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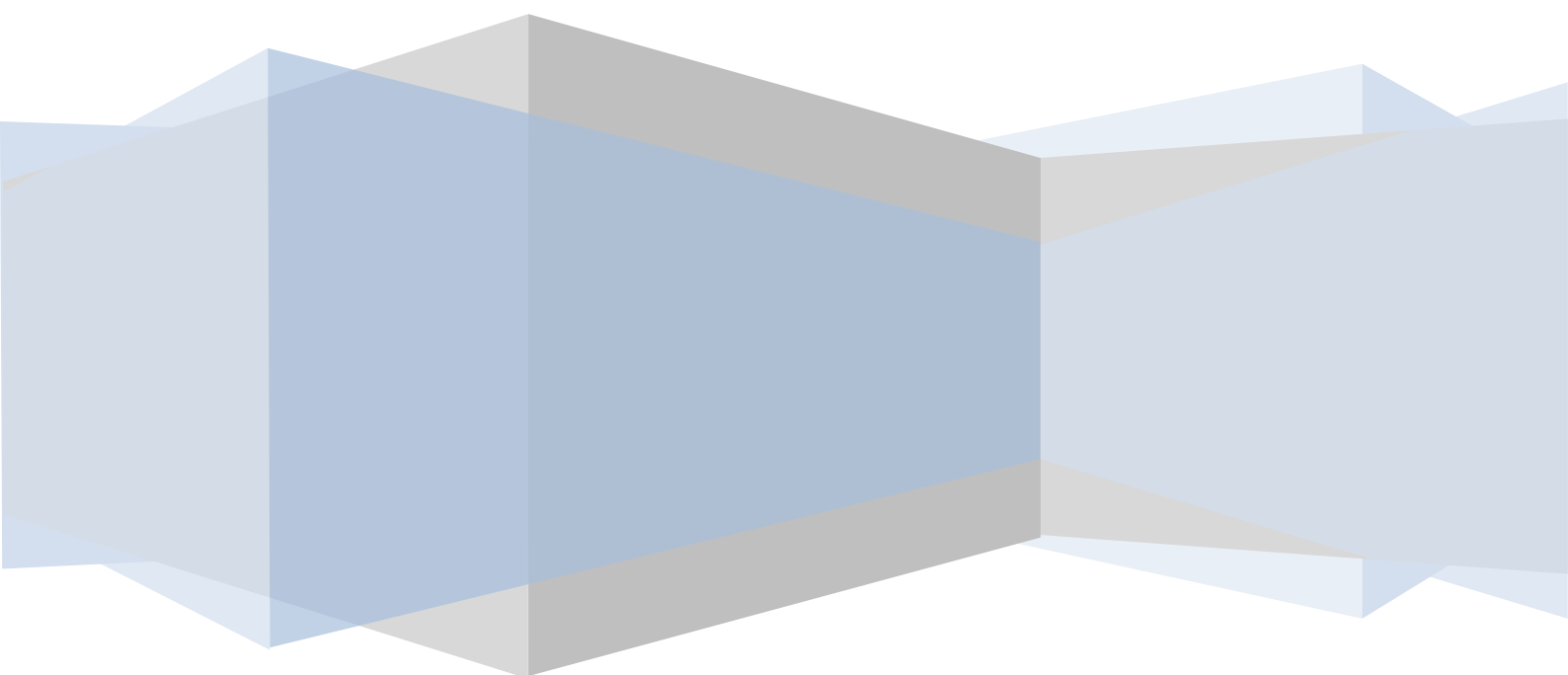
Pre-project: HIGHER EDUCATION AND PROFESSIONAL LEARNING: THE EFFECTS OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

European integration and the transformation of higher education

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1 Higher education in Europe – integration and transformation

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Several processes of European cooperation, coordination and integration pertain to changes in the parameters of the primary activities of higher education institutions, teaching and research. In the current political language these processes are referred to as belonging to the "Europe of Knowledge" and to the efforts geared towards creating European areas of higher education and research. The systemic borders of the higher education landscape in Europe are in the process of being transcended and we are seeing the (partial) redrawing of such boundaries. Taken together the ongoing processes may represent shifts in boundaries between levels of governance, between policy areas and shifts in means of control over knowledge, and more specifically the knowledge produced, transmitted and disseminated within and by higher education institutions.

These developments have long roots but are most clearly crystallised the last two decades. Higher education and its institutions are involved in a *debordering* (Kohler-Koch, 2005) process with a long term institutionalisation of a European dimension of teaching and learning, as well as academic research in Europe. This development has been regarded as transformative:

> *The European higher education area may be set to transform the European states' higher education institutions as fundamentally as the nation state changed the medieval universities (Corbett, 2005, p. 192)*

Over time the European level has become the locus of complex interactions that connect various levels of knowledge governance, less as grandstand European integration than as many smaller, composite and intricate processes of change. At the same time conscious efforts of integration and coordination have gained considerable momentum over the past ten years. European higher education is in a period of experimentation and innovation, but also in a period where new initiatives and ambitions have had some time to settle, be challenged or blend with the already established practices of higher education. Hence it is a time when a possible transformation of higher education is not only a prediction, but also an assertion that can be supported or refuted by evidence. Concurrently, it is a potent area for empirically founded studies of whether such framework changing developments are indeed taking place and what implications can be detected.

The purpose of this report is to review the theoretical and empirical advances in studies that address the nexus between change and transformation in higher education and European integration, as well as identifying main approaches to the study of European integration in general that might have a particular bearing on the study of this nexus. The purpose here is not to rehearse these general debates or review the latter literature. That is far beyond the scope this report. Instead our ambition is to point to the varying approaches and strands in theorising European integration that are of relevance to the study of the transformation of higher education in Europe.

The report is organised as follows: As a prologue to the review we first point to core concepts of relevance to the study of European integration and higher education transformation. Section 2

reviews the studies of the emerging governance capacity for a "Europe of Knowledge" and identifies main theoretical developments in the study of institution building and policy making in EU studies. In section 3 the impact of this growing European level governance capacity on national higher education systems, policies and institutions will be discussed. In the final section we summarise and point to potential future lines of investigation in the study of European integration and higher education that have emerged from reviewing the literature.

1.2 WHAT IS "EUROPE OF KNOWLEDGE"?

"Europe of Knowledge" is a political term coined in policy documents rather than a concept derived from scholarship on higher education and research systems. Until the 2000s system level studies of higher education were conducted within a nation state perspective or nation-to-nation comparative frame. To our knowledge the term's first appearance in EU official documents was the Commission's communication 'Towards a Europe of Knowledge" from 1997[1], a document that was the European Commission's Directorate-General for Education's contribution to the Agenda 2000 strategy. It was defined in the realm of education and vocational training as a heading for future Community action in education, training and youth-related matters. This communication was based on two major intentions: 1) to make "knowledge-based policies" (innovation, research, education, training) one of the four fundamental pillars of the EU's internal policies; and 2) to raise the level of knowledge and skills of all Europe's citizens in order to promote employment. The term "Europe of Knowledge" was used to draw the boundaries wider for including more than the traditional issues of education policy to be addressed at the European level. This was also in line with the more encompassing idea of European involvement in knowledge policy domains signalled already by the European Commission under Jacques Delors with the White Paper on *Growth, Competitiveness and Employment*[2]. This White Paper had brought the issue of employment to the top of the European agenda for the first time. It was intended to re-energize efforts to modernise Europe's economic institutions in order to deal with unemployment, and it featured education and training prominently as the "catalyst of a changing society" (page 117).

In 1998 the term "Europe of Knowledge" was used in the Sorbonne declaration (i.e. the genesis event of the Bologna process), in which the ministers from France, Germany, Italy, and the United Kingdom stressed the now famous statement: "The Europe we are building is not only that of the euro, the banks and the economy, it must be a Europe of knowledge as well". The term made it to the policy headlines also in 2003, this time as part of a Commission's communication on university reforms[3] and the conference organised in Liège as a follow up (April 2004). From then on the term has featured

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[1] Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions - Towards a Europe of knowledge. Brussels COM/97/0563 final

[2] Commission - Growth, Competitiveness, Employment: The Challenges and Ways Forward into the 21st Century - White Paper. Parts A and B. COM (93) 700 final/A and B, 5 December 1993. Bulletin of the European Communities, Supplement 6/93

[3] Communication from the European Commission *The role of the universities in a Europe of knowledge.* Brussels COM(2003) 58 final.

prominently in the Commission's university strategy that became the focus of attention in the European Research Area (ERA) documents and the Lisbon strategy. It has developed into a core term for a whole range of knowledge policies and the most frequently used "short hand" in the political discourse on new, smart Europe and Europe as a leading knowledge economy and knowledge society. A document search at the EU's official website[4] returned 574 hits for the exact phrase "Europe of knowledge", whereof 225 documents were classified within research and development policy versus 58 within education, teaching, vocational training and youth. Europe of Knowledge is a complex and malleable term. The current usage has been in the context of the recently launched idea of the Innovation Union[5], i.e. the plans to transform Europe as part of the "Europe 2020" strategy, bringing together research, education, finance and intellectual property within a joint-up approach aimed at promoting sustainable growth and jobs. In the "Innovation Union" the term has transformed into the Europe of knowledge *and innovation*, whereas within the context of European excellence policy the term is Europe of knowledge *and excellence[6]*.

The political usage of the term reflects the extended understanding of knowledge policy as more encompassing than a traditional understanding of the higher education domain. It places higher education not only in a European-wide frame, but also in several interfaces to other domains. At the European level decisions are made that concern higher education institutions. Figure 1 illustrates how higher education in a Europe of knowledge is located in a complex web of policy domains and initiatives and multiple streams of integration. Some of these apply directly to universities, colleges, research institutions, academic staff/researchers and students, most notably decisions that concern the creation and implementation of the European Research Area (ERA) and European Higher Education Area (EHEA). Other processes touch higher education more indirectly by, for instance, implicitly impinging on the role and position of higher education institutions in the European economy, societies and political development or occur as side-effects of integration processes in other areas. European higher education institutions are thus positioned in the area of tension between different understandings of their role: tensions between their cultural versus economic role, and between a utilitarian versus a non-utilitarian idea of higher education, as well as between a local, national, regional or global role. Such tensions are reflected in different governance sites that make up the governance architecture of the "Europe of Knowledge".

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[4] http://europa.eu/geninfo/query/ accessed 10.11.10.

[5] European Commission, Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: *Europe 2020 Flagship Initiative Innovation Union*, Brussels, 6.10.2010, COM(2010) 546 final, SEC(2010) 1161.

[6] European Science and Research Commissioner Janez Potočnik, Brussels 22 October 2009, Press release, http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/09/1570&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en
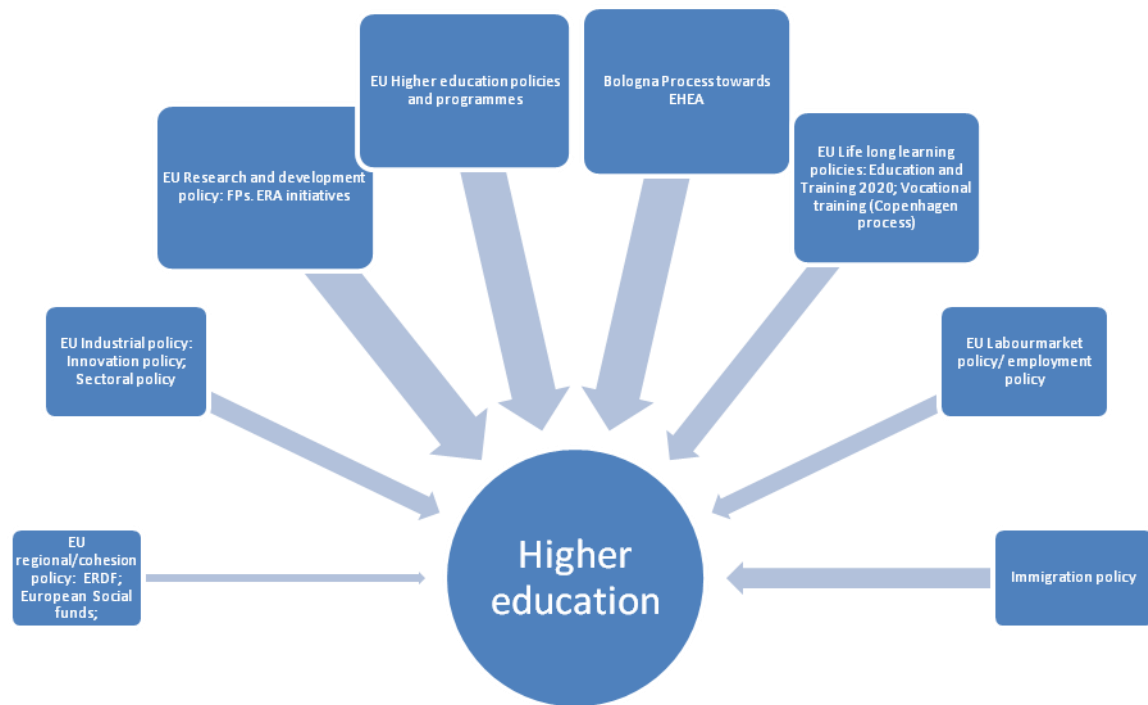
FIGURE 1 HIGHER EDUCATION IN MULTIPLE STREAMS OF INTEGRATION

1.3 ON INTEGRATION, UNITY AND DIVERSITY IN HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEMS

Regional integration comprises several aspects. It can be seen as a system of functionally dependent units, or units that are bound together by frequent interaction across national borders or groups that share values and beliefs that transcend national systemic boundaries. In the study of European integration initially the focus was on the growth of central institutions and policies. These studies were concerned with how new political centres are established, or what in more modern terms would be called how a "governance capacity" developed at the European level. In this respect the understanding of European integration also has come to be seen from the analytical lenses applied to theories of political centre formation and political development in general (see section 2). New centre formation implies that institutions are built up and maintained, and gain a relatively autonomous existence (Olsen, 2010). Building on a system perspective Kohler-Koch (2005) argues that "daily governance" of European integration implies a specific kind of system integration – one that *does not* leave the national systemic integration intact, i.e. integration at the European level *transforms* its constitutive elements.

Transferred to the higher education domain, this corresponds well to the idea that European integration represents a transformative development. However, we also note that higher education has, for understandable reasons, not been given much attention in the study of European integration until recently. Nonetheless, the kinds of general questions that focus on system integration and system dynamics are familiar and general questions addressed in the study of higher education. The

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systemic perspective on higher education has in fact been the backbone of higher education studies - with the nation state as the frame of analysis. In Europe this has made sense given the centrality of the national governance frame for higher education systems. The canons of higher education studies have encouraged the comparative national system approach. Variations in the system-nurturing role played by national governments have been identified as a core dimension according to which systems have been classified. In particular Clark (1983) approached systematically the question of identifying and accounting for the diversity in the organisation and governing of higher education across national systems, i.e. the national traits and their effects for the developmental trajectories that such systems follow. It is telling that Clark's seminal 1983 book on higher education systems is introduced with the following quote from *Emile Durkheim's* "The Evolution of Educational Thought":

> *It is rare to find an institution which is at once so uniform and so diverse; it is recognisable in all the guises which it takes, but in no one place is it identical with what it is in any other. This unity and diversity constitute the final proof of the extent to which the university was the spontaneous product of mediaeval life; for it is only living things which can in this way, while fully retaining their identify, bend and adapt themselves to a whole variety of circumstances and environments.*

Durkheim's ideas about the nature and dynamics of universities contain not only the reference to the dialectic alluded to in the motto of the EU, "unity in diversity". The themes of unity and diversity, adaptability and continuity, and change and integration in higher education reflect generic questions that take on new meaning and relevance in the context of current developments in a "Europe of Knowledge".

For getting a better understanding of the ways in which the policy processes and measures emerging from the notion of a "Europe of Knowledge" relate to and affect higher education dynamics, the notion of "diversity" is highly relevant and links to some of the enduring and recurrent themes in the study of higher education. This concerns in the first place the way in which integration and change in higher education systems have been conceptualized in the academic literature on higher education. In the second place it raises the issue of systemic unity and diversity (Olsen, 2007a).

CONCEPTUALISING UNITY AND DIVERSITY

In European countries as elsewhere the need for system-level coordination is accompanied by the acceptance of the necessity of institutional autonomy. The drive for strengthening institutional autonomy leads naturally to more diversity (or disorder) within the system, while system coordination is aimed at creating unity in a system, or a minimum level of integration and order. Clark (1983) has described these counter forces as follows:

> *In an infinitely complex world, the higher education system has difficulties in pulling itself together that belie simple descriptions and answers. Tasks proliferate, beliefs multiply, and the many forms of authority pull in different directions. Yet in each case, some order emerges in various parts: disciplines link members from far and wide, universities symbolically tie together their many specialists, bureaucratic structures, local and national, provide uniform codes and regulations. And the bureaucratic, political and oligarchic forms of national authority contribute to the integration of the whole.*
> *(Clark 1983: 136)*

The efforts to integrate European higher education are part of a more general process of integrating sovereign states in new political and institutional order (Olsen 2007a). An important element in the creation of new order with respect to higher education is the need to balance integration and change, unity and diversity, i.e. system-level coordination and university autonomy (Clark 1983; Olsen 2007a: 22-23). Maintaining such a balance has traditionally been a responsibility of the nation state. However, the emerging role of supranational European institutions with respect to higher education (Pollack 2000; Maassen and Olsen 2007; Maassen and Musselin 2009), and the intergovernmental (Bologna) agreement to create a EHEA, imply that the efforts to create unity with respect to higher education in Europe no longer take place only at the national level, but increasingly also at the European level.

According to Clark (1983: 205) there are tensions in any higher education system between the forces that create stability and unity, and those that cause adaptations, change and diversity. These forces very much contribute to the complexity of higher education institutions and systems, also because they operate in different ways at different levels in a higher education system. "Hence, it is always necessary, when speaking of a type of academic change, to specify the levels at which it operates, since an opposite disposition is likely to characterize the levels not directly in view" (Clark 1983: 209).

In principle any higher education system consists of three organizational levels, i.e. the basic academic units, the central institutional administration and leadership, and the system level governance arrangements and actors, or in the words of Clark (1983: 205) the understructure, middle structure and superstructure. In the case of European higher education an additional layer has been emerging that can be referred to as the suprastructure composed of all agencies and actors, including those representing national authorities, aimed at creating unity that links together the European higher education systems.

Olsen (2007a) has discussed how each society has to find an effective balance between state level need for unity and integration in the governance of each public sector, and each public sector's need for institutional autonomy and diversity. This balance is not static and stable, but instead societies go through periods of relative stable balances between order (unity) and disorder (diversity) and periods of renegotiation and reform of the unity / diversity balance. This has been formulated as follows in Gornitzka et al. (2007: 183):

> *Under some conditions change and reform take place routinely and incrementally within a fairly stable institutional framework. Under other conditions institutional frameworks are themselves changing as the shared understandings underlying the political and social order are questioned and possibly modified or replaced.*

From the perspective of the search for a new balance between unity and diversity in Europe's higher education the effectiveness of the new multi-level governance system is a clear challenge. While institutional autonomy is continuously promoted as an aim in itself, there is now not only the need to maintain system level unity in the form of an effectively coordinated national higher education system, there is the additional expectation of the creation of an integrated EHEA. How are the fragmented basic academic units of the higher education institutions linked to the European level structures aimed at creating unity and order in the EHEA? How does the integration of higher

education fit the general process of European integration? Here we follow Olsen's definition by seeing integration as "a process which turns previously separated units into components of a relatively coherent and consistent system" (Olsen 2007a: 21). What are the conditions for creating a coherent and consistent EHEA, or other visions of European knowledge areas, with autonomous universities and colleges operating as part of national higher education systems as components?

2 Building a governance capacity for the Europe of Knowledge

2.1 VERTICAL PERSPECTIVES ON INSTITUTION BUILDING

The first four decades of studies of the EU and European integration were framed as the study of international relations. This was also reflected in the core schism between the main contenders for the grand theory of European integration, i.e. the schism between the state centric perspective and the neo-functional position with respect to their view on the causes and dynamics of polity building in the EC/EU. Why does institution building happen at the level beyond the nation state, when according to the realist position in the study of international relations it was "not supposed to happen"? In an anarchic world order, why do sovereign states create international regimes and institutions when these challenge or threaten their own national sovereignty, especially in areas that are nationally sensitive?

The intergovernmental, state-centric perspective on European integration argued that such policy building takes place with "states as the critical actors in the context of anarchy" (Moravcsik and Schimmelfennig, 2009, p. 68). On the other hand the neo-functional perspective was geared towards understanding the speed and breadth of the integration process, rather than explaining the "grand events" of the process. For the early integration theorists, in particular Ernst Haas (Haas, 2004 [1958]), the concern was how to advance generalisations about the process by which "political communities area formed among sovereign states" (Page xxxii). Haas' perspective on the formation of such policy communities was based on observations of the development of the Coal and Steel Community. Haas saw the vertical dynamics of European integration as being driven by the following processes: 1) Sovereign governments initially placed certain sectors (coal and steel) under the authority of European level institutions, i.e. transfer of formal competencies from the national to the European level. 2) Integration of one sector would lead to the "technical" pressure for integration of other sectors ("spillover"). 3) Integration processes were assumed to be incremental, self-reinforcing and deterministic. At least in Haas' original formulation this was seen as an *automatic* process (Niemann and Schmitter, 2009). Institutions that were created would take on a life of their own and gain autonomy to the extent they are difficult to "call back" for those who initially agreed to establish them. From this perspective the assumed dynamic is not actorless – rather the neo-functional argument places heavy emphasis on the economic and political elites that support and nudge the integration process along. Especially Haas assigned a key role to non-state actors, such as trade associations, trade unions, professional associations and political parties. To the extent that such actors realise that functional problems cannot be solved at the level of the nation state and their interests cannot be served via the nation state, they would push for vertical transfer of competencies

and jurisdictional reform from the national to the supranational level, allying themselves with supranational institutions. Later modifications of the neofunctional argument brought to the fore the role of epistemic communities (P. Haas, 1992) and a more explicit entrepreneurial role for the European Commission in driving the integration process (Niemann and Schmitter, 2009). But also in its original formulation comprises the idea that actors in such a process will learn from their experiences, i.e. they do not come and go from integration processes with their preferences and perspectives intact: gradually they shift their *loyalties* to the supranational level. For E. Haas regional integration was a process:

> "whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities toward a new centre, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdictions over the pre-existing national states. The end result of political integration is a new political community, superimposed over the pre-existing ones." (E. B. Haas, 2004 [1958], p. 16).

Such a superimposition then entails transformative effects for the nation state. In more general terms of system integration and disintegration, as referred to above, this points to the dynamics of co-existing orders when "Europe" has entered as a relevant governance layer for higher education. The implication of such a perspective is that we should expect to see transformation in systems of higher education in the wake of European integration.

Inter-governmentalism has a different puzzle to solve and is expecting different implications from European integration. The focus is on the grand moments of the Integration history when nation states decided to create common regimes. These decisions are seen as the outcome of negotiations among self-serving, sovereign states whose interests and actions drive the integration process. The *liberal intergovernmental* perspective develops this argument further by incorporating the idea that member states' positions in these negotiations are influenced by the demand for European integration from domestic societal and economic interests. Within this perspective national level politics is vectored into the theory of European integration in a way that was ignored in the neofunctionalist perspective. Their prediction is that areas of national importance will remain within the national purview, and that supranational institutions will not play an independent role in driving the integration process. The member states will call the shots. It are their power and preferences that can account for the steps in the European integration process and the institutions that are chosen in order to make sure that states comply with what they have agreed upon (Moravcsik, 1998). Supranational institutions, such as the European Commission, will remain the vessel of the member states. For the liberal intergovernmentalists the integration process is a series of choices that states make, through their elected leaders on the basis of the nationally determined preferences. Such choices involve hard bargains and the bargaining outcomes reflect the relative power of the actors. An important implication in the transfer process that results from the bargaining among sovereign states is that member states' systems are left more or less intact. The nation state is "obstinate", as observed by Hoffmann (1966).

Although these theoretical positions were in stark contrast to each other, they share a common dependent variable, i.e. explaining the shape of the polity at the European level. In the early studies

of European integration it was commonplace to argue that European integration and European community as a polity were unique. Hence, it could not be adequately studied unless seen through the conceptual lens developed for the EU as *sui generis* (Keman, 1999). As the EU developed and the volume of studies of European integration ballooned, the original sui generis position and international relation approach to the study of European integration ceased to be the centre point. In short, the position is no longer that European integration is unique to the extent that it needs a separate scholarly vocabulary and set of theories. Rather the argument that has increasingly been gaining ground is that the European community is indeed in the making, and experimental, but that makes it *especially* apt as a testing ground for *general* theories about political behaviour, organisation and how political systems change (Olsen, 2007a). Studies also comprised several foci and multiple aspects of Europeanisation (Olsen, 2001), whereas the first wave were studies of institution building and policy processes at European level the subsequent waves of scholarly work also incorporated research on domestic impact (see section 3). As object of research higher education by and large missed out on the first wave of research on European integration. As such the study of higher education and European integration, European policy processes and institution building dynamics relevant to higher education became items on the research agenda at a later stage than in the core research on European integration. Nonetheless, if we are interested in European transformation of higher education such a research focus cannot bypass the study of how political institutions and administrative capacity relevant to the Europe of Knowledge have developed.

2.2 STUDIES OF EUROPEAN LEVEL CAPACITY FOR "EUROPE OF KNOWLEDGE"

Traditionally the efforts of European institutions to influence the national institutional arrangements with respect to higher education have been met with suspicion and rejection of the member states. Higher education – like the rest of the education sector – has been a nationally sensitive policy area closely related to national identity (Gornitzka 2007; Neave and Maassen 2007; Olsen 2007a: 78). The Treaty of Maastricht of 1992 confirmed through the subsidiarity principle that the prime responsibility for (higher) education lies at the national level, implying formally that the European Commission cannot undertake any initiatives itself aimed at converging European higher education (Maassen and Musselin 2009). This starting-point has not been changed legally, but in practice political space with respect to (higher) education has been created at the suprastructure level in Europe (Gornitzka 2007). This is especially true since the turn of the last century with the signing of the Bologna Declaration and announcement of the Lisbon strategy as important moments in the apparent change in attitude towards the acceptance of the need for integrating European higher education. In the wake of the Lisbon process several innovations in cooperative arrangements and European level initiatives occurred, making the institutional landscape relevant to the Europe of Knowledge considerably more complex.

Prior to the developments around and after the turn of the century, there was marginal interest in the scholarly community in research on policy processes and institution building at the European level. Important studies have nonetheless described the direct involvement of the European community in higher education and documented the stages that this involvement has gone through for higher education in particular (De Wit and Verhoeven, 2001; Huisman and Van der Wende, 2004;

Neave, 1984) and with respect to the whole education domain (Beukel, 2001; Pepin, 2007; Shaw, 1999). These studies pointed to the role of the established supranational institutions also in the area of higher education. The legal competence in this area was pointed to as weak, yet several authors accentuated the supranational perspective promoted by the decisions of the European Court of Justice. Peaks of activity were identified in early 70s, late 80s and first years of 21st century. In education, four areas stand out as important decisions (Beerkens 2008): 1) Migrant workers' children issues and the right of children of migrant workers to have equal rights to the nationals of the particular country; 2) The general EU principles – e.g. non-discrimination provision and EU citizenship.); 3) Recognition of qualifications; and 4) Definitional issues around education –especially whether higher education could fall within the expanded definition of vocational training. One of the milestones of the European Court of Justice' involvement was the *Gravier* decision that did provide a redefinition of what was understood as vocational. As a consequence, the European Court of Justice has in essence acted as a policymaker by redefining the existing regulations (Beerkens 2008). However, while the outcomes of the milestone decisions are often referred to, in-depth studies of the role of European Court of Justice in the development of the "Europe of Knowledge" as a whole are scarce, even though the European Court as a supranational institution has played a key role in the institutionalization of a Europe of Knowledge and in defining the legal parameters of Community involvement in this domain (Neave, 1984; De Witte, 1993)[7].

Identifying five key moments in this history of the European Community, Anne Corbett provides a compelling critique of the up until then mostly descriptive accounts. She bases her alternative account on in-depth study of key decisions: the Treaty of Rome (European Atomic Energy Community) from 1957 and the attempt to create a European institution of university status; the Resolution of the Ministers of Education meeting in 1971 on cooperation in the field of education; the Resolution of the Council and the Ministers of Education (1976) to create an action programme in the field of education; and the adoption of the European Community action scheme for the mobility of university students (Erasmus, 1987). By tracing the processes that led to these decisions, she argues that firstly, the Community thinking and involvement with respect to higher education did not start in the 1970s but dates back to the early history of the European communities. Secondly, she argues against seeing the involvement of the EC/EU, i.e. the build-up of a governance capacity at the European level, as incremental processes or a case of spillover, but rather that this came about through the active entrepreneurship of EU politicians and bureaucrats within the European Commission that managed to put new ideas on the agenda and gain acceptance for them (Corbett, 2003, 2005).

Corbett's work illustrates how ideas and institutions interact in creating decisions and capacity for action at the European level that has become important for the subsequent European integration of higher education. Corbett gives evidence as to how these processes are not deterministic or

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[7] Garben Garben, S. (2010). The Bologna Process: From a European Law Perspective. *European Law Journal 16*(2), 186-210. provides a somewhat alternative view arguing that the lack of competence is usually taken for granted and that the legal capacity is not as weak as one might expect.

instances of planned change. She underlines the role that opportunities created by external events played in the advancement of new or modified policy ideas, thereby contributing to policy change. The opportunities to change or modify the EC vision of higher education most often lay in the dynamics of the larger EU project, and this links well with what we could label as a more *horizontal perspective* on the dynamics of a Europe of Knowledge. This we will return to below.

Apart from Corbett's work, most (descriptive) overviews and commentaries on the EC/EU direct involvement with higher education have largely seen this as a tug of war between the reluctant member states guarding their national prerogative in higher education versus supranational institutions seeking to advance the European integration project into new areas. It was the actual political events and the unique and surprising character of the Bologna process that triggered a renewed and substantial scholarly interest in researching the link between higher education and European integration. The literature on the multi-level governance involved in creating a common EHEA and implementing the various aspects of the Bologna agreement has been particularly concerned with the *vertical* governance challenge (see also section 3). However, in reviewing this literature it comes to the fore that, even though it is not explicitly addressed in this literature, also the *horizontal* governance dimension is of importance for understanding how policy processes and institutional capacity building at the European level have developed with respect to higher education.

HORIZONTAL DYNAMICS OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION[8]
The overall European-level political space in the 1950s can be characterised as a "primitive site of collective governance" (Stone Sweet, Fligstein, and Sandholtz, 2001, p. 1). This was most certainly the case with respect to the governance of European higher education. But as within the overall development of the European Community and later the Union the institutionalisation of collective governance for higher education institutions is remarkable and is based on a process of centre formation (Curtin and Egeberg, 2008). Part of this process resembles a pattern familiar from the build-up of European nation states and is marked by two essential dynamics of change: institutional *differentiation* on the one hand and on the other the transformative power of *interactions and collisions* between policy sectors and institutional spheres (Olsen, 2010).

Nation states consist of sets of institutions and institutional spheres that have their own logic of operation and principles that legitimise them. Science, representative democracy and the market economy being three of such pillar institutions (Olsen, 2007b). Nation building in Europe is characterised by the successive build up of territorial boundaries that differentiate between different functional regimes (Bartolini, 2006). Modernisation processes and the establishment of the modern state have been carried by a specialisation of public governing of societal sectors, with organised capacity for policy making and implementation for each of them. Special organisations, rules, regulations have been developed to govern different sectors. A central characteristic of the modern nation state is that it has established over centuries specialised policies for different areas of society,

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[8] This section is based on Gornitzka, Å. (2010). Bologna in context: a horizontal perspective on the dynamics of governance sites for a Europe of knowledge. *European Journal of Education, 45*(4), 535-548.

and regularised, organised interaction between actors in the policy process aimed at developing, deciding upon and implementing policies. With them specialised sub-system actors have been constituted, such as special interest groups. Where these interact with sectoral public agencies, ministries and political actors as well as sectoral industries, sectoral and institutional differentiation implies a segmentation of decision making (Egeberg, Olsen, and Sætren, 1978).

Such segments would also share basic ideas about appropriate policy objectives, legitimate concerns to base policy decisions on, as well as programmes for achieving them. These can be regarded as policy paradigms that are the prisms through which policy makers see. From an institutional perspective they are legacies carried and perpetuated through the organisation of the policy making system of public administrative agencies, in other words, the political organisation of a policy area. When public policy concerns an established policy area it will have a relative stable set of beliefs about the fundamental policy goals of a sector and institutional sphere (Hall, 1993). Once a policy paradigm is settled and endowed with organisational structures, rules, standard operating procedures, resources and personnel to uphold them, it has become institutionalised (see Olsen, 2001; 2007b, for an in-depth analysis of what institutionalisation entails). Policy paradigms are not easily dismantled and changed. Institutional differentiation carries also with it a measure of insulation from outside influence (March and Olsen, 2006, p. 17). This process of differentiation is notable in the history of European integration. Stone Sweet et al. (2001) talk, for example, about the "Brussels complex" for the multiple arenas that have replaced the original primitive site of governance, while others refer to the conglomerate of the EUs institutions (Cram, 1994; Gornitzka and Sverdrup, 2008). The development of the administrative organisation of the European Commission has followed a principle of sectoral differentiation (Egeberg, 2006) and interest group formation has accompanied the multiplication of access points to EC/EU decision making (Mazey and Richardson, 2001). These could also bee identified as epistemic communities that have formed around specialised issue areas interacting on the basis of common policy ideas (Haas, 1990). Such shared *ideas* may then come to underpin sectorally differentiated governance and policy making systems.

Change tends in particular to occur in the interface between different orders of institutions and interactions that exist between them (Holm, 1995). Parallel to the process of differentiation into institutional spheres and policy sectors, *interaction* between such spheres and between policy sectors that are built on different principles is a fundamental dynamic of change. This implies that change should also be understood in terms of "interaction and collisions among competing institutional structure, norms, rules, identities and practices" (March and Olsen, 2006, p. 16). This can take the shape of earthquakes when the goals, interests, and understandings from one sphere invade another. Less dramatic cases of the effects of inter-institutional interaction are, for example, the gradual change of understanding of what the constitutive principles of societal spheres are, or the import and adjustment of models from one sphere to another. A slow, incremental process of differentiation would entail that policies developed in the context of one distinct institutional sphere are likely to be highly affected by the policy legacies specific to that sector (Hall, 1993, p. 277). Paradigmatic policy change would on the other hand be observed if the fundamental understanding of the purposes of societal institutions embodied in public policy is replaced by another. Then one

could speak of radical policy transformation and transformative power as generated by the movement of "tectonic plates" and the meeting of otherwise disconnected entities (Kogan, 2000, p. 213). The main point here is that this represents a dynamic of change (Orren and Skowronek, 2004) that might be anchored in some fundamental societal transformation, as clearly articulated in political sociology (see Bartolini, 2005; Rokkan, 1966). Nonetheless this is not a deterministic process, but one that triggers processes of mobilisation to resist, moderate or accommodate changes. When the logics of one sector are perceived to be challenged by another, the sectoral defence may not only take the shape of dispute and contestation, but also of enhanced cooperation within a policy field (Gornitzka and Olsen, 2006; Olsen, 1997, pp. 206-207).

EUROPEAN "KNOWLEDGE POLICY": SIGNS OF SECTORAL DIFFERENTIATION

What are the signs of sectoral differentiation when we look at the European level governance sites that concern higher education institutions? At the national level policy making capacity addressing the HE sector has been subject to significant differentiation and specialisation. It has moved from having rather limited but long traditions of education ministries as policy makers for providing and regulating public education, to the consecutive post-war flowering of science and research policy (Finnemore, 1993). The specialisation process has thus taken place in policy making *within* the sector, and consequently higher education institutions as a subject of public policy are split. The traditional separation of the two basic functions of teaching-learning and research tend to characterise the political organisation of this policy domain at the national level with research and higher education policies institutionalised as separate arenas (Clark, 1983). As a consequence the university straddles differentiated policy domains, with one foot in education policy and the other in research policy.

At the European level similar processes of sectoral differentiation have occurred as Community institutions have developed. First, the EU has organised its institutions and policies for education and research separately. The policy split is more pronounced at the European level than at the national level. The different points of origin of EUs research and education policy and the different trajectories that have ensued, are addressing the same key societal institution. First, the European Ministers of Education started from the mid 1970s to meet in a separate Council configuration, whereas Ministers responsible for research matters met in the Research Council (from 2002 reorganised into the Competitiveness Council[9]). The European executive, the Commission and its Services, is organised according to a functional principle that sees education as one distinct policy domain separate from research. The institutionalisation of a European dimension in higher education and research has followed a process that matches functional differentiation as the organising principle. This has happened not only by design and political will, but also by historical accident and considerable contestation (Corbett, 2005, 2009). It means that separate ways of doing things and

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[9] The Competitiveness Council was created through the merging of three previous configurations of the Council (Internal Market, Industry and Research). This reform was presented as a response to the perceived need for a more coherent and better coordinated handling of these matters related to EU's competitiveness.

habits have developed without much mutual coordination – what one might call segmented interaction at the European level.

When it comes to policy ideas, education has traditionally been seen in Europe as contained by national borders and presented as nationally sensitive. When the university is seen as an educational institution it is positioned within an area of legitimate national diversity. One pathway of the European level involvement with the university has been through its policy towards mutual recognition of professional degrees and freedom of movement of skilled manpower in Europe. Hence the key link of higher *education* to the EU has been defined through its links to labour market policies and vocational training. Higher education could be said to be more nationally sensitive in its cultural socialising function than in its labour market/economic role. As Bartolini (2005) duly notes, the inroad for the European Commission into the educational domain was legitimated via socio-functional arguments and not as question of the socializing role of education as part of establishing a European identity.

At the same time such a process of sectoral differentiation at the European level should not be read as uncontested. In particular it is important to point to moments of clashing ideas and interests of actors convening on the European arena, some of which voiced quite alternative ideas as to the role of institutional demarcations of higher education in Europe. In the 1980s, for example, core transnational associations voiced a clear cultural understanding for the foundation of the "Europe of Knowledge" (even though they did not use this term) – the Rectors at the time stated as the first fundamental principle of universities: 'A university is the trustee of the European humanist tradition'.[10]

Also the Community's member states have in practice not displayed much political will for formulating a common educational policy at the European level. The commitment to the common ideas for promoting the mobility of students and staff in Europe has undoubtedly been present, but in practice such ideas have not been endowed with significant means to implement them. The education programmes of the EU (from the 1980s) did become institutionalised and have been important in establishing a European governance site for higher education and a capacity for policy making, also beyond the strict limits of operating the ERASMUS and later on the SOCRATES programmes. Furthermore these programmes created the 'motives, means, and opportunity' for establishing and consolidating European stakeholder associations, transnational expertise communities and administrative networks (Gornitzka, 2009), i.e. a clear sign of sectoral differentiation.

This argument is also advanced by Beerkens (2008) who takes the framework by Stone Sweet and Sandholtz as a starting point in his study of the emergence of European Higher Education and Research Areas. He argues that the development of these two areas has both elements of inter-governmentalism and supra-nationalism. Education and research have been included into treaties

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[10] See Magna Charta Universitatum – signed in Bologna by Rectors of European universities in September 1988.

and have become increasingly constrained by European rules. The Commission and ECJ have been active in building up organizational capacity: while the major steps towards EHEA (Sorbonne and Bologna) started off as non-Commission processes, the emerging Lisbon 2000 Agenda has led to a de facto convergence of the Bologna and Lisbon processes. According to Beerkens, the emergence of transnational actors is an area that has received little attention, while there has been a huge growth of these actors in Europe and they have an impact on the policy decisions taken in Europe. Beerkens concludes that there have been two mechanisms for European integration in higher education – logic of institutionalization and spillovers (functional, political and cultivated). The actors who engage in Europe are also active on the national level through lobbying, thus "the result is a self-sustaining dynamic of institutionalization, where transnational actors demand clearer rules as interdependence increases" (Beerkens 2008: 410). In this way European rules, organisation and transnational society (Hoareau 2009) become a driving force for more integration, Beerkens argues. In his study of the European Research policy Banchoff (2002) also underlines the role of supranational administrative capacity and growth of European level and sector specific interest groups, but he argues that this has implied a institutional resistance to changing European research policy. Whereas there has been a pressure to integrate ever since the 1960s, the actual outcomes have been modest. Banchoff maintains that this is related not only to the intergovernmentalist argument, but also to the fact that the European institutions themselves *impede* change. Framework programmes have themselves reduced Commissions capacity to more tightly integrate national research policies.

Since the controversial key moment of establishing the ERASMUS programme (Corbett 2005), the Commission's responsibility for educational (mobility) programmes became legitimate and "taken for granted" by the member states. Yet also in the 1990s the ideas underpinning a European approach to higher education were contested. This is in particular visible in the response to the Commission's Memorandum on Higher Education in the European Community (1991). This memorandum received a hostile reception among the member states. First and foremost the member states opposed the economic orientation and utilitarian view of higher education that they claimed permeated the Memorandum. This combined with a sense that the Commission was trespassing on the national domain (especially in the area of teacher training) made the member states send a clear message to the Commission to stay off this territory. The incident with the Memorandum is part of the background for understanding how the Bologna Process was instigated as a process outside the EU and its institutional set-up. The involved Ministers of Education, especially and initially the four ministers who gave their signature to the Sorbonne declaration, were sitting in the driver's seat, building on the technologies and traditions of cooperation developed within the EU without being determined by them (Ravinet, 2008).

Compared to education, the European level has more elaborated and established traditions of R&D cooperation. From the start this involvement was legitimised and more comfortably framed as a contribution to economic growth and industrial development (Guzzetti, 1995). Research policy gradually developed to become a very dense area of activities with a sizable share of the Community budget and a large Directorate–General (DG) for Research. The DG established an elaborate network for both formulating and implementing the community R&D programmes (Framework Programmes – FPs) (Gornitzka and Sverdrup, 2008). Transnational organisations and networks mushroomed around the preparation and implementation of the FPs. These networks were in their orientation and contact patterns not sector-spanning but an expression of sectoral differentiation (Grande and

Peschke, 1999). The launch of the European Research Area (ERA) in 2000 elevated the ambitions of the European level with respect to research to go beyond the relatively limited funding power of the Commission's R&D programs (Gronbaek, 2003).

The coincidence in time with the Bologna process is striking, yet there is not much evidence to suggest that the process of EHEA-building had an impact on the genesis of the ERA. The ERA was far from the logic underlying the Bologna Process. Where the EHEA promoted compatibility across national borders among higher education institutions that remained intact as organisations, a main idea underlying ERA was addressing the fragmentation of European research efforts and promoting 'seamlessness' also between institutional divides, universities and markets, research institutions and business. Yet also the dynamics of creating the ERA and EHEA respectively could be seen as a further sector-based differentiation process. These are processes where the sectoral actors have come together: with higher education cooperation in the Bologna process as a governance site distinct from the sites developed for ERA. The two processes of "area construction" are both directed at debordering the regulation of knowledge in Europe, yet as governance sites they have different histories, actor constellations and are based on partly overlapping but also diverging means of governance. They have addressed the same core institution, but with different ideas, carried by different sets of actors and proceeding for the most part in mutual disregard. In this respect, the two area building processes have mirrored the segmented interaction that had characterised the 1980s and 1990s in research and (higher) education policy at the European level. However, stepping into the 2000s marks the occasion for more explicit ambitions also for horizontal policy coordination and a challenge to segmented interaction at the European level.

HORIZONTAL DYNAMIC OF CHANGE?

The differentiation processes discussed above represent an institutionalisation of policy and a capacity for policy making and implementation in the policy areas higher education and research at the European level. This configuration has in the past decade been challenged by events largely outside the boundaries of higher education. A challenging focal point was the EU summit in Lisbon 2000 and the launching of the strategy to become the world's most competitive and dynamic knowledge based economy within 2010. It marked in substantive terms a key moment in the formulation of a European policy for the knowledge economy based on a shared belief in the main problems and priorities of the EU's economies. It was very hard for European politicians to commit themselves to a strategy of becoming the most competitive knowledge economy in the world without at the same time conceding that this involves the knowledge sectors – European schools, training systems, and universities and colleges, research institutes, as well as industrial R&D. Among the means to the Lisbon ends was an overhaul of the European education and research systems. This was in no way an ideational invention that happened during the meeting of European heads of state. Ideas about the knowledge economy/society had been circulating all during the 1990s in the corridors of EU policy making. They also entered the so-called Agenda 2000 for the reform of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) and the EU's regional and social cohesion policies that set out the

guidelines for the future Community action concerning enlargement[11]. The role of universities had featured (at times even centrally) in the debates on the further development of the knowledge society/economy, especially in the push for reframing industrial policy as innovation policy. Yet in the Lisbon 2000 Strategy it became explicit how education and research as policy areas are defined and framed within a knowledge economy discourse at the European level.

The Lisbon strategy pushed knowledge policy areas, research and education, to the centre of the EU agenda. The construction of the Europe of Knowledge is infused with normative values, already identifiable in the choice of forwarding the idea of "Europe of Knowledge" itself. The Commission's presentation of higher education as purposeful, progressive, successful, economically beneficial, collaborative and international, parallels closely its construction of the wider European project. In this rhetoric, higher education is "depicted as quintessentially *European*" (Keeling, 2006). But it did more than that: it opened these sectors to the influx of the premises and objectives of a wider audience. In short, it became a site for the horizontal dynamics of change in the governance of the Europe of Knowledge. It shows how universities in Europe and the governance processes directed at them are linked to and influenced by developments in other policy areas, i.e. higher education policy in the interface between the economic, cultural and social policies. In what way can this be noticed? First of all, knowledge sectors have become export items as 'problem solvers' for regional development (revision of the principles underlying the use of the EU's funds for this purpose), for the environmental agenda (a green economy would also have to be a 'smart' economy), for adjusting the labour market policy to the new conditions, while attracting the 'best heads' had implications for immigration policy. Yet behind the seemingly broad consensus on the need to cope in a better way with the challenges of the new economy there were instances of contestations in the practical implications. An example was the clash between priorities of the old versus new political economy in the EU (agricultural subsidies versus competitiveness oriented budget priorities) in the negotiations around its multi-annual financial framework (Schild, 2008).

The Lisbon summit in 2000 provided a diagnosis of a Europe challenged by globalisation and the demands of the new economy. Part of this challenge was directed at European education systems in the sense of the need to: increase investment in human resources; improve education attainment levels; develop basic skills and competencies among its labour force; and achieve greater intra-European mobility[12]. Education received full attention at the Lisbon 2000 summit as part of a much larger agenda and political project. The whole knowledge and skills area was defined in Lisbon as a necessary component of an economic and social reform strategy. The condition of the European knowledge economy was described as in dire straits. The Commission has also in the area of the education sector's contribution to the Lisbon strategy used a similar urgent tone of voice. The linkage between the Lisbon Agenda and the education sector spurred a radical change in the cooperation mechanisms of the European Union education ministers through the development of the Education

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[11] The DG education's contribution to the Agenda 2000 was entitled 'Towards a Europe of Knowledge' Brussels, 12.11.1997 COM(97) 563 final.

[12] Lisbon European Council 2000, Presidency conclusions paragraph 25-27

and Training 2010 work programme (E&T) based on the 'open method of coordination (OMC)'[13] (Gornitzka, 2007).

In 2001 three strategic objectives were adopted that concerned the improved *quality and effectiveness* of education, *access* to education, and the goal to *open up* national education and training systems to society and 'the wider world'[14]. This became a 10 year work programme that defined the cooperation within the education policy domain and the modernisation of European education systems[15]. Now, two strands of activity exist for education and training – the Lifelong learning programme and the Education & Training 2010 (2020) programme to support policy coordination (Pepin 2007: 130).

With the establishment of the DG Education a certain level of organisational capacity for supranational policy development and policy making in the education area had been built up at the European level. This level relied heavily on the networks that tie together levels of governance and actors in European education. The governance site created around the Education & Training 2010 programme also implied that the education domain placed itself within existing cooperative structures both inside and outside the field of education. The Education & Training 2010 programme appropriated existing cooperative structures found within this policy domain and generated new activities in other areas. For instance, the EU's traditional incentive based educational programmes were integrated with the coordination process that the Lisbon 2000 Strategy had activated. Within the overall Lisbon Strategy, European level actors in the sector grabbed a hold of coordination processes relative to their own sector, an indication that the Education & Training 2010 programme contained strong elements of sector defence and assertion as a response to the challenges and opportunities that events outside the sector represented.

In the beginning these dynamics took place without much explicit reference to what was going in the Bologna Process and the ERA process. However, the Bologna Process as a governance site did become a source of inspiration, competition and support for the Lisbon 2000 process in education in other ways. As such, it displays a horizontal dynamic of change. First, the Bologna Process – despite its extra-EU character and its pan-European scope – served to *support* European cooperation in other areas of education, the Education & Training 2010 programme included, because of its aura of being an extraordinary instance of European integration in nationally sensitive areas. For example,

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[13] The Education & Training 2010 programme was initially referred to as the 'objectives process'. In May 2009 the programme was renewed as "Strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training (ET 2020)", see: http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-policy/doc1120_en.htm

[14] Adopted by the European Council, Stockholm 2001 (Presidency conclusions 23/24 March 2001).

[15] Cf. European Commission: Detailed work programme on the follow-up of the objectives of education and training systems in Europe, adopted by the Education Council and the Commission on the 14 February 2002. OJ C 142. Brussels 14 June 2002). Work programme approved by the European Council 2002 (Presidency Conclusions 15/16 March, 2002)

education ministers of 31 European countries (member states, candidate countries and EEA countries) adopted the *Copenhagen Declaration* (November 2002) on enhanced European cooperation in vocational education and training (VET). This declaration gave a mandate to develop concrete actions in the areas of transparency, recognition and quality in VET. The Copenhagen Process was initiated to mirror the Bologna Process and accomplished for VET what the Bologna Process was intending to do for higher education. However, the Copenhagen Process was all along an EU process. The Bologna Process thus fuelled the establishment of a governance site for a tangent 'knowledge policy' area by being a role model in its format and types of elements to hook area building onto. Yet, the characteristics, as argued amongst others by Racké (2005), that were the key to the surprising success of the Bologna Process (being a pan-European, non-EU process) were not copied.

From the moment the Bologna and Copenhagen processes were incorporated into the Education & Training 2010 programme, this programme was flaunted as EU's integrated policy framework for education and training. The relative absence of higher education in the beginning can be explained by the Bologna Process's 'capture' of the higher education reform agenda in Europe. Only with the 2004 acceptance of the 'full' Education & Training 2010 programme from the Education Council did the Commission manage to link explicitly the Lisbon agenda to the EHEA. This appropriation was institutionalised when in 2005 the Commission established a group for coordinating the Education & Training 2010 programme in the area of higher education. The accomplishments towards establishing the EHEA are cashed as part of the education sector's delivery for Lisbon.

To what extent this linkage in turn affects the ideas pursued by and underpinning the Bologna Process is another matter. Interesting research is emerging in particular on the ideational spill-over from the Lisbon 2000 process to the construction of the EHEA (see e.g. Capano and Piattoni, 2009; Haskel, 2008). There is already evidence of considerable diversity in how participating policy actors interpret the ideational and normative content of the Bologna Process. For instance, the member organisations of Education International (EI), one of the stakeholder groups that have been granted participatory right in the Bologna Process, are polarised on the issue of whether or not the Bologna Process represents a marketisation of national higher education systems (Gornitzka and Langfeldt, 2005). This aspect would also have to be taken into account in addressing the question of how the Bologna Process is a site of ideational contestation and 'invasions' in its underlying policy theory to adjust to the Lisbon idea of the primacy of European economic and innovative competitiveness.

In the mid 2000s the EU institutions' attention to universities was at an all time high. At that time the Commission explicitly singled out the universities and their role in the Lisbon process[16]. The Presidency Conclusions of the March 2006 meeting in Brussels also focussed on European universities and the need to raise the level of private investments in higher education[17]. The Education Council's input to the same meeting, on the other hand, emphasised the entire education

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[16] European Commission: "Mobilising the brainpower of Europe: enabling higher education to make its full contribution to the Lisbon Strategy" COM(2005) 152 final.
[17] Brussels European Council 23/24 March, Presidency conclusions §23,24, and 25, 7775/06 CONCL1

spectrum and "key competencies" as the priority in the following up of the Lisbon strategy[18]. However, the Heads of States were much more preoccupied with the role of universities than with the other levels of education. This aspect points to the differences between the Lisbon 2000 Process versus the Bologna Process as a site of governance relative to European higher education institutions: The aspirations of the Bologna Process were ambitious, but also limited in the sense that they covered one specific sector only, paying limited attention to the overall educational developments and the general socio-economic development agendas of Europe. It had created a vision and an agenda for the development of national higher education systems into the EHEA. But it had also made higher education vulnerable to criticisms of being to some extent a closed shop sector, that does not open up for non-traditional postsecondary education developments, new providers and competence based qualifications. The Commission framed its agenda as an attempt to 'break through' this closed shop mechanism by promoting a debate in the framework of the implementation of the Lisbon Agenda in which it presented a vision of the university as an institution that was expected to play a core role in the European knowledge economy ambitions, but would only be able to do so if it opened up to society and underwent drastic reforms. The Commission prepared its higher education policy position through the work on the Communication "The Role of the Universities in a Europe of Knowledge"[19]. The Commission's Modernisation Agenda for universities offered a common set of reform topics and goals for Europe's universities and presented "nine measures for addressing the challenges and obstacles that universities face in the context of modernisation and achieving the goals of the Lisbon agenda"[20]. A series of ambitious meetings, as well as papers and background reports[21] prepared the publication of the Modernisation Agenda, which was intended to provide a common reform framework for university reform. A horizontal dynamic laid the foundation for this agenda, but it seems so far not to have been accompanied by an organised and regularised arena endowed with means to implement it. In addition, also the development of the ERA and the EHEA can be argued to take place each in its own implementation trajectory with little cross sectoral policy making capabilities (see above). At the same time we can observe that at the national level ambitious attempts to develop a more cross-sectorally oriented knowledge policy are taking place (Braun 2008). After a period of European level agenda setting and reform push with respect to higher education as a core knowledge sector, realising a cross-sectoral knowledge policy in Europe, might seem to be addressed more directly at the national than at the European level. At least this is an issue for further investigation.

2.3 REMAINING ITEMS ON THE RESEARCH AGENDA

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[18] Council (education) 2006, Council of the European Union 6150/06 (Presse 42), Press release 2710th Council Meeting, Education, Youth and Culture, Brussels, 23 February 2006: p.8.

[19] COM(2003) 58 final

[20] See: Commission Staff Working Paper Accompanying document to the Report from the Commission to the Council on the Council Resolution of 23 November 2007 on Modernising Universities for Europe's competitiveness in a global knowledge economy (COM(2008) 680 final) (http://ec.europa.eu/education/higher-education/doc/com/sec2719_en.pdf

[21] See e.g. footnotes 15, 16 and 17.

With few exceptions, education as an area is relatively absent in the general studies of European integration and there have not been many studies on the development of "Europe of Knowledge" that have taken a more explicit and in-depth theoretical starting point. The process of policy formation in international processes was also identified as one of the "blind spots" in the higher education literature (Enders, 2004). Nonetheless, the last decade has in fact seen a rise in rigorous scholarship concerning the policy making and institution building at the European level, both within and outside of the academic interest that the Bologna Process has generated.

In the general scholarship on European integration there is a fairly widespread agreement that institutions matter, despite the varied accounts of how they come about and how they change. Olsen (2010, p. 62) notes that given the complexity of the EU institutional landscape it is difficult to imagine that it can be a result of purposeful design of powerful actors or the functional response to changing environmental needs. Along a similar vein Tallberg argues that the perspectives for studying European institution building are in fact dependent on the domain for action, thus requiring different perspectives depending on the stage and context of the institutions that are under study (Tallberg, 2010).

We have noted how a traditional *vertical* perspective European integration that underlines the interest and resistance of powerful member states to transfer of competencies along the vertical line towards the European level is still relevant for understanding policy making and institution building for the Europe of Knowledge. This is evident in the history of the Bologna process (Martens and Wolf, 2009), in core members states' resistance to the transfer of regulatory competencies in the area of quality assurance through establishing something like a European quality assurance agency, and having common guidelines and standards in its place (Stensaker, Harvey, Huisman, Langfeldt, and Westerheijden, 2010). It is evident in the episodes that led up to the recently established European Institute of Innovation and Technology (Jones, 2008), and in accounting for the shape that voluntary policy coordination has taken (De Ruiter, 2010). Nevertheless, institutional differentiation and capacity development at the supranational level have affected the subsequent patterns of interaction at the European level beyond what powerful member states had anticipated and would be able to fully control. We have seen how the presence and established practices of the European Commission, European Court of Justice and the configuration of transnational actors contribute to both institutional innovations and persistency that make up European level institutions for a "Europe of knowledge". Furthermore, one of the most interesting aspect of institution building in these policy domains is how it takes place without transfer of legal competencies and in this sense institutionalization happens without "legalization" and challenges traditional perspectives on European institution building (Ravinet, 2008). Policy processes develop around other softer modes of governance, and common organizations and arenas are established with common European standards and ideas at their core rather than legal output. Yet, that *can* nonetheless be powerful, enduring and make a difference, and not easily called back by reluctant member states or shifting political preferences.

Furthermore we have underlined that understanding of institution building for "Europe of Knowledge" also requires a horizontal perspective, given that higher education is placed in multiple streams of integration and processes where there is a changing and contested idea underlying what

should be its societal and economic role. The fact that "knowledge" has emerged as a central topic in the post-Lisbon era, brings various policy areas linked to knowledge (education, research and innovation) to the central stage. This calls for further research on the nature of these developments and how they are interlinked. It would be of importance not only to see education as an outlier case, but as one of the policy domains that can be compared to other domains, providing insights into mechanisms of building policy capacity in a new area. There is also a specific dynamics in the relationship between the Lisbon and Bologna processes. The processes in Europe are not only linked to Europeanization, but a more global trend in the direction of more competition (Enders 2004), and transition towards knowledge economies. Therefore it is of importance to understand the tension or interaction between different understandings of what knowledge is and what constitutes the territory of higher education as inherently global on the one hand, and the specific developments in Europe on the other. The transformation of higher education we can then assume will stand in the area of tension between both a vertical and horizontal dynamic: the vertical dynamics will represent the contestation and development of different levels of governance of higher education whereas a horizontal dynamic concerns competing and changing idea or vision of the role of higher education in a wider societal context.

3 Europe of Knowledge and the transformation of Higher education

3.1 The concept of Europeanisation

For understanding the ways in which European integration processes have transformed European HE systems and institutions the notion of 'Europeanization' will be used in this part of the review. This concept has been labelled as "a fashionable but contested" (Olsen, 2002, p. 921), since there is no universally accepted definition. Europeanization has been used to identify what is changing in the context of European integration, and Olsen (2002) has mapped five dimensions of Europeanization: 1) Changes in external boundaries of Europe, for example through enlargement. 2) Development of institutions at the European level (see section 2); 3) Central penetration of national systems of governance, in terms of effects the new (European) level of governance has on national and sub-national governance systems. This brings into the focus issues of balance between unity and diversity and balance between autonomy and central co-ordination; 4) Export of forms of political organization which sees Europe as the net exporter of forms of political organization and governance. This often means the focus on effects of Europe beyond European borders; 5) Political unification which refers to European Union becoming a unified and stronger political entity. The five dimensions of Europeanization identified by Olsen include top-down as well as bottom-up processes, or what Börzel (2003) has termed as "downloading" and "uploading" processes. In addition, these five dimensions also exhibit a somewhat unclear distinction between European Union and Europe in a wider sense, the latter encompassing a larger territory, on a geographical or cultural basis. However, advocating a more structured approach to the studies of Europeanization, Radaelli (2003) warns against stretching the concept of Europeanization and offers the following definition:

> "...concept of Europeanization refers to: processes of (a) construction, (b) diffusion and (c) institutionalization of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, 'ways of doing things', and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined in the making of EU public policy and politics and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourse, identities, political structures, and public policies" (Radaelli, 2003, p. 31)

This definition includes the focus on formal and informal rules, which makes it applicable to a variety of processes, including those in which formal institutions are not (yet) developed, which is particularly relevant for the study of the "Europe of Knowledge". In addition, the definition stresses the importance of change in the logic of political behaviour, which allows for a focus on both organizations and individuals and does not limit the analysis to the system level. However, it has got to be taken into account that the definition explicitly focuses only on the EU; it is not completely applicable to the "Europe of Knowledge", which includes phenomena well beyond the EU structures and borders (e.g. the Bologna Process). It is also questionable to what extent the definition is useful for discussing "unintentional" Europeanization, i.e. processes in which there is no clear strategy of EU or similar European structures, especially in light of the so-called "lesson-drawing" model of Europeanization (see below).

Radaelli (2003) also tries to distinguish Europeanization from other related terms. Europeanization should be seen as different from convergence, since Europeanization can lead to convergence, but not necessarily so. It should also be seen as distinct from harmonization, since harmonization is

about reducing regulatory diversity, while in many cases Europeanization focuses on outcomes of policies and not necessarily on policy content and policy instruments. Europeanization also should not be confused with political integration, since it would be possible to have Europeanization even prior to political integration (see below about "lesson-drawing" model). Finally, Europeanization should be also seen as distinct from EU policy formation, since in the process of EU policy formation one should allow for feedback loops and more complex interaction of different levels, while for analytical purposes Europeanization should be reserved for the impact of European level processes on domestic structures.

In this respect, it is useful to refer to the approach of Börzel and Risse (2000) who are more direct in their definition of Europeanization since they focus on domestic change in response to Europeanization and discuss the necessary and sufficient conditions for Europeanization. They see existence of a misfit between European and domestic formal and informal rules as the necessary condition for Europeanization. This misfit can be a policy misfit or an institutional misfit, and the existence of misfits leads to an adaptation pressure. The response of domestic structures to this adaptation pressure depends on a set of mediating factors. This essentially is the backbone of the three step approach to analysing Europeanization (Cowles, Caporaso, and Risse, 2001), which will be presenteed in subsections 3.2 and 3.3.

3.2 EUROPEANIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION VS. EUROPEANIZATION IN GENERAL

On the one hand, the research on Europeanization in general so far relied on varieties of institutional approaches and these are also used when discussing (possible) outcomes of Europeanization of public policy. As opposed to that, the bulk of research on Europeanization of higher education has been rather atheoretical in nature, at least so far. This subsection will therefore discuss the applicability of the three step approach to higher education. The following subsection will discuss the Europeanization of discourse, identities, political structures and public policies in higher education, in light of the outcomes expected by the general Europeanization literature.

SOURCES OF EUROPEANIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION
The first step is about the identification of Europeanization processes relevant for higher education, i.e. the formal and informal rules relevant for the "Europe of Knowledge". This would require an analysis of relevant European (or EU) documents (regulatory, strategic etc), as well as an analysis of instruments, including various funding schemes and cooperation programmes. While in some other areas of public policy where the EU has a stronger mandate and clearer regulatory instruments, e.g. transportation or telecommunications, this would boil down to "follow the directive" (Cowles et al. 2001). However, when it comes to higher education the issue is more complicated due to the peculiar nature of the "Europe of Knowledge".

As was demonstrated earlier, the Lisbon and Bologna processes have led to the development and, in some cases, institutionalization of new formal and informal rules about the organisation of teaching and research in higher education institutions, as well as standards and guidelines for quality assurance processes, degree structures, recognition procedures, student participation etc. These new rules can be quite explicit, such as the introduction of a "system essentially based on three

cycles"[22]; or rather implicit, such as the informal rules transmitted through the process of applications for EU funding when, e.g. a strong link to the business sector is used as criteria selection. In addition, they can also be detailed, such as the allocation of ECTS to each course in line with a clear methodology[23] or rather general, such as "the promotion of the European dimension in higher education"[24].

Therefore, the approach to the identification of the source of Europeanization depends on whether one is involved in studies of implementation, or studies of change at the system and institutional level. Studies of implementation would require casting of a smaller net at the European level, but a larger net at the level of systems and institutions. For example, if one is interested in the implementation of the Bologna Declaration, the relevant European documents include the actual declaration and possibly also subsequent communiqués from the bi-annual ministerial summits, but the targets at the national and institutional level include not only universities, but also higher professional education institutions and programmes and the involved academic and administrative staff, staff in the national governance structures (ministries, buffer bodies, independent agencies), students, employers, trade unions, etc. On the other hand, studies of changes at the system and institutional level can focus on only one aspect, e.g. changes in the approaches to teaching in the bachelor level programmes, but then the net for suspects for causes has to be cast quite wide, and has to include factors that lie outside the "Europe of Knowledge". In this respect, studies of Europeanization of higher education do suffer from the general problem of establishing clear causal mechanisms, which also may lead to the predominance of implementation studies, mirroring the situation in the general Europeanization literature.

Goodness-of-fit
The second step involves the evaluation of fit between the formal rules promoted at the European level and the domestic situation, which in this case involves both the system and institutions of higher education. As suggested by Bulmer (2007), the goodness-of-fit approach may be useful only when Europe, which in most cases means the EU, is promoting a particular model. However, some of the rules promoted as part of the "Europe of Knowledge" are neither explicit nor detailed and therefore it may be difficult to establish a point of reference at the European level. Nevertheless, Europe of knowledge does include some rather explicit and detailed rules, e.g. the development of study programmes with a view of student workload expressed in terms of ECTS, and in such instances the goodness-of-fit approach may prove to be feasible, especially if the focus is on implementation. Then, the exercise is about assessing how different the domestic institutional setting is from the formal and informal rules promoted through the relevant Europeanization process. This degree of fit constitutes the adaptational pressure: the better the fit the lower the pressure to adapt (and vice versa).

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[22] http://www.ehea.info/Uploads/Declarations/BOLOGNA_DECLARATION1.pdf (page accessed 8 September 2010)

[23] http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-policy/doc/ects/guide_en.pdf (page accessed 8 September 2009)

[24] http://www.ehea.info/Uploads/Declarations/BOLOGNA_DECLARATION1.pdf (page accessed 8 September 2010)

In terms of operationalisation of adaptational pressure, Falkner (2003) suggests to see it as a composite of (a) policy misfit, (b) polity and politics misfit and (c) costs. Policy misfit can be qualitative – when a particular policy aspect, e.g. the accreditation of higher education institutions, is not part of the domestic policy at all, and quantitative – when there are differences in degree in particular aspects, e.g. differences in the duration of undergraduate studies[25]. Polity and politics misfit relate to the differences between actors, i.e. who is involved and in what way, and the nature of the public-private interaction. Polity and politics misfit is particularly large in cases in which crucial domestic institutions are challenged. For example, such a misfit can be seen as significant in higher education systems in which student participation in governance is not widespread, given that from the Prague Communiqué onwards participation of students in the decision-making on higher education has been considered as one of the underlying principles of the Bologna Process. When it comes to costs, Falkner (2003) focuses on actual economic costs of adaptation, with a strong caveat that these are very difficult to estimate for two reasons. First, different actors would estimate and incur different costs. Second, some costs are higher when seen in a short-term than in a long-term perspective and vice versa. Costs can be relatively low even if policy, politics and polity misfit is high, and vice versa, which is why it is important to include them in the composite picture of adaptational pressure. From this perspective, it becomes relevant to pay attention to the changes in funding arrangements for higher education that may have been introduced as part of Bologna or Lisbon related reforms,[26] as well as to the comparison of results of implementation in systems where reform policies were backed up by supportive financial instruments and systems in which the funding arrangements were not as supportive.

Different higher education systems or institutions are not necessarily under the same adaptational pressure with respect to a particular issue-area. In some countries, the misfit may be related to policy instruments, while in others it would be related to structures or beliefs. Also, contrary to the ideas of liberal inter-governmentalism, all countries, including the large EU member states, experience misfit (Börzel and Risse, 2000) in certain policy areas, especially if they are not as effective in uploading their preferences to the European level (Falkner, 2003). The fact that no pattern of "fits" and "misfits" has been identified so far, in the view of Cowles, Caporaso and Risse (2001) is related to both the differences in domestic structures, but also to the differences in domains of Europeanization: in different policy areas EU has different instruments at its disposal which leads to a "regulatory patchwork".

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[25] She also warns about the situation in which policy misfit is greater on paper than in practice and vice versa.

[26] The focus on costs is interesting also given the diverging opinions of academic staff about cost and benefit of Bologna related reforms of higher education (Gornitzka and Langfeldt, 2005) and the overall lack of participation of academic staff in the European level decision-making processes on higher education Neave, G., & Maassen, P. (2007). The Bologna Process: An Intergovernmental Policy Perspective. In P. Maassen & J. P. Olsen (Eds.), *University Dynamics and European Integration* (Vol. 19, pp. 135-154): Springer Netherlands..

Essentially, the Bologna stocktaking reports[27] that have been prepared for all the ministerial summits since Bergen 2005, do follow the goodness-of-fit approach, given that they discuss to what extent different higher education systems have managed to implement different aspects of the Bologna action lines. The stocktaking exercise has been expanded with every Ministerial summit, to include additional indicators, and prior to each event a scorecard is published, indicating the progress of each system towards somewhat artificial benchmarks. The reports can be questioned on the grounds of data collection method – questionnaires completed by staff of the ministries responsible for higher education, with no verification in the field –, as well as often ambiguous definition of indicators. Therefore it can be argued that such an approach gives significant window dressing opportunities to the participating countries. Similarly, a number of the so-called independent studies of Bologna, funded and closely monitored by the European Commission (CHEPS, 2007b; Westerheijden et al., 2010), as well as reports prepared by organisations considered to be representatives of students and higher education institutions (European University Association and European Students' Union) have also focused on the progress of individual higher education systems and/or (groups of) higher education institutions in the implementation of the particular Bologna aspects (ECTS, Diploma Supplement, Lisbon Recognition Convention etc). In these cases, in such a transnational (European) perspective, the goodness-of-fit approach takes the form of the naming and shaming practices present also in the OMC-like modes of governance arrangements (Veiga and Amaral, 2006), which are characteristic for the Lisbon Process (Gornitzka, 2007).

Mediating factors
Identification of mediating factors depends on the theoretical perspectives about mechanisms of Europeanization. Two such approaches are dominant in the literature: Europeanization following the logic of consequence (LoC) and Europeanization following the logic of appropriateness (LoA). Cowles et al. (2001) discuss these two logics in terms of structure and agency, while Sedelmeier (2006) classifies factors as external or internal. They use similar concepts, such as veto players, institutional legacies, actors' learning, and epistemic networks. Both have similar classification problems: the structure and agency approach mirrors the ontological debate in political science and sociology, while the distinction between external and internal factors is not so clear cut, since some internal factors do have an external component and vice versa.

Radaelli (2003) has attempted to merge these two perspectives and has organised the mediating factors in terms of (a) institutional capacity to produce change, (b) timing of European policies, and (c) policy structure and advocacy coalitions. In terms of institutional capacity to produce change, he focuses on density of veto players and on scope and type of executive leadership. However, in his view, low density of veto players, and strong and change oriented leadership are necessary, but not sufficient conditions for Europeanization. The timing of European policies, with respect to domestic reforms and with respect to possibilities for delays of implementation, is also an important factor. Furthermore, policy structure and advocacy coalitions in a given policy area are also important. In line with the logic of consequence approach, Radaelli (2003) points to the impact European

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[27] All stocktaking reports can be found here: http://www.ehea.info (under "main documents", page accessed 2 December 2010)

processes can have on domestic policy coalitions, through redistribution of power and opportunity structures.

The separation between the two logics has some analytical value, although in essence the two logics are not necessarily exclusive. However, Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier (2005), when focusing on Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) identify *three models*, using the two logics as well as allowing for Europeanization to be EU driven and not-EU driven. The hypotheses presented below have been developed on the basis of the hypotheses elaborated by Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier (2005) and adapted to higher education for the purposes of this literature review.

A. Social learning model: EU driven Europeanization, following the logic of appropriateness

> Overall hypothesis: a government or a higher education institution adopts "Europe of Knowledge" rules if it is persuaded of the appropriateness of these rules. More specific hypotheses focus on legitimacy of Europe of Knowledge rules, their resonance with the domestic/institutional rules, and on the identification of the target community (actors in the HE policy arena or the actors within the higher education institutions) with the community that has established the Europe of Knowledge rules. This then also drives the analysis towards participation of domestic or institutional actors in transnational epistemic networks, such as European stakeholder or thematic organizations, or European projects (Pabian, 2009; Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier, 2005).

B. External incentives model: EU driven Europeanization, following the logic of consequence

> Overall hypothesis: a government or a higher education institution adopts "Europe of Knowledge" rules if the benefits of rewards exceed the domestic adoption costs. More specific hypotheses focus on the clarity of rules, their connection to rewards, credibility of threats and promises, size and speed of rewards and the veto players who may fare negatively from adoption. In this respect it would be relevant to examine the impact of rules promoted through the criteria for awarding financial assistance (EU programmes such as TEMPUS, LLP, FP, pre-accession funds, structural funds). In addition, higher education, being bottom heavy (Clark, 1983) and including actors that do have significant autonomy in the interpretation of rules (Thelen and Mahoney, 2010), includes a multitude of veto players at various levels, from professional associations or particular stakeholder groups on the national level to individual academic staff on the grass-root level, in the classroom (Neave and Maassen, 2007).

C. Lesson-drawing model: non-EU driven Europeanization, following predominantly the logic of appropriateness[28]

> Overall hypothesis: a government or a higher education institution adopts "Europe of Knowledge" rules if it expects that these rules will solve domestic or institutional policy problems effectively. Therefore the focus is on the level of (shared) dissatisfaction of policy or HEI actors with the current situation, the participation of domestic or institutional actors in

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[28] Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier do not label the lesson-drawing model as a logic of appropriateness model themselves, so this is the author's interpretation.

transnational epistemic communities, e.g. EU Lifelong Learning Programme projects, European University Association, thematic networks, and the extent to which domestic structures are conducive to new ideas, as well as the perceptions about transferability of particular "Europe of Knowledge" rules and their success in solving problems in the particular domestic or institutional context. This model also resembles the logic used by studies focusing on horizontal convergence (Heinze and Knill, 2008; Voegtle, Knill, and Dobbins, 2010).

These three models, given the explicitly formulated hypotheses, provide guidance for the operationalisation of the mediating factors. The distinction between EU-driven and non-EU driven models also allows for the analysis of Europeanization in the so-called third countries, both within Europe, as defined, for example, through the signatories of the European Cultural Convention that are unlikely EU members[29], and in other regions of the world, in policy areas in which there is no explicit adaptational pressure coming from the EU. However, this should not mean that any process of adaptation in line with European rules in other regions of the world is through lesson-drawing, since in some areas the EU has taken an active role in promoting particular solutions, as will be discussed in more detail in section 3.3. In line with this, and possibly to avoid some of the criticisms of the goodness-of-fit approach, Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier (2005) argue that even in some member states or candidate countries, Europeanization can take place through lesson-drawing, or rather policy borrowing, even before explicit EU demands are put into place. In these instances, the government of the state in question anticipates the adaptational pressure. However, the introduction of the lesson-drawing model to a certain extent blurs the definition of Europeanization, since it may also include instances in which a country borrows other national formal and informal rules, and not European ones, although European epistemic communities act as the site in which this policy borrowing takes place. The point here is that, strictly speaking, such instances could in essence not be labelled as Europeanization, since the formal and informal rules are not European. Therefore, it is important to first and foremost identify the existence of European rules, in order to be able to label a particular process as Europeanization.

CRITICISMS OF THE GOODNESS-OF-FIT APPROACH

The goodness-of-fit perspective on European integration has been subject to criticism, amongst other things, as misfit is not always a necessary condition for Europeanization to occur (Bulmer, 2007). Although this critique germinates from the study of transport and environmental policy, this is particularly relevant for policy areas, such as higher education, where European policy is not marked with hard law and imposition and where the sector for a variety of reasons, maintains significant discretion over interpretation and implementation of formal and informal rules (Clark, 1983; Thelen and Mahoney, 2010).

These issues are also related to the choice of mediating factors, since some of the problems of assessing the goodness-of-fit are essentially related to presence (or lack thereof) of mediating factors. One mediating factor identified in the external incentives model is clarity of demand. This

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[29] The criteria to be part of the Bologna Process are to be a signatory of the European Cultural Convention. Most recent addition to the Bologna Process is Kazakhstan, an unlikely EU member.

would imply that Europeanization of higher education is more likely if the "Europe of Knowledge" rules are explicit. However, without these rules being explicit it would be difficult to do the second step – how can one assess the goodness-of-fit if it is not clear what the reference framework at the European level is? Trondal (2002) tries to save this three step approach by distinguishing between real and perceived adaptational pressures, moving the focus to individual and collective actors in the higher education institution or system.

Another approach is that of Vivien A. Schmidt. In line with her work on discursive institutionalism (Schmidt, 2008), she points to economic vulnerability, political institutional capacity, policy legacies, policy preferences and discourse as key mediating factors. If Europeanization implies significant policy or organizational change, it needs to be supported by a convincing internal discourse. This classification does resemble the previously presented focus on veto players, institutional legacies, size and speed of rewards, etc., but the underlying view in this approach is that an analysis of discourse within policy arenas or organizations may be better suited to account for changes in some of the other mediating factors. For example, preferences of key actors within the higher education system are important when it comes to whether or not the Bologna Process will be seen as legitimate or not, but these preferences themselves are not fixed. What is suggested is to focus on discourse "to bridge the gap between institutional and actor-centred analysis" (Schmidt and Radaelli, 2004, p. 192) .

3.3 OUTCOMES OF EUROPEANIZATION: CONCEPTUAL AND ANALYTICAL CONCERNS

SCOPE OF CHANGE AND PROBLEMS WITH OPERATIONALISATION

Different mechanisms also foresee somewhat different outcomes of Europeanization, depending on the level of adaptational pressure and presence of facilitating factors. Combining views of Börzel and Risse (2000) and Radaelli (2003), the following outcomes are possible: (1) retrenchment, (2) inertia, (3) absorption, (4) accommodation, and (5) transformation. Inertia implies lack of change, at least in the short-term perspective, through lags in implementation or simple resistance to EU induced change. However, in the mid- to long-term perspective, inertia may prove to be impossible to sustain. Absorption implies a low degree of change, i.e. superficial incorporation of European policies and ideas into the domestic arena, with no change in domestic structures, processes, policies and institutions. Accommodation implies a medium degree of change, where policies, institutions, structures and processes will go through an adaptation process, but their key characteristics and underlying rationale will not be changed. Finally, transformation implies a high degree of change, or third degree of change as identified by Hall (1993b), where domestic institutions are replaced by substantially new ones and the underlying rationale, norms, values and belief systems are changed as well. Absorption, accommodation and transformation essentially lead to the domestic policy arena becoming more European, although to different extents. On the other hand, retrenchment implies "negative Europeanization" (Radaelli, 2003, p. 38), i.e. the situation in which the imposing European rules strengthen the coalitions of domestic actors who oppose reforms. Börzel and Risse (2000) present an overview of possible outcomes, depending also on the prevailing logic of Europeanization (see Table 1).

TABLE 1 – OUTCOMES OF EUROPEANIZATION (BÖRZEL AND RISSE, 2000)

	Adaptational pressure		
	High	Medium	Low
Facilitating factors	LoC: transformation LoA: inertia (unless external shock)	LoC: transformation LoA: gradual transformation	LoC: accommodation LoA: accommodation
No facilitating factors	LoC: accommodation LoA: inertia	LoC: accommodation/absorption LoA: absorption	LoC: inertia LoA: absorption

As can be seen, the two logics of Europeanization lead to expectations of different outcomes, with the logic of consequence mostly foreseeing more change than the logic of appropriateness. This to a certain extent mirrors the difference between rational-choice and sociological institutionalism, or even more so, between resource dependence and neo-institutional theory. However, the differences in expected outcomes may not necessarily be a problem, but actually provide solid ground for a theory testing exercise, i.e. which logic has stronger explanatory potential of a given process of Europeanization. The answer is highly unlikely to be a clear cut support of one or the other theoretical approach, since the two logics are not mutually exclusive. Some authors (March and Olsen, 1998) see a variety of possible relationships: domination of one logic over the other, 'use' of one logic for major decisions and the other logic for minor refinements, actors shifting from one logic to the other due to learning and accumulated experience, and one logic being a special case of the other.

Given the combination of different logics of Europeanization and differences in domestic factors, one could expect that outcomes of Europeanization would also depend on the position of the particular system with respect to the European Union or to the relevant policy arena, e.g. the structures related to the Bologna Process, which primarily refers to the Bologna Follow Up Group. Therefore, it is important to distinguish between members, candidates, pre-accession countries (potential members), unlikely members and "the rest of the world". The latter group should not be taken as a homogenous group in terms of strategies or domestic responses, since some countries are perceived as strategically more important for economic or political terms, such as China or India for EU (Schimmelfennig, 2009), or Kazakhstan in the Bologna Process.

In addition, Börzel (2003) distinguishes between leaders and laggards in terms of downloading of policies, as compared to 'pace-setters', 'foot-draggers' and 'fence-sitters' in terms of uploading. This is particularly relevant in the analysis of the impact of the "Europe of Knowledge" on higher education systems and institutions. Not all the systems affected within Europe or even within the EU have the same uploading and downloading capacities. Furthermore, as noticed by Héritier (2005) when comparing "Europeanization West" (old EU) and "Europeanization East" (new EU member states, candidate and pre-accession countries), there are several important differences. First of all, the starting position is different: in the East, Europeanization coincides with economic and political transition. Europeanization of higher education is thus often seen as part and parcel of the overall

societal reform and sometimes even as a condition for European integration, despite the fact that such conditions do not exist explicitly[30]. This is also connected to the fact that Europeanization in the East takes place in the shadow of accession negotiations. The power asymmetry is very different and therefore the likelihood of adaptation in the East is increased, since the West does not suffer the same consequences from non-compliance. Although the clarity of demand, the credibility of rewards and the clarity of consequences are somewhat less clear in the area of higher education due to the structure of the "Europe of Knowledge" and the lack of strong regulative instruments, the financial aspects remain important. Given the lower investments, in general, in higher education in the East, the relative weakness of Eastern European economies, the funding instruments related to the Europe of Knowledge (or rather its EU branch), such as TEMPUS, Lifelong Learning Programme and the FP programmes, can be seen as relatively more important for the East than the West. Yet, it is interesting to observe that in terms of participation in such programmes, institutions from the "new Europe" appear much less as coordinators: 10-20 per cent in LLP projects in 2010, a bit more than 25 per cent in all of FP7 projects; with less than 3 per cent of all ERC grants have been awarded so far to individuals based in "new Europe" countries, compared to 43 per cent awarded to those based in EU founding members, and over 20 per cent awarded to researchers based in the UK[31]. Particularly the EU's framework programmes are seen to benefit better developed regions more, with some evidence of impact towards a limited number of catching up regions (Clarysse and Muldur, 2001).

CONVERGENCE OR DIVERGENCE?

Finally, the key question for comparative analysis of outcomes of Europeanization in higher education is whether or not it leads to convergence or divergence of policies, systems or institutions. Here it is, first and foremost, important to stress the dynamic character of convergence – it is not about how similar the domestic situations are at any given point in time, but whether or not they are *becoming more similar over time*. Analytically, it is important to distinguish between horizontal convergence (or sigma convergence) and vertical convergence (or delta convergence) (Heinze and Knill, 2008):

- Horizontal convergence refers to the situation in which several domestic structures become more similar over time. For example, Voegtle, et al. (2010) discuss the possibilities for horizontal convergence in higher education arguing that the Bologna Process should be seen as a platform for transnational communication, so not necessarily as a process promoting a particular model (cf. Gornitzka 2006).
- Vertical convergence refers to the situation in which a domestic structure becomes more similar to a specific model. Trondal (2002) provides an example related to Norway and its research policy, in which vertical convergence is used as a proxy for Europeanization.

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[30] Recall the difference between real and perceived adaptation pressures, as identified by Trondal Trondal, J. (2002). The Europeanization of Research and Higher Education Policies - Some Reflections. *European Integration online Papers, 6*(12)..

[31] Data obtained from the relevant European Commission websites: http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/llp, http://cordis.europa.eu/fp7, http://erc.europa.eu/ (all pages accessed 8 December 2010)

Theoretical considerations foresee and empirical studies in other areas have demonstrated (Cowles, et al., 2001) that convergence is not total, and that one can speak at best of "clustered" or "piecemeal" convergence. The situation in higher education seems even less convergent; for example, the latest assessment of Bologna (Westerheijden, et al., 2010) highlights the fact that, underneath convergence on the surface, one finds as many 'Bolognas' as there are countries participating in the process. Furthermore, more convergence can be seen in terms of policy content, but less convergence of structures or policy instruments[32]. Similar to the general Europeanization studies, this is explained by the discretion that some "Europe of Knowledge" rules allow in terms of how outcomes are to be achieved, as well as by the inertia of domestic institutions, which is particularly true for bottom-heavy universities (Clark, 1983).

If policy convergence is used as a proxy for Europeanization, then one must recall that it can indeed happen without a clear intention and deliberation from the European level, as well as that it can be an unintended consequence of the intensifying presence of international organizations, such as the OECD (Martens and Wolf, 2009). While the existence of the "Europe of Knowledge" as a "transnational communication platform" (Voegtle, et al., 2010) can facilitate convergence, there are (a) inherent contradictions within such platforms, and (b) there are other forces that push to diversification, independently of the Europe of Knowledge (Witte, 2008, p. 83). However, the opposite is also possible: there are forces that push Europeanization of higher education somewhat separately from the "Europe of Knowledge", as in the case of countries where modernisation of higher education is seen as a necessary requirement within the European integration processes (Slantcheva, 2006). Europeanization, as convergence, is a function of time (P. Maassen and Musselin, 2009; Neave, 2009) and therefore it may be advisable to distinguish between impact of the "Europe of Knowledge" in a more short-term perspective and the consequences of the "Europe of Knowledge" in a long-term perspective, where the latter is actually implying a causal link, while the former is not (Neave, 2009).

FURTHER ANALYTICAL CONCERNS

When discussing outcomes of Europeanization, the problem of operationalisation and measurement arises. For example, how should one distinguish between inertia and absorption, and why should a particular change be labelled as transformation and not accommodation? Which time scale should be employed in analysing these processes, since, as was discussed earlier, inertia may be just a prelude to significant transformation? Radaelli (2003: 39-40) suggests identifying transformation through observing:

- Interaction between different actors – did Europeanization of higher education systems or institutions lead to substantially different interactions between relevant actors, especially in

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[32] An illustrative, yet so far not sufficiently studied, example is the focus on social dimension in the Bologna Process and the related discussion on transferability of students' grants and loans. While the social dimension has been, especially in the second half of the Bologna Process, put high on the agenda, what it actually entails is still not clear. The discussion on students' grants and loans and their transferability was not picked up by participating countries, possibly because it was going too deep into the actual policy instruments and was also touching upon issues from other sectors, such as taxation policy.

terms of shifting power balances and/or the emergence of new actors, e.g. students, in the decision-making process? In that sense, some of the changes in actors who now participate in the policy process (Moscati, 2009) can be seen as transformations, although there is also evidence that such a conclusion can be premature (Maassen and Musselin 2009).

- Robustness of the institution within – did Europeanization of higher education lead to strengthening of the national or central university bureaucracy, to more efficient policy or strategy development?
- Equilibration – is there clear discontinuity with the past, in terms of developing completely new responses, since the standard operating procedures no longer fit the new environment? Again, changes of the degree structure to 3+2/4+1 mode and the related focus on employability of graduates in some countries may have been labelled as transformation (as compared to the previous situation), although there is evidence that the old structure has not been completely replaced (Westerheijden, et al., 2010), and that the more challenging changes, e.g. introduction of flexible learning paths and recognition of prior learning, are more problematic.
- Discourse – did the discourse used by institutions change, both in terms of coordinative discourse (discourse used among the elites) and communicative discourse (discourse used towards the public)? For example, did the emergence of the "Europe of Knowledge" and the related knowledge society discourse of European level policies and documents have an impact on national policies or organizational strategies? Or even more specifically, is the competition between different visions of the university in the "Europe of Knowledge" (Maassen and Olsen, 2007) reflected also on the national level?

Several additional interrelated issues give rise to analytical concerns:
- How to distinguish between Europeanization on the one hand and internationalization and/or globalization on the other?
- How to account for the situation in which the European processes are re-nationalised?
- How to support claims about causal effects of the EU on domestic structures and about Europeanization as a causal mechanism?

With respect to the first, while analytically relevant, it may be practically difficult to distinguish Europeanization from other external effects on domestic structures (Cowles, et al., 2001), because of the ambiguous relationship of Europeanization with internationalization and globalization. Sometimes Europeanization processes can intensify globalization processes, while at the same time some are developed in order to protect the member states against negative aspects of globalization. Sometimes European initiatives come after internationalization of certain sectors in certain member states and sometimes they precede them. In the first instance, Cowles et al. argue, one can not speak of Europeanization, while in the second case this is possible. Therefore, they suggest including process tracing and time sequence analysis in each of the cases under study. Although this has not been done so far, given that the institutions themselves have identified internationalization as one of the most important drivers of change (see EUA Trends 2010 report, p.10), it would be interesting to explore further the link between internationalization and Europeanization within higher education institutions.

The second problem has been picked up by higher education researchers as well. It refers to the situation in which European processes are renationalised, i.e. in which domestic actors take advantage of a European process to legitimize their own agendas[33], which lead to particular side effects, especially when they are used to "achieve particular national reforms" (Huisman, Stensaker, and Kehm, 2009, p. xiv). Musselin (2009) distinguishes between the opportunistic, unforeseen and unintended side-effects, to account for differences between using Europeanization process to further national agendas, distortions that happen through implementation and purposeful action of actors that work against the intended reforms. Similar to the process of re-nationalisation "... there are reasons to extent this perspective to the level of higher education institutions: higher education institutions have translated the expectations of national governments to fit their own strategies" (Huisman, et al., 2009, p. xiv). A similar problem was encountered in studies about changes in academic careers. Barrier and Musselin (2009) do not link explicitly these changes to the Bologna Process, but rather to decreases in public funds, rise of managerialism, new modes of knowledge production, internationalization of universities, etc. As a potential solution to this conundrum, Enders and de Boer (2009) suggest to first identify changes and then look for perceived causes. This means that the focus should be on the identification of (changes in) norms, values and beliefs that actors used to legitimize their actions and an assessment of how prominent norms, values and beliefs promoted at the European level are included in these legitimizations. In addition, apart from identifying causal mechanisms on a case by case basis, it may be useful to look for patterns in processes and outcomes and how these patterns can be accounted for. This again comes down to process tracing and time sequence analysis, in an attempt to distinguish between outcomes of Europeanization and outcomes of national or institutional dynamics. To what extent this is indeed possible in a particular research situation depends to a certain extent on (1) the level of institutionalization of the policy processes, or access to relevant documentation that may be used for process tracing and time sequence analysis, and (2) the extent to which relevant actors are aware of and in the position to discuss the differences between European and national/institutional agendas.

3.4 Outcomes of Europeanization: changes in political and organizational structures, public policies, identities

Europeanization of political structures in higher education

There is evidence that changes in the relationship between the state and higher education are spreading throughout Europe. This can take the form of a more facilitative role of the state, sideways shifts in governance arrangements, new governmental actors (e.g. new ministries involved in higher education policy making), more focus on quality assurance and accreditation and calls for increased institutional autonomy (albeit with different outcomes when it comes to concrete arrangements) – in

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[33] See Gornitzka Gornitzka, Å. (2006). What is the use of Bologna in national reform? The case of Norwegian Quality Reform in higher education. In V. Tomusk (Ed.), *Creating the European Higher Education Area: Voices from the Periphery*. Dordrecht: Springer. for the case of Quality Reform in Norway and Musselin Musselin, C. (2009). The Side Effects of the Bologna Process on National Institutional Settings: the Case of France. In A. Amaral, G. Neave, C. Musselin & P. Maassen (Eds.), *European Integration and the Governance of Higher Education and Research*. Dordrecht: Springer. for the case of Bologna Process in France.

a nutshell, a multi-level/multi-actor governance arrangement (CHEPS, 2007b). There are also indications that the developments at the European level in terms of actors involved, primarily representatives of students and employers, are also affecting who is invited to or seen as a legitimate actor in national policy arenas (see Moscati (2009) for an example from Italy). It is thus of particular interest to focus in future studies on the participation of academics in national policy arenas, given that a lack of "deep implementation" of the Bologna Process could also be connected to the lack of adequate participation of academic representatives in the shaping of the Bologna action lines, since academic staff can act as veto players (Neave and Maassen, 2007). As indicated above, the evidence from the first phase of the Bologna Process suggests that also stakeholder involvement in the national implementation of the Bologna process varies in terms of degree of participation and impact on the process (Gornitzka and Langfeldt, 2005), which supports the idea of Europeanization "with national colours" and therefore also shows that the Europeanization experienced by higher education systems and institutions does not differ that much from Europeanization experienced in other sectors – it is equally fragmented and differentiated.

Furthermore, the general literature on Europeanization of national political systems points to variable and contradictory findings on how European integration is associated with shifts in the balance of power between national parliaments and the executive branch of government ("de- vs. re-parliamentarization"). Similar contradictory evidence is found with respect to developments *within* the executive branch of national governments. Depending on the policy arena and the role of different European institutions, some processes that are more intergovernmental in nature may strengthen the political side, while other, more supranational processes may strengthen the bureaucratic side (Goetz and Meyer-Sahling, 2008). The impact on this part of the national political systems has hardly been subject to systematic attention in the higher education literature. This could be due to the nature of higher education policy making that, already to start with, could be argued to take place outside the grand inter-institutional battles between parliament and the executive, or to be dominated by stakeholder involvement. However, there is some evidence that this aspect of European integration is worthy of systematic attention, also given the more prominent role of the European Commission in higher education and research issues than the role of the Council of Ministers or the European Parliament. There is also evidence that particular European programmes, such as Tempus, Erasmus or Socrates, lead to the "creation of permanent administrative attention" (Gornitzka, 2009, p. 119) on issues of higher education and research as well as proliferation and strengthening of new agencies, responsible for preparation, development, implementation and monitoring of EU programmes and/or providing information to EU level agencies, such as Eurydice. The "independent assessment of Bologna" (Westerheijden, et al., 2010, p. 38) also claims that the Bologna Process shifted the status of higher education "from an almost exclusively national affair with some international influences to one where national policy is systematically considered within a Europe-wide framework" and it also raised the profile of higher education policy, both in the national and European policy arenas. In the area of quality assurance and accreditation the role of European level developments in forging links between national semi-independent agencies in particular is an indication of a European higher education area underpinned by a European network of agencies and administrative interaction and integration.

EUROPEANIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION POLICIES

Policy content has been in the focus of recent policy convergence studies (Dobbins and Knill, 2009; Trondal, 2002; Witte, 2008) inspired by the Bologna Process as "a platform for transnational communication" (Voegtle, et al., 2010) or studies focusing on effects of Bologna on domestic policy arenas (Moscati, 2009). They report on some evidence of convergence of higher education policies, especially in terms of "architecture" of higher education systems, e.g. degree structures, as well as in terms of the use of specific policy instruments, e.g. national quality assurance and accreditation schemes. However, these studies as well as the recent "independent assessment of Bologna" (Westerheijden, et al., 2010), the Trends reports by the European University Association, Bologna stocktaking reports and Eurydice reports stress the persisting diversity in higher education systems, beneath surface similarities. Similarly, Maassen and Musselin (2009, p. 12) identify either translation or accommodation of European formal and informal rules, but note that adaptation is yet to be seen. This combination of macro-level convergence with persisting differences at mezzo and micro level has been labelled as *allomorphism* (Vaira, 2004).

Some argue, drawing on policy implementation studies and on institutionalist perspectives, that this is to be expected, given the inherent contradictions of the Bologna Process (Neave and Amaral, 2008; Witte, Huisman, and Purser, 2009) with respect to convergence-diversity nexus and the differences in the national historical and cultural contexts, goal ambiguity and bottom-heaviness of higher education institutions (Huisman, 2009). Most of these studies do not explicitly state whether they focus on vertical or horizontal policy convergence, although it could be argued that Bologna provides opportunities for both. As discussed earlier, in some aspects it does prescribe rather detailed models, including degree structures, ECTS, Diploma Supplement, thus possibly providing a model for vertical convergence. Elsewhere, Bologna may provide the platform for policy transfer and horizontal convergence which leads to isomorphism in terms of funding and sideways shifts in governance arrangements (CHEPS, 2007b). Heinze and Knill (2008), analyzing convergence connected to the Bologna Process, developed a set of testable hypotheses for both vertical (delta) and horizontal (sigma) policy convergence, focusing on cultural, institutional and social factors, i.e. the domestic situation. The cultural factors draw partly on the distinction made by Falkner (2003) between three different cultures of compliance (World of Law Observance, World of Domestic Politics and World of Neglect); institutional factors pointing to individual and collective veto players as well as strength of policy legacies; and socio-economic factors referring to wider conditions of economic and social development. The similarities in cultural, institutional and socio-economic factors between countries, e.g. within the Nordic countries, and the differences between groups of countries in Europe, e.g. the Nordic countries vs. Western Balkan countries, lead to an expectation of clustered convergence, leading to "the Bologna Process of several speeds" (Enders and de Boer, 2009; Neave and Maassen, 2007; Westerheijden, et al., 2010), or, in Börzel's terms (2003), to the existence of Bologna leaders and laggards, as was discussed earlier. As compared to the three Europeanization models discussed above, the convergence approach includes elements of both the logic of appropriateness and the logic of consequence. However, the overlap is not complete, since the (general) Europeanization literature so far seems to have been focusing mostly on vertical convergence (Gornitzka, 2010), although the introduction of lesson-drawing model discussed earlier may have been an attempt to include a horizontal convergence perspective.

The "Europe of Knowledge" calls for a modernised European university (Olsen and Maassen, 2007), but to what extent it has already made an impact on universities, other higher education institutions or other knowledge organisations is a different matter. As possible "targets" of Europeanization of higher education institutions, one can identify: leadership, administrative structures, the internal organisation (primarily the relationship between the central level, constituent faculties and chairs or departments), the academic profession, students (recruitment or selection, assessment, mobility), the organisation of teaching and research (including curricular governance and structure, see Witte 2006), internal quality assurance mechanisms, patterns of cooperation with other institutions, etc. The organisation of teaching and research, and changes in degree structures and curricula have so far attracted most attention, as witnessed in the foci of e.g. EUA Trends reports. While some stakeholder organisations claim that "these changes... are deep and significant, often requiring the changes in attitudes and values, and always requiring effective institutional leadership" (see EUA Trends 2010 report, p. 6), Neave (2009) warns that one should distinguish between the impact on the private and on the public life of universities, while it is also of relevance to take into account that impact on structures does not necessarily mean an impact on cultures. The HEIGLO study of internationalisation of higher education also provides some insight into this distinction: while changes in the regulative pillar of the institutional environments were seen to follow a clear pattern, changes in the normative and cultural-cognitive pillars were more diverse (Coate et al., 2005).

In terms of the impact on the university's private life, one could argue that, on the one hand, Bologna action lines can have a potentially significant impact on the extent to which higher education can still serve to create and select dominant elites. Part of the Bologna rationale is the focus on transferable skills, multiple entry and exit points, and an insurance of employability from the first degree onwards. This is often seen to be at odds with the *Bildung* rationale of higher education, which is regularly used as an argument in students' or (less often) academic staff protests. In addition, Bologna action lines also promote a particular approach to curriculum governance and design, such as the use of ECTS, modularisation, and the focus on learning outcomes and transferable skills, which extends the possibilities for the impact of the Bologna Process on the teaching function of higher education. However, it is not yet clear that this is indeed the case since the "independent evaluation" (Westerheijden, et al., 2010), the stocktaking reports (see BFUG Stocktaking 2009 report) and various stakeholder reports (EUA Trends 2010 report; ESU Bologna at the finish line 2010 report) point towards problems in grass-root implementation, essentially pointing to the situation of allomorphism (Vaira 2004). Moreover, Bologna has been perceived and responded to differently by different disciplines[34]. While this may lead to differences in practice between countries, despite the apparent convergence of policy, it can also lead to persisting or increasing differences between institutions or disciplines within the same higher education system (CHEPS, 2007a).

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[34] See Välimaa, Hoffman and Huusko Välimaa, J., Hoffman, D., & Huusko, M. (2006). The Bologna Process in Finland. In V. Tomusk (Ed.), *Creating the European Area of Higher Education* (Vol. 12, pp. 43-68): Springer Netherlands. for a Finnish example; or CHEPS. (2007a). *The extent and impact of higher education curricular reforms across Europe. Part One: Comparative Analysis and Executive Summary*. for a comparative European study of the assessment of curriculum reforms.

Although one could expect that various European cooperation programmes, such as TEMPUS, Socrates before, Lifelong Learning Programme now, Erasmus Mundus, FPs for funding research, will have an effect on teaching and research, so far very few studies, not including stakeholder publications or stocktaking and programme evaluation reports, have focused on this topic. This does not mean that changes are not identified (e.g. see Kehm (2009) for an overview of changes and related challenges in doctoral education or Donert (2009) for some indication about the impact of transnational thematic networks and the Tuning project[35]), but the link to the "Europe of Knowledge" is not always clear and, similar to the issue of changes on the national level, it is difficult to say whether such changes would have taken place even without the "Europe of Knowledge" (or particular funding programmes). However, the various cooperation programmes are also interesting for their impact on institutional administrative structures (Gornitzka, 2009), as well as for their impact on the relationship between academic and administrative staff, on various levels. Teams, committees and offices dealing specifically with European cooperation programmes, both in terms of supporting preparation of applications as well as in terms of implementation and reporting, have been increasing in numbers and capacity.

Europeanization can also have an effect on the relationship between higher education institutions, or between higher education institutions and other sectors. There seems to be a gradual increase in cooperation between higher education institutions and industry, which has been attributed to this cooperation being a particular focus of the EU's FPs (Caloghirou, Tsakanikas, and Vonortas, 2001), although the impact is perhaps greater in terms of more intangible effects, such as new network relations or learning new skills (Luukkonen, 1998). Evidence from comparative studies (Witte, van der Wende, and Huisman, 2008) shows that blurring of boundaries between the university and non-university sector can be linked to the reforms implemented under the Bologna umbrella, although the already mentioned caveat about re-nationalisation of the Bologna Process, and thus difficulties with causality claims, remains.

EUROPEANIZATION OF IDENTITIES OF ACADEMIC STAFF AND STUDENTS
Changes in identities are considered to be one of the possible outcomes of Europeanization, at least given the general Europeanization literature. In terms of mobility of students, the patterns within Europe are not balanced and there is in general more movement to the West. Teichler (2009) also raises the issue of portability of grants and loans, which can affect mobility on the individual level and explain some of these differences, although the differences also arise from a number of other issues, including administrative obstacles, language of instruction or even climate. In terms of identities, Fligstein (2008) argues that mobile students develop a stronger European identity than the students who choose to stay at home. This is, from his perspective, connected to the overall division in terms of identities between Europeans and nationals – those who are mobile vs. those who are not – and sees this as a potential source of clash between those who benefit from European integration and those who do not. Therefore, the Europeanization of identities is also fragmented and the national identities are still important to a large part of the population. Again, there seems to

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[35] http://tuning.unideusto.org/tuningeu/ (page accessed 15 December 2010)

be a "Europe of two speeds", even on the individual level. Wiers-Jenssen (2008) argues that mobility programmes can have both positive and negative effects on students' identities and careers: while mobile students tend to experience more difficulties with employment after graduation and are affected by 'over-education', at least in the short-term, they also tend to earn higher wages and are more likely to have an international job, although with differences between different fields.

With respect to student identities, Cemmell (2006) links the Bologna Process with the shift in the perceptions of students as consumers (and hence also payers) and the focus in transnational education as an export industry. However, there is no causal link between seeing "students as piggy banks" as he puts it and the "Europe of Knowledge" as such, given that increasing commercialization of higher education is a world wide phenomenon.

Similar effects can be possibly seen in terms of academic identities. Smeby and Gornitzka (2008) provide evidence of changing patterns of cooperation amongst Norwegian university researchers: over 20 years there has been a movement towards "more cosmopolitans and fewer locals" (p. 48). However, the changes cannot be attributed only to Europeanization, since contact patterns have increased towards other regions of the world as well. FPs, for example, do put pressure on academic staff to explore cooperation across disciplinary boundaries, although to a very limited extent (Bruce, Lyall, Tait, and Williams, 2004). In addition to this, a significant proportion of those receiving ERC grants are non-nationals with respect to the country of their host institution, particularly in Switzerland and the UK. Most of these non-nationals are Europeans, which testifies to a significant mobility opportunity that bypasses both the national and organizational level[36].

This fragmented nature of the European identity can potentially be seen from the other end as well: does the rest of the world see Europe as less fragmented than before? Latest evidence shows that while mobility within Europe did not increase, mobility towards Europe did increase, however, this increase is not necessarily mobility towards Europe or the EHEA as such, but still towards individual countries (Westerheijden, et al., 2010, p. 40).

Europeanization beyond Europe

The Lisbon 2000 Strategy and the Bologna Process both have a strong external dimension. The key Lisbon objective is to make the EU "the most competitive knowledge based economy in the world" and one of the action lines of the Bologna Process is the rather ambiguously formulated "external dimension". As part of the implementation of the Lisbon 2000 Agenda, a number of instruments were introduced to motivate the brain power from different corners of the world to choose EU over some other regions, with the USA and Australia being the key competitors. Cooperation programmes in higher education, such as Erasmus Mundus, target both universities and individuals; and some are focusing on individuals alone (such as the European Research Council grants). In that respect, similar to what Schimmelfennig (2009) claims for areas other than education, the EU has been so far rather strategic, defining specific quotas for students and scholars from target areas, e.g. China. To what

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[36] ERC: activities & achievements in 2008, Annual Report. Available from
http://erc.europa.eu/pdf/ERC_rapport2009_090831.pdf (page accessed 15 December 2010)

extent such steps impact higher education and research in non-European systems has so far not been the focus of extensive studies.

The already cited "independent Bologna evaluation" identified a potential side-effect of the focus on the "external dimension", and that is "the Bologna Process has become an inspiration for the development of higher education cooperation policies all around the world. This side effect triggered the development of global policy forums" (Westerheijden, et al., 2010, p. 30). It seems that the Bologna aspect of "Europe of Knowledge" leads to, amongst other:

- Increasing recognition of three year bachelor degrees in US, for mobility purposes.
- Export of curriculum harmonization methodologies, such as the Tuning project to US and Latin America, although with different outcomes (in Latin America it did not take off completely).
- Focus on degree structures, student mobility to Europe and research cooperation in the Chinese higher education master plan for 2020.
- A mirror process involving 52 countries from the Asia-Pacific region, that took off with the Brisbane communiqué in 2006 and also developed a Bologna-like follow up structure.
- Similar initiatives in Central Africa, the Gulf, Eastern Asia (Japan, Korea and China) and South Asia (Westerheijden, et al., 2010, pp. 30-31).

Some of the attention that Bologna received elsewhere in the world resonates with the lesson-drawing model of Europeanization referred to above. Here we can, for example, refer to the titles of the two influential US reports produced by Adelman (2008a, 2008b): "Learning Accountability from Bologna: A Higher Education Policy Primer" and "The Bologna Club: What U.S. Higher Education Can Learn from a Decade of European Reconstruction". It seems that more convergence is expected, at least from the US side (Adelman, 2010), so it would be interesting to observe the developments in the USA in the future and see whether these expectations will be met.

In some cases it seems that the EU was more actively involved, such as in the Latin America. Barlete (2008) focused on the establishment of ACLUE and the role of EU in the process. Despite many common goals, she identified limited diffusion of European practices, particularly in terms of steering of the process, differences in internal institutional dynamics between the two regions, higher diversity of higher education in the Latin America etc. Some problems in the possibility of implementing Bologna-like instruments also picked up by other authors (Ferrer, 2010).

4 Conclusion

4.1 Mutual transformation in and of "Europe of Knowledge"
The "Europe of knowledge" is as a political issue on the rise in the relevant policy arenas and has been so since the latter half of 1990s. The Bologna Process and the development of ERA are two of the most visible expressions of processes that pertain directly to European higher education institutions, academic staff, students and higher education policy makers. These processes have given rise to institutional innovations at the European level. They carry a potential for a mosaic of

implications for higher education. As this review has shown, these developments have for the most part been flying under the radar of mainstream EU studies. We see clear signs that the latter trait is changing, with more attention paid to the nexus between European integration and the knowledge policy domain (see e.g. Fligstein, 2008). This report has highlighted some of the studies that have been conducted and key analytical perspectives and theoretical advances from the study of European integration that can be appropriate for the future study in this area. We have pointed to how questions of system integration and transformation have been at the core of research interests in higher education. As Europe searches for a new balance between unity and diversity in its higher education system(s) these questions are still relevant provided the state centric perspective is relaxed and perspectives that can accommodate the complexities of multiple orders in action in higher education are added.

The general review of the literature on Europeanisation of higher education and the effects at the national level show how the same adaptational pressure from the European level seldom leads to identical effect in all national systems. This follows from the general observation that national systemic traits, be it structures, cultures or traditions, translate identical pressures with a national imprint. These traits affect how much of a difference European level pressure for change implies, how resistance to or promotion of change is activated at the domestic level. The transformation of higher education takes place at multiple speeds and with varied outcomes.

We also observe how the formation of a "Europe of Knowledge" implies the co-evolution of national, sub-national and European levels that defy a linear causal understanding. Some have conceptualised this as "mutual transformation" (Hauray and Urfalino, 2009). Hence the study of the "Europe of Knowledge" has to grapple with the methodological question of causal attribution to Europe. We have pointed to ways in which such questions can be addressed. Yet as Checkel and Katzenstein (2009, p. 9) conclude: "Europeanization portrays a complex dynamic through which Europe and the nation-state interact. It is not a story that can be told relying on binary distinctions". This observation is equally valid for the study of the "Europe of Knowledge". Mutual transformation across levels and sites of governance is an inherent character of how higher education changes in Europe. We have in particular pointed to how transnational, intergovernmental and supranational processes have increasingly become intertwined and interactive. These interactions are seldom grandstand confrontations between political actors or institutions but take place in "everyday" governance arrangements. For example in the Bologna Process the Ministers of (Higher) Education of the countries involved in the process decided not to set up a separate joint executive capacity to support the implementation other than a small rotating secretariat. As a consequence, the follow up of the Bologna Process increasingly had to rely on the relevant administrative executive capacity of the European Commission. A complicating factor is that the Bologna Process encompasses 47 countries, i.e. 20 of the Bologna countries are non-EU member states. This implies, amongst other things, that the Bologna related change dynamics of higher education is less driven by the six large member states of the EU than the change dynamics that is a consequence of integration processes taking place in the framework of the EU (Olsen 2007a: 43). It also means that there is a fairly unclear division of policy responsibility with respect to higher education between the supra- and superstructure, both formally and in the day-to-day policy practice. The gradual development by the European Commission's involvement in a large number of policy issue areas (including education and research) has been referred to as 'creeping competence' (Pollack 2000). This can be argued to

represent one of the main challenges with respect to the system level governance of European higher education after 2010: formalizing an effective division of authority with respect to higher education over the relevant system level governance layers: European, national, (and in some cases, sub-national) as well as institutional (Maassen, 2009).

Over time European level differentiation can be observed in the organisation of political administrative institutions, in the ideational underpinnings and in the differentiated sets of instruments used that concern higher education institutions. Organisationally anchored networks surrounding knowledge production and higher education teaching/learning within Europe has developed alongside. This is a sign of sectoral differentiation at the European level that has taken place incrementally and led to several governance sites that pertain to European higher education institutions, some directly, others indirectly. In order to understand the developments of such governance sites we should take into consideration that periods of transition and attempts of coordination can produce inter-institutional imbalances and invasions, but also contestation and defence against intrusion (March and Olsen, 1989; Olsen, 2007a). For European higher education institutions and the policies directed at them, the last decade has been such a period of transition. Tensions and interactions between sectorally differentiated subsystems that impinge on higher education institutions in Europe have been revitalised in policy making and governance for the "Europe of Knowledge". These can be taken as a key to understanding their dynamics and how governance sites have come about and evolved over time. The Lisbon 2000 Strategy lifted research and higher education policy straight to the centre of the European integration project as one of Europe's answers to the challenges of the global knowledge-economy and it made the creation of new governance sites possible. Although the Bologna Process established itself as a fairly autonomous and sector-internal governance site outside the EU's political order, we have seen how the Bologna Process has been affected by and impinged on this context. The horizontal dynamics of the Lisbon Strategy also brought the academic sphere closer to economic sectors and the market, and made the higher education institutions become focused as instruments to a range of sectors. A more prominent place on the political agenda came together with demands that research and education should be integrated with the overall political and economic objectives of the EU. European integration thus manifests the latent tensions of the role of higher education institutions as knowledge producing and disseminating institutions in a changing political and economic order.

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Annex 1: Europe the transformation of higher education – literature review criteria

The literature review focused on two types of studies: (1) studies on Europeanisation of public policy (general Europeanisation literature) and (2) studies on higher education and research that include an account of how developments on the European level affect systems and institutions. The choice to include both types of studies was based on the already noted "double-isolatedness" (P. Maassen, 2009, p. 281) of literature on Europeanisation of higher education and research.

The review of general Europeanisation literature used already existing reviews as a starting point (Bulmer, 2007; Börzel and Risse, 2003; Radaelli, 2003; Sedelmeier, 2006; Vink and Graziano, 2007), but went on to review the literature that these reviews were based on, with specific attention towards critical views on the most dominant approach based on "adaptational pressure" (see main report for details). Additionally, a keyword Internet based search in Google Scholar and ISI (SSCI and CPCI-SSH) was conducted, to check the relevancy of the studies used and to search for additional literature. Table A1 provides an overview of number of hits for each of the keywords employed. Additionallty, a number of major journals (Journal of Common Market Studies, Journal of European Public Policy etc) as well as working papers (ARENA, European University Institute, Living Review on European Governance, European Research Papers Archive etc) was searched with the same keywords to ensure that relevant studies were not missed.

Most of this literature is more theoretical or conceptual in nature, although edited books, apart from outlining the theoretical framework, also include empirical studies on Europeanisation of other public policies (e.g. transportation, telecommunication, labour and employment etc). The latter also served to evaluate the applicability of the concepts proposed in empirical studies, although specific attention was paid to the fact that Europeanisation of higher education and research does not come down to "follow the directive", given the lack of such directives in this area.

The review of higher education literature was somewhat more eclectic in nature, given the lack of common conceptual framework in majority of cases and the proliferation of studies focusing on the impact of the Bologna process or EU Lisbon Agenda on higher education. Based on the general Europeanisation literature, studies on impact of Bologna or Lisbon would fall into the "Europeanisation studies" category even if this term is not used by authors themselves. The starting point for this part of the review were some comparative studies (Kehm, Huisman, and Stensaker, 2009; Witte, 2009) and some studies that try to work towards a conceptual framework (Amaral et al., 2009; Maassen and Olsen, 2007), but do not develop it fully in line with the general Europeanisation literature. To find such studies, a keyword search was done in Google Scholar and ISI (both SSCI and CPCI-SSH). Table A1.1 provides an overview of number of hits for each of the keywords employed. Additionallty, a number of major journals (Higher Education, Higher Education Policy, Research Policy, Tertiary Education and Management, European Journal of Education, Higher Education in Europe) was searched with the same keywords to ensure that relevant studies were not missed.

The review of higher education literature tried to classify these studies with two aims: (1) to separate those who do have a theoretical/conceptual framework from those who do not and (2) to distinguish

between different "targets" of Europeanisation: policy, polity and politics, organisation and identities. The first classification was not limited only to looking for an explicitly defined theoretical/conceptual framework, but also included an assessment of the studies in terms of their employment of theoretical concepts. The second classification was somewhat more complicated since many studies do not fall clearly in just one of the categories. However, in order to follow the general Europeanisation literature approach, they were assessed using the four categories (policy, politics and polity, organisation and identities) in mind, which meant that sometimes parts of the same study were included in several sections of the review.

TABLE A1.2 – NUMBER OF HITS RELATED TO KEYWORDS, 20 DECEMBER 2010

Keywords	Google Scholar	ISI (SSCI and CPCI-SSH)
Europeanization/Europeanisation	48900	928
Europe of Knowledge	1710	1671
European Higher Education Area/EHEA	10240	241
European Research Area/ERA	11900	1133
Bologna Process	188000	230

The hits include both contributions that focus on building or developing the Bologna Process, the Europe of Knowledge, EHEA and ERA and contributions that focus on their impact on higher education systems and institutions. For these three keywords, the hits present a sum of hits for the two separate options. The search was not done for Lisbon process or Lisbon agenda, since that would include also contributions that do not focus on higher education institutions or systems.

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Annex 2: Bologna Process' paper trail

All internet links accurate on 20 December 2010

Pre Bologna documents

- Magna Charta Universitatum (1988). http://www.magna-charta.org/pdf/mc_pdf/mc_english.pdf

- Lisbon Recognition Convention (1997). http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/165.htm

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    o Lourtie Report – From Bologna to Prague. http://www.ehea.info/Uploads/Documents/LourtieReport-FromBolognatoPragueMay2001.pdf

- Berlin Communiqué (2003). http://www.ehea.info/Uploads/Declarations/Berlin_Communique1.pdf

    o Zgaga Report – From Prague to Berlin. http://www.ehea.info/Uploads/Documents/Zgaga-Report-from-PraguetoBerlin-Sept2003.pdf

- Bergen Communiqué (2005). http://www.ehea.info/Uploads/Declarations/Bergen_Communique1.pdf

    o Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance in the European Higher Education Area (ESG). http://www.ehea.info/Uploads/Documents/Standards-and-Guidelines-for-QA.pdf

    o A Framework for Qualifications in the European Higher Education Area. http://www.ehea.info/Uploads/Documents/QF-EHEA-May2005.pdf and the related background report http://www.ehea.info/Uploads/Documents/050218_QF_EHEA.pdf

    o Stocktaking report 2005. http://www.ehea.info/Uploads/Documents/BPStocktaking9May2005.pdf

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