

THE TRANSFORMATION OF MODERN HIGHER EDUCATION

**A CASE STUDY OF HIGHER EDUCATION
INTERNATIONALIZATION POLICIES IN THE NETHERLANDS**

A BACHELOR THESIS

BY

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The Modernization of Higher Education

A case study of HE internationalization policies in the Netherlands

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ABBREVIATIONS

Ba/Ma	Bachelor/Master
BP	Bologna Process
DUO/IB-Group	Dienst Uitvoering Onderwijs (formerly known as Informatie Beheer Groep) <i>Dutch institute for student information and student support</i>
DS	Diploma Supplement
EHEA	European Higher Education Area
EC	European Council
ECTS	European Credit Transfer System
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HE	Higher Education
HEI	Higher Education Institution
HSP	Huygens Scholarship Program
NESO	Netherlands Education Support Office
NQF-HO	National Qualification Framework - Hoger Onderwijs(Higher education)
NUFFIC	<i>Netherlands Organisation for International Cooperation in Higher Education</i>
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
QF-EHEA	Qualification Framework – European Higher Education Area
R&D	Research and Development
WHW	Wet op Hoger Onderwijs en Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek <i>Dutch Law on Higher Education and Scientific Research</i>
WTO	World Trade Organization

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ABSTRACT

Higher education (HE) is traditionally governed at the national level by the creation of public policies. However, the role of governments in HE governance is challenged as globalization erodes national sovereignty and marketizes Higher Education. European governments meet these challenges by internationalizing their HE systems through the Bologna Process and the Lisbon Agenda.

This research consists of a case study of the process of internationalization of Higher Education in the Netherlands. We focus on the evolution of Dutch HE internationalization policies in the period 2004-2010. The case study describes the internationalization policies and identifies the policy instrument types used and the reasons behind their creation.

The case-study established that the Dutch HE internationalization was stalled due to a number of cabinet collapses that lead to less agenda-setting of HE internationalization. The Dutch HE internationalization policies created mainly consist of instruments of treasure that stimulate academic mobility. The reasons for creating internationalization policies were strongly economic.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Internationalization of Higher education

When we talk about internationalization of higher education, what do we talk about exactly? Scholars do not agree on one single definition and most definitions narrow the term down to one activity. This study describes internationalization of higher education as: *“the process of integrating an international/intercultural dimension into the teaching, research and service functions of the institution”* (De Wit, 2002). This definition includes several elements. Firstly, internationalization is viewed as a continuous process and not as an activity with a beginning and an end. Secondly, internationalization is a response to globalization and should not be confused with globalization itself. Lastly, internationalization includes both international and local elements. They seem to be opposites, yet the international environment includes the local, so both are necessary for internationalization to occur (De Wit, 2002).

Higher Education Reforms in Europe

In Europe this integration of an international or intercultural dimension into the HE system has been pushed forward in the early 90's. The negative aspects of internationalization, such as higher costs, risks, competition and brain drain were known, but national governments expected mainly positive results (Teichler, 2009). From this positive attitude of European governments sprung several initiatives in the late 1990's to stimulate internationalization intergovernmentally. The most important initiatives were the Bologna Process and the Lisbon Strategy.

The Bologna Declaration was signed outside of the scope of the European Commission as an intergovernmental agreement encompassing a large amount of signatory countries that spread far beyond the borders of the European Union (Černitič & Dobrinjič, 2009). The Declaration was significant for HE systems, because it focused on the formation of a Europe-wide system of study programs and degrees in which academic standards and quality assurance standards are compatible and comparable (Teichler, 2009). These aims were embedded in the Declaration with the final goal to create European Higher Education Area (EHEA).

Shortly after the signing of the Bologna Declaration, the European Commission drafted the Lisbon Agreement. This aimed at making the EU *“the most competitive knowledge based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion”* (European Commission, 2010). It was designed as a response to

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globalization and aimed at generating growth of jobs and increasing the quality of jobs by investing in skill, sustainability and innovation. The Bologna Declaration and the Lisbon Agreement together reshaped European higher education.

1.2 Problem Statement

Modern societies do not consider Higher Education a luxury good, but a condition for development (World Bank, 2002). The economy of Europe is knowledge based and therefore the development and growth of the educational system is important to its economy. European reforms internationalizing HE systems have a profound influence on the higher education landscape (i.e. the organization and governance of HE). Despite the uncertainty of national governments about the exact *raison d'être* of internationalization reforms, there has been a tendency in the development of national educational policies towards a common European model (Heinze & Knill, 2008). The changes nation-states make to comply with aims defined in internationalization reform programs entail great amounts of money and jobs. An important aspect of monitoring the development of modern HE internationalization processes is understanding the reasons behind and the methods of policy formation at the national level. To study this development, current research concentrates on the formation of Dutch HE policies.

1.3 Research Question

The current study focuses on the formulation of Dutch HE internationalization policies in the period 2004-2010. The overarching research question is formulated as: *“How have HE internationalization policies of the Dutch government evolved in the period 2004-2010?”*

This main question is divided into three research sub-questions.

- 1) *What HE policies have been developed by the Dutch government in the period 2004-2010?*
- 2) *What kind of instruments have been designed and implemented to pursue the goals?*
- 3) *What are the rationales of internationalization policies of the Dutch government?*

1.4 Theoretical Considerations

Several conceptual frameworks assist in answering these questions, being the policy cycle (May & Wildavsky, 1978), policy instruments (Verdung, 1998) (Schram, 2005) (Hood, 1983) and policy rationales (De Wit, 2002). The first sub-research question is answered with assistance of the policy cycle model. This model divides policy creation into several stages, enabling a focus

on the agenda-setting stage. This stage facilitates the initiation of policy creation. Further development of policies is described by choices in policy instruments, an issue addressed in the second research question. This framework theory describes the factors that influence the initiation of policy creation and explain the evolution of Dutch HE internationalization policies.

The policies described in the first sub-research question consist of policy instruments. A wide variety of policy instruments facilitate the internationalization of higher education systems. The choice between such instruments can influence the course of the internationalization process. Policy instruments are distinguished in two ways. Firstly, the instruments are analyzed with regard to their method of functioning. The division designed by Vedung (1998) and Schram (2005) categorizes policy instruments into “*carrots*”, “*sticks*” or “*sermons*”. Secondly, the instruments are distinguished by the type of resources used. In order to do so we adopt the views of Van Vught (1995), who altered Hoods (1983) distinction between instruments of information, treasure, authority and action. This twofold distinction between policy instruments will give us information about what the policy instrument entails and how it functions.

In order to fully comprehend the evolution of HE internationalization policies one must create an understanding of the reasons that underlie the decisions taken. The reasons of the Dutch government in internationalization policies are identified by means of the typology of rationales developed by Knight (1997). It consists of economic, political, academic and socio-economic rationales of internationalization activities.

Lastly, the evolution of HE internationalization policies is described through detecting changes in the instruments or rationales behind the policies. Any evolution detected will be regarded in the light of the policy cycle model that states that agenda-setting is influenced by internal governmental development, feedback from previous policies, the national mood and the organization of political actors (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993).

1.5 Methodology

The data consists of primary and secondary sources. The primary source includes a document analysis of internationalization letters, policy briefs and strategic agendas produced by the Dutch government. The secondary sources include the annexed research papers of external commissions that have been included in the primary sources. From these documents the main policies are identified in a inductive method (i.e. the instruments that are described most often and elaborated in the documents will be analyzed). The most significant policies are summarized in a timeline (appendix A).

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The conceptual frameworks assists in the inductive analysis of the documents, that facilitates the identification of the policy instruments and the indicators for each rationale. Each of the policies employs a range of policy instruments, that is identified in the HE internationalization policies in the selected documents. Each instrument is categorized in terms of resources used (information, treasure, authority) and in terms of effect (carrot, stick, sermon). This categorization provides an overview of the general approach of the Dutch government in HE internationalization. With regard to the reasons underlying internationalization policies, rationales are indentified by counting the number of times that indicators for each rationale are mentioned in the documents. This produces a score for each rationale, indicating which reasons are at the core of Dutch internationalization processes.

1.6 Structure of the Paper

Whereas this chapter introduces the study, the second chapter outlines the main developments in European higher education that occur due to global developments. In the third chapter, the theoretical framework is presented. It focuses on the types of policy instruments that are used in Dutch internationalization policies. Next to this the rationales behind HE internationalization policies are operationalized. The fourth chapter focuses on the methodology of the study and provides the operationalization of the theoretical framework. It explains how the analysis of data was carried out. It is explained by which indicators the rationales are measured and how they are analyzed in the policy documents. Chapter six describes the analysis of the internationalization policies in the Netherlands. The discussion of the findings is presented in chapter six, where the research questions are answered. The findings from the analysis with regard to policy formation processes and rationales behind this process are summarized. This is followed by a conclusion.

CHAPTER 2

INTERNATIONALIZATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Internationalization of higher education is a border-crossing process by definition. Therefore it cannot be analyzed at the national level without regarding its full context that stretches beyond national borders and includes European and global elements. This chapter focuses on the external factors that influence internationalization processes on the national level.

2.1 Internationalization in Europe

Internationalization has been linked to the academic world since the first Universities were created. Neave (1997) speaks of a medieval ‘*European space*’ that is defined by shared religion and uniform academic language, program of study and system of examinations. Some scholars argue that this resembles contemporary internationalization patterns, but the different social, cultural, political and economic circumstances make this resemblance no more than superficial (De Wit, 2002). The emergence of the nation-state decentralized universities and turned them into national institutions (Kolasa, 1962). This did not make the international aspect of higher education obsolete, but strongly decreased the centrality of the academic world (Hammerstein, 1996). This remained so until the revitalization of internationalization that commenced shortly after the second World War. Internationalization of HE today is influenced by the intergovernmental Bologna Process and the EU Lisbon Agenda (Veiga & Amaral, 2012).

2.2 Sorbonne Declaration

Present day internationalization of European HE commenced shortly after the creation of the European Union, strongly influenced by the post-WWII periods’ strong idealistic connotations of peace and mutual understanding (De Wit, 2002). The Council of Europe attempted to stimulate internationalization by signing several conventions, ranging from the 1950’s to the 1990’s, but the effectiveness of these conventions died out through the years (Teichler, 2009). European academic internationalization was first effectively stimulated outside of the scope of the Council of Europe by the intergovernmental Sorbonne Declaration, which was signed by the ministers of France, Germany, Italy and the UK in 1998. It stated that the segmentation of European HE was

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harmful to European development (EHEA website, 2012) and called for cooperation to develop a European educational system. In fact, the aims were quite similar to the main points of the Bologna Process. At the creation of the Bologna Agreement they were reformulated into the Bologna aims. It is argued that the Sorbonne Declaration describes the focus of internationalization efforts in a more concrete and central fashion than the Bologna Process itself (Wächter, 2004). European governments responded to the Sorbonne Declaration by starting reforming higher education systems and HEI's undertook action in the development of the EHEA.

2.3 Bologna Declaration

The Bologna Declaration (1999) followed the Sorbonne Declaration. The Bologna Declaration reflected a *“search for a common European answer to common European problems”* (EC, 2000). It was originally signed by twenty-nine European education ministers but the number of participating nation-states has grown to forty-seven, encompassing almost the entire European continent and even stretching slightly beyond the continental boundaries. It is characterized by a limited number of concrete aims that facilitates the implementation of such far-reaching reforms in reform-skeptic Europe (Wächter, 2004). The main overarching aim of the Bologna Process (BP) is to realize the EHEA.

Bologna Action Lines

At the time of its creation, the Bologna Declaration was regarded a ground breaking development that would change the European HE landscape (Wächter, 2004). Indeed it has made progress towards the creation of the EHEA, mainly through policy changes in funding, university autonomy, quality assurance and research policies (Sursock & Smidt, 2010) (EUA, 2003). However, criticism remains. Wächter (2004) points out that the original agenda of a limited number of concrete aims has been widened over the years, diluting the process and leading to less results. However, overall the Bologna Declaration has made significant contributions to the internationalization of European HE.

The central aims of the Bologna process are to increase the employability of European citizens, facilitate academic mobility and enhance the attractiveness and competitiveness of European HE (Bologna Process, 1999). Over the years these aims have developed into several action lines. This research focuses on the action lines facilitating the creation of the EHEA, so the lifelong learning and social dimension are not discussed. Instead the focus is on the action lines of the qualification framework, joint degree programs, mobility, recognition of qualifications and employability.

Bologna & Europeanization of Higher Education

A force that has become visible in the last decades and has proven to have a profound influence on the implementation of the Bologna action lines is Europeanization. HE Europeanization is defined as a response to globalization and even as “*a regional version of globalization*” (Luijten-Lub, 2007). This becomes evident as the EU is involved in the Bologna Process. The European Commission quickly gained a place in the Bologna process as it provided the process with an existing legislative framework in which mutual trust and economic bonds between nation-states facilitate cooperation on an area as close to national identity as education (Enders, 2004). In 2001 the European Commission was included as full member of the Bologna Process and, together with other advising bodies, included in the BFUG (Voegtli, Knill & Dobbins, 2011).

As the EU gains more influence over the Bologna Process, the Bologna Agreement is implemented, partially through EU bodies. This is visible in the use of the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) in the Bologna Process. This has helped to gain trust in the Declaration as it decreases the binding effect of the BP with regard to implementation methods (Huisman & van der Wende, 2004). Heinze & Knill (2008) state that despite the lack of pressure involved in the OMC there is a clear trend in national policies towards the European aims. However, simultaneously there exists great variation between the observable degree of domestic changes in countries. Authors have developed different explanations for the variation in outcomes. Veiga & Amaral (2006) state that the use of the soft OMC is responsible for different outcomes, as countries interpret aims differently or let national issues influence the implementation of the BP.

The Bologna process has proven successful in reshaping Europe’s HE landscape in a relatively short period through founding the EHEA. National HE structures have been modified to the EHEA, quality assurance systems have been developed and the social dimension of HE has been identified. This is especially impressive considering the scale of the project that is based on voluntary cooperation (EACEA, 2012). However, some fundamental goals have not yet been achieved. The cross-border academic mobility and the mutual recognition of study degrees and achievements have not reached the planned level (HRK, 2009). After 2010 the EHEA must continuously be pushed forward. New challenges have arisen and the EHEA should continue to develop if European HE is to maintain a strong position (EACEA, 2012).

2.4 Lisbon Strategy

Less than a year after the signing of the Bologna Declaration the Lisbon Strategy was formulated by the EU heads of state. The aim of the Lisbon Strategy was to make Europe “*the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-driven economy in the world by 2010*” (European

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Parliament, 2000). It aimed at generating growth of jobs and increasing the quality of these jobs by investing in skills, sustainability and innovation. The Lisbon Agenda is generally believed to have resulted in a failure (Gross & Roth, 2008).

Development of the Lisbon Agenda

The Lisbon Agenda focused on stimulating the knowledge economy through investing in R&D, entrepreneurship and employment (EurActiv, 2011). However, halfway down its implementation period it became evident through several reports¹ that the pace of implementation was not sufficient if the goals were to be met in time. The implementation of the goals started to take effect when the economic and financial crisis hit Europe in the late 2000's. Some authors claim that this led to disappointing results (Wyplosz, 2010). This is contradicted by the Kok-report that states that the disappointing delivery is due to a lack of political will by the member states (EurActiv, 2011). The European Commission responded that the economic crisis only highlights the need for structural reforms (European Commission, 2010).

The Lisbon Strategy was relaunched in 2005 by re-prioritizing the issues of investment in knowledge, strengthening competitiveness and increasing employment (EurActiv, 2011). The main aim of the reformed Lisbon Strategy is to exit the economic crisis by creating a smart, sustainable and inclusive economy and higher education plays a central part in this. However, by 2010 Europe could not be considered the “*the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-driven economy in the world*” it set itself to be (Gross & Roth, 2008). Therefore, the Commission developed *Europe 2020* as growth strategy for 2010-2020 with the central objectives of increasing employment, innovation, education, social inclusion and climate (EC, 2012).

Lisbon Agenda & Globalization

Europe 2020 is Europe's response to globalization. Globalization is a powerful phenomenon as it restructures society, challenges national authority and increases global competitiveness while ignoring the nation-state (Scott, 2000). It increases competition for education and academic recognition (Xiaoping, 2005). The relation between globalization and higher education is a mutual reinforcing development. On the one hand, higher education plays a central role in border-crossing activities that create intercultural understanding in the globalized knowledge-based economy. On the other hand, this cross-border activity, paired with mobility of staff and students and a sharing of knowledge and information across national borders, changes and influences the higher education environment (OECD, 2009). Globalization, internationalization and the knowledge economy are closely related as they reinforce each other. The Lisbon Agenda

¹

The *Spring Report* for the Spring Summit 2004, the *Implementation Report of the Broad Economic Policy Guidelines* 2003-2005, the *Joint Employment Report* and the *Implementation Report on the Internal market Strategy*.

was Europe's response to the realization that it lagged behind economically on the competitive international market. It deals with internationalization-related issues such as competition and globalization which play an increasing role in higher education (European Parliament, 2000). It aims to make European HE more competitive vis-à-vis the rest of the world. This competitiveness is increasingly important due to globalization.

Lisbon Agenda & Knowledge Economy

The Lisbon Agenda and *Europe 2020* were not merely driven by the threats and challenges posed by globalization. The emergence of the knowledge economy is increasingly important in contemporary global economics. It is distinguished by its attitude towards knowledge. In the knowledge economy, knowledge is seen as a commodity and is no longer confined to a state-ruled elite University system, but it can be produced and traded in a marketplace. In this context, not only knowledge but also higher education itself is a service that can be bought and traded. Universities are involved in international educational competition as they wish to attract national and international top students. In combination with globalization this makes it easier for students to pursue their education elsewhere and as a result cross-border student mobility is increasing (Xiaoping, 2005). The knowledge economy and globalization intensify HE internationalization.

2.5 Internationalization Policy Instruments

At the European level, the EC facilitated the implementation of internationalization policies through financial support for mobility and R&D. In terms of policy instruments, the supranational level used financial instruments to stimulate internationalization, while at the national level nation-states are free in their choice of policy instruments. The implementation of internationalization policies remains at the national level due to the use of OMC. The use of the OMC as implementation method is related to the principle of subsidiarity. This principle is often applied inside the Community for the implementation of social policy. It supports the view that intervention at higher levels of society should be seen as subsidiary to the obligations of smaller social units (Spicker, 1991) and safeguards the sovereignty of national governments through leaving nation states free in their choice for policy instrument types to internationalize HE.

2.6 Conclusions

Higher education is strongly pushed by the emergence of contextual factors outside of the scope of governments. Due to the uncontrollability of these forces, HE internationalization has become

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a necessary activity for nation-states to secure a place on the international marketplace. Scholars (Xiaoping, 2008) (De Wit, 2002) (Jongbloed, 2003) mention that education is becoming marketized due to these developments. The marketization of higher education is demonstrated by the WTO that considers including higher education as one of its concerns. This inclusion would ensure that the import and export of higher education is subject to the complex rules and legal arrangements of the WTO protocols and free of most restrictions (Altbach, 2001).

Globalization and the knowledge economy raise both restrictions and new possibilities for higher education. With regard to restrictions, scholars express concerns about the marketization of higher education, as it mainly focuses on economic rationales and does not consider pedagogic concerns and other rationales (De Wit EAE). With regard to new possibilities, globalization effects higher education by raising complex questions of difference and hybridity, power and collective action that should not be regarded solely in relationship to the nation-state alone (Welch, 2001). This provides opportunities for the intergovernmental and supranational institutions, yet one should be aware of the fact that the main actor steering HEI's remains the national government. Therefore the soft implementation method of the OMC is suiting for the internationalization of European HE systems.

CHAPTER 3

POLICY FORMATION THEORY

This chapter introduces the conceptual frame to study the transformation of HE internationalization policies. It introduces the theories that assist in describing internationalization in Dutch higher education through the creation of national-level policies.

3.1 The Policy Process: The Policy Cycle Model

Internationalization processes are steered by public policy, which is defined as “a purposive and consistent course of action produced as a response to a perceived problem of a constituency, formulated by a specific political process and adopted, implemented and enforced by a public agency” (Hayes, 2001). The main elements of the definition are that policy formation is a response to problem recognition, a purposive and consistent course of action rather than one single act, and the main actor in policy creation and formation is the national government. To understand educational policy creation, a policy formation model is applied. Such models are often used in policy formation studies as conceptual frames to simplify complex processes.

Literature on policy formation describes different models, each with its own paradigm. These discourses vary widely. Egglely (2010) states that the vast majority of models focuses on one specific aspect of the policy formation process. Every model has a different approach to government, society or policy. Howlett and Ramesh (1995) describe the theories as “tending to explain the phenomena under consideration in mono-causal terms.” To choose a model means to take certain factors in consideration while leaving others out of the equation. This implies a weakness, as not all factors are considered in the evaluation of policy creation. When using one of such models it is important to be aware of its limitations.

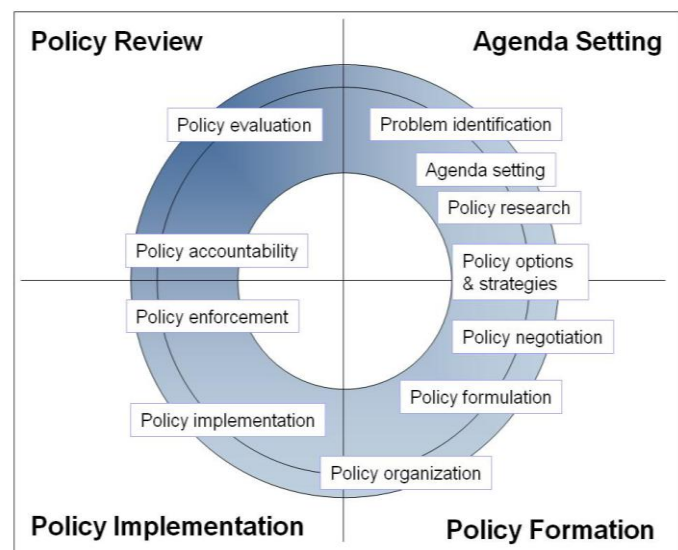


Fig. 3.1 The Policy Formation Cycle
(source: EcolInformatics International)

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STAGE IN POLICY CYCLE	POLICY CREATION STEPS	ELEMENTS
Agenda-setting Stage	Problem Recognition	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- <i>Focusing event</i>- <i>Systematic feedback</i>- <i>National mood</i>
	Agenda setting	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- <i>Feedback previous policies</i>- <i>National mood</i>- <i>Organization of Political Actors</i>- <i>Internal development government</i>

Table. 3.1 Policy Cycle: Agenda-setting

With this in mind, the Dutch policy creation is analyzed through the “*policy cycle model*” (May & Wildavsky, 1978). It divides the policy formation process up in stages that compromise a vicious cycle (fig. 3.1). A policy cycle starts with the recognition of a problem that leads to the agenda-setting of the issue. The process continues with testing proposals and proposing the most beneficial solutions to the government. In this stage the policy is subject to political strategies and policy negotiation strategies in the political arena. Finally the policy is formulated and organized so it can be implemented and enforced. This outcome of the enforcement is subject to evaluation, which brings the cycle back to the agenda-setting stage. The analysis is limited to the first part of policy creation, so it will regard the agenda-setting stage. This stage consists of problem identification that leads to agenda-setting of the issue.

Agenda-Setting Stage

Policy changes start with ideas. Key to understanding policy changes is not to know where an idea comes from but what made it take hold and grow (Kingdon, 1984). Policy changes are initiated with problem-recognition (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993). An issue is regarded a problem if people are convinced that the current situation must be amended. Such a change in position towards the status quo can happen in different ways, such as through a focusing event. This is “*a rare, harmful and sudden event that becomes known to the mass public and policy elites virtually simultaneously*” (Birkland, 1997). Events that matter to higher education policies are issues such as population growth and economic shifts, but Kingdon (1984) argues that such subtle changes are less likely to be viewed as events because they are not sudden. However, systematic feedback can lead to a realization of such a slow change.

The recognition of a problem is followed by agenda-setting. The agenda is “*a collection of problems, understandings of causes, symbols, solutions, and other elements of public problems that come to the attention of members of the public and their governmental officials*” (Birkland, 1997). It is a significant step in policy formation, because political actors pay attention to only a fraction of all recognized problems. The agenda-setting of an issue can happen in different ways. It can be influenced by feedback-mechanisms, because the policy cycle is a vicious cycle. The national mood can also influence the agenda setting, as culture influences policy formation

through the link between education and national culture. National or local interests play a significant role in policy formation processes (Arnott & Ozga, 2010) and therefore any change in the position of the population could influence policy creation. Next to this, the policy process and politics of policy subsystems (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993) can influence the policy formation process. *Organized political forces* exert pressure and internal governmental development can create changes through changes in personnel and jurisdictions.

The policy cycle model states that policy formation in the agenda-setting stage is influenced by the elements focusing events, systematic feedback, national mood, the organization of political actors and any changes that may occur in this organization. In the case study it will be reviewed how these elements have played a part in the internationalization of Dutch HE.

Strengths & Weaknesses of the Policy Cycle Model

Several points of criticism have formed towards the policy cycle model. The division that the model assumes is criticized because such clean breaks between stages lack in the policy making reality (Nakamura, 1987) (Howlett & Ramesh, 1995). Also, the model is not causal because it identifies no causal drivers that govern the process across the stages (Sabatier, 1986). Lastly, it oversimplifies policy making by regarding policy creation as an independent process, ignoring interaction with other policies (Hjern & Hull, 1982)(Sabatier, 1986).

The policy cycle model is selected because it creates a division in the formation of policies that has stimulated research within the separate stages (Cobb et al., 1976) (Kingdon, 1984) (Nelson, 1984) and creates structure in the chaotic reality of policy formation (Bridman & Davis, 2003). The simplification is fitting since it creates insight in policy formation and a model that considers all factors influencing the policy process will be too elaborate to create an overview.

3.2 Policy Instruments

The current study explores the policy instruments used to internationalize the Dutch HE system. Howlett (2005) defines policy instruments as *“the myriad techniques at the disposal of governments to implement their public policy objectives... These techniques range in complexity and age.”* The creation of a policy does not only consist of a choice of goals, (the policy) but also of a choice of means (the instrument). The choice of policy instruments is often as contentious as the subject of the policy itself (Howlett & Ramesh, 1995). The complexity and sheer number of policy instruments challenges political scientists. For this reason scholars designed numerous classifications that diverge in terms of specificity (Kirschen, 1964) (Cushman, 1941) (Lowi, 1972) (Dahl & Lindblom, 1953). In this thesis, two classifications of policy instruments are

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given. The first classification makes a distinction in the effect of the policy, whereas the second policy instrument categorization refers to the resources used.

Policy Instruments Categorization I - Carrots, Sticks & Sermons

The first approach is developed by Vedung (1998) and Schram (2005) who categorized policy instruments by dividing them into “*carrots*”, “*sticks*” or “*sermons*”. Here a “*carrot*” refers to the use of resources to stimulate certain developments by seducing or luring individuals or institutions to behave in a certain manner. These resources can either be distributed (subsidies) or taken away (fine), thus influencing behavior. “*Sticks*” steer behavior by means of rules and other legal instruments. People and institutions are mandated to act in accordance with these rules. This policy instrument type emphasizes the authoritative role of the government. “*Sermons*” mainly consist of information provision from the government towards the public. This information is meant to transfer knowledge and to communicate certain arguments with the aim to influence people. The three policy instrument types work in a different way, but cannot be regarded separately because they are often used in combination with each other.

Policy Instruments Categorization II-Information, Treasure, Authority & Action

The second categorization builds on the same principle and is provided by Hood (1983). He distinguishes four categories of policy instruments that vary in the type of resources used. Policy instrument tools are split up in instruments of information, treasure, authority and action. An overview of the policy instruments and the exact instruments within this instrument type is given in appendix D. The main categories consist of the following clusters.

Firstly, *instruments of information* concern the role of national government as information provider as it influences behavior by informing the population. In higher education, the instrument is used when governments inform HEI’s, students, researchers or the population about changes in educational legislation or possibilities for financial support.

Secondly, *instruments of treasure* are described as “checkbook government” (Hood, 1983), consisting of the ability of government to buy a service or good to stimulate certain behavior from a person, or provide financial support. These instruments are costly but have proven effective in altering societal behavior (Van Vught, 1995). They are used for financial support to HEI’s and in internationalization by providing internationally mobile students financial support.

Thirdly, *instruments of authority* consist of authoritative declarations by governments (Van Vught, 1999) that take away freedom. This instrument specifies the properties and rights of a person or the duties of the government to act in a certain situation to function in a supportive or

demanding manner. In higher education this instrument consists of the legislative framework HEI's operate in.

Lastly, Hood (1983) defined *direct action* as a policy instrument that encompasses a broad range of activities that governments perform by use of the production factors at its disposal. In higher education, the instrument of direct action could entail that governmental institutions would perform tasks of HEI's. However, in the Netherlands this policy instrument is not used as HEI's are independent actors with their own authority. Therefore, this policy instrument is not categorized in this research.

3.3 Rationales in Higher Education

The choice between policy instruments is also based on a variety of motivation for integrating an international dimension into national higher education (Qiang, 2003). Therefore this thesis identifies reasons behind Dutch internationalization policies. Reasons for internationalization are described by De Wit (2002) as a fourfold of concepts, defined as rationales.

Existing Literature on Rationales

Authors have identified internationalization rationales differently over time. Aigner et al (1992) described three reasons for internationalization, consisting of safeguarding international security, maintaining economic competitiveness and fostering intercultural understanding. Scott (1993) identified a broader spectrum of reasons, consisting of seven grounds for governments to internationalize their higher education system. They include the increasing competitive nature of economics, countries' wish for environmental interdependence, the multicultural and multi-religious diversity within nations, the growing number of foreign owned firms within national borders and the pressure they exert on local businesses, the multi-raciality of academic supervisors and the striving for peaceful relations between nations.

Other authors stressed the importance of economic factors in internationalization processes in higher education. Davies (1992) has added to Scott's work that internationalization is "*closely linked with financial reduction, the rise of academic entrepreneurialism and genuine philosophical commitment to cross-cultural perspectives in the advancement and dissemination of knowledge*" (Davies, 1992). He stresses the changing context of the fiscal situation of HEI's which makes the internationalization of higher education more a matter of revenue production than an educational development (Qiang, 2003). This refers to the marketization of higher education.

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Johnson & Edelstein (1993) supported this focus on the financial aspect. They stated that the dominant rationale for internationalization of higher education is the improvement or maintenance of the economic competitiveness of the state. The importance of national competition will decrease rapidly in a marketplace that is increasingly global and in which consequently the nation is decreasingly significant.

De Wit & Knight (1995) and their subsequent individual research (Knight, 1997) (De Wit, 2002) make a categorization of different rationales. They describe reasons behind education policies to consist of a twofold of rationales; the *economic and political rationales* and the *cultural and educational rationales*. Blumenthal (1996) supports this division of HE internationalization reasons into political, economic, educational, cultural, academic, scientific and technological rationales. In a later study Knight (1997) re-categorizes rationales in four clusters. She states that the division of rationales over separate political, economic, academic and cultural/social rationales is more suited for practical application. Therefore, this thesis adopts the categorization by Knight. In the description of the rationales one must keep in mind that internationalization processes cannot be placed in an absolute single rationale, but rather into combination of overlapping rationales that differ per actor.

3.4 Expectations

The significance of HE in knowledge based economies and the external factors that influence nation-states lead to a number of expectations for the case study. A total of five expectations are formulated accordingly.

The Netherlands is part of a globalizing world in which national governments are pressured to adapt to a global market. In this context The Dutch government is expected to internationalize its HE system. The Dutch government will do this through putting the Lisbon aims and the Bologna Action Lines on the agenda (expectation 1). This expectation is supported by the pro-European attitude of the Dutch government towards European integration on most areas of European integration. The Dutch are considered among the staunchest supporters of European integration and have actively supported European cooperation. Half joking, the country often refers to itself as '*het braafste jongentje van de klas*', which translates into 'the good boy in class' or 'the teachers favorite'.

With regard to policy instruments, the Dutch policy style (Richardson, 1982) is overall characterized by financial instruments (Bemelmans-Videc & Rist, 1998). This fuels the expectation that HE internationalization policies are composed more strongly of financial instruments (expectation 2) that mostly consist of subsidies (Bemelmans-Videc & Rist, 1998).

However, simultaneously the country is going through a shift away from the social welfare state (van Oorschot, 2006). This leads to the expectation that instruments of treasure will be used, but will decrease or develop a “stick” approach rather than functioning as a “carrot” (expectation 3).

With regard to rationales, the reasons behind policies are expected to be mainly economic (expectation 4) due to the marketization of HE; a development that is strengthened by globalization and decreasing state support for HEI's. This expectation is supported by several authors (Xiaoping, 2004) (Knight, 1997) (De Wit, 2002) (Huisman & van der Wende, 2004). Accordingly, four expectations have been formulated for the case-study.

Expectation 1

In the period 2004-2010 the Dutch government further internationalizes its Higher Education system by putting the Lisbon aims and the Bologna Action Lines on the agenda.

Expectation 2

The Dutch government will realize internationalization policies created in 2004-2010 through financial instruments more often than through other instruments.

Expectation 3

The Dutch government will realize policy instruments with a “stick” approach rather than instruments functioning as a “carrot”.

Expectation 4

The reasons of the Dutch government behind the creation of HE internationalization policies from 2004-2010 are expected to be mainly economic.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter focuses on the methodology used in this case study and structures the policy cycle, the policy instruments and the rationales into a framework that assists the answering of the sub-research questions by means of document analysis.

4.1 Research Design

This case study investigates activities of the Dutch government that shaped HE in 2004-2010. The policy formation processes from this period are reconstructed with assistance of the policy cycle model through regarding the agenda-setting of internationalization policies. The formation of the policy instruments is analyzed through document analysis. The documents consist of internationalization letters, communicative documents and a set of external review reports from the OECD. These shall be analyzed to discover how Dutch HE internationalization policies evolved and which policy instruments were used. Additionally, the documents are analyzed to identify indicators for rationales behind the policy alternatives.

4.2 Operationalization of Internationalization Policies

In the previous chapters it was established that the internationalization of higher education in European nation-states takes place through intergovernmental agreement (Bologna Process) and EU initiatives (Lisbon Agenda). The Netherlands has signed the Bologna Agreement and as a member of the EU it also partakes in the Lisbon Agenda. The internationalization policies of the Netherlands are lead by the Bologna Action Lines and the aims of the Lisbon Agreement. Dutch minister of Education, Mark Rutte, described the influence of these agreements in one of the internationalization letters to the second chamber: *“Internationalization is a process that has taken place for years, but a number of developments have greatly increased its speed. A first development is the increasing importance of Europe for HE policy in the Netherlands – and vice versa. This is best illustrated by the Bologna Declaration from 1999... Another illustration is the great importance of the realization of the Lisbon goals from the EU to be the most competitive knowledge economy in the world... The importance of the EU also becomes visible in the substantial financing of research for Dutch universities from EU programs. This entails a*

growing influence of the EU on the creation of HE policies”(OCW, 2004).² Thus, in order to operationalize HE internationalization this research focuses on the Bologna and Lisbon agendas.

Action Lines & Mechanisms

The Lisbon Agenda has merged with the Bologna Process (OECD, 2009) to such a degree that the two processes converged into one over-arching approach (Van der Wende & Huisman, 2004) (European Commission, 2005, 2006). Both agendas aim for the creation of the EHEA and thus for the implementation of the Bologna Action Lines (OECD, 2009). Therefore, the internationalization process is operationalized as the implementation of the Action Lines.

The Bologna Action Lines consist of the creation of a European qualification framework, the creation of joint degrees, the increase of mobility of student and researchers across borders, the mutual recognition of qualifications across European borders and the stimulation of cross-border employability. Most of these action lines have been realized before the time frame of the study, as the related mechanisms were implemented soon after they were agreed on at the European level. The action lines form a coherent program of overlapping mechanisms (table 4.2). This overlap can be explained by the fact that the Bologna Process consists of a tightly knit package of policy instruments designed with the common goal of creating the EHEA.

Action Line	Translates into mechanisms
<i>Framework of Qualifications of the EHEA</i>	Bachelor/Master structure (BA/MA) European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS)
<i>Joint Degrees</i>	Joint HE (master) programs
<i>Mobility</i>	Bachelor/Master structure (BA/MA) European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS) Recognition of Qualifications
<i>Recognition of Qualifications</i>	European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS) Diploma Supplement (DS)
<i>Employability</i>	Bachelor/Master structure (BA/MA) European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS)

Table 4.2 **Bologna Action Lines & Policy Instruments**

The EHEA consists of, firstly, a *Framework of Qualifications* where programs are measured by means of the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) and made comparable through the Bachelor-Master structure (Ba-Ma). Secondly, the EHEA is comprised of *Joint Programs* that dilute national borders through cross-border interaction between institutions that promotes academic mobility. Thirdly, this *Academic Mobility* is in turn another action line and is facilitated by the BaMa-structure, the ECTS and the mutual recognition of qualification. Fourthly, the *Recognition of Qualifications* action line creates the EHEA through added Diploma Supplements (DS) to HE degrees while using the BaMa-structure. The action lines are used in the Netherlands

² Freely translated from Dutch.

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and most mechanisms were implemented before the time frame of the study. The next chapter elaborates on the implementation level of the Netherlands before the time frame of the study.

The internationalization of Dutch HE is studied through the creation of policies that relate to the action lines. The policies are linked to the action lines in two ways. The first method consists of finding a direct mention of the action line in the policy formation process in the documents. Such a direct mention can consist of, for example, a HE internationalization letter in which it is stated that a certain action line was stressed in the Bologna ministerial meeting and for this reason a specific national HE issue should be addressed. The resulting policy relates directly to the action line emphasized in the ministerial meeting. When policy documents do not provide such information, secondary sources are used. They consist of information provided by other HE actors through reports or websites. These sources give more information on the context of policy creation and thus on the action line to which a policy is linked. This will answer the first sub-research question: *what HE policies have been developed in the period 2004-2010?*

4.3 Operationalization of the Policy Instruments

After determining which policies have been created in the HE internationalization process, we continue by answering the second research question: *“what kind of instruments have been designed and implemented to pursue the goals?”* The answer is expected to consist of the European aims as main internationalization policies (table 4.2). To determine the form of the policies, they are categorized by means of criteria that are based on the approach of the policy and the types of policy instruments. The previous chapter introduced two kinds of classifications of policy instruments. The first classification creates a division between the carrot-, stick-and sermon approach, as opposed to the second classification of instruments of information, treasure and authority. An elaborate description of the instrument types can be found in appendix D.

A policy instrument is categorized as a carrot when it consists of benefits for a person or institution if they act in a certain way. This typically consists of instruments of treasure, but in the analysis it is seen in a broader sense, encompassing all the instruments used to stimulate behavior by giving something back for it. The “stick” policy instruments work in a comparable way, instead of giving something in return for a behavior, the government punishes the lack of a behavior. This can consist of a decrease in funding for a HEI from the government due to disappointing numbers of academic mobility. A “sermon” instrument typically consists of an instrument of information, as it consists of any instrument that stimulates behavior through informing persons or institutions about possibilities or benefits to a certain behavior.

The second classification regards the tools of which the instrument consists. The instrument of information is recognized when the government uses information as a tool to influence behavior.

This can be done either through actively giving out information, or through answering questions from individuals or institutions. A policy instrument is considered an instrument of treasure when the government stimulates a behavior through giving money in return. In the Netherlands this is strongly linked to HEI funding and study financing. The category of instruments of authority is recognized when the government uses its authority to restrict a person or institution to a certain degree. In Dutch HE this will take place for example through changes in the law on HE.

The policy instruments used in Dutch HE internationalization are presented in the observation grid in appendix E. Every policy will likely consist of several policy instruments, due to the different functions of government. For example, the provision of information (instrument of information) cannot be realized without organizational support that needs to be financed (instrument of treasure). Nevertheless, the categorization can be used to identify the most dominant policy instruments (Gornitzka, 1999).

4.4 Operationalization of Rationales

After describing the policy instruments that have been created in this period, the reasons behind internationalization processes will be identified. Such grounds for the creation of policies are described by Knight (1997) as rationales. In order to define the strength of the different rationales underlying the creation of HE internationalization policies, indicators for each of the rationales were abstracted from literature. The different rationales and their indicators are summarized in the observation grid in appendix F. They are described as follows.

Economic Rationales

Economic rationales are described by Knight (1997) as the reasons behind internationalization that contribute to long-term economic effects. This related directly to the *economic growth rationale* by Knight & De Wit (1995) that is part of the economic and political rationale. This rationale is based on the idea that the internationalization of higher education has a positive effect on technological developments and, consequently, economic growth. Also, internationalization is considered an investment in future economic relations. This rationale forms the base for scholarship programmes for foreign students, with the aim that these students may have an positive influence for the host country when they return to their home country (Knight & de Wit, 1995). In the document analysis, the economic growth rationale is recognized when actors discuss the benefit of internationalizing HE for the sake of economic growth, technological development and economic relations with other nation-states.

The *labour market rationale* is closely related to the economic growth rationale. It focuses on the internationalization of the labour market and reasons that globalization influences the labour

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market and created a demand for internationalized graduates (Knight & De Wit, 1995). Even though the actual need for such internationalized personnel is still disputed, Knight and de Wit found this rationale to be used by academics to a large degree. Also, internationalization can be used as a tool to attract high quality students and start a process of brain-gain. In the document analysis, the labour market rationale is identified when actors discuss HE internationalization with the aim of adapting the labour market to the globalized economy.

Financial rationales lie behind internationalization activities when income generation lies at the base of these policies. A financial rationale can be recognized by the pursuit of high economic return in combination with a low investment in an internationalization policy instrument. National educational demand can be a rationale for internationalization when the HE provision in a state lack. Students are pushed to pursue higher education elsewhere. This can save the costs of investing into new educational facilities for the state. Therefore this falls under the financial rationales. The financial rationale is identified when actors discuss such income generation as a reason to internationalize HE.

Political Rationale

The *foreign policy rationale* links higher education to foreign policy by using it as a tool to improve a countries image (Alladin, 1992). This is done through the provision of scholarships to foreign students so these students sympathise with their host country and become familiar with its culture and political systems. Another tool that promotes a countries image through education is the educational agreement. Through educational agreements countries may also build or maintain political relations that otherwise would not have existed. These relations can be used for political or economic means. Inside the EU a comparable pattern is visible, as educational policies are used as inclusion tools that assist in the incorporation of states into EU programmes. Whenever actors discuss internationalizing HE as a foreign policy tool, to improve the image of the country or to indirectly build foreign relations, the political rationale shall be recognized.

Cultural Rationales

The cultural function of higher education in nation-states should not be ignored, because it is recognized to also influence internationalization. De Wit & Knight (1997) mention that it is closely related to nationalism, as countries use internationalization as a tool to export their national culture, identity and values. Due to this export the national interests are also represented outside national borders (mixing this rationale with the foreign policy rationale). The increasing mobility that is paired with internationalization is used to promote national culture, attitudes, norms and values outside country borders. In the document analysis, the cultural rationale is identified when actors discuss HE internationalization with the aim of promoting the national image or spreading national culture.

Academic Rationales

The academic rationales include concerns surrounding the substance of education, with specific attention to the pedagogic aspects of internationalization. It focuses on the development of the individual, institution building and improving the quality of education and research as well as providing an international dimension to research and teaching (thus increasing the quality of education). In the document analysis, any mention of HE internationalization for the sake of improving educational quality, individual or HEI development shall be noted as an academic rationale.

It is expected that in addition to the rationales mentioned in the literature, other reasons for internationalization of higher education will be mentioned. For this reason the literature-based indicators (as described above) will have the connotation *lit.* in the observation grid. Any additional rationales found in the documents will be added to the literature-based indicators and receive the connotation (*emp.*) to indicate that they are empirically based.

4.5 Methodology

The research method consists of the techniques or procedures used to gather and analyze data related to some research question or hypothesis (Crotty, 1998). Philliber, Schwab and Samoss (1980) describe this as the blueprint of the study at hand, dealing with a fourfold of issues; the questions to answer, the data to study, the method to study it and how to analyze the results (Philliber, Schwab & Samoss, 1980). The questions to study have been defined in the introduction and the first part of this chapter. Attention shall now turn to which data will be studied (4.6.1 and 4.6.2), how to study this data (4.6.3) and how to come to a conclusion (4.6.4). Additionally, the reliability of the data used in this study shall be considered.

Data

The study focuses on the policy instruments that have been developed between 2004 and 2010. This time period starts at the Dutch presidency of the European Commission and the High Level Group report (2004). The time stretch ends at the deadline set in the Bologna Declaration for the realization of the European Higher Education Area.

At the time of the Dutch presidency, the EU had just been enlarged, the European Parliament had been elected and the European Commission newly installed. This was a unique combination of events that were considered to mark a new phase in the realization of the Lisbon Agenda to deal with the challenges the European Union faced (CORDIS, 2006). The Dutch decided to use the Presidency to deal with the globalization challenges, moving the European R&D agenda ahead and promoting the competitiveness of the European economy. They expressed the desire to

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constitute a Europe of knowledge, innovation and competitiveness (CORDIS, 2006). This was expressed in the agenda, where several points appeared with certain regularity. It wanted to increase R&D investment, create links between knowledge and industry and improve European human capital by promoting excellence in research. This reflects the points brought forward by the High Level Group report that was published in November of the same year. The report called for investment into R&D to stimulate the knowledge society and to support the labor market through lifelong learning and active ageing initiatives. By 2010 these initiatives should have resulted in the creation of a common EHEA. Any activity to achieve the goals should be realized between 2004 and 2010. This makes the time-frame suitable for the case study of the Netherlands.

In the case study of the Netherlands the research questions will be answered by means of primary and secondary data sources. The primary sources consist of policy formation documents and the secondary sources consists of external reports and literature. Documents are a useful tool in reconstructing the policy formation process, as they are by-products of human activity that can substitute or supplement direct observation (Mills, Eurepos and Wiebe, 2010). The data is comprised of several national policy formation documents. These documents are the unit of observation in this research and fulfill the function of constituting social processes. Their underlying meaning can be reconstructed and analyzed with qualitative research methods (Flick, 2007), in this research through the conceptual framework of rationales. The documents consist of policy output and supportive or communicative documents, such as letters from the ministry of education towards the cabinet. The documents are listed in appendix G and the document analysis itself can be found in appendix H.

Data analysis

The research question will be answered by means of document analysis. This facilitates the reconstruction of the policy formation process, as the documents describe the development of the policies, the different policy instrument types that have been considered and which rationales lie behind the choices made in this process. The policy instruments that changed the HE system and the rationales behind the choices made in the internationalization process are described through identifying the specified indicators. The indicators for policy instrument categories and the rationales have been divided into two separate sets of indicators listed in the observation grid.

Content analysis is a method of analyzing sets of texts in which the significance of a term is determined through the use of certain words, terms and concepts in the documents. The texts will be analyzed manually to identify the indicators as specified in the observation grids. In the recognition of the indicators, the research is allowed a certain degree of flexibility and interpretation. Due to the qualitative nature of the study, indicators may not be mentioned

straightforward, so this limited freedom facilitates the recognition of indicators in cases where they are used indirectly. The indicators are marked in the documents with a code corresponding to an indicator in the observation grid. Indicators for economic rationales are indicated with an “E”, political rationales with a “P”, cultural rationales with a “C” and academic rationales with an “A”. The codes are listed on the observation grids with each indicator.

The indicators are identified through their function in the documents. Each mention of an indicator is translated into a score. The presence of an indicator is marked as “1”,³ the total lack of an indicator will receive “-4”⁴ and the mention of an indicator not being a valid reason or fitting instrument for HE internationalization will receive a score of “-1”.⁵ The scores of each indicator in the different documents are added up to find the overall score of the concept that the specific indicators translate. The sum of the indicator scores will then reflect the overall score of the rationale or policy instrument type.

Reliability

A weakness of the research lies in the documents. Most documents are made public by the Dutch government. This is a weakness in the sense that a government could only make a part of its communication public and in the selection of these documents it can provide biased data. To account for this, a number of documents from external independent parties is also included in the analysis. Also, the results from the study are cross checked with evidence from previous research.

The second weakness of the study can also be found in the use of document analysis to answer the research questions. Political rationales are rarely mentioned in policy formation documents and therefore one should be careful to draw conclusions on the basis of documents alone. The score of political rationales shall very likely score negative. It is advisable to add additional data sources to any follow-up study, such as expert interviews.

A third weakness of the research lies in the use of content analysis in the processing of the documents. The analysis may not lead to the recognition of each use of the indicators. This is accounted for by giving the researcher a limited amount of freedom to interpret the documents, so that an indirect use of the indicators will still be noted. This freedom could in itself turn into a weakness of the study. To keep an overview of possible interpretations, in cases where the indicators are not straightforward, a footnote is added with an explanation of the case and the count.

³ The scores are added up for every time the indicator is mentioned.

⁴ This number is so low to compensate for the utter insignificance that its absence signifies.

⁵ The scores are added up for every time that the indicator is denied or deemed unfitting.

Chapter 5

HE Internationalization in the Netherlands

This chapter deals with the governance of HE in the Netherlands and describes the main actors and activities promoting HE internationalization. Within this promotion of internationalization, it focuses on the methods of and reasons behind the policies created.

5.1 Higher Education in the Netherlands

Main Policy Actors in Dutch Higher Education

Dutch HE takes place in three different types of institutions. It is provided by *hogescholen* (polytechnics) that provide practice-oriented professional education; the universities, that provide traditional University education and the Open University. They comprise the HEI's in the Netherlands. Within HE governance, the Dutch government and HEI's are the main, but not only, actors that internationalize the Dutch HE system. The Dutch educational system combines a centralized educational policy from the national government with a decentralized administration and management of HEI's (Jongbloed & Soo, 2009). Simultaneously Dutch HE institutions have a high level of autonomy and function independently (OECD, 2003).

The amount of autonomy for HEI's has increased with the need to proliferate themselves in an internationalizing HE market (OCW, 2005). The Higher Education and Research Act (WHW) defines the main regulation governing HE and gives HEI's a great degree of autonomy (limited by the parameters laid down by the government). The Act also gives HEI's responsibility to maintain quality of education, provide an adequate range of teaching and research and to ensure access to education.

The HEI's represent their interests in policy creation through two representative organizations: the Association of Universities in the Netherlands (VSNU) and the HBO-Council. These organizations take part in the national policy network for HE (Jongbloed & Soo, 2009). When it comes down to the actual creation of policies, the Ministry of Education is responsible for the governance of the HEI's, but other Ministries may be involved and the Parliament decides on legislation and budget for HE. The Parliaments' decisions are based on consultation with representative organizations, such as the VSNU, the HBO-Council, student unions, employer's

organizations and professional organizations. Also governmental advisory bodies express their position towards a plan, such as the Educational Council (Onderwijsraad), the Advisory Council on Science and Technology Policy (AWT), the Economic Council (SER), the Advisory Council on Government Policy (WRR), the Social and Cultural Planning Office (SCP) and the Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis (CPB) (Jongbloed & Soo, 2009). These organizations are also actors in the policy formation process.

Developments in Dutch Higher Education

Dutch HE has changed considerably over the last decades in an incremental manner (Jongbloed & Soo, 2009). HEI's are financed less by the government and increasingly attract revenue from external sources (CBS, 2012). This demonstrates the marketization of HE and the ability of HEI's to respond to their external environment. As the environment for HEI's is becoming globalized, the Dutch HE system is expected to be internationalized further. Dutch cabinets were consistently positive towards HE internationalization through the Bologna Process and Lisbon Agenda (Dittrich, Fredriks & Luwel, 2004). However, political developments have also influenced the internationalization process. The case study demonstrates the effect of such developments with the fall of cabinet Balkenende II. This event was followed by a near standstill of internationalization policy creation.

The Dutch government is generally willing to internationalize its HE system and accordingly implemented the action lines within a few years of signing the Bologna Agreement. The action lines have been implemented for a large part before the time frame of the study. Dutch HE is integrated in the *Framework of Qualification of the EHEA* through integrating the BaMa-structure and the ECTS into the HE system. The *Recognition of Qualification* has been realized as qualifications from European HEI's are recognized by Dutch HEI's, and the other way around. This is facilitated by the use of the BaMa-structure and the ECTS that increase the compatibility of HE programs. The combination of integrating Dutch HE into the *Framework of Qualification of the EHEA* and the *Recognition of Qualification* led to the implementation of the action line *Mobility* (table 5.1).

Action Line	Translates into mechanisms
<i>Framework of Qualifications of the EHEA</i>	Bachelor/Master structure (BA/MA) European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS)
<i>Joint Degrees</i>	Joint HE (master) programs
<i>Mobility</i>	Bachelor/Master structure (BA/MA) European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS) Recognition of Qualifications
<i>Recognition of Qualifications</i>	European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS) Diploma Supplement (DS)
<i>Employability</i>	Bachelor/Master structure (BA/MA) European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS)

Table 5.1 Bologna Action Lines & Policy Instruments

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These action lines were integrated into Dutch HE through implementation of the mechanisms of which they are composed. Firstly, the BaMa structure was in use in 92% of all Dutch HE programs in 2003 (OCW, 2004). Secondly, diploma supplements (DS) were given out to students next to their Dutch diploma by HEI's from 2005. The DS is made compulsory to HEI's by the WHW (Law on Higher Education) and complies to European standard. Thirdly, the ECTS is implemented in Dutch HE. Fourthly, the European qualifications framework was put on the agenda. And lastly, the implementation of the qualification framework has progressed, as the Dutch quality assurance office (the NVAO) is member of the ENQA (OCW, 2004).

5.2 Dutch HE Internationalization

Despite the large degree of internationalization of Dutch higher education, not all action lines were implemented in the beginning of 2004. In the period 2004 -2010 the Dutch government developed a number of instruments that stimulated the creation of the EHEA. The case study has resulted in an overview of the instruments that have been realized in the Netherlands in the period 2004-2010 to further realize the action lines. Appendix D gives an overview of the instrument types that form the categories of policy instruments.

Overall, the action lines were implemented before the time frame of the study, but the action line of joint degrees remained. Also, the mobility rate of the Netherlands stayed behind on the aims formulated and on the OECD average (Nuffic, 2011). The Dutch government focused its efforts on increasing mobility. This is visible in the number of policy instruments created in this action line. Table 5.2 indicates policy instruments created with the direct aim of implementing the action lines. It also indicates policy instruments that aim at one action line, but due to spill-over effects also stimulate other action lines. The latter instruments are indicated with an asterisk (*). The internationalization of Dutch HE after 2004 has taken place through the facilitation of joint degrees by altering the law on HE, the portability of study finance, the creation of a code of conduct, centres of excellence and a number of scholarships, the expansion of Dutch HE promotion abroad and the creation of a national qualification framework.

5.3 Policy Instruments

The creation of HE policies have further internationalized Dutch HE by nesting the action lines deeper into the national HE system. Policy creation entails choices on the instruments by which the policy aims are realized. The policy instruments per action line are realized by the instruments as described in table 5.2 (the categorization is described elaborately in Appendix C).

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Table 5.2 Action Lines Realized Through Mechanisms and Policy Instruments

Bologna Action Line	Translates into mechanisms	Policy instruments NL	Instrument Type (Resources)	Instrument Type (Effect)
<i>Framework of Qualifications EHEA</i>	Bachelor/Master structure (BA/MA) European Credit Transfer Accumulation System (ECTS)	Joint degrees *		
<i>Joint Degrees</i>	Joint HE (master) programs	Alter WHW Portable Study Finance* Centres of Excellence *	Instrument of Authority (Certificate)	Neutral
<i>Mobility</i>	Bachelor/Master structure (BA/MA) European Credit Transfer Accumulation System (ECTS) Recognition of Qualifications	Portable Study Finance Code of Conduct Centres of Excellence HSP Scholarships <i>Huygens & Kennisbeurs</i> NESO Expansion * Joint degrees*	Instrument of Treasure (Bounty) Instrument of Information (Messages & Responses) Instrument of Authority (Conditional) Instrument of Treasure (Contract) Instrument of Treasure (Bounty) Instrument of Information (Message)	Carrot Sermon Carrot Carrot Carrot Sermon
<i>Recognition of Qualifications</i>	European Credit Transfer Accumulation System (ECTS) Diploma Supplement (DS)	Qualification Framework Diploma Supplement Joint degrees*	Instrument of Authority (Enablement) Instrument of Authority (Approval)	Carrot Stick Stick
<i>Employability</i>	Bachelor/Master structure (BA/MA) European Credit Transfer Accumulation System (ECTS)			

Instruments with an asterisk (*) influence the policy goal through spillover effect from other policies, so their instruments are left out to gain more overview of the general policy style of the Dutch government in the HE internationalization process.

Joint Degrees

A joint degree is a study program provided by a HEI in collaboration with one (or more) (foreign) HEI's, leading to a degree. The collaborating institutions have a shared responsibility and all provide a substantial part of the program (NVAO, 2012). At the 2001 Prague ministerial conference European Ministers called for the creation of joint degrees. The issue is high on the European agenda and considered an important mean to create the EHEA as it is believed to have spillover effects onto all action lines. Joint degrees are common in every field of study, commonly English-taught master programs (Tauch & Rauhvargers, 2002). In the Netherlands, *Joint Degrees* had not been realized by 2004, but the Dutch government felt that their creation should be facilitated (OCW, 2004). Dutch HEI's are autonomous institutions only in those areas

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where the government grants autonomy, which it had not for joint degrees. To finalize the implementation of the *Joint Degree* action line, the WHW was altered by adding the creation of joint degrees to the scope of HEI responsibilities (art.7.3.c WHW). Since July 2010 Dutch HEI's can offer joint degrees.

Mobility

The second action line that the Dutch government implemented further is *Mobility*. Academic mobility is key indicator for HE internationalization (Teichler, 2009) and the action line of *mobility* is central to the EHEA. The mechanisms facilitating academic mobility were implemented, as Dutch HE programs were given in line with the BaMa-structure and the ECTS and the *recognition of qualifications* was realized. However, the academic mobility rate of the Netherlands stayed behind on the OECD average (Nuffic, 2011). The Dutch government recognizes the central role of academic mobility in the HE internationalization process and aimed to increase the Dutch mobility rate (OCW, 2004). Hereby it focused on proliferation and quality of HEI's in the international market. With regard to internal mobility, this focus on quality would attract foreign top students, and with regard to external mobility, it would further increase the quality of Dutch top students (OCW, 2004).

Academic mobility was most directly stimulated through the portability of study finance (OCW, 2005). The issue appeared on the agenda under cabinet Balkenende II in 2004 after appearing on the European agenda, and was created in 2005 until it was enforced under Balkende III in September 2007 (OCW 2004, 2005a, 2007). The problem-recognition for this policy instrument consists of two issues; first, the number of Dutch students studying abroad is smaller than the number of foreign students coming to the Netherlands; and second, in the Bergen ministerial meeting all Bologna countries have agreed to eliminate any impediments to student mobility. The final goal of the realization of the portable study finance is realizing the EHEA through increasing academic mobility (OCW, 2005a).

Additionally, academic mobility was stimulated through a "code of conduct" that defined rules of interaction for HEI's for their interaction with foreign students (OCW, 2005b). The code assures international students that Dutch HEI's satisfy a set of rules surrounding conduct with international students, thus increasing the attractiveness of Dutch HEI's and the EHEA (OCW, 2005b). It is formulated by HEI umbrella organizations and the government plays only an authoritative role in the enforcement of the code. The government uses the code as a condition for HEI's to partake in the HSP (OCW, 2005b).

To stimulate academic mobility, the *Huygens Scholarship Program* has been developed as an overarching instrument (OECD, 2006). It consists of several scholarships, such as the *Huygens*

Scholarship and the *Knowledge Scholarship (Kennisbeurs)*. The HSP appeared on the agenda in 2004 under cabinet Balkende II and was designed to increase the competitive position of Dutch HEI's by stimulating brain gain through increasing their image (OCW, 2004). It was implemented in 2006 under cabinet Balkende III (OCW, 2005b). It consists of several instruments. Firstly, the scholarships comprise the Huygens Scholarship and the Knowledge Scholarship (Kennisbeurs) (OCW, 2004). Secondly, to support HEI's in international proliferation *Centres of Excellence* are created. The responsibility for their creation lies with HEI's. It stimulates mobility as part of the HSP through attracting top students with high quality education. Thirdly, the HSP encompasses the expansion of the communication strategy of Dutch HE. This *Netherlands Education Support Offices (NESO's)*. These offices are allocated abroad and promote Dutch HE. By expanding their number and positioning them in more countries more top students are attracted to the Netherlands.

Lastly, the mobility rate benefits from the creation of joint degrees. This instrument is not developed for the purpose of stimulating academic mobility, but has spillover effects into this area. Students partaking in joint degrees often study abroad for a certain part of their program, thereby promoting the academic mobility rate.

Recognition of Qualifications

In Dutch HE the recognition of qualifications had been realized to a large degree, as the ECTS mechanism was fully implemented. However, the diploma supplement (DS) was not given out with degrees from Dutch HEI's, so some activity remained in this action line.

The creation of the *Dutch Qualification Framework (NQFHO)* was initiated 2005 and realized in 2009. The agenda-setting was initiated by minister of education Mark Rutte in the internationalization letter concerning the European ministerial meeting in Bergen (2005). He states that one of the reasons to address qualification recognition is the comparing overview that has been created to witness the degree of implementation of the action lines. *"The Netherlands, along with other West-European states, is in the top 10... Such a comparison between countries should be maintained and expanded, because it functions as a stimulus to work on the Bologna agreements. No country wants to dangle at the bottom of statistics"* (OCW, 2005b).

In the period 2004-2010 the Dutch government further implemented the *Recognition of Qualifications* action line through creating the NQFHO. This linked together instruments that were previously created at the European level. It consists of a list of competences and skills that constitute the degrees of Bachelor, Master and Doctor. The Dublin Descriptors (2004) are used as reference points for each cycle. Each cycle is indicated with the corresponding number of ECTS-credits (NVAO, 2008).

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The NQFHO is an instrument of authority that consists of an enablement, because the government uses her authority to oblige HEI's to fit educational programs to the NQFHO. The effect of this instrument differs per actor affected. For students the instrument functions as a “carrot” as it takes away limitations to academic mobility in relation to qualification recognition, as well as making more education (from foreign HEI's) easier accessible to Dutch students. For HEI's the instrument has the effect of a “stick”, as the government uses her authority to oblige HEI's to fit their education to the NQFHO. The NQF-HO is implemented by HEI's since 2008.

The Diploma Supplement provides information on the degrees to foreign HEI's, students and employers (NVAO, 2008). The instrument is categorized as an instrument of authority that consist of an approval, because the government obliges HEI's to provide a DS to all degrees awarded. This has a general application, as all students are entitled to a DS. For HEI's the instrument functions as a stick, because they are forced to provide DS by the government.

These are the instruments the Dutch government created to further internationalize its HE. In the following section our attention shall turn to reasons behind internationalization policies, and possibly behind the choice for certain policy instruments.

5.4 Rationales behind Internationalization

The case study regards the rationales behind Dutch HE policies to answer the research sub-question “*what are reasons for HE internationalization policies of the Dutch government?*” In order to identify the rationales, a document analysis is made in which the indicators for the different rationales are identified. The indicators of each rationale, together with their scores, are listed in Appendix F. Every mention of an indicator gives the rationale one point, adding up to its final score. The following conclusions can be drawn from the rationale scores.

The political reasons behind the internationalization of Dutch HE are limited. The case study resulted in an overall score of political rationales of 0. This indicates that political reasons are mentioned (as the score is not negative) but do not influence the policy formation process. The financial reasons are hardly mentioned (score 2) and foreign policies play a minimal part in internationalization policies (score -17). Within the political rationales, two reasons for internationalization stand out positively. The Dutch government repeatedly mentioned the importance of European integration and regards HE internationalization as a part of this (score 7). Additionally, the internationalization process is seen as a opportunity to increase the Dutch image abroad (score 8). Overall, no direct conclusions can be drawn from this, as the rationales scores are low over all indicators. Therefore, it is concluded that political rationales play no significant part in the internationalization of Dutch HE.

The significance of economic reasons in the internationalization of HE is reflected by the high score for economic rationale indicators in policy formation documents (score 131). The use of internationalization to stimulate economic growth is high (score 56) and internationalization is also mentioned as a way to stimulate the labor market (score 75). Within the labor market, the notion of brain gain was especially strong. With a score of 40 this was the most mentioned reason for internationalization. The financial reasons for internationalization are mentioned, but so little that it did little to change the overall score for the economic rationales (score 2). Overall, economic rationales are a strong rationale behind Dutch HE internationalization.

The Dutch culture is mentioned in the documents as a reason to internationalize higher education, but only incidentally. Within the cultural rationales, the promotion of intercultural understanding inside the Netherlands through increased contact with foreigners was mentioned, but mostly the possibility to promote the country abroad was seen as a reason to internationalize higher education (score 10). Overall, the case study showed that cultural reasons play a small part in the internationalization of Dutch higher education (score 16).

The effects of internationalization on the academic aspect of higher education are evident in the case study (score 68). Literature predicted that the academic rationale is used especially with the presumption that internationalization increases HE quality, even though no proof or additional reasons are given for this effect. In the case study this is confirmed, as the increase of quality was mentioned (score 20) without any clarification. The academic rationale is also strong because the strengthening of the position of HEI's is mentioned in the documents (score 23). This is an indicator that has shared connotations with economic rationales. Therefore the strong academic rationale should be regarded critically, but the effects to the academic aspect of higher education are regarded to play a part in the creation of internationalization policies.

From the analysis the following conclusions can be drawn about which reasons underly Dutch internationalization policies. Overall, the score of the rationales in the case study show a clear pattern. All rationales are included in the creation of internationalization policies, as no rationale has a negative score. However, political rationales have a minor influence as the final score for this rationale is 0. Cultural rationales also do not have a strong influence with a score of 16. The reasons that influence the process more strongly are the academic rationale, especially due to the often mentioned notion of quality, and the strong economic rationale. It can be concluded that, out of all the rationales, economic reasons are the strongest driving force behind internationalization policies in the Netherlands.

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CHAPTER 6 DISCUSSION

The preceding chapters described the policy instruments used and the reasons behind the internationalization of Dutch higher education. This chapter will summarize and discuss the findings from the case study, answer the research questions and reflect them against other research findings.

6.1 Research Questions

To determine the evolution of Dutch HE policies, the case-study answers three sub-research questions. The findings of the case-study can be found in appendices E and F. The research questions shall be answered in this section.

Question 1

What HE policies have been developed by the Dutch government in the period 2004-2010?

In the Netherlands, most action lines were implemented in the first years after signing the Declaration. However, it still actively creates internationalization policies to further integrate the action lines into its HE (table 5.2). To answer the first sub-research question the focus rests on the three left columns of table 5.2. The first column lists the European action lines and the second column gives the mechanisms of the action lines. The third column mentions the policies that have been created in the Netherlands to integrate the action lines into the national HE system.

The following policies were identified in the case-study as main internationalization policies created by the Dutch government. Firstly, the government facilitated the creation of joint degrees by HEI's by changing the WHW (art.7.3.c WHW). This alteration gave HEI's autonomy to create joint degrees. This change links to the *Joint Degree* action line.

Secondly, study financing for Dutch students has been made portable in 2007. The aim of this policy was to increase outward student mobility. Therefore this links to the action line *Mobility*.

Thirdly, the Huygens Scholarship Program (HSP) consists of a number of policy instruments. Two kinds of scholarships (*Huygens Scholarship* and *Knowledge Scholarship*) are available for students to study abroad or to come to the Netherlands to study. Additionally, Dutch HE is promoted abroad by NESO's. Under the HSP the number of NESO's was increased, with the aim of proliferating Dutch HE. Also, a *Code of Conduct* was created. This code specifies the ways in which Dutch HEI's handle

international students (Nuffic, 2012). Another policy instrument that is used to make Dutch HE more attractive is the creation of Centres of Excellence. Together these instruments shape the HSP program, which links to the action line *Mobility*.

Lastly, the creation of the Dutch qualification framework (NQFHO) that is compatible with the overarching *European Qualification Framework for Higher Education*, commenced in 2005 and was certified in 2009. The creation of the NQFHO relates to the action line *Recognition of Qualifications* due to its aim for mutual comparisons between European HE degrees and transparent European HE that leads to comparable degrees. These policies aim to integrate European action lines more firmly into the Dutch HE system. Hereby the focus is on increasing academic mobility, as the majority of the internationalization activities links to this action line.

However, policy creation in the Netherlands stalled in 2006 when the cabinet fell and a new cabinet (Balkenende III) was set up. In 2006 this cabinet resigned and in 2007 a new cabinet (Balkenende IV) was created. Higher education did not receive a central position in the policy program and was merely mentioned in the context of economic innovation and social cohesion. HE internationalization appeared on the agenda for two years before the cabinet fell. In these two years the focus shifted from further internationalization towards increasing the competition position of HEI's in the emerging European HE market (OCW, 2008). In the period with faster changes in the political context, the case study shows less policy creation. The fact that multiple cabinets fell led to a change in actors and change in position towards the HE internationalization. The political situation influenced the policy formation and therefore hindered the integration of an international dimension into Dutch HE.

Question 2

What kind of policy instruments have been designed and implemented to pursue the goals?

The policy instruments used in HE policies diverge and function in an overlapping method. Table 5.2 gives an overview of the policy instrument types that were used to realize the policies described in the previous answer.

The governmental activity in creating joint degrees consisted of altering the legal framework, so that HEI's were authorized to create joint degrees. With regard to the resources used this can be categorized as a policy instrument of authority, because the government gives HEI's authority through a certificate, with the certificate consisting of the new authorities for HEI's defined in the WHW. With regard to the aimed effect, the instrument is neutral, because it only creates a possibility to create joint degrees and does not stimulate or counter joint degrees. However, the creation of joint degrees is stimulated by the internationalization and marketization of Dutch HE.

Next to changing the WHW, joint degrees were stimulated through information provision by organization such as the VSNU. Information provision falls under the instrument of information

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and would have the aimed effect of a “sermon”. However, this was not initiated by the government, so is not be regarded an instrument of information in this analysis.

Policy Instruments Mobility

Academic mobility is stimulated through the mobility of study finance. The resources used in this instruments are both instruments of information (messages) and instruments of treasure, as students are informed by the DUO about the possibility to receive financial support also when they study abroad (OCW, 2005a). This financial support functions as a bounty, which falls under the instrument of treasure. Secondly, mobility was also stimulated by the *Code of Conduct*. Hereby it should be noted that the government merely implemented the Code developed by the HE umbrella organizations. The government uses the *Code* as a condition for HEI’s to partake in the HSP (OCW, 2005b), using it as a conditional (instrument of authority). The instrument functions as a carrot as well as a stick. Thirdly, the government promotes mobility through stimulating the creation of Centres of Excellence. To achieve this it uses instruments of treasure to offer financial support (contract) to HEI’s. This instrument functions as a “carrot” as it positively reinforces HEI’s to create ‘knowledge peaks’ in order to receive financial support. Fourthly, mobility was stimulated through the broad HSP, that consists of a series of policy instruments. The HSP scholarships consist of instruments of information and treasure. The scholarships themselves function as a bounty and the messages and responses towards students to promote the use of the scholarship functions as an instrument of information. The fifth instrument to increase mobility in the Netherlands is through the expansion of the NESO’s. Their function is to give out messages and response to questions, as an instrument of information. This information functions as a sermon, while the scholarships function as a carrot.

Action Line Recognition of Qualifications

The second action line addressed by the Dutch government is the Recognition of Qualification. The qualification framework functions as an instrument of authority (enablement), as the ministry of education created a set of aims that students have to fulfill before HEI’s can award a degree. However, it is created in close collaboration with the HEI’s and other HE related organizations, weakening the use of authority (NVAO, 2008). The recognition of qualifications is also stimulated through making the Diploma Supplement obligatory for each HE degree awarded. This entails the use of authority in the form of an certificate. The obliged character of the DS results into the “stick” effect of the instrument.

Overall, the following pattern becomes visible. The most popular instrument of the Dutch government in the instrument of treasure, as it is most central instrument, with other policy instruments supporting its effect. The facilitation of bounties is a often chosen approach that is

supported by the instrument of information. The instrument of treasure is most often used as a bounty, meaning that the government buys a service or good from an unspecified person in order to stimulate certain behavior.

It should be noted that the instrument of authority is used one time more than the instrument of treasure. However, its role is not as central as the instrument of treasure. In the creation of the *Code of Conduct* it is used for the enforcement rather than the creation of the instrument. The instrument of authority therefore can be seen as a second most important instrument type for HE internationalization.

The instruments of information is used twice. In both instances it is used as a supportive instrument next to the instruments of treasure. The portability of the study financing is supported by the information provision by the governmental institution DUO towards students.

Question 3

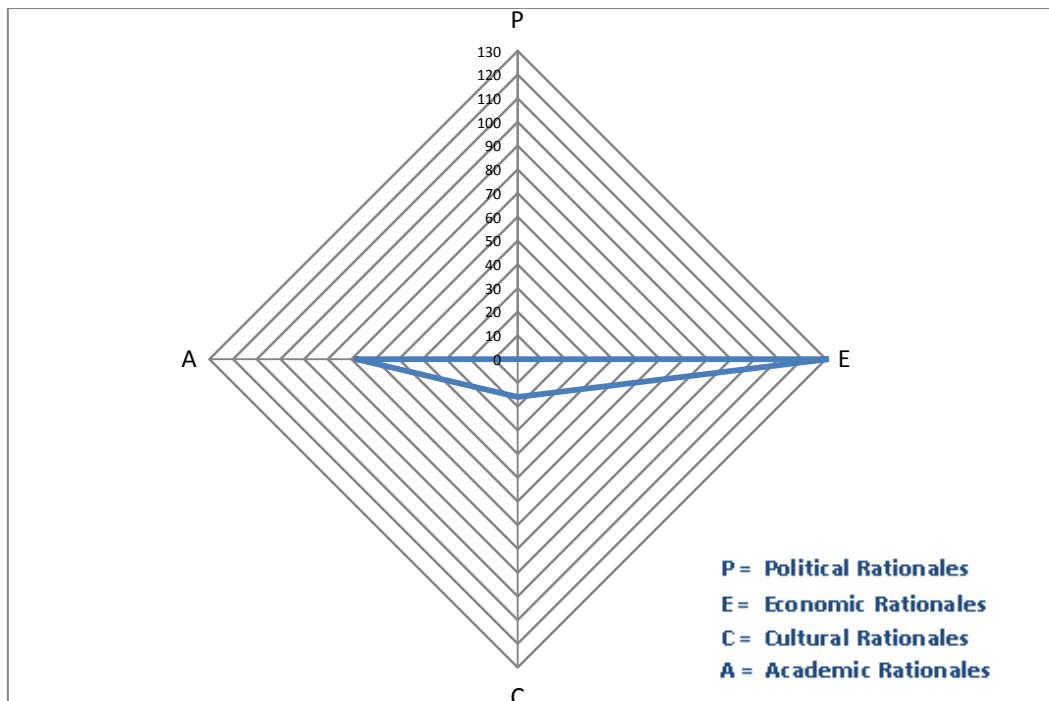
What are the rationales of internationalization policies of the Dutch government?

The use of rationales in the documents shows the following pattern. Political issues are mentioned to such a limited degree that the final score of political rationales is 0. Integration of the national HE systems in Europe is mentioned several times to contribute to a stronger Europe. This reflects the force of Europeanization that plays a part in the European states, such as mentioned in chapter 2. Also, the possibilities of increasing the Dutch image through internationalizing HE is mentioned several times as a reason for internationalization. However, they are not mentioned often, and apart from these two indicators, the case study indicates that political rationales play no part in the creation of Dutch HE internationalization policies. However, it should be noted that using documents as an only source for data collection on political rationales will result in a low score, since political motives are generally not mentioned in policy formation documents. This is a weakness of the study that should be taken into consideration when drawing conclusions.

Economic reasons were expected to play a significant role in the internationalization of HE, due to the globalization and marketization of higher education. This expectation was supported by literature and the scores for economic rationales confirm it. The case study has confirmed this expectation, because the overall score of economic rationales are the highest of all the rationales, with a score of 131. The issues of economic growth, a strong labor market and especially brain gain are mentioned frequently as the main reason for internationalization. Overall, the economic

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rationales are represented most strongly in the documents and are therefore considered the strongest reason for the internationalization of Dutch higher education.

Academic rationales are represented stronger in the creation of HE policies, with a final score of 68. This suggests that academic reasons are the second most mentioned reason to internationalize the Dutch HE system. However, the score should be regarded with some reservations. Literature predicted that the academic rationale is used especially with the presumption that internationalization increases the quality of higher education, even though no proof or additional reasons are given for this effect. In the case study this is confirmed, as the increase of quality was mentioned as a result of internationalization (score 20) without any clarification as to why the quality would rise. This gave the term “quality” an aspect of being a catchword. Also, the academic rationale is strong because the mentioning of the strengthening of the position of HEI’s (score 23), an indicator that has shared connotations with economic rationales as well. Therefore the strong academic rationale should be regarded critically, but the effects to the academic aspect of higher education are regarded to play a part in the creation of internationalization policies.

The scores for rationales are summarized in figure 6.1 which arrays the occurrence of rationales in HE internationalization policy creation. The following pattern becomes visible. Firstly, the most used rationales are the economic and the academic rationales. However, the academic rationale consists partially of the mentioning of quality, which was in no case explained. This does not change its effect on the creation of the policy. The economic rationale is the strongest, followed

by academic reasons. The cultural rationales exerts some, but minor, influence, whereas political reasons are not mentioned to a noticeable degree.

Main Research Question

How have HE Internationalization Policies of the Dutch government evolved in 2004-2010?

When regarding the policy instruments and reasons behind internationalization policies, no changes become visible in neither the resources used, nor the method of functioning of the policy instruments, nor in the rationales behind policies. The instrument of treasure was used most during the entire period and the documents reflected a consistent focus on economic rationales. However, the case-study made another evolution evident. Internationalization policies have been created in 2004/2005, but the continuity of the internationalization process was interrupted in 2006/2007. The political context of policy creation changed as this period is characterized by political instability, re-elections and the fall of several cabinets. During this period there was a lack of continuity in HE internationalization policy creation.

Agenda-Setting

The occurrence of a drop in agenda setting of HE internationalization issues simultaneously with the change in political context may be explained by the *Policy Cycle Model*. This model states that contextual factors can influence the agenda-setting of policies. The initiation of policy creation is influenced by internal governmental developments, feedback from previous policies, the national mood and the organization of political actors (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993).

Internal Governmental Developments & Organization of Political Actors

With regard to internal government developments and political actors, the following can be said. Most of the policies that were created were initiated during the first part of the time frame (2004-2006) when cabinet Balkenende II was in power. During this time the political actors and their power positions remained practically unchanged. From 2006 until 2010 the political situation became wavering, with the collapse of two Balkenende cabinets (Eelens, 2006) and the creation of cabinet Rutte I. In the period of political changes, little or no new policy instruments were initiated (see appendix A). This collapsing of cabinets can be seen as an internal governmental development that altered the organization of political actors. This changed the political arena to such a degree that no new policies were created that were central to HE internationalization.

Feedback Mechanisms

Additionally, feedback mechanisms from policies that were created before 2004 have effected the agenda-setting. A number of mechanisms related to the BP were created before 2004. The

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mechanisms BaMa-structure, DS, ECTS and quality assurance were realized. These mechanisms fulfilled a number of Action Lines. These being the European qualification framework, mobility, mutual recognition of qualifications and employability. These mechanisms internationalized Dutch HE through creating possibilities for researchers, teachers and students to work and study across national borders. The feedback from these policies was a reason for these mechanisms to appear on the agenda. To demonstrate, when reports (EC, 2006) stated that the Bologna action lines had been realized, but that the use of it was lagging, Dutch internationalization policies focused on stimulating international behavior, rather than implementing the mechanisms. This is reflected in policies created in the later part of the time frame, that aimed for increased mobility.

Thus, no evolution of HE internationalization policies is visible in the case-study. This lack of change may be explained by internal governmental developments. The aim of the policy instruments created may be influenced by feedback mechanisms, as policy evaluation reports called for more internationalization activity. Therefore the policy instruments created stimulated international mobility. The policy style of the Dutch government consisted mainly of instruments of treasure, that functioned as a “carrot”.

6.2 Reflecting Expectations

A number of expectations have been formulated. These expectations are discussed and, according to the findings in the case-study and the answers to the research questions, fulfilled or found unsupported by the case-study.

Expectation 1

In the period 2004-2010 the Dutch government further internationalizes its HE through putting the Lisbon aims and the Bologna action lines on the agenda.

The case-study confirms the first expectation. The Dutch government has actively integrated an international dimension into the national HE system. More specifically, it has done so through the creation of HE policies. The most significant of these policies are the portability of study finance (OCW, 2005a), the creation of centres of excellence (OCW, 2004) and the expansion of the number of NESO's (OCW, 2004). These policies have facilitated a further internationalization of Dutch HE.

Before the time-frame of the case study the Netherlands implemented the action lines to a large degree, as Dutch HEI's had integrated the Qualification Framework of the EHEA, recognized degrees from EHEA HEI's and facilitated employability and academic mobility. They did this through the mechanisms that had been integrated into Dutch HE. HEI's used the ECTS, gave out

Diploma Supplements and functioned in line with the BaMa structure. It continued implementing the Bologna action lines in two ways.

Firstly, the government realized the last unimplemented mechanism and facilitated the creation of Joint Degrees. The actual creation of these programs was left to the HEI's, but altering the WHW (Law on HE) adapted the legal framework to facilitate the creation of such programs by HEI's (OCW, 2004). Secondly, the Dutch academic mobility rate was behind, both in terms of the aims formulated in the Lisbon agenda (OCW, 2005a) and in the Bologna Process (OCW, 2005a) as well as compared to the OECD average (OECD, 2006). This lack of progress in achieving the Lisbon and BP goals, together with the competition position towards other European states (OCW, 2005b) (OCW, 2007) were reason to develop a number of policy instruments that stimulated this. In the creation of these policies the government stressed that these policies needed to be created because of the Bologna Process and the Lisbon Agenda (OCW, 2004) (OCW, 2005a).

Expectation 2

The Dutch government will realize internationalization policies created in 2004-2010 through financial instruments more often than through other instruments.

This expectation is confirmed. It was expected that internationalization policies consists of financial incentives, since this is the overall policy style of the Netherlands. The case study demonstrated that the policies that were created in the period 2004-2010 indeed are realized through the instrument of treasure.

The instrument of authority was used more (once more) than the instrument of treasure, but due to the centrality of the instrument of treasure and the supportive role of other instruments to this policy instrument, instruments of treasure are regarded to be most important instrument to realize HE policies. The instrument of authority is regarded second important instrument in the internationalization of Dutch HE.

Expectation 3

The Dutch government will realize policy instruments with a “stick” approach rather than instruments functioning as a “carrot”.

This expectation is not confirmed, as the case study showed that in internationalization activities the “carrot” approach was taken more often (five times) than the “stick” approach (twice) or the “sermon” (twice). Also, the instruments with the “carrot” function were central to policies, such as with the HSP scholarships. The scholarships function as the “carrot” and this is supported by the instruments with the “sermon” function.

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Expectation 4

The reasons of the Dutch government behind the creation of HE internationalization policies from 2004-2010 are expected to be mainly economic.

The internationalization of HE is pressured by the marketization of Higher Education and the globalization of modern societies, both of which are economic issues. The scores of rationales in the Dutch internationalization policies have conformed the expectation, as economic rationales are the most mentioned reason to internationalize Dutch HE. Therefore this expectation is confirmed.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSION

7.1 Key findings

The agenda-setting of Dutch HE internationalization is initiated through feedback mechanisms at the European level. Reports play a large role in agenda setting at the national level, as the Dutch government seemed especially concerned about the competition position of Dutch HE in comparison with other European countries. The agenda-setting however seemed to be hindered by internal governmental developments and changes in the organization of political actors. These changes occurred when several Dutch cabinets fell in a relatively short time period. During this period no new internationalization policies were initiated.

In the period 2004-2010, the Dutch government has further internationalized its higher education. It has made study financing portable for Dutch students and created a number of scholarships that sends out talented Dutch students to gain international experience and simultaneously attracts foreign top students. Also, Dutch HE is made attractive for foreign students through the creation of Centres of Excellence and promotion abroad by NESO's.

These policies consist of different policy instrument types. Among the types, the most dominant is the instrument of treasure. This is supported by Bemelmans-Videc & Rist (1998), who found that the Dutch policy style is characterized by instruments of treasure, mostly consisting of subsidies. The policy instruments aiming for HE internationalization function mostly as a "carrot" and are supported by instruments of authority and information. The financial instrument is often considered the most effective instrument, as Dutch sociologist Schuyt (1985) stated that behavior has proven to generally change more effectively by rewarding than through punishment.

In the internationalization of HE, HEI's play an important role, as they are autonomous institutions. For example, the creation of *Centres of Excellence* and *joint degrees* lies in their hands. The increasing role of HEI's demonstrate the effect of globalization on HE, as the nation-state becomes less important and HEI's need to compete in an international market-place. These findings are supported by the development towards increased self-regulation that appeared in the Netherlands in the 1990's. This use of self-regulation has been booming in several policy fields, among which HE (Bemelmans-Videc & Vedung, 2007)

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The reasons for HE internationalization that are most mentioned during the creation of policies are economic in nature, specifically aimed at brain gain and strengthening the Dutch economy. These findings accord to previously conducted researches of scholars such as Davies (1992) and Qiang (2003), who found that internationalization is closely linked to financial issues and the increasing influence of market forces in HE. Also, academic considerations played a role, especially with regard to HE quality. Knight (1997) recognized that academic rationales often play a role in HE internationalization policies, especially in relation to increased quality of education. However, this rationale is often not supported by numerical data (Knight, 1997) which is also the case in Dutch internationalization policies. Political and cultural reasons were mentioned considerably less in the creation of Dutch HE internationalization policies. This is also found in Knight's analysis of multiple studies on HE internationalization policies across Europe, from which she concludes that especially cultural rationales do play a role in internationalization policy creation, but to a far lesser degree than economic rationales (Knight, 2007).

7.2 Weaknesses of the Research

This study has been conducted by means of document analysis. The use of internationalization policy related documents is a weakness, because they may provide biased information or leave out certain aspects of the policy formation process. Hereby special attention goes out to the political rationale that has proven to be mentioned to a very limited degree in the documents. Increasing the number of documents would make the conclusions on the rationales and agenda-setting of internationalization policies more reliable. Also, the documents do not give sufficient information on the involvement of policy actors in the formation process, or of the position of all the actors. The documents provide information on the final outcome, but not so much on the process leading to the policies. These issues should be taken into consideration when designing a potential follow-up study.

7.3 Future Research Opportunities

Future research can expand the reliability of the data by using an additional data source. A suggestion for improving the case-study is to add expert interviews to the data. This can provide more information about the agenda-setting and give information on the part of the policy formation process unreported in documents, being the involvement of interest groups outside of government and the role and opinion of these actors in the policy formation process.

7.4 Implications for Policy

The case-study demonstrates that policy making is influenced by the political situation and the position of political actors. During a period of stable cabinets the government created HE policies and further internationalized higher education. However, when the cabinet fell and the following cabinets proved themselves unstable, less policies were formulated. This implies that an unstable political situation, with changing power relations between the political actors, can stall the development of HE policies. This can have serious implications, as the Dutch government is not particularly stable. In fact, since WWII only six cabinets did not fall (NRC, 2012). Thus, the political stability factor influences the development of Dutch HE. This should be taken into account as globalization and marketization challenge national HE.

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