflict that could be identified within the processes of internationalisation and Europeanisation within the institutions is the discrepancy between the expectations of the higher education leadership and the strategic units for internationalisation at central level. These tensions were related to the pace and breadth of the implementation of internationally oriented programmes, the implementation of the two-tier degree structure and the ability of the faculty to meet these demand with the limited personnel, financial and time resources.

Some interviewees (of different universities and disciplines, but all internationally experienced and renowned) stressed that the potential of "real" internationalisation was not sufficiently developed in Germany. They mentioned a strong presence of contra-productive dimensions, e.g. nationally oriented, defensive, even neo-imperialistic, exploitative elements, instead of exploitation of the undiscovered potentials of international interaction, the exchange of ideas and comparative thinking, intercultural communication, global understanding and the internationalisation of higher education as a win-win situation on a broad scale.

2.8 Concluding remarks

Internationalisation has become one of the top-five priorities at the German universities surveyed. According to the interviewees, it has not become the top issue, but rather a cross-cutting topic, playing a major role in the building of an institutional profile and the enhancement of quality.

In recent years, the concept of internationalisation has been broadened at the German universities surveyed. This concept seems to become increasingly supplemented by and mixed up with the concept of Europeanisation and globalisation. Besides the more traditional forms of internationalisation, namely cooperation and mobility, a number of new activities and reforms are implicitly or explicitly linked to the process of internationalisation.

With the widening of the concept of internationalisation, a shift towards a more strategic approach has emerged. Three different new strands of strategies were identified: internationalisation at home (integrating an international dimension into teaching, research and services), Europeanisation mainstreaming (implementing Bologna, streamlining the institution to the European Area of Higher Education and Research), and globalisation mainstreaming (fostering innovation and reform to make the university fit for the global market, and enhancing the national and global competitiveness).

According to the experts interviewed, the actors behind the concepts and strategies seem to differ within the institutions. While the classic form of inter-

nationalisation is still dominating at the level of the faculties, the Europeanisation and globalisation mainstreaming strategies seem to be mainly driven by the central level, notably the higher education leadership and key actors at the senior management level of the central administration.

The number of internationally oriented activities has increased and the scope of activities has been broadened at all the universities surveyed. Alongside these changes, the nature of some activities has also changed. With a broadened concept of internationalisation and a more strategic approach to it, an entrepreneurial orientation has emerged. The "old" internationalisation concept seems to be matched by elements representing a new Zeitgeist (Hahn, 2003) and indicating a gradual shift towards an economisation of the universities. The positioning of the university on the national and global market for higher education, the enhancement of attractiveness, the enhancement of quality, and most recently also the striving for excellence, were mentioned as central issues in a substantial number of interviews. The underlying perception for many new initiatives and reforms seems to be driven by a feeling of lagging behind in international comparisons and that German higher education institutions have to speed up, if they want to play "in the first league".

The interviewees pointed out that the Europeanisation mainstreaming (the implementation of the Bologna goals) has reached the faculty level on a broad scale, whereas a systematic integration of an international dimension into teaching and learning has not yet taken place everywhere. The highly internationalised programmes and units still remain islands within the institutions surveyed.

The interviews suggested that internationalisation proceeded faster when certain conditions were given: research-orientation of the institution (or faculty), high commitment of the university leadership and senior administrators, a central internationalisation strategy, the linking of internationalisation to the profile-building of the institution, a well-functioning support-structure, institutional reforms including changes in the governance structures and funding mechanisms, and last but not least highly committed faculty members with international experience.

Even though internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation mainstreaming are progressing at a different pace within the universities selected for the study, and despite of their different institutional profiles, there seems to be a striking similarity – at least in rhetoric – in what they perceive as challenges, strategies and measures they derive (or discuss) and the goals they are heading for.

In the majority of the interviews the economic dimension of internationalisation was explicitly emphasised. Besides the overarching economic dimension, the academic and knowledge dimensions (Teichler, 2004) still seem to

have a prominent position in the debate at institutional level. However, there seems to be a trend to neglect the social and (inter)cultural dimensions of the processes, also in a global perspective. The marginal roles these essential dimensions play in the debates were criticised by a minority of interviewees.

What seems to be missing in the internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation debate of German higher education on all levels is a dialogue on the underlying implicit and potentially rivalling concepts, policies and strategies and the effects of the recent developments on the institutional and academic culture.

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3. Academic, economic and developmental strategies – internationalisation of Norwegian higher education institutions

Nicoline Frølich and Bjørn Stensaker

3.1 Short introduction of the country

The Norwegian higher education system is mostly public and consists of four universities, 26 state colleges and a small number of specialised public higher education institutions. In addition, some private higher education institutions offer more specialised study programs, for example, within fields such as business administration. At present, around 175,000 students participate in higher education.

During the last decade, higher education in Norway has gone through several comprehensive reforms. This includes a merger within the college sector, a new law for higher education, new management and governance arrangements, and in 2002/03, the so-called Quality Reform which introduced a new degree structure (bachelor/master degrees), the ECTS and a new grading system (A-F), new commitments within quality assurance and evaluation, and a new incentive-based funding system (Gornitzka and Stensaker, 2004: 105-107).

Even if parts of this latest reform can be related to pressing domestic needs for change in structure and content of Norwegian higher education, the Quality Reform increasingly emphasised the importance of seeing the national higher education system in its international context. The Quality Reform can, therefore, also be said to represent the Norwegian political adjustment to the Bologna process. As a consequence, internationalisation has been put high up on the policy agenda in Norway, and is seen as a core instrument to maintain and improve the quality of higher education (Gornitzka and Stensaker, 2004). However, even if this is true in a political context, it is still an empirical question to what extent internationalisation has developed as an important issue at the institutional level in higher education and correspondingly, what the drivers of the development are. This chapter is an investigation into how internationalisation is perceived and expressed at the institutional level.

3.1.1 Selection and profile of institutional cases

The chapter builds on case studies of five higher education institutions (HEIs) in Norway:

- Institution α which is an old comprehensive research university located in a large city in Norway.

- Institution β which is a younger university in Norway.
- Institution γ which is a non-university (state college) located in a small town in a rural area.
- Institution δ which is a specialised non-university (state college) institution.
- Institution ε which is a specialised private higher education institution.

These HEIs vary considerably with respect to their size, age, mission (teaching – research, university – non-university), the range of disciplines (specialised – comprehensive), their geographic location (e.g. large city – remote/border location), and the nature of the organisation (public – private).

3.2 Introduction of the case studies

3.2.1 Institution α

Institution α has almost 20,000 students, dates back to the last century, and is a public comprehensive, research university in a large Norwegian city. The university has currently a staff of 2,500 employees. The university is organised into seven faculties: the Faculty of Arts, the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences, the Faculty of Social Sciences, the Faculty of Psychology, the Faculty of Law, the Faculty of Medicine and the Faculty of Dentistry.

α holds formalised bilateral collaborative agreements in research and education with institutions in Europe, USA and Asia. Their researchers have had collaboration with US colleagues for several decades, and in recent years cooperation through European research and education networks has become increasingly important. α participates in the EU's student exchange networks, such as the Socrates-ERASMUS and the Leonardo programmes. In Socrates an institutional contract has been signed with 210 educational institutions. About 200 students from α go on ERASMUS scholarships every year, while some 150 foreign students come to the university. Most students travel to the UK, Germany, France, Spain and Ireland.

In EU Framework Programmes for research and technological development, α was involved in 90 contracts in the Fourth Framework Programme, of which 24 were co-ordinated by researchers from this university. α researchers have for several decades had extensive collaboration with US partners, especially within medicine and natural sciences. Involvement with countries in Africa, Asia, The Middel East and Latin America on these continents is given high priority in the university's programme of international activities. The university offers students from developing countries MPhil/MSc level training with the possibility of continuing to doctoral level. The university has more than 30 programmes taught in English.

3.2.2 Institution β

β is located in a major city in Norway, and is a public comprehensive research university. β has almost 7,000 students and was founded after World

War II. The university has six faculties: fishery science, humanities, law, medicine, mathematics and science and social science.

In 2003, 51 Norwegian students from β went abroad on different institutional exchange programs, while 118 foreign students came to β on the same type of exchange programs: a total of 169 students. The university received more students than they sent out in these exchange programs.

β has, as the only Norwegian university, not established a separate budget for internationalisation (even though such budgets may exist within single departments).

The university has formalised cooperation with 35 other higher education institutions in the arctic/northern hemisphere (including Russia, Canada/USA [Alaska]), and one of the aims of this cooperation is to launch a special student exchange programme (North 2 North) in 2004, and later to expand the exchange agreements to include academic staff.

3.2.3 Institution γ

Institution γ is a comprehensive state college, and has about 3,000 students. γ and the former regional college both stem from the establishment of a number of new regional colleges in Norway in the 1970s (Kyvik 1999). In 2004 γ was organised into three faculties: the Faculty of Health and Social Work, the Faculty of Social Sciences, and the Faculty for Television and Media Studies. In addition, the college also comprise the Norwegian Film School that has status as a fourth faculty.

Internationalisation has not been particularly prioritised at γ in the past decade. In 2003, only 28 students went abroad on various exchange programmes, while the college only received 6 students from foreign countries. Other issues, for example related to the fact that the city γ is located in was the host of a huge international winter sport event in 1994, and that developing γ into a university in the aftermath of that event has dominated the agenda at the college. In the current strategic plan for the period from 2004 to 2007 the university ambitions still dominate the institutional agenda, and internationalisation is not mentioned among the main objectives of γ for this period.

3.2.4 Institution δ

Institution δ has over 8,000 students, and was the result of the merger of several smaller regional colleges in 1994. δ offers many vocational studies within the area of business administration, engineering, social work, nursing, and teacher training, and is located in a major city. δ is organised into seven faculties: Faculty of Nursing, Faculty of Engineering, Faculty of Health Sciences, Faculty of Business, Public Administration and Social Work, Faculty of Journalism, Library and Information Science, Faculty of Education, Faculty of Fine Art and Drama.

In 2001, 50 academic employees spent a period longer than one week abroad, and 9 visiting scholars came to the college. This is an increase from the year before. In 2003, 28 courses were offered in English at δ. The same year 164 students went abroad on various exchange programs, while the institution received 124 students, a total of 290 exchange students.

Strategic funding is reserved for internationalisation in the institutional budget. For 2002 this equalled about 900,000 NOK. This is reserved, amongst other things, for the further development of English language programmes and increased focus on student mobility. Additional funding was reserved for the establishment of the international office and work with the quality reform. This equalled 468,000 NOK.

The majority of mobile students travel to or from Europe, although Australia and the USA are increasingly popular destinations for the students. The students that travel for shorter periods, often in connection with specific projects, go to Africa, Asia and some to Eastern Europe and the Baltic states. The college had 11 incoming quota students in 2001.

3.2.5 Institution ε

Institution ε is an old private higher education institution (which specialises in religious studies) with a smaller number of students. ε is located in a large Norwegian city. ε offers undergraduate, graduate and doctoral studies within the field of theology, and has during the last decade also expanded into teacher training, and lifelong learning schemes in religious knowledge. The institution was privately funded until the 1970s when, after a parliamentary resolution, it was granted partial state support. The state support has gradually increased over the years and represents at present around two-thirds of the total budget. Students do not pay tuition fees. At present, the school has approximately 700 students, and an academic staff of 50 full and part-time employed.

3.3 Perceptions and views of internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation

In the Norwegian case it is difficult to distinguish sharply between perceptions of internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation. This may be a consequence of path-dependency, where both historical and current international and European developments are locked in and framed by the current national reform in Norwegian higher education. What we however observe are three different and also interrelated conceptions of the rules, norms and cognitions that constitute and justify internationalisation. Concerning regulative developments, both EU initiatives and the current national reform are considered important features. As to norms and cognitions, both the inherent international dimension of academic work and conceptions of global solidarity figure frequently in the actors understanding of internationa-

Table 3.1 Basic data on the Norwegian case studies

	α	β	γ	δ	ε
Size (student numbers)	16,773	6,182	2,352	9,664	703
Age (year of start)	1825	1968	1972	1994	1906
Disciplines	Comprehensive (humanities, arts, natural sciences, social sciences, engineering)	Comprehensive (humanities, arts, natural sciences, social sciences, engineering)	Rather specialised (health and social work, social sciences, television and media studies)	Number of disciplines (nursing, engineering, health, business and public administration and social work, journalism, library and information science, education, fine art and drama arts and humanities)	Specialised (theology)
Number of foreign (degree) students	3.5%	1.9%	0.03%	1.3%	1.8%
Number of incoming ERASMUS students	1.4%	0.9%	0.02%	0.08%	0.06%
Number of outgoing ERASMUS students	0.8%	0.6%	0.04%	0.05%	0.03%

Source: DBH (http://dbh.nsd.uib.no/dbhvev/student/student_meny.cfm), Spring 2003

lisation. Concerning path-dependency, we observe that the academic justification of internationalisation is referred to both as historically and presently important. Global solidarity is also considered an historical justification of commitment to internationalisation in Norwegian higher education. In addition, EU initiatives such as student exchange programmes and financing of research opportunities play an important role. Currently the national reform frames and foster internationalisation in Norway. It seems as though these different developments and justifications of internationalisation do not compete but actually strengthen each other.

3.3.1 Domestic reform – international agenda?

Internationalisation is an important dimension in the Quality Reform that currently is being implemented. Perhaps as a result of the current link between internationalisation and national reform in Norwegian higher education, internationalisation has been enveloped in a language and rationale of quality at the political level in Norway (see Gornitzka and Stensaker, 2004: 109), even if elements of the Quality Reform, for example the introduction of bachelor-master degrees, could be seen as an adjustment to the Bologna declaration and not as an instrument for quality improvement per se.

Thus, the close relation between issues related to internationalisation and the Quality Reform makes it difficult to differentiate sharply between global, European and domestic influences on the current policy in Norway. The case studies illustrate this problem with respect to how internationalisation is perceived at the institutions. Both initiatives stemming from the EU, such as student exchange programmes and research programmes, and current national reforms are considered important justifications for international activities at the Norwegian institutions. Concerning EU initiatives, a for example viewed the establishment of the European exchange programmes as an impediment to the increased exchange activity in the 1990s. δ emphasises that internationalisation means first and foremost student exchange within the EU programmes and through bilateral agreements.

Currently internationalisation is by the institutions and academic and administrative staff seen as a direct result of the national Quality Reform – as this is a mandatory reform that institutions have to implement. This reform represent the lens internationalisation is perceived through and thus determines many of the interpretations institutions make of this development. The Quality Reform is by all institutions perceived as the most important present driver for internationalisation of higher education in Norway. For example at α the understanding is that their current international activities should be understood with reference to implementation of the Quality Reform, by way of securing quality in the study programmes the students attend abroad. The data material also reveals major attention related to the benefits of attracting both students and foreign researchers to the university to foster internationalisation. At β, strategic plans and interviews disclosed that the institution perceived the recent white paper on higher education in Norway as the most important factor when explaining the increased interest for internationalisation at the university. Frequent references to this white paper and, not least, to the new financial model proposed in this document, are important indicators in this respect. Since the number of study points taken is linked to the level of funding to the university, one of the concerns highlighted is the danger that domestic students going abroad are not replaced by foreign students coming to β. Such a development could, for example, have strong negative consequences for the income of the university. At δ internationalisa-

tion as a major part of the Quality Reform is underlined. The informants' experiences are that national funding is more and more linked to international contact and activities. Furthermore, the importance of student mobility is underlined in the Quality Reform and national policy emphasises the need for collaboration agreements and contact with foreigners. Even if the informants at γ also agreed that the national reform represents the strongest external pressure for internationalisation, they also acknowledged that this reform should be seen in a wider perspective and as a part of an increasing "Europeanisation" of higher education. When asked about what factors informants experienced as the most important for internationalisation, the current Norwegian higher education reform is mentioned as the most significant. Several informants at the institutions argued that this reform first and foremost is an "internationalisation" reform, and has less to do with domestic issues. Among the elements mentioned as important in the reform are the modularisation of the study programmes, which makes it easier to fit in shorter student exchange schemes (3 months), and the changes into the bachelor/master system. The latter reform extends the first degree from the traditional two years to the current three years, and makes it easier to find time in the curriculum for shorter stays abroad/incoming students.

This way of framing results in less attention given to processes that are taking place outside the Quality Reform. For example, the ongoing GATS negotiations on higher education have not been perceived as important for the institutions. This might be due to a belief that GATS will have few consequences for Norwegian higher education. For example, with respect to competition from foreign providers of education that might establish themselves in Norway as a possible consequence of a GATS agreement, informants from a perceived that Norway was less vulnerable to competition from non-serious providers of education as the Norwegian system is too small and transparent (see Maassen and Uppstrøm 2004). Also at δ GATS is not perceived a major issue for the time being. It is noticeable that issues concerning commercialisation and trade in higher education are totally absent at ε.

Paradoxically, the interest for the Bologna process is also relatively modest among the interviewed even if the knowledge about the Bologna Declaration is high. The framing and cooptation of the Bologna process within a national policy agenda is again the most likely cause. Typically at the institutions, perceptions about the possible consequences of the Bologna process are rather standardised. At β, for example, many informants argued that the future harmonisation of degrees, the credit-transfer system and more standardised grading are most likely future effects.

3.3.2 The historical legacy

The view that internationalisation is a central part of the history in higher education is rather dominant in all the institutions studied. For example, α

has a long tradition of international activities profiled under the label “the most international university of Norway” (Larsen 1995: 68; Olsen 1999: 24). Moreover, α had a comparably early focus on the importance of attracting international scholars which can be reflected in the guest researcher programme that was established in 1977, aimed at inviting international scholars to the university. English language masters programmes were established in 1986, primarily for students from developing countries. Similar traditions of internationalisation can be found at the other institutions studied. The result is that internationalisation is perceived by the informants as an obligatory activity for any ambitious higher education institution. It is expected that higher education institutions have an international profile and international networks. For example, δ recognises that they operate in a multicultural society and a global economy. Their graduates enter a labour market that on all levels requires international qualifications. The informants underscored that knowledge dissemination is becoming more and more international; that the students want to go abroad and that the institution is obliged to be international due to the organisation’s size and national importance.

However, a noteworthy and distinct characteristic at all the institutions studied is that internationalisation means more than a Europeanisation of higher education. History and traditions may play a part in this belief as well. Several of the institutions studied, especially α, β and ε, have a long tradition for North – South cooperation where developing and giving aid to higher education institutions in the South has been perceived as an important task for Norwegian universities and colleges. For example, the aid dimension in internationalisation is at α a long tradition framed with reference to global solidarity. The profile of β , highlighting the democratic, socially responsible, developmental/aid orientation of the institution and its regional embeddedness, has also affected how internationalisation has been perceived. Also at δ the informants emphasised that quality development also involves global solidarity with less developed countries. They choose cooperation partners in these countries and work in establishing collaboration with the South. At ε, internationalisation is an issue which traditionally has been associated with being updated on disciplinary debates within the field of Lutheran theology, and bringing the Lutheran theology to other parts of the world, especially in developing countries. As part of this effort, ε has also tried to recruit students from developing countries to take on studies in theology in Norway.

Along this line of reasoning, several informants perceived that an increased commercialisation of higher education conflicts with higher education as a public good. Yet this fear is more related to the HEIs in the South than perceived as a threat for Norwegian higher educations. Hence, one may argue that there exists a strong, normative embedded, global solidarity in Norwegian higher education concerning the consequences for an increased trade or commodification of the sector internationally.

3.3.3 "Business as usual"?

The normative perception that internationalisation is an important and obligatory part of higher education is in our case studies often combined with a more cognitive-cultural perception concerning the manifestations of internationalisation. Data from several of the institutions gives the impression that international activity traditionally has been established and undertaken in close relation to ongoing research activities, joint research projects or in contact with the international research community in different disciplines. This tradition is still a strong point of reference when talking about how internationalisation comes about. This justification of internationalisation is however most dominant at α, which is an old research university. The reflection conveyed from α is that research collaboration has "always" been a part of the university's profile and activities. But also more specialised higher education institutions such as γ underline the quite strong institutional values related to publishing research results. The pressure towards internationalisation is very much intertwined with these ambitions. To publish research results in English in international journals is by many informants described as a norm it is difficult to ignore.

However, when giving examples of ongoing internationalisation activities, it is often student exchange and the ERASMUS programme that are mentioned and hence perceived as the dominant activities. This can again be related to the Quality Reform and to EU initiatives. Even if the new bachelor-master degree system, the new grading systems and adjustment to the ECTS are novelties as a result of this reform, Norwegian HEIs have a long tradition in participating in the ERASMUS exchange program, and several informants see the Quality Reform as a strengthening of this cooperation. In other words, when interpreting the Quality Reform, the institutions emphasise the established, and almost taken-for-granted, cooperation in student exchange prior to other internationalisation activities.

Since participation is the ERASMUS programmeis so common at Norwegian HEIs, another taken-for-granted assumption is that one has to engage in this activity since "everyone else is doing it". Even if participation in ERASMUS is a voluntary activity, there is a strong tendency at the institutions to perceive the institutional participation almost as mandatory.

3.3.4 Perceptions summarised

In general, it is rather difficult to distinguish sharply between whether internationalisation is perceived through regulative, normative or cognitive dimensions. In Norway, the recent Quality Reform is perceived as the most important current driver for internationalisation. Certain elements in this reform (such as the new degree structure, the introduction of the ECTS, the new grading system) may be related to the regulative dimension. The normative and cognitive justification of internationalisation mostly refers to the inherent

international dimension of academic work. The new elements in the reform can, in that sense, also be seen as strengthening existing international activities (such as ERASMUS), which are perceived to be an important aim of higher education.

In general, internationalisation is interpreted as a positive development and as a possibility (for example, α, γ and ε see internationalisation as a means to profile and market the institution domestically) for quality improvement and further development. The only negative (normative) perception of internationalisation is related to the consequences that trade and commodification may have on HEIs in developing countries.

3.4 The internationalisation activities of the higher education institutions

3.4.1 Agreements, degree structure and exchange

Paradoxically, the current Quality Reform may, at least temporarily, have hampered student exchange activities at the institutions studied. Probable causes are related to the implementation process such as where administrative and academic staff seem to have prioritised the development of new study programmes, new curricula and new forms of teaching and learning activities, and where they have not been able to give attention to issues such as establishing new exchange agreements with foreign institutions. For example, α has been experiencing a decline in the number of outgoing students within the ERASMUS programme. The number of outgoing students has decreased by about 40% over a five-year period. With respect to the ERASMUS programme, α has recently organised a project that evaluated the potential reasons why participation had decreased. The abolishment of the academic networks within the programme was seen as one reason. The academic employees' active involvement is seen as an important motivation for student participation in exchange programmes. When the ERASMUS programme was first established, academic networks played an important role. Currently the structure of the programme is mainly administrative. A potential de-coupling of academic staff from involvement in student exchange set-ups may, in other words, change the social structure of the internationalisation process. Even if one could argue that this process is caused by institutional decision-making, the overall shift from more ad-hoc and "grass-root" agreements to emphasising institutional exchange agreements, are by several informants said to have contributed to this side-effect.

Thus structural changes have organisational impacts. For example at δ, a strong perception is that the EU student mobility programmes drive internationalisation processes in the organisation. The informants reported much work and activities related to EU programmes. They have tried to position themselves in EU sixth framework programme by hiring administrative staff and by contacting the Norwegian Research Council. They have just hired a

specialist on the EU framework programmes to facilitate the processes of gaining EU funding. They are engaged in student mobility programmes and work on collaboration agreements within EU programmes. Efforts are taken to disseminate information about EU exchange possibilities. All these efforts can be understood with reference to their conceptualisation of student mobility as importing foreign quality standards. Thus the self-understanding is that EU programmes have great importance for their student mobility activities.

In addition, organisations with a lower level of engagement in the EU programmes have experienced changes in the social structure. For example, ε has had a modest level of activity in student mobility but has experienced other changes in the social structure due to internationalisation. Analysing the organisation of and responsibilities for internationalisation issues at ε during the last five years, one can detect a tendency towards formalisation, centralisation and professionalisation of the work. Ad hoc exchange agreements established by the individual study programme have been replaced by institutional exchange agreements negotiated at the institutional level. Even if the organisation does not have a separate office for internationalisation, which can be explained by its small size, there are an increasing number of people in the central administration with internationalisation as a particular responsibility. One can also detect a greater degree of formalisation related to the development of special plans and documents for internationalisation.

National regulations seem to influence international activities in the organisations: The most important regulative factor influencing the development at β seems to be the current reform of Norwegian higher education (the Quality Reform). With its emphasis on establishing a new study structure (making shorter stays more easy to fit into the study programs), and funding (providing economic incentives for increased student exchange, and by providing a negative incentive for institutions that are poor in attracting incoming students), the reform is a strong regulative force for increased internationalisation of β. δ recognises there are demands for increasing their efforts and quality in research and internationalisation, while emphasising the necessity of organisational autonomy. The informants reported that the Quality reform and the new mode of funding HE have affected OUCs work with collaboration agreements. Furthermore, the mode of funding is perceived as both impeding (by giving incentives not to send out students and then "loose" their credit points) and increasing (by attaching a small premium to each mobile student) student mobility (length of stay). At δ it is recognised that national funding schemes are linked to international partners and activities, which is driving δ to work for such relations and activities. Also at γ a noticeable driver is the current reform of Norwegian higher education, and in particular the changes in study structure (bachelor/master degree). Interviews with various informants suggest that the changes in study structure will stimulate increased exchanges of students in the future.

However, normative drivers of internationalisation, and not just regulations, are evident in the case material. Notably, these drivers are more internal than external: The strongest normative factor influencing the internationalisation of β is the profile of traditional academic specialisations at the university. Internationalisation has been interpreted by the institution as an instrument for reaching important institutional objectives related to democracy, developmental studies/social responsibility towards the developing world, and arctic research. As such it seems as though strong institutional values have determined how internationalisation should be operationalised. This justification for internationalisation – i.e. global solidarity and development aid – is evident also in other Norwegian institutions (Frølich work in progress (a)). The latest action plan at β concerning internationalisation at the university states that internationalisation, among other things:

- should maintain and stimulate the developmental/aid-orientation of the university;
- should stimulate a larger amount of students and staff coming from third-world countries;
- should stimulate intercultural learning for persons from very different cultural backgrounds;
- should establish agreements when it comes to student and staff exchange that stimulate/support the research profile of the university when it comes to research on the arctic area (biology, fisheries, sami people).

Concerning the regional dimension of internationalisation, the action plan is rather specific, pointing to the need to stimulate cooperation with a small number of identified universities in the western parts of Russia. The informants all agreed that the established identity and profile of the university has meant much to the particular manifestation of internationalisation in important documents at β.

The aid dimension is also intertwined with trade issues. α implements activities both concerning the trade dimension and the aid dimension. Concerning trade they actively negotiate collaboration agreements to obtain reasonable tuition fees at foreign universities. Since the 1980s actions have been undertaken to establish top positions in research areas relevant to cooperation with universities in the South. By searching for funding in development aid programs, efforts are taken to export competence and research to the South (Olsen, 1999: 14). The informants at δ recognise that the trade dimension attracts much attention and resources. Furthermore, other nations trading in student mobility make it necessary to search for collaboration partners internationally to secure the quality in the education students from abroad.

With its many references to the importance of internationalisation for maintaining quality and integrating Norway into the knowledge economy, the current white paper on higher education also provides many normative arguments that seem to have an impact on for example β. Such academic justifi-

cations of internationalisation are also evident at d. Here it was argued that the internationalisation of research is becoming more and more important. It was also reported that internationalisation is too important both in relation to δ renomé and to the development of the disciplines not to work on student mobility.

Other potential external drivers of internationalisation do not seem to have the same influence on the social structure. Concerning GATS, for instance, α is keeping itself informed about the process (Maassen and Uppstrøm, 2004). When informants at γ were asked about how they perceive the supranational forces often recognised as drivers of internationalisation (Bologna, GATS, commercialisation etc.), very few of the informants thought these forces have affected the college.

3.4.2 Ambitious goals and research collaboration

With its many references to the importance of internationalisation for maintaining quality and integrating Norway into the knowledge economy, the current white paper on higher education (KUF, 2001) provides many normative arguments that mirror the internationalisation activities in the institutions studied. The institutional goals and missions are an area in which this trend can be noticed. There is, for example, no informant within the institutions that sees the strong interconnectedness between internationalisation and quality as described in the white paper as non-existent or problematic. In this sense the political rhetoric promoting internationalisation in Norway matches the academic justification given by the higher education institutions. Hence, having ambitious goals concerning internationalisation is a typical tendency among the institutions studied. There are also, however, distinct profiles concerning goals and ambitions at the different institutions. α and δ come close to the national quality rhetoric, while internationalisation as a means for competition is evident at β. Ambitions differ also in levels and focus: γ is an example of ambitious goals, but mainly restricted to student mobility.

The academic justification of internationalisation is evident when the institutions explain their policy concerning internationalisation. For example α underlines that they integrate internationalisation into their main activities. Internationalisation is perceived as a natural part of research activities. For the time being, there are particular attempts to stimulate internationalisation at home by importing both students and researchers. International dimensions are also included in teaching and learning through courses taught in English and international study programmes. A special concern is to ensure the quality of study sojourns abroad. Actions have also been taken to ameliorate the current situation of the decline in the export of students. Study programmes have been designed to facilitate students going abroad during their Norwegian studies.

At β the institutionalisation of activities concerning internationalisation can be seen in relation to ambitions of the institutional leadership to promote and further develop the competitive advantages of the university, and to compensate for the geographical location of the university. Hence, in practice internationalisation has been especially emphasised in relation to arctic studies, in the studies of minorities and indigenous people, and in studies of the fisheries. One of the long-term objectives of the organisation is also to establish an international summer school before the end of 2006. When it comes to internationalisation activities in the student area, ambitions have been somewhat broader and included intentions of participating in general EU and Nordic student exchange programs such as ERASMUS and Nordplus. However, it still seems that student recruitment from various developing countries, and from universities in Eastern Europe and Russia have a prominent place. One of the objectives of the organisation is that half of the foreign students coming to β should come from a developing country. In concrete terms, β has as an objective to reach the level of at least 300 exchange students during 2004, and at least 600 exchange students in autumn 2006 (more than five times the current number).

The official quality rhetoric is quite present at δ, but in combination with goals of global solidarity. d's Aim of internationalisation is to increase quality in education and research. The strategic plan states that relevant education and good learning milieus are the main goals. Two areas have the most attention: the multicultural dimension and integrating ICT. δ is trying to integrate an international dimension in the study programs. They underscore that every student should have an opportunity to go abroad. They are aiming to further develop education programs with partners and increase collaboration with countries of the South. Quantitative objectives are found at department level on student mobility.

The action plan at γ suggests that every bachelor programme should have modules taught in English (at least 15 credits in the ECTS) by 2008 and that every bachelor programme should have 2-4 formal student exchange agreements by 2005. γ States that in 2006, five percent of the students enrolled in the bachelor programmes should have had a stay abroad (lasting three months or more). Furthermore γ should attain the European ECTS-label in 2004. The organisation is establishing a separate office for internationalisation in 2004 (the staff has already been allocated, and started to work). The action plan also states that internationalisation should be incorporated in the new budget model, and economic incentives for rewarding internationalisation should be developed. Concerning student exchanges, γ is strengthening the support apparatus for incoming students, while in research they are trying to stimulate research cooperation that includes short or long stays abroad for the academic staff, and are making arrangements that make it easier for foreign researchers to come to γ.

However, in the case studies, there are also examples of goals at the institutions that affect the fostering, but also the impeding of internationalisation. For example, at γ, the idea of becoming a university within the next 5-7 years is an important driver concerning the internationalisation of the college. Regarding how internationalisation traditionally has been perceived at the college, one could argue that the external pressure to internationalise traditionally had few internal links to make such efforts meaningful. It is only in recent years that the ambition to become a university has been interpreted as a potential way of giving internationalisation a direction in the college. Since the establishment of a university is a process that has been high on the institutional agenda the last couple of years, it can be expected that the institutional leadership might also have more interest in internationalisation in the future.

A new trend visible at several of the institutions is also the identification of the EU framework programmes on research as more important sources for future funding, and this is visualised through the establishment of new institutional goals. For example, at δ, the infor mants reported that they were undertaking much work and activities related to EU programmes (the sixth framework programme in particular). Also at the other institutions one can detect a tendency for EU research money to attract attention and increase internal networking and interaction as to how the institution should respond to this opportunity.

Several informants see the competition – cooperation dilemma emerging at their institutions. The dilemma is also identifiable in the institutional goals concerning internationalisation. The norm of international competition as a vital driver for quality is undoubtedly affecting the goals of the institutions. Hence, a typical goal of the case institutions is “to be a part of the international higher education arena to enhance internal quality”.

However, this does not mean an opening up for the market. On the contrary, informants reported that the tendency in their own and other Norwegian universities and colleges is to go into partnerships with foreign institutions as a way of both escaping the competition and ensuring academic quality. If this is a correct observation, the consequence is that internationalisation will take place, but in a limited and rather closed way. An example from α can illustrate this. The university expects to compete for students in a more focused way than before. They also recognise the competition from international distance education providers and commercial agents, and also expect to compete in an international arena for their students. Important instruments in this are the development of quality assurance measures and a focus on student satisfaction. The experience has been that α has not been able to match the service given to the students by commercial agents. The tuition fees charged at British institutions have also caused a decrease in exchange students, as this is where a large number of students would have preferred to go. To take up the

competition with the commercial higher education agents, the university is making improvements with respect to the information service provided to the students. The university also believes it has an advantage in the contacts between the teachers at α and the partner university, and the opportunity to tailor-make solutions to fit in the programmes the students are taking. The university might also be able to negotiate lower fees, and they can provide a safety net should the students not receive what they were promised. All these aspects are expected to increase in importance as a result of the Quality Reform, when the students will enter a loan system that punishes slower study progress (Maassen and Uppstrøm, 2004).

Concerning competition, an active recruitment policy for international students has not been a priority of d. To balance the number of incoming and outgoing students the college now wishes to focus on this. A strategy for recruitment is being developed. A stronger international profile is believed to play an important role also in the recruitment of Norwegian students and employees. The international office has the task of creating a market strategy for the recruitment of international students in cooperation with the Faculties. The informants have experienced more competition with universities for excellent researchers. To find ways to secure the quality of the courses and study programmes, the courses that students from the case institutions take abroad are a concern among the informants – and often mentioned as an important element to be aware of in documents concerning internationalisation.

Finally, analysis of formal institutional goals and data from our informants concerning internationalisation reveals that there is a strong conviction at our institutions that higher education should maintain to be a public good. A typical way of signalling this is to establish institutional goals that emphasise the need for development of higher education in developing countries, that the institutions prioritise North-South cooperation schemes, and that they want to attract more students from the South to their institution. The emphasis on higher education as a public good is also visualised by the fact that the institutions are not thinking about establishing for-profit arrangements for foreign students wanting to study in Norway.

3.4.3 Professionalisation and incentive schemes

In Norway, student exchange schemes are also changing as a result of the Quality Reform. While student exchange traditionally has been handled at the institute/department level, it has been strongly communicated as a part of the reform that student exchange should be more administered by the institutional level. This change, several informants report, has also meant that the responsibility for the practical contacts and networking in relation to the student exchange process have moved from being an academic responsibility into an administrative. Several informants have expressed worries that

this switch might hamper or impede the numbers of students going in and out, and have potential damaging effect on the quality of the stay student have abroad. Student entering the “wrong” programs and poor matching of student ambitions and plans with the “right” institution/programme abroad is seen as another potential consequence.

Funding is an important factor related to internationalisation activities at the five institutions. As a part of the Quality Reform a revision of the funding model of higher education in Norway is being implemented (Frølich work in progress (b)). This model seeks to reward three types of activities in higher education: research activities, grades passed/study point taken and student exchange. Funding is, in other words, used as a means to increase the number of participants (students) in internationalisation exchange schemes. The latter activity is directly rewarding the institution for each student sent abroad or received. However, the dilemma for many institutions is that the number of grades passed is also rewarded, and that having a net export of students can have a negative effect economically in that there are fewer students obtaining study points/grades.

3.4.4 Courses taught in English

The most obvious trend concerning the technology of internationalisation at the institutions is the increasing number of study programs offered in English. Again, this is a tendency that can be related to the Quality Reform and the need to develop and implement new study programs as a part of this reform. However, it has not been required from the legislators that study programs should be offered in English, and this result is perhaps the most visible shared conception among the institutions and informants. In this way it has been taken for granted that study programs in English is a necessary element when developing new study programs.

The latter development is interesting in a Nordic/Scandinavian context. In this region, student exchange schemes have a long tradition through the Nordplus cooperation. Courses and study programmes have not traditionally been offered in English as the Norwegians, Swedes and Danes have a good understanding of each other’s languages. Thus, with the new emphasis on developing English study programmes it seems that the importance of attracting Nordic students is downplayed or, at least, not prioritised.

3.4.5 Summing up

EU initiatives seem to have influenced international activities in Norwegian higher education to a great extent, both concerning student mobility and the financing of research. Currently the national Quality Reform can be seen as being both a carrier and a barrier to the internationalisation of Norwegian higher education. In its regulative and normative mode, the Quality Reform has an enormous impact in the focus on and belief in internationalisation.

The link between internationalisation and quality is strong among the informants and can be regarded as a factor that might further strengthen internationalisation in the future. Shared convictions that English is important when developing new study programs could pull institutions in the same direction.

However, the reform could, at least in the short term also mean a barrier to internationalisation. The work related to developing new bachelor-master degrees, and giving these a new content, the change from academic to administrative (and more systematic and institutional) student exchange agreements are elements that currently take attention away from internationalisation.

3.5 The consequences for the four building blocks

3.5.1 Social structure

A common feature among the case institutions is their way of responding organisationally to the challenges of internationalisation. Having an international office is the common denominator among the case institutions, and in some cases this has a long tradition. For example, the international office of α dates back to the 1960s (Olsen, 1999: 36). This office deals with issues relating to international programs for research and education, but has mainly been concerned with research. α also has an office for international students which overlap in some of the activities of the international office.

The other international offices at the case institutions are more recent establishments. The international office at β was established in 1993, but the university has had a foreign student advisor since 1986. δ has a fairly new international office, established in 2001. This office is intended both as a policy development unit, as well as a service institution for the faculties and students. The new interest in internationalisation that can be detected at γ has not so far resulted in any new organisational structures or entities. However, this college intends to establish a separate office for internationalisation in 2004 with responsibilities for the internationalisation of both study programs and research. The only institution that does not have a separate office for internationalisation is e. The small size of the institution might in this case be a plausible explanation.

The international offices differ in the tasks they are mandated. Not only are research and student exchanges weighted differently among the entities, but also policy and practice tasks are to varying degrees part of the workload.

Even if the institutions studied have international offices, the informants have different opinions about the importance these offices have in the internationalisation work at the institutions. For example, γ just recently has thought of establishing an international office, indicating a rather marginal organisational interest.

Along the same line, it may also be argued that the importance given to the international offices reflect the institutions' intentions of developing a proactive and systematic attention to international activities.

3.5.2 Goals

Even if the organisational structures of the case institutions are rather similar, the goals related to internationalisation differ considerably. α for example uses internationalisation as a way to market and profile the institution nationally, and internationalisation as a consequence is integrated into the overall strategy of the organisation. At β, internationalisation has several purposes, among them: internationalisation as expansion (the university wants to expand over existing national borders to the arctic region – see Stensaker, 2000); internationalisation for staff and student recruitment due to problems attracting Norwegian students from the southern parts of Norway; and internationalisation as a way to strengthen the comparative academic advantages of the university in the studies of minorities and indigenous people, and in studies of the fisheries (Dahl and Stensaker, 1999: 67). A third example is at δ where the aim of internationalisation is to increase quality in education and research.

With respect to areas of interest for going abroad the goals also discloses huge variations – from ambitions of linking up with English speaking countries such as Australia, the UK and USA, to Africa and Latin America, and further on to the Scandinavian and other European countries.

However, two interesting characteristics can be found when analysing the goals of the institutions with respect to internationalisation. First, Nordic cooperation, which has a long tradition in Norway, is perceived as a self-sustaining activity to a certain degree. Not much emphasis seems to be placed on promoting the Nordplus programme at the institutions (perhaps with the exception of β). Still, the participation at the institution in the Nordplus programme is rather consistent. Hence, although Nordic educational cooperation is not a priority, it is still a well-integrated activity. One reason of importance mentioned by several informants is the fact that Norway is not a member of the EU. Nordic cooperation is believed to create a voice for Norwegian interests. Cooperation is more specifically seen as important within fields where the Nordic countries operate in related ways, such as law, in small fields where the academic environments could benefit from a larger critical mass than the home institutions can provide, and within the natural sciences where expensive equipment might be shared. Nordic cooperation might also increase the international interest as well as the productiveness in fields where the Nordic region has special expertise, such as development aid and the export of the Scandinavian welfare model, peace research (an arena where Norway was thought to stand a bit alone) and food safety. A shared Scandinavian language, short travelling distances and related cultures were

all aspects that made cooperation easier (see also Maassen and Uppstrøm, 2004).

Second, a closer scrutiny of the goals of the case institutions does show a striking similarity in one area, and that is with respect to the aid dimension of internationalisation. At α and δ internationalisation is seen as a strategy to increase cooperation with the South. At β it is clearly stated that maintenance and further stimulation of the aid orientation of the university must be in the forefront, and that larger amounts of students and staff coming from developing countries should be encouraged.

3.5.3 Participants

In all the case studies, informants reported that it has been the academic staff who traditionally have been the drivers and organisers of international activities. This is still an important part of the picture at the institutions studied. For example, at β a substantial number of the academic staff are involved in research cooperation in fishery/marine science/geology. Very active international research cooperation can also be found in linguistics and several of the language studies. Similar examples can be listed in the other institutions.

There is nevertheless a strong tendency towards increased administrative professionalisation of all tasks related to internationalisation. As mentioned above, international offices are almost a standard feature at the institutions, and the staff in these offices is not only specialised but also increasingly standardising issues related to internationalisation. An emerging knowledge of administrative systems is reported as having become a key issue in the internationalisation work at the institutions. The emergence of special officers with particular responsibilities is also a part of this picture. Not least are the research-coordinators, concerned with the EU's research framework programmes, who also provide a visible role at the universities, and the experts in the ERASMUS programme, who are more common at the colleges.

3.5.4 Technology

In many ways it is in the technology area that internationalisation activities are creating the most visible effects at the institutions. In all institutions studied, there is a tendency to offer more study programmes taught in English, and to have web-pages and information brochures in English, and so on. Concerning the curriculum, it has been a long tradition in Norway to include books and articles in English in courses and programmes taught, and this trend is continued and strengthened. The same goes for research where a recent study has shown that 8 out of 10 scientific articles by Norwegian researchers are written in English (Schwach, 2004).

Even if Norwegian higher education institutions in general are very well equipped with respect to the information and communication technologies

(ICT) that also could be a means to realise increased internationalisation, Maassen and Stensaker (2003: 65) found in a recent study that ICT is not seen as very important for attracting and teaching international students by central decision-makers at Norwegian higher education institutions. In the institutions studied here, this picture is confirmed. Even if "Learning Management Systems" (LMS) such as Blackboard and Classfronter are increasingly being used at the institutions; even if e-mail and chat-groups are becoming more of a regular way of communicating and discussing academic matters; and even if Norway has a long tradition of being in the forefront of developing distance learning schemes due to the geographical characteristics of the country (Maassen and Stensaker, 2003), this has so far not affected the use of ICT with respect to internationalisation. A possible explanation for this lack of using ICT for promoting internationalisation can be given from one of the case institutions. γ is the only one with a considerable tradition and also a certain profile within distance education. For example, in the early 1990s, a pilot project involving several higher educations offered a short programme in gender studies (the Diotima-project) at this college. Informants at the college were quite negative about this experience. The workload was perceived as being very extensive, and the project demanded a substantial amount of resources (economic/staff members). In other words, the costs associated with the project were perceived as higher than the benefits. Informants at other case institutions seem to share the opinion that launching a comprehensive E-learning scheme for an international market is a very costly and resource-demanding process.

3.6 The feedback loop

3.6.1 External norms and regulations influencing social structure

It is a clear impression across the case studies that both EU initiatives and programmes and currently the Quality Reform have led to more staff interaction and a close cooperation across traditional structures concerning internationalisation issues. Apparently the strategy chosen at α with engagement of researchers in insuring quality of student programmes attended abroad and the linking of the internationalisation strategy to the overall strategy of the university are recent efforts undertaken to improve the organisational decision-making in internationalisation and the quality of the services. With the process of implementing the Quality Reform, decision-makers at α are looking into the aims and organisation of internationalisation, as well as allocating extra resources to a project aimed at improving internationalisation at the institutions, hopefully leading to more staff cooperation across traditional structures. The student counsellors in the Faculties also play an important role in student exchange activities. The university underlines the departments' responsibility in completing the infrastructure in relation to student exchange.

δ, through an increased participation in international research and development and international mobility programmes, believes that the educational programmes will be renewed and further developed. The interviews reveal the belief that by establishing an international office, internationalisation is fostered in the organisation. Furthermore, the decentralised organisation with international coordinators at department level is efficient in relation to collaboration agreements and the administration of mobile students. An increased effort in international cooperation and student and teacher mobility was one of the prioritised areas of δ in their strategy plan for 2001-2003. This is reflected in the strategy for internationalisation for 2002-2004. It was reported from δ that the board filters national policy and tries to respond in a proactive way. The interview data also indicated that there are different views on internationalisation in different departments, but that δ is working on building a coherent conceptualisation of it.

Until now, administrative responsibility for internationalisation has been decentralised to the faculties/departments at γ, and several of the informants claim that this solution has not stimulated internationalisation as an institutional activity. Ideas and experiences seem not to have travelled across organisational borders. The new interest for internationalisation can also be interpreted as representing a shift in the responsibility for this activity at the college. With little interest given to internationalisation by the institutional leadership, these issues have mostly been taken care of by entrepreneurs in the academic staff and through their personal contacts and as a result of their interest in the area.

Another tendency identified at all institutions except a is the centralisation of issues concerning internationalisation as a result of establishing international offices. These new structures push these issues further up in the organisation and involves the institutional leadership more than was the case when the responsibility for internationalisation was more decentralised at these institutions. While issues concerning internationalisation traditionally have been taken care of by entrepreneurs in the academic staff, through their personal contacts and as a result of their interest in the area, the involvement of the institutional leadership ideas and experiences are said to be more spread across departmental and faculty borders. The development of formal documents and routines concerning internationalisation are by many informants seen as a way to secure that internationalisation not will become an ad-hoc activity. The reason α is an “exception” to this is related to the fact that such centralisation for a long time has been an important characteristic of the university.

A problem reported by some informants is related to the integration of research activities and student exchange activities within the same internationalisation office. Here, some claim that due to the high level of activity with respect to student exchange, research activities have been suffering, receiv-

ing less attention. High intentions related to the integration of these two activities have, in other words, resulted in some practical difficulties.

Thus regulative and normative features seem to influence the social structure of the organisations. Regulations in terms of the current national reform and the EU and normative features both in terms of perceived increased competition and in terms of academic benefits of internationalisation. Especially interesting are the examples that internal academic drivers of internationalisation also push formalisation and centralisation of international activities and policies. Thus social structure is developed as a response both to changing environments and to internal interests and ambitions in having international relations. These processes are especially evident in the newer institutions, while the story told at α is the old one about how academic interests and contacts do drive these processes and how leadership now tries to strengthen the relations between this old internationalisation and the more formalised one to increase quality of the results they obtain (Frølich work in progress (b)).

3.6.2 Goals negotiated both externally and internally

National, institutional and individual goals related to internationalisation are in several of the case institutions not showing much coherence. While the Ministry of Education as a part of the Quality reform tries to stimulate study periods abroad for three months or more, preferably within formal exchange programmes, several of the institutions have developed new bachelor and master programs that have problems with such a period abroad. Study plans have been too rigid to allow for student mobility Some institutions, such as α, has claimed that intensive courses of one week or longer, internships and project work of shorter duration also should be seen as valuable international experience. At the individual level, the number of students at α going to Europe has stagnated whilst the number of students going to the USA and Australia has increased (see also Maassen and Uppstrøm, 2004).

However, that being said, it is no doubt that many informants see internationalisation as strongly driven by plans, organisation and structures. Combined with a stronger professionalisation of issues related to internationalisation, i.e. the more dominant role of the administrative staff in these issues, internationalisation are secured a place on top of the agenda at many institutions. An example can be given from γ where professionals developed an action plan related to internationalisation that went far beyond the intentions in the original strategic plan of the college.

An intention of the Quality Reform was to stimulate to increased competition among Norwegian higher education institutions. In some of the institutional plans analysed, this national competition also affects internationalisation issues at the institutions. For example, at δ it is believed that due to the competition to get national students it is important to make policies and plans for

developing international networks that can be used in advertisements for attracting national students.

The goals of the organisations may be analysed also as an interplay between external expectations in terms of shifting norms of competition and in terms of institutional autonomy in decision-making (i.e. the reference to plans, internal decisions and own strategies) (Frølich work in progress (a)).

3.6.3 Academic norms of merit

A weakness reported by several of the informants at all institutions is that while internationalisation is a part of the new and more incentive-based funding system of Norwegian higher education, an incentive system for the academic staff is still missing. While the individual researcher and professor can receive promotions, salary increases and merit for international commitment with respect to research, a merit system for academic involvement in teaching and learning is missing. Some informants claimed this is one reason why administrators are now taking over the student exchange schemes while academics are abandoning them. Consequently, academic norms of merit play a role in how the participants relate to issues of internationalisation.

To be able to attract international students to Norway, some informants also reported that their institution has become more innovative in arranging social happenings, stimulating a good student milieu and finding new modes of student – teacher interaction. Internationalisation and developing a good campus life are seen by several informants as two closely interrelated activities, with ε as perhaps the best example.

3.6.4 Changing landscapes influencing technology

Due to the increased competition between Norwegian higher education institutions as a result of the Quality Reform, universities and colleges in Norway have become more conscious of how they communicate information about themselves and their image. As a means to improve on these dimensions, new technologies have made an impact. Informants mentioned in particular new and improved web-pages for marketing purposes, information campaigns and marketing initiatives that often are developed both to English and native speaking students. It is believed that these measures do attract foreign students, and that they will have a positive impact concerning the number of incoming students.

3.7 Factors impeding/fostering internationalisation

Even if processes of Europeanisation, internationalisation and globalisation can be separated as (theoretical) concepts (Kehm, 2003), it is harder to distinguish between them when studying internationalisation in practice. In this study, the challenges of internationalisation, Europeanisation and globa-

lisation are most visible through the lenses of the Quality Reform which Norwegian higher education institutions currently are implementing. In this reform, and at the national political level, internationalisation is mainly addressed as a question of quality i.e. quality in the sense of international publishing of research results and quality in the sense of quality of education (increasingly international curricula and programmes by extended international relation in Norwegian higher education) (see also Gornitzka and Stensaker, 2004). This study shows that this political agenda is rather consistent with the institutional agendas in various higher education institutions in Norway.

However, internationalisation is also perceived at the institutional level as an inherent dimension of scholarship and is in this sense a long tradition and ambition that both universities and also university colleges try to fulfil. Furthermore, internationalisation is also perceived more idealistically at the institutional level, as a normative obligation that one should take part in the development of disciplinary knowledge, but also as an institutional tradition of giving aid to and stimulating higher education in developing countries. At the institutional level, internationalisation may as a consequence be understood as an interplay between three factors: The national (and European) reform agenda relating to the Bologna process, established research traditions emphasising internationalisation within different disciplinary contexts, and institutional traditions for North-South cooperation in higher education.

3.8 Conclusions

In Norway, the impact of the Quality Reform is at the five case institutions the most significant driver in the internationalisation process, and the lack of attention and orientation towards GATS-negotiations and the seemingly moderate interest in the aims of developing the European higher education area, are a strong signal of how important governmental regulations (the regulative pillar) are for focusing the institutional agenda. In the five case-institutions, internationalisation is not something that is “diffused” though more vague normative and cultural-cognitive processes, but is first and foremost a result of structural reforms (the new bachelor-master structure, ECTS, etc). That the Quality Reform at several of the institutions seemed to result in a decrease in the number of exchange students due to all the energy that had been channelled into developing and launching new study programmes can perhaps be regarded as a more temporary side-effect.

Still, and as with many reforms, the Quality Reform is also open to different interpretations and attracts the attention of actors with different agendas. In the five institutions studied, this has resulted in “reinterpretations” and “adjustments” of the reform to fit institutional needs. Hence, in the institutions there is evidence that internationalisation is used as a means to:

- profile the institution domestically;
- increase recruitment of (highly qualified) staff and students;

- stimulate and develop the research portfolio of the institutions; and
- develop partnerships that can protect the institutions from an increase in mostly domestic, but also international, competition.

However, one should be careful arguing that these reinterpretations are only responses to the reform. They are also to a certain extent initiatives undertaken in the institutions to reframe internationalisation along with the institution's tradition and history. Thus, there are many Norwegian faces of internationalisation.

Looking at how the five case institutions integrate and handle issues related to internationalisation, there are three common, and closely related, trends:

- Issues concerning internationalisation are becoming increasingly formalised in the institutions. Evidence related to this development is the emergence of separate plans for internationalisation, the establishment of separate offices for internationalisation etc.
- Issues of internationalisation are becoming increasingly centralised in the institution. While internationalisation in the past was often taken care of by (enthusiastic) individuals, there is at present, and partly as a direct consequence of the Quality Reform, a tendency to centralise decision-making and responsibility. A typical example is the abandoning of exchange agreements at the department/study programme level in favour of institutional agreements at the top level.
- Issues of internationalisation are being increasingly professionalised at the institutions. The autodidactic (i.e. the individual researcher) is replaced by skilled and trained specialists, both when it comes to research co-operation (to handle EU-research applications) and to student exchange (to set up proper institutional exchange agreements).

In sum these trends are strengthening the formal organisation associated with international activities in the institutions, and are a possible indication that internationalisation is on the institutional agenda to stay.

However, whether the integration of internationalisation in the formal organisation actually will contribute to "internationalising" the institutions is another issue. The downside of a more professional administration taking over tasks and responsibilities that used to belong to the academic staff is that academic networks may be weakened and eliminated, and that substantive knowledge, for example about the disciplinary and academic advantages and disadvantages of being an exchange student at a certain institution, may be lost. By establishing separate offices for internationalisation one also runs the risk that internationalisation issues can be de-coupled from other issues, for example relating to developing new study programs, innovative teaching and learning schemes, or establishing new research initiatives. The interesting issue is therefore to keep an open eye with respect to how internationalisation is integrated into the basic processes of teaching and learning in the future. At the five institutions studied, such a link is still not very visible.

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4. English university responses to globalisation, internationalisation and europeanisation

Gareth Williams and Jane Evans[1]

4.1 Background

Universities in the United Kingdom have long had an international focus (Williams and Coate, 2004: 114-115), but they have been particularly active in advancing the internationalisation of their teaching and research in recent years. The UK is the most popular destination for ERASMUS/SOCRATES students receiving about a quarter of the total. Between 1984 and 2000 there was an extensive increase in the numbers of EU students coming to the UK to study, although since then, however, the number of has declined by nearly 10 per cent. The increases in students from overseas were concentrated particularly in subjects of Business and Administrative Studies, and Engineering, which in 2001/02 accounted for one-third of all non-UK students. There have been major changes in the countries from which international students come. The number of students from China rose by 71 per cent (to 20,700) between 2000/01 and 2001/02 and from India the number rose by 55 per cent (to 7,600) over the same year. Other indications of the growing globalisation of United Kingdom higher education include successful bids for EU research funds: the total income from EU sources in 2001/2002 was £154.5mn (about €230mn) (HESA) UK universities have formed a large number of strategic alliances and consortia for research or teaching with international institutions.

There are four main reasons why UK universities and colleges have been particularly well placed to respond to the challenges of globalisation: academic independence; financial independence; financial stringency; the English language. These four factors them have enabled, encouraged and obliged British universities to respond quickly and effectively to the threats and opportunities presented by globalisation. The first two factors might be seen as normative institutional processes, with the third-financial stringency-being a disruptive exogenous factor. The regulation of English Universities by the State has traditionally been a case of steering at a distance. This provides the academic and financial independence but also leads universities to seek funding from other sources as a result of financial stringency. The importance of the English language relates to the cultural-cognitive pillar.

The academic independence of UK universities is long standing. They control the award of their own degrees and the forms of learning and assess-

1 The authors wish to express their gratitude to Dr Kelly Coate who did some of the early interviews and searched the web for information while undergoing the experience of being a new mother.

ment students undertake to obtain the award. However, there has been a good deal of convergence between the qualifications awarded by different universities. Their graduates compete in the same labour markets and they receive public funds according to broadly common criteria. At the margin, however, there can be substantial differences and universities are able to provide new programmes of study quickly if they perceive a potential demand for them. The flexibility in course provision permitted by this academic freedom enables English universities to offer courses on their own campuses and also in many other countries in direct competition with subsidised national systems (for evidence of the attractive power of flexible and diversified course structures see West et al, 2000).

Financial independence is another well-established attribute of UK universities even though for over half a century the greater part of their income has been provided from public funds. Financial autonomy has had both advantages and disadvantages for the universities. The economic security provided by government funding until the 1980s encouraged universities to neglect other sources of income. Universities in the UK are entitled to recruit students from the European Union or attract full fee students from other countries and it can be financially advantageous to do so. Until the early 1980s these freedoms to recruit students from outside the United Kingdom were exercised passively rather than actively. Certainly many students from other countries, particularly from the Commonwealth, wanted to study in the UK, and were admitted to universities or colleges if they met the, then rather stringent admission criteria of an elitist system, but no special efforts were made to recruit them.

In the early 1980s, however, a long period of severe financial stringency of public funding for higher education began, which has been only slightly alleviated in the past five years. In 1980 all direct public subsidies to universities in respect of students from outside the European Union ceased. This led quickly to the “emergence and development of an explicit market in higher education for international students” (Williams, 1992: 66). By the end of the 1980s British universities had become very adept at generating non-government income from the sale of teaching and research services. Income from international students and from research and consultancy contracts formed a substantial part of this supplementary income. Achieving the capacity to generate income on the open market meant painful structural and cultural change, (see Williams, 2004) but it put British higher education institutions in a strong position to compete when, in the 1990s, pressures for globalisation became very powerful. All these developments were immensely facilitated by the worldwide use of the English language as the dominant vehicle of global communication.

It is not, however, clear that the lessons learnt about the challenges of globalisation have had similar benefits with respect to broader issues of internatio-

nalisation or in developing the European role of higher education institutions. For example, institutional concern with financial viability may make it difficult for many academic staff to take part in international networks with researchers and teachers in other countries unless they are seen as leading directly to financial benefit through research or consultancy contracts or recruitment of fee paying students. There are similar inhibitions amongst UK students as regards study abroad. All European schemes for student exchanges have considerably fewer UK students wishing to study in other European countries than vice-versa (see Dimitropoulos, 2004). Language is a major cause of these imbalances; in the case study below several of our respondents blamed the poor and declining quality of language teaching in UK secondary schools.

4.2 The UK case study institutions

English higher education is based primarily in a unitary university sector created in 1992 by the Higher and Further Education Act which enabled all the polytechnics and many other colleges to be designated as universities. The English case study for the present report focussed, therefore, on the universities sector and is based on five university level institutions covering a wide range of higher education provision; three were designated as universities before 1992 and two in 1992. Considerable differences remain between these two categories of university. In particular many of the post-1992 universities see themselves as serving primarily a local and regional clientele and focus on teaching, while most pre-1992 universities claim to serve a national and international clientele and to be much more active in research. However, there is a growing overlap between the two and there are big differences between individual universities, some of which are reflected in their approaches to internationalisation and globalisation. The five universities were selected to show a wide range of university provision in England and included one that does not readily fit into either category, a very large distance learning university. An outline of the five institutions is set out in table 4.1.

University α is a long established member of a federal university. Internationalisation has long been a key component of its research and teaching. The university encourages students from all subject areas, and not just language students, to do part of their degree programmes in another country. α is a major research oriented university with a very high international reputation. It is much in demand from both a national and international student clientele. The university competes vigorously in international markets for students but “we do not compromise on quality”. The combination of a high standard of international applicants and the university’s own international high standing enables it to be highly selective in student recruitment. We were told that international applicants are slightly better qualified than UK applicants.

Table 4.1 Basic data on the UK case study universities

	α	β	γNorth	γSouth	ε
Student numbers	12,180	13,725	26,250	13,275	156,425
Foundation Year	1826	1961	1992	1992	1969
Disciplines	Comprehensive incl. Medicine	Comprehensive incl. Medicine	Ex-polytechnic Academic & vocational	Ex-polytechnic Academic & vocational	Comprehensive distance education
% degree students from abroad	22.7%	17.1%	8.7%	22.4%	9.0%[a]
incoming ERASMUS students as % of total students	2.04%	1.57%	N/A	1.07%	N/A
outgoing ERASMUS students as % of total students	1.71%	1.65%	negligible	negligible	N/A

a Students registered at the university living outside the university. In addition there is a large number of students associated with the university through partnership arrangements, and use of its course materials

Like similar universities in England the viability of much of its postgraduate work is heavily dependent on the recruitment of international students; 55 per cent of its postgraduate students are from outside the United Kingdom. The university has research links with other leading universities in several countries.

University β is a medium sized university in the South of England. It can be located well into the upper part of the range of English universities in terms of assessed research performance and demand for entry from international and national students. The university incorporated international and European activities as part of its core mission from its foundation in 1961. A school of European Studies and a School of English and American Studies were part of the university from the outset. Economic and Social Development Studies have always been a significant focus of both teaching and research. Its location near the South coast has resulted in close links with Europe over many years. It was one of the first UK universities to offer Junior Year Abroad (JYA) programmes to students from United States universities. The opportunity to study abroad has always been seen as one of its attractions to potential UK students.

However, the university has had to become more commercially minded recently and there is some feeling within the institution that it has been rather slow in taking part in the recent upsurge in international student recruitment. One of our respondents reported that it had “punched below its weight”, particularly in recruiting first-degree students from other countries. A senior

administrator felt that the university had approached international and European student recruitment in an opportunistic way. Nothing had been planned specifically to appeal to or market to international students. For example “the campus is not well prepared for the international summer schools, which are good money earners”, and work is planned to upgrade the facilities for such activities. “The university is well organised to deal with three year undergraduate programmes but anything “quirky” is harder to deal with”. As in many other universities, several postgraduate programmes depend on the recruitment of international students for their economic viability.

University γ North, an institution in Northern England became a university in 1992 having previously been a polytechnic run by the local authority. Its primary mission is to serve the local community but it has, in the past five years begun to expand its recruitment of students from both within and outside the EU very considerably. In this university the international agenda had two quite clear, well-focused aims. One was to generate income by actively recruiting full cost fee paying students from outside the European Union. The other was to make international contacts in order to improve the national visibility of the university. Although the institution has cultivated international networks since its creation as a polytechnic in the 1970s it is only in the last five years that recruitment of international students has been actively pursued. The university “aims for global excellence regionally”.

University γ South is another post-1992 institution. It is in the Greater London area and its dominant mission is to serve the local community. However, it has a tradition of international student recruitment linked partly to its location in a multi-ethnic community (over 60 per cent of its UK students can be described as “minority-ethnic” that is self described as “non-white”) but it too has begun a vigorous recruitment programme of international students, particularly from China, Malaysia and India, mainly for financial reasons. Its mission reflects a desire to have international recognition as well as serving the region.

Business Studies, Computing, Architecture and Culture and Media Studies were mentioned in particular as academic areas where the university was aiming to have high international visibility. However, as in γ North, its current international activities are mainly concerned with generating income through student recruitment.

University ε is the UK special case. It is a very large distance learning institution, which was created in the 1970s to provide second chance higher education opportunities for adults in the UK who had missed out on higher education after leaving school and who were unable to afford the cost or to fit their adult lives into the rigidity of conventional university courses. It has since developed a worldwide market based mainly on the expertise it has developed in distance education and is currently developing a comprehensive strategy for its global activities. A senior manager advised that its international operations are driven by a complex set of motives that include:

- income generation;
- being a world leader in distance education, which means a global presence;
- being in a competitive international market place;
- the promotion of social justice.

There are, at present, three principal ways in which the university engages with the international market:

- selling a licensed product involving course materials, tutoring and student assessment;
- selling a product on a one-off basis, for example multi-media course materials, with students making their own tuition arrangements; and
- partnership with academic institutions in other countries that are able to deliver programmes for or with the university in an evolving relationship.

Its position with regard to international students has always been very complex in comparison with other universities. Because nearly all its students are part time and are distance based, visa restrictions, as well as their own life patterns (full time work for example) make it difficult for many of them to come to the UK for even part of their courses. This has the effect of making it difficult to obtain figures for international students for this university (see table 4.1).

There is an expanding operation in developing countries that is in keeping with the university's social justice mission. This is particularly important in Sub-Saharan Africa where the university has, inter alia, a mission to help compensate for the loss of a cohort of teaching capacity through HIV/AIDS. We were told that "the Vice-chancellor is passionate about this area of activity ... this is a university with attitude ... it reflects a clear moral purpose". However the university cannot operate at a loss even in such an area. In Africa it is intending to operate in partnership with indigenous higher education institutions and keep student fees low. It negotiates for support from third party funders like DFID (UK Department for International Development), DfES (UK Education Ministry) and the World Bank.

4.3 Internationalisation

None of our respondents was able, unprompted to make a clear distinction between "Europeanisation", "internationalisation" and "globalisation" in the activities of their universities, though some tended to the view that internationalisation and Europeanisation were to be applauded while "globalisation" carried overtones that were hostile to the values of higher education. However, after further discussion and occasional prompting from the interviewers, most respondents found useful the idea that globalisation referred to a worldwide competition for student fees and research and consultancy contracts, while internationalisation referred to the more traditional higher educa-

tion activities of study abroad, student exchanges, academic networking and collaborative research. The distinction reflected the multiplicity of aims and tensions which respondents experienced in the daily life of their universities. However, the more common view was that although there was some tension between traditional international networking activities and competitive marketing in the "global" environment, they did not really get in the way of each other. In the light of this overlap in perceptions and practice, this and the following two sections address the regulative, normative and cognitive-cultural pillars of organisation insofar as they affect Internationalisation, Globalisation and Europeanisation respectively.

4.3.1 An example of the regulative pillar and internationalisation

Part of the state's mechanism for ensuring and maintaining high quality research. This is the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE), often considered to be the most powerful single driver of many universities' strategic plans. This requires all or a substantial part of the research of a university department to reach "international standards" in order to obtain scores of 4 or 5 or above. These high scores are necessary to receive significant research funding from the Higher Education Funding Council. International standards are to a large extent judged directly or indirectly, on the basis of the international standing of the journals in which academic staff publishes the results of their research. All universities aspire to have some subject areas that meet this criterion. However, the average scores of different universities vary very considerably. The number of departments scoring 4 or above in the five case study universities are shown in table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Number of departments scoring 4 or 5 or above in the 2001/02 RAE

University α	46
University β	29
University γ North	3
University γ South	3
University ε	16

These differences in RAE scores result in very large differences in the amount of funds the universities receive from public funds for research and they are also used by students and governments in several countries to assess the attractiveness of a university. Thus RAE scores are both an indicator of the international visibility of a university and an important influence on how its internationalisation develops. The relationship is not straightforward, however. The two case study universities in this study with relatively little research funding see the recruitment of international students as one of the areas in which they can increase income through their own efforts. They

also claim that, with less pressure from research, they are able to offer international students a particularly supportive learning environment. While the high RAE scores make Universities α and β very attractive, particularly to postgraduate students from other countries, their staff are also under pressure to devote their main efforts to the maintenance and improvement of their research scores because even larger amounts of money are at risk.

4.3.2 Internationalisation and the normative pillar

These differences are reflected in the reasons given for taking part in a range of international networking activities in the five institutions. In γ North and γ South international activity was seen to a large extent as one way of consolidating the institution's self image as a university. There was much talk of the university being "a gateway for the local community to a wider world". The director for international affairs in γ South commented that "We're a regional university with an international dimension, rather than an international university". This is an integral part of emerging regional development policies. In γ North examples were quoted of joint bids by the university and local councils for funding from various EU regional funds.

The international strategies of α by contrast were quite explicitly driven by the university's self image as one of the world's leading universities and the desire to consolidate that image. In the International Office we were told that "the main driver of all these activities and of much else is for α to be one of the top global players". International employability of its graduates helps to bolster this international visibility, which is one of the reasons why study abroad by its UK students is actively encouraged. This institution had by far the largest research income in total and from international sources of any of the case study institutions, though the percentage of its research income from outside the UK is below the UK average. However, it is important to note that this is the only case study university with a medical school and Medicine attracts by far the greatest research funds in the UK.

University β which has a considerably smaller total research income has a clear international and particularly European orientation. The percentage of its research income from the EU and from international sources generally, is well above the England average. This confirms the university's image of itself as an internationally oriented institution. Internationalisation, and in particular Europeanisation were, from the outset, part of the core mission of the university. This was conceived in the early years as being particularly appropriate for the University's ethos. Internationalisation was academically driven, not because international activities were seen as a source of supplementary income. It is generally accepted within the university that it benefited as an academic entity and that lives of the staff and UK students were enriched. However, some views were expressed that, possibly as a result of this, the university has been relatively slow in adapting to the more recent market

oriented culture that dominates the international relations of many UK universities today.

The distance university ε has travelled almost the opposite way. Having started as a "second chance" university for UK adult students, its success became so widely known in other countries that it was drawn into a whole range of relationships with higher education systems in other countries that wished to develop similar provision. The university was thus in a strong position when, in the 1980s and 1990s, the international networking activities of British universities were transformed into international marketing.

At α we were told that "we often collaborate with our competitors". In the opinion of a faculty tutor at the university, "collaboration and competition traditionally have gone together". Respondents in this university placed considerable emphasis on international networking by academic and other senior staff not linked to any clear economic advantage. Such activities were seen to be an integral part of the institution's perceptions of itself as one of the world's leading higher education institutions.

All the institutions included in the study had some desire to be seen as players on the world stage but it was noticeable how frequently conversations about academic collaborative and networking activities, veered towards issues of competitive advantage. As researchers we were struck by the way in which many respondents adopted a marketing mode of discourse even though we made it clear that we were researchers. There was also concern about the commercial sensitivity of some of the information.

A faculty leader in γ South took the view that "the competition versus collaboration tension does exist. ... Certainly we're actively seeking international partners. ...But ...Let's be quite frank, we want the money, we want international students: we want those partnerships in part because they will yield a little surplus...".

University α has a long-standing tradition of students taking part of their study abroad and has recently established a policy of encouraging all students to spend a part of their courses, and to obtain course credits, from study in another country. In the Engineering faculty about 10 per cent of students want to go abroad each year and about 6 per cent actually do go, though usually to English speaking countries. The academic demands on students going abroad are rigorous, so only the most able students are encouraged to take part in these exchange programmes. The university sees them as agents and ambassadors of the university, there to see how things are done and also "to make links with companies".

This institution claims to be the only one in the United Kingdom with a balance between the number of UK students taking part in European Union exchange programmes such as ERASMUS and the number of students coming to the university under these programmes. It is likely that this is due

in part to the social composition of the student body, which strongly reflects the "traditional" social class clientele of higher education. Universities which are widening participation in terms of student recruitment such as γ North and γ South, have more difficulty finding students willing to spend significant parts of their study abroad. "Our students put their main emphasis on getting a degree and getting a job as soon as possible".

A faculty leader in γ South said that there have been a number of arrangements for student exchanges but "none of our students has ever opted to do any part of their programme abroad". The problems were perceived to be "cost and language". β Also reported some reluctance by its students to study abroad except by language students.

Most respondents were able to provide examples of international considerations influencing some of their academic programmes. Broadly the examples given fell into three categories. Most frequently cited were examples of courses, usually at postgraduate level, that had been designed specifically to attract international students. Often these were linked to franchise arrangements with universities and colleges in other countries (see below) but there were also courses such as an education and international development MA in β designed primarily for an international clientele but proving to be attractive also to students from the UK in the "aid industry". β Also has an innovative International Doctor of Education that is specifically tailored to the needs of international education professionals. The Computing Department in γ South cited a distance-learning programme in Computing with registrations from 40 countries. α offers Bachelor's degrees on health in developing countries which can be intercalated into its medical qualification.

The second example of curriculum change in both γ North and γ South are changes in course structure to make them fit with ECTS arrangements and therefore attractive to students from other European countries. This was mentioned in the context of discussions of the Bologna process and the facilitation of credit transfer was one of the main reasons given for adherence to the Bologna qualifications framework (see below).

4.4 Globalisation

4.4.1 Globalisation and the regulative pillar

We treated "globalisation" in the context of the case study universities as any activities undertaken by the university primarily to generate income from outside the UK or to improve its internationally competitive academic standing. In practice this was nearly always taken to mean "selling" higher education to international students, though occasionally, especially in α and β, research contracts and consultancy work were also mentioned.

From the middle of 1990s most UK universities began to invest heavily in international student recruitment and the sale of their courses in other coun-

tries. This has been accompanied by a wide range of other commercial activities in which teaching services are sold to students in other countries whose numbers are not recorded in the national enrolment statistics.

It is, therefore, this commercial expansion of English higher education that is the main focus of this case study. The expansion can be linked in large part to national policy with respect to the funding of autonomous institutions. Financial stringency played its part as discussed above. In the early 1990s the policy of expanding UK student numbers through open ended formulae made the recruitment of UK and other EU students financially worthwhile even though the income per student was declining. In the early 1990s EU alongside UK student numbers expanded particularly rapidly. This ended when the government limited the number of students it was willing to fund. The universities turned instead to students from outside the EU whose numbers and fees were unconstrained by government, and compared with UK and EU students they generated attractive financial surpluses for the universities. The introduction of fees for home students reduced the attractiveness of UK universities to EU students after 1998, (Dimitropoulos, 2004: 111). However, the universities had by this time discovered that there was an almost unlimited demand for English language degrees in many countries, particularly the rapidly growing economies of Asia, and professional commercialised marketing of UK higher education began. All the universities made a distinction between EU and non-EU students because of the big differences in the fees paid.

4.4.2 EU students and the cognitive-cultural pillar

In this context we view most of the recruitment of students from other EU countries as part of the global activities of UK universities. For the host university EU students are attractive for two main reasons. One is to enrich the experiences of all students on the courses in which they take part. This was a specific driver for β in its early days as a new university with a strong European focus. The other and much more powerful driver at the beginning of the 21st century is to fill gaps left by weaknesses in UK student recruitment. Some departments are unable to fill their available places with UK students, and students from other countries of the European Union help them to meet their student number targets and in some cases to become economically viable. Science, Engineering and Technology were most frequently mentioned in this respect. There was some anticipation that students from countries that have recently joined the EU are likely to be particularly strong in such disciplines. Another gap is more qualitative. Some English universities are under pressure to ensure that the course completion rates of their students do not fall as they widen the social background range of their students. EU students have a good reputation of completing their courses in the minimum time period and are, therefore attractive for that reason. In the words of a very senior member of one university: “the EU students are often more able

students than traditional widening participation students. This helps to achieve the retention agenda". A somewhat similar remark was made in β where several departments are heavily dependent on research students from other European countries to remain academically viable. This is also an example of the effect of the cultural cognitive pillar on the social structure of the institutions.

About one-third of the EU students in English universities in 2001/02 were doing postgraduate work. In both α and β the majority of EU students were doing courses above first-degree level. About 60 per cent of these are doing taught, (usually Master's) courses, which are particularly attractive to students from other countries. The English Master's is relatively short by the standards of most other European countries (see section on Bologna below) and the majority have developed in recent years as intensively taught career related training and professional development programmes. In general the taught Master's degree has evolved as a qualification that can be seen as tangential to the principal academic hierarchy of qualifications that leads from BA to a research based Master's to a Doctorate. UK Master's degrees perform a wide variety of functions: they are a professional or pre-professional qualification; a means of converting a first degree to a more occupationally relevant subject (for example, Information Technology); a way for graduates to "brand" themselves with a degree from a university with more prestige than the one where they acquired their first degree; and also as an opportunity for professionals to add some intellectual and academic foundations to their vocational qualifications. The UK Master's degree can be seen as a rare example of success in bringing the academic and professional/vocational closer together in a system where career based qualifications are generally less valued than the academic. Such features are attractive not only to UK students.

4.4.3 Non-EU international students and the normative pillar

International students from countries outside the EU are liable to pay full cost fees and these make them very attractive to universities looking for cash sources. This aspect of the globalisation of universities' activities has influenced the normative values of universities in various ways.

Purchaser-provider transactions have become the most prominent feature of internationalisation in the universities studied for this report and, as has already been remarked, even when other aspects of internationalisation were being discussed the conversation frequently reverted to the issue of non-EU student recruitment. Increasing the numbers of full fee paying international students was included in the strategic objectives of all five institutions, though it was not usually one of the central academic aims of the institution. It came across as a one of the means of achieving other aims rather than as a central aim in itself. It has had positive effects on the way universi-

ties treat their students from overseas. If they are paying customers it is important that they are satisfied customers. Study skills courses and academic writing courses for students not used to the UK academic traditions are common.

The International Strategy for ε was described as having the following aims: "to break down the distinction between (home campus based) staff and international employees. In addition new forms of partnership are envisaged engaging both with partnership institutions and staff. ε plans a new form of academic community with more dispersal".

University α saw international work of all kinds as part of its aim of being one of the world's leading universities. The head of the international office was quite explicit that "the main driver of all these (international) activities and of much else is for α to be one of the top global players. For this reason international employability of its graduates is also considered important".

However, whatever their strategic aims, all the universities were actively involved in trying to increase their income from non-EU students and a wide variety of strategies and tactics were being adopted. This is their main goal and the strategies are discussed below in terms of two of the project's three building blocks: participants and organisational technology.

Participants and social structure

In all the universities there was active marketing of courses in other countries and this is taking many forms. However, recruitment of international students on to campus-based 3-4 year undergraduate programmes, one-year Master's programmes and 3-4 year doctoral programmes remains dominant. Apart from ε, distance learning packages, and teaching of programmes directly or indirectly in other countries can best be described as being in their pilot stages in the case study institutions.

Partnerships, or collaboration with universities and colleges in other countries is not entirely new but in its present form it is a development of the later 1990s. These are a form of marketing and form part of the normative activity of the universities, but they also contain a major cognitive cultural element. The basic idea is of some form of sharing of teaching and qualification awarding responsibilities. Early partnerships in the 1960s were largely with universities in the United States and students typically did the junior (i.e. 3rd) year of their 4-year degree programme in a UK university. These are sometimes linked to study abroad programmes by UK students but the balance is invariably towards far more international students coming to the UK than vice-versa. Amongst our case study universities β was one of the pioneers of such ventures and has maintained a programme in which 100 students are sent from β to North America each year but 250 come to the other way. Income generated over and above the one hundred exchange students helps

to cover the additional costs incurred by the students from β who study in the United States. β Is aware that "there is tough competition for North American business now" However, institutional links in which UK universities in effect "franchise" courses in other countries really took off in the later 1990s. Grade compatibility can be an issue for individual students, but with its long experience of such programmes β is aware of the nuances involved. Similar programmes operate at α.

The main focus of most partnerships with universities and colleges in other countries is now student recruitment in order to generate income. Three of the case study universities, γ North, γ South and ε had some such links. Of these ε the distance learning university is by far the most developed and differs in several ways from the other two which are fairly embryonic. In γ South for example, the "biggest groups are in Malaysia: where there is a programme with a local college on which there are in total over 1,000 students of whom about 600 are registered with γ South student cards. Students are heading for a γ South degree but they only become γ South students at levels 2 and 3. There are tailor made arrangements for sharing the fees. Each has to be negotiated and managed. The partners have to be vetted academically and financially. In this university the School of Computing and Technology has franchise programmes in Malaysia, a partnership with a Chinese university for Electrical Engineering. The Business School of the same university has two very good international partners and a range of others that are less good.

We discovered a few partnership courses with European Union countries. These were all at the postgraduate level where the issue of fees is not so delicate. One example at γ South is a Professional Doctorate in Family Therapy in Italy. Another also in γ South is a specialised MBA programme for a specific company in Germany.

University ε operates such activities in different ways and at a different order of magnitude. It has a commercial arm, which exists to market the university's teaching products and operates in more than 20 countries with a range of partnerships mainly with educational institutions. The biggest partnerships are with Singapore, Hong Kong, Russia and the Arab Open University, which is a big developing partnership. Some are for the award of the local institution and some for ε validated awards. Many of them are "based on Business School products". There are also licensing agreements, consultancy and capacity building projects to help institutions build business education capacity. This is being done with the Arab OU and the Civil Service College in Ethiopia, which wants to teach its students at a distance. The commercial arm of the university develops and manages the partnerships and makes sure that good relationships are maintained both institutionally and academically with those partners. The most appropriate kind of partnership arrangements in ε are considered to be those where the partners become accredited

institutions delivering validated programmes. In Singapore, for example, there is a long-term partnership that began with students being registered directly with ε and the partner in Singapore provided tutorial support. That has moved into being an accredited institution offering validated awards. This gives the institution in Singapore a lot more autonomy and is better for the students as programmes can be developed that are better suited to the local context. The validation officer at ε raised the issue of external examiners. It is a requirement of UK degrees that they are examined by and experienced academic from another institution. This is an issue for some European universities where examination tradition is quite different.

Technology

The situation in γ North is similar. Credit transfer type agreements with Chinese higher education institutions began about five years ago. There are partnerships and articulation agreements. In the former there are partner institutions which teach γ North courses with close monitoring by the university: in the latter there are agreements with certain institutions that their students can do the first 2-3 years of their programmes doing accredited courses in their home institutions and then one year on campus at γ North to obtain the UK degree. The university is confident that its Chinese students receive an educational experience equivalent to regular UK students at the university and there have been no problems in Chinese students fitting into undergraduate courses when they spend their final year in γ North.

Web pages play an important part in this and all the universities have high quality web pages designed to appeal to potential international students as much as UK students. γ North has a website specifically directed to students in China written in Chinese and English. The International Offices of all the case study institutions were engaged in intensive programmes of meticulously planned international visits to raise the visibility of the university in other countries. All were aware of what was happening in other countries active in international student recruitment, particularly Australia and the United States, and all were focussing on particular countries thought to be economically and academically ready to pay high fees for study in English speaking countries. China is absolutely dominant on this criterion at present. However, other countries in Eastern Asia, particularly Malaysia and Japan were also frequently mentioned. India whose economy is currently booming, though like China from a low level, is another country seen as a rapidly growing market.

4.5 Europeanisation

4.5.1 Europeanisation and the normative pillar

In general we detected little evidence of Europe being considered as anything other than a distinctive source of students and research funding. Euro-

pean issues were often seen as a relatively minor subset of more general international and global issues. Only in α is there a senior member of the university with exclusive European responsibilities reporting directly to the head of the Institution but in the words of this respondent: “there is no policy of being more European than anything else (international)”. This University also has a European Office with specific responsibility for European research projects.

The other universities all have a person with particular responsibilities for European affairs but at the middle management level of the International Office. Research was largely outside the scope of this study, but research in Europe and research collaboration with European universities and research establishments tends to be treated no differently from any other research management, even though the European Union is a bigger source of research funding than the whole of the rest of the world outside the UK.

Because UK and EU students pay the same fees, γ South was unable to distinguish between them. However, according to the pro-VC for academic affairs: “Europe is beginning to appear as an entity that the university has neglected in recruitment terms. A European recruitment Officer has recently been appointed. ...The Accession countries are seen as an opportunity. But it is essential that no venture results in financial losses”.

The head of the strategic planning office at γ North had views rather similar to those expressed at γ South. They said: “Generally EU issues do not impinge on γ North very much... There is an imbalance between the numbers coming in and going out”. This university did provide some examples of European links occurring as a result of its local regional development activities. Being in an area that is eligible for some European economic development grants the local regional development authority found it helpful to have links with the university to strengthen its bids for project funding.

Since its inception in the 1960s β has had a strong European focus. However, according to a Science Faculty leader: “It is a chronic problem for the institution that they have more inbound students under ERASMUS, than they have out bound. Because everyone wants to come here. Britain is heavily subsidising Europe through the free teaching provided to ERASMUS students. There is no selection and it costs β £0.5 million per year”.

4.5.2 Europeanisation and the regulative pillar

A widespread concern was that European ventures in both research and teaching are seen to be less financially viable than other activities of the universities. The bureaucratic nature of European research ventures was frequently mentioned. The desire of European funding agencies to ensure the collaboration of many countries in the research programmes it funds is seen as adding to the administrative burden on universities. A faculty tutor at β

claimed that research had to be “bent to fit the box”. And “you end up getting money because you fit the box and not because you’re doing good science”. The funding also “often doesn’t cover costs”. In the School of Education in the same university we heard that the experience of European funding was that it was bureaucratic, not well paid and sometimes politically complicated.

Complaints about inadequate funding of EU research projects were made by all who had been involved in them, whether as academics or as administrators. Some complained that the management of Framework 6 programmes is now devolved to consortia, which has increased the management overheads, and “made it difficult to coordinate a big programme”. However, all appeared to be keen to take part in Framework 6 programmes when opportunities arose. There was a perception that it was often the case that there was a difference between what was intended by the initiators of a European Programme and what actually took place.

4.5.3 Europeanisation and the cognitive cultural pillar

The most marked positive academic effect of European developments we encountered was in the teaching of Law at α. The European influence on changes to the laws of the UK has had a significant influence of the content of the courses and the impact of globalisation has stimulated more teaching and research from an international perspective. The Engineering faculty in this university also sees European links as one aspect of internationalisation more generally. As part of the faculty’s ongoing programme of curriculum development two joint Master’s are being developed: one in Electrical Engineering and one in computer science, with universities in Europe and in the US. However, they “don’t want just a European focus because most of the students come from the Far East and many want to work in the United States”.

In the personal view of our respondent in this faculty, research collaboration within Europe has increased but collaborations outside Europe have decreased significantly. There is much less collaboration with the US than there used to be 20 years ago”. He also remarked on the language barriers that ensured that more students came to London than Germany or France. This meant that European universities were competitors in respect to research funding while US universities were competitors for students.

In the view of the Director of the European Research Office at α “globalisation and Europeanisation are synonymous”. For her the key concern is adequate funding of overhead cost recovery. The university finds it difficult to make ends meet on European Research projects.

A major difficulty in the view of some of our respondents is the language barrier: English students (and academic staff) are notoriously incompetent at other languages and they prefer to visit other English speaking countries.

A dean of studies in γ South explained that: “this School is rather weak on European activities ...compared with many others that I know. Our links are naturally to African and Asian countries rather than to Europe”.

An aspect of Europeanisation that was seen by respondents as almost entirely as being regulative in nature was the Bologna Process However it is evident that the other pillars are also implicated in the process: this is the theme of the next section.

4.6 The Bologna process

4.6.1 Bologna and the regulative pillar

In the main the Bologna has not made much impact on the case study universities but where it has been noted it is seen as affecting the regulative pillar. A range of views was expressed indicating partly the position of the five universities and some of the faculties within them, and partly the involvement of particular individuals with respect to curriculum reform. Views ranged from γ North where Bologna “has not impinged on the university much as yet” to γ South where new courses were designed to fit European credit transfer. In this university the possibility of credit transfer with universities in Europe is at the heart of their interest in the issue. However, there was also concern about the Masters degree requirements. In the School of Computing and Technology we were told that it had already influenced the conversion Master’s in Computing because “Bologna does not really allow for conversion Master’s”.

The other case study university where a major interest in Bologna was expressed is α where the senior academic responsible for European affairs is one of two UK representatives on the EUA Bologna Promoters group. She has done much to stimulate interest within the institution.

4.6.2 Bologna and the cultural cognitive pillar

Bologna has had an impact on the cultural cognitive pillar in some faculties at α. In the Engineering faculty widespread curriculum change is under way. The changes are not only in response to Bologna: some staff believe that what is being taught is no longer adequate. However, “Bologna is a help; outside pressure for change is welcome”. This faculty leader had used the regulative aspects of the Bologna process to make what he saw as necessary cultural-cognitive changes in response to the globalisation of the employment opportunities for his students.

Curriculum change was also underway in the Chemistry department at β but more mixed feelings about the effects of the Bologna process were mentioned. In the course of a general discussion with senior members of this university, which has long experience of involvement in Europe it was remarked that, “Bologna has not been discussed in Senate, nor in the senior manage-

ment group, nor in the Vice Chancellor's group". The National Qualifications framework of the UK Quality Assurance Agency was felt to be a stronger influence than Bologna and some doubts were expressed about whether the QAA was as well informed about the implications of Bologna as it ought to be. It was observed that UK Professional bodies are "heading in a different direction from Bologna".

4.6.3 Bologna and the normative pillar

In the view of the Registrar at β: "UK higher education institutions have only taken Bologna semi-seriously. There is a perception that it doesn't really matter on the ground, it is just for "tidy minded bureaucrats". It is however now getting quite serious. In particular the status of the UK Master's degree is under discussion".

The main concern in this university and in others is that the 12-month Master's degree would be threatened and this would have a seriously damaging effect on its attractiveness to international students from Europe and elsewhere. They would be worried about a loss of competitive advantage. One year Master's sell well in the USA and the international market. It would have a fundamental effect on competition to move to two year Master's. The UK should respond to Bologna in a robust "Thatcherite" way.

In contrast in the view of the pro VC at γ South was that the level "M" problem has been resolved now – at least at formal governmental level. Bologna in reality is really about such issues as credit transfer.

The pro-VC of ε thought that his university "is probably taking the Bologna declaration more seriously than some other UK higher education institutions". The head of the university's validation service explained that ε has always had to take account of Bologna, and have always been very conscious of differences in higher education culture and practice across Europe. However we make it very clear to our partner institutions that what they are getting is a UK award.

In general the long established normative factor of academic autonomy in UK universities was very evident in the discussion of the Bologna processes. Most will adopt the qualifications framework proposed in these processes only when ignoring them begins to have an adverse effect the recruitment of students by the university or the employment of their graduates. For the moment validation by professional bodies and the need to have viable credit transfer arrangements are uppermost in the minds of those who are concerned with any reform of course structures.

4.7 Factors impeding or fostering internationalisation

English universities have made very rapid and very profound responses to globalisation in the past decade. Recruitment of international students is an

important strategic concern of all the case study universities and competition for international research and consultancy projects is also widespread. Both have been fostered by government rhetoric and small amounts of earmarked funding. The new developments are bringing about major management and cultural changes, which are not always achieved without tension. As is inevitable in research projects of this type that are relatively small scale and dependent on willing interviewees, most of the people we were able to meet were individuals with a professed interest in aspects of the institution's international work who were well aware of the opportunities and resources offered by government policy, so it is not surprising that when asked about impediments to the international work of the university, internal university obstacles were frequently mentioned. In general the obstacles mentioned were perceived to be of four types: government action or inaction; regulations, both in the UK and international; attitudes and management within the university; and students.

4.7.1 Government

Only two respondents, both in international offices mentioned visas for international students as a problem. In β mention was made of the inflexibility of UK visa officers in some foreign embassies and the Home Office (the UK Interior ministry): "the whole Immigration/Home Office one is probably the biggest impediment". One academic was slightly more sympathetic to the difficulty and made an allusion to issues around visas and "real" students. "There are those who will pay half the fees up front because it is cheaper than getting into this country in any other way".

What was thought to be a more serious problem in both α and β was the difficulties some students have when they need to extend their visas in order complete their programmes of study. According to the International Officer in β: "The recent policies that they've introduced of charging students to renew visas has gone down quite badly and not created a good impression at all with international students".

However such remarks were partly countered by the head of the Strategy Office in α , who commented that "visas etc are not a major problem but the university does take steps to facilitate things for students from partner institutions".

A different obstacle resulting from government action was made by a pro-Vice-Chancellor in γ South: "One barrier is that the government tends to promote UK HE in the light of a very small group of universities. The British Council is beginning to show some awareness of this problem. There is growing awareness that Universities like γ South may be able to offer international students some things (e.g. supportive environment) that is more difficult in the competitive atmosphere of highly prestigious universities".

Similar remarks were made in other universities though the blame was not always attributed to government. According to the head of the strategic planning office in γ North: “one possible problem is whether students have heard of (the city in which γ North is located). So promoting the region and the city is one of the tasks of the university”.

The International Office in α felt it was suffering from similar difficulties: “α is not as well known internationally as a major university in its own right as its academic excellence suggests it should be known. This is partly because its name makes it seem like a minor constituent college of the university”.

4.7.2 Regulation

Regulations, in particular quality regulations, were generally accepted as part of the context in which international activities had to take place rather than as obstacles. However, some were believed to introduce rigidities that were inhibiting to international work.

There were many expressions of concern about the amount of bureaucratic paperwork and the relatively low budgets allowed to cover the administrative costs associated with European Union projects. These have already been discussed. In addition, there were some expressions of concern that collaboration with some European higher education systems was inhibited because of their rigidities. In the International Office of γ North we were told that it is easier to collaborate with Japanese and American partners than many European universities which tend to be rather rigid in their course structures and in particular their “culture of non-fee-paying is a real obstacle”. The director of a Centre in α found that credit transfer arrangements with universities on the continent of Europe are proving to be impossible and some European students are taking time out to do a particular popular module but getting no credit for it in their home institutions. A similar comment by a faculty leader in β about credit recognition in Europe was largely confined to non-recognition of UK credits in Germany.

In general regulatory difficulties concern ε more than the others. This is almost certainly because of the much larger scale and rather more professionally commercial nature of their operation. The Pro-VC mentioned difficulties especially in South Africa and Southern Africa, but also some other countries, in that they respond to the forces of globalisation by stiffening the regulatory framework to prevent the operations of international providers. “There is particular suspicion of e-learning and distance education”.

The Validation Officer at the university also expressed some concerns about the differing quality regulation arrangements in various European countries but felt that these were being overcome. She felt that a constraint on their international work is that the “model relies heavily on institutions having a secure foundation in UK Quality Assurance”. She was recently in Brussels

comparing quality assurance requirements across national and institutional levels for distance education. There were some differences of emphasis but in terms of principles there was commonality. She believes that the issue will become less significant as time goes on.

4.7.3 University attitudes and management

When asked direct questions about obstacles many of our respondents claimed that colleagues could do more to promote international work. Sometimes this took the form of self-criticism. A faculty leader in β commented that "international collaborations take time and energy and we are all time poor". For the Head of the Business School in γ South "time and resources (staff especially) is one barrier to doing many things that the university and the school would like to do".

There were claims that inadequate resources are devoted to the promotion of international work. For example in β the International Office claimed the main internal impediment was: "resourcing. It's highly competitive now. In order to do it and do a professional job and have a diversification of markets to avoid, ... the Asian crisis and ... terrorism, and so on, you need to be quite broadly spread, but also focus on a few key markets. That requires quite a bit of investment, and obviously institutions are strapped for cash".

But more common were remarks about attitudes in the university and in English higher education generally. One respondent referred to "cultural awareness on our part... failure to take full advantage of opportunities". For a senior administrator in γ South such problems were rationalised as "other priorities of the university possibly ... international concerns might come lower in their list of priorities".

Such attitudes amongst those professionally involved in international issues in the university are often claims that such matters do not have as high priority in the minds of individual academic staff or in the strategic decisions of senior managers as international enthusiasts would like. However, they do also point to some tensions between professed strategies of increased international student recruitment, for example and providing the resources and cultural climate to do it. Such tensions may be particularly apparent in universities where research and consultancy are bigger generators of seemingly discretionary income than international students. However, in the major research oriented university α its desire to be perceived as one of the world's leading universities tended to align its international work in teaching with its research and scholarship.

The longstanding and very experienced head of the international office in γ South analysed the cultural change that were necessary in his university thus: "you move from a situation where ... those students were driven by the need to get something and we did the favours... Once we're out there in a

global market place we're trying to attract students who don't have to come to us at all ... We need a new response to these new kinds of students".

In α a senior academic referred to "insular attitudes" though not at α itself. "In the United Kingdom "there is a dreadful complacency and a "we do it better" attitude and people cannot be bothered". The international officer in γ North considered that "some of the obstacles are attitudinal and staff training can help overcome them – to help the local the regional and the international missions to come together. It's important to identify and exploit synergies".

4.7.4 Students

Many of the problems that were mentioned about students as an inhibiting factor were associated with the problem of language. It was considered to be the main reason why relatively few UK students study in non-English speaking countries and the need for students to have a high level of proficiency in English in order to be able to benefit from their studies in the United Kingdom was mentioned in several contexts. In the Computing and Technology Department of γ South it was felt that an inhibiting factor was "lack of [academic] English and study skills... This inhibits the number we can really take at any one time". Conversely, language was most often mentioned as a factor inhibiting study abroad by UK students. In the Business school at γ South:

"We have fewer exchanges with Europe than many other modern universities. This is partly because the γ South students are such a diverse group. And they don't have European languages".

In β as languages have declined in UK schools there has been a shift of interest in students from going to European countries to going to countries where they teach in English. However, we were also told in this university that there are lots of degrees with minors in languages, so "we encourage that across the subject spectrum, not just the students doing languages or European Studies".

In α also there have been significant attempts to build up the language skills of UK students so that they can take advantage of European offerings. For example science and engineering programmes have developed with a language element.

Other concerns were expressed about the effects of recruiting too many students from one particular country or cultural group. There has been a huge upsurge in the number of Chinese students in recent years and the result of some of the partnership arrangements with Chinese higher education institutions is that there are very large numbers of Chinese students in some classrooms. Concerns were expressed about whether students who came to this country to obtain a British university experience were, in these circumstances, really getting one.

4.8 Feedback loop

In the case of UK higher education institutions a clear distinction between Scott's institutional and organisational pillars was not always apparent. A great deal of blurring took place. This might be attributed to the fact that the values and ethos of the university tradition are not supposed to be about raising funding. However, the reality is that this is a necessary survival strategy for these institutions. Therefore the accounts given by our respondents often hedged around this issue, without ever really being able to disregard it, especially as we were asking about international students. In this sense it can be said that this one major goal of the institutions – the need to raise funds impacted evenly on all three of the pillars. So that the regulative pillar as evidenced by the need to adapt courses to meet the Bologna process was mediated by the realisation that the one-year Master's course is a big money spinner especially in respect to non-EU international students. The normative pillar was almost entirely coloured by the goal of fund raising, meaning that international offices were set up in the interests of maximising the recruitment of full fee paying international students. However, some views were also expressed that, insofar as financial circumstances allow it is the responsibility of universities in countries like the UK to support universities and students in the third world. The cultural-cognitive pillar was often still apparent in the ways in which courses had been adapted to internationalise curriculum content and the appreciation of the enrichment that a varied internationalised student body brought to the learning experience. In England, students as participants and language as a technological building block impact on the cultural cognitive pillar in two directions. Firstly, in terms of the demand for English from international students, but secondly the reluctance of home students to engage with the international experience due to lack of linguistic skills.

4.9 Conclusions

UK higher education policy during the past two decades has laid great stress on the generation of income from the global market for education and research. (Williams and Coate, 2004) Figures published by the Higher Education Statistics Agency suggest that in 2002/3 students from abroad injected about £2.8 billion (€4.1 billion) inclusive of all spending into the UK economy. By the middle of the 1990s it had become the explicit policy of government to stimulate this major component of international trade. Assisted by the British Council, UK universities have been powerfully influenced by financial and other pressures to make planned and well focussed strategic forays into the global market for students during the past decade and they have also been very active in the market for international research projects. The five case study institutions, which were selected to be indicative of a wide range of universities in England, are all operating effectively as economic enterprises in the international market for services. However, the international marketing strategies of the universities differed considerably in detail.

However, the cognitive-cultural pillar remains strong. Knowledge is international and has become even more so as a result of the spectacular growth of electronic communication and the speed of physical travel. In the case study institutions we found four main drivers of international academic activity: firstly, areas of study in which the content is universal such as physical sciences; secondly, areas of study which involve capabilities in an area of practice that is found mainly in other countries, in particular as foreign languages; thirdly, areas of study in which much of the subject matter is concerned with matters that concern the external relations of the country such as European Law or International Development; and lastly recent areas of study of study and professional practice that have developed recently in a global environment such as Business studies and Computing.

Traditionally much of the international activities of universities was driven by the first of these. Internationalisation in such subjects has little direct impact on undergraduate education but very considerable impact on doctoral and postdoctoral studies and in university research work. The very high numbers of staff from countries other than the UK in universities α and β are in part a result of their involvement with research and postgraduate work in such subjects. Some of the examples in our case study universities have shown, that some departments and laboratories in the natural sciences and in engineering and technology have become dependent on foreign postgraduate students for both their academic and economic survival.

Foreign languages and literature have for long been the most prominent constituent of international activity at the undergraduate level. The majority of UK students involved in ERASMUS exchanges have been language students and the numerous complaints we heard in the case study universities about the decline of foreign languages in secondary schools leading to a decline in interest in language study at universities may be associated in large part with the one-third decline in the number of UK ERASMUS students since 1995. We detected an almost apologetic note in university international offices about the reluctance of students recently to take part in ERASMUS exchanges. Two of our universities had introduced courses to improve the language skills of students of other subjects and they seem to have had some success in checking the decline of study abroad. However, the general decline in language learning has been much discussed in the UK and it seems likely to be irreversible so long as the worldwide usage of English as a preferred second language continues. Recent research for HEFCE found students themselves citing their lack of confidence with languages as a factor in impeding their mobility. Respondents to this research wished they had been taught languages better at school. This is an example of the cognitive cultural factors impacting on participants.

Many university courses deal with major world issues In addition, however, there is a growing number of courses with a more specific international con-

tent. Most striking in our small sample was the way the teaching of Law at α has changed to take account of the growing influence of European Law in the UK. We heard also of several courses that are concerned with economic and social development issues in developing countries. These seem to have started partly out of a sense of social ethics, such as the course in international medical health education at α, and courses in European Studies at β but also to provide basic skills that are useful for graduates who aspire to work for international organisations.

Quantitatively the most important recent developments have been in three relatively new vocationally relevant areas of higher education study – Business Studies, Engineering and Technology and Computer Science. Business Studies is by far the largest subject group in ERASMUS/SOCRATES exchanges. Since 1987 it has accounted for more than twice as many ERASMUS students since 1987 as any other subject except Languages, and it is the largest area of study of international students in the UK with about 20 per cent of the total. The second largest group are those doing Engineering and Technology, which account for 13 per cent of all foreign students but 25 per cent of all Engineering students in the UK. Computer Science has been growing fast. This was confirmed in the case study universities and provides evidence that part of the attractiveness of UK universities to foreign students is the flexibility and wide range of their course offerings.

There can be no doubt that the desire to generate income by financially vulnerable enterprises is the main driver of the explosive growth in international activities by UK universities since the early 1990s. The income generated by each non-EU student is considerably higher than universities can earn from UK or EU students. Evidence of active international marketing of their courses was observable in all five case study universities but in the two post 1992 universities it was particularly planned and targeted. These have relatively small amounts of disposable income from research or from UK postgraduate students so international students are particularly likely to be financially attractive customers. However, it should not be concluded that active international marketing is a feature of former polytechnics only. The distance learning university, ε has been very commercial in marketing its products for some years. University β which has always regarded itself an internationally oriented institution has in the last 2-3 years begun to undertake much more active marketing of its offerings. Nearly a quarter of the students at α are international.

Income was not the only reason claimed by the case study universities for recruiting international students and being involved in other international activities. Institution α wishes to be recognised as one of the world's leading universities and this involves ensuring that all its research is recognised as having international relevance at the cutting edge of knowledge, that it recruits staff as readily from other countries as from the United Kingdom,

that there is a good mix of students from a range of countries on all its courses and that as many UK students as possible take advantage of opportunities to study part of their courses in other countries. It was also conceded in this institution that some of the science and engineering activities were viable only because of the recruitment of international postgraduate students, both because of the income they bring and the contributions they make to research.

The other case study institution with somewhat similar global aspirations was ε though in this case the institution is quite explicitly distance education and widening participation led, rather than research led. The university received worldwide recognition as the first in its field three decades ago when its initial focus was entirely on the UK. However, it has now developed a very active worldwide commercial arm.

At the other end of the international range both γ North and γ South recognised themselves as primarily universities with a strong regional mission in England and the large majority of their students live close to the university. Both are very concerned that international recognition enhances their status as universities and are particularly concerned to bid for EU and other international research and consultancy projects whenever possible. Respondents in both these institutions conceded that some of their courses were viable only with the assistance of the international students they recruited and made the point that this enabled such courses to be available for UK students in their areas who were unable to travel further afield. Such universities may perhaps be viewed as institutions whose strategic aims are to consolidate their position as universities and to climb the national “league tables”. International success is one aspect of this.

We conclude with a word on the role of the English language. Its worldwide acceptance has certainly been one of the main facilitators of the international activities we have described. Failure to learn other languages is also, however, a factor limiting the academic and intellectual horizons of current generations of UK students and possibly staff as well.

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5. Institutional internationalisation strategies in a context of state inefficiency

Amélia Veiga, Maria João Rosa and Alberto Amaral

5.1 Introduction: The Portuguese policy context

The Portuguese higher education system is a binary system, with both universities and polytechnics, and it has both a public and a private sector. The system has experienced substantial instability. Since 1998 there have been six different Ministers in charge of higher education (HE) and to date no Minister has stayed long enough in office to adapt the legal framework to the Bologna Declaration, which requires an Act of Parliament.

In May 2004 the Parliament passed an Education Act defining the new Bologna-type degree structure. However, the Act is not consensual and all the political parties in opposition voted against it. The President of the Republic (July 2004) did not promulgate the Act that was returned to the Parliament. Meanwhile, the Government announced legislation to introduce an ECTS compatible credit system and the compulsory use of the Diploma Supplement, and appointed specialised task forces (for disciplines or groups of disciplines) to work on the implementation of the law. The Government expects that the task forces will come out with a definition of disciplinary competencies, minimum curricular contents and accreditation rules.

The system is in a state of flux, with a high degree of confusion and uncertainty that led to ad hoc changes of study programmes at organisational level without national coordination. Portuguese higher education institutions (HEIs), aware of international trends, grew tired of waiting for governmental regulation and decided to follow those trends with mixed success. On the one hand, public universities using their full pedagogic autonomy granted by the 1988 University Autonomy Act are free to change their study programmes and many have already introduced the ECTS system and are implementing the Diploma Supplement (e.g. Universidade do Minho). On the other hand, the other HEIs needed to submit their study programmes for Ministerial approval and had their proposals using the ECTS system rejected on the grounds of lack of appropriate legislation, which caused much frustration.

5.2 Introduction of the case studies

Six HEIs (identified as α, β, $\gamma 1$, $\gamma 2$, δ and ε) were selected to cover the Portuguese HE system's organisational diversity: public and private universities and polytechnics. Different faculties within these HEIs were identified to investigate whether the nature of the discipline has influence over the behaviour of the organisation and its members.

α is a public university founded in 1911. It has scientific, pedagogic, administrative, financial and disciplinary autonomy. In 2003 more than 27,000 students (3,500 of them postgraduates) attended the courses provided by the institution's fifteen schools. The institution offers over 60 graduate degree programmes, over 120 masters programmes, 100 doctoral degree programmes and many other specialisation programmes, supported by 2,200 academic staff and 1,600 non-academic staff. The objectives of the institution include "to be recognised as a national and international reference at the level of education, scientific research and cultural creation, and a privileged partner in the development of Portugal, Europe and the World".

β is a public university founded in 1973. It has scientific, pedagogic, administrative, financial and disciplinary autonomy. In 2003 more than 13,500 students (1,000 of them postgraduate students) attended the courses provided by the institution's schools and institutes. The institution offers over 40 graduate degree programmes, over 90 post-graduate programmes and many other specialisation programmes, supported by 1,500 academic staff. β is implementing a curricular reform based on the major/minor concept and in 2004/05 all its study programmes will be based on skills and competencies.

γ1 Is a polytechnic institute founded in 1987. It enrolls more than 10,000 students (2003) in its five schools, offering 40 graduate degree programmes, short first-cycle degrees (bachelor), and two-tier degrees equivalent to a university degree (licenciatura), corresponding to a first cycle (3 years) and an advanced second cycle (1 to 2 years). γ1 Is located in a dynamic and industrialised region contributing to its economic success, and is the preferred partner to professionally qualify the active population. In spite of the national trend of decreasing number of candidates to higher education, γ1 shows an inverse tendency and a very good rate of employment of its graduates. Its strategic plan proposes the establishment of more international partnerships to improve its limited international activities.

γ2 is a polytechnic institute founded in 1979. Its five schools enroll 5,700 students (2003) in 37 study programmes (awarding the degrees of bacharel and licenciado) covering the fields of education, agricultural sciences, computer sciences, health sciences and management and engineering. Of its 440 academic staff members (2002), 43 hold a PhD and 153 hold a Masters level degree. γ2 is located in the interior/north of Portugal, until recently a rather isolated region, with strong emigration either to foreign countries or to other Portuguese towns, namely those located in the littoral.

δ is a private institution founded in 1982, and integrated in the polytechnic sub-system. In 2003, about 1,000 students were enrolled in δ, which offers over 10 art-oriented study programmes, including one integrated degree (Architecture) and some binary degrees, corresponding to the two-tier polytechnic system. δ also offers PhD studies with the University of Valladolid, which awards the degree. δ is located in the north region.

Organisation ε is a private university founded in 1992, with a main campus in the South of Portugal and delegations in three other towns, which became autonomous when legislation forbidding multi-campus institutions was passed. In 2003 the institution enrolled about 3,000 students on its main campus, some 1,450 of them being undergraduate students. ε offers 11 graduate programmes, two masters programmes and 4 PhD courses. It also offers 22 postgraduate programmes (not conferring a degree but could be seen as part of lifelong education) in 5 areas: Architecture, Cinema, Engineering, Business Management and Law.

Table 5.1 Main characteristics of the six Portuguese HEIs (2003)

	α	β	γ1	γ2	δ	ε
Type of institution	Public University	Public University	Public University	Public University	Private University	Private University
Foundation year	1911	1973	1987	1979	1982	1992
Location	North, large town	South, large town	South-littoral middle size town	North-interior small town	North, large town	South, large town
Number of students	27,000	13,500	10,000	5,700	1,000	3,000
Disciplines	Comprehensive (natural sciences, social sciences, humanities, arts, fine arts, engineering, medicine & health)	Rather specialised (engineering, social sciences, medicine & health)	Rather specialised (engineering, social sciences, art and design)	Rather specialised (engineering, social sciences,	Specialised (fine arts and architecture)	Specialised (social sciences, cinema)
% of incoming mobility students	1.5%	2%	1%	1.2%	0.1%	n/a
% of outgoing mobility students	2%	2%	1%	0.5%	1%	n/a
% of foreign students	3%	5.2%	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

5.3 Perceptions and views of internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation

The actors of the six HEIs, although being in general aware of the importance of internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation for higher education, have unclear perceptions of its challenges in terms of the regulative, normative and cognitive-cultural elements of institutional change. The

actors lack a clear and precise meaning of those terms and sometimes use them interchangeably, with clear preference for the term “internationalisation” which pays unequivocal attention to Europe. Interviewees generally ignored accurate terminology or the analysis of their organisations in the national context, referring straightaway to their organisations’ degree of participation in international activities, namely those developed under EU programmes. The six organisations have a clear understanding of the importance of “internationalisation”, which explains their efforts to develop and to participate in international activities. The organisations perceive that the challenges of internationalisation can be seen as:

- A way to give students an education that is “less ethnocentric and more open to other cultures” (α – interview with a Vice-Rector);
- A way to position the university in a “communicant vessels’ network with international organisations” (β – interview with a Vice-Rector);
- An integral part of its development, related to its geographical position (ε);
- Offering opportunities for both the reinforcement of existing partnerships and the establishment of new activities ($\gamma 1$ and δ).

In α, β, $\gamma 1$ and $\gamma 2$ (especially in the first two), and at school level, internationalisation processes are essentially rooted in research links established between holders of foreign PhDs and the awarding organisation. In fact, the support given by the government to the training of a large number of postgraduate students in foreign countries in the 1960’s and 1970’s acted as a lever towards the internationalisation of the Portuguese HE system (Rosa et al., 2004). Those international research links helped later to promote the internationalisation of teaching through participation in the EU mobility programmes (especially the Socrates/ERASMUS). However, the weight of this internationalisation agent depends on the discipline, being more evident in engineering, sciences and human sciences, than in architecture, law or fine arts. For the two private organisations included in our study an opposite trend is observed: it was the participation in the European mobility programmes (teaching level) that is being used to establish international research projects and partnerships. As most private HEIs are mostly teaching-only organisations, their international links result mainly from teaching activities and are being used to promote embryonic research links.

5.3.1 The regulative pillar

The implementation of the Bologna Declaration and its consequences for the degree structure are a major concern of the Portuguese organisations. The “Bologna process has been the opportunity for heated debates and for the emergence of diverse proposals..” (Rosa et al., 2004: 158) but at the time of the interviews no political decisions have been made on the degree structure and the duration of the two first cycles. Without an adequate legal framework, or information, the organisation’s reactions diverge not only between them

but also within each organisation, according to the field of study: ".. what I feel is lack of information at national level about... orientations relative to the process. (...) in Portugal there are no concrete orientations regarding the structure of the study programmes" (Interview with a Dean of γ2).

As the Portuguese internationalisation process can be seen more as reaction than anticipation (Rosa et al., 2004), organisations feel the need for some national political direction fostering internationalisation. Without the new Education Act, Portuguese organisations went through a period of uncertainty: "... the new law will be published (...) but we still do not know very well how this new law will be. (...) The HEIs are dynamic, they prepare their things according to what is under discussion, that may well not be what it is going to be legislated. ...We only say one thing [to government] "please take a decision, so we can act!'" (Interview with γ2's Vice-President).

5.3.2 The normative pillar

One can identify only marginal changes in the norms and values of HE as consequences of the development of internationalisation/globalisation policies of the Portuguese HE system (in some organisations no change has yet occurred). These marginal changes took place in the context of a cooperation paradigm that corresponds to a vision of HE as a public good.

The changes identified were essentially caused by participation in European programmes. According to a Dean (γ2), European mobility programmes allowed professors and students to be aware of different ways of training engineers and managers, thus contributing to a certain degree of mentality change. Another Dean (γ2) claimed that the school has always worked on the assumption that if teachers and students know other realities, they will become more experienced and active persons, not only from the point of view of additional knowledge, but also by increasing their capacity for dialogue, by promoting citizenship and peace, and so on. For a Vice-President (γ2), the most important aspect of mobility was the gain of a "European citizenship, of a European culture". Others mentioned the possibility of having an external advisory board "that meets in the Faculty during a week to discuss with the academic staff and PhD candidates projects and ideas", which is certainly a manifestation of change.

Benchmarking to improve the quality of teaching and research was mentioned as a factor that might lead to changes in norms and values. But the danger of curricula harmonisation was referred to: "As there is no big difference among the different curricula its harmonisation is a tremendous mistake" (Interview with a Dean of β). This situation is somewhat more difficult for Sciences and Engineering than it is for instance for Architecture, Arts and Design. In the latter cases, being different and assuming a very specific or even local or national character can be an added value for international recognition. On the contrary, Science and Technology are more universal in

content, leaving less room to build a specific identity of the organisation: “what kind of engineers are we training? If the quality standard is the same why shall I go to another institution?” (Interview with a Dean of β).

The development of an accreditation system or the rise of managerialism under the excuse of reinforcing the organisation’s autonomy and efficiency were other international developments referred to as having influence on the change of norms and values.

5.3.3 The cognitive-cultural pillar

The cognitive-cultural element is a factor more open to Europeanisation and internationalisation challenges, since the structure of the Portuguese degrees will have to change in accordance with the Bologna Declaration. Curricular reforms are underway in most of the schools analysed, with special attention being paid to the reinforcement of the European dimension, by trying to adapt study programmes to the “supposed” Bologna structure. For example, the director of one of γ2’s schools is providing incentives for his academic staff to go abroad in order to gather ideas for the new types of courses being designed. In β the faculty of Law is running a project to offer a joint degree with Spain, which is expected to have a great impact on both the academic staff and the students. And in the faculty of Sciences and Technology ECTS was implemented by initiative of the school, as a tool for changing the learning process. And there is willingness to establish agreements for student exchange based on ECTS to avoid difficulties in comparing study plans.

In α each discipline has its own specific behaviour. In Law the curriculum design was based on the idea that the discipline has strong national specificities and the academic staff avoids postgraduate training abroad. But as this faculty is new, there are members favouring internationalisation against the characteristic isolation of more traditional law schools: “the idea of research is imposing internationalisation and the external evaluation is giving visibility to these questions” (Interview with Dean of faculty of Law) and “...at pedagogical level there are lots of opportunities for internationalisation because there are common roots to other legislative systems” (interview with student, faculty of Law). In Engineering there are exchanges of good practices and the curricula are compatible with others worldwide. The faculty of Architecture derives its international reputation from its unique teaching method. In Sciences the faculty is not prepared to attract international students because there is only a small range of disciplines that could be of interest (interview with academic staff member).

One of the activities that could contribute to the internationalisation of curricula is academic mobility. This activity is increasing in the institutions analysed, but it is still rather low and the time spent abroad is on average very short (usually one or two weeks). Thus the effects over the curricula reform are

reduced. In β the central administration promotes academic mobility by several means: establishing an agreement with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Institute of Camões to create a certification system of professors intending to teach Portuguese abroad as a second language; opening some positions to foreign academics proficient in the Portuguese language; recruiting foreign visiting professors for periods of between one semester and two years in the areas of Economics, Social and Human Sciences, and Sciences and Technology; and increasing the number of vacancies of postdoctoral positions funded by the Portuguese government and open to foreign researchers.

At the level of the programmatic contents there is increasing concern about what is happening in other countries and how other institutions are teaching: "Anyone of us can connect himself very quickly to any foreign university, knowing exactly what they are doing in terms of programmatic contents and what their students are learning compared to ours. And this is a concern that increases every day" (Interview with Vice-president of γ2). A coordinator of the ERASMUS programme (γ2) emphasised its relevant role in the comparison between different study programmes and teaching methodologies across countries and organisations.

5.4 Internationalisation activities of the HEIs

The Portuguese HEIs appear to perceive internationalisation as a set of activities with political and cultural rationales. This assumption is in tune with the Portuguese policy rationales identified by Rosa et al. (2004: 140): "in the Portuguese case, predominant rationales are basically the political, cultural and more recently the economic rationale". The international dimension is becoming more integrated in organisation and programme strategies, in spite of the constraints identified at political level.

As already mentioned, the actions taken by the Portuguese HEIs to respond to the challenges of internationalisation are rather reactive than pro-active, and strategies are mainly driven by participation in the EU programmes. Some organisations assume a pro-active rhetoric while other prestigious or well-known schools, in disciplines such as arts or fine arts, are explicitly in favour of a reactive behaviour. At the faculty of Architecture of α all the agreements established under the Socrates/ERASMUS programme were responses to invitations addressed to the faculty, which underlines a reactive and selective attitude: "We are available and have lots of proposals to study and we select the most interesting. It is not necessary to look for participation in international projects because there are always things happening" (Interview with the Dean). In the School of Fine Arts of γ1 a similar trend in favour of a reactive position might develop, as "The School is better known outside than at national level" (Interview with academic staff member, School of Fine Arts and Design).

In the following paragraphs information is given on the internationalisation activities of the six HEIs. The dominant international activities are student mobility for education, and participation in research and development projects funded by the EU for research.

In 2002/03 α had 780 foreign students enrolled and 359 Socrates/ERASMUS incoming mobility students. The faculties of Engineering, Arts, Sport Sciences and Physical Education and Psychology and Education Sciences are those attracting more foreign students. The number of foreign students at graduate and postgraduate level is low and rather stable. The number of incoming mobility students is increasing (205 incoming in 1998/99, 188 in 1999/00, 274 in 2000/01, 303 in 2001/02 and 359 in 2002/03). The number of outgoing mobility students is slightly higher than the number of incoming mobility students, which doesn't follow the national trend. The number of outgoing mobility students in 2003 was about 2% of the undergraduate student population (23,373). This trend increases the possibility of reaching the target of a 10% rate specified by the Socrates II decision, based on the assumption of an annual 2% increase over a 5 years period. At national level the number of outgoing Socrates/ERASMUS students (3,500) in 2002/03 represents 0.9 % of total enrolment.

During the period 1998/99 – 2002/03 the most attractive schools were Arts, Fine Arts, Engineering and Architecture – 69, 54, 52 and 48 incoming mobility students, respectively – and there is a stable distribution pattern over the disciplines. The 2002/03 National Agency final report states that Social Sciences, Business and Humanities and Arts "are over-represented in ERASMUS if compared with the general student population. Education, Sciences and Medical studies are underrepresented". Organisation ('s more mobile disciplines follow the European trend and there is a balance between Engineering and Architecture.

α has signed 85 agreements providing the framework to enroll students from the Portuguese Speaking Countries, and allow for a number of inter-university cooperation activities such as joint diplomas, European and international masters. 35 students were able to get training periods abroad under the Leonardo da Vinci programme. α's Foreign students (1998-2003) are mostly from Brazil (1020), Angola (638), Cape Verde (528), Mozambique (392) and Venezuela (213), i.e. from former Portuguese colonies and emigration countries. This follows the trend identified by Wächter et al. (1999: 25): "Following the independence of many former colonies, the period from the mid-60's to the end of 70's saw the emergence of considerable student flows from developing to industrialised countries". European mobility students come mostly from Spain (101), Italy (68), Germany (36), France (30) and United Kingdom (22), which corresponds to the national pattern.

The mobility of academic staff under the framework of Socrates/ERASMUS programme is very low. Only 188 members of the teaching staff were mobile

during the period 1998/99 to 2002/03, 57 of them in the 2002/03 academic year, which represents 11% of the total Portuguese teaching staff mobility in that academic year.

To measure the internationalisation of research, the data on the number of research projects submitted to the EU was used. In the period of 1999-2003 α submitted 8% of the Portuguese projects. This data is only indicative because other approved projects have been directly submitted by research institutes, not under the name of the organisation.

The number of foreign students at graduate and postgraduate level at β is low. In 2002/03, β had 702 foreign students enrolled and 323 Socrates/ ERASMUS incoming mobility students. The faculty of Social and Human Sciences received 730 foreign students during the period of 1998/99 – 2002/03 and the faculty of Sciences and Technology received 704. The total number of foreign students is increasing (376 in 1998/99, 373 in 1999/00, 393 in 2000/01, 418 in 2001/02 and 514 in 2002/03) as is the number of incoming mobility students (198 in 1998/99, 224 in 1999/00, 295 in 2000/01, 269 in 2001/02 and 323 in 2002/03).

The number of incoming students is slightly higher than the number of outgoing students, which follows the national trend. The number of students going abroad in 2003 was about 2% of the total student population of β (12,100), which increases the possibility of reaching the Socrates II target. The most attractive schools (2003) were the Faculties of Social and Human Sciences (201) and Economics (83). On average the Faculties of Science and Technology, Medical Sciences and Law receive about 12 students. The balance between the incoming and outgoing flows among the Faculties is notable. It is also possible to see a stable pattern of distribution across disciplines. As with α, β's more mobile disciplines follow the European trend.

β has signed 66 agreements (with the same objectives as those of α). The foreign students enrolled at β (1998-2003) are mostly from Angola (697), Cape Verde (659), and Brazil (245) – all former Portuguese colonies – and in very low numbers from France, an emigration country. Academic mobility through Socrates/ERASMUS is very low. Only 83 members of the academic staff were mobile during the period 1998/99 to 2002/2003. In the academic year 2002/2003, 15 teaching staff members of β were mobile, which represents 3% of the total Portuguese teaching staff mobility in that academic year.

In the period of 1999-2003 β submitted 6% of the Portuguese EU research projects. Like α this data is only indicative because there are other projects approved that have been directly submitted by research institutes.

The international profile of γ1 is characterised by participation in the EU mobility programmes and by the establishment of about 93 partnerships with European and non-European institutions (Brazil, Cape Verde, China and Mozambique). However, despite the large number of partnerships the degree of inter-

nationalisation is limited. For example the percentage of mobile students under the framework of EU education and training programmes is well below 1% of the number of enrolled students. Using student mobility criteria, the data on outgoing and incoming mobility students (1998-2004) shows that the School of Technology and Management (46 outgoing and 51 incoming), the School of Fine Arts and Design (40 outgoing and 44 incoming) and the School of Education (18 outgoing and 39 incoming) are the most international.

Students from $\gamma 1$ have a pattern of preference for the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy and Spain following the national pattern of preferences (Rosa et al., 2004). Mobility flows during the period of 1998/99 – 2002/03 show some balance between the Schools of Technology and Management, Fine Arts, Art and Design, and Education, both in the capacity to attract incoming students and in the promotion of outgoing mobility. There are different patterns among disciplines that show that those with stronger student mobility don't follow the European trend as Engineering only ranks third. The number of incoming students is consistently slightly higher than the number of outgoing students, which follows the national trend. The number of outgoing mobility in 2002/03 was about 0.16% of the total student population (10,000) of $\gamma 1$.

The international profile of $\gamma 2$ can be characterised by participation in the EU mobility programmes (namely the Socrates/ERASMUS and the Leonardo da Vinci), under which 58 partnerships have been established with European HEIs, especially Spanish (35% of the total). The percentage of participating students, despite its increase in the last four years, still doesn't reach 1% of the students enrolled. There are other international initiatives and activities, namely the participation in association with other institutions in a number of cooperation organisations working in former Portuguese colonies (PALOP's and East Timor for agriculture and Sao Tomé and Príncipe for education). These international activities are sporadic and the individual actions of $\gamma 2$'s professors or of its schools, rather than the result of a coordinated effort in favour of the internationalisation of the organisation as such.

The data on outgoing and incoming mobility students of $\gamma 2$ shows that their number has consistently increased since the expansion of the ERASMUS/ Socrates programme, initiated by the School of Education, to the whole organisation: 20 incoming and 12 outgoing in 2000/01; in 2001/02 50 incoming and 22 outgoing; 56 incoming and 24 outgoing in 2003/04; and 74 incoming and 33 outgoing in 2003/04. The number of incoming mobility students is considerably higher than the number of outgoing mobility students. Mobility students come predominantly from Spain (38 out of 74), while the outgoing students choose Spain (6 out of 33 in 2003/2004), and countries such as Hungary (8 in 2003/04) and the Czech Republic (7 in 2003/04). The number of outgoing EU mobility students in 2002/03 was about 0.4% of the total student population (5,734). Using the criteria of student mobility, the School of Education is the most internationalised of $\gamma 2$'s schools. The increase in the

number of mobile students – both incoming and outgoing – in the School of Technology and Management is quite impressive: two incoming and one outgoing in 2000/01, 21 incoming and three outgoing in 2001/02, 21 incoming and three outgoing in 2002/03 and 23 incoming and ten outgoing in 2003/04. Under the framework of the Leonardo da Vinci programme, γ2 has developed a protocol for student scholarships. Nevertheless this is a programme with a minimal dimension (only ten students in 2002/03 and 2003/04).

δ's international profile can be characterised by the participation in the EU education and training programmes and by the establishment of partnerships with European and Latin America institutions. Three years ago δ started an integrated study programme in architecture with the University of Valladolid, and another one is being established for fine arts. A number of awards received by students and academic staff members from δ shows that it is recognised internationally and a number of extra-curricular activities have been organised. During the period of 1998/99 – 2002/03 the percentage of outgoing students under the framework of EU mobility programmes remained under 1% of the students enrolled in the academic year of 2002/03. In the academic year 2003/04 it is foreseen that the number of outgoing students will increase to ten students.

The international profile of ε is constrained by severe legal and financial problems inherited from the previous administration. Those include outstanding debts to the public revenue and social security as well as the public impact of the trial of its former top management. ε has reached a payment agreement to settle all the outstanding debts in several years but it cannot receive any public or EU funds until the debts are completely offset. Therefore ε has not been able to participate in programmes funded by the EU or other entities, and this includes funds for mobility programmes. Activities are limited to individual actions in Architecture, and very marginally in Cinema, which ε is able to finance using its own resources. The co-ordinator of the course in Architecture reported that since 1995 ε had 162 outgoing mobility students, 82 incoming students, 14 outgoing academic staff and ten incoming academic staff. The most represented countries are Spain, Italy and Germany. In the area of cinema there are some exchanges for professional training periods with Bulgaria and Russia.

5.5. Consequences for the four building blocks of the organisations

The next section examines the responses of organisations to external challenges and the changes of their internationalisation policies, with reference to changes in the organisational building blocks.

5.5.1 The social structure

Internationalisation has the commitment of organisational leaders and the active involvement of academic and non-academic staff. However, although

recognised in institutional mission statements and in planning and policy documents, internationalisation is not assumed to be a key development factor by all the six HEIs. One interviewee from γ1 regrets that internationalisation has only a marginal role due to barriers and constraints identified at the political level.

α does not consider the role of internationalisation as vital for its development: "it is only an issue among others" (Interview with member academic staff) or "a central question only in rhetoric" (Interview with a Vice-Rector). For β the role of internationalisation is a major issue: "internationalisation is in the institution's genes. The university was born with academic staff coming from different regions without a collective reference" (Interview with the Vice-Rector in charge of internationalisation). Respondents from different departments confirmed the importance of internationalisation and the influence of the institutional environment in promoting this attitude. γ2 responds to the new challenges of internationalisation by pursuing the goals established in the European agreements, namely the Bologna Declaration, and by paying attention to curricular development, inter-institutional cooperation, mobility programmes, and teaching and research integration (γ2 European Policy Statement).

In α, β and γ1 some strategic organisational changes – such as the establishment of international offices – resulting from participation in EU mobility programmes can be interpreted as reactive actions. In some organisations the respondents, although appreciating the administrative support from international offices, did not accept the monitoring of academic and scientific activities of mobility students. Research is not within the remit of these offices and none of the six HEIs has a central administrative structure for research.

α established a central office to deal with the education and training programmes and mobility activities, with a special division dedicated to the cooperation with Portuguese speaking countries. However, its vice-rector considers that the number of ERASMUS students is too low to demand great changes in the organisational settings: "these changes were important if it was necessary to meet the needs of a public different from the regional public" (Interview with Vice-rector).

In β "The significant expansion of international activities required the adoption of specific measures for its coordination, and technical and administrative support. The transition to Socrates gave the opportunity to consolidate internationalisation. In January 1995 a professor was appointed Pro-rector of international relations. In April 1996 a Council for internationalisation was established with representatives from all the units. At Faculty level each Dean appointed a Co-ordinator responsible for the Socrates ERASMUS activities. In central administration an International Office was created [1992] to give administrative support to the academic staff involved in international activities... This office reports to the Vice-Rector for International Cooperation" (EPS, 1996: 2).

γ1 established an office of Public Relations and International Cooperation, combining “communication and public relation affairs” with “international co-operation”. γ1 aims at strengthening the competencies of its teachers, researchers and administrative staff in drafting projects and giving advice on mobility procedures (γ1 EPS, 2002; Report of Activities, 2002). At departmental level the Schools have academic staff responsible for mobility actions but there is no dedicated structure, although some Schools and students mentioned the need for such a structure to keep pace with existing partnerships and to establish new ones.

In some organisations without a support office, people recognise that a dedicated structure is necessary to implement mobility programmes. γ2 has not changed its organisation structure, but a central commission for mobility was created to run the Socrates/ERASMUS and Leonardo mobility programmes. However, its President is not very concerned with this situation, and he does not see the advantage of creating an international office: “I have some doubts about the efficacy of a big international affairs office in such diversified areas as we have, from education to agricultural studies, to technology. It can turn into a white elephant (...) [and it] will decrease international activities being developed in the schools based on personal contacts” (Interview with the President of γ2). In δ, where academics and students complained about the lack of an organisational structure, there is a proposal to establish an office and it is clear that some attention will be paid to the language skills of the non-academic staff. And in ε, where student flows are marginal, an international office combining the functions of the postgraduate office was recently established.

5.5.2 Goals

The six HEIs have a regional and, in some cases, a national orientation and are more cooperation oriented than competition oriented, in spite of the decreasing number of national students. None of the institutions had a marketing strategy, either due to lack of financial and human resources and/or to the lack of a pro-active market attitude. At institutional level the stated main internationalisation goals are increasing the student and academic staff flows, reinforcing international agreements and increasing the numbers of partnerships or projects, institutional linkages and networks, rather than increasing research collaborations. This might be explained either because the more research-oriented organisations (α and β) take for granted the international nature of research (except for the field of law) and the national policy of sending PhD students abroad, or because research activities are more driven by individual researchers than by the organisation.

5.5.3 Participants

Academic staff members, depending on the availability of administrative support, are called to perform extra activities related to increasing internationali-

sation. This voluntary contribution to international activities is not welcomed by many academics that do not have the time or the ability to cope with the bureaucracy for submitting a project proposal, or who do not like to be diverted from their research activities.

For non-academic staff, new activities are emerging. Most international offices have employed professionals with a background in languages. One respondent stated that communication skills and high proficiency in English are the most important requisites for these professionals. The expansion of support structures at central and faculty/department level needs specialised assistance on project management. Degrees in international relations and management are also relevant for international offices.

Student participation – even of those staying at home – in international activities is important for the success of internationalisation. A section of the α's ERASMUS Student Network supports the integration of foreign students into the organisation. In the other organisations this support is provided on an ad hoc basis by students and more systematically by the international office or similar structure. In all of the six HEIs, the Student Unions are not taking a central role in internationalisation: "the Student Union neglects foreign students. There is no section taking responsibility for foreign students. The Student Union doesn't have the initiative to disseminate information on academic programmes" (interview with student).

Proficiency in English could be seen as a horizontal dimension in common to all the participants in international activities. This was emphasised by γ2 but to some extent the statement is valid for all the others, as: "the need to be able to speak and understand other languages, particularly English, if one wants to cope with the internationalisation/globalisation challenges".

5.5.4 Technology

The standard programme for incoming mobility students is the intensive language course provided to all of them.

α and γ2 provide support via distance education but their impact at international level is expected to be rather small: "Distance learning is very expensive and there is a very low expectation rate on the return of the investment" (Interview with a Dean of α). One school of γ2 presented the same argument and is using the platform to increase the support to ICT, allowing students to register on-line and to have access to course contents. Another school of γ2 has developed a project using the Internet for exchanging information with all of the region's primary schools. This can be considered as distance learning, even if it is not a formal study programme. β and γ1 hope to develop a fruitful collaboration with Brazilian institutions in this area, and γ1 is experimenting with a combination of lectures and distance follow-up.

The offer of joint programmes is increasing and the newly launched programme ERASMUS Mundus could be used as a lever in this area.

The linguistic component is important in education. The goal of increasing the number of European students links directly to the offer of programmes taught in English, which does not favour strong cooperation with Portuguese speaking countries. So far the overall trend is maintaining Portuguese as the main teaching language, although paying some attention to the use of English. The reasons supporting this trend vary from lack of proficiency in English of both professors and national students to cultural reasons. All of the six HEIs aim to improve the English proficiency of both the academic staff and students and to increase the course materials available in English. In α (engineering) and β (economics) there are pilot projects using English for postgraduate teaching. At $\gamma 2$ the majority of the staff is unable to teach in English, and even helping ERASMUS students is not an easy task for some of them, as one student reported. Outgoing students have difficulties in choosing other countries rather than Spain and Italy because of the language, which is a barrier that needs to be overcome.

Cultural reasons explain different attitudes across the range of disciplines. In engineering the respondents tended to be pro-English (α, β and $\gamma 1$). β And $\gamma 1$ are even considering that a minimum level of proficiency in English should become a requisite for student enrolment. The idea of preserving language diversity was mentioned: "(...) a single language in Europe is not at all my opinion. I think that there are many languages and people should have the opportunity of learning several of them" (Interview with a Dean of $\gamma 2$). Architecture (α) and fine arts and design ($\gamma 1$) presume that Portuguese will be used, one argument being that it also promotes the use of foreign languages by Portuguese students. At national level there is no incentive to change or to keep Portuguese as the main teaching language: "if a foreign student comes to Portugal he probably wants to have a different experience and language could be an initial barrier to be overcome by Portuguese intensive training. The problem is that organisations don't receive financial support to offer Portuguese intensive training. If they can have a Portuguese student for free they will not pay to have a foreigner" (Interview with a Vice-rector).

5.6 Feedback loop: Have the changes in the four building blocks affected the three pillars?

It is possible to identify a logical/causal connection between institutional and organisational changes, or perhaps an absence of change. On the one hand, as the state has not yet passed legislation to implement Bologna-type degrees and mobility instruments, there were no changes in the pillar of regulation, which hinders changes at organisational level. On the other hand, participation in European projects forced organisations to introduce some organisational changes, ignoring or interpreting in a creative way the available

legislation, thus creating pressure on the government to change the legal framework which sooner or later will change the regulation pillar. One may conclude that there is a connection between regulative institutional and organisational changes, based on actual change in the direction from organisations to institutions, and on its absence in the opposite direction.

The participation of Portuguese HEIs in EU programmes has been a lever for changes within the normative and cognitive-cultural pillars (in the direction of organisation to institution), the latter being limited by absence of change in the regulative pillar. The most relevant changes occurred in the social structure, participants and technology blocks.

5.6.1 Social structure

The social structure for education was changed to support the needs of academic staff and students by implementing instruments to promote the mobility of both students and academic staff under the framework of EU programmes. New forms of governance were created and committees and task forces were appointed to follow the developments of EU policy.

The situation is different for research. The earlier national policy for the internationalisation of HE (1968) had a rationale based on grants to train a significant number of academic staff at postgraduate level abroad (Eurydice, 2000). This policy allowed researchers to establish personal links and international activities, which created a very individualistic culture that is difficult to change. Defining an organisational research policy is difficult because the national research-funding agency allocates research funding directly to researchers or their research teams on a competitive basis, rather than to organisations. Decentralisation of data prevents organisations from having a good picture of its research internationalisation, and explains why the social structure for research has not changed.

The social structure of Portuguese HEIs follows a political rationale based on quality, which is also present in the national policies for internationalisation. Rosa et al. (2004: 140) stressed that it is not possible to raise the quality of the education system in isolation from the “international, and in particular the European context”. The Portuguese HEIs seem to have developed an organisational approach in this area. One of our respondents argued that “internationalisation is a step that can only be achieved by institutions with quality (...). When quality is achieved, the internationalisation step is relatively easy to climb”. Some examples corroborate that idea. The participation of α and β in the EUA (former CRE) quality audit programme was a starting point for the introduction of quality mechanisms. And in research there is already a tradition of external evaluation by review teams with foreign peers.

Other policy areas were referred to, such as funding and the difficulty of allocating funds for internationalisation activities, given that there are other prio-

rities vital for the development (or even the survival) of the organisations. Therefore internationalisation creates financial difficulties: “I don’t know what will happen when everything is internationalised, who is going to pay for that?” (Interview with a Dean). The Head of Administration for International Relations (β) considers that available resources are not enough to cope with all the demand.

The promotion of EU mobility programmes also affects the normative pillar. The benchmarking resulting from participation in these programmes will probably lead to changes in norms and values. The awareness of the need to implement specific policies related to quality and funding could affect the regulative and the normative pillar and lead to changes in regulation and to different conceptions of norms and values.

5.6.2 Goals

Changes in the regulative and normative pillars were not considered by organisations when defining their objectives. However, as research assumes different roles in driving internationalisation goals it might diversely affect the concepts of education and research – or the cognitive-cultural pillar. In research oriented organisations research was clearly the driving force for the internationalisation of education projects. On the contrary, education oriented organisations used links from international education projects to promote the internationalisation of their research activities. Between those extremes, γ1 and γ2 face the challenge of becoming more international as their staff members are awarded PhDs abroad without losing them to more research oriented organisations.

5.6.3 Participants

The role of participants might change the three pillars. Globalisation and internationalisation may do so by creating new roles for different actors, and may force cultural changes in organisational attitudes. For instance, if Portuguese students use internationalisation as a criterion to decide where to enrol, organisations will promote internationalisation in a more systemic basis. One respondent highlighted the importance of participants in internationalisation as “agents of mentality change”. An increasing focus on learning outcomes will lead to major changes at pedagogical, evaluation and certification levels.

Some organisations created incentives as mentioned in the EPS (1996) of β, which lists several recommendations to implement the Socrates programme such as including the academic staff’s workload in “non-academic” activities for career progression purposes. Those incentives are important to promote the development of international activities on a systematic basis. Improving English proficiency will have consequences in the cognitive-cultural pillar that in some fields of study may lead to changes or even to the creation of new curricular structures.

5.6.4 Technology

The changes in the technology building block will affect mostly the regulative and cognitive-cultural pillars. Even if the degree of autonomy of some HEIs has allowed them to introduce curricular changes, ECTS and the Diploma Supplement as mechanisms of recognition, and to introduce English as a teaching language, changing the three pillars is necessary for fostering the internationalisation of Portuguese HEIs.

The changes in the technology building block that might contribute to changes in the regulative pillar are connected with the implementation of recognition mechanisms, such as a credit system compatible with ECTS and the Diploma Supplement. The six HEIs use partially the ECTS guidelines as recognition mechanisms: "(...) This was an initiative of the institutions without the need of legal imposition and may be seen as a response to Europeanisation, insofar as it allows for credit accumulation and transfer, being a tool for mobility" (Rosa et al., 2004: 145).

The lack of national legislation generalising the use of ECTS across the HE system is a big hindrance to the full implementation of the system. In a the use of credits at postgraduate level is virtually impossible because a decision by Senate prevents its use for Masters as their quality is too heterogeneous. $\gamma 1$ mentioned that the Ministry did not approve their proposals of new study programmes based on the ECTS system because the appropriate legislation had not yet been passed. In δ and ε the implementation is at the very beginning. Some respondents consider that an internal process to check that credits effectively match the student workload should complement the implementation of ECTS credits. The interviewed students from all organisations reported problems at the level of credit recognition and transfer and there are cases where the grades obtained in a different organisation do not count for the overall classification. The implementation of the Diploma Supplement is still delayed, and among the six case study organisations only α seems to be capable of issuing the document in the near future.

The changes that will affect the cognitive-cultural pillar are related to the lack of English proficiency and the awareness of the need to find mechanisms to improve it.

5.7 Factors impeding/fostering internationalisation

Governmental initiatives have so far apparently failed to dispel a feeling that there is a lack of state policies addressing the internationalisation of HE, and important legal constraints to internationalisation have not yet been removed. At central level HEIs argue for widening access to foreign students on undergraduate degrees, governmental support for inter-organisational programmes at national and international level, a definition of a national strategy for cooperation with the former colonies, and allocation of funds for the promotion of internationalisation initiatives.

At faculty level the actors do not see any political changes favouring internationalisation: "there are no internationalisation policies at state level, and consequently there are no internationalisation strategies at organisational level. Internationalisation is a mirage, not the reality" (Interview with academic staff member). The lack of legislation to implement the new Bologna-type structure and ECTS is perceived by the interviewed actors as impeding internationalisation, or at least not favouring it.

Most of the internationalisation efforts and activities are linked to European mobility programmes, which are supranational and certainly the driving force of internationalisation. So the European context is more relevant than the national context to foster internationalisation, both because it is Europe that is providing mobility opportunities and because the European labour market starts to be looked upon as an important employment market for Portuguese graduates (particularly in some areas, such as engineering, management, even architecture and fine arts).

To summarise, it is possible to state that the degree of internationalisation of Portuguese HEIs is hindered by a number of factors. The most important being: (in no particular order of importance):

- lack of appropriate national legislation;
- lack of appropriate funding;
- internationalisation is not seen as a key factor at national and institutional level;
- lack of central coordination of research activities (in α and β) as a consequence of its decentralisation.

And other hindering factors are:

- lack of incentives in the academic career;
- sustaining student mobility demands a coherent strategy and an attractive offer to foreign students (e.g. availability of housing for mobility and foreign students, English as teaching language);
- lack of proficiency in English of both academic staff and students.

To foster internationalisation Portuguese HEIs need to reinforce internal factors, such as: promotion of international research cooperation; commitment of participants (academic and non-academic staff and students); implementation of organisational structures providing administrative and technical support; and the establishment of new governance structures. The latter is probably the most important internal factor for promoting the implementation of a more systematic approach to internationalisation. The appointment of Vice-rectors or Vice-presidents for international relations and the establishment of specific committees and/or task-forces for mobility programmes in α and β were precisely the main factors allowing these organisations to move from an ad hoc approach to a more systematic approach towards internationalisation, and are positive trends that could be followed by other HEIs.

5.8 Conclusions

The six Portuguese HEIs are aware of the importance of internationalisation, even if actors in general do not have a clear perception of the differences between internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation and their respective challenges. The lack of legislation and the frequent changes of Ministers created a state of flux and confusion that effectively hinders the internationalisation of the Portuguese higher education system.

The EU programmes are the only effective lever for internationalisation that Portuguese HEIs can use, which explains their more reactive than pro-active attitude to external challenges, and why respondents mainly refer to internationalisation, which they see as encompassing Europeanisation, while globalisation is generally ignored except as a rhetorical device.

In general Portuguese HEIs, namely the more research-oriented, have difficulties in defining and coordinating an organisational research policy. Therefore, they see education as the main activity that the central administration can promote to create an internationalisation policy. Consequently, the internationalisation of education is mentioned more often than the internationalisation of research in European Policy Statements.

The attitude of the schools towards internationalisation challenges is not homogeneous, and it varies according to the traditions and academic cultures of the different disciplines. Engineering and Technologies, Fine Arts and Architecture, and Law all present remarkably different (and consistent) behaviours in answering the new challenges of internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation, with Law being by far the least internationalised discipline.

There is an ambivalent attitude towards the use of foreign languages. However, in general organisations prefer the use of the Portuguese as the main teaching language, either because of cultural reasons – the preservation of the national culture and the close relationship with the former Portuguese speaking colonies and Brazil – or because of more down-to-earth reasons – many professors are not able to teach in English and many national students are unable to understand classes taught in English. And some people strongly believe that Portuguese should be the teaching language as it is a characteristic that attracts foreign students looking for a different environment. However, some organisations are trying to increase the English proficiency of their members and are increasing the course materials available in foreign languages.

It was observed that research-oriented HEIs used the international research relations of their professors to develop the internationalisation of their study programmes, while teaching-oriented institutions are moving in the opposite direction, using the personal ties resulting from joint education programmes to implement some internationalised research activity. It is possible that what

lies behind these attitudes is the hard truth that the establishment of international relations depends strongly on trust, and there is trust only when people know each other. This might explain the success of the former use of the ECTS in the ERASMUS programme, which was based on the establishment of networks of organisations that tried to increase mutual knowledge, and the more difficult implementation of the Bologna Declaration, plagued by bureaucracy and imposed top-down by politicians and Eurocrats.

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6. Dutch higher education institutions working on Europeanisation, internationalisation and globalisation

Anneke Luijten-Lub

6.1 Introduction

The Dutch higher education system is a binary system with hogescholen and universities. The hogescholen are responsible for higher professional training, whereas the universities are responsible for academic teaching and research. Currently, there are around 50 hogescholen, enrolling 325,950 students in 2002 and 14 universities, enrolling 181,890 students in the same year. In addition to these public or government dependent institutions there are several private, approved institutions of higher education, most of which provide professional education and training. Compared to enrolment at the public and government-dependent institutions, enrolment at private institutions is low.
The Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences is responsible for the governmental policy in this sector, although other ministries are also involved. Previous research showed that the main underlying rationale for internationalisation of Dutch higher education has been the economic rationale (see also Luijten-Lub, 2004).

Out of all these institutions three universities and two hogescholen were selected. α, founded in 1575, is the oldest university in the Netherlands, located in the west of the Netherlands. It is a broadly oriented and multidisciplinary university. α has nine faculties. It must be noted that the Faculty of Medicine has a different position at a than the other faculties. The Faculty of Medicine has been, for a couple of years, part of the University Medical Center, which also comprises the University Hospital. The board of the University Medical Center sets out the policy for the Faculty of Medicine in cooperation with the College van Bestuur (CvB) of α. The dean of the Faculty of Medicine is a member of the board of the University Medical Center and, like other faculty deans, participates in the meetings of the CvB and deans. The dean thus serves as an intermediate between the University Medical Center and the university. α has a strong orientation towards research, which is reflected in the guiding themes identified by the university. The three themes are European orientation, the research-intensive nature of the university and the quality of education and research. The education provided at α should be inspired by and related to the research of α. Furthermore, the education should be of high quality and in an international context in order to attract the most talented students and researchers.

Founded in 1976, β is the youngest Dutch university located in the South of the Netherlands. β is also broadly oriented, having seven faculties as well as

a University College, and covering similar disciplines as α. However, the range of these disciplines is not as broad as α, as β is smaller. β is well known for its educational concept of problem-based learning (PGO), which is a student-centred way of teaching. Students learn, in relatively small tutorial groups, to solve problems related to their future professional practice[2]. In the mission of β the link between education and research as well as the contribution of research to the environment of the university are emphasized.

γ is one of the largest hogescholen in the Netherlands and was established in 1996 by the merger of five hogescholen. γ has 37 departments, which are also called hogescholen, spread over 22 locations mainly in the South of the Netherlands. To keep the distinction between γ as a hogeschool and the 37 non-central hogescholen as clear as possible, the 37 hogescholen will be referred to as Schools. These schools offer more than 120 bachelor programmes and around 20 master programmes and all have their own governing bodies. γ is broadly oriented, as it offers programmes in economics, arts, natural sciences, engineering, medicine and health and social sciences. Furthermore, γ is involved in contract activities for the professional market, through the provision of professional education courses and training programmes, research and consultancy. In its vision on education γ expresses that learning from experience is important.

δ is a relatively small hogeschool oriented towards the arts. It was founded in 1987 and is located in the middle of the Netherlands. δ offers a wide range of courses, such as first-degree courses, postgraduate courses and internationally acknowledged Master of Arts courses as well as foundation courses and contract education. One faculty also offers the possibility of doing a PhD with them, in cooperation with an English university, as Dutch hogescholen cannot award PhD degrees themselves. Five concepts are guiding to the profile of δ. These are internationalisation, innovation, inter-culturalisation, interdisciplinarity and information technology.

The fifth case, ε, is a university specialised in Agriculture and Life sciences, which traditionally has an international outlook. In the past, the university has been closely connected to the International Agricultural Centre (IAC), one of the Dutch International Education Institutes, and the IAC has recently become part of the university organisation. The official founding year of ε is 1918. In this year law officially recognised the development of the school from secondary to higher education. At the end of the 1990s the formation of the current university and research organisation started and several research centres in the same discipline as well as some international institutions are integrated in the organisation. The organisation now has five science groups, responsible for research and four schools of education.

2 For more information on PGO see http://www.akh-wien.ac.at/agmb/99/eckhout_voll.htm and http://www.unimaas.nl/PBL/.

Table 6.1 Basic data on the Dutch cases

	α	β	γ	δ	ε
Size (student numbers)	15,352*	11,613**	35,396**	3,149**	4,938**
Age (year of start)	1575	1976	1996	1987	1918
Disciplines	Comprehensive (Humanities, Economics, Natural sciences, Medicine & Health, Social sciences)	(fairly) Comprehensive (Humanities, Economics, Life sciences, Medicine & Health, Social sciences)	Comprehensive (Humanities, Economics, Natural sciences, Engineering, Medicine & Health, Social sciences, Arts)	Specialised (Arts)	Specialised (Agriculture Life sciences)
Number of foreign (degree) students	893 (5.8%)*	2.649 (23.1%)**	~1400 (4,0%)	562 (17,8%)**	1220** (24.7%)
Number of incoming exchange students	386 (2.5%)*	604 (5.3%)*	~100 (0,3%)	60 (1.9%)	~350** (7%)*
Number of outgoing exchange students	310 (2.0%)*	1.077 (9.3%)*	~10 (0,3%)	14 (0,4%)	~ 50** (1%)

*: In 2002-2003
**: In 2003-2004

6.2 Actors' perceptions of the challenges of Europeanisation, internationalisation and globalisation

Internationalisation is high on the agenda of all the institutions in the study, although the emphasis on internationalisation differs, often even per department. The actors are aware of the importance of international developments. Most of them, however, do not really distinguish between the concepts of Europeanisation, internationalisation and globalisation. Some respondents do see a difference in the three concepts, at least to some extent, as a policy officer from β does, relating this back to history: "Internationalisation had to do with the post-war idea of sharing western knowledge with developing countries... therefore I see internationalisation also as cultural exchange and cooperation...Europeanisation makes me think of the developments in the 1980s where interest for internationalisation was raised with the help of the European programmes...I find globalisation more something of the last 5-7 years... Competition and the market, I don't know which is the driving force, economy for a large part... The development of globalisation of higher educa-

tion has followed the globalisation of the economy". However, distinguishing between the three concepts does not lead to different practical approaches. A member of the board of a put it as follows: "I don't see why we would have a different policy towards Europe as compared to other parts of the world" and also a member of the board of β states that "[the difference] is not very relevant in the sense of policymaking".

As most actors do not see a big difference between the three concepts, from now on the term internationalisation will be used, with special reference to Europeanisation or globalisation where needed.

6.2.1 Regulative pillar

National policies and regulations

The general national policies aimed at internationalising Dutch higher education (see Luijten-Lub, 2004) are quite well known amongst actors at the central level of the cases in the study, although the appreciation of these policies varies amongst the actors. The familiarity with these policies of actors at the non-central level of the institutions varies, as some are less informed than others. A general perspective amongst the actors at the universities is that the national policies are supporting institutional policies, but there is room for improvement (see below). Most of them feel that national policies concerning internationalisation of higher education have a positive influence on internationalisation at their own institution. These policies usually confirm, and are in line with, the choices made by the universities, as several actors have stated. They can also help to strengthen the line of argumentation followed in an institution. An example of support by national policies is found at α, which has set out institutional policy aimed at recruiting students in Asia. This is also stimulated through national policies, such as the marketing policy, which is of support to the institutional policy of α. The marketing policy concerns the "positioning" or marketing of Dutch higher education. This policy is in particular aimed at marketing in China, Indonesia, Taiwan and South Africa.

A similar situation is found at ε, which also appreciates the marketing policies and is actively involved in it. ε is, for example, trying to recruit students in the countries that are part of the marketing policy.

Actors at the hogescholen appear to be more critical about the general higher education policies and those concerning internationalisation than respondents at the universities. The hogescholen find it problematic to explain to other countries what exactly their position and level of their programmes are in international comparison. The official translation of hogescholen to English is "Universities for Professional Education". Professional education is, according to some respondents, sometimes associated with vocational training, which does not adequately represent the level of programmes at the hogescholen. This is perceived as a constraint to hogescho-

len who want to do business in foreign countries. As a board member of γ stated: “There is the typical internal discussion on binarity ...since Bologna something dramatic has happened, problems have risen especially for the hogescholen, through which we are no longer capable of positioning ourselves on the international market. We enter the market with the wrong wordings, are positioned wrong and the hogescholen are in danger of falling victim to the internal conflict of interest between the two types of Dutch higher education”. Another critique of the hogescholen on national policies concerning internationalisation has to do with the introduction of bachelor and master programmes, which is discussed below.

Furthermore, the actors in the different institutions appreciate financial incentives brought by some national policies concerning internationalisation. This can be particularly useful as a starting capital for already existing ideas for projects, as experiences at both β and ε have shown that projects which participants have already put their heart into beforehand have a much greater chance of success. For example, as a respondent at central level of β explained, β participated in the neighbouring countries policy and received funding for several projects. However, when the subsidy stopped, most projects did as well, as the people involved did not really put their heart into it. It seems as though it is sometimes the act of gaining the subsidies that is more important than the content of the project.

Bologna follow up

The general ideas expressed in the Bologna Declaration are well known amongst the Dutch actors. The general underlying thought of the Bologna Declaration is endorsed by most of them, both at central and non-central level and at both types of Dutch higher education institutions. However, the practical implementation and choices made in the Netherlands with the introduction of bachelor and master programmes are sometimes questioned by the actors, in particular by the hogescholen.

In general, almost all old programmes at the institutions in this study have been changed to new bachelor and master programmes. Programmes in Medicine, Veterinary medicine and Dentistry have not been changed into the new structure so far. This is still under discussion.

For the hogescholen in the study this was a relatively small change, as they could, for a start, just rename the old programmes as bachelor programmes. The universities, however, had to change their former four- or five-year programmes into the new 3-year bachelor programmes, followed by one- or two-year master programmes, with the new option of students leaving after a bachelor programme to start work or continue with a master programme at a different institution. Nevertheless, the universities were quick in changing their programmes to the new system, as they perceived that this new system would make their programmes more recognisable internationally, opening up

opportunities in internationalisation (see also Lub et al, 2003). In the case of ε, with an international orientation already, an actor stated that "the new system made it easier for us to say Europe is our home-market, as students in other countries will also more and more ask themselves the question "where will I study?"

The discussion at the hogescholen circles around two main topics: the titles of the degrees and the funding of master programmes. First, in the Netherlands the affix "of Science" and "of Arts" for bachelor or master programmes may only be used for academically oriented programmes and not for the former four-year programmes offered by the hogescholen. According to some actors, such as a board member at γ, not being able to use these affixes makes it more difficult for the hogescholen to explain to foreigners what the status and level of the programmes offered are. Second, the decision to, in principle, not publicly fund master programmes offered by hogescholen, while master programmes offered by universities are publicly funded, is often mentioned by actors at the hogescholen. Most masters offered by hogescholen are considered to be post-initial higher education, whereas most masters offered by universities are considered to be initial higher education and public funding is only available for initial higher education. The board member of γ states that "this is just a political solution, you rename something and that is the solution". Other actors also find this difference in funding somewhat strange and expect that, in time, the funding of higher education will be discussed and eventually changed. This discussion will include the difference in funding between masters of universities and hogescholen, but also a rethinking of the funding of non-EU-students. The latter was also announced in the HOOP 2004.

EU programmes

Most actors are informed of the EU-programmes in education and research and try to make use of them. They are positive about the opportunities the Framework programmes offer and the new cooperations with foreign partners these projects sometimes bring. For example, a Dean at α is convinced that the programmes have brought his faculty partners which they would not have had without the programmes, and also the programmes require certain partners of which researchers might otherwise not know. Furthermore, many actors at δ were particularly positive about the European programmes and not just the money the projects have brought the institution. As a board member of δ stated: "It has helped us immensely in facilitating an area such as art and technology and to perform a series of research projects... in the Netherlands this would be unthinkable. We cannot even get to research money. There we are just a hogeschool". At δ the equal opportunities for all types of HEIs in the European programmes are appreciated, as they feel that the Dutch binary system is holding them back in their development. δ wants to be a specialised institution being able to provide education in arts as well as

doing research in this area, and doing research is not common for Dutch hogescholen, except for some applied research. However, some respondents criticize the bureaucratic burden European projects can bring as well as a financial burden that comes along with these projects. A dean at β commented: “I am hesitant about European Circuses. If one looks at what one has to do to get just a little money from the European Commission, and to which one also has to contribute quite substantially”.

Quality assurance

The different types of actors see the benefits internationally organised quality assurance can bring to their institutions and programmes. Establishing the quality and level of a programme in international comparison is perceived as beneficial, for example in attracting foreign students, but also in learning from others. At most institutions it is stated that they would like to meet international requirements and some of them, particularly α and ε, are aiming to be, or become, top in their international field. Several options for an international type of quality assessment are being used at the institutions in the study. For example, several masters at the hogescholen are validated in the UK and some institutions seek international quality assessment through the international networks they are involved in, such as α who participates in a network of research universities in Europe, and ε who participates in a European network in its own specific field. Most actors are, furthermore, in favour of setting up the national (programme) accreditation in a more international fashion, as the Ministry of Education is trying to do through participating in the Joint Quality Initiative. However, some actors fear the bureaucracy international accreditation of programmes might bring and would prefer accreditation of institutions instead, such as a board member of α who states that he “would be very much in favour of accreditation of institutions... And the reason is the bureaucratic burden. So I would rather be accredited on the on the basis that we have a good quality assurance system in place for the entire university which is a dynamic process, a continuous process which is not just becoming active because of a visitation committee coming along”.

GATS

Finally, the developments concerning GATS are not well known amongst the actors. Only some respondents at the central level are familiar with this topic. However, how these developments might actually affect higher education and its institutions remains to be seen according to these respondents. They feel this is still unclear.

6.2.2 Normative pillar

All institutions in the study find internationalisation important and have it high on their institution’s agenda. The introduction already showed that the history and background of the institutions in internationalisation vary widely. The

attention given to internationalisation by the institutions also varies, partly under the influence of these backgrounds and disciplines.

Background and tradition

Both ε and α have a long and old tradition in internationalisation, which makes internationalisation something fairly natural to the organisation, although the emphasis on and discussion of the topic may still differ per department. The agricultural discipline is internationally oriented, partly due to its role in development aid to third world countries, or the North-South connection as it is sometimes referred to. ε has been involved, and still is involved in this. The development aid started with aid to mainly the former Dutch colonies but has since then expanded to other countries as well, which is also reflected in changes at e. This particularly becomes clear in the orientation of the recruitment of international students, which was first the former Dutch colonies, as ε was involved in the Institutes for International Education. Since then, this expanded to other developing countries and the last few years much recruitment in South East Asia took place. In the latest annual report it is now stated that Europe is ε's home market and this is where ε tries to recruit students. Furthermore, ε needed to expand its recruitment region, as the number of Dutch students was declining.

α has been internationally oriented for a long time, particularly in the area of research. This line is continued nowadays, as α has stated it wants to be a top European research-intensive university. But not only does it want to be international in research, it also wants to be international in education. The main motivation for the internationalisation of α is the improvement of quality. To attract the best academic researchers, it is necessary to also attract the best students and PhD students from inside and outside the Netherlands. To achieve this, the educational programmes need to have an international presence (Stuurgroep Internationalisering en Onderwijs, 2003).

δ and β, being young institutions, have a shorter tradition in internationalisation than ε and α, but have nevertheless also been working on internationalisation at least since the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s. At δ it is very strongly felt that art is international and education in art should thus also be internationally oriented. As some actors at δ expressed: “art is international by definition”.

Attracting foreign students came naturally to β due to its geographical location. Its natural recruiting region includes the border regions with Germany and Belgium. Recruiting foreign students, however, is not the only international activity undertaken at β. Furthermore, β has stated in its latest policy documents that it wants to broaden its regional view and recruitment to a more European and international one. Several (international) developments have been of influence to this standpoint (see Van Euregionaal naar internationaal):

- the increasing internationalisation of higher education;
- the development of a worldwide market;
- the introduction of bachelor and master programmes and the expected increase in competition with Dutch and foreign HEIs;
- the need for more interfaculty cooperation at β;
- the financial outlook of the universities.

Furthermore, β also fears that with the introduction of bachelor and master programmes, students might leave the area after graduation as much economic activity is in the Randstad (the larger Dutch cities in the west of the country), making it difficult to get them back into master programmes. A dean stated: "If we don't do anything, we will have a net loss of master students". β does not want to become a "bachelor-university," and the recruitment of foreign students is perceived as necessary in order to get enough master students, as there are not sufficient potential master students in the region. This potential threat has thus given a boost to the interest in international recruitment at β.

γ is the youngest HEI in the study and has only recently, since the end of the 1990s, started to work on internationalisation. Internationalisation is now high on the agenda of γ for several strategic, educational, cultural and economical motives. Strategic motives are to adapt to the impact of international developments on higher education, adapt to the influence of the Bologna Declaration and GATS as well as to the increasing competition in the market for higher education. The main educational argument for internationalisation is that the international dimension is part of the primary process, as knowledge knows no borders. Other educational arguments are that γ wants to prepare students for a European or international labour market and wants to improve the quality of programmes through internationalisation. Teachers can learn from international contacts and furthermore, internationalisation is part of the criteria for accreditation of programmes. Cultural arguments provided by γ are the worldwide communication through ICT, the interculturalisation of society, the cultural and ethnic diversity of the γ population, as well as the opportunities through internationalisation to contribute to a global, sustainable society and awareness for development cooperation in education. Finally, an economic argument is that foreign fee paying students are an extra source of income to γ (Fontys Internationaliseringsbeleid, 2003).

Cooperation and competition

Most actors feel that cooperation and competition in higher education can go well together. In fact, most argue, like a policy officer of ε, that cooperation is often needed to compete on the international market and/or to become a top institution in its field. One institution on its own is perceived as being too small to achieve this.

Cooperation with foreign contacts can be sought in unregulated ways by staff members, but also through regulated institution- or department-wide networks with foreign institutions. β, α and ε are involved in specific networks. β is involved in ALMA, which came into being on the basis of geographical orientation as it is the cooperation platform between the four universities of the Euregion of Meuse-Rhine (the universities of Aachen (Germany), Liège (French-speaking Belgium), Diepenbeek (Dutch-speaking Belgium) and Maastricht (The Netherlands)). ALMA's main objective is to enhance cooperation in the fields of education, research and service to the community. The universities are aware of the particular and unique character of their geographical site and their mutual connections, and on these grounds, they want to create and to maintain particular forms of cooperation between the universities, as well as to offer specific opportunities in the field of education and continuing training, and in the sector of services to the community (ALMA, 2004). α was founder the League of European Research Universities (LERU), in which highly ranked, research-intensive universities have come together (Leiden University, 2004). α hopes to distinguish itself as a top European research-intensive university by being part of LERU, as several actors confirm. ε is part of a network, Euroleague for Life Sciences, that combines the idea of LERU, cooperation among top-universities, but then only in a specific field, namely life sciences.

The content of the cooperation between the institutions in these networks can vary greatly, for example exchanging good practices, exchanging students and staff, or jointly working on quality assurance. The description of the Euroleague for Life Sciences shows the broad orientation some networks can have: "The focus of ELLS is on joint teaching and learning, student and staff mobility, and quality assurance. These activities will result in highly qualified graduates, who are prepared for the demands of the European and international market. Furthermore, through the sharing of expertise and resources, this network will enhance the national and international position and potential of all partner universities, as part of the development and implementation of their degree programmes" (Euroleague, 2004).

Competition in arts education, as provided by δ, is something very specific. All the schools for the arts in the Netherlands, but also abroad, compete with each other for the best, most talented students. However, students in the arts are very particular about the type of education they seek and, maybe more importantly, with whom they seek it. For instance, actors at the Faculty of Music explained that Music students do not necessarily come to δ for δ, but for a specific programme or teacher. The relationship between teacher and student is very important in arts education, as this type of education is very individual. When the wishes of students are so specific, it is difficult to compete in general terms. Also, the registration of students already exceeds the possible intake of students, which means that δ does not need to compete with other schools for students. However, the search and competition for the best students remains, both nationally and internationally.

Public or private good?

The general feeling amongst the actors is that higher education is a public good, although this does not mean there cannot be private sectors in higher education as well. A few actors, such as a dean at β, were very outspoken in stating that higher education is evidently a public good and that education is not a market. Others, such as a board member of β, argued that higher education has both public as well as private aspects. Furthermore, many of the responses of actors on the topic of higher education being a public or private good turned into discussions on public or private funding of higher education. A differentiation in public funding, for example for different types of students, is conceivable to many actors, also because it is expected that funding for higher education will at best remain at its current level.

To start, it is felt that higher education, especially for national Dutch students, is a public good, as this, as expressed for example by deans of β and ε, has benefits for the Netherlands. The Dutch government also has an obligation to make sure that access for all students meeting the requirements is secured and that students have equal opportunities. This does not, however, mean that students should not have to pay tuition fees; an investment of the students may be expected, according to some actors. But it is felt there should be a limit to this type of private funding and support should be available for those students lacking the finances.

Furthermore, a number of actors see a practical limit to the public funding of higher education when considering internationalisation and funding of foreign students. As a dean of ε put it: “A public good for the whole world can simply not be funded”. The question is raised whether the Dutch government should fund the education for international students on the same basis as they do for national students. These actors think it is conceivable that for non-EU-students the Dutch government does not have an obligation to fund their education and higher fees can be asked to cover the education of these students. The State Secretary for Education, Rutte, also announced a reconsideration of public funding of non-EU-students.

Finally, some actors also question how long the Dutch government will continue to fund the education of Dutch university master students. Masters students at the hogescholen, in general, are not publicly funded. This discussion about the difference in funding of master students at the hogescholen and universities is still continued; hogescholen want the same position as the universities, and keeping in mind that it is expected that funding for higher education will not increase over the coming years, one outcome might be that all master students will no longer be funded in the future. The public funding of Dutch bachelor students is not under debate, either amongst the actors or in general in Dutch higher education.

6.2.3 Cultural-cognitive pillar

At most institutions and for most respondents, internationalisation of higher education is not (yet) fully taken for granted. Even though the actors in general feel that the internationalisation of higher education is important, this does not necessarily mean they are actively involved in it or want to be involved in it. Getting more staff involved and mainstreaming internationalisation of education are things that most institutions in this study are working on. The best example of this mainstreaming is provided by ε, who with the introduction of the new Bachelor-Master structure decided to combine the international master programme they already provided with the regular master programme that would now be offered. This means that nowadays both national and international students follow the same programme and are taught in English.

Disciplinary influence?

The case studies show that some disciplines appear to be more internationally oriented than others and thus find it more natural to make this part of their education (see also above). Both at ε and δ this situation was most apparent. For example, one of the directors of a school at ε stated that when students want to do an internship the first question is: “where would you like to go?” and not “what would you like to do?” as it is so common to go abroad for an internship. Also, in the arts, internationalisation is just the way things are done. For example, some of the respondents even had difficulty trying to explain why the arts are indeed so international, as it was not an issue for them, but just very common to think of arts in an international sense.

Furthermore, actors at the departmental level of the institutions in the study all underline the importance of internationalisation to higher education. However, the direction given to internationalisation can differ greatly between departments at the same institution, from internationalising educational programmes to recruiting lots of foreign students or establishing an obligatory part of the programme abroad. As might be expected, the difference between departments appears to be bigger at the larger, multidisciplinary institutions, than at the smaller, mono-disciplinary institutions where approaches to internationalisation are more similar. General ideas on internationalisation at these institutions are more similar and consultation and tuning of the approaches is easier in a smaller setting. This is also the perception of the respondents at both central and departmental levels of the institutions.

Furthermore, the institutions in the study leave room for the departments with different disciplinary backgrounds to work on internationalisation in a way suitable to their disciplines and to their departments. Different influences and approaches of departments at α form an interesting example, where at the faculty of mathematics and natural sciences internationalisation is very much influenced by the development of the discipline, which has been cha-

racterised by internationalisation since the 18th century or maybe even before. Internationalisation at this faculty is taken for granted, especially in research, but it is also reflected in the educational programmes. The faculty of philosophy is internationally oriented, as in the Netherlands there are only a few researchers involved in this discipline. This naturally leads the staff of the faculty to the internationalisation of its research. The dean of the faculty is working on making the existing contacts more known also to students so that they can profit from this as well. The faculties of law and medicine are internationally oriented and have an international tradition in their research as well, but the education provided in the regular programmes by these faculties also has an apparent national tradition. The faculty of law has some old links to the former Dutch colonies, as it provided courses to people from these countries or people going there, but the regular programmes are less internationally oriented, as, in the end, it is Dutch national law which is taught to the students.

However, the difference in direction is not only due to the disciplinary background, which is made clear in the different approaches of the faculties of law at β and α. Above it was mentioned that the faculty of law at α has a national orientation towards its education and its programmes will be taught in Dutch. The faculty of law at β, on the other hand, is trying to include as many internationally oriented subjects as possible in their programmes, according to the dean, bearing in mind that it needs to be nationally accredited as a Dutch law programme. In addition, many subjects are taught in English and the faculty has established the European Law School for both Dutch and foreign students.

Finally, internationalisation in scientific research is for most respondents at the universities a very natural thing, as it is perceived that good research should be internationally oriented. Academic researchers therefore have an intrinsic motive to work on the internationalisation of their research. Most of the actors at the departments are either involved in research projects with foreign partners or just have foreign partners with whom they are in contact every now and then to exchange ideas.

6.3 Changes and influence

6.3.1 Regulative pillar

National policies

At most institutions in the study it is the perception of the actors that national policies for the internationalisation of higher education have had little or no direct influence on institutional policies or in changing these policies. The national policies on internationalisation are not the main guide for the institutions in their international activities; they will generally set their own course and make use of the national policies when they feel these policies can be of

use. An example of this is the use α makes of the Dutch marketing policy, particularly in Asia. This marketing policy helps to make Dutch higher education more known in the countries involved and is supported by scholarship programmes for students coming to the Netherlands. With the start of a special company set up by α (LUWP, see paragraph 6.5), the institution also started to work on attracting students from several Asian countries. Choosing the same region to work with as in the national policy was more or less a coincidence, as confirmed by a policy officer of α, "although probably not even that strange, as both saw the opportunity rising on the Asian higher education market, where there are many eligible students and a large demand for higher education, but little offer". This part of the national policy has been of some help in attracting foreign students to come to α. Notwithstanding this, α is not dependent on national policies and their influence is limited. "α Is following its own drive", stated a board member.

Furthermore, some actors stated that these policies have been of support to their institutional policies, for example by affirming the choices made by the institutions, and/or helping them with the choices made. This is, for example, the case at ε, which wanted to attract more foreign students because national student numbers were declining, and to which the marketing policy has been of help in doing so. "We keep track of the countries selected by the Ministry and when useful adapt to that", explained a policy officer. But again, it is stated by several actors of ε that the national policy is not leading the institutional policy. The same policy officer even stated that "the national policy is sometimes changed halfway, it can be unpredictable," and it can thus not be a main guide.

Actors of other institutions, and from all levels within the institutions, also criticized the national policies on internationalisation, for example because they feel the ministry does not understand what is needed for the internationalisation of higher education. Another much heard critique, which is somewhat related to the previous point, concerns the lengthy and costly procedure for obtaining visas and other permits. "This is contradictory to the internationalisation policy of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, as the Ministry also knows," argued a policy officer of α. "The visa procedures sometimes takes so long, that students will only arrive in the Netherlands after the start of the programme they enrolled in", confirmed a policy officer of ε. Furthermore, it is often stated by all types of actors that the costs of the procedure to obtain a visa sends the wrong signal to foreign students and that the costs might cause potential students to choose another country for study which is not as strict or costly in its immigration policy.

Finally, in terms of change and the influence national policies might have on the institutions, ε has had some specific problems in the past with national policies concerning internationalisation. ε was part of the Institutes for International Education. When regulations for the further internationalisation of

higher education were developed, it was said that ε was running with the hare and hunting with the hounds and eventually did not receive support through either policy.

Bologna follow up

The introduction of bachelor and master programmes in the Netherlands has led to some changes at the institutions and is perceived by most actors to have a positive influence on internationalisation (see also 6.2.1). As an actor at α put it, "the bachelor master system does not only open up the European market for higher education, but also the world market".

Actors at ε also very positively perceived the Bologna declaration and the introduction of the bachelor masters system. It is felt that it will be easier to explain abroad what level the programmes offered are. "Before, the Dutch degrees were perceived as a first degree," explained a policy officer of ε. However, the level of alumni was at masters level, which would be a second degree.

Actors at β argued that the introduction of the new two-cycle system has given a boost to internationalisation and the thinking about internationalisation. The change of programmes to the new structure has increased the awareness at β that it needs to operate on a European or international market. The new system also contributed positively to the start-up of the University College, as its Dean stated.

Furthermore, the change of the programme to the bachelor master system has been used by β as a support to achieve other goals in the area of education as well. After the implementation of the bachelor master programmes, a new project was started, as a sort of follow up, to renew the educational profile of β. This project had 4 main topics: new target groups, curricula, the way of educating and the organisation of education.

The hogescholen are more critical towards the choices made concerning the implementation of bachelor and master programmes. They are hoping for a more level playing field in terms of titles and funding in the future. A board member of γ suggested coming to a new type of classification for higher education, such as the Carnegie Classification[3], instead of the current binary system, which should provide more clarity on the content of the programmes and lead to a more level playing field for all the higher education institutions involved.

EU programmes

Most actors state that EU-programmes for education and research have had a positive influence on internationalisation. For example, ERASMUS has pro-

3 For more information on the Carnegie Classification, see http://www.carnegiefoundation.org/Classification/.

vided many Dutch students with the opportunity to go abroad and many students come to the Netherlands using this programme. As one of the deans at β stated, "this was of an impulse to internationalisation at β, as this exchange and first acquaintance with teaching to foreign students made staff enthusiastic about the idea". Furthermore, some actors at departmental level in the institutions stated that the Research Framework Programmes have brought them new foreign contacts, which they would not have got otherwise. This is often also due to the fact that participants from certain countries, which the researchers otherwise probably would not think of including as they had no experience with them, were asked to be included in proposals for the Framework Programmes.

The Research Framework Programmes can also be a guide to the direction of research, as much funding can be obtained through the programme. As a dean of α put it, "the framework programmes do not determine the main direction of the research programme, but it can lead to adjustments. The researchers try to fit in with what is being asked. As the latest framework programmes have a broader objective, it is now easier to fit in research, which was already being done in the organisation; it has become easier to find funds for research already undertaken".

6.3.2 Normative pillar

Background and tradition

Paragraph 6.2 shows that there are different motives and/or influences for internationalisation, partly due to the background of an institution and the disciplines involved. It might be said that ε and α work on internationalisation as part of their institutional tradition, but that the agricultural discipline of ε is also of influence, just as the international orientation of Arts is of influence to δ. Internationalisation at β started under the influence of its geographical location, while γ has only recently increased attention for internationalisation, to which current European and international developments are of influence. Furthermore, the cases of ε, β and to some extent α show that a decrease or expected decrease in student numbers can be a boost to internationalisation of an institution.

Cooperation and competition

Cooperation can come in all sorts of sizes and shapes, and participation can be sought for different reasons as an inventory of all the networks of ε showed (e in International Consortia). ε participates in 12 international consortia in different areas. Reasons for participating in international consortia are the exchange of information, to influence the research agenda setting, to contribute to policy formulation as well as establishing partnerships to build critical mass for joint activities in education and research. The investment of staff per consortia differs from 5 to 100 days a year. The financial investment is

not known for all the consortia involved, but varies at least from € 5,000 to € 68,000. The investments are focused on the European consortia and the domain of education. Besides the Euroleague for Life Sciences, the ICA (Inter-University Consortium for Agricultural and related Sciences in Europe) is another consortium in which ε mainly focuses. Investments in research-oriented consortia in Europe and the South are limited.

The inventory made by ε also showed that it is difficult to calculate direct benefits from participation in consortia. Nevertheless, ε concluded that participation in these consortia is important to them, for the reasons stated above, and that they wish to expand their participation in networks as not all areas which they want to cover are covered by their current networks.

Furthermore, cooperation through networks can also be sought at departmental level, for similar reasons as for institution-wide networks. Quite often it is felt at departmental level that the institution-wide networks do not really fit their specific needs or include the faculties they would like to see included. These needs can be better served in more disciplinary oriented networks. An example of such a network is SARFAL, which was founded by the Faculty of Law of α. Furthermore, as explained by a dean at β, these types of networks can be of specific use in attracting and selecting foreign students. As the dean argued, recruiting with the help of a familiar network has the advantage of more certainty about the quality of students coming into the programme.

Finally, in some cases starting a network can open up opportunities that might otherwise not be available. This was the case with δ, who felt that part of being a higher education institution in Arts included doing research in this area. As mentioned before, this stance was somewhat unusual for Dutch hogescholen, especially in the 1980s, and there was no public funding available for this type of activity. δ was able to get involved in (international) research projects through the founding of CITE[4], Centre for International Technology and Education. CITE was set up at the end of the 1980s as a University Enterprise Training Partnership. From the beginning, many projects of CITE, including research-oriented projects and the development of masters programmes, have been funded by the EU. CITE has been a gateway to Brussels for δ. Through these projects CITE has helped to strengthen the international position of δ and their claim of being a specialised institution that offers all types of degrees, including PhD degrees.

4 Other partners in CITE are: Portsmouth University, Portsmouth, United Kingdom, The London Institute, London, United Kingdom, Universitat de les Illes Balears, Palma de Mallorca, Spain, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, Spain, Centre National de la Bande Dessinée et de l'Image, Angoulême, France, ENSCI Les Ateliers, Paris, France, Dublin Institute of Technology, Dublin, Ireland, University of Art and Design Helsinki, Helsinki, Finland, Merz Akademie, Stuttgart, Germany, The Design Academy, Eindhoven, The Netherlands, University of Glasgow, Glasgow, United Kingdom, NFTS - Createc, United Kingdom.

6.3.3 Cultural-cognitive pillar

One indicator of the acceptance of ongoing internationalisation at Dutch institutions can be the use of foreign language in teaching. It should be mentioned, however, that acceptance may differ by discipline. For example, at δ, where internationalisation is something very natural, more and more programmes are being taught in English, and this is not really a subject of discussion. It is taken for granted, as δ attracts many foreign students (see 6.2), which fits the general idea that arts are international. However, at most other institutions in the study, teaching in a foreign language, usually English, might be something which central level would like to introduce in order to be able to attract more foreign students, but is also something which usually leads to debates and some protests at departmental level. For example, when α announced that it wanted to offer all master programmes in English, this led to protest from several faculties, such as Philosophy and Law, who argued that in their disciplines teaching in English would not be functional. "German and French are also languages often used in philosophy, and it would not help the quality of teaching to have a Dutchman teach French texts in English. This is a typical case where English is not functional, and where French would be more useful" argued the dean. In the faculty of Law it is sometimes felt that teaching in English is not functional as the object of study, Dutch law, is so national. These kinds of protests have led to an exception to the general rule when English as the language of instruction is not perceived to be functional for the course being taught.

6.4 Organisational responses

In the previous paragraphs reasons why the institutions are working on internationalisation were discussed, as well as their perception of European, international and global developments. The next section focuses on the organisational response of the institutions to the developments and the perceptions of the developments.

6.4.1 Internationalisation activities at the institutions

α has had an international orientation and tradition. Many researchers of α are internationally active and the institution has a good international reputation, mainly based on its research achievements. Leiden also aims for good quality in education. α wants to use these two assets, international reputation and quality of education, to attract international students. These assets are not being used to make a profit, but to increase revenues and to maintain a sufficient number of students in the years to come as α fears that with the introduction of bachelor and master programmes the number of national masters students will drop. In general, it is felt at α that internationalisation is an important development and the university has a strong ambition in the area of internationalisation, expressed in several policy documents and in the

interviews. In this ambition for internationalisation special attention is given to Europe, as α wants to be a leading research-intensive university in Europe.

To attract many international students and further the internationalisation of the institution, α has set up a special organisation to achieve this objective (see next paragraph). α has also undertaken initiatives for cooperation with foreign institutions, such as the LERU. α is working on its international position and is discussing the contribution of staff and students to this goal. The institution is working on international marketing, is changing the language of instruction in certain programmes, participates in international research and is involved in some joint degree programmes.

Internationalisation is something that comes naturally to β, partly due to its geographical location. β is close to both the German and Belgian border and attracting students from the border region has been natural to the UM for a long time. β is currently working on expanding its view. It wants to go from "Euregional to international", with a special interest in Europe. One of the reasons for this expansion is the changes the introduction of the bachelor-master system are expected to bring, especially the master programmes. β expects that mobility, both within and outside the Netherlands, after obtaining a bachelor degree will increase. If β wants to maintain, or even strengthen, its current position, the number of masters students needs to increase. β is also working on further internationalising the curriculum as for example the faculty of law has done with the European Law School (Faculteit der Rechtsgeleerdheid Maastricht, 2004).

Part of the precondition for recruiting more international students is changing the language of instruction to English. As the recruitment of international students is mainly aimed at the master programmes, β has decided to increase the number of English taught master programmes. β is aiming for a minimum of 50% of the master programmes and 50% of the PhD programmes being taught in English by 2005.

β is also one of the partners in the ALMA-network, which is a cooperation between the four universities in Euregion Meuse-Rhine and was set up in 1991. Other universities in this network are the University of Aachen (Germany), University of Liége (French-speaking Belgium) and Diepenbeek (Dutch-speaking Belgium). β also works together with a Flemish university in the Transnational University Limburg.

Furthermore, β has set up a new college to offer a broadly oriented international programme, the University College (UC). This college offers an internationally oriented bachelors programme, to which staff from the whole of β contributes courses. All courses are in English and the student body is very international. The UC currently has 150 students of 28 different nationalities. The goal is to enrol 50% Dutch students and 50% foreign students, which at the moment is 40-60 respectively.

γ does not have a long tradition in internationalisation. Internationalisation was put on the agenda of γ at the end of the 1990s and has since received increasing attention. Several policy documents on internationalisation have been published over the last few years and the topic is being referred to in general policy documents as well (see for example Idealisme in learning communities, Fontysstrategie 2003-2005, and Fontys Internationaliseringsbeleid, 2003). In the strategy for the coming years, it is stated that γ (as well as other hogescholen) will experience the impact of national higher education policy becoming more and more situated in a European perspective and influenced by European developments, such as the Bologna Declaration. Furthermore, in its latest policy document on internationalisation, γ expresses that it wants to be an important actor on both the national and international market for education and training.

Further objectives in internationalisation have been set along three lines. First, γ wants to work on the internationalisation of its regular programmes, such as by internationalising the curriculum, internationalisation at home, increasing student- and staff-mobility and making the programmes more internationally transparent with the help of the introduction of ECTS and a diploma supplement. A second line is the gradual increase in German and English taught programmes for foreign students. This should help to improve the position of γ in the international market and opens up possibilities for cooperation with foreign institutions. Furthermore, these programmes can help to sustain the total number of students at γ, if the inflow of national students might drop. Third, γ wants to be active in international projects for third parties and to conduct projects in developing countries.

From the start in 1987, the general viewpoint at δ has been that, by its nature, art is international. It crosses all sorts of borders, and not just the borders of countries. Art is influenced by, and reflects on changes on a global scale and a global society with its different cultures all over the world. At δ this is referred to as inter-culturalisation. Although art might be influenced by global developments and different cultures, some feel that art at δ is still very typical of Western European culture. The actions taken by δ to work on internationalisation are described in the Beleidsplan Internationale Zaken 1998-2002 (Policy International Relations 1998-2002), which is currently being updated. In this policy it is expressed that δ wants to be an international Hogeschool, which not only has a place in Utrecht and the Netherlands, but also in the world. This is in line with the idea of art being international by nature. It implies a certain self-evidence in maintaining and undertaking international contacts, the presence of foreign staff and students, mobility abroad for study and work, knowledge of international developments and functioning in multilingual situations. This furthermore implies that δ undertakes many activities to work on the internationalisation of the institution, such as participating in international networks, introducing the European Credit Transfer System, support for international

internships, the intake of foreign students in regular first degree programmes and so on.

Traditionally, ε has a strong international character. The agricultural discipline brings this to the university, but also the historical background of the university. ε has had an interest in development aid to third world countries, sometimes referred to as the South, especially in the former Dutch colonies, in which agriculture was an important economical activity. Through these activities many researchers in ε have established contacts with foreign colleagues.

Over time the objectives of the internationalisation of ε have changed. Just after World War II the emphasis was placed on the question of where in the world agricultural products were being produced. In the next period, starting in the 1960's, the focus of internationalisation shifted to development aid and capacity building in third world countries. At first, the countries involved were mainly the former Dutch colonies, but this has since expanded. Nowadays, students are recruited from many countries, with a newly added emphasis on Europe. Development aid is no longer the main objective; it is now also to increase the income of ε and to increase the number of students, as the number of national students was dropping. The internationalisation of education has received renewed attention at e. The decrease in student numbers and the introduction of the bachelor-master system in the Netherlands were the main reasons for this renewed attention. Some respondents even refer to internationalisation and attracting foreign students as a survival strategy for ε, as the national market is decreasing.

ε has integrated its international programmes into its regular master programmes with the change to the bachelor-master system. ε had already started the integration before the change to the new system by teaching similar parts of both the international and regular programme to both groups of students at the same time. The integration is much more efficient than teaching the same course twice. Furthermore, the integration means that all master programmes at ε are now taught in English.

ε is actively involved in the Euroleague for Life Sciences (Euroleague, 2004), which is a network of universities working in the field of life sciences. Finally, ε is also involved in joint degree programmes (through the Euroleague) or joint provision of programmes, such as a programme with the Chinese Agricultural University (Bsc Food technology, 2004).

6.5 The impact on the building blocks

6.5.1 Social structure

The institutions in the study are working both top down and bottom up on internationalisation. In general, the central level will set out the general policies and try to create the right conditions for the departments to function in, while the departments provide input to these policies. The central boards

regularly meet with deans and/or directors to tune the general policies and in some cases, as at β, the deans of the faculties are part of the management team or, as in the case of δ, the chairs of the faculties meet on a weekly basis to together determine the general policy of the institution. Close cooperation between central level and heads of departments has the advantage, according to some of the respondents, of the heads of departments becoming more committed to the institutional policy and more strongly defending this policy in their own departments, if necessary.

In four of the five institutions, the general structure of the organisation concerning internationalisation is as follows. The central board, with the help of policy officers, sets out the general institutional internationalisation policy. At central level there is usually what is called an international office, providing practical support to staff and students, as well as advice to the central board. Usually, there will also be support staff at sub-central level.

In some cases there is (also) a project team within the institution, which works on new initiatives in internationalisation as for example at e. At ε, a project team initiated new policy and made an inventory of all relevant information concerning internationalisation. The project team includes a policy officer for internationalisation, a general policy officer, support staff involved in the ERASMUS programme and representatives from all the schools. The representatives from the schools are also responsible for implementing the project objectives in their own schools.

The situation is different at α, which presents an interesting alternative and perhaps a somewhat unexpected approach for a more traditional research university. At central level of α there are two units working on internationalisation: Leiden University Worldwide Programmes (LUWP) and the international office (IO). LUWP was set up in 1999 to recruit foreign students and to market in foreign countries master programmes offered by α. It was set up as a private enterprise (B.V.), because it was felt that in order to achieve quickly the ambitions set out, a dynamic and new organisation was needed. This could not be achieved if the standing organisation at α did not change. Considering the ambitions that were set, a private enterprise, not bound by the bureaucratic burden of a university, seemed a good and practical choice. In 2003 the LUWP was evaluated and it appears that the organisation has been successful in its work: “With 400 international students, LUWP is one year ahead of recruitment targets” (Evaluatie, 2003: 3). But there is also still much to be gained. Some faculties are rather critical about the functioning of LUWP, which appears to be the result of insufficient communication between LUWP and the faculties and the lack of transparency for the costs LUWP incurs in recruiting students and the costs the faculties themselves incur for the international programmes. The faculties feel they have to pay too much to LUWP.

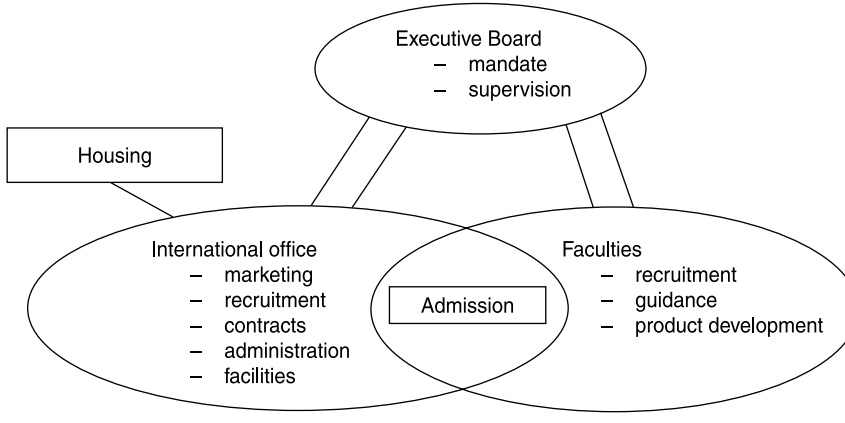
The IO is the more traditional unit in the university organisation working on international cooperation and exchange. This unit is responsible for EU

scholarship-programmes as well as other international scholarship-programmes. The IO is also the admissions office for international students who want to enrol in bachelor and master programmes taught in Dutch and has some facilitating responsibilities such as housing for international students.

Both the Stuurgroep Internationalisering en Onderwijs and the Evaluation Committee have recommended combining the tasks of the LUWP and the IO in one unit, in which the dynamic culture of LUWP is upheld (Evaluatie, 2003: 4). This should help to simplify the communication with the faculties and students, as they will avoid duplication by having just one office for all information. This merger is currently being discussed. Part of this discussion is the legal status of the unit: whether it should be a private enterprise like the LUWP or a unit within the regular university organisation.

The Stuurgroep has presented a new organisational structure for internationalisation at α. In this structure both the faculties and the new international office play an important role and they need to cooperate in recruitment and admission. The new organisation is currently under debate at α.

Figure 6.1 Organisation of internationalisation (Stuurgroep Internationalisering en Onderwijs)



6.5.2 Goals

As most institutions in the study have been working on internationalisation for a long period of time, a shift in objectives and goals concerning internationalisation can be seen. The institutions are broadening and expanding their activities and/or view. Activities now include student and staff exchange, internationalising curricula, international cooperation as well as attracting foreign students. Increasing the number of foreign students is an explicit goal

for ε (see below), β, α and γ. Both β and α fear that with the new bachelor and master programmes students might leave after obtaining a bachelor degree and that it will be difficult to attract enough master students on the national market. Therefore, they are expanding their recruiting area. At γ it is also stated that attracting foreign students can help to sustain the total of number students, if the inflow of national students drops in the future.

At δ the total application of students already exceeds the possible intake of students, which means that δ does not have an explicit interest in increasing the number of foreign students, also because there are already quite a lot foreign students.

An interesting example of shifts in objectives over time is provided at ε, as explained by several actors. Just after World War II the emphasis was placed by ε on the question where in the world agricultural products were being produced. In the next period, starting in the 1960s, the focus of internationalisation shifted to development aid and capacity building in third world countries. At first, the countries involved were mainly the former Dutch colonies, but this has since then expanded. Nowadays, students are recruited from many countries, with a newly added emphasis on Europe. Development aid is no longer the main objective; it is now also to increase the income of ε and to increase the number of students, as the number of national students was dropping. Some actors at ε even refer to internationalisation and attracting foreign students as a survival strategy for ε, as the national student market in agriculture and life sciences is decreasing.

6.5.3 Participants

A short description of the participants in the organisation concerning internationalisation was already provided above. This description shows that support staff at both central and non-central level are usually involved in internationalisation. Academic staff are often involved in the internationalisation of research and might also be involved in the internationalisation of education, but this is, in general, less common than being involved in international research. Furthermore, the cases of δ and ε show that the more internationalisation is taken for granted, the more staff are likely to be involved. In these two institutions it is argued that internationalisation is something in which practically all members of staff, both support and academic, are involved.

All institutions in the study have a support office at central level that helps both students and academic staff in internationalisation. This office can also provide support to non-central support staff in internationalisation, as is for example the case at γ. Furthermore, generally the central office will keep other staff, in particular at non-central levels, informed about international developments and are often involved in institutional policies for internationalisation. These central support offices are also the ones responsible for the administration of most scholarship programmes.

6.5.4 Technology

As a response to the developments described above and to attract foreign students (a central goal of many of the institutions in the study) many new technologies have been introduced as well as introductions to changes in technology. The approaches and activities of the institutions differ slightly; although the general line is that the institutions are changing their programmes or setting up new programmes in which foreign students can enrol.

One option, chosen by ε, when changing to bachelor and master programmes, is to integrate international programmes into regular programmes, in which both foreign and Dutch students can be taught simultaneously. ε had already started the integration before the change to the new two-tier system by teaching similar parts of both the international and regular programmes to both national and international students at the same time. The integration is much more efficient than teaching the same course twice. Furthermore, the integration means that all master programmes at ε are now taught in English, and a policy officer concluded that “this means that the entire organisation is now involved in internationalisation”.

Another option is to set up joint degrees, as for example has been done for European Studies at α together with Bilgi University in Istanbul, Turkey. It must, however, be said, that α also feels that these type of programmes should not be a priority, as their objectives can often also be achieved in other ways. Joint-degree-programmes are often quite costly for students and difficult to set up, because of national rules and regulations in the two (or more) countries involved (Stuurgroep Internationalisering en Onderwijs, 2003). The experience of β with TUL has also shown some of the problems in dealing with more than one set of national rules and regulations. ε has also set up a programme jointly provided with the Chinese Agricultural University (CAU). Some institutions, such as γ, are providing programmes (bachelor or master) for only foreign students. γ offers several bachelor programmes in English or German.

An institution may also decide to set up a new unit to offer an internationally oriented programme to attract an international student body, which β has done with the University College (UC). This college offers an internationally oriented bachelors programme, to which staff from the whole of β contributes courses. All courses are taught in English and the student body is very international. The UC currently has 150 students with 28 different nationalities. “The goal is to have 50% Dutch students and 50% foreign, which at the moment is 40-60 respectively” states the Dean of UC.

The institutions in the study are all aware of the fact that sufficient command of the foreign language, by both staff and students, is necessary to maintain a good quality of education. This is why students often need to pass a language test before entering a programme and language courses are available for staff.

6.6 Fostering and impeding factors

6.6.1 Fostering or impeding national policies and regulation

General higher education policies and regulation might be impeding the internationalisation of higher education in some cases, as the experience of β with the Transnational University has shown. The tUL is a cooperation between β and a university in Belgium and can be seen as a new university with a basis in two countries. tUL offers programmes in life sciences and information technology. However, a board member of β explained that it has proved to be very difficult to come to far-reaching cooperation when having to deal with two different sets of rules and regulations in two different countries, "... it is impossible to work with two regulations". National regulations can thus be a major obstacle to internationalisation and deregulation is needed to solve these problems and to simplify far-reaching cooperation between two institutions from different countries.

To remedy this disadvantage the bachelor educational programmes have been put under either β or the Belgian university. Notwithstanding the administrative measures, cooperation continues.

On the other hand, what at first appear to be impeding and constraining national policies and regulations to higher education can also lead to an increase in international contact as the case of δ shows. δ wants to be a specialised institution offering bachelors, masters and PhD degrees, as is perceived by the actors at δ to be common in the education of arts in other countries, but not for Dutch hogescholen. Before the introduction of the bachelor-master system in the Netherlands, δ could not offer officially recognised and validated masters or PhD degrees on its own. To be able to offer these degrees, they had to seek foreign (English) partners, which led to the so-called u-turn-constructions. The masters degrees were awarded through these English partners. One faculty of δ has even seen its first PhD graduate with the help of an institution in the UK, which is quite unusual for a Dutch hogeschool.

Furthermore, at the end of the 1990s, δ sought and obtained accreditation by the English Open University (OU), meaning that they are now able to offer OU-validated programmes. Although with the introduction of the bachelor-master system and the accreditation-scheme δ could seek accreditation within the Dutch national framework, they will, for the time being, continue the relationship and accreditation with institutions in the United Kingdom. δ first wants to see how the new situation in the Netherlands develops, although cooperation with the university in the same city as δ is sought. It could be that in the future δ will become an independent part of this university (persbericht UU: http://www.uu.nl/uupublish/homeuu/nieuwsenagenda/183main.html and www.psau.nl).

6.6.2 Fostering or impeding factors in HEIs

The growing interest of most staff members at the institutions in the study is perceived as a factor that is fostering internationalisation. Quite often once somebody gets started with internationalisation, other staff members will see the benefits it can bring them and will join the early birds.

Most other fostering factors to internationalisation can become impeding factors when the institutions do not handle them correctly. Three such factors that are often mentioned by actors from all levels of the institutions are available funds, command of a foreign language and investment of time. Internationalisation can cost a lot of money, for example travelling expenses, and if sufficient funds are available this can obviously help internationalisation, whereas insufficient funds will have the opposite effect. Offering programmes in a language spoken by many people all over the world, such as English, open up programmes to these people and thus foster internationalisation. However, insufficient command of the language by either staff or students can lead to a loss in quality of education. Many staff members feel they do not have enough time to invest in internationalisation. Many still see internationalisation as something they have to do next to their regular activities and investing time in internationalisation then means reduced time for other activities. If staff have (more) time available for internationalisation, this could foster internationalisation instead of impeding it, which the lack of time is doing.

Finally, another impeding factor often mentioned by many respondents is the availability of housing for foreign students. Quite often it is very difficult to find sufficient housing for foreign students coming to study at one of the institutions. One department of γ actually had to house some of its students on a camping side outside of Eindhoven, explained the director of this department. γ is hoping to solve this problem together with the Technical University Eindhoven and the municipality of Eindhoven. Similar cases can be found with some of the other institutions.

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7. Internationalisation and academic hierarchies in Greece: Culture, power and agency

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7.1 Institutional profiles and history: Internationalisation policies and activities

The Greek sample included four universities and one technological education institution that differ substantially with respect to size, history, location, scientific fields and prominence of teaching or research activities. Differences between the university and the technological education (TEI) sectors have led to different perceptions of and responses to internationalisation and Europeanisation. As will become clear in this chapter, historical circumstances, networks developed by academics (varying by discipline) and the prominence of disciplines/faculties have played an important role in the internationalisation activities.

Internationalisation activities are related to an institution's positioning in the informal national hierarchy of HEIs and are promoted if they are enhancing the status of the HEI/faculty nationally and in the EU. According to the ranking of university student applicants, α is the most prestigious, followed by $\beta 2$, followed by $\beta 1$.

7.1.1 HEI α: Historical links with ethnic Greeks and recent developments

α exemplifies the "national comprehensive" university. It is the oldest and largest Greek university, is prestigious and safeguards its traditions. Nearly all scientific fields are included. The university comprises five schools and five independent faculties. Humanities are prominent and health sciences are particularly strong. Over 60 postgraduate programmes are offered.

Up to 1920, α enrolled a high percentage of ethnic Greeks (Tsoukalas, 1987: 433-434). Historically, α catered for the needs of communities established in South Eastern Europe: the "Greek irredenta". The attraction policy for ethnic Greeks was an indispensable part of the international dimension of the state education policy in the 19th and early 20th centuries. It consisted in the exposure of ethnic Greeks to "national ideals" which they spread upon their return to the Greek irredenta (Papadiamantaki, 2001:109). So α was the locus of training of the Greek intellectual elite. The academics were usually educated in Europe, and later on in the US and the UK, and they were called to formulate the national discourse and "serve the social reproduction of a geographic space that exceeded the borders of the Greek State" (Tsoukalas, 1987: 443).

University α enrols a significant number of full course foreign students either allocated by the Ministry of Education (undergraduate level) or selected by the faculties (postgraduate level). The numbers enrolled relate to existing quotas for foreign students and the limited resources.

α has mechanisms for the management of international affairs and student mobility, even prior to the inauguration of EU student mobility schemes. It operates the oldest Greek language centre for instruction of Greek to foreign students. In the 1990s an independent ERASMUS section was established within The International Relations Office to monitor the mobility of ERASMUS students. α also has a separate Office to inform academics on European R&D programmes. The university participates in most EU programmes (Leonardo, Tempus, Jean Monnet) and Socrates actions (ERASMUS, Minerva, Lingua and Grundtvig). It has many inter-university bilateral agreements, including countries in the Asia/Pacific region. However, the university leadership assigns importance to international activities that target ethnic Greeks and Greeks abroad. Such activities are perceived as compatible with the university's mission. To this end, α funds two programmes: THYESPA and Helladia. Other internationalisation activities are low on the university's policy agenda and seen as peripheral to the university's mission.

The leadership considers the SYLFF Programme (Ryoichi Sasakawa Young Leaders Fellowship Fund), offering scholarships for studies in Japan, to be a successful example of "cooperation with a far away country". In the period 1993-2002, 102 postgraduate students have received SYLFF scholarships (Panorama, 2002: 360).

As a matter of policy, α encourages faculties to develop their own initiatives. A high degree of loose-coupledness in the administration of internationalisation activities, personal initiative and contextual resources contribute to the development of some interesting activities in specific fields of study, promoting internationalisation of the curriculum, student and staff mobility. As examples one may cite:

- The MPhil in Economics, now an integral component of the PhD programme of the Faculty of Economics. The programme has four innovative features: all courses are given in English; the academic staff is highly internationalised; admission standards are very high; funding is provided by "sponsorships", not state funds. It is offered to students free of charge aiming to attract high quality students, both Greek and foreign. This is an impressive development, since the operation expenses of the programme are well above average.
- The Masters programme on Education and Human Rights offered by the Faculty of Early Childhood Education and the Institute of Education, University of London. The programme promotes internationalisation of the curriculum, students and the teaching staff. It includes courses at the IoE, where students spend two trimesters.

- The Masters' programme in South Eastern European Studies in the Faculty of Political Sciences and Public Administration in cooperation with ten universities from Balkan and Eastern European countries. The programme, set up with initial funding from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, addresses international students from all the universities involved. All courses are in English.

International activities in teaching are not generated in the most prestigious faculties, such as Medicine and Law. They are generated in medium-prestige faculties, with dynamic and aspiring professors. It is possible that the willingness to work towards such programmes reveals the capacity and the aspiration of middle-prestige faculties to ameliorate their positioning in the university hierarchy (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides et al 2000a: 10-11). Prestigious faculties with an interest in internationalisation (e.g. Medicine) are extensively involved in large-scale, competitive research projects. Three out of the four academics interviewed in the faculty of Medicine are involved in research funded by the US, Canada and Australia and to a lesser extent by the EU (5th Framework Programme).

One respondent pointed out that "the extensive funding necessary for the development of research projects in the field of Medicine favours collaboration with the US. Lack of funding mechanisms hampers collaboration with Eastern European countries" (non EU members). Only in the domain of accident prevention has such collaboration been developed, through participation in the WHONET, (the network of the World Health Organisation for the Surveillance of Antimicrobial Resistance). This consists of quality control procedures and an electronic code and data format in hospitals through the use of the WHONET software.

7.1.2 HEI β1: A culture of "brain exchange", transfer of knowledge and research orientation

β1 is a relatively young spilt-campus comprehensive university, located on an island. One campus comprises the faculties of Science and Medicine and another the faculties of Philology, Social Sciences and Education. β1 has an accentuated scientific and even technological orientation, despite the fact that it does not include engineering. Since the 1980s β1 has grown significantly, in terms of student, staff and scientific fields. The university actively promotes an international and European profile in teaching and research and promotes ERASMUS student mobility schemes.

The establishment of β1 coincided with the development of research institutions. The central policy to promote research was reinforced by academics and is reflected in the university's structure, especially in Medicine and the Sciences. This was reinforced by The Foundation of Technology and Research (FORTH-HELLAS) comprising eight specialised research institutes. These participate in spin-off companies and joint ventures with industrial

partners. FORTH-HELLAS institutes are independent. They nevertheless participate in the development of interdisciplinary postgraduate programmes, especially in Medicine and Science. The institutes cater for the research activities of academics, grant fellowships, and are involved in training researchers.

β1 is an example of "brain-exchange" and of the possibilities of the university system to profit from a pool of Greek scientists abroad (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides et al 2004:198). Upon the university's establishment a large number of Greeks employed at US universities were invited to join the academic staff of β1, on joint appointments. Academics used the experience acquired in the U.S. Facilitated by the MoE policies and the Law framework of the 1980s, β1 adopted a collegial faculty structure. Science Faculties structured postgraduate programmes on the U.S. model with a full course curriculum, laboratory rotations and qualifying examinations.

Some faculties designed strategies to enhance the status and competitiveness of new departments in the university system. In the Faculty of Biology: "in terms of subject matter, the emphasis was placed on areas in which a critical mass of internationally competitive faculty could be attracted, and which offered the possibility to play a pioneering role in higher education. Focal areas included molecular genetics, cell and developmental biology, marine biology, applied biology and biotechnology". The faculty is in contact with Harvard University and the University of Southern California, where two Professors held joint appointments.

Currently β1 promotes an international rather than European approach to internationalisation, as academics do not wish, neither conceptually nor pragmatically, an exclusive emphasis on Europe (Scott, 1998: 93). The EPS specifies that the "links of the university are mainly in Europe but also extend to US, Australian and Middle Eastern academic institutions"... "The Faculty of Medicine and the School of Sciences have agreements with US universities involving clinical clerkships and laboratory activities. The Faculty of Medicine is active the Thematic Network on Medical Education, the Platon programme and the 5th Framework. Recent collaborations include universities in East Europe".

In the 1990s, β1 set up a European Relations Office to handle the administration of EU programmes. The Office has expanded, employing six officers to handle increased international exchanges. The Institutional Contract, the yearly reports on Socrates activities and the conclusion of inter-university bilateral agreements are the main activities of the office. β1 Was the first Greek university to top-up EU ERASMUS scholarships by a supplementary university scholarship. The university develops student exchanges with the US (EU-US agreement for educational cooperation).

The Zeus programme is a joint initiative of β1 and a New York based Greek professor, consisting of summer courses in the fields of History, Archaeology,

and Medicine. β1 Belongs to the small percentage of European universities that develop Open and Distance Learning (Kehm et al, 1998: 36).

Research is based on the links of academics with EU networks and international organisations. Such networks have developed over time, through participation of academics in research, or conferences; joint appointments in Greek and foreign institutions; consultancy work for international organisations or appointment at EU posts. For example, both the current and the previous presidents of FORTH-HELLAS, members of the Faculty of Computer Science in β1, have served on committees of the European Commission contributing to R&D policy formation. Similar links have been developed by most academics that seek participation in research projects.

Science faculties promote the mobility of doctoral candidates and young researchers (TMR project) and the development of an attraction policy of top postgraduate students (Greek and foreign). All postgraduate students participating in research projects receive a fellowship (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides et al., 2000a: 16-17). This is highly unusual for Greece, where PhD candidates are students (not part of the academic staff) and do not receive any remuneration.

The prestigious faculties in β1 (ranking suggested by interviewed academics) primarily promote internationalisation activities. They appear very active in research. This indicates that these faculties succeed in ameliorating the positioning of the respective faculties and university in the national hierarchy (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides et al 2000a: 17-18).

7.1.3 HEI β2: The modernising policy framework I: Technical orientation

β2 is the third largest university. It comprises five schools and 22 faculties serving most scientific fields. It is a comprehensive university, with prominent engineering (and science) orientation and tradition. The technical orientation of the university is related to the history of the institution and its establishment in the framework of the education policy of the 1960s.

The original plan proposed by the OECD foresaw an international orientation for the university, suggesting that courses could be taught in English (OECD, 1965). According to the cold war ideology, β2 would be attractive for students from developing countries, reducing student flows towards Soviet block countries (Pesmatzoglou, 1995: 67). The university was expected to function as a bridge between Greece and the Middle East. The World Bank provided funding and set conditions concerning the technical orientation of the curriculum, and the mode of organisation, which would be based on the collegiate department system (Vergides, 1982: 23). Such a modern university was attractive to academics who had studied in the US.

β2 supports participation in EU programmes. To this end it established (1992) an International Relations Office. The reorganisation of ERASMUS as a So-

crates action, led to an increase in the personnel of the International Relations Office and the formation of a more concrete university level policy. β2 Established KEDEK, a centre for the instruction of the Greek language to foreign students. KEDEK is an instance of State policy implemented through universities and is funded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education to promote the Greek language abroad (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides et al., 2000a: 10-11). Full course foreign students pay a fee; ERASMUS students follow the courses for free, according to the terms of Socrates. The internationalisation goals of β2 relate to its origins and research orientation: "the university enjoys a reputation for innovation and certain faculties...have been named Centres of Excellence through independent international evaluations" (EPS, 2003: 2). The internationalisation activities of β2 include:

(a) internationalisation of the curriculum in the framework of the national needs. B2 has upgraded several undergraduate programmes, and is examining the possibility of introducing courses in English;
(b) student mobility; and
(c) participation in research in interdisciplinary fields that are identified as offering β2 a competitive edge at international level. These are: biotechnology, environment, telecommunications, informatics, systems engineering, automation systems and robotics, medical physics, bioengineering, advanced materials, and education. The university is well prepared to participate fully in the 6th Framework Research Programme. In view of participation in the European Research Area, the university has established the Information Society Committee, which drafts university strategy in relation to new technologies and sets up mechanisms for their introduction in the learning process.

According to academics in β2, the Faculties of Chemical Engineering are 100% research oriented and their teaching activities are somehow downgraded. A similar orientation is evident in the Faculties of Computer Engineering and Informatics and of Chemistry. To facilitate research, academics of the Faculty of Chemical Engineering established (1984) the Institute of Chemical Engineering and High Temperature Chemical Processes (ICE-HT) as an independent research institute. In 1987 ICE-HT was incorporated into the structure of FORTH-HELLAS (network with β1 and one more Greek university). FORTH-HELLAS promotes internationalisation in teaching, through interdisciplinary, inter-departmental and inter-university postgraduate programmes in which they are active partners:

- The Programme in Applied Molecular Spectroscopy in the Faculty of Chemistry β1, in collaboration with the Faculties of Chemistry in α, Chemical Engineering in β2, The FORTH-HELLAS Institute of Electronic Structure and Lasers and The National Hellenic Research Foundation.
- The Programme in Brain and Mind Sciences offered by the Faculties of Medicine, Computer Science, Physics, Philosophy and Social Studies in

β1, in collaboration with the Faculties of Nursing, Philosophy and History of Science in α, and The FORTH-HELLAS Institutes of Computer Science and of Applied and Computational Mathematics.

- The Programme in Molecular Biology and Biomedicine, offered by the Faculty of Medicine and the Department of Biology of β1 in collaboration with the FORTH-HELLAS, Institute of Molecular Biology and Biotechnology. The institute also provides PhD candidates with fellowships, infrastructure, laboratory space and scientific guidance.

Internationalisation activities include prestigious faculties and middle-prestige faculties. β2 sees internationalisation in teaching and research as a means to attain a higher positioning in the informal hierarchy of universities (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides et al., 2000a: 14).

7.1.4 HEI δ: Internationalisation as Europeanisation in teaching and research

δ is an economics university and the third oldest HEI in Greece. Currently δ comprises eight faculties. It has an almost exclusively European orientation. Located in the centre of Athens it is the most prominent specialised university. The education reform of 1982 foresaw the reorganisation of University Education Schools into specialised universities. Since 1996, under the policy of the expansion of access to higher education, new faculties (and postgraduate programmes) have been added. δ was the first Greek HEI to introduce Master programmes in Economics and Business Administration in 1978. Extreme importance is assigned to the development of competitive, high quality postgraduate programmes. Today it offers twenty Master's and five PhD programmes.

δ has always "played a prominent role in the economic, social and political life of the country" (university website). δ, which traditionally had links with prominent private sector organisations and banks, is recently developing links with political parties, following the appointment of academics in the post of Minister of Economic Affairs.

In the 1990s, δ attracted faculty with links with UK universities (Oxford, Cambridge, London) and scientists that worked with the EC. This contributed to the development of a European orientation in teaching and research and extensive participation in 5th and 6th Framework research programmes. δ established a Research Centre to support research in the fields of economics, management and computing. Today δ develops links with the US and Canada in parallel with internationalisation through EU programmes. Currently d's internationalisation activities include:

- Promotion of ERASMUS mobility. δ is making all efforts to offer outgoing ERASMUS students extra grants and to provide full guidance to students planning to study abroad. Course recognition will be guaranteed through

learning agreements and transcripts according to ECTS rules. Fees are waived for incoming ERASMUS students in the framework of bilateral agreements. All ERASMUS activities will be supported financially in order to ensure sustainability (EPS Statement).

- Full institutional support to academics involved in trans-national cooperation projects. δ encourages and gives credit to academics involved in study programmes, intensive programmes and curriculum development. It also encourages incoming academics, who enrich the knowledge of non-mobile students in topics emphasising the European dimension" (EPS Statement).
- Provision of courses in English to facilitate incoming students and secure exchanges in the framework of the institutional contract.

7.1.5 HEI γ: The modernising policy framework II: Technical and vocational training

γ is the largest TEI (Technological Education Institution) in Greece, located in Athens. It is organised in five Schools, comprising 37 faculties. Until recently, TEIs constituted an education level lower than universities. They operated on different statutes, did not offer postgraduate studies and their teaching staff did not possess doctorates. Most of the TEI staff were not involved in research and had limited publications. Recently TEIs have been authorised to conduct research and to participate in postgraduate programmes as partners of universities. γ offers postgraduate studies organised jointly with UK universities (Manchester, Westminster and Strathclyde).

The internationalisation activities of γ relate exclusively to the EU framework and ERASMUS: The EPS states: "We have ECTS guides in more than half of our Faculties and we are working on the guides of the rest of the Faculties to facilitate implementation of the Bologna process. A measure to encourage incoming students and teaching staff is our International Programme; a full semester (30 ECTS credits) offered in English in Marketing". Recognition of the study period is ensured through learning agreements. Quality control and evaluation is achieved through questionnaires and personal contact with students. Academic supervisors sign learning agreements if the proposed studies are on the same (or a higher) level than studies in Athens. To all incoming exchange students a course in Modern Greek is offered free of charge.

TEIs were established in 1982. They succeeded the Centres for Higher Technical and Vocational Training (KATEE), which operated up to 1970. They were established to redirect the demand for university education upon a World Bank proposal that the education system should act as a lever for economic development (Pesmatzoglou, 1995: 97). The World Bank Staff Appraisal Report (Worldbank, 1978: 15-16) states: "The traditional education system, oriented towards the Humanities and Classical Studies, must be reoriented towards modern, technical education to cover the needs in human

capital". As a result of harmonisation of Greek to EU legislation, (directive 48/89 and the Bologna process), TEIs were repositioned in 2001 in the education system, as "new universities". However, the history and origins of TEIs are different from those of universities.

Table 7.1 Basic data on selected cases (2000/01)

	α	β	γ	δ	ε
Fouding Year	1837	1970	1960	1920	1982
Education Sector/ Disciplines/ National or Regional orientation	University Comprehensive National orientation All Disciplines except Engineering and Agricultural Studies	University Comprehensive National orientation Most Disciplines including Medicine Prominence of Natural Sciences	University Comprehensive National orientation Most Disciplines including Medicine Prominence of Engineering	University Specialised Economics National orientation	Technological Education Institution Regional orientation
Schools/ locations*	1	2 (Split-campus)	1	1	1
Departments/ Under-graduate Study programs*	31	21	17	8	32
Total Enrolment*	61.460	9.392	15.356	9.027	n.a.
Students Regularly Registered in Semesters*/ Percentage of total AEI or TEI student Population	37.055 (27,5%)	5.769 (3,90%)	10.354 (7,01%)	5.927 (4,01%)	(16.420)#
Full course foreign students**	2.685 (7,24%)	418 (7,24%)	694 (4,52%)	592 (9,98%)	2.010 (12,24%)
Outgoing ERASMUS mobility****	390 (1,3%)	77 (1,6%)	39 (0,4%)	132 (2,7%)	134 (1,1%)

* Source : National Statistical Service of Greece

** Source: Ministry of Education. Note: The MoE allocates foreign students to the HEIs. Full course foreign students are calculated as a percentage of the regularly registered students.

*** Source: European and/or International Relations Offices of the HEIs under study.

**** Source: I.K.Y. (Greek Scholarships Foundation). Percentages are calculated on the number of eligible ERASMUS Students, i.e. regularly registered students that have completed the first year of studies.
The absolute numbers for the year 2001-2002 are α 29.182, β1 4.657, β2 8.831,d 4.893 and γ 12.867.

Last available data for the year 1998-99

7.2 Perceptions and views on internationalisation

Most academics view globalisation as a negative development resulting from economic competition in higher education. They associate it with the commercialisation of education and the prevalence of the American and the British models of education, according to which universities should become businesses, treating students as clients. Globalisation is also associated with GATS, and some academics consider as its impact the operation of Free Studies Centres: “business institutions related one way or another to (mainly UK) universities”. The Greek higher education system is protected from globalisation influences, as the current law considers the operation of such organisations as against the law (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides et al., 2004: 209-10). Despite the conditions of financial stringency under which universities operate, it would be unthinkable to consider teaching as a money-making activity. Such a position is contrary to the principle of free education provided by the Constitution and is valued by academics.

There is no clear perception of the differences between Europeanisation and internationalisation. Internationalisation is seen positively, mainly as international cooperation among HEIs. It is perceived as a term broader than Europeanisation encompassing all activities that promote education, science and cultural understanding worldwide. Europeanisation is associated with EU policies and is seen as fostering both cooperation among higher education institutions and competition, mainly between the EU and elite US universities, but also among European universities.

7.2.1 The regulative pillar and power as rules

To clarify how institutions affect universities we first describe the influence of the legal framework on the spread of power and authority across university levels. Universities share a common legally set mode of organisation, which prescribes a detailed framework for their function, leading to similarities in their social structure. In Greece the law is understood as granting power and authority to social actors, restraining their behaviour at the same time. In the Roman tradition the law provides a framework within which provisions are detailed to the point of direct application. In cases where the law is not specific enough, it is usual to request the appropriate authorities to define the specificities of meaning and the practices to be followed.

The line of decision-making is based on administrative and executive bodies of academics and includes representatives of the other social actors, (students and administrative personnel). The power accorded to academics is based on the following provisions:

- The Senate sets university policies. It may delegate its decision-making authority to the executive body, the Rectors’ Council. The extent to which decision powers are delegated to the Rectors’ Council relates to the

history, origins and structural characteristics of each HEI. Both bodies are loci of significant power; they control the distribution of funding, suggest to the MoE the establishment of new faculties and adopt central policies.

- Top managerial, executive and administrative functions are positions of power and authority. They are performed by high-ranking, tenured academics elected to the posts. To be elected in such posts an academic needs the support of colleagues. Therefore the regulative frame facilitates the development of a culture of equality and of relationships based on a relative balance of power between academics and across faculties.
- The General Assembly of the academics (GA) is the locus of decision-making on issues related to the teaching activities of the faculty and the reform/update of the curriculum, postgraduate programmes etc.
- Academics form electoral bodies, which, through a legally set, open and transparent process evaluate candidates for election and promotion through the ranks on the basis of merit and seniority. This is presently the only institutionalised evaluation process. The law does not make reference to teaching abroad or management of student mobility schemes as activities for which the candidate receives extra credit and therefore offer limited incentives to academics to develop internationally oriented teaching. Such activities are taken into account during evaluation depending on the culture of the faculty/university.

Academics possess autonomy and a relative amount of power provided by everyday decision-making roles, which by law they are entitled to perform. A few possess considerable power provided by high decision-making executive roles, which they are elected to perform. Academics have a prominent role in shaping teaching, research and decision making activities. A few, elected to serve on executive bodies, have a role in shaping developmental decisions at university level. The Rector and Vice Rectors participate in structural decisions at the country level, as members of the Convention of the Rectors, negotiating with the MoE.

TEIs are less autonomous institutions, in the sense that there is an intermediate governing body (ITE), which counsels TEIs on curriculum structure and content. This body is involved in the development of policies. The limited institutional power of TEI teaching staff, in comparison to academics, affects the degree of agency they exhibit, renders them amenable to government pressures for the implementation of policies and less able to resist policies. The technical and vocational training orientation of TEIs, the lower qualification of TEI staff, their lower budgets and inferior infrastructure, explain their limited legitimacy in society. Other social actors, students and administrative personnel, participate in a university's administrative bodies.

Students' representatives are potentially powerful actors. The provisions of the law and the power accorded to students affiliated to political parties restrain the power of academics and influence the development of university

policies as well as MoE's policies. The participation of students in faculty GAs and the Senate accords them power, as they may block proposals of academics. In the election of the Rector and Vice-Rectors, the vote of students' representatives is the decisive factor in the outcome. The fact that these representatives are members of the student movement contributes to student power being coupled by agency. Currently the student movement represents a minority of the student body. Nevertheless, these can form a powerful force. So, students' representatives are important in university elections, as they publicise the views of the "youth sections" of political parties. The affiliation of students to political parties diminishes the autonomy of the movement but heightens the importance of the views supported by students. The students' power to influence the election of Rectors and Vice-Rectors is a way through which political parties influence the distribution of power in universities.

At first sight the administrative personnel have limited power and as civil servants they often exhibit a bureaucratic mentality. They may delay speedy action and hamper the implementation of policies and their participation in the election of university leadership renders them leverage.

The regulative framework restrains academics on issues perceived as important for internationalisation policies at university level. The law provides for:

- Uniform conditions of employment and remuneration linked to rank, which limits the capacity of universities to put to best use the potential services of highly qualified Greeks employed in foreign universities.
- A centrally controlled system of access of Greek and foreign students to undergraduate studies. Such a procedure does not allow the development of a university policy for the attraction of foreign undergraduate students and universities cannot select the best students. Such limitations are seen as hampering the competitiveness of Greek universities. This may also explain the higher internationalisation of postgraduate programmes where by law admissions are under the control of the faculty/faculties and based on selection by the academics.
- Hiring restrictions (EU controls) impede the employment of high quality administrative personnel. In this respect it was repeatedly pointed out that low-qualification administrative personnel appointed in the past is very difficult to replace and is hampering the internationalisation potential of HEIs.
- Greek universities relay on state financing and frequently operate under conditions of stringency.

7.2.2 The normative pillar: Power, hierarchies and values

Cooperation in higher education and the free and public good issue

The majority of the academics included in our sample view internationalisation activities in a framework of cooperation. The Head of the International

Relations Committee in α stated: "The university leadership is not interested in any form of competitive marketing. By contrast to the practice of other European universities, α does not aim at attracting students from far-away countries, such as China or Asia/Pacific". A similar attitude is evident in the two β universities: international research activities are promoted in the framework of higher education collaboration, Success in competitive research programmes is seen as fostered by participation in research networks.

In δ academics recognise the prominence of the Anglo-Saxon model, the economic rationale in education and the strengthening of the competitive approach. This is evident in the:

(a) set up of competitive postgraduate programmes with high fees attracting highly qualified students;
(b) election of academic staff with significant international experience and linkages;
(c) participation in open market competitive programmes and funding.

The majority of academics consider that education is and should remain a public good. The interviews confirm that a limited international approach is related to the values of Greek academia, according to which undergraduate education should be a free good, accessible to all. The language barrier takes on a new meaning since academics are reluctant to offer courses in foreign languages at the undergraduate level. This is associated with the mission and the goals of university education, its public character and the obligation to serve the needs of Greeks.

The influence of the free education principle is so strong that even foreign full course undergraduate students are exempted from tuition fees, despite legal provisions to the contrary. This university policy, supported by the State, is oriented towards safeguarding the free education for all provision and has resulted in the impossibility of internationalisation of undergraduate studies, given the limited resources of the universities and the quotas set by the MoE.

Academic freedom: power, agency and the Bologna process

Both the university and the technological sectors are under normative pressures to implement internationalisation policies related to the Bologna Process. These have not formalised into regulative pressures as yet, as legislation has been resisted and the debate is open. The MoE in this instance can be seen as an "enactor of social scripts and a carrier of international cognitive-cultural elements" (Scott, 2001: 131) conducive to structural change. The two sectors have adopted different responses towards Bologna.

The university sector followed a course involving a response of defiance (Scott, 2001: 174). The professional association of academics (POSDEP) adopted a militant stance against proposed changes and asked for the isolation of Greek universities from the Bologna process. Academics have exhibit-

ed a high degree of agency, resisted institutional pressures to the implementation of the proposed evaluation process and have done so publicly. Such a response can be related to:

(a) Some conflict of interest between academics and the MoE. In this instance MoE's interest, in alignment with the EU, was the promotion of the EHEA. By contrast, the allegiance of academics lies primarily with their constituencies.
(b) The values of academics, who object to an evaluation process diverging from the core value of academic freedom and limiting their authority to control the content of curricula. Academics in this instance act as "professionals, exercising control over state policy via cultural-cognitive and normative processes, constructing cognitive frameworks that define arenas within which they claim jurisdiction and exercise control" (Scott, 2001: 129).

Asserting power and agency: resistance to Bologna (universities)
All academic respondents agreed with – in principle – the usefulness of an institutionalised evaluation process. In the perception of academics an institutionalised evaluation process should ideally complement and not alter the current peer-group evaluation process. It is seen as different but not contradictory to current practices.

Academics' reaction should not be interpreted as opposition to a state effort to establish a new "regulatory process" (Scott, 2001: 52). By contrast some academics (in hard science disciplines and medicine in universities α, $\beta 1$, $\beta 2$) are strong proponents of stricter evaluation mechanisms considering that such mechanisms would enhance the competitiveness of Greek universities.

This position is corroborated by the fact that many faculties/universities participated in evaluation exercises carried out by third parties, as ad-hoc independent experts (α) or the EUA ($\beta 1$ and $\beta 2$). Our research indicates that international evaluators are perceived by academics as guaranteeing fairness and facilitating new cultural-cognitive elements in universities/faculties.

The majority of the academics opposed the evaluation law proposed because:
They estimate that the proposed process will evaluate universities on the basis of quantitative indicators, thinking that the Berlin Communiqué promotes shared evaluation criteria and anticipating that a number of EU-members employ quantitative indicators in ranking universities.

They fully disagree with such a process. Academics object to an evaluation process, such as the British Research Assessment Exercise that "allegedly" measures quality, because they perceive it as divergent from core academic values and as contrary to the universities' and their own interests.

The rationale for the objections to such a process is well summarised in the response of an academic who has extensive working experience abroad. He

stated: “It seems reasonable to argue that a university or faculty should be evaluated on the basis of quality and enhanced research activity ...and that funds should be distributed accordingly ...Academics in Britain, to ensure the survival of the faculty concentrated their effort on the amelioration of indices, not the improvement of quality ... academics understand how formulas work...At first, one prefers writing articles over a book, ...And then the worst happens ...self-censorship ...One avoids subjects for which “there is no market”...and prefers subjects where chances to publish are better... Maximising quality indicators and pursuing quality are two altogether different stories...although this is not obvious at first glance...in fact quantitative evaluation is catastrophic, especially for the social sciences, Things may be different in medicine and natural sciences, but at least from a social science perspective, I object to any system that would evaluate me using a formula on an excel spreadsheet. However...I would support a system based on evaluation by experts that would read my work and pay attention to my ideas. But this is an expensive system ...”.

Such cultural-cognitive elements are evident in practically all interviews. Although we have used here one extensive quotation, the need for a qualitative as opposed to a quantitative evaluation process is supported by academics in different fields and universities. (α: Faculties of Medicine, Economics, Political Sciences and Public Administration, Early Childhood Education. β1: Faculty of Biology, President of FORTH-HELLAS as well as researchers in FORTH-HELLAS institutes. β2: Faculty of Computer Science, Architecture, etc).

Autonomy, legitimacy and the implementation of Bologna (TEIs)
The lower legitimacy of TEIs in society has led the TEI teaching staff to adopt a collective strategy that fully endorses Bologna. The implementation of Bologna policies throughout the technological sector has been designed by ITE and promoted by the MoE’s Special Secretary for Technological Education. Following extensive negotiations the following have been agreed:

TEIs, adopted ECTS as a basis for transfer and accumulation. The workload for each course-unit is 30 credits and the total workload of the programme is 1500 credits.

TEIs will grant the Diploma Supplement as of academic year 2004-05. ITE agreed to provide TEIs with a standardised Diploma Supplement form. Each TEI will provide the student handbook in English.

TEI teaching staff has accepted quality assurance procedures and will upgrade their professional qualifications as requested.

Joint Master’s programmes are promoted. Many proposals (198) have been submitted for joint Master’s degrees between TEIs and UK universities. There is reluctance on the part of the MoE to approve such extensive cooperation, especially with the ones operating (unrecognised) Centres of Free Study.

Interestingly enough only nine proposals have been approved for joint Masters' programmes between TEIs and Greek universities. This illustrates the hesitation of Greek universities to cooperate with TEIs, and the reluctance of the MoE to promote collaborations with UK universities that could entail high political cost.

TEIs are currently undergoing reorganisation, including new faculties, curricula and new course-units.

It is interesting that TEIs in an effort to upgrade their status are adopting a four-year programme of studies, contrary to their commitment to Bologna. They aim for four- year studies, pressed by cultural-cognitive beliefs concerning university studies, knowing that they will not truly attain university status unless they establish four year programmes.

The response of the TEI sector can be seen as one of "acquiescence or conformity" (Scott, 2001: 171). It can be seen as motivated by hopes of additional resources (state funding) but mainly by anticipation of enhanced legitimacy and status of TEIs, through structural isomorphism with universities to be achieved through a regulative mechanism (legal reform) "that makes organisations more similar without necessarily making them more efficient" (DiMaggio and Powell 83: 148).

7.2.3 The cultural pillar: Disciplinary cultures and teaching or research orientation

All academic respondents agreed that the promotion of internationalisation varies by faculty/discipline and that related activities are not taken for granted either by institutions or academics. Internationalisation initiatives relate to the teaching or research orientation of faculties, the links of academics, their status, power and recognition by a national and international peer-group. The centrality of internationalisation issues in institutional agendas depends on historical foundations and the culture in faculties/disciplines converging to modes of internationalisation. Two types of links (national and international) appear to be associated with the development of teaching and research internationalisation activities respectively. This may explain why policies are implemented variably across HEIs/faculties/disciplines. These are:

- Links with the government and political parties through the appointment of high ranking, tenured academics in political/public posts in Greece and abroad (α). Alternatively, links may develop with prominent private organisations and appointment of academics as heads of private organisations (δ). Such links are primarily (but not exclusively) developed in the faculties of Economics, Law, Political Sciences and Public Administration. In recent years, academics in Education developed such links, through participation in the MoE and its affiliated agencies for the development of educa-

tion policy and research. The parallel careers pursued by academics usually favour the development of international activities in teaching, especially at the postgraduate level.

- Links with international networks through involvement in research. The networking of academics through research is enhanced and shaped by EU policies for R&D and the funding through Framework Programmes. Due to the worldwide (and EU) orientation towards applied research, participation in competitive programmes and the development of links with R&D policy institutions is an option more accessible to academics in Medicine, Engineering, Science and Economics. Such activities favour the development of a research orientation in the respective faculties.

Teaching internationalisation activities: History, national links and political power

α maintained close links to the government irrespective of the political party in power. Historically, high ranking, tenured academics of α – especially in the faculties of Law, Economics, Political Sciences and Public Administration, and Medicine – participated in the development of national policies. In recent years a similar pattern developed in β2 (Education) and δ (Economics). As one interviewee states: “The appointment of academics in political posts is an asset for the faculty ... these academics transfer important information to students ... their status and authority heightens the status of the faculty and makes it more attractive to students”. An Economics Professor in α remarked: “high rank academics of prestigious faculties historically provide the party in government with a reservoir of experts, that are called to serve in public posts in Greece and abroad ... or as experts in international organisations”. This development favours a specific mode of internationalisation “... as these academics transfer international experience and know-how to the faculty, but due to other obligations, they do not participate in research and are not readily available to students”.

Faculties that have extensive political networks tend to present rather limited internationalised research activities. Research pursued is usually funded through the European Social Fund/Community Support Framework funds. The participation in competitive projects, as for example TSER/IHP actions, is rather limited. An interviewee, when questioned about the participation of the faculty in the 6th Framework Programme, replied: “Currently it does not appear to be a priority ... but if in the future participation in a Centre of Excellence is deemed desirable ... I have no doubt that we’ll find a way to do it”.

Academics, in order to heighten the status of the faculty and project a high profile, promote internationalisation in teaching, at postgraduate level. Political leverage and status enable them to secure funding to set up interesting and competitive programmes, as is the case with universities α and δ.

Internationalisation of research: International culture, networks and availability of funding

Usually a research orientation is more often developed in faculties of Science, Engineering and Medicine, and is enhanced by close collaboration with affiliated research institutes. Academics in research-orientated faculties are not interested in ERASMUS. They promote instead free but targeted mobility towards the US, Canada and Australia and, to a lesser extent, towards Europe. Mobility is thus promoted without involvement of the central university authorities. Academics use their links with international networks to ensure specialised training of their brightest students in clinics, laboratories or research institutes for a period of time or for full-course postgraduate studies abroad (α, β1 and β2).

In research-oriented faculties academics are not particularly interested in ERASMUS mobility and teaching activities. Sometimes they respond to Europeanisation policies and the organisational changes foreseen by the institutional contract "in a ceremonial manner, making changes in the formal structure (of the faculty) to signal conformity but then buffering internal (research) units, allowing them to operate independent of pressures" (Scott, 2001: 175).

Although faculties tend to favour the development of either a teaching or a research orientation, it is clear that the two types of activities are connected and coincide. Therefore academics use the available networks for the development of either activity.

7.3 Internationalisation and the influence on the four building blocks

7.3.1 Social structure

Respondents indicated two effects of internationalisation on the social structure of the five HEIs:

1. A re-organisation, extension and professionalisation of services offered to foreign students.

This development is related to the implementation of EU policies, especially since 1997, i.e. the launch of Socrates II and the establishment of the Institutional Contract. All HEIs in our sample have created or further expanded existing structures, for the support of internationalisation activities, especially the mobility of students and teaching staff. The number of administrative officers working in international/European offices has increased, while there is an effort to improve the services to foreign students. All HEIs have set up websites in English to facilitate the orientation of foreign students, they have centres for the instruction of the Greek language and have extended to foreign students the provisions offered to Greeks (free meals, free health care, occasional housing and reduced public transportation fares). Finally one may

note increased cooperation of administrative personnel with academics in internationalisation activities. In all faculties an academic is responsible for the ERASMUS programme and provides guidance to students. The learning agreement is now an accepted practice, although problems concerning recognition of coursework are still reported.

2. A gradual (and still not complete) change in the decision-making process on internationalisation issues and the organisation of the registrar's offices in each faculty, to cope with the "extended" implementation of ECTS and of the Diploma Supplement.

The degree structure is not considered an issue. HEIs operate on a two-cycle structure seen as compatible to the Bologna requirements. The first cycle consists of programs of four, five or six years of studies (five year studies in engineering and agriculture, six years in medicine). Since 1992 postgraduate studies (leading to a Masters degree) were added to the already existing doctorates. Presently the second cycle is divided into (a) masters level postgraduate studies and (b) doctoral studies. It is obvious that some universities/faculties (especially ones with long programmes of study) could face integration problems, if a three year first cycle is agreed upon.

Given the compatibility of the degree structure with Bologna, the discussion concerning comparability is limited to the implementation of ECTS and Diploma Supplement. All HEIs participate in Socrates, accepting ECTS as a basis for credit and accumulation and the Diploma Supplement as part of the Institutional Contract.

The full implementation of these policies necessitates the involvement of central authorities (i.e. the Senate) in the decision-making process on internationalisation. A shift is noted from the well-known pattern whereby internationalisation initiatives were taken by individual academics or necessitated consent at faculty level (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides et al., 2000b). A reorganisation of Registrars' Offices has been necessary to cope with the recalculation of credits. The extent to which each HEI has proceeded with the implementation of these policies varies.

- Currently α, $\beta 1$ and $\beta 2$ still use the ECTS mostly as a mobility tool. Credits relate to the hours per week a subject is taught, not the workload. In α, the implementation of both policies is "at a standstill although the implementation of ECTS improved through the learning agreements with host universities" (Interview with the Head of the International Relations Committee).
- The situation is similar in $\beta 1$ and $\beta 2$. In both universities the ECTS has been used as a mobility tool for many years. The EPS of $\beta 1$ states the intention to implement ECTS in a more substantial manner. However, the Senate has not yet taken a decision. The EPS of $\beta 2$ states that the ECTS will be fully implemented; the decision of the Senate is pending.

- In all three universities an effort is made to overcome practical difficulties involved in the calculation of workload per course-unit. The view taken is that legislative action following the example of other EU countries would facilitate the implementation of Bologna. In explaining the delays in implementation, some academics pointed to the limited competences of the administrative personnel.
- In university δ the ECTS is currently used as a basis for credit and accumulation in six out of eight faculties. The two remaining faculties were established very recently and their programme is not fully developed. The Senate will pass a decision by the end of 2004, i.e. as soon as the two newly founded faculties complete the estimation of the workload of the course-units. The Diploma Supplement will be offered in 2005.
- γ is ready to implement both the ECTS and the Diploma Supplement as of 2005. Credits have been recalculated and the background work for the Diploma Supplement has been completed.

7.3.2 Goals: History, Culture and disciplinary hierarchies

The internationalisation goals of each HEI relate to institutional profile building. α is positioned at the top of the national university hierarchy and enjoys a very good reputation across Europe. It is one of the two Greek HEIs sited in the top 500 European universities. Further internationalisation would not enhance its position in Greece. The main current internationalisation goal of the university, i.e. strengthening the links between ethnic and migrant Greeks with the university and Greece, seems related to the university's mission, history and the "traditional national discourse" (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides et al., 2004: 214-215). This policy is congruent with the role of the university in educating the Greek elite across the world. It was clearly indicated that the leadership of the university is against a competitive approach to internationalisation, which is seen as contrary to the academic ethos of public education. However, α as a matter of policy encourages faculties and academics to set their own internationalisation policies and activities.

Both $\beta 1$ and $\beta 2$ are younger comprehensive universities with a research orientation. They enjoy a very good reputation in the fields of Science and Engineering respectively. Both are placing an emphasis on research in specific fields, which are considered an asset for the HEI. $\beta 1$ Has set internationalisation goals allowing it to project a higher international profile nationally and to achieve excellence at the EU level in disciplines where the university is strong and where research networking has already developed mainly in "areas of study/research, which necessitate and trigger, by their very nature, a greater degree of international networks than others" (EPS Statement, 2003: 2).

The overall goal set by $\beta 2$ is the effective interaction with its international environment "on the international scene the university participates in a large

number of European and international educational and research programmes and consortia and in all major academic associations. Its forefront scientific research has been acknowledged internationally" (university's website: Foreword by the Rector).

δ is a leader in its field in Greece and has a very good reputation at the EU level, especially the UK. Its main strength lies in the high quality, competitive Master's degrees, which are considered an asset in the labour market. The internationalisation goals and priorities of δ place extreme emphasis on the development of a systematic Europeanisation policy, both in teaching and research. The university promotes mobility in the framework of Socrates/ERASMUS. Since 1995 it emphasises research and consultancy services. As a matter of policy the university encourages participation of academics in the 6th Framework Programme aiming at the consolidation of its standing in Europe. δ is the high exemplifying the competition approach in Greece.

γ exemplifies the case where internationalisation has a "national scope" and aims at consolidating nationally the status of a new "university". γ emphasises student mobility and internationalisation of the curriculum at home as its research networks are rather limited.

7.3.3 Participants: Culture, social actors and social positioning

The main effect of internationalisation seems to be the establishment of a parallel informal hierarchy, based not on rank and seniority but on a heightened research and/or educational activity. This has been the result of (a) interviews in which we have asked academics to rank disciplines (that is faculties), and (b) the ranking of universities as it is established on the basis of ranking of the new university entrants. One should note that our sample included only five HEIs and therefore such a finding should be treated with cautiousness. It is important to stress that (a) the ranking of disciplines by academics has an astonishing and consistent similarity, and (b) the ranking of HEIs on the basis of student-applicants yields a repeated uniform result year after year. These conditions indicate a high reliability in the resulting rankings.

The consistency of the responses of interviewees suggest that success in open market competition and attraction of research funds bestows heightened power on the academics involved, allows them to set up research teams, and develop the infrastructure of the faculties and the research institutes that host such activities. Their research activities allow the faculty to project a higher profile, enhancing the status of the faculty in the informal, clear-cut Greek university hierarchy. The extent to which available opportunities were actively sought after by academics relates to historical circumstance, the age of the HEI and the extent to which appropriate structures were already in place or not.

7.3.4 Technology: Language and culture

It has already been pointed out that academics face with reluctance the introduction of course-units taught in English at the undergraduate level. According to prevailing values such a practice is contrary to the mission of higher education. Therefore the effects of internationalisation are very limited at the undergraduate level. δ Is the only HEI that offers a number of core courses in English at the undergraduate level. In this instance the decision was reached to facilitate incoming ERASMUS mobility in the framework of Europeanisation policy.

More significant internationalisation effects are evident at the postgraduate level; in the establishment of the collaborative programmes and of the study programmes in English set by α; the summer courses organised by β1. Furthermore one should note the recent (MoE) policy for the development of Joint Masters Degrees, which has the potential to further foster the internationalisation of postgraduate programmes.

The effects of internationalisation on research are pervasive. However due to the high degree of loose coupledness research activities are highly decentralised and in many cases developed in research institutes (HEIs β1, β2 and δ). EU and international policies for research and the availability of funding influence heavily the research choices of academics. Universities, when called upon to produce statements concerning their strategic future goals and mission, (Strategic Operational Plans or EPSs) present such activities as institutionally organised and supported. However they originated in the initiatives of academics that took advantage of the power accorded to them by law and the national (MoE) choices for the promotion of particular policies.

Finally it should be noted that university funding for research is miniscule as compared to what academics attract from EU, national and international funding sources. Universities' Research Committees support a number of seed research projects and influence only to a limited extent the research options of academics.

7.4 The Feedback loop: Organisations, institutions and recent developments

Changes in the normative and cultural pillar have been brought to the fore through the debate concerning Greece's participation in Bologna and follow up process.

7.4.1 Social structure

Internationalisation activities, occasionally fostered by national policies, have changed the practices, policies and mode of organisation of HEIs. One may note an incremental change in the social structure of the universities in the normative and cultural-cognitive pillars.

The policy for the expansion of higher education and the function of postgraduate programmes provide an example, as a good number of programmes have been set up through funding from EPEAEK (Operational Programme for Education and Initial Vocational Training), a Community Support Framework programme funded jointly by the state (25%) and the EU (75%). Due to financial stringency some postgraduate programmes now charge low fees to cover operation costs. A minority of high demand, high prestige and very specialized programmes, which particularly suit the needs of the labour market, charge substantial fees (e.g. MBA's offered by d). The Bologna process and the debate on relevance and quality brought to the fore the issue of specialisation, the rationale behind the set up of new programmes and of the viability of programmes when EPEAEK will come to an end.

In the last six years an evaluation culture has been promoted in Greece. This was achieved through a bottom-up policy, which encouraged institutions or faculties to participate in assessment programmes. For example, in 2001 and 2002, in response to calls for the restructuring and development of postgraduate programmes, α has addressed the operationalisation of quality standards in the delivery of product and services in a number of programmes, evaluated by external/international evaluation committees. Specifically:

- The institution has introduced and evaluated new processes of programme development;
- The needs of stakeholders were taken into account by each Faculty when (re)designing the structure the content and the operations of the postgraduate programmes and were submitted and evaluated as such;
- Quality criteria and standards were clarified and communicated in the proposals submitted evaluated, approved, enacted and completed across the institution;
- Methods to ensure quality were built in the operations and processes and these have been evaluated, approved and implemented;
- To a large extent there is a follow up to ensure continuous improvement and fine-tuning of services and processes by either internal or external (including international) evaluation mechanisms.

One may note a rising social acceptance for tuition fees at the postgraduate level by academics and students alike. This is clearly leading to the gradual dissociation between public and free education. Whereas it is undeniable that all academics stand for education as a public good it is evident to a number of academics that high quality education entails costs that are not covered by the current levels of state funding. The understanding that an increase in state funding is highly unlikely, has led some academics to argue for a pervasive legal reform regarding tuition fees and the re-allocation of funds in a more rational manner. Three out of the four interviewed Medicine professors in α argue for the introduction of a US model of scholarships to promote excellence and quality. This mentality change is noticeable in aca-

demics in highly internationalised and research-oriented fields of study, such as Medicine (α), Engineering ($\beta 2$) and Natural Sciences and Computer Studies ($\beta 1$, $\beta 2$ and γ).

7.4.2 Goals: Culture, values and agency

Internationalisation is not an issue of equal priority for all HEIs, disciplines or academics. Internationalisation is promoted if contributing to a heightened institutional profile (nationally, across Europe or internationally). Internationalisation activities vary widely at the organisational and/or faculty level. Successful implementation of policies depends on the agency of academics.

The common ground for the promotion of internationalisation and especially Europeanisation policies is the agreement that some EU policies are congruent with the goals of the institutions/faculties and beneficial to profile building. This is indicated by the common goal, stated in the EPS of all HEIs, namely participation in the EHEA and ERA. The view that Greek higher education is and should remain a part of the EHEA seems to lead to the expression of a more "pragmatic" approach that indicates changes in the normative and regulative pillars and may lead to changes in the regulative pillar. For example, although the view that an evaluation process does not measure quality is widely supported, a number of academics acknowledge that since "such processes are already widespread in the international environment, they will eventually influence Greece". In the interviews and in private discussions academics agree that something has to be done about it.

They agree that higher education is in need of pervasive legal reform. It was indicated that a law regarding evaluation and quality assurance is not dealing sufficiently with Bologna, as it is not touching upon the issues of institutional autonomy, degree structure or joint postgraduate degrees. In interviews the MoE was criticised as not adopting a clear position on these issues. Here, it should be pointed out that during the summer of 2004, when the fieldwork was completed, the MoE passed the law (3255/22.7.2004) setting the legal framework for the operation of transnational study programmes and joint degrees.

The implementation of a quantitative evaluation process specifically is incongruent with the goal of projecting a positive image in Europe. Therefore the immediate implementation of such an evaluation process would – as one interviewee remarked – "end up in results that do not reflect accurately the potential of Greek universities" and "would compromise their international standing and networking". It was suggested that if the MoE wants to promote it, it should develop weighted quality indicators taking into consideration the specific circumstances of each university (related to size, age, disciplines, location and infrastructure) and it should provide universities with:

- time to reorganise, in a way that would maximise quality indicators;
- adequate resources to do so; and

- a regulative framework that will give the universities the authority to take quick action, so as to enter the game on favourable terms.

The MoE until March 2004 insisted that legislative action was not necessary, as the existing law does not preclude the suggested activities, and in the framework of institutional autonomy universities are free to decide the implementation of policies. Upon a change of government in 2004, the position of the MoE is now changing and a discussion was held in the parliament concerning future education policy and the implementation of Bologna.

7.4.3 Participants: Power, values and resistance

The role of participants is highly important for changes in the three pillars. In the case of Greece, the most striking example of the influence of participants on the regulative pillar has been the successful blocking (in 2003) of the draft law for the establishment of the National Council for Quality Assurance and Assessment of HE.

The grounds for the collective resistance of the academics have been sufficiently described and analysed. Student associations also oppose Bologna processes and there is no Greek representation in ESIB. Students, especially in the fields of study with long first cycles, object to establishing two cycles of study which could effectively downgrade current degrees to the first cycle. They strongly object to the need for specialisation through a second cycle degree. So far, and as long as academics object to the implementation of Bologna, student protests have been avoided. University leaders are aware of the potential student mobilisation.

The deadlock cannot be fully comprehended if not placed within a political framework that takes into consideration the coalitions of power in the university sector which involve the MoE, academics and student associations. The fear of student protest and the potentially high political costs are the reasons why the MoE avoids passing legislation. This is an additional reason why academics object to an immediate implementation of Bologna.

One may note a change in the attitude of the central leadership in α regarding evaluation and ECTS. This change might be facilitated by the fact that there is more tolerance towards the new government. Given the size of α, and its importance and positioning in the local university hierarchy, one may expect that other university leaders will follow this course of action. The policies proposed are the same but the tolerance of the university leadership towards the new government appears stronger. The deadline of May 2005 seems inevitable for the implementation of Bologna.

7.4.4 Technology: Values, status and level of studies

Current practices at the undergraduate level do not promote a change of mentality concerning internationalisation. Incentives for the involvement of

academics in student exchange schemes are limited and the integration of a European or international dimension in the curriculum is a tradition in Greek HEIs relating to the international experience and training of academics and not a result of internationalisation policies. The limited internationalisation at the undergraduate level and the cultural grounds given for the use of the Greek language seem to indicate that normative or cultural changes at this level are minimal. This situation may change if HEIs proceed with the implementation of ECTS/Diploma Supplement.

By contrast, the development of internationally oriented teaching initiatives at the postgraduate level and the activities of research-oriented academics and faculties, high in the national hierarchy, seem to be more influential in changing norms and values. Collaborative programmes with courses in English are more ready to overcome the language barrier and promote student and staff exchange and internationalisation of the curriculum. Changes related to the normative and cultural-cognitive pillar are fostered by the activities of research-oriented faculties where academics and students take internationalisation activities for granted and consider them as part of what they are expected to do. Such faculties, some already participating in centres of excellence, are ready to accept the evaluation of their performance. They have established international links and regard participation in research networks and international publication of their research results as integrated in their routine activities.

7.5 Summary and conclusions: Factors that promote and impede internationalisation

Internationalisation activities reflect historical circumstances, institutional histories and missions of HEIs. Internationalisation appears related to profile building and the positioning of HEIs in the European and national hierarchy. In this respect internationalisation activities are developed and pursued by HEIs/faculties in order to (a) heighten the standing of the HEI/faculty at the EU level and/or (b) heighten or consolidate the reputation of the HEI/faculty nationally.

The centrality accorded to internationalisation in the HEI/faculty agenda depends on the agency exhibited by the internationally minded social actors for the development of the relative activities. The goals set relate to different internationalisation practices, which may coexist within a HEI as different faculties/disciplines may promote teaching or research based internationalisation policies, depending on the disciplinary culture and available networking.

1. Internationalisation as attracting students at the undergraduate level is dependent upon cultural-cognitive elements, has a uniform response and cannot be considered as a potentially extensive activity for the following reasons:

a) The regulative frame in the Constitution provides for free university education for all and open, free access to EU exchange students.
b) It seems incongruent with the values and culture of the academics and the administrative and executive bodies in all universities, which (i) value free undergraduate education as a vital principle in educational policy and practice and (ii) refuse to implement the legal frame to charge fees to any foreign students (outside EU), indicating a very strong political and cultural position regarding this issue
c) It is obvious, therefore, that the policy (set by the MoE) of specific numbers of non-EU students will continue, as it is unlikely that there will be a sharp increase of state funds to support an open admissions policy.

2. Europeanisation as conforming to the Bologna process has to be considered in terms of each constitutive issue:
   a) The structuring of university education in undergraduate and postgraduate (masters) cycles is adopted and integrated in the regulative frame, it has been practiced through the development of postgraduate programmes across the board since the early 1990's, and it is highly valued by the academics as well as the administrative and executive bodies of the HEIs. In this sense there is congruence among the regulative, the normative and the cultural frames.
   b) The adoption of Master's programmes is often promoted with an internationalisation and Europeanisation dimension, including joint programmes and teaching in another language (usually but not exclusively English) by the MoE and the academics. At the HEI level there is often a criticism towards the MoE for not providing the legal amendments considered necessary. TEIs, to enhance their positioning in the national hierarchy and their status as new universities, promote Bologna objectives. They also promote joint masters programmes, despite the unclear legal framework. They have submitted numerous proposals for the establishment of joint masters programmes with UK universities (mostly ex-polytechnics), including universities that have franchise agreements with Centres of Free Studies, through which the same degrees are currently granted (but are not recognised by the Greek State). In this instance it is the MoE that has blocked (i.e. not approved) the operation of joint masters programmes with foreign universities, due to the influences of the normative and cultural pillars, promoting instead a small number of joint masters programmes between Greek universities and TEIs.
   c) The adoption of ECTS and the Diploma Supplement varies across HEIs from accentuated implementation to partial adoption. On the one hand they are not contested per se. On the other hand there is no legislation (MoE) to enforce speedy and uniform implementation. The MoE considers that there is no need for legislation, a decision can be made by the Senate, and transfers a prerogative on the regulative

frame, which has always been controlled by the State. In the framework of a strategy of acquiescence described above and in order to strengthen their position in the field of higher education, the TEI sector has accepted the view of the MoE. Each TEI has accepted individually both the ECTS as a basis for transfer and accumulation and the issuing of the Diploma Supplement.

d) It is important to note that the historical circumstances in the establishment of the institution as well as the hierarchical positioning of the HEI in the country and its individual faculties within the HEI all play an important intertwined role in the internationalisation initiatives undertaken and their outcomes.

e) Quality assurance receives uniform response across HEIs. No regulative frame appears to function, although the MoE appears to be firm on implementing this. The normative and cultural frames of the academics are quite clear: quality assurance is understood and accepted only in qualitative terms and for the purpose of promoting quality education in the HEIs, which should be given the funds and the time to develop the infrastructure and ameliorate the administrative personnel. It is interesting to add that in an evaluation carried out at international level for one of the MAs in α it was pointed out that the qualifications of the participating academics were very high, although a point was made about the weak infrastructure. TEIs have been given time to reorganise and restructure curricula until 2008. On the understanding that funding would be provided to help them upgrade their infrastructure and "alter the overall image of the institutions", the teaching staff have accepted the need to upgrade their qualifications. Such course of action is expected to result in the positive (quantitative) evaluation of TEIs. One should note that the debate concerning Bologna is not yet over and things change even as this chapter is being written. Following a change in government in March 2004, a discussion concerning future education policy and the implementation of Bologna started in the Parliament (November 2004). The government has announced its intention to pass a law on evaluation and the implementation of Bologna by May 2005. Meanwhile, the issue concerning the operation of collaborative and joint Master's programmes has been resolved and the related Law passed (Summer 2004).

3. Internationalisation of research appears related to the hierarchy of disciplines and varies across HEIs:

a) In the university sector, involvement in research varies more across faculties/disciplines than across universities. In many cases research is the prerogative of individual academics and in many others it is the prerogative of teams working within a research institute, mainly in medicine, science and engineering. The regulative, normative and cultural frames for evaluating research are congruent and well established.

b) The technological sector until 2001 did not have the right to conduct research. They do not yet offer PhD degrees, so their involvement in research is just developing. Only recently appointed staff have research activities that were developed in the framework of past employment as researchers in the university sector or with Institutes. The views and values of such personnel are congruent with the views of academics.

The normative and cultural frames for internationalisation and Europeanisation of research are congruent across HEIs and within disciplines. The normative and cultural elements are nevertheless more established than the regulative ones.

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8. Austrian higher education institutions go international

Thomas Pfeffer, Jan Thomas and Brigitte Obiltschnig

8.1 Introduction

For a long time the higher education (HE) system in Austria has been a federal monopoly, exclusively provided by state universities (Hackl et al., 2003). Public universities used to be institutions of the Federal Ministry with little responsibility of their own and have been regulated by detailed laws. All universities were subject to a single organisational law and, in principle, were organised in the same way. Staff were mainly civil servants. Universities have received their earmarked resources from the federal budget. Everybody with a higher secondary school leaving exam has been allowed to enrol at any university of his or her choice. With the exception of the universities for arts and music, there has been and still is, in principle, no other access regulation than the school leaving exam.

During the last decade, most of these topics have been subject to reforms, aiming to increase universities' autonomy and to establish business-like structures for enhancing their quality, efficiency and financial transparency. The HE system became diversified by the foundation of a new, publicly funded sector for professionally-oriented HE, the Fachhochschule sector, in 1993, and by legal regulations for the development of a private sector in 1999.

8.2 The Austrian case studies

In selecting the case studies, the diversity of the Austrian HE system was covered by choosing institutions which represent the most relevant differences, e.g. sectors and subject areas, size, age, mission and regional distribution. We therefore selected a traditional, comprehensive university (α), a large specialised university ($\delta 1$), one representative from the group of universities of arts and music ($\delta 2$), and two examples for the Fachhochschule sector ($\gamma 1$, $\gamma 2$). Due to limited resources, we could not examine additional cases, e.g. from the new private HE sector, or from postsecondary institutions (e.g. academies for teacher training or for social work), which would have helped to further differentiate and enrich the picture.

8.2.1 HEI α

Founded in 1585, α is one of the oldest universities in central Europe. It is located in the south-east of Austria, in the regional capital, which also hosts a technical university, a university of music and a Fachhochschule. With more than 23,000 regular students (8.3% of whom are foreign students), α is the second largest university in Austria. Being a traditional comprehensive

university, it is organised in six faculties: social and economic sciences, arts and humanities, law, natural sciences, medicine[5], and theology. This very heterogeneous structure is reflected in 62 study programmes.

Table 8.1 Basic data on the Austrian case studies

2003/04	α	δ1	δ2	γ1	γ2
Total degree students	23,361	20,134	1,404	2,715	842
Year of start	1585	1898	1841	1993	1994
Disciplines	Comprehensive (Social and Economic Sciences, Humanities, Law, Natural Sciences, Medicine, Theology)	Specialised (Business and Economics)	Rather specialised (Music, Fine and performing Arts, Arts Pedagogy)	Rather comprehensive (Technology, Media, Business, Social Affairs and Health)	Rather comprehensive (Technology, Media, Business, Social Work)
% foreign degree students	8.3%	20.8%	55.8%	2.8%	13.0%
% incoming ERASMUS students	1.2%	1.3%	1.3%	1.8%	8.8%
% outgoing ERASMUS students	1.5%	1.3%	0.4%	3.6%	8.6%

α maintains good relations and contacts with actors in the regional government and the municipality of its hometown, as well as with the regional community. These actors also support the international activities of the university. Beyond that, the university has been cultivating contacts to South Eastern European (SEE) countries even in times of the cold war. During recent years, this already existing focus became formalised as an institutional priority of its internationalisation policy. The aim is to develop a special competence for SEE as a distinctive feature of the institution in the European area for research and HE.

8.2.2 HEI δ1

Founded as an imperial export academy in 1898, the institution was transformed into a higher education institution (HEI) with special focus on world trade in 1919 and upgraded to university status in 1975. The national capital Vienna is the hometown of δ1, located in the east of Austria. With about

5 By January 2004, all three faculties for medicine in Austria were separated from their former institutions and became independent universities of their own.

20,000 regular students (20.8% of which are foreign students), δ1 is said to be largest university for business administration in Europe. Another outstanding feature is the extremely high student/faculty ratio and a very low budget per student.

Given its outstanding status as the national university of economics, the institution has to take an international perspective and regards this as a core competency of the institution. Its disciplinary focus makes it easy to find a clearly defined competitive environment and to develop respective strategic goals. During the coming years, δ1 wants to reach the top five among the German speaking HEIs, and the top 15 among all European HEIs in its field. The goal of international competitiveness is the main driver behind current reforms of all study programmes. Reforms are starting at the undergraduate level, and are aiming for efficiency gains and at leveraging resources to be invested in increased research activities and in the development of graduate and postgraduate programmes. The main target areas for international activities are English speaking countries, Western Europe and Central Eastern European (CEE) countries, the last one being a new institutional priority.

8.2.3 HEI δ2

Founded in 1841, δ2 has changed its name and legal status several times. It already has been a conservatory, an academy for music and performing arts as well as an HEI, until it gained the formal status of a university for music and performing arts in 1998. It is located in the western part of Austria, north of the Alps and near the traditional transit route between Germany and Italy. The hometown is the regional capital, world famous for its culture and the annual summer festival. The university hosts about 1,400 students, with an outstanding 55.8% of foreign students.

Even if the clear focus of δ2 lies in classical music, the university provides education in fine arts and performing arts as well. In quantitative terms, one can cluster the 34 study programmes into three major groups: instrumental study programmes (more than 20, comprising the entire range of a classical philharmonic orchestra), fine arts and performing arts, and pedagogical studies for arts education. While for the performing arts obviously the German speaking countries are the main catchment area, the instrumental study programmes attract students globally, to a very large extent from Asia. In this global context, the university increasingly feels the need to improve its institutional profile with respect to quality and reputation.

8.2.4 HEI γ1

γ1 Was among the pioneers of the Fachhochschule sector, which was founded a decade ago. In 1993, the regional government together with the cities of A and C founded an association for the preparation and realisation of Fachhochschule study programmes, which started to provide first programmes in

1994. The same year, the city of B joined the association and was followed by the city of D in 2001. In the initiating phase, local objectives were predominant. From 1997 onwards, coordination and the development of a comprehensive institutional strategy became more important. The former association became a holding with limited liability, which now coordinates all activities for the Fachhochschule sector in the region. Remarkably, the central management is mainly an administrative one, without academic counterparts such as a rector or a senate.[6]

In all four locations mentioned above, $\gamma 1$ runs campuses which all focus on specific thematic priorities:

- A technology and economy (8 programmes)
- B management and leadership (5 programmes)
- C IT and media (11 programmes)
- D social welfare and health (4 programmes)

These 28 study programmes have been designed in response to local demands and to complement existing HEIs in the highly industrialised region, which is located in the central-northern part of Austria. $\gamma 1$ Has about 2,700 students enrolled (of which 2.8% are foreign students), which makes it the largest institution in the Fachhochschule sector. Generally speaking, internationalisation is important, but not a top priority of $\gamma 1$, since it has to meet regional demands and is still busy with its ongoing expansion. Different forms of international activities depend very much on the thematic focus of the individual locations.

8.2.5 HEI $\gamma 2$

Located far in the West, the home province of $\gamma 2$ is physically separated from the rest of Austria by the mountains. In 1994, an association was founded to provide Fachhochschule study programmes. In 1997, this institution was turned into a limited liability company, owned by the regional government. Being the only domestic provider for HE in the region, $\gamma 2$ enjoys a unique status and the unrestricted attention of all local stakeholders.

The institution has been continuously growing. Currently, about 850 regular students (13.0% of which are foreign students) are enrolled. The thematic variety of its six study programmes is quite broad and ranges from technical studies and IT to business studies and social work. Given the close proximity to Germany and Switzerland, cross-border activities in the region of the Lake of Constance (Bodensee) became everyday business for the institution, an experience that is helpful for international activities at a longer distance as well. $\gamma 2$ Tries to serve the economic interests of the regional economy in a

6 As a consequence, Gamma1 AT does not hold the formal status of a Fachhochschule, but that of an institution providing Fachhochschule study programmes only. However, we will ignore this distinction and call Gamma1 AT a Fachhochschule to secure the readability of this text.

pro-active way, sometimes even taking the lead. Given the high export rate of its region, the institution wants to gradually match its international activities with the regional foreign trade statistics and therefore is trying to improve contacts with South Western European (SWE) countries, especially France, Italy and Spain. Beyond that, it is building up partnerships with universities on every continent.

8.3 Perceptions of internationalisation

8.3.1 The regulative dimension

The reforms of the HE system in the 1990s can be seen as part of the internationalisation of HE policy, since they were partly triggered by the preparations for Austria's accession to the European Union. Austria wanted to participate in the European research and HE programmes. By diversifying the HE system and by increasing the autonomy of HEIs, the Austrian government wanted to adapt the national HE system to the perceived EU standards and to make HEI fit for international competition. One of the first regulations in this respect was the provision of earmarked funding for the foundation of international offices at research universities as early as the beginning of the 1990s.

It is clear that EU funds and regulations enhanced the internationalisation of HEIs. HEIs generally welcomed EU funds as an additional source of revenue and welcomed the related ideas of a European area for research and HE. All HEIs in our study have developed international offices or at least specialised administrative positions for observing the developments of respective EU programmes and for managing access to them. As respondents from some of the international offices observed, there is a certain dependency on EU funding. This raised some concerns and the fear of declining budgets for internationalisation. It is expected that an increased number of EU member states might weaken the funding basis for international activities, e.g. by reducing the per capita funding in ERASMUS. If these anticipated declines cannot be compensated by other funds (e.g. individual contributions), the position of specialised international offices might come under internal pressure as well.

Even if HEIs generally welcome EU programmes as an additional funding source, there was some criticism about funding mechanisms, since some of their consequences seem problematic. A frequent complaint concerned the requested size and the obligatory high numbers of participants in EU projects, a pattern which does not fit all types of research in the same way. A faculty member in α held the opinion that, apart from high administrative costs, these funding structures sometimes support social activities and travel opportunities more than research quality and innovation. His colleague from a different faculty stated the need for smaller, more flexible funds (e.g. € 15,000) for individual visits or to build up bilateral partnerships. A similar suggestion came from the rector at γ2.

Additionally, it was mentioned that the possible gains from EU programmes vary considerably. While EU research funds can be used to employ additional research staff, funds for student mobility go to students directly, but cause high administrative costs for the institution. Especially for smaller HEIs, as Fachhochschulen tend to be, it is crucial to balance costs and revenues, and to carefully consider in which internationalisation activity they should participate and to what extent. A respondent from $\gamma 1$ therefore was keen to warn against a too prominent use of ERASMUS data to describe or measure international activities of a HEI. She expressed a concern that other forms of international activities, like internships, research or internationalisation at home, which are more difficult to document and to put in figures, might be outweighed by ERASMUS data, which are easier to grasp from an external evaluator's perspective.

Since EU programmes lead to the development of organisational structures, shifts in EU policies can lead to unintended damages. A prominent example was reported by a dean at α. Former ERASMUS coordinators feel ignored by the introduction of institutional contracts in the SOCRATES programme. Apart from the personal humiliation of individuals this was also seen as an institutional loss of an extremely valuable contact network, which otherwise could have been kept in place, for example with small funds for contact meetings of coordinators.

The Bologna process has been implemented into the Austrian HE system in a slightly ambivalent way. Immediately after the Bologna Declaration was signed in 1999, the respective Act on university studies was amended, including the possibility of introducing bachelor/master programmes as substitutes for (not in parallel to) diploma programmes on a voluntary basis. However, even if the individual study programmes still are free to opt for the old diploma structure or for the new bachelor/master structure, the government on the other hand set up the general goal that by 2006, 50% of all courses for new entrants are to be bachelors courses.

HEIs perceive these regulations differently. Some see the bachelor/master structure as a tool to overcome existing problems, or as an opportunity to diversify their range of study programmes, e.g. by developing two specialised masters programmes on the basis of one comprehensive bachelors programme. Others are more hesitant and want to observe how the situation develops. Some are even irritated, wondering how to interpret these regulations and additional national requirements and how to apply them to the specific reality of their discipline.

8.3.2 The normative dimension

A wide range of motives for internationalisation was mentioned in our interviews, starting from general self-experience for character building, interest in subject areas, research opportunities, humanistic motives (e.g. development

aid) and economic interest. Interaction and partnership per se are regarded as humanistic and political goals, e.g. to overcome the old distinction between Eastern and Western Europe.

One of the most commonly mentioned motives for internationalisation was the idea of widening the horizons of participants by becoming able to switch between perspectives and by learning from each other. The possibility of cooperating through joint activities was regarded as being especially valuable, in comparison with more unilateral forms of internationalisation. Mutuality, therefore, is of high value, even if it is not always available.

Even after the introduction of tuition fees (€ 365) for domestic and EU students, and of double fees (€ 730) for non-EU students, most of our case institutions still see HE as a public good in the context of their international activities as well. By and large, they do not regard foreign students as a possible source of additional revenues. The only exception from this general picture is $\delta 2$, the university of music with about 56% foreign students. Given its large amount of wealthy students from Asia and much higher tuition fees at comparable institutions, some respondents felt hindered by the Austrian regulation and would like to charge higher fees to foreign students.

Even if it is widely understood that Austrian HEIs are increasingly becoming autonomous institutions and in the long run will have to implement the bachelor/master system, it is not always clear for HEIs what the goals of these mainly structural reforms are and how they might have an impact on the mission of different parts of the national HE system. For example, Austria has three universities for music, all providing training in the entire range of classical instruments, which is an impressive structure for a small country such as Austria. It is not clear for them if they are regarded as luxurious oversupply or as a potential to set a national priority in an international context. The rector of $\delta 2$ suggested a national board, like the German council for music (Musikrat), to coordinate music education in Austria both horizontally and vertically. Vertical coordination with primary and secondary education institutions would be necessary, since early training is extremely important for musicians. Horizontal coordination with the other universities of music would be crucial to define their relationship with respect both to their domestic tasks and to their international position.

Uncertainty about the goals of formal regulations was shown in some other cases as well. In α, the dean of the faculty of humanities reported that his faculty was highly irritated about the requirement that bachelors programmes should provide employability, which is regarded as a different purpose than the traditional research orientation, e.g. in history or philosophy. For his faculty, it is not clear what the intention of the legislator was, which causes hesitation to implement the Bologna process. The manager of $\gamma 2$ reported that international exchange seems to be easier than mobility inside the Fachhochschule sector. This is due to older regulations and the history of the sec-

tor, when study programmes were designed in a highly specialised and rigidly structured way, to define a unique selling proposition in the national context. Even if the regulation had already changed, the tradition still prevails and hinders possible cooperation in the sector, for example with respect to the transition from diploma programmes to the bachelor/master structure. The respondent suggested these barriers could be overcome by reducing strong specialisations and by clustering study programmes to a rather limited number of subject areas, e.g. “technical programmes”, “economic programmes”, and so on.

8.3.3 The cultural dimension

A very important aspect of the cultural dimension is the socio-political development beyond the framework of specific HE politics, and the way in which HEIs make use of them. The most obvious example is the huge transformations in CEE countries. Both large universities in our sample, α and $\delta 1$, are taking this transformation as an opportunity to set new strategic goals and to sharpen their institutional profiles by strengthening their contacts in these countries. Another example was reported by $\gamma 2$. During the 1970s, provinces from Austria, Germany and Switzerland started a close cooperation to preserve the ecological balance of Lake Constance. A very effective network of HEIs of the respective provinces, called Internationale Bodensee Hochschule (IBH) became a later spin-off of this political initiative. IBH produces a joint study guide for all member HEIs and serves as a label for joint activities in the network. α is a member of similar regional networks, e.g. the Central European Initiative University Network, the Danube Rectors’ Conference and the Rectors’ Conference of Alps-Adriatic Universities.

One of the most apparent outcomes from our interviews was the impression that the respective subject areas of HEIs and their subunits strongly determine the perceptions of opportunities and limitations for international activities, especially in research, which will be described in the next section.

Subject areas also differ very much with respect to their links to the labour market and to professional groups, which indirectly shape their curricula. Respondents from the faculty of law at α and from “hard-core” engineering studies at $\gamma 1$ claimed that their curricula very much reflect national traditions for the respective professions (e.g. lawyers, judges, technical engineers, etc.). These traditions are often influenced by professional associations and regulated by mechanisms, which lay beyond the regulations of the HE system. International adaptations of curricula or degree structures therefore have to be synchronised with international adaptations of professional practices in the mentioned subject areas.

8.4 Organisational responses

8.4.1 Research

For economists, geographic areas with high economic activity and global socio-economic trends are of great importance. This reflects for example in the institutional strategy of δ1. It currently focuses on three world regions: English speaking countries, Western Europe and CEE countries. While the first two priorities are well established already, the current vice rector for international affairs puts much emphasis on the development of the third one. However, a respondent suggested there is a need to react to the next economic mega-trend as well: the booming economies in Asia.

The faculty of law at α reported remarkable examples of a fortunate interplay between academic interests and unique socio-political developments. In the 1980s, some members started to shift the faculty's scientific approach to law from the historic-analytical to a more international-comparative perspective. The collapse of the communist regimes in neighbouring countries supported this process. During the war in former Yugoslavia, refugees were hosted as students. After the war, faculty members were engaged in various roles: as "development aid" workers (e.g. rebuilding the legal faculty in Sarajevo); consultants for international institutions (e.g. as a member of the torture committee for the Council of Europe); as practitioners (e.g. as an international judge at the constitutional court in Bosnia) and so on. In all these roles, geographical proximity and a deep cultural understanding, as well as language skills, were major assets in performing the respective tasks. Another fascinating phenomenon of internationalisation was the competition of legal systems for replacing communist legislation in reform countries during the 1990s. Respondents observed attempts of legal associations from English speaking countries to export the Anglo-Saxon legal system, e.g. by setting up large symposia in CEE countries. However, this contest has been decided in favour of the Central European system, which seems to be more compatible with the understanding and the tradition of the neighbouring countries. The model of the Austrian constitutional court, for instance, turned out to be a special "bestseller" among reform countries.

Again, the options for the humanities and natural sciences are different. Development aid and cultural interests can match and can generate academic returns. Since 1994, some members of the faculty of humanities at α have been cooperating with the university of Shkoder in Albany in various projects, e.g. helping to set up institutes for German and English language. In return, the faculty of humanities was able to widen the range of languages taught by setting up a small programme for Albanian. Not having been accessible for decades, Albany also is a terra incognita for some natural sciences. A scholar from the faculty of natural sciences discovered two new species during a very short field trip. However, these opportunities can not be generalised. Another respondent mentioned that those in disciplines that

rely on work in laboratories and high tech equipment are far less attracted to CEE countries.

Even if there exists a worldwide interest in classical music, its obvious centre is Western Europe. In no other region do the classical arts have a comparable status. This rich cultural environment is part of the European lifestyle. A special aspect of this market situation is the fact that most European orchestras, opera houses and theatres rely on public funding. In a global context, teachers of $\delta 2$ sometimes see themselves as unilateral exporters of a specific cultural product, while their graduates from abroad often seek employment in Western Europe.

Fachhochschule institutions, which like to call themselves “universities of applied sciences”, orient themselves closely to the interests of their regional business communities. This does not mean that their subject areas are of local relevance only. $\gamma 2$ defined product development, innovation and sustainability as meta-goals for its research strategy, trying to contribute to the international competitiveness of its local business community. $\gamma 1$ also performs applied research for local companies. It sometimes serves international clients as well, e.g. by developing highly specialised software, or by performing non-invasive material tests (e.g. on running engines) with its sophisticated equipment for computer tomography.

8.4.2 International students

Compared to an OECD average of about 4%, most of our cases show rather high rates of foreign degree students. They range between 2.8% and 55.8%. Generally speaking, foreign degree students are treated as domestic students. HEIs neither approach them as a special target group for recruitment, nor discriminate between them formally. The only significant activities of HEIs with respect to foreign degree students can be found at universities: courses for German as a foreign language and preparatory courses for those who do not yet fulfil the formal requirements to become regular degree students.

This strategic indifference of HEIs towards foreign degree students seems to be caused by a long tradition of open access (secondary school leaving exams entitle to study at universities without further assessment) and by the EU policy for equal treatment of all citizens of Member States (Pechar and Pellert 2004). Most foreign degree students are either from EU countries or from countries soon to become Member States, which does not leave much opportunity to discriminate along the distinction domestic/foreign.

Several reasons for the attractiveness of Austrian HEIs have been mentioned, such as geographic location, language, and the cultural environment. For students from Germany or northern Italy, Austria is one of the few options to study abroad in their mother tongue. For students from CEE countries, it might be academically more attractive to study in Austria than at home.

Some of the reasons are less flattering, such as “cheap” provision, both in academic and in economic terms. Interviewees observed that Germany has a more restrictive numerus clausus system in certain subjects, in contrast to the Austrian entitlement system for studies at research universities. For students from Sarajevo, it is cheaper to study at α than at home. Since instrumental study programmes are very expensive in international comparisons, the provision at $\delta 2$ is a bargain.

Due to its large proportion of foreign students (55.8%) and the privilege to control access via examinations, the case of $\delta 2$ is especially interesting. Even if the university is allowed to charge twice the fee of domestic students for its large proportion of non-EU students, € 730 per semester by far undercuts the prices of serious competitors on a global market and is not enough for a serious business model. Additionally, the university faces quality problems as well. The university executes performance based entrance examinations, but does not regard itself as very successful in attracting the most talented students worldwide. But even then the second choice of foreign applicants is comparatively more successful than domestic applicants during entrance examinations. Since the university is funded by the federal government, the rector feels uncomfortable about this situation, since it might cause tensions between the service for national/regional demands and the competitiveness in the context of international quality standards. Two explanations for this problem were suggested. In comparison to other countries, Austrian music education at the primary and secondary level seems to be less efficient in fostering talent in young children soon enough and in guiding them towards university. And the focus of entrance examination at $\delta 2$ seems to be predominantly put on technical skills, without much consideration of social skills and cultural understanding, elements which are also regarded as crucial for the career of musicians. As a result of this analysis, the university wants to improve its position in competing for the most talented students, but does not plan to increase the number of foreign students.

8.4.3 Student mobility

ERASMUS clearly is the most prominent, but by far not the only, driver for exchange mobility. In the case of α, ERASMUS is responsible for 54% of the outgoing and 73% of incoming exchange mobility, and in the case of $\delta 1$ for 52% of the outgoing and 49% of the incoming exchange mobility. There exist vast differences between subject areas with respect to student mobility. Social and economic studies show generally the highest rates of student mobility. At $\delta 2$, for example, about half of their graduates have been abroad, a rate the institution still wants to raise to 70% in the near future. In the study programme international business administration, mobility has even become mandatory. Fachhochschule study programmes with an economic focus show the highest rates of student mobility in their institutions as well. Comparatively less mobility can be found in the hard sciences and in technical stu-

dies. Since social and cultural experience is less important in these fields, and study programmes are very laboratory intensive, student mobility tends to occur less often and at a later stage in the course of studies. Since regular study programmes in law prepare students for professional careers in national labour markets, student mobility is less attractive for them. Given the high rate of regularly enrolled foreign students, mobility is of comparatively less importance in $\delta 2$, even if the university welcomes the participation in the ERASMUS scheme.

Exchange programmes, like ERASMUS, normally aim for mutual exchange. Most Fachhochschule institutions, which are often located in smaller cities, perceive their location to be a certain handicap for attracting foreign students. In other cases, the imbalance is due to subject areas. While economic study programmes at $\delta 1$ enjoy well-balanced incoming/outgoing ratios, this is more difficult to achieve in subjects such as language studies. The department for German language at α is reported to be highly attractive for students from abroad. The contrary is true for departments teaching foreign languages. In other cases, study programmes are attractive for incoming students, since they are rare or even unique in an international context (e.g. history of science at α, or pedagogy for arts education at $\delta 2$). In these cases, balanced exchange rates cannot be achieved at the level of the study programme, but rather on an institutional level.

While student mobility is often observed under the focus of studying abroad only, internships are another important form of mobility, especially in the Fachhochschule sector, where internships are an obligatory part of all study programmes. Many students use internships as an opportunity to gain international experiences. At universities, where internships are not obligatory and not always possible, there exists less documentation on this type of student mobility. $\delta 1$ Claims that 25% of its graduates gained international experience via internships.

8.4.4 Staff mobility and staff development

A respondent in $\gamma 2$ regards it as a strategic necessity to send faculty members abroad as pioneers for more intense forms of cooperation to follow. The institution therefore set the strategic goal to raise the mobility of faculty members to 30%. However, there are some obstacles. Participation in shorter programmes results in additional work for the individual. On the other hand, the longer absence of faculty members is hardly manageable at small Fachhochschule institutions, since specialised lectures cannot be substituted by their local colleagues. Additionally, some lectures feel uncertain about their English language competency.

$\gamma 1$ also sees a special importance in international research and staff mobility. A specialist was hired to coordinate applications for research and development programmes, which are offered on a European, national and regional

level. She also provides support for staff mobility, which mainly is based on the personal contacts of individual faculty members. Visiting scholars are welcomed, since they stimulate thematic developments and can contribute to research cooperation. An additional advantage can be that they can offer courses in English as well, which could extend the supply of courses in English.

About half of the faculty members at δ2 come from abroad. Additionally, many of them are very active internationally, as musicians, teachers or as judges in contests. The institution also participates in bilateral exchange agreements and in staff mobility within the ERASMUS framework. Since many of these activities are not systematically documented, the learning effects are largely informal and on a personal level only. Nevertheless, these activities contribute to the reputation of the institution.

δ1 tries to foster faculty mobility as a means of improving research contacts. Currently, faculty mobility is less developed than student mobility. Faculty exchange is generally limited to a few days rather than longer time spans, since a longer absence could do harm to the regular teaching operations of study programmes. This is one of the reasons why the institution is considering reducing the variety of courses, parallel to employing more staff with similar competencies.

α distinguishes itself in the great mobility of its teaching staff, which is supported by various multinational education programmes. Additionally, the university supports individual mobility on the basis of bilateral institutional contracts, which are more flexible for individual needs and better contribute to cooperation with partner institutions. Another recent development is the programme for international guest professors, which has been designed especially for guests from South Eastern Europe. It should provide the possibility to invite guests who are of interest for more than one study programme only. As a complementary measurement to support incoming faculty, the institution set up a programme of special events for international guests.

8.4.5 Language

Part of the problem for balancing exchange rates is foreign language competencies, both of outgoing and of incoming students. Outgoing students frequently prefer HEIs in the English speaking world, since English is the lingua franca and most commonly known among students. In return, for students from English speaking countries, it normally is less easy and less attractive to study at German speaking universities. A similar phenomenon is observable with domestic students who are reluctant, for example, to learn languages used in CEE countries.

Some of the institutions have developed strategies in relation to foreign languages. For both Fachhochschule institutions, a foreign language has been

an obligatory part of all study programmes through the duration of studies. On this basis, a new language strategy for the whole institution has been developed γ2. After the first semester, all students will be examined on their English language competency via a standardised test (e.g. TOEFL). If they pass a defined minimum level, they can opt to substitute English with another foreign language. The institution tries to strategically link the issue of language competency with the question of studying abroad in an early stage, when training for another language (e.g. French, Spanish, Italian) is still possible.

Foreign languages courses in business communication are obligatory in all study programmes of δ1. The amount of contact hours in a foreign language differs between 4 and 28, depending on the respective study programme. Currently, the university is expanding its provision of courses held in English, developing one track for undergraduates (starting in the second year of studies) completely taught in English and planning to provide large parts of Master and PhD programmes in English.

α has developed bilingual (German/English) descriptions for all courses and lectures, and publishes them at the universities homepage as an early orientation for prospective incoming students. Lecturers sometimes teach their courses in English on a voluntarily basis. Even if this is regarded as a positive development, respondents were opposed to making this mandatory. Many lecturers are not prepared to teach in another language. A foreign language as an additional requirement sometimes even contradicts the main educational goal. For example, it might be too much of a challenge to learn abstract mathematical concepts in a foreign language, and it is seen as contradictory to teach folklore or local history in any other language than the native language. Similar concerns were stated at γ1 as well.

8.5 Consequences on the organisational building blocks

8.5.1 Social structure

To a large extent, the professionalisation of internationalisation can be seen as a reaction to increased international activities created by EU programmes. It is a frequent pattern that internationalisation starts as an activity of academics and, with increasing volume, becomes a distinct task of specialised personnel and service units. HEIs found different ways to organise the crucial interplay between academic and administrative responsibilities.

In the mid 1980s, the dean of humanities at α was asked to act as an informal “minister of foreign affairs” and to intensify international activities of the institution. Political changes in the SEE countries and Austria’s rapprochement to the EU increased the general interest in international affairs and led the foundation of the first office of international relations at an Austrian university at the beginning of the 1990s. The office was staffed with 12 people

and subordinated to the vice rector for international relations, a management position established in 2000. A recent reform led to a clearer distinction between the front office for advising and service, and a back office for strategic tasks. In its role as interface, the office sees itself confronted with increased demand for information on internationalisation activities. Given the complexity of the institution, it is an unusually large expenditure of time and personnel to regularly give structured information. Therefore it became a top priority of the vice rector to commission the development of a comprehensive "database international". In the meantime, the respective software became a tool which raised the interest of other universities as well. Some faculty members regretted the abolishment of the integrated university commission for international relations in 2004 due to the implementation of the new university act. They showed interest in the creation of a similar body, composed of representatives from the different faculties. One respondent missed the position of a specialised manager for international affairs for each faculty, a deficit that sometimes leads to an overburden (or disinterest) among faculty members.

During the 1980s, an academic commission on international contacts tried to gain an overview of the international activities at δ1. In the early 1990s, this also led to the foundation of a specialised unit, the centre for studying abroad, which reports to the vice rector for research, international affairs and external relations since the foundation of this management position in the late 1990s. To increase the involvement in institutional internationalisation, a special concept of academic advisors (Kooperationsbeauftragte) was created. For each partner university, an academic advisor is nominated and appointed by the vice rector. While the centre for studying abroad does most of the administrative work, the main function of an academic advisor is to serve as the "face" of the university towards partner institutions, e.g. by visiting them or by welcoming guests. This task is not only formally acknowledged by the vice rector, but also financially supported by the university.

At δ2, internationalisation is very much performed and organised on an individual level. The institution set up a bureau for foreign relations within the section for public relations, events and foreign affairs. Responsible to the rector, the bureau does not only manage student and staff mobility, but it is also involved in the arrangement of exchange concerts or guest concerts.

γ1 employs a specialist for international programmes as a member of the central administration, responsible mainly for R&D programmes, but also for mobility programmes. She mainly concentrates on aspects of common interest, e.g. on standardising application procedures, finding access to new programmes or stimulating activities in the workgroup for international affairs. Most of the international activities are organised locally by international coordinators: regular faculty members who additionally administrate international activities. Since the institution (and therefore the amount of international activities) is quickly growing, most international coordinators hope to receive

administrative support. The workgroup for international affairs, which mainly consists of the international coordinators from all locations, serves as a platform for institution-wide know-how transfer.

At γ2, the responsibility for international activities started as the task of a language teacher, but soon became functionally differentiated in a comparatively well-equipped international office (three staff members). The international office directly reports to the rector and is responsible for mobility programmes, the coordination of networks and observation of international research schemes. Here there is an interesting split between academic and administrative tasks. Often the heads of study programmes start with personal contacts, but it is up to the international office to regularly cultivate them. In addition to intensive informal interaction, the international office has annual meetings with the heads of each study programme, as well as annual workshops with the rector.

8.5.2 Goals

The interplay between internationalisation and increased institutional autonomy is crucial for the development of goals. These goals can take different forms. Sometimes HEIs gather already existing activities, create organisational self-descriptions and reformulate these collections as coherent institutional priorities. Sometimes this can lead to the discovery of potential connections between formerly distinct tasks or aspects of internationalisation (e.g. research and education) and to integrative goals. And sometimes change is used to trigger change, when the need to adapt to external requirements is used as an opportunity to set additional institutional goals. Examples of all these different forms of institutional goals were found in our case studies, and in some cases all forms are present.

In 2000, the newly established management of α initiated a process to develop a comprehensive strategy for the university. The section on international relations was dealt with by a special work group, composed of representatives from all faculties. As a result, the institution set the strategic priority to further develop its special competency on SEE countries, also to use it as a distinctive characteristic in the European area of HE.

A comprehensive change management project has been performed at δ1 in 2002/03 as well. A major institutional goal derived from the so-called ALFA-project was the idea to improve the international competitiveness of the university, partly based on an institutional benchmarking with prestigious European peer institutions. As mentioned above, the university wants to increase efficiency in undergraduate studies and wants to shift resources towards research activities and (post)graduate education. In a bottom up process, the university wants to develop criteria for the assessment of research productivity and excellence. Increasingly, it also intends to use international examples for quality control, for example the use of ratings for journal publica-

tions developed by the German association of HE teachers for economics, or international accreditation for study programmes.

In January 2004, δ2 was the first Austrian art university to undergo an external evaluation, as it is regulated by the university act 2002, involving international peers from five European countries. On the basis of the results, the management drafted a development plan, which now has to be approved both by the senate of the university and by the federal ministry. One of the results of this review is an increased awareness of international peer institutions and their organisational behaviour, for example with respect to salaries and contact hours of faculty members.

In 2002, γ2 involved all employees in the development of a new, comprehensive strategy for the institution. Internationalisation became an essential part of this strategy, making clear that it is not only a task of a distinct unit but of the entire institution. The international office suggested gradually matching mobility programmes with the foreign trade statistics of the domestic region, especially improving contacts to SWE countries. Other bold strategic developments are the coordinated transformation of all study programmes to the new bachelor/master structure and the foundation of three research centres to overcome fragmentation of research activities and to sharpen the research profile of the institution both nationally and internationally.

Commissioned by the central management, in 2002 the work group for internationalisation at γ1 started to develop an institutional concept for internationalisation. The main idea was to avoid a mere imitation of other HEIs and to build on existing strength and demands of the institution. Analysing the main activities at the different locations, the workgroup found out that three types of internationalisation are typical for the institution: research cooperation, internationalisation at home, and mobility (which in any case should not exceed the importance of the other two types). These three types of internationalisation were taken as pillars for the comprehensive internationalisation strategy and defined by qualitative and quantitative objectives. They also structure the electronic, centrally maintained database that is currently being built up.

8.5.3 Participants

Most HEIs have a goal of increased student mobility, even if the efforts differ. In some cases, the expansion of student mobility has reached quantitative limits, where study places abroad and available funds become scarce. In this situation, HEIs have to become more selective, e.g. by linking the access to resources to the academic achievements of students. Additionally, the achievements abroad are more rigidly observed.

Both staff mobility and staff development are generally recognized to be of growing importance for HEIs. Beyond the support for individual mobility of

faculty members, institutions gradually start to link mobility with staff development measurements. $\gamma 2$ Plans to set up a staff development programme including language training and increasingly makes language competency a requirement for the employment of new staff. $\delta 1$ is planning to at least double the amount of staffing in selected fields, which would help to set priorities in certain subject areas and would offer the opportunity to make more use of the system of leave (Freisemester), which is generally not used as much in Austria as in Germany. To improve the impact of visiting scholars, the institution wants to foster the networking between guest and domestic faculty by organising informal meetings on a regular basis. Internationalisation also is an issue in the trainee programmes of the institution, both for general staff and for junior faculty. The programme for junior faculty contains training for international competency, such as a two-day seminar on teaching in English. The institute for English business communication also offers one-to-one coaching for the presentation of conference papers. Apart from financial support for attending international conferences, the institution also funds proofreading for scholarly publications in foreign languages.

A unique initiative is the international internships programme at α, which addresses both academic and general staff of the university. Carried out in cooperation with partner universities, these programmes offer their participants insights into other university systems and broaden their inter-cultural competence. The internship programmes are regarded as highly successful, which is also reflected in a prize awarded to the university by the European Association for International Education (EIAE) for this example of internationalisation policy.

8.5.4 Technology

Bologna process and curricula reform

For a comprehensive university like α, the implementation of the Bologna process is an extremely complex task, because a huge number of diverse study programmes is involved. Since expertise in international structures, networks and mobility programmes is regarded as essential, the office of international relations became responsible for the coordination of this task and the position of a promoter was created. Apart from steering the process by linking it to the strategic development of the university, it is also supported by the organisation of events and the provision of extensive information material via a special homepage. The university wants to use the process for widening the range of programmes. Currently, 14 curricula for bachelor and 12 curricula for master study programmes have been developed, which started to operate in 2003/04. Economics and social sciences have been among the first to introduce the new system. Other fields have been more hesitant; for example, the humanities have not been amenable to the notion of employability and labour market relevance for bachelor programmes. Additio-

nally, the implementation of the bachelor/master structure follows recent reforms, which sometimes makes it necessary to simultaneously deal with three generations of curricula. The faculty of law has another problem, created by the new three year limitation for bachelor programmes. In contrast to the humanities, law schools provide education for very distinct professions. For most of the traditional professions in law, three years are not enough to acquire the necessary job qualification.

A recent study reform at $\delta 1$ lead to the foundation of a new diploma study programme for international business administration, and to the transformation of business informatics into the bachelor/master structure. Both study programmes started operation in 2002. Interestingly, the Bologna process was not regarded at the time to be of general importance for the whole institution. This perception has subsequently changed. Under the new rector, a comprehensive transformation of all study programmes towards the bachelor/master structure became a top priority. Increased harmonisation in Europe was one, but not the only reason for this step. The main motive was to use the new structure as a means for standardisation and cost reduction, to lever resources for other tasks. Mass HE would be concentrated at bachelors level to reduce costs and to increase productivity. Differentiation and research-oriented education would mainly take place in masters and PhD programmes. Prestigious MBAs will be developed for the continuing education segment. While the number of new bachelor programmes is not decided yet, the university has already reorganised the first year for all new entrants, extensively using standardised modules and new technologies. While the harmonisation of the study architecture in Europe is widely accepted, some concerns have been raised with respect to a lack of compatibility between European and US-American bachelor degrees.

For instrumental study programmes, $\delta 2$ has responded early to the Bologna process. Partly having been pushed by the government, the university introduced four year bachelors and consecutively two year masters programmes for instrumental studies, which already meant a significant reduction in the length of studies, compared to eight years of the old diploma programmes. A respondent regarded the university as lucky to have shifted to the new structure early, because the new university law 2002 allows only three years as a maximum length for newly introduced bachelors studies. Most other study programmes at $\delta 2$ still continue to be organised as diploma studies.

At $\gamma 1$, a steering group was formed out of representatives from all four locations, trying to develop a Bologna strategy for the whole institution. Soon it became clear that a unified process would not fit the needs and particularities of the different subject areas. Therefore it was agreed to dissolve the group and to return the responsibility to the local level. Location C found out that the bachelor/master structure seems to be a standard in IT studies in Europe. Three bachelor programmes have started already, and most of the

other programmes will switch to the new structure. Location B is considering whether to build one comprehensive, economic bachelor programme and several different masters programmes. In the next two years, location D is expected to shift its programmes for social welfare to the new system. The "hard-core" technical programmes at location A are still hesitant.

γ2 Regarded Bologna as a useful instrument for already envisioned reforms. Instead of aiming at incremental adaptation (programme by programme), the institution set a more ambitious goal to rebuild the entire study structure of the whole institution. In 2002, it submitted a new application to the Fachhochschulrat (the responsible accreditation agency), a concept for the synchronised transfer of all study programmes into the new structure. Most of the programmes will start as bachelors in 2004. Technically speaking, one of the biggest problems was the lack of experience with respect to transfer rates from bachelor to master programmes. This is crucial for Fachhochschule institutions, since they are funded on a per capita basis per study place. Clear assumptions on transfer rates and respective funding commitments have been a prerequisite to take this step. The institution investigated transfer rates internationally, both in countries with longer traditions (30%), as well as in countries with shorter traditions (70%). In the long run, γ2 expects a transfer rate of about 50%.

Postgraduate programmes, joint degrees, summer schools

δ1 is involved in two special joint study programmes, called CEMS-MIM and JOSZEF, which provide additional qualifications to more advanced students. Both programmes try to recruit and train a young generation of prospective managers. Basic requirements are foreign languages, studies abroad and an internship. Based on networks of business schools in Europe, CEMS consists of 16 members mainly located in western Europe, while all 12 partners in the JOSZEF programme are located in CEE countries. These programmes are developed in cooperation with the business community and sponsored by many companies. Graduates hold either the CEMS-MIM (Master in Management) or the JOSZEF certificate. On the level of postgraduate education, the university is also involved in two double degree MBA programmes with institutions in the USA. Additionally, the university provides a considerable number of international summer universities. One of these programmes is held in Vienna, predominantly focusing on international students, the rest are organised in different locations abroad. Students can earn ECTS credit points, which count towards their general course work. Summer universities can help to relieve the university from student numbers during term-time and fulfil quotas in exchange contracts. All of these programmes charge fees, but in most cases these fees cover the costs only.

Having been founded in 1916, the international summer academy for music at δ2 was among the first of its kind. It attracts participants from all over the

world. On the first day of a session, a few students are chosen as active participants, while the others can register as listeners. The summer academy enables prospective students to get in contact with the university and to meet with domestic and international instructors. Every year, some of them decide to apply for regular study programmes. In addition to boosting student recruitment, the summer academy is also an active way to maintain contacts amongst artists and instructors, and serves as a platform for international meetings. Fees cover the costs of organising this special programme.

In one of the locations of γ1, two international summer schools have already been organised. A third one was planned aimed especially at China. Due to external reasons it came to a halt, since visa arrangements could not be made in time. The contact was made by the regional chamber of commerce, which has a partnership with a similar institution in a province in China.

γ2 is currently preparing joint degrees in 2 study programmes, for a masters programme in media design, and a bachelors programme in economics, both with universities in the UK. The main idea is that students start the first half of the programme at home and finish at the partner institution. A special department for postgraduate education is organising programmes for postgraduate education. Two of these programmes have been developed in cooperation with partners in the region of Lake Constance, another is rooted in the region as well, but also involves partners in Canada, Great Britain and China. The institution additionally organises visiting programmes and summer schools for partner institutions. One of the summer schools is an instrument to improve the exchange balance between the British university and the Austrian Fachhochschule institution, since the British participants in the summer school count towards Austrian exchange students in regular programmes.

8.6 Feedback loop: Effects on the institutional environment

8.6.1 The regulative dimension

HEIs are not only objects of external pressures: sometimes they also can influence their institutional environment. An interesting example for this possible influence was given by the association of Austrian Fachhochschule institutions (FHK). After signing the respective international agreements, both the Ministry and the Fachhochschulrat (the responsible accreditation agency for the Fachhochschule sector) regarded Fachhochschulen as a national peculiarity. Therefore only the legal regulations of the university sector were amended to the Bologna Declaration in the first place. Successfully lobbying to be treated on equal terms, the FHK prevailed on the Ministry to introduce similar regulations for Fachhochschulen, which gave them the chance to introduce the bachelor/master structure on a voluntary basis as well.

Another example was given by the collective outcry of the HE sector against recent plans of the Ministry to reduce the additional national contribution for

outgoing ERASMUS students to one semester only. The Ministry quickly dropped the issue. However, this episode also can serve as an indication that the quantitative success of mobility programmes slowly endangers their current funding schemes.

It also is observable that some normative implications of national regulations are not accepted by all HEIs and that there are ways to undermine regulations. Among others, the university of economics in case $\delta 1$ decided to circumvent the new national regulation to charge students from non-EU countries twice the domestic fee by refunding everything beyond the regular domestic fee to students from most non-EU countries (mainly South Eastern European countries and Turkey). This refund is called a voluntary social contribution of the university to ensure its legality.

8.6.2 Normative dimension

Very clearly, Austrian HEIs increasingly think about the internationalisation of the institution in contrast to that of individuals. This new self-awareness of the organisation has at least three possible consequences: self-monitoring and increased selectivity in partnerships; profile development and the search for the most similar peer institutions; and internationalisation as a tool and driver for institutional competition.

In the past, α had a summative description of its international contacts, counting about 300 partner institutions in Europe and about 500 worldwide. In the meantime this picture became more precise and differentiated. The university now distinguishes between university partnerships (18), faculty partnerships (18) and departmental partnerships (76). Additionally, α has developed a special software to monitor all its international activities, a tool in which other universities also are interested. $\gamma 2$ Is also consolidating its partnerships, trying to find those which could be used for more than only one type of international activity (e.g. student exchange and research cooperation).

Similarity is an important criterion, especially for specialised HEIs, since it raises chances for shared interests and for easier cooperation. For its outgoing ERASMUS students, $\delta 2$ looks out not only for other music universities, but especially for those with the full range of classical instruments, since only those can offer students training on the individual instrument, on playing in chamber music ensembles and large orchestras. And it is starting to compare itself with other institutions in economic terms (e.g. salaries, workload, etc.) This is even more true for $\delta 1$, which uses other European universities of economics as benchmarks for basic institutional data.

Since it was founded in the early 1990s, the rector of $\gamma 2$ regards his institution as a latecomer in an increasingly structured European area for HE and research. Most of the older HEIs in Western Europe already had a sufficient

number of institutional partnerships, which makes it difficult for newer institutions (or for those from the new EU-member states) to enter this market. On the other hand, he sees international partnerships as a way of overcoming national status hierarchies between the Fachhochschule and the university sector. This idea is confirmed by the fact that Fachhochschulen name themselves universities of applied sciences in international contexts. Traditional universities compete for reputation on an institutional level as well. One way to do this is by participating in highly exclusive networks. α is the only Austrian university to be member of the UTRECHT NETWORK and of the COIMBRA GROUP. $\delta 1$ Participates in CEMS (Community of European Management Schools and International Companies) and in the PIM (Programme in International Management) network.

8.6.3 Cultural dimension

Internationalisation can challenge, but also improve national concepts, by both changing and confirming them. Having gained much international experience via the student mobility within his institution, the rector of $\gamma 2$ gained the impression that the system of the Fachhochschule sector has worked well in the past, but cannot stay a protected niche in an international context any longer. For him, several characteristics of the Fachhochschule sector turned out to hinder mobility and international exchange, e.g. the focus on too narrow job descriptions, rigidly organised curricula and the lack of research orientation. On the other hand, the obligatory internship in all study programmes is still regarded as an outstanding feature that can provide a competitive advantage internationally. In contrast to the normal procedure, where individual study programmes are submitted for accreditation, $\gamma 2$ asked the responsible accreditation agency to accept its synchronised proposal for the entire organisation.

8.7 Factors impeding/fostering internationalisation

There exist large differences between the described HEIs with respect to geographic locations, to institutional profiles and to subject areas. Still, it is striking how much these differences determine the perceptions of internationalisation, the connected rationales and the respective challenges and problems. A first conclusion therefore has to be to acknowledge the resulting variety in strategies and activities, both from inside the institution by the management, as well as from outside by governments or by steering agencies. Appropriate evaluation measurements therefore have to find the suitable complexity (which indicators to consider), but also the right granularity (which unit/entity to observe). Oversimplified comparisons (e.g. on exchange mobility only) could lead to frustration and impede internationalisation.

On the level of the individual HEIs (or of sub-units like departments or faculties) it seems to be helpful to analyse the specific environment of the organi-

sation, especially the peer group of competitors and (potential) partner institutions, to create a clear picture of its position in an international (European, global) space for research and HE. For this analysis, it is also necessary to include non-academic institutions and actors which are outside the HE system, for example private companies, but also public institutions or associations, since these clients of the HEI have international interests of their own.

This analysis should lead to consequences inside the individual HEIs. First of all, an HEI has to be selective with respect to its goals. For example, it does not have to perform all types of international activities, at least not to the same extent. Secondly, the HEI has to set up an appropriate support structure in balance with its goals and, equally important, to ensure sufficient interaction between support units and academic units for the regular adaptation of aims and measurements. Thirdly, the HEI should aim at integrating different international activities or international goals with other goals of the institution to raise synergies.

On a national, maybe even on a European level, we observed many activities in the regulatory dimension, but a certain lack of activities with respect to the normative and the cultural dimension. While there are many new regulations which effect the structure and the funding of HE, institutions sometimes seem to miss orientation about the national (European) objectives behind these changes. They sometimes do not know how they are expected to behave, or what their room for the interpretation of regulations might be, which can lead to mere structural adaptations, e.g. of the bachelor/master structure. In this situation, additional regulations do not help. It would be more helpful if political actors on the one hand would clarify and publicly negotiate their expectations with HEIs. On the other hand, political actors could help HEIs to orient themselves by organising debates, e.g. discipline-specific debates on the interpretation and options of the Bologna structure.

All of the Austrian cases are public institutions that predominantly produce education and research as public goods. They can not be left alone with the decision as to how far they behave competitively or cooperatively in their international activities, or if they try to generate revenues from these activities. These decisions also affect the national HE system as such, in how far the system positions itself in an international context. Since in the past HE has been defined as a public good in the boundaries of national territories, the question has to be asked what the status of this public good might be in an international (European, global) context. The answer to this question can not be given by the individual HEIs.

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9. International comparative analysis

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This chapter presents the international comparative analysis of the case studies carried out in the seven countries involved in this project, which were presented in the preceding chapters.

Following the structure of these reports and linking back to our theoretical assumptions presented in chapter 1, we will first present an analysis of the views and perceptions of internationalisation, Europeanisation and globalisation by the main actors involved. This analysis will be followed by an overview of the actual activities that are undertaken by the higher education institutions in this study. Then the effects of internationalisation on the organisation as such will be discussed with reference to the various building blocks of the organisation, followed by an analysis of the internationalisation strategies and the relationship with change in the various institutional pillars (see chapter 1). Finally, the factors impeding or fostering internationalisation are discussed.

9.1 Perceptions of internationalisation: Global, regional and local dimensions

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

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

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

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

The academic profiles of the case study institutions are wide-ranging, and are a strong factor in organisational responses to European, international and global issues. In some of the universities, particularly the α case studies, research-led strategies of development figure prominently in their international priorities. Other case studies, such as some of the β and γ universities and colleges, put more specific emphasis on contributions to their local region and its relationships with the wider world. There are also case studies with a mixture of both regional and international missions. For example, the γ case study in Germany promotes itself as at home in Bavaria and successful in the world. Similarly, one of the γ case studies in the UK is aiming for global excellence regionally and the university sees itself as playing an important role in promoting the external visibility of the region. In the two cases mentioned, the strong, historical links to their regions have provided foundations for the development of international activities, and while both the regional and international missions are considered to be important the international work is seen as underpinning the regional role.

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

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

9.2 Internationalisation activities

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

- Student and staff mobility
  All HEIs in this research are involved in student mobility and exchange. This concerns on the one hand exchange of students in programmes like ERASMUS and the recruitment of degree students on the other. Staff mobility, particularly for teaching staff, such as visiting lecturers for teaching, is a less frequent activity.
- Curriculum development
  In the area of curriculum development several activities are undertaken by all different types of institutions in the countries in the study. In many countries, as a follow-up to the Bologna Declaration, the institutions are changing their programmes in line with the Declaration. Furthermore, various aspects of internationalisation of the curriculum can be observed, as well as the development of joint degree programmes. Language training is an ongoing activity almost everywhere, and in various countries an increase in programmes taught in the English language can be observed.
- Research and scholarly collaboration
  International activities as part of research and scholarly collaboration are something quite common for most of the universities (particularly α and β institutions) in this study. The picture is more varied amongst the institu-

tions, where research is not a core activity. In most cases reference is made to the funding of the international research projects by the EU.

- Export of knowledge & transnational education
  Transnational education and the overseas provision of higher education programmes (i.e. the recruitment of international students for economic reasons, whether they take the programme at the home or branch campus, or through distance learning) is less common in most countries than the activities described above.
- Other activities
  Other activities than the ones described above may involve technical/ financial assistance programmes or extra-curricular activities aimed at internationalisation. The most noticeable activities in terms of technical assistance are the programmes involving North-South cooperation.

9.3 Internationalisation activities by type of institution

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

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

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

In Germany there is a vivid debate with regard to developments on the global market for higher education and the positioning of German higher education in this market. The recent opening up of the debate on elite universities seems to strengthen the competitive dimension in the German context. The United States is perceived as the greatest competitor with regard to attracting young talents globally. According to many interviewees, German universities are only the “second choice” of the international students with high potential. Most of the interviewees that felt challenged by the dominant attractiveness of the US universities stressed that Germany could only catch up or play in the first league if the legal framework was reformed (in particu-

lar with regard to tuition fees), if student services were enhanced and if grants for high talents were more generously and broadly awarded.

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

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

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

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

Both the Greek β institutions have somewhat similar origins to their English counterpart. One was established in the 1960s with a view to building an international and European profile in both teaching and research, both of which are actively promoted, including a university policy for ERASMUS/ Socrates student mobility schemes. The other β institution, a 1980s university, is developing a policy as a means to promote international activities in teaching and research and to attain a higher position in the hierarchy of universities. Both universities have extensive research activities, which support their internationalisation policies. The Portuguese β also has a somewhat similar pedigree. One of its vice-presidents claimed that "internationalisation is in the institution's genes".

The Dutch β has had a slightly different trajectory of growth. It is the most recently established Dutch university, founded in 1976, and its intrinsic internationalism is linked to its geographic location near the German and Belgian borders: "Attracting foreign students came naturally to β due to its geographical location". However, β has stated in its latest policy documents that it wants to broaden its regional view and recruitment to a more European and international one. In the German β the international focus also seems to have followed

rather than led the initial development of the university. It was founded in the early 1970s to try to bring some reform to the rather rigid university system, but its initial profile was more regional and it was only in the 1990s that its mission has been recognised as regionally based, but internationally oriented.

Just as the β institutions overlap to some extent with the α universities so there is considerable overlap between the γs and the βs. The main differences that are relevant to the internationalisation issue are that the γ universities and colleges all started as regionally and locally focussed institutions with a predominantly teaching role. While internationalisation is an important constituent of the self image of all the universities and colleges in the case studies it was frequently mentioned in the γ institutions in particular as a means of raising their profile within their national higher education systems. International activities are also acting as a gateway to the wider world for their local communities and also, especially in England, as a means of increasing income.

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

These Austrian examples are similar to the English γ universities which until the early 1990s were specifically teaching-oriented and locally-focused polytechnics. In one case, “international activity was seen to a large extent as one way of consolidating the institution’s self image as a university”. The university was also seen as “a gateway for the local community to a wider world”. One respondent commented that “ ... we’re a regional university with an international dimension, rather than an international university”. Examples were quoted of joint bids by the university and local councils for funding from various EU regional funds. The Greek γ has a similar genesis having been established in 1983 as the largest Technological Education Institution (TEI) in Greece. However, its international aspirations have been developed exclusively in relation to the EU framework and aim to foster ERASMUS mobility, and the international experiences its students acquire through these programmes are considered to be very important.

The Dutch γ case study was established in its present form only in 1996 with primarily a local teaching and training function. It has only recently started to

develop an internationalisation strategy but "... internationalisation is now high on the agenda ...for several strategic, educational, cultural and economic motives. Strategic motives are to adapt to the impact of international developments on higher education, adapt to the influence of the Bologna Declaration and GATS as well as increasing competition in the market for higher education. The main educational argument for internationalisation is that the international dimension is part of the primary process, as knowledge knows no borders. Other educational arguments are that (γ) wants to prepare students for a European or international labour market and wants to improve the quality of programmes by internationalisation. Teachers can learn from international contacts and furthermore, internationalisation is part of the criteria for accreditation of programmes. Cultural arguments ... are the worldwide communication through ICT, interculturalisation of society, the cultural and ethnical diversity of the (local) population as well as the opportunities through internationalisation to contribute to a global, durable society and awareness for development cooperation in education. Finally, economic arguments are that foreign fee paying students are an extra source of income ...".

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

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

The German specialised institution is a major technical university, situated in a regional capital. It is strongly linked to regional industry (automobile, aviation, biotechnology, agriculture and food technology). The word "entrepreneurial" was used in the case study to describe the university. It was one of the first German universities to explicitly formulate an internationalisation strategy

in the second half of the 1990s and was the first German university to establish an offshore campus abroad. It sees its higher education environment as highly competitive, but it also profits from the attractiveness of its host city and the strong regional economy. A quarter of its students are from outside Germany, considerably higher than the German average and the other German institutions in the study. The number of its students taking part in ERASMUS programmes has grown very rapidly in recent years. Performance indicators show it to be one of the top 3 German research universities.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Finally, the UK special case is a very large distance learning university, generally acknowledged to be a world leader in the area. It was created in the 1970s to provide second chance higher education opportunities for adults in the UK who had missed out on higher education after leaving school and who were unable to afford the costs or to fit their adult lives into the rigidity of conventional university courses. It has since developed a worldwide market based mainly on the expertise it has developed in distance edu-

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

9.4 Changes in organisational structures

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

9.4.1 Social structure

Internationalisation is gradually becoming part of the regular operations and structure of many of the institutions in this study. This is most obvious in the setting up of international or international relations offices at central levels of the institutions. Most international offices appear to have been established in the 1990s. An exception is the UK, where all case study institutions have had international offices for many years. There are some other institutions where such an office was already set up in the 1960s as with α Norway and α Greece. Others have more recently established an international office, for example ε Portugal. The size and scope of these offices has expanded very considerably over the past decade and several of them, certainly in the α, β and ε HEIs, have direct access to the highest levels of decision-making in the universities. Some smaller institutions, such as ε Norway, have not set up a separate international office, as they are so small that this would not make sense for them.

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

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

The establishment of international offices may be one noticeable change in the organisational structures of many HEIs. Yet their largely administrative roles are not always appreciated or perceived positively by academics. In some of the countries and case study institutions, but to varying degrees, certain tensions were evident between academic interests in international activities, and the increasingly professionalised, administrative function of international support offices. Particularly in relation to EU activities such as ERASMUS and EU research programmes, administrative support has been perceived as a necessity. These new roles are sometimes viewed less as strategic decisions that are central to institutional goals, but more than as a

bureaucratic response to external pressures. Academic staff may be inclined to see international activities as an inherent aspect of their roles, while they view some of the functions of administrative support units for international activities as imposed upon the decentral units. For example, some of the respondents in the German case studies perceived the administrative hurdles in acquiring various EU funds as the rules of the game that must be played, and felt it was simply necessary that someone be appointed to administer them.

Internationalisation is rarely mentioned as part of institution-wide and departmental (financial) planning, budgeting and quality review systems amongst the institutions in this study. Only δ Germany and γ Norway refer to this. At δ Germany internationalisation is part of the institutional development plan and γ Norwayis planning to integrate internationalisation in the institution wide planning. All Austrian institutions have developed an international policy statement, with a varying degree of impact on the institution wide planning. Some cases translated their statements into coherent planning processes, integrating internationalisation with other policy goals.

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

The expressed commitment of senior leaders to internationalisation can be found in all types of institutions in all countries. Senior leaders in α institutions appeared to be especially committed. Some α institutions have appointed vice rectors/presidents for internationalisation, e.g. at several German institutions, or have the international office report directly to the rector's office. At α Gr and ε UK senior leaders have expressed commitment for working on a particular topic of higher education. Such activities are perceived as compatible with the university's mission. Other internationalisation activities are seen as peripheral to the university's overall activities. At ε UK senior leaders have expressed commitment particularly in the area of North-South cooperation.

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

Networks are not only sought after at the institutional level, but particularly also at the departmental or faculty level, for networks at the institutional level may not always be of interest to the departments.

9.4.2 Goals

Many institutions have an articulated rationale and/or set goals for internationalisation. In most cases the articulation of a rationale and/or setting of goals goes together with recognition of an international dimension in the mission statement of the institutions or in other institutional policy documents. Some institutions have chosen to aim for a specific international profile or specific goals. For example, in Greece β institutions have established linkages both with the EU and US, while both γ and δ are both very EU-oriented, but for different reasons. At Portuguese HEIs, strategies for internationalisation are also driven by participation in EU programmes. In Norway the rationale for internationalisation and the goals in this area are put under the framework of the “Quality Reform”, which introduced a new degree structure (bachelor/master degrees), the ECTS and a new grading system (A-F), new commitments within quality assurance and evaluation, and a new incentive-based funding system. This Reform influences all institutions, and they have ambitious goals regarding internationalisation. However, the institutions are developing their own distinct profiles in internationalisation, as is mentioned in the chapter on Norway: α Norway and δ Norway come close to the national quality rhetoric, while internationalisation as a means for competition is evident at β Norway. Ambitions differ also in levels and focus: γ Norway is an example of ambitious goals, but mainly restricted to student mobility.

Furthermore, even though some institutions might have an articulated rationale and/or set goals for internationalisation, this does not necessarily mean internationalisation is a high strategic priority for an institution, as is remarked in the Portuguese and UK chapter. In the case of the UK this remark is made specifically in the context of a claim that in the institutions that mainly serve a particular region their international work is seen as supporting this core mission and not supplanting it. However, a general remark that might be made about all English institutions is that internationalisation is seen as one of the factors, and usually not the most important, that bear upon the academic and financial success of the university. Internationalisation may have a high salience in the university because of its role in raising income and broadening staff and student experiences, even though it is not considered to be of particularly high priority as an end.

9.4.3 Participants

Students

As for student mobility, most of the HEIs participate in the ERASMUS programme (table 9.1 and 9.2) and some have their own mobility and exchange schemes on the side. The number of students participating in the ERASMUS exchange generally does not vary much between the HEIs from one particular country (exceptions are the Netherlands and the UK and one Austrian institution).

Table 9.1 Percentage of incoming ERASMUS/mobility students at case study institutions

γ2At	8,8%	δ1At	1,3%	δPt	0,1%
εNl	7,0%	δ2At	1,3%	δNO	0,08%
βNl	5,3%	γ2Pt	1,2%	εNO	0,06%
αNl	2,5%	αAt	1,2%	γNO	0,02%
γD	2,3%	γSouth UK	1,1%	γNorth UK	N/a
αUK	2,0%	α2D	1,0%	εUK	N/a
βPt	2,0%	γ1Pt	1,0%	εPt	N/a
δNl	1,9%	βNO	0,9%	αGr	N/a
γ1At	1,8%	δD	0,5%	β1GR	N/a
βUK	1,6%	α1D	0,4%	β2Gr	N/a
αPt	1,5%	βD	0,3%	δGr	N/a
αNO	1,4%	γNl	0,3%	γGr	N/a

Table 9.2 Percentage of outgoing ERASMUS/mobility students at case study institutions

βNl	9,3%	αGr	1,3%	γ2Pt	0,5%
γ2At	8,6%	δ1At	1,3%	δNl	0,4%
γ1At	3,6%	δD	1,1%	β2 Gr	0,4%
δGr	2,7%	γGr	1,1%	δ2 At	0,4%
αPt	2,0%	γD	1,0%	γNl	0,3%
βPt	2,0%	γ1Pt	1,0%	δNo	0,05%
αNl	2,0%	δPt	1,0%	γNo	0,04%
α2D	1,7%	εNl	1,0%	εNo	0,03%
αUK	1,7%	αNO	0,8%	γNorth UK	Negligible
βUK	1,7%	α1D	0,7%	γSouth UK	Negligible
β1GR	1,6%	βNO	0,6%	εUK	N/a
αAt	1,5%	βD	0,5%	εPt	N/a

The numbers of international students, however, does vary considerably between and within countries, as well as between the same types of institutions in different countries. In this area institutions do indeed have very different strategies (see table 9.3).

Table 9.3 Percentages of international students registered at case study institutions

δ2AT	55,8%	γ2AT	13,0%	γNl	4,0%
δD	25%	α1D	12,5%	αNO	3,5%
εNl	24,7%	γGr	12,2%	αPt	3%
βNl	23,1%	δGr	10,0%	γ1AT	2,8%
αUK	22,7%	εUK	9,0%	βNO	1,9%
γSouthUK	22,4%	γNorth UK	8,7%	εNO	1,8%
δ1AT	20,8%	αAT	8,3%	δNO	1,3%
δNl	17,8%	αGr	7,2%	γNO	0,03%
βUK	17,1%	β1Gr	7,2%	γPt1	N/a
γD	16%	αNl	5,8%	γPt2	N/a
βD	14,7%	βPt	5,2%	δPt	N/a
α2D	13,7%	β2Gr	4,5%	εPt	N/a

Recruiting students for economic reasons is an activity undertaken by almost all Dutch and UK institutions in this study. As is stated in the chapter on the UK: whatever their strategic aims, all the universities were actively involved in trying to increase their income from non-EU students and a wide variety of strategies and tactics were being adopted. The country with the most experience in transnational education is the UK. In Austria the institutions were not recruiting foreign students for economic reasons. $\delta 1$ even decided to circumvent the new national regulation of charging fees to both domestic and foreign students by treating students from most non-EU countries (mainly South Eastern European countries and Turkey) like domestic students and were refunding everything beyond the regular domestic fee. $\delta 2$, however, which has a large amount of wealthy students from Asia, would like to charge higher fees to foreign students, as the Austrian fee is relatively low internationally compared to similar institutions. In Germany economic relevance is one of the guiding principles of the core activities of the universities; however, the institutions usually do not charge tuition fees. In Greece, recruitment of students for economic reasons or organising profit base courses does not fit with the general outlook of Greece on higher education. In Norway, emphasis is put on higher education as a public good and the institutions were not thinking about establishing for-profit arrangements for foreign students wanting to study in Norway. The norm of international competition as a driver for quality is affecting the goals of the institutions. However, this does not mean an opening up of the market. On the contrary, informants reported that the tendency in their own and other Norwegian universities and colleges is to go into partnerships with foreign institutions as a way of escaping the competition.

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

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

Staff

With respect to staff mobility, it can be observed that in many cases this is encouraged at faculty level rather than being managed centrally. Most case study institutions reported an active involvement of staff in internationalisation. This is increasing at the Austrian institutions to varying degrees. In the case of α Gr the development of specific internationalisation initiatives at the faculty level depends on the agency exhibited by the academics, whereas the central level does not specifically aim at promoting internationalisation activities. In the Netherlands the picture is varied. The involvement of staff varies per department. A typical scenario was for a few staff members to develop an initiative and to bring other interested staff members into the activity.

On the whole, there are only few examples for connecting internationalisation to human resource development. For only six institutions some activities in this area are mentioned in the country chapters. In Austria, both staff mobility and staff development are generally recognized to be of growing importance for the institution. γ2 At plans to set up a staff development programme including language training and increasingly makes language competency a requirement for the employment of new staff. At δ1 At internationalisation also is an issue in the trainee programmes of the institution, both for general staff and for junior faculty. α At has a special internship programme, which addresses both academic and general staff. This programme is carried out in cooperation with partner universities. The programme offers its participants insights into other university systems and broadens their inter-cultural competence. Furthermore, one of the goals set by δ Gr is “full institutional support to academics involved in trans-national cooperation projects; the university encourages and gives credit to academics that wish to prepare common study programmes, intensive programmes and new curriculum development. It also encourages incoming academics, who offer the chance to non-mobile students to enrich their knowledge in topics emphasising the European dimension”. In Portugal both γ type institutions pay attention to the development of their human resources. γ1 aims at strengthening the competencies of its teachers, researchers and administrative staff in drafting projects and giving advice on mobility procedures. The director of one of the γ2 schools was providing incentives to the academic staff to go abroad in order to get ideas for new types of courses.

9.4.4 Technology

The technology used at the institutions, i.e. the processes of teaching and research, has undergone many changes because of internationalisation activities. We will concentrate here mainly on the teaching side. Curriculum development and internationalisation of the curriculum is undertaken in different types of HEIs in all countries in the study. This may include the develop-

ment of joint and double degree programmes and in certain countries also a change in the language of instruction.

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

Many institutions are also introducing the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS). For example, in Greece, the institutions were accepting ECTS as a mobility tool, while δ and γ are ready to implement ECTS as a basis for credit accumulation. Institutions in the Netherlands have changed their original credit system to ECTS, as this change was part of the new higher education law introducing and implementing bachelor and master programmes in the Netherlands.

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

Furthermore, many institutions have started to offer, or have expanded their offer, of courses taught in English. This is particularly the case in Germany and the Netherlands. Norwegian institutions are also expanding their offering of English taught programmes. This is a tendency that can be related to the Norwegian Quality Reform and the need to develop and implement new study programmes as a part of this reform. Norwegians, Swedes and Danes have a good understanding of each other's languages. Due to these similarities in language, courses and study programmes have not traditionally been offered in English. Thus, with the new emphasis on developing English study programs it seems that the Nordic students is taken for granted, or at least not prioritised. Portuguese institutions are working on the internationalisation of their curriculum, but the trend is to maintain Portuguese as the teaching

language. In several of the institutions, courses teaching foreign languages are offered to home students, with English as the most common language to be learnt by these students. Often these courses are on a voluntary basis, but in some institutions they are obligatory as part of the regular programme. For example, foreign language study is obligatory in the two γ institutions in Austria and in some courses of δ 1 Au.

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

International activities as part of research and scholarly collaboration are something quite common for most of the universities in this study. The picture is more varied amongst the institutions in the non-university sector. All the α and β institutions in this study are involved in international research projects. Many of the γ institutions and some of the δ institutions are also involved in international research projects. In most cases reference is made to the funding of the international research projects by the EU, for example through the framework programmes or EU regional funds. It is worth noting, however, that in the chapter in the UK it is mentioned that EU funded projects are perceived as financially less viable.

β1 in Greece attracts attention because of its activities on internationalisation of research and scholarly collaboration. This institution participates in projects involving the internationalisation of PhD programmes and the mobility of PhD students. β1 Gr has also developed a policy of attracting top postgraduate students, both Greek and foreign.

9.5 Internationalisation strategies

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

International activities reflect different national traditions, institutional histories and missions. The national chapters show that internationalisation is seen as related to institutional profile building and the position the institution

seeks in a global, European, regional or local hierarchy. The main drivers of internationalisation activities result from the pursuit of some combination of four main goals. The weight given to each of the goals varies very considerably between institutions.

- The university aims to be a global player with worldwide standing and reputation in an open and highly competitive global education market.
- The institution or faculty wishes to consolidate or raise its reputation and standing in the EU or a cross-border region.
- Internationalisation activities, especially the recruitment of foreign students, are seen as being important or even necessary for the survival of a faculty or programme of studies.
- A belief that involvement in international work, especially the attraction of international finance to the local area, enhances the reputation and standing of the HEI or faculty locally and nationally.

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

9.5.1 Competition: Elitism and the achievement of world player status

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

In Germany too, there are instances (cases δ and α) of research oriented HEIs that seek internationalisation and excellence on a broad scale with a touch of entrepreneurialism. Marketing strategies were designed and an alumni network was set up to promote a highly internationalised profile. Three of the German universities included in the sample have opened (or plan to open) representation or contact offices abroad (New York, Brussels, Singapore and China). Such HEIs undertake radical internationalisation and attract foreign students through specially designed programmes offered in English. The German chapter indicates that this process was linked to institutional profile building (at least of certain faculties and departments) with a view to ensure competitiveness and performance in order to export education services and become fit for the global market.

9.5.2 Cooperation and networking: Strengthening the regional institutional profile

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

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

The Austrian report indicates that the location of the country itself favours the attraction of foreign students from Germany or Northern Italy, since they can still study abroad in their mother tongue. For one regional institution (δ), its location near Lake Constance is so important that internationalisation is

identical with cross-border cooperation in the closer region. The importance of this geographic location, at crossroads of Germany, Switzerland, Austria and Liechtenstein, is also supported by the existence of a network of higher education institutions, the Internationale Bodensee Hochschule. This network, which has a strong regional orientation, is a spin-off of a political network of provinces (of the four countries) located around the Lake of Constance. It supports the establishment of joint study programmes and applied research projects.

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

9.5.3 Internationalisation for survival

The case studies contain accounts of a number of institutions for which international recruitment of students is essential for the existence of the institution. Some of them were founded explicitly for this purpose. In one of the Austrian δ institutions, for example, nearly 60 per cent of its students are from outside Austria and about half of the faculty members come from abroad. Additionally, many of them are very active internationally, as musicians, teachers or as judges in contests. The Austrian chapter notes that in a global context, teachers (at δ) automatically see themselves as missionaries or unilateral exporters of a specific cultural product, while their graduates from abroad often seek employment in Western Europe. A somewhat different slant is provided by some of the English institutions where it is remarked that even in the α university "the viability of much of its postgraduate work is heavily dependent on the recruitment of international students; 55 per cent of its postgraduate students are from outside the United Kingdom". More gene-

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

9.5.4 Internationalisation as a means of improving the institutional profile within the country

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

9.6 Change in the institutional environment

9.6.1 The regulative pillar

National policies, regulations and developments

In general, internationalisation policies foster the international activities of the case studies. Alongside general national policies, regulations and developments are important factors shaping many of the international activities within each category of institution in this study. The seven countries differ markedly in the ways in which the national cultural, legal, financial and administrative contexts and system structures are an influence on the activities of individual institutions and their responses to internationalisation issues.

There are some characteristics of certain types of institutions that have led to broadly similar responses between HEIs in the seven countries; but it is very clear that the national contexts do strongly influence all institutions, and not necessarily in a positive sense in terms of increasing the international activities of the institutions. For example, in Greece, the regulative framework constrains the power of academics on issues that are perceived as important for the development of internationalisation policies at the university level. In Portugal, where the internationalisation process can be seen more as reaction than anticipation, organisations feel the need for some national political direction fostering internationalisation.

The Dutch β case shows that national policies and regulations can also impede internationalisation. It has far-reaching cooperation with a Flemish university. However, as a board member explained, it has proved to be very difficult to come to far-reaching cooperation when having to deal with two different sets of rules and regulations in two different countries. Portuguese case studies were critical of the lack of clear policies from the state that would enable them to respond to challenges of internationalisation.

European and international policies, regulations and developments

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

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

The Bologna Declaration is an important example of a European development which has had much influence on national policies of the countries in the study (see Huisman & Van der Wende, 2004) as well as in the higher

education institutions, often mediated through the national policies. Some respondents even felt that it is has become a domestic affair, as for example is remarked in the German chapter: the Bologna Process comprises basically internal reform efforts undertaken jointly. One interviewee pointed out: “Bologna has nothing to do with internationalisation, it is about national reform”. European harmonisation has become a domestic affair. In some countries, such as the Netherlands, Norway and Austria, the Bologna/ Prague/Berlin framework has been largely implemented throughout the national systems. Also German HEIs have started to implement the new degree structures on a broad scale. There are, however, some differences in the responses of individual institutions due to well-established characteristics of certain sectors of the national higher education systems. In Austria and the Netherlands, for instance, some of the γ institutions are finding the Bologna reforms problematic due to the particular historical functions of their degree programmes as serving their local economies.

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

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

Of particular concern to some of the HEIs that have implemented Bologna reforms is the management of the new cycle of progression from Bachelors to

Masters degrees, and the fear that there may not be enough potential Masters students in their regions. The UK case studies, in contrast, are already well situated within the international student market for postgraduate courses, and all have significant numbers of international students at Masters level.

Quality assurance

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

In Germany the implementation of quality reforms and new degree structures have been driven by government policies that affect the whole higher education sector. These changes have largely been perceived as steps intended to strengthen the national higher education system, although the interviews with academics revealed a lack of consensus about the value of the new degree structures. The German chapter states that an implicit goal of internationalisation is that of quality assurance. It is conventional wisdom at German universities that international research cooperation often contributes to the quality of research. On the other hand, internationalisation and globalisation are often viewed as leading to growing instrumentalisation and commercialisation of research, and not necessarily contributing to quality enhancement.

Norway, which is not a formal member of the EU, has implemented quality assurance mechanisms in higher education through government regulation. The system of accreditation which is an integrated part of The Quality Reform, can as such be viewed as a potential driver for the internationalisation of Norwegian higher education.

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

Funding and resources

Many of the institutions in this study expressed concerns that not enough financial resources are available for internationalisation, although some insti-

tutions do have resources specifically available for working on internationalisation. The strongest concerns appear to have been expressed by German respondents, who stated that the available resources hardly suffice to take care of traditional tasks while new tasks and efforts to raise the position of the university nationally and internationally would require additional resources.

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

General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS)

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

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

9.6.2 The normative pillar

Institutional autonomy

Within national contexts there are issues related to the degree of institutional autonomy in relation to the state. Of particular importance in this regard is the extent to which the different types of institution are dependent on government funding and legislation for international activities, or whether they can act autonomously and in an entrepreneurial fashion in response to interna-

tional challenges and opportunities. There were mixed reactions within the seven countries to government funding policies and legislation, and the impact of these factors on international activities. Interviewees in the German case study institutions were largely critical of the under-funding of the higher education system in general, and their inability to charge tuition fees, and cited these factors as inhibiting their ability to foster certain international activities. The higher education funding system in the UK, in contrast, has encouraged English universities and colleges to recruit international students who pay high tuition fees. Institutions are able to set their own strategic goals with respect to the numbers of international students they recruit and the fees they charge.

It is at the α HEIs in particular where most of the common ground concerning autonomy in relation to international activities is found. The α universities across the seven countries are all seeking to maintain or enhance their international profiles, although the types and extent of international activities vary between faculties. The sizes and histories of these institutions have enabled them to establish distinct international profiles. The α case study in Greece, for example, continues to emphasise its promotion of Greek language and culture around the world, whereas the α universities in Germany and the UK are seeking international excellence and competition for the best students worldwide. An important priority for all α case studies is to build on their international profiles through long-established, international research links.

HE as a public or private good

In some countries, in particular Germany and Greece, the status of higher education as a public good is particularly emphasised, and undergraduate education for both national and foreign students is free. In Greece, undergraduate student admissions are centrally controlled; a factor cited by some of the actors interviewed as hampering the international competitiveness of Greek universities at the undergraduate level. Austrian HEIs charge minimal tuition fees only very recently and there is little emphasis on international student recruitment as a strategic goal.

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

Cooperation and competition

Although most of those interviewed in the case studies did not, if unprompted, make analytical distinctions between the terms internationalisation and globalisation (see also 9.1) it is clear that in all seven countries taking part in this study their higher education institutions are making changes in response to the challenges of both internationalisation (academic cooperation) and globalisation (economic competition). However, the data also indicated that there are difficulties in making a clear-cut distinction between global competition and international cooperation. International academic cooperation may be a way towards global competition, as partnerships and other forms of networking enable institutions to compete on an international basis. The perceptions of the challenges of global competition and international cooperation vary between the countries. In Germany, for example, the national debate has turned recently towards competition with the US. The actors interviewed often cited the civil service employment regulations under which they work, and the legal constraints of free higher education to students, as a hindrance to developing German higher education into a global competitor. This emphasis on global positioning is somewhat similar to the UK context, in which the α and β universities in particular, perceive themselves as competing within an international market for research and the most able international students.

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

9.6.3 The cultural cognitive pillar

Opportunities for international activities are powerfully influenced by such factors as disciplines and subject areas, language, culture, region, and historical links. Whether or not the HEIs work to develop opportunities depends upon their overall missions and also rather arbitrarily on whether they decide strategically to exploit certain advantages. Several of the α and some of the β universities are capitalising on their strengths within an international elite range of universities. Some of the actors interviewed within other types of HEIs are asking whether they can position themselves within this group. Others, for example in Greece and Portugal, emphasise their strong positions in regional and European networks.

Disciplines and subject areas

Differences between subject areas were mentioned in all seven countries as factors affecting responses to the challenges of internationalisation. These differences are difficult to categorise, and are complicated by issues such as the level of study, the location of the universities, historical links and the fact that there was no rigid comparability in the subjects examined in the institutional and national case studies. The international activities reported in different subject areas vary in their nature between institutions and countries.

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

The arts and humanities subject areas are more difficult to compare in terms of their international orientations. As has already been mentioned, the Austrian $\delta 1$ case study focusing on the arts has cultivated international links. This is also true of the δ case study in the Netherlands, which strongly promotes arts education as being international in scope. The location of certain arts-related subject areas in particular regions or countries can enhance their international standing. As noted in the Portuguese chapter, the faculties of Arts, Architecture and Design in Portuguese HEIs may be attractive to international students and scholars in ways that their Science faculties cannot take for granted.

Some of the subjects in the humanities offer contrasting and very particular challenges. As noted in one of the Netherlands case studies, some of the actors in humanities-related fields felt it was not realistic to offer courses in French philosophy taught in English at a Dutch university. Therefore, competition for international students in some subjects can be limited by language. This was also mentioned in the Austrian α institution, which has developed German and English descriptions for all of its courses, and encourages lecturers to voluntarily teach courses in the English language. Some academics

remain resistant to teaching in English, e.g. in such areas as Austrian history and folklore, where it would seem absurd to offer these courses in languages other than German.

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

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

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

University profile and mission

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

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

Location is clearly an important factor shaping the missions and strategies of universities. The case studies that are located in capital or major cities are often more easily able to attract international students and scholars, and to build international links, in ways in which the more remote or rurally-based institutions find more challenging. Yet some of the regions in which a few of the case studies are situated offer other benefits. In Austria, for example, $\delta 1$ profits much from the historic attractions of its location in a culturally rich region. The location of one of the β universities in Greece was specifically chosen to function as a bridge between Greece and the Middle East.

Language and internationalisation of programmes

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

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

9.7 Factors fostering or impeding internationalisation

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

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

- A flexible regulative framework that accords to the universities' increasing institutional autonomy, especially with regards to the power to take decisions concerning the recruitment of students (including fee setting) and the ability to quickly set up new programmes;
- Increased use of the English language in teaching programmes (English as a lingua franca);
- Implementation of the policies which enhance transparency with respect to degrees, quality, standards and performance of institutions and systems, i.e. as proposed by the Bologna process and the Lisbon strategy. This includes the development of a unified EHEA and ERA, and the implementation of European (or more widely international) quality assurance (accreditation) frameworks, which enable the international benchmarking and comparison of quality and standards.

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

- Secure public funding for universities and high regard for education as a public good accessible to all;
- A regulative framework that supports free education, sets quotas on the number of foreign students in the higher education system and restricts the institutional autonomy concerning recruitment of students, staff and administrative employees;
- Instruction in the national language as a way to preserve cultural and linguistic diversity and in order to stimulate foreign language learning and cultural exchange;

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

10. Conclusions, reflections and recommendations

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The attempts in the previous chapter to explain differences in the activities and strategies of the HEI case studies in response to the challenges of internationalisation, globalisation and Europeanisation reveal a wide range of approaches. The variables examined are complex influences on organisational change. It is apparent that internationalisation (the term that most respondents seemed to favour in describing their activities) has been an important aspect of higher education systems generally, and is becoming increasingly prominent across a diverse range of institutions. It is clear that the national legal and policy context is a very important factor in explaining variations in the responses to internationalisation. Most marked has been the extremely proactive approach of the English institutions, which as the national report says, can be attributed to the financial and academic autonomy of the HEIs, the extreme financial stringency they have suffered for two decades and the global dominance of the English language. However, in other countries, also there are particular aspects of their higher education systems that affect the institutional approaches to international issues. Location and language are clearly important issues in focussing international institutional practices. Greek universities believe they have particular responsibilities for the widely dispersed populations of Greek descent; Portugal has particular links with its former colonies; Norwegian universities have a tradition of close links with other Nordic countries while its language means relatively few foreign students from other areas come to Norway. A sizeable proportion of the relatively high numbers of external students in Austria are from neighbouring countries, particularly German speaking countries and regions. However, institutional histories and profiles also have identifiable effects that are to some extent common across countries.

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

10.1 Reflections on theory

In chapter 1 the underlying theory which guided the empirical research was presented. As always, the empirical research has shown some strengths and weaknesses of the theory chosen. One of the main strengths of the pillars of institutions as described by Scott is that they help to structure the way of thinking about the environment of higher education institutions. It has been helpful to see the different roles different parts of the environment can play to a higher education institution in different countries. E.g in some cases cultural-cognitive issues, such as disciplinary conceptions, play a more important or different role than in other cases. For example, the Faculty of Law of α the Netherlands responds different to these issues, it has a very nationally oriented curriculum, than the Faculty of Law at β the Netherlands, which has a very European oriented curriculum.

However, as already acknowledged in chapter 1, the pillars of institutions show some overlap. For example, rules and regulations express certain norms and if such a norm is taken for granted, it might be argued that the norm then is part of the cultural cognitive pillar. This overlap sometimes made it difficult to classify some developments or general themes in higher education explcitly in terms of (only) one of the pillars. What also hampered the classification was the different state of completion given to certain developments or themes in the different countries participating in this study. For example, one of the questions encountered was whether quality assurance is part of the normative pillar, as quality assurance expresses certain norms and standards in a higher education system, or is quality assurance part of the regulative pillar in those countries where quality assurance has been laid down in legislation. What also made quality assurance sometimes more difficult to classify in terms of the pillars, is that recent developments in quality assurance are often perceived as closely linked to the follow up of the Bologna Declaration, which is seen to be part of the regulative pillar as it has a regulative impact. In our framework, quality assurance was eventually classified as part of the regulative pillar. In the light of the discussions on classifying developments and themes in higher education in different countries, one can put forward the question whether the pillars of institutions are sufficiently distinctive to apply empirically, particularly in a comparison of several countries.

A second element of the institutional pillars relates to the role of (financial) resources, which seems somewhat underexposed. In chapter one it is argued that (financial) resources are part of the regulative pillar, as they are part of the rules and regulation governing higher education. However, a case could also be made, as Scott does with his theory on organisations (see also chapter 1), there are two parts of the environment of organisations: the institutional and technical environment. The technical environment “is typically narrowed in use to refer to the nature and sources of inputs, markets for out-

puts and competitors" (Scott, 1998: 131). This leads to the observation that "no organisation is self-sufficient; all must enter into exchanges with the environment" (Ibid.: 132). We expect that Scott's ideas about the technical environment would help to further explain the importance of (financial) resources to some of the higher education institutions in this study as well as the role of international cooperation and competition that is being sought and the international networks that are being built.

What has also proven to be difficult to describe and explain, is the exact influence of the institutional environment on the higher education institutions (and vice versa). The study does show that higher education institutions are responding to the developments in the institutional environment, or in some cases choose to ignore or object to them, but how exactly these impacts are being shaped is not always clear. Furthermore, all lines, as shown in Scott's organisational model, are possible it seems and it is often impossible to capture where the line of influence started and where it ends. For example, did goals precede the social structure, or did the goals follow the social structure, in cases where an international office was set up to aid internationalisation of the institution.

Finally, the findings of the empirical research make clear the history of a country or higher education institution in international developments is important to current decisions and policy for internationalisation. One might argue that historical institutionalism can be helpful in explaining these findings further, as historical institutionalism tends to have a view of institutional development that emphasises path dependence (Hall & Taylor, 1996: 938). Historical institutionalism looks at processes over time (Pierson & Skocpol, 2002: 6). According to historical institutionalism, past events will be reflected and of influence to current events and decisions. Some even argue that path dependence refers to a "self reinforcing or positive feedback process" (Pierson & Skocpol, 2002: 7). As we saw in our research, historical backgrounds are of importance to current decision being taken in internationalisation of higher education in most of the countries in participating in this research. It might therefore be useful to analyse these outcomes with the help of historical institutionalism.

However, we do not necessarily have to turn to other theoretical perspectives. The pillars of institutions can also be of use in explaining these outcomes. Both the normative and the cultural cognitive pillar can be of use. The basis of compliance of the normative pillars is social obligation, its basis of order is binding expectations and its basis of legitimacy is morally governed. A shared history can form the basis for guiding norms and the history of an organisation can lead to certain obligations and expectations, based on the morals that the organisation has built through the years, as one can for example see with ε the Netherlands and its links to developing countries. A further explanation might be found in the cultural cognitive pillar, as a shared

history can bring shared understanding, which forms the basis of compliance to this pillar. Therefore, the importance of history for current decisions can also be explained with the help of the pillars of institutions. Perhaps in future research the usefulness of both theoretical approaches can be tested.

10.2 Recommendations

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

♦ Increasing activities

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

♦ Growing diversity

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

♦ National embeddedness

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

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

10.2.1 Institutional autonomy is key

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

approaches). If national governments take internationalisation serious, further deregulation seems warranted (e.g. with respect to admission, tuition fee and language policies) in order to enable the institutions to be internationally active and more responsive to challenges of globalisation. At the same time, more efficient and effective management of higher education institutions is necessary. Leadership and management are more complex in an international context.

10.2.2 Europeanisation of policy and regulatory frameworks

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

10.2.3 Particular internationalisation policies

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

10.2.4 Further research

With the more central role of internationalisation in higher education institutions and policy, we need to know more about its impact on participation, access, equity, funding, quality, etc. Obviously because we need to take this into account in policy development and coordination, but also and not in the least place because students ask for transparency in these areas.

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

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This is the second report of the study on Higher Education Institutions' Responses to Europeanisation, Internationalisation and Globalisation. Developing International Activities in a Multi-level Policy Context. This study, with the abbreviated name "HEIGLO" is a research project funded by the European Union's 5th Framework Programme for R&D. Horizontal programme: Improving Human Potential and the Socio-economic Knowledge Base (Project no: SERD-2002-00074). The HEIGLO project coordinated by the Centre for Higher Education Policy Studies, University of Twente, aims to analyse the dynamic interaction between changing international, European and global contexts of higher education. More in particular, it aims to identify and analyse higher education institutions' responses to the challenges of Europeanisation, internationalisation and globalisation and the (supra)national contexts, the organisational settings, and the policies and activities aimed to support these responses.

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