

GLOBALISING THE BOLOGNA PROCESS: LOOKING CLOSELY AT EUROPE'S 'LOOKING OUT' POLICY FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

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1. How can we understand the 'globalisation' of the Bologna Process?

1. Is it an extension of existing tendencies within early higher education agreements - specifically, the Lisbon Recognition Convention (1997) and the Sorbonne Declaration (1998) - ***aimed at mutual recognition of qualifications and a model of 'good practice' amongst higher education institutions*** around the world? In other words, a cooperation agreement rather than a competitive strategy?
2. Is the Bologna Process a means of delivering a quality 'brand' in the international marketplace?
3. Is it a 'regionalising mechanism' that enables Europe to use education as a means of competition with other powerful economic players, like the US, China, Japan?

1. How can we understand the ‘globalization’ of the Bologna Process?

5. Is the Bologna Process a means of enabling the European Commission/Council/Parliament to project ‘Europe’ as a state-like structure in the global political economy and advance a state-building project?
6. Is it a form of ‘**soft power**’ (Nye, 1992), and an instrument of European imperialism, to help constitute the European Union as a new imperial power, economically and politically, in competition with the United States (Hartmann, 2008)?

2. Argument

1. The Bologna Process is **all of the above** - a **technical**, and **political** device linked to multiple projects **within** and **beyond** Europe.
2. '**Within Europe**', this means analysing the underlying change in production relations in the global economy, the relationship between the USA and Europe as service-based economies, the rise of new powers like India, Brazil and China, and the role of 'standard setting' and qualifications recognition as **norm setting** (knowledge/power), advanced by the Bologna Process.
3. '**Outside Europe**' (the global) this means understanding the internal and regional politics of participating and/or reacting countries and regions on a case-by-case basis, including Latin America.
4. That the project and governance mechanisms are driven by (i) key domestic (nationally-located) (ii) European **and** (iii) 'extra-regional' actors and interests.
5. Argue EHEA constitutive of 'regulatory state regionalism' (Robertson, 2009).

Phases of European Higher Education Regionalising and Globalising

Phase I Inter/national		Phase II External	
1990s	Deepening internal relations - 'Europeanisation' and regionalisation	2000s	Extending outward - globalisation and inter-regionalisation

3. The economic and political imperatives behind the Bologna Process within Europe? - A focus on the Economic - 1

1. The USA and Europe's share of **goods production** has declined since the 1980s, whilst the emerging economies (China, Brazil, India) share 30% of world's goods production.
2. The USA and Europe are net exporters of trade in **services**; to secure global leadership they need to control the conditions of trade in services.
3. The USA and EU have a common interest in expanding the global service (education, health, finance etc) economy.
4. The USA and EU are also rivals. The USA currently dominates with 14.3% of global services, whilst the EU-25 have a total share of 46%.
5. This share of the services economy increases the potential of the EU to set **global standards** (knowledge, skills, recognition for labour markets) consolidating its leadership. This is where Bologna (HE) meets the EU's Lisbon strategy (economic).

3. What are the economic and political imperatives behind the Bologna Process? - A focus on the *Political*

6. Europe's vision seen in the Lisbon 2000 and affirmed in the New Lisbon 2005 Strategies - *“to become the most competitive, and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, with more and better jobs.....”* (European Council, 2000)
7. European Commission/Council and Parliament have increasingly used higher education reform through the Bologna Process to act in a state-like way at a regional and global meetings
8. The European Commission has insisted on the urgency of HE reform, citing the rise of **China and India as new economic competitors**.
9. This has meant a closer, though tension-ridden, alignment between the Bologna and Lisbon strategies over time.
10. As a result, we can see competing ‘political’ projects in the various ‘dimensions’ and purposes of the Bologna Process (see over).

Bologna Process 'dimensions'

<i>Bologna Process</i>	structural	social	European	external
<i>'dimension'</i>	degree architecture	public good - equity and access	quality standard plus visibility of 'Europe'	attractiveness competitiveness and model agenda setting strategy globally

4. The Bologna Process in the 'European Higher Education Area'

1. A new degree architecture in higher education

- **(3 bachelor +2 master +3 PhD),**
- **degree standards,**
- **a system of credit transfer,**
- **quality assurance, and**
- **mobility and exchange.**

2. Involves 16 million higher education students, 800 universities, and almost 40% of the export market in higher education services globally (USA has 21%).

3. Initially an intergovernmental process, it now involves European Commission along with range of other European actors and institutions in EU Member States (25) and the +21 countries.

4. The Bologna Process in the 'European Higher Education Area'

4. Eligibility for entry is now based around membership of the ***European Cultural Convention*** (2002) not the previous **Lisbon Recognition Convention** (1997) which now locks out USA and Australia - both of whom were signatories to the Lisbon Recognition Convention. The USA and Australia are regarded as competitors in the global HE market.

5. Europe's Knowledge-Economy Strategy Goes Global

1. **Kok Report – Mid-Term Review** (2004) of Lisbon 2000 gave the European Commission the legitimacy to push forward an aggressive policy that now **linked Lisbon and Bologna together** and **elevated the global dimension**.

2. Kok argued...the Lisbon strategy had failed to deliver a satisfactory economic growth performance and that Europe was falling far behind both the USA and Asia. The spectre of China and India, as threat and opportunity, now added a new level of threat to the external challenges (Kok, 2004: 12).

...For Europe to compete, it needed to **urgently** “...develop its own area of specialisms, excellence and comparative advantage which inevitably must lie in a commitment to the knowledge economy in its widest sense... Europe has no option but to radically improve its knowledge economy and underlying economic performance if it is to respond to the challenges of Asia and the US” (Kok, 2004: 12).

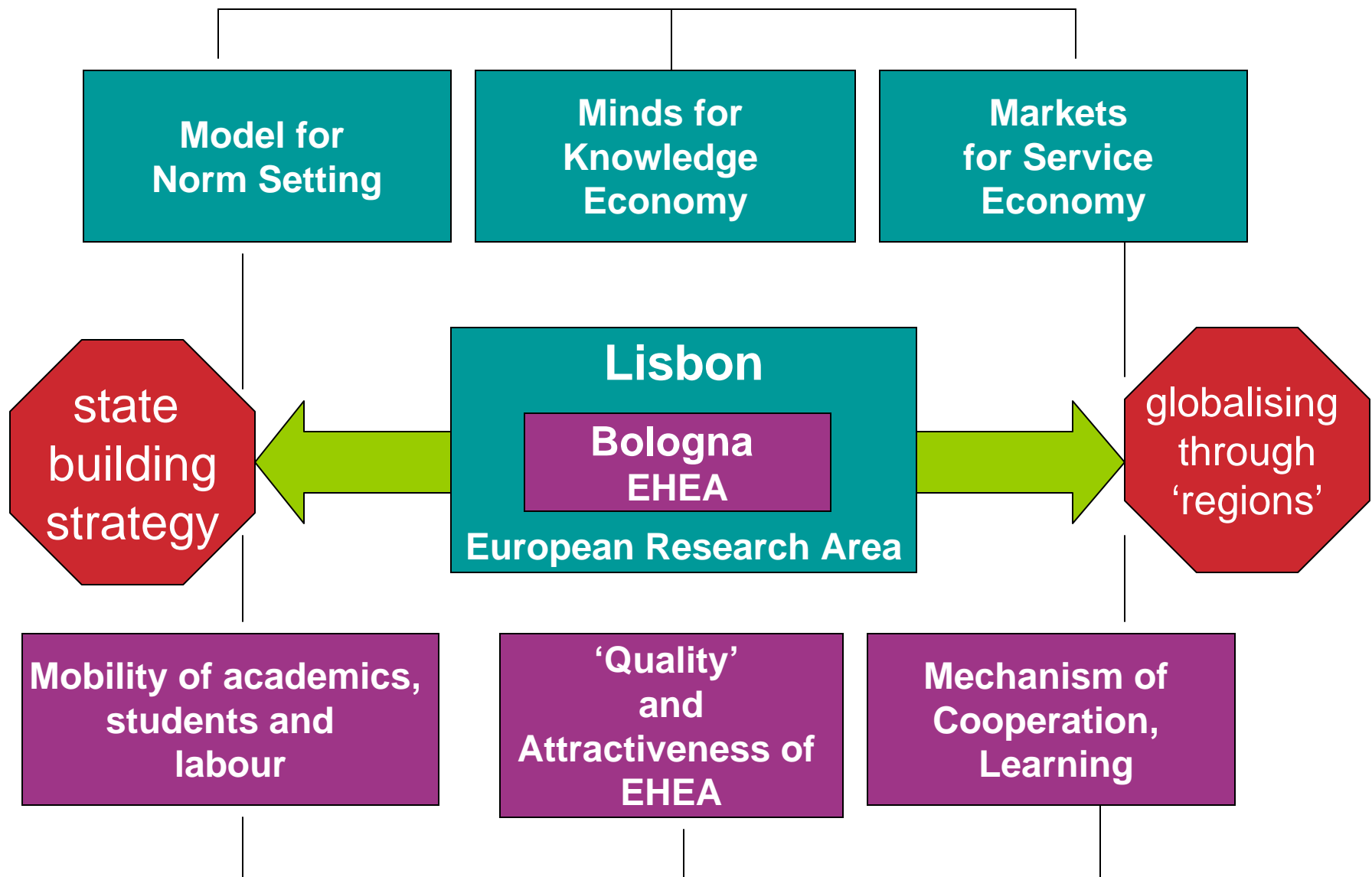
5. Europe's Knowledge-Economy Strategy

The Bologna Process is thus about..

... internal change, external readability for competitiveness and standard setting....

....it involves attracting/retaining the **best brains** for economic development, creating a higher education market to inject more capital into the sector, generating mechanisms and momentum for standard-setting using **intra-and inter-regionalising** projects...

...this process is seeking to constitute Europe as sovereign ruler, the European citizen, and Europe as centre of 'soft' power rule over wider territories.



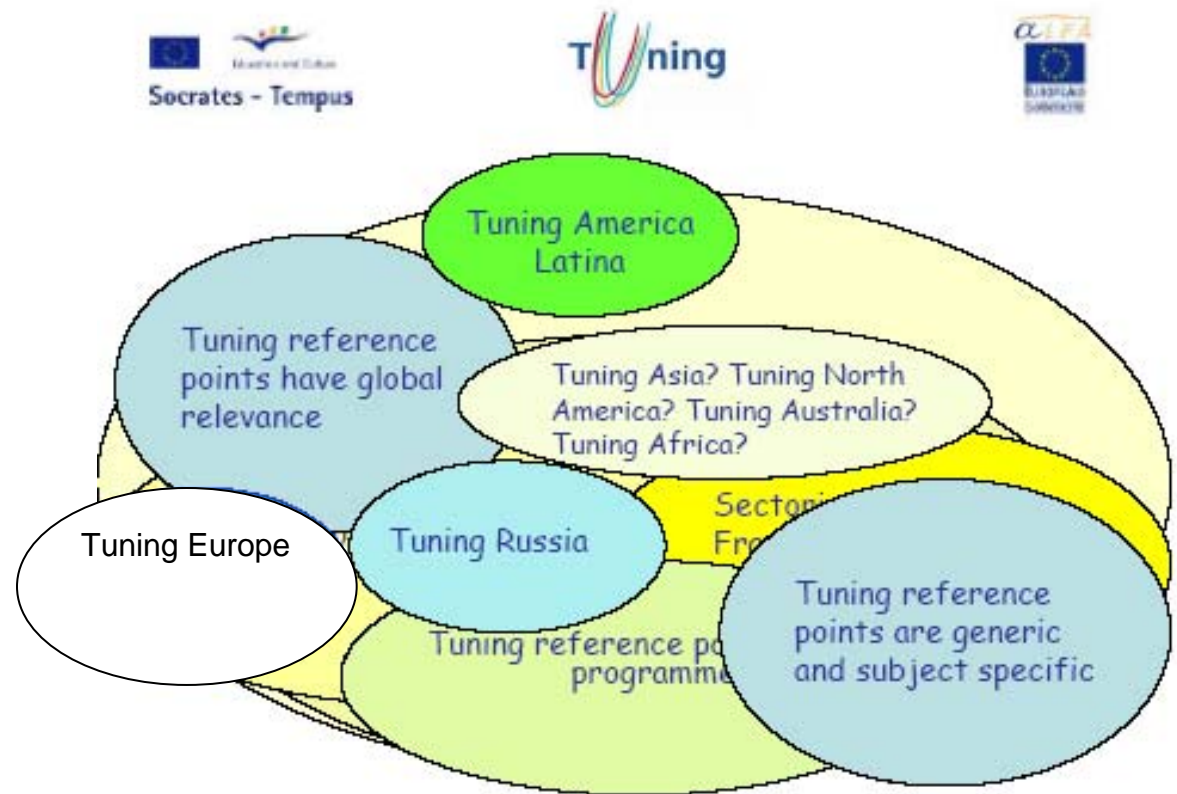
6. The Bologna Process's external dimension - using existing inter-regionalism and instruments to 'diffuse' norms

1. **Central Asia** - Tempus Project - 11 Kyrgyz higher ed institutions linked to 2 European universities (instruments such as Tempus, Bologna + Tuning)
2. **Euro-Mediterranean Partnership** - Catania Agreement 2006 -working toward a Euro-Mediterranean Area (includes Egypt, Lebanon, Tunisia, Jordan)
3. **Euro-Africa** - Bologna a model for regional collaboration using colonial ties;
 - *Afrique francophone* (Conference held in Senegal, 2005; Morocco, 2006; Congo, 2007)
 - *African Lusophone* - (Angola)
4. **Mahgred region** - Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria (Middle East and North Africa)
5. **Lusophone Higher Education Area** (ELES)
6. **EU-LAC Common Area - EU-Latin American and Caribbean** - includes Tuning Latino Americana (181 LAC universities involved so far) as well as mobility and scholarship instruments (e.g. Erasmus Mundus, Apha)
7. **Asia-Link/ASEAN Initiatives** (2006-) - China and other Asian economies - workshops on Bologna, deploying mobility and scholarship instruments

A recent Tempus Project “Creating National Information Centres about the Bologna Process in the Kyrgyz Republic” (SCM TO12B04; 2006) is a very good example of interest for the Bologna Process in Central Asia as well as of two-way cooperation. This is a joint project of the University of Pisa (Italy; coordinator), University of Gent (Belgium) and the Ministry of Education, Science and Youth Policy of the Kyrgyz Republic, as well as of 11 Kyrgyz higher education institutions (International University of Kyrgyzstan, Osh Technological University, Kyrgyz National University J. Balasagun, Kyrgyz State Pedagogical University, Issyk-Kul State University, and others). The main aim of the project is to assist Kyrgyz higher education in obtaining detailed information on the Bologna Process in general, but it is also closely connected to the Tuning Project. Within the project, 5 national Tuning groups were formed (Business Management, Economics, Ecology, Mathematics and Tourism) to exercise the Tuning methodology at Kyrgyz higher education institutions.²⁶

Tuning Latin America is an independent project, promoted and coordinated by universities in many different countries, both Latin American and European. There are 181 LAC universities involved in the project so far, as well as 18 national Tuning Centres. The main work of the project goes on in the twelve subject groups (Architecture, Business, Chemistry, Civil Engineering, Education, Geology, History, Law, Mathematics, Medicine, Nursing and Physics). In June 2006, members from both Tuning projects gathered at a joint conference in Brussels.⁵⁶ Academic colleagues from Europe and from Latin America and the Caribbean presented their work and results so far and had a chance to talk to one another about many details of the modernisation of higher education study today in different contexts. This seems to be the best way to overcome the existing lack of information and to strengthen academic cooperation to mutual satisfaction.

Tuning is a key tool for **translating** existing curricular knowledge (e.g. engineering) into competences acquired at different levels (levels 1-8) that then can be recognised across across regions and countries, and enable smoother integration into labour markets (preferably European).



Tuning Latino Americano – And Beyond

7. So why has the USA reacted to Bologna Process?

1. 14% of total international enrolment (largely graduate) in the US comes from Europe.
2. Foreign students contribute US\$12-13 billion annually to US economy; foreign-born students represent half of all graduate students in computer science and over 50% of these were awarded doctorates in engineering.
3. Council of Graduate Schools (2006a; 2006b) reported that total enrolment of international students increased in 2006 by 1% after three consecutive years of decline (Iraq War; competition from Europe).
4. Council of Graduate Schools (2006b) - decline has been most pronounced amongst Chinese students; aside from humanities, all major fields showed a decline in total enrolment – including engineering -6%; life sciences -5%; social sciences -4%; physical sciences -1%.
5. Interesting internal debate, however in the USA concerning the Spellings Commission (see Adelman report). That it failed to address Bologna and its implications for USA's higher education system.

7. And why has the Australia signed a 'Memorandum of Understanding' regarding the Bologna Process ?

1. In April 2006 - the Australian Government launched a document called *Bologna Process and Australia - Next Steps*. It feared being a 'a Bologna outsider'.
2. Australia's share of market (11%) has around 32,000 students from Europe (20% of total numbers of foreign full fee-paying graduates) who study in Australian universities.
3. If Europe is made a more attractive destination for students (especially from Asia and possibly Africa as an emerging market) it would threaten the Australian higher education and labour market.
4. The total value of HE market in Australia is US\$6 billion; 80% of overseas students come from Asia.
5. China has been discussing adopting the Bologna Model; this will create challenges for Australia. ASEAN has also been discussing using Bologna as a model to develop a South East Asian Region.



8. The EU - is it an imperialising power? Questions remain.

1. Is this a new normative leadership of the EU emerging - seeking to use colonial footprints (French, Spanish, Portuguese) and new alignments with Europe to strengthen its links with elites (Hartmann, 2008)?
2. Can the EU strengthen its power through 'registers' of qualifications and 'quality providers' in a market environment? What weight will they have?
3. Will a European ranking system, commissioned by the EC, and to be applied to the rest of the world, challenge the existing ranking systems (Shanghai Jao Tong, Times)
4. Will the neoliberal model that has powered the USA economy affect the HE financial system (student, state, institutional) loans and place limits on its capabilities?

8. The EU - an imperialising power?

5. Will 'Europe', if key Member States place fees on courses of study, limit its attractiveness and therefore the take-up of norms?
6. How will the HE Member States in Europe, with a competitive edge in HE markets, react when their competitive advantage is diminished by a common system (HEPI, 2008)?
7. Will the tension between Lisbon and Bologna result in the failure to institutionalise a centre of power?
8. Will Europe's cloak (or diplomacy) of 'regional cooperation' be removed to reveal the European Commission's imperialising rather than its cooperative strategy?
9. Will regional groups, such as the Mahgreb, LAC etc, develop their own counter-hegemonic strategies?
10. Will the rise of China, an increasingly popular destination for students, and a potential labour market, undermine Europe?

9. 'Regulatory (State) Regionalism - Final Remarks

1. Jayasuriya's argument--that the EHEA project--can be represented as a form of regulatory regionalism. It takes into account that governance mechanisms are critical to the constitution of regions. It also argues that domestic political economies are crucially involved.
2. This case analysis suggests that while Jayasuriya is right, he downplays the extent to which the 'extra-regional' (neighbourhood, distant strategic domestic economies, old colonial relations and networks, new inter-regional formations) are also enrolled, mobilised and transformed, through the deployment of higher education governance tools.

In conclusion...

...the 'extra-regional' in the European project would appear to be driven by a combination of forces and projects: Europe's claim to contingent territorial sovereignty (Elden, 2006) and state-hood; Europe's extension of its political project in relation to other geo-strategic claims; the attractiveness to domestic actors in neighbouring and more distant economies of the usefulness of Europe's higher education tools for brokering internal transformations; the desire of globally-oriented export and import higher education institutions and domestic economies beyond the borders of Europe to align their architecture and regulatory frameworks to maximise market position; and emergence of Europe's normative power on the global stage. I conclude by suggesting that in the case of Europe..

This current moment of regulatory regionalism might best be conceived of as 'regulatory state regionalism'.