Reform of Higher Education in Europe

J. Enders, H.F. de Boer and
D.F. Westerheijden (Eds.)

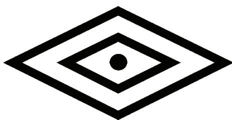
SensePublishers

Reform of Higher Education in Europe

Reform of Higher Education in Europe

Edited by

J. Enders, H.F. de Boer and D.F. Westerheijden
University of Twente, The Netherlands



SENSE PUBLISHERS
ROTTERDAM/BOSTON/TAIPEI

A C.I.P. record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

ISBN: 978-94-6091-553-6 (paperback)
ISBN: 978-94-6091-554-3 (hardback)
ISBN: 978-94-6091-555-0 (e-book)

Published by: Sense Publishers,
P.O. Box 21858,
3001 AW Rotterdam,
The Netherlands
www.sensepublishers.com

Printed on acid-free paper

All Rights Reserved © 2011 Sense Publishers

No part of this work may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, microfilming, recording or otherwise, without written permission from the Publisher, with the exception of any material supplied specifically for the purpose of being entered and executed on a computer system, for exclusive use by the purchaser of the work.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Reform of Higher Education in Europe 1
Jürgen Enders, Harry de Boer, Jon File, Ben Jongbloed and Don Westerheijden

2. European Degree Structure and National Reform: Constitutive Dynamics of the Bologna Process 11
Marike Faber and Don Westerheijden

3. Reform of Doctoral Training in Europe: A Silent Revolution? 29
Andrea Kottmann

4. The Effect of the ERASMUS Programme on European Higher Education: The Visible Hand of Europe 45
Maarja Beerkens and Hans Vossensteyn

5. Responding to the EU Innovation Strategy: The Need For Institutional Profiling in European Higher Education and Research 63
Frans van Vught

6. The Rise of the University's Third Mission 81
Arend Zomer and Paul Benneworth

7. Transformation or Systems Convergence?: The Research Profile of Universities of Applied Sciences in Europe 103
Egbert de Weert

8. Understanding the Limits to Higher Education Policy Networks 123
Adrie Dassen and Paul Benneworth

9. The Strategic Responses of English and Dutch University Life Scientists to the Changes in their Institutional Environments 143
Liudvika Leisyte and Jürgen Enders

10. Old Wine in New Skins: The Long Evolution of Supervisory Boards in Dutch Higher Education 159
Harry de Boer and Jon File

11. Funding Through Contracts: European and Institutional Perspectives.......... 173
Ben Jongbloed

JÜRGEN ENDERS, HARRY DE BOER, JON FILE, BEN JONGBLOED AND DON WESTERHEIJDEN

1. REFORM OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN EUROPE

1.1 AN INTRODUCTION

Nowhere today is higher education undergoing more substantial change than in Europe. As countries pursue policies designed to integrate their economies, political systems and social structures, it is becoming increasingly clear that higher education, research and innovation are critical components to fully realising the potential gains stemming from the changes ahead. This very idea has been espoused in several high-level European wide processes and has given rise to a series of ambitious goals and objectives designed to ensure long term European pre-eminence as both a knowledge producer and transmitter. European higher education systems have shown themselves to be no stranger to political reform: for the better part of three decades the sector has been included in the much broader national and international—even global—reforms in Western and Eastern Europe. In order to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of our Center for Higher Education Policy Studies, former and current CHEPS staff have written the chapters of this book analysing and reflecting on issues of reform in European higher education. This introduction provides a brief overview of some of the major issues at stake in European higher education and introduces the contributions to this book.

European higher education systems have always undergone political reform; since the late 1990s, though, the rate of intended change has accelerated to unprecedented levels, largely on the shoulders of two key developments: the Bologna Declaration (1999), whose objective is to make the European higher education systems more competitive and attractive and the EU’s Lisbon Strategy (2000), which seeks to reform the continent’s still fragmented higher education systems into a more powerful and more integrated, knowledge-based economy. The EU’s Modernisation Agenda (2007) highlights education, research, innovation and the modernisation of higher education institutions as important pillars of the Lisbon Strategy. Appropriate governance and funding structures and processes are regarded as a precondition to achieve these goals.

The Sorbonne Declaration of 1998 constituted the first signal of the preference of major European countries (France, Germany, Italy and the UK) for a more compatible and comparable set of European higher education systems while preserving the rich diversity of teaching, learning styles and higher education cultures. In Bologna one year later, 25 other European countries joined the original four. At each biannual ministerial follow-up conference since, more countries have joined the fray and by 2010 the total number of countries had reached 47. Though the

J. Enders et al. (eds.), Reform of Higher Education in Europe, 1–10.
© 2011 Sense Publishers. All rights reserved.

diversity within European higher education is regarded as one of its major strengths, at the same time a common path towards transparency, quality, growth, efficiency and excellence is regarded a prerequisite for making Europe one of the strongest educational and economic leaders in the world.

The Bologna Process aimed at the establishment of a European Higher Education Area by 2010, and Westerheijden et al. (2010) have recently assessed the first decade of working on it. While signatory countries have to some extent interpreted the Declaration in their own ways, the process rapidly achieved a wide acceptance. Focusing at first on reforming study programmes into the two-cycle 'bachelor-master' structure, concerns about comparability soon pushed quality assurance and accreditation and degree recognition firmly into the mix. Bologna's perspective broadened in Berlin (2003) with the inclusion of the Ph.D. as the third cycle and with linking the European Higher Education Area with the European Research Area. The third cycle was discussed again in Bergen (2005) through the explicit mentioning of 'the importance of higher education in further enhancing research and the importance of research in underpinning higher education for the economic and cultural development of our societies and for social cohesion.' The London communiqué (2007) stressed steps towards more student-centred higher education, and the increase in mobility between cycles and internationally. Important progress was made towards a European Qualifications Framework (EQF) adopted in April 2008 and the European Register of Quality Assurance Agencies (EQAR) was initiated in June 2008. In the 2009 follow-up conference in Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve, the latest one before the writing of this book, the development of instruments to facilitate transparency came to the forefront.

In this book, *Marike Faber and Don Westerheijden* analyse multi-level policy dynamics in the context of the Bologna process in their contribution *European Degree Structure and National Reform: Constitutive Dynamics of the Bologna Process*. In their comparative analysis of national case studies they find that 'Bologna' was deployed as additional support for initiating changes of national higher education systems while 'Bologna' also brought about European pressure that affected national higher education policies. Although the Bologna agreement is a non-binding construction in a legal perspective, national actors can conceive of striving towards a common European degree structure as coercion. National technical changes in degree structure can be interpreted as having created a symbolic outcome in the creation of a European higher education system based on a common degree structure: there is unity in a European dimension at face value, while diversity at the national levels continues.

In her contribution, *Reform of Doctoral Training in Europe: A Silent Revolution?*, *Andrea Kottmann* argues that attempts to reform doctoral education increasingly move from the national to the European level. The 2003 Berlin Communiqué of the Bologna process can be seen as a starting point for this shift in the discussion. It stated that doctoral studies should be regarded as a third cycle in the Bologna reform, but at the same time diversity was explicitly to be maintained. Yet a 'silent revolution' towards more convergence has taken place. Kottmann argues that international organisations play a crucial role in disseminating policies, for example by publishing handbooks and standards. She points in particular to the EUA and its Council

for Doctoral Education. At an operational level, this has allowed for maintenance of diversity including the number of years of doctoral training, but at a more abstract level, doctoral education has shifted from an individual to an institutional responsibility. Not only international organisations, but also higher education institutions acquire more actorhood through this type of European processes.

Maarja Beerkens and Hans Vossensteyn discuss a related though different issue of European multi-level policies in their contribution *The Effect of the ERASMUS Programme on European Higher Education: The Visible Hand of Europe*. They argue that through ERASMUS, the European Union has had quite a considerable effect on higher education in Europe. To facilitate a smooth mobility of students, higher education systems need to be compatible, educational quality must be transparent, and qualifications need to be comparable. Such needs have triggered major developments in European higher education, such as the Bologna degree reform, the ECTS, the European Qualifications Framework, and changes in quality assurance systems. As a result of these developments we also see new supranational organisations coming to prominence, such as ENQA and the European Quality Assurance Register. As predicted by the conceptual framework of trans-national societies, the cycle does not stop here but feeds further trans-nationalisation. As a result, there will be need for more regulation at the European level and greater roles for supra-national organisations.

In March 2000, the countries of the European Union committed themselves in the Lisbon Strategy to the ambitious objective of becoming ‘the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion.’ European policy-makers’ intentions took a more concrete form in 2003 when the operational goal of raising EU-countries’ investments in R&D to 3% of GDP was outlined in Barcelona. Aggregate public investment in both education and research still lags behind that in the United States and it seems that EU member states’ abilities to make further investments are limited. The investments differ significantly across countries and even more so across sub-national regions (Dill and Van Vught, 2008). Although state investments in research have grown since 2000, industry contributions grew only marginally. The mid-term evaluation report (EC 2004) showed that the Lisbon summit goals were very difficult to reach, partly due to weak economic growth in the larger member states and partly due to the fact that the design and the implementation of the policy actions rely on the member states and industry. Another mid-term review (EC 2006) on a similar note reported a gap between the political rhetoric about the knowledge society and the realities of political financial priorities. The Lisbon process was restarted with the New Lisbon Partnership for Growth and Jobs (EC 2005c) where ‘knowledge and innovation for growth’ have been identified as one of the three main areas for action. In 2010, the Lisbon strategy evolved into the EU Commission’s strategy ‘Europe 2020’, responding to the economic crisis and broadening the agenda to overcome some of the shortcomings of the previous initiatives. For instance, the link with higher education was strengthened with the goal that by 2020, 40% of the population aged 30 to 34 ought to have achieved tertiary-level education.

In such a context, the European Commission has increasingly emphasised the role of universities in contributing to the knowledge society and economy (EC 2003, 2005a) 'Europe must strengthen the three poles of its knowledge triangle: education, research and innovation. Universities are essential in all three' (EC 2005b). The Commission found that governments have increasing difficulties to match the rising costs of science and providing quality education and excellent research. Lack of competitiveness has been one of the major challenges for European universities noted by the Commission since 2003. The major criticism lies in European universities failing to use their full potential to stimulate economic growth, social cohesion, and improvement in the quality and quantity of jobs. The European Commission identifies the following problems: the tendency of uniformity and egalitarianism in many national higher education systems, too much emphasis on mono-disciplinarity and traditional learning and learners; and too little world-class excellence (Dill and Van Vught, 2008). Despite these difficulties the Commission believes that the quality and attractiveness of European universities need to increase, human resources need to be strengthened, and the diversity of the European higher education system needs to be combined with increased compatibility.

In his contribution to this book *Responding to the EU Innovation Strategy: The Need for Institutional Profiling in European Higher Education and Research, Frans van Vught* addresses the EU's innovation strategy and its consequences for the European higher education landscape and more particularly its higher education and research institutions. The creation, transfer and application of knowledge are assumed to be of prime importance for a process of economic reorientation and further social and economic development and higher education and research institutions are vitally important here. After an elaborate presentation of the relevant EU policies, Van Vught discusses the expectations and challenges for the institutions in this global and European context. The need to increase enrolment and graduate numbers; the levels of access and equity; research performance and knowledge transfer capacity; private income; academic stratification and regional differentiation are all discussed. In response to these challenges Van Vught argues that higher education and research institutions need to design and implement clear and realistic institutional profiles.

The Sorbonne and Bologna Declarations, the Lisbon Strategy and the Modernisation Agenda have not been the only influences on European higher education institutions. In many European countries a series of reforms were already underway in the 1980s (in the West) and 1990s (in Central and Eastern Europe) and many current reform initiatives have their origin in this period. The changing role of the state vis-à-vis higher education institutions (i.e. in the form of enhancing institutional autonomy and stressing quality assurance and accountability) are well-known themes of the last two decades. This has been convincingly demonstrated in Neave's article on the rise of the evaluative state (Neave, 1988), and Eurydice's 2000 study on two decades of higher education reform. Globalisation, internationalisation, the fall of communism and privatisation have all done much to shape the current situation. Some examples are the growing importance of international profiling, international consortia, tuition fees, external research funds and the emergence of private higher

education institutions. If, however, one seeks a common thread that links these larger developments to the current state of European higher education reforms, then few would disagree that it is the growing recognition that higher education sectors are both remarkably complex and not immune to the pull of the market.

Behind the policy initiatives discussed above considerable attention has been given to the adoption of more market-type mechanisms and modern types of governance (Enders, 2002). Keywords like accountability and New Public Management or network governance ('state supervision', 'the evaluative state') are gradually replacing the traditional focus on state control and academic collegial governance. State control is giving way to more institutional management in the name of efficiency and responsiveness to society's diverse needs, demonstrated through new processes of accountability including quality assurance. Institutions are encouraged - some would argue forced - to increase their capacity and willingness to become engaged in the production of useful knowledge and relevant teaching. Through competition and greater institutional autonomy higher education institutions are stimulated to become more sensitive to their varied consumers' demands for relevance.

Two contributions to this book address the role of higher education for commercialisation and knowledge transfer. *Arend Zomer and Paul Benneworth* address *The Rise of the University's Third Mission*. They argue that commercialisation has become an intrinsic part of what universities do. The third mission was a response to demands from government, industry and other societal actors for universities to become more self-reliant as institutions (covering their costs) but at the same time creating benefits for a range of societal actors, principally by supporting business innovation and boosting national competitiveness. Over time, the idea of a third mission has acquired a degree of autonomy as something shaping not only debates about universities' societal impacts, but also the meaning of university. The idea continues to evolve, with successes being extended and failures leading to evolutionary dead-ends and policy lacunas, as policy-makers distance themselves from those failures.

Egbert de Weert's contribution, *Transformation or Systems Convergence? The Research Profile of Universities of Applied Sciences in Europe,* provides a cross-national comparative perspective on the practice-oriented research function of Universities of Applied Sciences (UAS). Does the growing research function of UAS lead to a further blurring of boundaries or does it justify the preservation of binary systems? After a description of the UAS sector across Europe, the drivers of the research ambitions of the UAS sector are discussed such as making a contribution to the needs of the knowledge society, to boost regional innovation and to change competencies for professional practice. Based on examples from Ireland, Germany, Switzerland, Finland and the Netherlands, De Weert argues that commonalities between European countries regarding practice-led research and its distinctiveness from university research contribute to a further profiling of the UAS sector as a whole. UAS research is complementary and may result in a stronger differentiation between UAS and traditional universities. The core identity of the UAS sector concerns a strengthening of ties with companies and professional fields a re-balanced nexus between teaching and research and a focus on practice-led research. Within the UAS

sector De Weert foresees more differentiation, which is likely to contribute to a diversified European higher education system.

Until recently the higher education governance policy focus has largely addressed the relationship between institutions and the state. However, since the 1990s shifts in system governance are evident. In terms of system coordination one can witness growing recognition that relationships are not only more complex and dynamic but involve more actors from various levels. This overall shift has been termed 'from government to governance', which further reinforces the position that it is not just the state that rules. Authorities and powers have been redistributed across the various policy levels. In many countries, coordination has changed from a classical form of regulation dominated by a single actor, the state, to forms in which various actors at various system levels coordinate the system ('multi-level multi-actor governance') (Van Kersbergen & Van Waarden, 2001). Coordination increasingly takes place through interconnected policy levels with a substantial number of actors influencing agenda setting, policy development, policy determination, policy implementation, and evaluation (De Boer, Enders, & Leisyte, 2007).

Adrie Dassen's and Paul Benneworth's contribution to this book, *Understanding the Limits to Higher Education Policy,* addresses the increasing popularity of policy networks in the governance of higher education and research. Governments have sought to use policy networks to deal with situations which are problematic, involving intractable or ill-defined problems, complex groupings of stakeholders and interests, demanding a solution with no easy end in sight. Policy networks can be used with an experimental rationale, in which they allow sense-making in novel situations, and a displacement rationale, in which governments can withdraw from having responsibility for the issues at stake. The question that remains to be answered is the extent to which governments oscillate between these rationales and whether experiments in governance are acquiring widespread support and becoming normalised, or whether they allow a postponement of improving efficiency in higher education.

Whatever governments' rationales may be, they have to be realized by the higher education institutions and units and individuals within them. *Liudvika Leišytė and Jürgen Enders* in their chapter, *The strategic responses of English and Dutch university life scientists to the changes in their institutional environments*, address the question of how research groups react to governmental initiatives. They show that there are different strategies, from conformity to symbolic compliance and proactive manipulation and negotiation of the environment. Research groups use a mix of these strategies, with the higher credibility groups being able to engage more in proactive strategies and keep their core activities intact, while low-credibility groups more often have to resort to conformity strategies and adapt more to governments' policies. Yet, 'playing the game' and research groups being strategic actors using a mix of strategies may well be the most striking characteristic emerging from their study. How such reactions affect the effectiveness of policies, and thus what governments can do and how, needs further exploration. The difference between 'government' and 'governance' may play an important role in those explorations.

The notion of 'less government and more governance' is strongly and supported by several factors (De Boer, Enders, & Schimank, 2006). One is financial; high

public expenditures for continuously expanding higher education systems are demanding new steering instruments. Another is the ideological shift towards the market as a coordinating mechanism. Today in Europe it is evident that higher education increasingly functions in quasi-markets, where governments continue to play an important guiding role (Texeira, Jongbloed, Dill, & Amaral, 2004). Third, globalisation, internationalisation and Europeanisation have all challenged the national boundaries of higher education systems and posed new questions to governments and higher education institutions. For example, the European Union instrument of the Framework Programmes has encouraged higher education institutions to engage in large scale partnerships across national boundaries, which have resulted in different networks and consortia and research agenda setting moving towards a supra-national level. Fourth, empirical evidence suggests that the New Public Management (De Boer, Enders & Schimank, 2006) organisational approach has been influential in "modernising" public services. Some European countries increasingly treat their public service sector organisations as corporate enterprises with the goal of increasing their efficiency and effectiveness by giving them more autonomy and at the same time asking for more accountability.

Across the board, a major trend has been the strengthening of higher education institutions as organisations (De Boer, Enders & Leisyte, 2006). One of the consequences of reshuffling authorities and responsibilities between the various levels within the higher education systems is that many powers have accrued at the top level of the institutions. Enhancing institutional autonomy, a state policy in many countries, has often meant strengthening of institutional leadership, particularly in those higher education systems where traditionally the institutional top level was relatively weak. The enhanced institutional autonomy has meant higher levels of accountability as well as more stringent and detailed procedures for quality assurance at the state as well as institutional levels ('the rise of the evaluative state'). Greater accountability also means that higher education institutions have to redefine the ways in which they inform their stakeholders about their performances and the ways in which they integrate external stakeholders into their internal decision-making processes.

This latter aspect is considered in the contribution of *Harry de Boer and Jon File*, *Old Wine in New Skins: The Long Evolution of Supervisory Boards in Dutch Higher Education.* They observe that, despite differences between higher education governance systems in Europe, external stakeholder involvement in internal university governance is on the rise. Through a longitudinal case study of supervisory boards in Dutch higher education, they highlight persisting issues around supervisory boards such as who should serve on a supervisory board, what should be their main roles and what kind of relationships should exist between the supervisory board, the ministry, society and the academic community. They argue that, at least in the Netherlands, a supervisory board is not a new phenomenon, as many would like us to believe, despite all the changes that have taken place in higher education of the last two centuries. The oldest Dutch university, Leiden, founded in 1575, had a supervisory board from the outset. The Dutch experience of external representation in internal university governance is much more a case of 'reinventing the wheel' than of 'modernising governance'.

The potentials and limits of various governance models such as stakeholder approaches, policy networks, quasi-markets and governmental regulation remain, however, contested. The role of governments is evolving into sometimes elaborate systems of incentives and sanctions that allow governments to continue utilising their higher education sectors by 'steering from a distance' in order to redress 'government failures' (Wolf, 1993) of the past. At the same time, the pace and reach of the changes now taking place raise the possibility that policymakers are fixing one problem by creating another. Markets breed 'market failures' and economists are quick to point out that universities are fundamentally different from the ideal-type firms that shape standard economic textbook theories (Winston, 1999). If Europe is to succeed in its efforts to create both a Higher Education and Research Area that will drive its economy in the years ahead then striking a balance between these types of failures will be crucial.

Teaching and research face similar problems and challenges lying ahead. While education is seen as critical to supporting and maintaining economic growth, so too is research and development (R&D) investment considered essential to ensuring that Europe remains at the forefront of technological innovation. Such goals however must be met in the context of increasing global competition for scarce academic talent and financial resources. Universities and other providers of higher education, as well as governments, are well aware that they play a major role in the "Europe of Knowledge" and of their responsibility to deliver the economic, social and cultural services expected from them. The regulatory environments and the governance structures and processes, combined with the material and human resources at their disposal, play a crucial role in the degree to which universities and colleges effectively provide these services locally, regionally, nationally and internationally (OECD, 2008).

In higher education the state's new role may be called facilitative as it creates a higher education environment in which the state controls the outcomes at the state level without much detailed interference. In some countries one can speak of the state as steering the market (Texeira, Jongbloed, Dill, & Amaral, 2004). In the last two decades, most European countries have also revised their higher education funding systems. The extent to which the reforms have been implemented varies considerably, but no country has been able to ignore the debate on higher education funding entirely. There are several serious funding issues that are receiving attention in European higher education: most importantly, first, the funding gap between higher education investments in Europe and its main competitors, secondly the related pressure to attract private funds both from industry and students/parents, and thirdly, financial allocation principles to focus more towards outcome-based and competitive funding instruments (e.g. Teixera et al., 2004; Jongbloed and Vossensteyn, 2004). New steering devices have been introduced, output funding and multi-year agreements with the (individual) higher education institutions provide illustrative examples.

In his contribution, *Funding through Contracts: European and Institutional Perspectives*, *Ben Jongbloed* discusses the state of the art and recent reforms in university funding in Europe. Contracting and performance-based budgeting (PBB) are two trends that emerge from a *tour d'horizon* of funding mechanisms for higher education institutions, as the result of, among other things, the New Public Management

doctrine. After presenting four main budget types (performance systems, process systems, project systems and input systems) and the mechanisms of public funding used by national authorities (negotiated funding, incremental funding, formula funding and contract funding), Jongbloed uses the Dutch example to explore the promises and pitfalls of contracting and PBB. In his conclusion he pictures a mixed pattern of pros and cons of the two trends and mentions that funding authorities and university administrators increasingly realise that their traditional funding approaches have been backward-looking, for instance, by using the formula funding mechanism. He foresees that formula funding will remain important but will increasingly be supplemented by contract (forward-looking) approaches.

In Europe, governments remain the primary funding source for higher education institutions. The figures and trends show that European investment in education and R&D, especially from private sources, is not pushing Europe towards parity with its global competitors instead show an ever-widening gap. This has prompted the European Commission to call on member-states to nearly double aggregate R&D investment and increase the share of industry-sponsored research from 56% to 66% by 2010 (EC 2002, 2005c). This is easier said than done, as continued and serious economic fluctuations have made it difficult for governments to provide incentives and subsidies that are capable of encouraging private investment in research and development. In the area of teaching, predominantly national policies towards cost sharing are sometimes met with scepticism due to fears of a decrease in access to higher education (Vossensteyn and Mateju, 2008).

In many ways the higher education systems of the countries that in recent years have become members of the EU and the non-EU signatory countries in the Bologna Process face an even harsher economic situation than the 15 old EU member states. Any effort at integrating higher education into a European Higher Education Area will invariably need to accommodate an increasingly rich variety of systems with regard to cultural norms, economic policies, organisational structures and GDP levels. Nevertheless, due to the considerable national power in shaping the regulatory frameworks and incentive structures, national governments still shape higher education systems and institutions as they see fit. Whether the envisaged performance improvements will take place will be the result of the dynamics of the incentive structures and the responses of the actors involved. As such, institutional responses, as well as the reactions of students, academics, industry and other stakeholders are crucial to the extent and direction of higher education reforms initiated by governments or the EU and for the impact of such reforms. As a result, before national and trans-national policies can be fine-tuned, a better understanding of the implementation and effects of the policies is needed.

REFERENCES

De Boer, H., Enders, J., & Leisyte, L. (2007). Public sector reform in Dutch higher education: The organizational transformation of the university. *Public Administration*, *85*(1), 27–46.

De Boer, H., Enders, J., & Schimank, U. (2006). On the way towards new public management? The governance of university systems in England, the Netherlands, Austria, and Germany. In D. Jansen (Ed.),

New forms of governance in research organizations: Disciplinary approaches, interfaces and integration (pp. 1–22). Dordrecht: Springer.

Dill, D. D., & van Vught, F. A. (Eds.). (2008). *National innovation strategies and the academic research enterprise*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

EC. (2002). *More research for Europe: Towards 3% of GDP, Communication from the European Commission*. Brussels: European Commission.

EC. (2003). *The role of the universities in the Europe of knowledge* (No. COM (2003) 58). Brussels: European Commission.

EC. (2005a). *Contribution to the conference of European higher education ministers in Bergen*. Brussels: European Commission.

EC. (2005b). *Mobilising the brainpower of Europe: Enabling universities to make their full contribution to the Lisbon strategy*. Brussels: European Commission.

EC. (2005c). *Working together for growth and jobs. A new start of the Lisbon strategy* (No. COM (2005) 24). Brussels: European Commission.

EC. (2006). *Progress towards the Lisbon objectives in education and training* (No. SEC (2006) 639). Brussels: European Commission.

Enders, J. (2002). Governing the academic commons: About blurring boundaries, blistering organisations, and growing demands. In *The CHEPS inaugural lectures 2002*. Enschede: CHEPS.

European Ministers Responsible for Higher Education. (2007). *London communiqué—towards the European higher education area: Responding to challenges in a globalised world*. http://www.eua.be/fileadmin/user_upload/files/Publications/Londoncommunique.pdf

Eurydice. (2000). *Two decades of reform in higher education in Europe: 1980 onwards*. Brussels: European Commission (DG Education and Culture).

Jongbloed, B., & Vossensteyn, H. (2004). Keeping up performances: An international survey of performance–based funding in higher education. In M. Tight (Ed.), *The RoutledgeFalmer reader in higher education*. London: RoutledgeFalmer. (ISBN 0-415- 32765-2) (earlier published in: *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management*, *23*(2), 127–145, 2001).

van Kersbergen, K., & van Waarden, F. (2001). *Shifts in governance: Problems of legitimacy and accountability*. The Hague: Social Science Research Council.

Neave, G. (1988). On the cultivation of quality, efficiency and enterprise: An overview of recent trends in higher education in Western Europe, 1986–1988. *European Journal of Education*, *23*(1/2), 7–23.

OECD. (2008). *Tertiary education for the knowledge society. OECD thematic review of tertiary education*. Paris: Author.

OECD. (2007). *Education at a glance 2007*. Paris: Author.

Texeira, P., Jongbloed, B., Dill, D., & Amaral, A. (2004). *Markets in higher education*. Dordrecht/Boston/London: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Vossensteyn, J. J., & Mateju, P. (2008). Challenges in funding, equity and efficiency in higher education. *IB Revija*, *XLII*(1).

Westerheijden, D., et al. (2010). *The first decade of working on the European higher education area: The Bologna process independent assessment. Volume I: main report*. Enschede: Center for Higher Education Policy Studies, University of Twente, accessible at http://ec.europa.eu/education/higher-education/doc/bologna_process/independent_assessment_1_detailed_rept.pdf

Winston, G. C. (1999). Subsidies, hierarchy and peers: The awkward economics of higher education. *Journal of economic perspectives*, *13*, 13–36.

Wolf, C. (1993). *Markets or governments: Choosing between imperfect alternatives*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

MARIKE FABER AND DON WESTERHEIJDEN

2. EUROPEAN DEGREE STRUCTURE AND NATIONAL REFORM

Constitutive Dynamics of the Bologna Process

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In the last decade, two types of cooperation in European higher education, to with the intergovernmental Bologna Process and the more supranational EU initiatives, seem to complement each other in the construction of a 'single space' of European higher education. The ministers responsible for higher education, taking part in the Bologna Process early in 2010 inaugurated the European Higher Education Area (EHEA). We will contend that this was mainly based on a generous reading of the 'pays politique' of regulations, while in the 'pays réel' (Neave, 2002) of higher education institutions, students and graduates the EHEA is still in the making. For this book, we look at the degree reforms in European higher education in the context of the Bologna Process. This initiative gave higher education cooperation in the European nation states a new face as from 1999. One of the main strategic objectives of the Bologna Process is to increase the compatibility—in more operational terms, similarity—of European higher education systems in general and national degree structures in particular in order to make the European Higher Education Area a space in which student and graduate mobility will be increased. The specific objectives formulated in the Bologna Process have created guidelines for the higher education systems of the European nation states to achieve the compatibility for which they signed up. As a consequence, the national higher education policies are becoming increasingly subject to European-level decision making.[1]

The *main question* posed in this chapter is 'why and how has the integration of national higher education policies towards a common European degree structure arrived at its current stage? We are particularly interested in the constructive force of the Bologna Process itself. The interests of nation states, and in particular their constitutive role in the Bologna Process, seem to be (empirically) underexplored. The *objective* of this study is to gain insight into and explain the extent to which national actions of the European nation states led to the current state of compatibility of the two-cycle degree structures in European higher education.

This chapter is organised as follows. We start by delineating the decisive steps in European cooperation and integration in the policy field of higher education. This will set the stage for the subsequent analysis. We then look at how the objectives set in the Bologna Declaration can be conceptualised analytically. In our contribution, the Bologna Process is studied as a policy process (see e.g. Veiga & Amaral, 2008).

J. Enders et al. (eds.), Reform of Higher Education in Europe, 11–28.
© 2011 Sense Publishers. All rights reserved.

The theory of multilevel governance is presented here as a valuable window through which to view current practices that arguably contribute to increasing the similarity of European higher education systems in general and national degree structures in particular. In the next section, we focus on describing the concrete objectives set for the construction of a common European degree structure. This is followed by a section on the progress made towards the objectives concerning degree structures in the states participating in the Bologna Process. To obtain a better insight into the constructive forces of the Bologna Process, in the penultimate section of this chapter we take a closer look at the incentives for the individual states to reform their national degree structures by means of brief case studies. We chose the contrasting cases of France, Italy, The Netherlands and Russia. The main conclusions we can draw from this study make up the last section of this chapter.

2.2 FROM NATIONAL EMBEDDEDNESS TO FAVOURING A COMMON EUROPEAN HIGHER EDUCATION AREA

The process of European cooperation and integration in higher education is in itself remarkable, given that during the last three centuries the European landscape has been organised in terms of (developing) nation-states, with different national interests and different national institutions. To wit, higher education played a crucial role in defining and transmitting self-understanding (Riddle, 1993). The national embeddedness resulted in a mosaic of national curricula, qualifications and quality requirements in the European academic landscape (Zoontjens, 2001). Despite the national embedding, however, '(in) present days we have come to a point where we want to break down some of the national barriers in favour of a common European higher education space' (Zoontjens, 2001, p. 165). This should be seen in the light of European integration (as one part of the dynamic processes of internationalisation), for new expectations are placed upon higher education and new understandings are emerging which summon higher education to 'meet beyond the boundaries of the nation state' (Huisman, Maassen, & Neave, 2001, p. 3) and within the European scene.

In the context of the European Union (EU), several initiatives emphasised cooperation between the Member States. Up until the 21st century, these did not go so far as to make the internal creation of a European higher education area a policy objective by harmonising the higher education policies of the member states. The framework of the EU would not allow for such a higher education policy, since the competencies of the Commission do not extend this far.[2] EU-level higher education is a policy area of shared competences, where subsidiarity is the guiding principle (Hingel, 2001).[3] In the last decade of the 20th century, however, European cooperation in higher education did become mobile on the Treaty basis (see Faber 2004). In addition, the increasing awareness in the European states that higher education was the pivot on which human resources (and therewith human capital) hinge, incited the national governments to use policy methods outside the Union's framework to better ensure and strengthen the competitiveness of higher education. Accordingly, European cooperation was given a new face with the intergovernmental dimension of European higher education.

One surprising initiative catalysed this movement in 1998, when, on the initiative of the French minister Claude Allègre, four European countries (Germany, France, Italy and the United Kingdom) issued their call for more convergence in the *Sorbonne Declaration*. Under the official title 'Joint declaration on harmonization of the architecture of the European higher education system' the four ministers committed themselves 'to encouraging a common frame of reference, aimed at improving external recognition and facilitating student mobility as well as employability' (Sorbonne Declaration 1998, p. 1). Herewith the dice were cast, especially since 'other Member States of the Union and other European countries' were invited to 'engage in the endeavour to create a European area of higher education, where national identities and common interests can interact and strengthen each other' (Sorbonne Declaration 1998, p. 1). The title of the Sorbonne Declaration made it obvious that this was an intergovernmental action that could only be reached outside the EU Treaty. Obvious, because the term 'harmonization' is included, whereas it is explicitly excluded in the Treaty Articles 149 and 150 (sub 4). This 'abandonment' of the supranational level was a conscious choice, as Verbruggen (2001–2002, p. 179–180) points out when she cites the French minister of Education on a statement concerning the Sorbonne Declaration: 'we wanted to avoid the bureaucracy and inertness of Brussels'.[4] However, if more countries were to join, certain adaptations must be made. The follow-up was enshrined in the *Bologna Declaration*, signed by 29 countries in 1999 to express their joint aim to establish a European Higher Education Area by 2010 (by 2010, 47 countries had reached this consensus). The rationale behind this intergovernmental initiative is the perceived need to respond to global challenges and international competition to which higher education is exposed (Van Vught, Van der Wende & Westerheijden, 2002).

> We must look with special attention at the objective to increase the international competitiveness of the European system of higher education. The vitality and efficiency of any civilisation is measured in fact by the attraction that its cultural system exerts on other countries. We need to ensure that the European system [sic] of higher education acquires in the world a degree of attraction equal to our extraordinary cultural and scientific traditions. (Bologna Declaration, 1999, p. 2).

Under its title 'The European Higher Education Area', the Bologna Declaration states several objectives that are of primary relevance to make the European higher education area a reality and to promote the European system of higher education worldwide. These objectives are (we quote the Bologna Declaration but without the explanations):

- The adoption of a system of easily readable and comparable degrees
- Adoption of a system essentially based on *two main cycles*, undergraduate and graduate.
- The establishment of a *system of credits*—such as in the ECTS system
- The promotion of *mobility* by overcoming obstacles to the effective exercise of free movement for both students and teachers, researchers and staff in higher education.

- The promotion of *European co-operation in quality assurance* with a view to developing comparable criteria and methodologies.
- The promotion of the *necessary European dimensions in higher education*, particularly with regards to curricular development, inter-institutional cooperation, mobility schemes and integrated programmes of study, training and research.

Most of these operational goals can be traced back to the framework of EU action programmes. First, there is the objective in Bolo7gna to establish a system of credits 'such as in ECTS', an explicit reference to the Union's activities. Secondly, Bologna aims to promote mobility, an area in which the European Union had already been successful (Verbruggen, 2001–2002). A third point concerns the promotion of European cooperation in quality assurance, which has likewise been adopted in actions of the European Union (Verbruggen, 2001–2002). A fourth point would be the last 'Bologna-objective' as described above, which fully relates to the framework of EU action programmes (Verbruggen, 2001–2002). Also, the notion of a 'European higher education area' was not totally new (Hackl, 2001). One of the SOCRATES objectives (1995) was 'the creation of an open European area for cooperation in education'. The only concrete objective stated in the Bologna Declaration that does not relate to activities of the EU is the creation of a two cycle-system (Verbruggen, 2001–2002).

Studying the Bologna Process with a focus on creating a two-cycle system in the participating countries can thence give insight into the particularities of the Bologna Process.

2.3 THE CONSTITUTIVE DYNAMICS EMBEDDED IN THE BOLOGNA DECLARATION

In order to gain insight into the constitutive dynamics of the Bologna Process, it is important to understand how its objectives can be conceptualised analytically.

From the outset, it should be clear that the objectives stated in the Bologna Declaration (and formalised in the Bologna Process) are not to be understood as a path towards the 'standardisation' or 'uniformisation' of European higher education. That is, even though it takes place outside the EU framework and its Treaty, and even though there is an underlying rationale of increasing similarity of European higher education, the Bologna Process respects diversity and does not aim at harmonisation; the latter term proved controversial and has therefore been kept out of the Bologna Process. Rather, the Bologna Declaration is an understanding of challenges:

> A Europe of Knowledge is now widely recognized as an irreplaceable factor for social and human growth and as an indispensable component to consolidate and enrich European citizenship, capable of giving its citizens the necessary competencies to face the challenges of the new millennium, together with an awareness of shared values and belonging to a common social and cultural space. (Bologna Declaration, 1999, introductory section).

With this opening rhetoric, the Bologna Process introduces a new system dynamism into European higher education. As a policy process, its dynamics can be explained

more effectively from a governance point of view. Governance studies can 'construct a more differentiated picture of the causes, implications, and effects of the emerging trends and the multiple actors and levels involved' (Enders, 2002, p. 7). The multi-level governance approach provides a window to explain the current practices of governance within the Bologna Process. As the name reveals, this theory understands European decision making as a multi-level governance system, implicating and implying that it reflects 'a polity creating process in which authority and policy-making influence are shared across multiple levels of government' (Hooghe & Marks, 2001, quoted in Kaiser & Prange, 2002, p. 2). In theory, the system of European multilevel governance is characterised by: 'multiplication of levels and actors taking part in the decision-making process and in the implementation of the decisions; interaction between the subnational, national, supranational and transnational levels of authority; continuous negotiation between interests at several levels, including public and private actors; the centrifugal, complex and overlapping character of the system and the absence of hierarchy in the organisation of authorithy' (Telò, 2002, p. 249 after Schmitter et al., 1996). The Bologna Process, as an example of European cooperation in higher education, can be explained more effectively by pulling it into the multilevel structured Europe. Within multilevel governance, distinct modes of interaction can be differentiated (Scharpf, 2001). The Bologna Process has been placed under the mode of *mutual adjustment* (Van der Wende, 2003). This means that it is understood as a process in which national governments continue to adapt their policies nationally, but in response to, or in anticipation of, the policy choices of other governments (Scharpf, 2001, p. 7). The objective in this chapter is to advance insight into this process. The interesting puzzle arises at the nexus where the agreed-upon European-level 'Bologna objectives' and action at the national policy-making level (i.e. agency) intersect. What makes this nexus so interesting is that the 'agents', i.e. the national governments, are not only reacting to the Bologna objectives and other governments, but also to internal goals (i.e. its own policy agenda) and the pressures from actors at the other sub-national levels. The forces on each national government, which all start in different positions, are different and come from different angles, which would make us hypothesise a different resultant vector of movement for each national government. Yet they have all pledged to achieve a common degree structure within a ten-year period (or shorter for those that joined later). Can a 'Brownian' movement, resembling a random pattern to an outside observer, change into a converging movement? And is the Bologna Process capable of achieving this? The challenge taken up in this contribution is to model and explore this complexity. We focus on the creation of the two-cycle degree structure in European higher education.

2.4 SETTING THE GOALS FOR A COMMON DEGREE STRUCTURE

The objective of a common degree structure started in the Sorbonne and Bologna Declarations. The Bologna signatories pledged to adopt a two-cycle degree structure, while 'access to the second cycle shall require successful completion of first cycle studies'. In addition, it was stated that the first cycle should last 'a minimum of three years'. The degree awarded after the first cycle shall also be relevant to the

European labour market as 'an appropriate level of qualification'. The second cycle 'should lead to the master and/or doctorate degree as in many European countries'. These formulae echo the Plan-Attali and the Sorbonne Declaration.

Four years later, in the 2003 Berlin communiqué, doctoral studies were included as the third cycle; instead of the 'and/or' after the undergraduate cycle, we now have a three-tier system, with the 'master' level as a necessary phase for entry into doctoral studies (Conference of Ministers responsible for Higher Education, 2003). In the qualifications framework for the European Higher Education Area (QF-EHEA) the newly-introduced degree structure is typified as 'comprising three cycles (including, within national contexts, the possibility of intermediate qualifications)' (Bologna Working Group on Qualifications Frameworks, 2005).

In this chapter, we focus on the first two cycles. The study lengths of the respective cycles were specified in the 2005 Bergen conference in terms of credits in the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS). The first cycle should 'typically include 180 to 240' ECTS; the second degree is to encompass 'typically 90 to 120' ECTS 'with a minimum of 60 credits'.

The second objective is that the Bologna Declaration called for 'the adoption of a system of *easily readable and comparable degrees*'. This objective is not so much aimed towards similarity (see Westerheijden, et al., 2010), rather it objectifies that it should be possible to *compare* degrees (cf. also Witte, 2008). Degree titles were not further specified. As we can see now, in the European participating countries, the first cycle leads to a degree that is often referred to as 'bachelor'. This term is however does not appear in the Bologna Declaration or subsequent communiqués. The term 'master', the title typically obtained after the second cycle, does.

2.5 EFFECT OF DEGREE REFORM ON NATIONAL POLICY-MAKING OF COUNTRIES PARTICIPATING IN THE BOLOGNA PROCESS

Having outlined the decisive goal formulations in the degree reform, we now look at the implementation of the objectives. We start by discussing the achievements in relation to the objective of a common degree structure in a European higher education area.

The report on the independent assessment of the Bologna Process was published in 2010 (Westerheijden et al., 2010). The outcomes of this study of the then 46 participating countries are used here to understand the intricate dynamics of the Bologna Process as a policy process.

Before the Bologna Process, degree structures were a national matter. In the European countries, a diversity of national models and internal logics was apparent—Guy Haug has been credited with coining the term 'jungle of degrees'. Nevertheless, 30 of the 46 countries that were participating in the Bologna Process by 2009, already had some form of two-cycle degree structure in place by 1999. However, the logic of these systems was often different from the 'Bologna principles'. Ten years later, all 46 participating countries had a national degree system based on two main cycles, with the first cycle lasting for a minimum of three years. Most countries that already had a system in place based on two cycles have adapted their national model to the stated goals of the Bologna Declaration. The combination of 180 EC for the first

degree and 120 EC for the second degree emerged as a prominent model in Europe (Westerheijden et al., 2010). However, many varieties on this 3+2 model exist and the modal country in the EHEA allows for several models, e.g. 3+2 and 4+1, perhaps for different subsectors of higher education. Figure 1 shows the most commonly adopted two-cycle structure models for the participating higher education systems.

The first cycle has a credit range of 180–240 and a second cycle that varies between 60–120 credits, as agreed in the Bologna Process. We note that Figure 1 does not show the whole spectrum of different models in the national higher education systems, but only the most common ones per country. Moreover, certain knowledge areas have been exempted from the reforms in some countries (in particular medicine, dentistry, veterinary science, some other. regulated professions and fine arts). And, although the two-cycle model is reported to be in place in the participating countries, not all learners study in the 'Bologna-type' structures. In 2009, 90%–100% of learners were studying in reformed degree programmes in 30 national higher education systems. In six systems, however, less than half of learners studied in two-cycle programmes, including two large countries (late joiner Russia but also early signatory Germany). This reflects that the reform of the degree structure is still in transition, most notably in the countries that joined the Bologna Process recently. It could, however, also indicate problems with the adoption of a two-cycle degree system in some of these countries (Westerheijden et al., 2010).

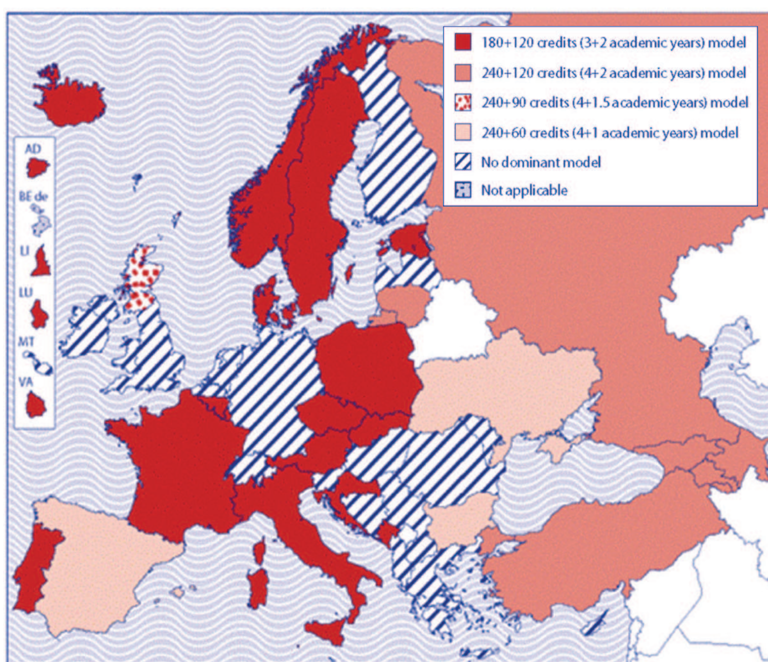


Figure 1. Degree models in the EHEA (Source: Eurydice, 2010).

It certainly also points to a weakness in the Bologna Process—and in our methodology in this chapter—to focus at the European and national levels of the governance systems exclusively, neglecting that the real reforms must be made in higher education institutions: study programmes have to redesign entry and examination requirements, curricula, etc. Only then will students experience the 'Bologna reality', which does not always appear to be as positive and 'European' as desired by the ministers who signed the Bologna Declaration a decade before (ESU 2009; McCoshan et al., 2010; Westerheijden et al., 2010). 'A large majority of institutions have implemented the new Bologna degree structure: … 95% in 2010. In some cases, however, the change has not led to meaningful curricular renewal, but rather to compressed Bachelor degrees that leave little flexibility for students' (Sursock & Smidt, 2010, p. 7).

All in all, the goal of reforming degree structures has been declared fully achieved (Westerheijden et al., 2010), while accommodating flexibility for the different national higher education systems.

2.6 MECHANISMS IN REFORMING DEGREE STRUCTURES IN THREE SIGNATORY COUNTRIES

So far, we have outlined how the objectives of the Bologna Declaration and the follow-up meetings have affected the higher education systems of the participating countries. At this point, we can state that the Bologna principle of a two-cycle model has been implemented, though the commonality desired in 1999 has been accomplished while maintaining diversity of national higher education systems within the signatory countries. The objective of our contribution is to gain insight in the constructive forces of the Bologna Process. To gain more insight in the constitutive dynamics at both the European and the national level of analysis, we take a detailed look at the incentives behind the reforms of the national degree structures of four Bologna participating countries: France, Italy, The Netherlands and the Russian Federation. France and Italy were among the countries that signed the Sorbonne Declaration and may therefore be assumed to have had a recognised need for national reform. The Netherlands signed the Bologna Declaration in 1999 and was just joining the bandwagon. We present a further contrasting case of a country that joined the Bologna Process (much) later, the Russian Federation.

In answering the question of how the objective of creating a common degree structure in European higher education interacts with and has an effect on the national policy-making level of higher education, we are also interested in the motivations of these nation states in contributing to creating a single European higher education area.

2.6.1 The Bologna Process and Degree Reform in France

France was the initiator of the Sorbonne Declaration, and therefore, indirectly, of the Bologna Declaration. Its higher education was in need of reform, as a report that appeared in 1998, the so-called Plan-Attali, argued forcibly. The report (Attali, 1998) was written for Minister Claude Allègre, who was responsible for Education, Research

and Technology. The mix of areas of responsibility of this ministry set the stage for the reform plan: the traditional focus on (higher) education as an element of culture changed into one in which higher education was seen in the context of research and technology, in short, in the context of the knowledge economy. The Plan-Attali introduced ideas of new public management and neo-liberalism into France's higher education system almost 20 years after they hit higher education in the United Kingdom (Elton, 1988; Paradeise et al., 2009; Sizer, 1989). In Attali's analysis, the state of French higher education was: 'confus, bureaucratique et inégalitaire'; besides, it should focus more on educating for the changed labour market, giving each student a 'diplôme à valeur professionnelle' (Attali, 1998, p. 5) for which he proposed a two-cycle model, with short (Nouvelle Maîtrise) and long (Doctorat) second cycle options. Until then, higher education in France was a 'jungle of degrees', where popular degree types included two-year, three-year, four- and five-year degrees of different characters along the professional-to-academic continuum. And those were only the main degree types in the university sector; the *Grandes Écoles* were separate.

The plan also suggested that for France to maintain a 'place de premier plan dans la compétition mondiale' research needed strengthening. The worldwide competition also required French students to know the world better, and foreign students to understand France better: student mobility entered the stage of higher education reform (Attali, 1998, pp. 26–27). In turn, mobility needed harmonisation of diplomas, and that needed a European approach, 'just like the currency'—the Euro was being introduced at the same time.

The Plan-Attali foreshadowed many themes of the Bologna Process and of the Lisbon strategy for boosting research and innovation in the EU. It also shows that, contrary to what some believe (Martens & Wolf, 2006, p. 159), the Sorbonne and Bologna Declarations were not conceived in the old-style view of higher education as an ivory tower in the area of culture, but squarely set in the then current debate on globalisation with its new understanding of higher education as a factor in the knowledge economy (Van Vught, Van der Wende, & Westerheijden, 2002). Yet it was set also in the democratic and egalitarian traditions of continental Europe: little sympathy for a fully market-driven and highly stratified higher education system.

The French university sector introduced the three-cycle degree structure, called *LMD* (*Licence –Maîtrise – Doctorat*). Reinforced by the Plan-Attali, the 3+2+3 model prevailed. The *Grandes Écoles* were less happy to adjust to the European standard—as they saw it—, but in the end they were also integrated into it. The *Grandes Écoles*, which serve a small percentage of students, were not legally obliged to restructure their curricula, as they are private establishments. However, most adopted new degrees: all engineering schools under the *Commission des Titres d'Ingénieur* award master degrees. Business schools may award master degrees after five-year (full-time) courses, but the old style degrees, also called master, awarded after four years, still exist. Students are advised about the news-style masters 'C'est un plus non négligeable'.[5] The access route to *Grandes Écoles* via up to two years of preparatory classes and a selective entrance examination remained; after one year of what is often called 'foundation studies', a *licence* degree may be awarded, but the focus of studies remains the *master* level of an additional two years of teaching—plus

in a number of cases a year of practical training, bringing the total duration of studies after secondary school to six years rather than 3+2 (often the year of practice is not counted towards credits in ECTS).

In sum, France has indeed reformed the degree structures in a sector of society that has been subject to reform by accretion (adding new models or sectors without terminating old ones). In the universities, the old degree structures have been largely replaced by the new 'Bologna' ones; in the small but prestigious sector of the *Grandes Écoles* old degrees still exist alongside new ones.

2.6.2 The Bologna Process and Degree Reform in Italy

Italy was one of the countries invited by French higher education minister Allègre to sign the Sorbonne Declaration in 1998. This invitation shows that reform of higher education was on Italy's political agenda (Vaira, 2003). The problem situation was depicted as one of 'low efficiency': after decades of strong expansion (700% increase in student participation between 1945 and the late 1990s), many students were *fuoro corso* (delayed study progress) or had even dropped out of university. They were studying in very specialised, single-cycle five-year study programmes leading to a *Laurea* degree. The higher education system had expanded quantitatively in the decades before the turn of the century, leading to sometimes very large universities in a unitary system of universities.

The Italian constitution protects academic autonomy and, in the 1980s, Clark had depicted Italy as the epitome of a higher education system dominated by the academic oligarchy, all but impervious to change (Clark, 1983, also: Boffo et al., 2004).

Since the 1960s, there had been several reforms (Ballarino & Perotti, 2010), which, since the late 1980s, aimed to make the system more adaptable to society's changing needs (Westerheijden et al., 2010). In 1997, minister Berlinguer assumed office with plans for major reforms for the sector (Vaira, 2003). A report drafted by an ad hoc working group of academics was published in April 1998 after sector-wide, but continuing, discussions. The Italian reform plans concerned a whole package to revitalise the system, including governance (greater institutional autonomy and tighter connections to the region rather than to the ministry), competition through differentiation of degrees, competition for academic staff, quality assurance of education, and reform of the degree structure. The invitation to the Sorbonne celebration, a month later, and the signing of a solemn declaration there with other reform-minded ministers was a welcome occasion for Berlinguer to give additional support to these reform plans (Vaira, 2003).

The reform of degrees, as discussed at the beginning of 1998, were centred on universities designing new curricula individually rather than according to national standards as before. However, soon after the Sorbonne Declaration, national standards re-emerged, partly in response to the need for national compatibility (Vaira, 2003), but more importantly, the degree *classes* were 'defined by representative [rather than expertise-based] commissions where the possibility for innovation were [sic] weak', so that 'in most of the cases the new two-tier courses were just an adaptation of the previously existing' ones (Ballarino & Perotti, 2010, p. 17).

This brings us to the two tiers. The original reform plans in Italy were copying French pre-1998 examples and thus proposed a three-tier degree system, but when the Sorbonne Declaration proposed a two-cycle structure (Witte, 2006), Berlinguer immediately followed suit, even in the face of internal opposition (Vaira, 2003); a clear case of 'European' (or rather French) pressure towards convergence that affected national policy.

We may conclude that reform-mindedness of part of the academic community and of ministers ensured that Italy was invited to sign the Sorbonne Declaration, and after that ensured that legal changes were made very rapidly. Minister Berlinguer saw a 'window of opportunity' in 1998 and used it to adapt the higher education law rapidly. Implementation in universities also took place quickly, to the point of changing the proposed three-cycle degree structure to a two-cycle one in order to obtain the international leverage of the Sorbonne Declaration. Nevertheless, in the further implementation of the degree and curriculum reforms in the universities, the old and very specialised *laurea* courses were recreated under new forms. There was perhaps little overt resistance from academics, but the way in which they interpreted and superficially implemented the degree reforms could be interpreted as resistance against the underlying goals of modernising Italy's higher education system.

2.6.3 The Bologna Process and Degree Reform in the Netherlands

Reform of the higher education system was an issue that had re-emerged on the political agenda since the 1980s. A two-tier system of degrees had been proposed and was partially introduced in universities in 1982: the old five-year (on average) degrees were shortened to four-year curricula, with a second tier for specialised professional and research training, e.g. by cutting up the six-year medical training into what could anachronistically be called a '4+2' model (Bijleveld, 1989). However, the second tier was hardly introduced—except in the medical sector—when budget cuts stopped its further development. This meant that for the large majority of students, the two-tier system entailed a shortened first-tier education only (Bijleveld, 1989) and that a single-cycle degree remained the leading principle.

A policy principle ruling Dutch higher education since then and into the 1990s was that this small country had to adapt to its international—European—environment to maintain (or gain) recognition of its degrees. This made the ministry of education an avid monitor of developments in other countries—not least through comparative studies it commissioned from CHEPS. One of those studies led to a re-adaptation of engineering and science degrees from four- to five-year curricula (Goedegebuure et al., 1993). Other studies intended to establish the compatibility of graduates' skills and knowledge cross-nationally (Westerheijden & Lugthart, 1999) long before qualifications frameworks became *en vogue*, looked at programme offerings and cooperation in the north-western region of Europe rather than in the country only (Huisman et al., 1997; Westerheijden & Klemperer, 2002).

This pro-international attitude which was associated with a widespread neo-liberal attitude that welcomed international competition of study programmes for internationally mobile students predicted a positive response to the opportunity to

join the Bologna Declaration which promised a much more compatible and open higher education space across the continent. The ensuing need to reconsider the degree system was taken up with great speed: the university first tier, four-year *doctorandus* curricula were divided further into a '3+1' model of bachelor and master cycles.[6] In the UAS sector, the need for change was minimal: its 4-year degree was already deemed equivalent to a bachelor and the change mainly involved making 'bachelor' the standard title on degree papers.

All higher education institutions, despite perhaps some misgivings among the academic body, readily introduced the new types of degrees as soon as the legal change of 2003 formalised them (Westerheijden et al., 2008). All new students started in 'Bologna-type' study programmes from that year onwards, and in 2007 only a few thousand 'old' students with delayed progress were left in the old structures (Westerheijden et al., 2008, p. 24).

Although, in some cases, existing curricula were 'cut up', in many instances the degree reform was used for curricular renewal: in the non-university curriculum, adaptations often included a stronger 'work-field orientation', i.e. a more applicative and multidisciplinary nature of the curriculum (Westerheijden et al., 2008). A move towards more competency-based learning was also a continuing trend in the non-university sector (Witte, 2006, p. 251). In contrast, the new university bachelors were considered less specialised and more multidisciplinary, whilst the new university master programmes led to stronger specialisation and a more pronounced research orientation (Westerheijden et al., 2008). Yet, the desired broadening of education instead of immediate immersion in a single discipline or subject remained exceptional, as the increased demands for specialised masters implied that the breadth of the bachelors was harder to achieve (Westerheijden et al., 2008, p. 19). The most conspicuous examples of 'broad bachelor programmes' was the spread of the 'university college' model based on the US liberal arts college. This model was introduced in 1997,[7] before the Bologna Declaration, at the University of Utrecht, which saw this 'International Honors College' as a way to profile itself for exceptionally talented and motivated students. After the Bologna Declaration, some other higher education institutions followed this example, but for most students, the choice remained as before, a specialised undergraduate programme, though usually with an overhauled curriculum.

The Netherlands kept up with the dynamics of Bologna Process demands: it also introduced accreditation of the new study programmes in 2003 and it belonged to the vanguard of countries that had their qualifications frameworks certified before the 2010 ministerial conference.

In sum, the change of the degree structure was rapid and very much in the direction of the 'guidelines' of the Bologna Process. This included implementation of laws but also of curriculum change (although broadening of curricula remained a minority). Obviously, impacts of those system changes did not appear quickly, so that documented results in evaluation studies may not always fully show the positive picture. The slowness of impacts is due to time lags (there are still few cohorts that went through the whole of the renewed system), but also because it seems that the 'collective wisdom' of students needs time to develop, e.g. mobility between sectors

was weak at first but increased in later years; similar expectations seem to exist for the exit of university bachelors to the labour market (Westerheijden et al., 2008).

2.6.4 The Bologna Process and Degree Reform in Russia

Russia joined the Bologna Process in 2003, and after 6 years, it was the only country with less than 25% of students (9%) in the 'Bologna Process-structures' (Westerheijden et al., 2010a, p. 17). Although the same study found that several 'early adopters' also took a long time to implement the degree reform in order for most students to be enrolled in the new structures, Russia's slow adoption may be seen as a sign that the attitude in this country was quite different from the Italian and Dutch approaches to the Bologna Declaration. The main motivation for Russia—and other later adopters—to join the Bologna Process was: 'If [sic] we admit that Russia is a European country, it would be strange … to stay away from this process and then successfully to catch up with the other European countries … as we did it or tried to do it so many times in similar cases in other areas' (Gladkov, 2005, p. 62). No internal need was felt for the reform of degrees, but there was fear of losing out if the country did not join.

The traditional university study was a five-year, single-cycle study leading to the degree of *specialist*. Innovations of the system already started soon after the fall of the Soviet Union, and since 1992 bachelor and master studies have been offered; yet the specialist degree remained—and remains to this day—the favoured degree (Sursock & Smidt, 2010, p. 118). In the internal discussions about joining the Bologna Process, through fear of losing the traditional 'high status and authority of the Russian education' when only few study places in the second cycle would be state-funded (Gladkov, 2005, p. 67), it was decided to make the first cycle four years long. Another reason for the long bachelor option was that students usually enter higher education at the age of 17, which is rather early compared to other European countries (Sursock & Smidt, 2010). The master-cycle was set at two years. This resulted in Russia becoming one of the five countries in which the dominant model became '4+2'—and one of the rare ones where the length of study for the master level increased, from 5 to 6 years.

Not much is known about the implementation of curriculum reforms in Russian higher education institutions. The tradition of higher education institutions conforming to State Educational Standards certainly persisted and was reinforced by the accreditation agency of the Russian Federation (Sursock & Smidt, 2010). In the first years after the Bologna Declaration, such standards continued to be developed along the traditional lines of prescribing in detail a large percentage of the curriculum. Nor is much known about if and how the switch in the Bologna Process towards qualifications frameworks has already trickled down to higher education institutions (Westerheijden et al., 2010a). Recent case studies of two higher education institutions that were committed to the Bologna Process showed that even there 'transformation of contents and teaching/ learning methods are still to be achieved' (Sursock & Smidt, 2010).

2.7 DISCUSSION: COMMONALITY AND DIVERSITY – THE INFLUENCE OF EUROPE VS. INTERNAL POLITICS

In this final section, we turn our attention to the main question posed at the beginning of this chapter: 'why and how has the integration of national higher education policies towards a common European degree structure arrived at its current stage?' We explored the constitutive dynamics of European cooperation in striving towards one common European degree structure in higher education. Attention to national interests in an international context has provided us with information about the transformation processes of national higher education policies leading towards a (more or less) single European degree structure. The argument developed here is that the Bologna Process is an ongoing policy process in which room is left for diversity while the participating countries—because of different national motivations—attune to agreed-upon guidelines for a common European level degree structure in higher education.

With France as the instigator of the process, the four Sorbonne countries (France, Italy, Germany and the United Kingdom) were soon followed by 25 others to initiate a European and intergovernmental dimension of integrating national degree structures. Over the course of the last ten years, over 20 other nation states have decided to join the Bologna Process and have contributed to the specification of a common European degree structure. Admittedly, the commonality exists only at a high level of abstraction: two-cycle studies have been introduced. Diversity is maintained at the level of years or ECTS. Among the four illustrative cases in this chapter, we found 3+2 in France and Italy, 3-or-4+1 (and variants) in The Netherlands, and 4+2 in Russia. Besides, there are different ways of handling exceptions (e.g. medicine is exempted from the two-cycle structures in 37 countries, though not in The Netherlands).

We believe that this current stage of diversity in the common framework can be explained as the outcome of the interaction between conformity with agreed upon guidelines of a two-tier structure and the individual interests of the different actors in meeting the requirements. Although the case studies are by no means exhaustive, it can be witnessed that in the French, Italian and Dutch cases, there was a desire for national reform of their higher education systems. Bologna was deployed as additional support for commencing changes whereby national compatibility was in the individual interest of the national higher education systems. The cases also illustrate a different constructive force of the Bologna Process whereby there is a dynamic of the national interest and European cooperation. In all the cases, we can see that 'Bologna' brought about a European pressure that affected the national higher education policies. The Russian and Dutch cases together illustrate that international legitimacy of their degrees is an important motive. In this respect, the cases point out that, in the process, there is a coercive effect in mutually adjusting to the agreed upon guidelines. In adjusting degree structures, a major rationale was to keep up with their (European) peers. Furthermore, international or global competition among countries can also be said to be a driver of the process. From this, it could be deduced that the states participating in the Bologna Process make a conscious choice to

conform to the two-cycle structure to guarantee the international competitiveness of their national higher education system.

Although the Bologna agreements remain a non-binding construction in a legal perspective, the empirical data presented in this chapter indicate that certain (political) constraints can be identified. Based on the empirical findings, the constitutive dynamics of the Bologna Process can be typified as a soft policy approach whereby cooperation is achieved voluntary in principle, but the national actors can conceive of the striving towards a common European degree structure as coercion. It can be argued that the national technical changes in degree structure can be interpreted as having created a symbolic outcome in the creation of a European higher education system based on a common degree structure. More boldly, there is unity in a European dimension at face value, while diversity at the national levels continues. Nevertheless, the unity has had positive effects from the point of view of stimulating mobility: international mobility from the first to the second cycle has increased since the introduction of the Bologna Process (Westerheijden et al., 2010).

The hope vested in the Bologna Process to create the open space that was aimed for has shifted from a degree reform (now seen as a necessary but insufficient condition) to setting standards for quality assurance (equally insufficient), to commonality of learning outcomes (in the qualifications framework, QF-EHEA) in an attempt to move beyond the symbolic commonality of (degree) structures in the European higher education area. The implementation of this framework for qualifications follows the same pattern as the degree reform—necessitated by the Bologna Process being an international process. To achieve more commonality, there is a check of the national qualifications frameworks against the QF-EHEA, but again that is a national matter (self-certification by national authorities against a common checklist, to be completed by 2012). This too, then, seems a route that will result in a larger degree of diversity than what would be needed for a really transparent, open higher education space in Europe. The multilevel governance situation in the Bologna Process is not an easy one and is not likely to lead to a large degree of convergence in the 'pays réel' of how students experience their learning and of how graduates will perceive the labour market.

NOTES

[1] Notably, the distinction between a European and national level, is an artificial one, given that multiple feedback loops cut across them; at the same time, the distinction can be justified analytically, as it can help to unpack and understand the different steps in the process of standardization of a EHEA (see also Checkel, 2001).

[2] This is also crucial to the position of the Commission in the process, which accordingly was first limited to being an observer, though its role gradually enlarged (van der Wende & Huisman, 2003). The involvement of the Commission notably included active (financial) support of many international activities that are part of the Bologna process (van der Wende & Huisman, 2003, p. 37).

[3] The principle of subsidiarity can be understood as a balance of power between national sovereignty and supranational (EU) decision-making (see De Wit, 2003), with the balance tilted towards national soverignty.

[4] 'En fait, nous ne souhaitions pas passer par les mécanismes bruxellois extraordinairement bureaucratiques et lents', ('L'objectif est de proposer une trame commune', *Le Monde*, 24–25 mai 1998).

[5] www.phosphore.com/contenu_connexe_ges/37/formation/ 140031, last accessed 2010-11-26

[6] 3+2 in engineering, sciences and some other fields, and 3+3 for medicine, to maintain their *status quo* in total numbers of years. The three-year bachelor in universities was sometimes depicted as reincarnation of the pre-1982, three-year *kandidaat*-degree, which over the 20th century had lost its independent status and had become an intermediate examination.

[7] www.uu.nl/EN/faculties/universitycollege/organization/Pages/HistoryofUCU.aspx, last accessed 2010-08-30.

REFERENCES

Attali, J. (1998). *Pour un modèle européen d'enseignement supérieur*. s.l. (Paris).

Ballarino, G., & Perotti, L. (2010). *The Bologna process in Italy*. Paper presented at the XXXth conference of Council of European Studies.

Bijleveld, R. J. (1989). The two tier structure in University education: An evaluation of a major restructuring operation. In P. A. M. Maassen & F. A. van Vught (Eds.), *Dutch higher education in transition: Policy issues in higher education in the Netherlands* (pp. 31–47). Culemborg: Lemma.

Boffo, S., Moscati, R., & Vaira, M. (2004). International attractiveness of the academic workplace in Europe: The case of Italy. In J. Enders & E. de Weert (Eds.), *The International attractiveness of the academic workplace in Europe*. Frankfurt a.d. Main: GEW.

Bologna Declaration. (1999). *The European higher education area*. Joint declaration of the European ministers of education convened in Bologna at the 19th of June 1999.

Bologna Working Group on Qualifications Frameworks. (2005). *A framework for qualifications of the European higher education area*. Copenhagen: Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation.

Conference of Ministers responsible for Higher Education. (2003). *Realising the European higher education area: Communiqué of the conference of ministers responsible for higher education*. Berlin.

Checkel, J. T. (2001). Social construction and European integration. In T. Christiansen, K. E. Jorgensen & A. Wiender (Eds.), *The social construction of Europe* (pp. 50–66). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Clark, B. R. (1983). *The higher education system: Academic organization in cross-national perspective*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Elton, L. R. B. (1988). Accountability in higher education: The danger of unintended consequences. *Higher Education*, *17*, 377–390.

Enders, J. (2002, September 5–7). *Higher education, internationalisation, and the nation-state: Recent developments and challenges to governance theory*. Paper prepared for the Consortium of Higher Education Researchers conference (CHER), Vienna, Austria.

ESU. (2009). *Bologna with student eyes*. Leuven.

Eurydice. (2010). *Focus on higher education in Europe: The impact of the Bologna process*. Brussels: Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency.

Faber, M. (2004). *European higher education and the open method of coordination*. Unpublished Master Thesis, Georg-August-Universität Göttingen and the Rijksuniversiteit Groningen.

Gladkov, G. I. (2005). Bologna process in Russia: The road map. In C. Pursiainen & S. A. Medvedev (Eds.), *The Bologna process and its implications for Russia: The European integration of higher education* (pp. 62–74). Moscow, RU: Russian-European Centre for Economic Policy (RECEP).

Goedegebuure, L. C. J., Maassen, P. A. M., Phillips, T., & Smits, M. (1993). *Dutch Engineering Programs in a European context* (Vols. I and II). Zoetermeer: Ministry of Education and Science.

Hackl, E. (2001). *Towards a European higher education area: Change and convergence in European higher education*. EUI Working Papers, (9). Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies.

Hingel, A. J. (2001). Education policies and European governance – contribution to the interservice groups on European governance. In *European Journal for Education Law and Policy*, (5), 7–16.

Hooghe, L., & Marks, G. (2001). *Multilevel governance and European integration*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Huisman, J. (Ed.). (2009). *International perspectives on the governance of higher education: Alternative frameworks for coordination*. New York; London: Routledge.

Huisman, J., Maassen, P., & Neave, G. (Eds.). (2001). *Higher education and the nation state. The International dimension of higher education*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
Huisman, J., Vossensteyn, H. J., & Maassen, P. A. M. (1997). *Programme uniqueness and diversity in the border regions of neighbouring Countries*. Zoetermeer: Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschappen.
Kaiser, K., & Prange, H. (2002). *A new concept of deepening European integration? – The European research area and the emerging role of policy coordination in a multi-level governance system*. European Integration online Papers (EIoP), 6 (18).
Martens, K., & Wolf, K. D. (2006). Paradoxien der neuen Staatsräson. Die Internationalisierung der Bildungspolitik in der EU und der OECD. *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen*, *13*(2), 145–176.
McCoshan, A., Witte, J., & Westerheijden, D. (2010). *Ten years of Bologna: What has changed for learners?* Paper presented at the EAIR 32nd Annual Forum.
Neave, G. (2002). Anything goes: Or, How the accommodation of Europe's universities to European integration integrates an inspiring number of contradictions. *Tertiary Education and Management*, *8*(3), 181–197.
Paradeise, C., Reale, E., Bleiklie, I., & Ferlie, E. (Eds.). (2009). *University governance: Western European comparative perspectives*. Dordrecht etc.: Springer.
de Ridder-Symoens, H. (Ed.). (1992). *A history of the University in Europe: Universities in the middle ages* (Vol. 1). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Riddle, P. (1993). Political authority and university formation in Europe, 1200–1800. *Sociological Perspectives*, *36*(1), 45–62.
Scharpf, F. W. (2001). Notes toward a theory of multilevel governing in Europe. In *Scandinavian*.
Schmitter, Ph, Marks, G., Scharpf, F., & Streek, W. (1996). *Governance in the EU*. London: Sage.
Sizer, J. (1989). A critical examination of the events leading up to the UGS's grant letters dated 1st July 1981. *Higher Education*, *18*, 639–679.
Sorbonne Declaration. (1998, May 25). *Joint declaration on harmonization of the architecture of the European higher education systems*. Sorbonne Joint Declaration by the four Ministers in charge for France, Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom. Paris, the Sorbonne.
Sursock, A., & Smidt, H. (2010). *Trends 2010: A decade of change in European higher education*. Brussels: EUA.
Telò, M. (2002). Governance and government in the European Union: The open method of co-ordination. In M. J. Rodrigues (Ed.). *The new knowledge economy in Europe. A strategy for international competitiveness and social cohesion* (pp. 242–273). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
Vaira, M. (2003). Higher education reform in Italy: An institutional account and a first appraisal, 1996–2001. *Higher Education Policy*, *16*, 179–197.
van Vught, F. A., van der Wende, M. C., & Westerheijden, D. F. (2002). Globalization and internationalization: Policy agendas compared. In O. Fulton & J. Enders (Eds.), *Higher education in a globalizing world. International trends and mutual observations* (pp. 103–120). Dordrecht: Kluwer.
Verbruggen, M. (2001–2002). Het Europees onderwijsbeleid en de Bolognaverklaring: terug naar af? *Tijdschrift voor Onderwijsrecht en Onderwijsbeleid*, (3), 173–189. Comparably published under: Verbruggen, M. (2002). De Bolognaverklaring en het Europese onderwijsbeleid: Enkele juridische kanttekeningen. In: Onderwijsraad. (2002). *Het Europa van het hoger onderwijs*. Den Haag: Onderwijsraad.
Veiga, A., & Amaral, A. (2008). How does the Bologna process challenge national traditions of higher education institutions? In J. V¨ alimaa & O.-H. Ylijoki, (Eds.), *Cultural perspectives on higher education* (pp. 238–256). Dordrecht: Springer.
Van der Wende. (2003). Bologna is not the only city that matters in European higher education policy. *International Higher Education*, (32), 15–18.
Westerheijden, D. F., & Klemperer, A. (2002). *Sta niet met je rug naar de grens: Eindrapport evaluatie Regeling stimulering grensoverschrijdende samenwerking hoger onderwijs 1997–2000*. Zoetermeer: Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschappen.

Westerheijden, D. F., & Lugthart, E. (1999). Banen naar techniek: Een vergelijking van technische opleidingen in Vlaanderen en Nederland. In Hoger Instituut voor de Arbeid & CHEPS (Eds.), *Banen naar en in techniek: Vergelijking van opleidingen en arbeidskansen in techniek in Vlaanderen en Nederland. Rapport voor de ministeries van onderwijs van Vlaanderen en Nederland in het kader van het project Opleidingen en arbeidskansen van ingenieurs*. Leuven/Enschede: Hoger Instituut voor de Arbeid/CHEPS.

Westerheijden, D. F., Beerkens, E., Cremonini, L., Huisman, J., Kehm, B., Kovac, A., et al. (2010). *The first decade of working on the European higher education area: The Bologna process independent assessment—Volume 1 detailed assessment report*. s.l. Brussels: European Commission, Directorate-General for Education and Culture.

Westerheijden, D. F., Beerkens, E., Cremonini, L., Huisman, J., Kehm, B., Kovac, A., et al. (2010a). *The first decade of working on the European higher education area: The Bologna process independent assessment—Volume 2 case studies and appendices*. s.l. (Brussels): European Commission, Directorate-General for Education and Culture.

Westerheijden, D. F., Vossensteyn, H., Cremonini, L., Kottman, A., Soo, M., De Weert, E., et al. (2008). *New degrees in the Netherlands: Evaluation of the Bachelor-Master structure and accreditation in Dutch higher education* (No. 132). Den Haag: Ministerie van Onderwijs Cultuur en Wetenschap. Document Number).

Wit, K. de (2003). The consequences of European integration for higher education. *Higher Education Policy*, (16), 161–178.

Witte, J. K. (2006). *Change of degrees and degrees of change: Comparing adaptations of European higher education systems in the context of the Bologna process*. Enschede: CHEPS, University of Twente.

Witte, J. K. (2008). Aspired convergence, cherished diversity: Dealing with the contradictions of Bologna. *Tertiary Education and Management*, *14*(2), 81–93.

Zoontjens, P. J. J. (2001). Higher education in European space: Companies in a state context. *EuropeanJournal for Education Law and Policy*, (5), 165–168.