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THE FREE MOVEMENT PRINCIPLE AND
IMBALANCE IN INTRA-EUROPEAN STUDENT
MOBILITY

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Executive Summary

The European principle of free movement of people enables European citizens to travel and reside freely in other member states. This applies also to students. Besides this legal establishment of rights, the process of harmonization of higher education in Europe has contributed to the ease with which a student can study abroad. The disappearance of both the borders of the nation states and the self-evidence of studying in the home country, led to an open market of higher education in Europe. It is estimated that half of the 1.5 million foreign students in Europe are from an EU/EEA country themselves.

As an open market is driven by supply and demand, mobile students are driven by push and pull factors. Difficult access to higher education in the home country, such as a *numerus clausus*, high costs of education in the home country or the lack of expertise on a certain subject may be an incentive to leave the country. Complementary, the existence of top level tertiary education institutions, attractive financial terms and good future work prospects may pull the student towards another country.

As the above factors differ so much per area and per nation state, student degree mobility within Europe is not equally distributed. In fact, considerable imbalances exist in intra-European student mobility, forcing European states to deal with a substantial inequality of inbound and outbound fluxes of students.

The countries within the European Union and the European Economic Area have agreed on financing the bachelors and masters degrees under the same conditions for foreign EU/EEA students as for their own citizens. This implies that a country where the inbound flux of EU/EEA students by far surpasses the outbound flux, costs of education will rise significantly. The educational budget and the overall higher education capacity of traditional import countries might thus come under increased pressure. Meanwhile, export countries benefit from the fact that other states carry the costs for their nationals' education.

Along with the negative effects, being a popular destination for EU/EEA students can hold benefits for the host country. Beside the positive cultural and educational effects that are attributed to student mobility, foreign students can also mean a prospective additional highly educated labour force.

Although having positive both as negative effects, a disproportional lack of balance between both fluxes seems in any case to be undesirable. Both for the import countries as for the export countries.

73 percent of all foreign students in the Netherlands are from within the EU/EEA. According to the Dutch system of higher education funding, the state invests approximately 6050 euro per year per student, leaving the student to contribute 1771 euro annually. The extra spending for welcoming other member states' students adds up to an estimated 257 million euro. Notably German students account for a large share of the inbound students, attracted by the higher education institutions in the border region.

The same situation applies to Denmark, that received 2500 Norwegian students in 2010, while only 195 Danes went to Norway. In both cases, the countries sought a solution to the implications of this imbalance.

The affected European countries have different methods of dealing with this imbalance. In the case of Denmark, the Nordic countries have established a system where the imbalance of their mutual student fluxes is financially compensated. Within the Nordic Agreement, the countries transfer an agreed per capita sum to the country that educates their subject. This measure ensures the continuity of intra-Nordic student mobility without the economic risks that imbalances would imply.

In the case of the Netherlands, no such measures have yet been taken. However, the discussion has been raised, fuelled by the economic crisis and subsequent budget cuts. The self-evidence of which the tax-payers should pay for a foreigners education was questioned. Despite the fiery discussion, the Dutch minister of education seemed unable to get the German minister to compensate for the incoming German students. Instead, a solution was found in limiting the border institutions' recruitment activities in Germany.

These cases do not stand alone. As long as there are disparities in quality of education, the payment required of foreign students and the chances on the labour market, imbalance in intra-European student fluxes will continue to exist.

A possible way to eliminate disparities would be to harmonize costs for higher education at a federal level, similarly to the Nordic system. This would call for further research on a federal system of study funds and study grants.

Another way of thinking would imply a more open view towards student mobility. Within a community of countries, a certain solidarity towards other member states can be expected. The economic consequences of intra-European student mobility should be taken for granted, as mobile citizens lead to a more interconnected society and a competitive Europe.

Inspired by the positive (long-term) side effects is also the following rationale, although arguing from a rational economical, and perhaps national interest, perspective. Research shows that foreign students actually add money to the host country's treasury if they stay there to work. The short-term negative effects on the national economy are thus surpassed by the long-term contribution that foreign graduates have if they work in the country of study. It is this concept on *binding*, retaining foreign alumni in the country, that currently leads the vision of policy makers in the Netherlands. This rationale, although sometimes criticized as being pragmatic and expedient, enables a positive perspective on internationalisation in higher education and the welcoming of foreign students. Moreover, it opens a new discussion on how to increase quality of the care for foreigners during, and, more importantly, after their studies.

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Preface

This thesis is the final step in attaining my bachelor's degree in European Studies at the The Hague University of Applied Sciences. The research for this paper was conducted under the supervision of mr. Pijlman of the Academy of European Studies and Communication Management. Several people have contributed to the realization of this dissertation. In the first place my colleagues at the Nuffic, to whom I owe thanks.

The courses that I enjoyed most during my studies were European Law, European Politics and the course about the establishment of the EU. The preference of these subjects is clearly visible in this thesis, as a large focus lies on the reconstruction of how the current legal and factual environment for free movement of students came into place.

I deliberately made the decision to write about a subject that was close to the work field of my placement organization. This would have a twofold advantage: the placement would open up sources for my research and the insights I gained through my research could, possibly, be of value for my placement.

This turned out to be a well-ground consideration. The Nuffic was the ideal environment to get basic knowledge on the subject of internationalisation in higher education, and secondly, to gather valuable sources, both in persons as in literature.

As to the contribution of this dissertation to the work field, time will have to tell. A first step was already made in January when I was involved in preparing the advice of the SER-report about foreign students. (See page 34, *Geraadpleegde personen en organisaties*)

http://www.ser.nl/~media/DB_Advies/2010_2019/2013/make-it-in-the-netherlands.ashx)

Additionally, this internship opened the doors to approach professionals in the field of internationalisation in higher education. Several experts were interviewed in order to get an in-depth understanding of the current debates on the consequences of the imbalance of student mobility fluxes in the Netherlands. Dr. Rosa Becker, senior researcher at Nuffic and specialised in student mobility and Dr. Robin van IJperen, Project leader Internationalisation at the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science contributed to the production of this paper. Since these experts mainly provided interesting perspectives at the orientation phase of this thesis, I will not denote them as sources or quote them in this paper.

Abbreviations

BSs	Bachelor of Science
CPB	Netherlands Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis (Centraal Planbureau)
EC	European Commission
ECJ / The Court	European Court of Justice
ECTS	European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System
EEA	European Economic Area
EHEA	European Higher Education Area
ESU	European Student Union
EU	European Union
EUA	European University Association
MSc	Master of Science
Nuffic	Netherlands Organisation for International Cooperation in Higher Education
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America

Introduction

The principle of free movement is a fundament of European integration (Giubboni, 2006). Strengthened by the non-discrimination principle and the European citizenship established by the Maastricht Treaty, free movement to other member states has become a right of each individual of the community.

With the collapse of borders within the European Union and the European Economic Area, and the establishment of the European Higher Education Area, educational institutions opened up and became within reach for all prospect students from all member states.

Throughout the decades the concept of the principle of free movement gradually changed. Freedom of movement for workers was initiated as a precondition for economic integration. Later, the freedom to move and reside within the European Community was regarded as not only a factor for economic prosperity, but as a right that each European citizen should be able to enjoy. Thus, free movement for economically inactive persons, i.e. students, became a fundamental right (Giubboni, 2006).

The legal framework for intra-European student mobility that is in place today has been shaped by actors such as the European Commission and the European Court of Justice. Besides this legal establishment of cross-border rights, the process of harmonization of higher education in Europe has contributed to the ease with which a student can move abroad to study. A landmark step towards more harmonization was made with the Bologna Agreement. This intergovernmental agreement, initiated by a large group of education ministers, aimed at removing disparities between higher education systems in the individual member states. This process resulted in among others the widespread introduction of the Bachelor-Master system that defined the structure of higher education. The above policies all point towards an open higher education landscape where teachers and students are mobile and reside freely across the continent.

Equal treatment and equal access are now considered key elements of European citizenship. From that perspective, these principles too apply to policy areas, such as higher education, that do not traditionally fall under the competences of the EU. This contradiction sometimes leads to discussion as it does in tertiary education.

The obligation to grant access to government funded higher education to nationals from other member states has several implications. Large influxes of foreign students may limit access to higher education institutions for national students. This pressure on capacity sometimes causes tensions, both on citizen as on government level. Traditionally, education is a primary service that the state facilitates for its citizens. In that view, it is evident that nationals often enjoy a certain higher notion of solidarity, if not priority, from their state, to whom they pay taxes. However, the European agreements on equal access prevent states from prioritizing national students.

Secondly, the EU principle of non-discrimination does not only demand equal access for EU/EEA students to higher education, but also that they are asked the same financial contribution as home students. I.e., European states bear the costs of EU/EEA students that choose to study in their country. In a country that receives substantially more students than it sends away, the education costs for the government are likely to rise. In other words, when there is an imbalance in the degree mobility in Europe, will this put pressure on the national educational budgets? And if so, how do governments respond to this? And it is not just the governments and the students that are actors in this discussion. What is the response to the discussion on the institutional- and the European level?

Research question

Central to this research is the following question:

In what way is the free movement principle in Europe resulting in an imbalance of intra-European student mobility and which concepts and arrangements have been presented?

This thesis will focus specifically on the situation in the Netherlands in order to examine the dynamics between the European legal framework for free movement of students and the implications on a national level.

The research question is built on the assumption that there is an imbalance in the fluxes of degree mobility in Europe. This paper will research if this hypothesis is correct.

To come to a thorough answer to the above question the following sub-questions have to be answered. 1. How did the free movement of students come into place? 2. Is there an imbalance in intra-European degree mobility? 3. What are the tensions and discussions in Europe and in the Netherlands regarding these matters?

This paper tries to answer these questions first by reconstructing how the free movement for students and the harmonization of higher education in Europe came into existence and secondly by analysing the current fluxes of degree students within Europe. Thirdly, it will set out the current debates on the socio-economic effects of imbalances in these fluxes and examine the proposed solutions. Subsequently these theories will be illustrated by case studies of the Nordic countries and the Netherlands and finally, this paper will arrive at a conclusion and will set recommendations.

Definitions

“An internationally mobile student is a student having crossed a national border to study or to undertake other study-related activities for at least a certain unit of study programme or a certain period of time in the country he or she has moved to.” (Kelo et al., 2006)

Most scholars distinguish two types of student mobility. The first type is *credit mobility*, where the student obtains a part of the credits of the study curriculum abroad (Ferencz and Wächter, 2012). This is a short-term and temporary mobility between three months and one academic year, often within the framework of an exchange programme. In Europe, the Erasmus programme is main facilitator of credit mobility. (Project Atlas, 2011).

The second type of student mobility is *degree mobility*. In this case students move to another country with the purpose of obtaining a bachelor's or master's degree at a foreign educational institution. Degree mobility normally covers three to four years for a bachelor's programme and one to two years for a master's. The term *diploma mobility* is also used to describe degree mobility (Project Atlas, 2011).

In this paper, the term *student mobility* will refer to degree mobility, for credit mobility does not affect the national economies the way degree mobility does. Students undertaking credit mobility often stay officially enrolled at their home institution and are therefore of no financial duty to their country of destination. Secondly, since there is often an exchange of one student for another, an imbalance is not likely to occur. Moreover, the data available on the fluxes of intra-European mobility is largely focused on degree mobility. There is, with the exception of the Erasmus programme data, no comprehensive data on temporary mobility.

Intra-European student mobility refers to student mobility within the European countries that are part of the European Union, the European Economic Area plus Switzerland. The governments of these countries agreed that the same college fees would apply for national and EU/EEA students, thereby committing to contribute a part of the fees for these students. EU/EEA and Swiss students are exempt from additional tuition fees and

enjoy the same legal rights and obligations as nationals. In this paper the term Europe will, unless noted otherwise, refer to EU/EEA and Switzerland.

Imbalance in the context of this subject is the situation that occurs when the inbound flux of foreign students is by far surpassing the outbound flux of students leaving the country and vice versa. Imbalance can also be referred to as *inequality of inbound and outbound fluxes*. It must be mentioned that a total equal balance is not likely to occur. Moreover, the term is difficult to grasp as the notion of whether there is an imbalance is often a subjective one. In this paper,

Home students or *national students* refer to students residing and studying in the country of their nationality. Opposite to home students are *foreign students*, students that study and reside in another country than their country of nationality.

Inbound student mobility is the flux of foreign students that comes into the country. *Outbound student mobility* is the flux of national students that leaves the country to study abroad. Countries that traditionally receive a large number of students will in this context be called *recipient states* or *import countries* and in reverse, countries that see a large share of their nationals leave abroad will be called *export countries*.

In this paper the term *higher education institutions* will be used frequently. These include all tertiary education institutions such as universities and universities of applied sciences. In general the term refers to all government-funded institutions that give out bachelor and master degrees.

Methodology

The methodology applied to address the research question was primarily a desk-based research. For this desk-based research mainly secondary sources were consulted, consisting of reports, scientific literature and policy advisory reports. Primary sources such as the founding treaties and the Bologna communiqués formed the basis to outline the legal framework for free movement and the European Higher Education Area. Additionally, European Court of Justice case law was essential for this section of the paper.

In order to map and analyze student mobility fluxes in Europe quantitative data reports by leading monitoring institutions such as Unesco, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), Nuffic and Eurostat were consulted.

The fundamental knowledge of student mobility and internationalisation in higher education was gained during my experiences as an intern at Nuffic, the Netherlands organisation for international cooperation in higher education. The seven month placement at the head office in The Hague provided an excellent environment to access information. Papers with limited access were available thanks to this internship. I consulted the Nuffic library that contains numerous publications that normally students cannot find online or in a public library. Moreover, the placement was an opportunity to attend external meetings and conferences in the work field of higher education and international cooperation.

As to the scope of this thesis, an explicit emphasis is put on the Netherlands. Not only in the case study do the Netherlands play a central role, but also within the empirical framework. To be able to understand the implications of student mobility for a country, specific focus is laid on degree mobility on a national level and more specifically, national education costs.

Very much intertwined with the discussion that is put down in this paper is the question if foreign EU/EEA students can apply for social welfare. If national students can apply for financial aid to cover some expenses, should other European students be allowed the same? In this thesis the subject is briefly touched upon, but in general the scope will be on the annual per capita contribution the government pays to the higher education institutions.

The first case selected to discuss in this thesis is the agreement that the Nordic countries reached to compensate for the imbalances in the intra-Nordic degree mobility. It is an interesting solution to the financial implications of this imbalance, as it lays the tuition costs of the mobile student at their home country instead of at the host country.

The second case that is included in this paper about the large number of German students in the Netherlands. This case illustrates the current discussions rather than an actual solution to compensate for the inequality in fluxes of degree students. This case is an example of the complexity of the problem.

The primary source for both cases were news articles and background articles in Transfer Magazine. These articles are therefore included in the appendices. Transfer Magazine is an independent journal on internationalization in higher education and research. Transfer is published by Nuffic.

Outline

The first chapter is aimed at putting intra-European student mobility in the legal-historical context. It is interesting to view the reforms made on a European level, since education is not a EU-competency in the founding treaties. This chapter will reconstruct how the influence of European supranational bodies as the EU and the EEA, and intergovernmental agreements such as the Bologna process have increased. This chapter will also analyse the current state of intra-European degree mobility, and more specifically, in the Netherlands. Furthermore, it elaborates on the implications that inbound mobility has on the Dutch economy.

The second chapter will introduce several theories that are relevant for the research question. It will allow the reader to interpret the consequences of the imbalance in mobility.

In the third chapter two particular cases will be addressed. The cases are relevant to the research question, as both are recent and show how different European countries deal with an imbalance in student mobility and, more importantly, what solutions were proposed if any.

In the fourth chapter 'Discussion' the theoretical framework will be linked to the two case studies. The chapter will elaborate on how was dealt, in the particular situation of the cases, and what the proposed solutions were. The empirical research of this study will be discussed and illustrated by recent events and rationale.

The final chapter will state a conclusion that answers the central question. Finally, this section contains the recommendations that came forth during the realisation of this thesis.

Chapter 1 Empirical framework

- 1.1 Economic Integration and the free movement principle
- 1.2 Legal framework of intra-European degree mobility
- 1.3 Harmonization of higher education in Europe
- 1.4 Intra-European degree mobility

The Treaty of Rome in 1957 was the first step towards economic and political integration in Europe. The Treaty of Maastricht (1992) introduced the European Monetary Union and laid the foundations for the single currency. We can state now that the European process has led to more than economic integration and prosperity. Notably the enhanced political cooperation between the countries led to a long period of stability and peace in Europe.

One of the main purposes of the developed European treaties was an enhanced economic integration. The internal market was designed to lead to an increase in trade and a more competitive Europe in respect to the rest of the world. In order to establish this internal market, Europeans should be able to cross the borders and work in other member states. An important stepping stone for these objectives is the principle of free movement.

The first part of this chapter will elaborate on the development of the free movement of people and more specifically, the free movement of students. The first directive for the free movement of workers dates from the Treaty of Rome. First, as a necessity to establish the internal market and later to increase the notion of European citizenship, the European Commission sought to further take away internal borders. This shift in the thinking of free movement has been translated in the widening of the free movement for economic actives to all citizens of the EU.

Beside the Commission, the European Court of Justice can be seen as an important catalyst of further enhancement of the rights of mobile students. This empirical framework thus will include several landmark decisions of the Court changing the scope of intra-European student mobility. The second part of this chapter will outline the current legal framework for European degree mobility.

The third part of this chapter will elaborate on the harmonization process of higher education in Europe. This process is mainly fuelled by agreements reached by intergovernmental bodies such as the Bologna group. These agreements differ from the content of the European treaties and the rulings of the Court, as they are often of a liberal and non-binding nature. Secondly, the signatories exceed the EU-member states. The Bologna (and later Bergen) agreements are commitments by the individual ministers. This places the Bologna process outside the EU's formal policy-making processes. However, the successes of the Bologna process did impact the political support for the EU's competences in the field of higher education.

In combination, the EU treaty reforms and the Bologna agenda have shaped the higher education policy on a European level. This paper will only focus on the reforms directly influencing intra-European degree-mobility, and therefore restrain from elaborating on the specific substantial education reforms such as those proposed by the Lisbon Strategy in 2000, that are primarily aimed at education in relation to economic growth and employability.

Not only has the European legislation been aimed at removing mobility obstacles, but more deeply at stimulating student mobility, with the Erasmus programme in 1987 as its flagship policy. However, more important to the domain of degree mobility, is to examine the rules for free movement of people and the non-discrimination principle. As the rights for family members is an important part of the free movement within Europe, it must be stated that within the scope of student mobility this right is barely exercised and hence is not relevant to this paper.

In the final section of this empirical framework, the current state of intra-European student mobility will be outlined, based on mobility data. This section will answer the question as to whether there is an imbalance in mobility in Europe and in the Netherlands. The direct and indirect economic implications will be discussed briefly.

1.1 Economic Integration and the free movement principle

Today, free movement is one of the foundations of European integration. The establishment of free movement for students came into place in several waves of policy reforms. Its origins lay at the establishment of the freedom of movement for workers. In the past decades, this freedom was extended to freedom for economically inactive citizens including students. Before these rights were adopted it was rather complex for students to study in another member state. Like other foreigners, people that wished to study in another European country were submitted to the immigration laws of that state. Moreover, as Goudappel (Vrij verkeer van studenten, n.d.) illustrates, a Dutch student enrolling for a medical study in Belgium was charged double fees, and an exchange student had to pay double college fees to both his home and his guest university. It was not until the 1980's that possibilities were created for studying in other member states without paying extra costs. As stated in the introduction, the Commission and the European Court of Justice have played a key role in establishing the legal framework that is in place today.

The Treaty of Rome

Since the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the six founding states have been looking for more ways to strengthen European cooperation. Under pressure of the Cold War, further cooperation in the field of politics and defence is examined. Differences in national interests seemed to block such cooperation. A strategy towards more European cooperation in the field of economy was commonly agreed upon. This is laid down in the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community in 1957. This treaty has in 2007 been renamed the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU). In 1973 Denmark, Ireland and the UK joined the EEA. In 1981, the accession of Greece followed and later, in 1986, that of Spain and Portugal.

The Treaty of Rome was signed by Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg, Italy and the Netherlands and entered into force in 1957. The aim of the treaty was to establish a common market by removing barriers for trade. In the words of the treaty (Consolidated Version of the Treaty of Rome, 2002) *"The Community shall have as its task, by*

establishing a common market and progressively approximating the economic policies of Member States, to promote throughout the Community a harmonious development of economic activities, a continuous and balanced expansion, an increase in stability, an accelerated raising of the standard of living and closer relations between the States belonging to it.”

One of the main preconditions of the establishment of a common market was the possibility for economically active persons, i.e. workers or service providers, to move freely within the member states. This freedom is laid out in Article 3 c of the principles, aiming at abolishing obstacles to freedom of movement for persons, services and capital. More detailed, article 48 sets out that any discrimination based on nationality between workers as regard to employment, remuneration and other working conditions shall be abolished. The treaty creates the right to move freely within member states and to remain in the territory for the purpose of employment. An important limitation in regard to these rights are the limitations justified on grounds of public policy, public security or public health. The following section will display that member states often refer to these grounds in Court cases.

An interesting detail of the Rome Treaty is Article 50, that states that member states shall encourage the exchange of young workers. Paradoxically, no mention is made regarding the exchange of students. Article 53 mentions the objective to develop mutual recognition for diploma's and certificates in order to facilitate workers mobility.

The freedom of movement in the Treaty of Rome was thus limited to employees and self-employed people, more abstract, people that crossed borders to undertake economic activities. Similarly, the right to equal treatment was restricted to work-related matters. This economic perspective can be seen in the rationale of that time. According to Verschueren (2009), the aim was to remove borders for economic factors of production between member states. Of these factors of production, employment was an important one. As pointed out by Baldoni (2003), the Treaty of Rome reflects a conception of the European individual primarily as an economic actor.

It must be noted here that, behind the economic focus of the Treaty of Rome, the integration was supposed to lead to a spill-over to other sectors and areas of policy and hence create a more broader cooperation between European countries.

Although the legislation remained limited to workers, the interpretation of the Court was broader than that. According to Baldoni (2003), “the Court has played a fundamental role

in widening the scope of free movement, by shifting its focus progressively from the free movement of workers to the free movement of persons.” The Court handled a broad definition of a worker, including in the definition someone that does a paid apprenticeship and someone that enters a university in another member state after having taken up a job activity.

In the years that followed, the idea that free movement of workers should not primarily be seen in an economic perspective, but more as a feature of European citizenship gained notion. According to van der Mei, (2003), the introduction of the idea of European citizenship has further developed the possibilities for free movement within Europe, as it inspired the European institutions to extend the right of free movement to economically inactive persons. During the European Council in Paris, in 1974, the then nine community members agreed to examine “the conditions and the timing under which the citizens of the nine Member States should be given special rights as members of the Community” (Vandersnickt, 2009).

In 1979 the Commission proposed a directive concerning the right of residence in other member states for economically inactive citizens of the European Community. The directive aimed at a general freedom of residence based on, in the words of the proposal, their capacity as Community citizens instead of persons engaged in economic activity. According to Vandersnickt (2008), the draft proposal can be considered as the first step towards the European citizenship.

It did take, however, some time to reach the proposed stage. Although the directive provided some space for limitations, such as the right for the member states to demand migrants to demonstrate that they dispose of sufficient resources to provide for themselves and their families, it encountered criticism from the member states. Some were reluctant to the proposal for they feared that incoming migrants would pressure their social systems. These considerations must be put in their historical context: In that time, a mass migration from southern to northern countries was at present. In combination with an economic recession and an European-sceptic sentiment, the idea of citizenship did not gain momentum until ten years later. The European citizenship was not officially introduced until the Maastricht Treaty in 1992.

As Theiler (2005) reconstructs, prior to the negotiations for the Single European Act, a research group had been set in place under the leading of Pietro Adonnino. The assignment of the Adonnino committee was to research how citizens could be more

involved in the European integration process. The report proposed several symbolic contributions to increase the sense of a European identity, as for example a European flag and anthem, and a European passport for all its citizens. More importantly, the report called for intra-European exchange programmes, civil rights and more freedom of movement for its citizens. It was during the Intergovernmental Conference in Rome that the term 'European citizenship' was introduced.

In 1986 the Single European Act entered into force. This was in fact a revision of the Treaty of Rome and emphasized the necessity of the freedom of movement and further completion of the single market (Theiler, 2005).

In 1990, three directives were introduced to broaden the freedom of movement and residence for economically inactive persons, under which pensioners and students. The directive that refers specifically to students is directive 93/96 EEC (Giubboni, 2006). The directive states that member states will recognise the access to vocational training and the right of residence to nationals of other member states. The preconditions were that the student should have sufficient resources in order to avoid that the student becomes a burden for the social system of the destination country. The second precondition was that the vocational training is received at an accredited educational institution. The directive contained an important restriction, namely being only applicable to vocational training. The definition of vocational training proved to be rather vague.

The lack of a clear demarcation of the notion of vocational training and the different interpretation of the non-discrimination principle lead to several interesting cases of students that appealed to the ECJ.

In the landmark case of Gravier, here described by Van der Mei (2003), a French student was charged more college fees for his art course in Luik than the Belgian nationals. The Court decided that the art study was to be qualified as vocational training and that the extra fees were indeed discrimination on grounds of nationality and thus in conflict with EU law. Another case that underlined the vague line between vocational training and higher education clear was the Blaizot case. As reconstructed by van der Mei (2003), seventeen French veterinary students proceeded against their higher fees in Belgium, pleading that veterinary science was vocational education. Although veterinary science is an academic study, the Court agreed to the plea of the students. The Court judged that some academic study programmes fall under the header of vocational training since they directly lead to a profession.

The Maastricht Treaty

In 1993 the Maastricht Treaty came into force, changing the name of the European Economic Community into the European Community. As stated in the previous section, a decisive change in the field of student mobility brought by the Maastricht Treaty was the principle of European citizenship. This entailed the freedom of movement and residence for all nationals of the member states, regardless whether these persons are economically active. Inherent to this right of free movement is that member states are not allowed to discriminate against nationals of other member states on grounds of nationality. This fundament is laid down in the non-discrimination principle.

In spite of hard work of the Commission, the objective of an internal market was not yet fully implemented. In particular, the free movement of persons was not sufficiently applied by some member states, hence still restricting access to other member states. After the Maastricht Treaty, these rights were safeguarded constitutionally. Article 8a (ex article 18EG) states that all citizens enjoy the right to move and reside freely within the union, subject to certain limitations and conditions. These limitations implied that entry could be denied on grounds of public order, public security and public health.

Moreover, the Maastricht Treaty removed the contentious criteria of vocational training for equal treatment. For all European students the same rules for application should apply, non regarding if the study would prepare the students for a specific profession. Besides the further enhancements of the free movement, the Maastricht Treaty brought about another important change in the field of education. The EC declared to stimulate and enhance inter-European student and staff mobility. National governments would retain their authority in the field of education, but their actions should be in line with the European policy.

These developments brought about new freedoms but also new contradictions. The citizenship principle on the one hand, and the legislative freedom of the member states in the field of education turned out to be sometimes conflicting. In addition, the legislation on the appeal citizens could make on the social system of another member state was not always clear. (Van der Mei, 2003).

In 1992 the Raulin case in the Netherlands raised the question on how national financial aid, like study grants, would apply to people residing in another member state. As

narrated by Van der Mei (2003), The French student Raulin was enlisted at the Rietveld Art Academy when she was denied access to the Dutch financial aid programme for students. The Court decided equal treatment should be in place and judged that the student had rights to receive (a part of) the financial aid as a means to finance her studies.

The rather contradictory relationship between the non-discrimination principle and the national social systems was again raised in Grzelczyk judgement in 1999. As narrated by van der Mei (2003), the French student Grzelczyk was studying in Belgium, where a financial minimum of existence was in place for students. However, this financial aid was denied to the French student based on his non-Belgian nationality. The Court decided that Belgium denying the French national the financial aid was indeed a case of direct discrimination. As Vandersnickt (2009) states, the Court interpreted the European legislation as assuming that there should be a certain financial solidarity amongst member states, especially when the support to the citizen is temporary. Another example of this is the Brown case, here explained by Garben (2011). The Scottish authorities denied a French student the allowance that would meet the demand for the college fees. The Court again judged that the non-discrimination principle applies for all financial support that make access to education possible.

An essential case in the field of the free movement of persons and the right to equal access was Bressol. As Garben (2011) describes, Belgian universities wanted to restrain French applications for medical studies by handling a maximum of 30 percent of non-Belgian residents. In line with the non-discrimination principle the Court decided that this restriction was to be made undone, unless the Belgian authorities could prove that a high percentage of foreign students would threaten public health by the shortage of Belgian physicians in the future. This could not be proven and the restriction was to be made undone.

Critique against the verdicts of the Court has been that it does not give sufficient support to member states where inbound student mobility is by far surpassing outbound mobility. Some argue that these states should be compensated for receiving that much European students. Discussions in respect to this issue will be further examined in chapter 4.

1.2 Legal framework of intra-European degree mobility

In 1994 the internal market and the free movement of goods, services, persons and capital was extended to the three European Free Trade Area (EFTA)- states Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway. Switzerland is not a member of the EEA, but has signed several bilateral agreements under which the free movement of persons. All EU legislation concerning the internal market has been endorsed by the EFTA countries. At this moment, the free movement for students within Europe applies in the EU/EEA area, namely all EEA states plus Switzerland. From now on the abbreviation EU/EEA will be used, referring to these 31 countries including Switzerland.

Today, legislation on free movement dictates that every citizen has the right to enter and reside in the territory of another EU/EEA country up till three months, provided they have valid identity papers. EU/EEA students can reside longer than three months within another member state if they meet the following conditions: They are subscribed in an accredited educational institution. They have to take on a healthcare insurance that is valid in the country of residence. In addition, they have to be able to prove that they have a certain amount of money to pay for their stay in the host country, so that they will not pressure the social system. The demand for subsistence minimum for students is in general less stringent than for other economically active persons. The student is demanded to assure that his resources are sufficient and does not need to prove this.

Those who meet the above conditions and reside for a continuous period of five years in the member state, qualify for a permanent residence rights. Limitations to these rights still exist on grounds of threats on public order, public security and public health.

The amount of college fees differs per member state. In the countries where college fees apply, the government supports the students with loans and grants. Both for the sum of college fees and the accessibility of these loans and grants the same conditions must apply for national students and EU/EEA students. This means that students from other member states have the same chance at receiving financial aid for their studies as the nationals. For financial aid for living expenses other rules apply. Member states are not bound to provide grants and loans for the costs of living, unless the students have resided in the host country for at least five years. This is an exemption to the non-discrimination principle, set in place to avoid that students receive double funding.

Several EU/EEA countries have an arrangement where students can still receive financial aid of the home country while studying in another country. This is often referred to as portability. Member states are free to choose whether they grant this possibility. The possibility for students to receive financial aid from their home country whilst studying in another has proven to be a big stimulus to study abroad. If states allow their nationals the portability of study grants it can lead to a larger outbound student mobility.

1.3 Harmonization of higher education in Europe

As stated in the introduction of this chapter, higher education has always been a primary responsibility of the member states and thus remained largely absent in the treaties. This has been in contrast with the competences that the EU has in the field of labour market. The labour market and tertiary education are in essence intertwined. Thus, in order to establish a proper functioning freedom for workers, accessibility of the national educational systems seems a logical step.

Although the freedom of movement principle was a core element of the Maastricht Treaty, reforms within the domain of education and homogeneity in higher education have primarily been initiated by actors other than the Commission.

A fundamental step towards harmonization of the higher education systems in Europe was made in Bologna in 1999 by the education ministers of 35 countries. A mutual desire to make access to higher education easier was laid down in an intergovernmental agreement, aiming at bringing down borders to higher education similarly to how economic and trade borders had been dissolved. Key elements of the Bologna Declaration were the introduction of the European Credit Transfer System and a common undergraduate-graduate-PhD structure in all the Bologna countries. The Bologna Process resulted in the establishment of the European Higher Education Area, containing 47 countries by 2013.

The Bologna Process

In 1998 the ministers of education of the four largest European countries got together to discuss the deficiencies in national tertiary education systems (Adelman, 2009). The choice of venue was the Parisian Sorbonne that celebrated its 800 years of existence.

The initiative for this meeting was taken by the ministers of education from Germany, the United Kingdom, France and Italy. This meeting turned out to be a landmark event in the process of harmonization of the European higher education and was the precursor of the Bologna Conference. The goal of the joint declaration was to harmonize higher education qualifications, hence stimulating student and teachers mobility within Europe.

A year later 35 ministers of education met in Bologna, the oldest university city of Europe. An important fact was that not only representatives of the EU memberstates were present, but also representatives of countries such as Iceland and Switzerland. The result of this gathering was the Bologna Declaration. The essence of this treaty was that the countries would gradually head towards a common system of university education. The Declaration contained the following agreements.

1. College degrees will be divided into two phases and a consecutive academic promotion. The choice was made for an undergraduate (bachelor) – graduate (master)-PhD system.
2. A single system of study credits was set in place to increase student mobility. Initially, this system was used for the Erasmus exchange programme. By 2005, all the Bologna countries had introduced the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System.
3. Intra-European mobility was to be stimulated by removing the administrative obstacles that hindered the free movement of students.
4. Convergence and transparency of academic qualifications by adding a degree certificate to diplomas.
5. Cooperation in quality assurance and monitoring of higher education in Europe.

The aims, and more importantly, the outcomes of the Bologna-group have had as result that the necessity for a European education policy has won ground. Moreover, this sense of necessity enlarged the basis for involvement for the Commission to act in this field. On the other hand, although the involvement of the Commission may be regarded as more legitimate than before, the discussion of European legislation versus national education policy is more alive than ever.

The European Higher Education Area in 2013

Today, the Bologna Declaration has been signed by 47 countries (Education at a Glance, 2012). Besides the countries that adopted the Bologna group, the European Commission is closely involved too. Likewise, international organisations and representatives such as EUA and ESU are now members. The Bologna process makes an interesting example of intergovernmental decision making. It offers other members to join voluntarily. However, joining is in some way inevitable, as the process was initiated by the larger European countries that more or less set the standard. In fear of missing out on the opportunities that the Bologna process created and being left out of the majority, more and more countries signed the agreement. (Adelman, 2009). The members of Bologna are now joined in the Bologna follow-up group, coming together every two years to discuss the progression.

Of the above named measures proposed in 1999, the introduction of the three-phase structure for higher education is often considered as a success. According to Keeling (2006), the three-tiered progression of Bachelor's, Master's and doctoral degrees has quickly become the European standard in participating countries. On this day, all 47 countries have implemented this three-phase structure.

1.4 Intra-European degree mobility

- Incentives to study abroad
- Trends in degree mobility in Europe
- Trends and economics of degree mobility in the Netherlands
- Economics of inbound and outbound student mobility in the Netherlands

The establishment of free movement for students and the harmonization of higher education systems in Europe have made it fairly easy to study abroad. Barriers to study abroad seem to decrease. Yet, only small percentages of students decide to go abroad for a degree. What moves a student abroad? This decision is, beside the personality and the ambitions of the student, based on several external factors, such as the supply of higher education in the home country and the quality of institutions abroad.

Before elaborating on the literature on the mechanism of student mobility and the current data, it is important to consider the context. The past two decades, student mobility and internationalisation in higher education have been generally regarded as something positive (Ferencz and Wächter, 2012). Increasing student mobility has been on the agenda of the European Commission and the national governments. It too has been an objective for educational institutions. According to Teichler (2011), *“Institutions express a variety of rationales for encouraging and enabling mobility. Typical amongst these are the contributions they can make via mobility support to the production of more skilled and adaptable graduates, which in turn exerts a positive net effect on the development of innovative and productive economies and societies.”*

This favorable vision on student mobility is clearly visible in the actions of institutes. Recruitment abroad has become a core-activity for the universities that have internationalisation high on the agenda. Foreign recruitment is a tool to ensure continuity in application and to increase the scale of the institution.

On a European level, the European Commission has expressed the wish to increase student mobility. The aim in the Horizon 2020 strategy is that 20 percent of the graduates has had a study or training period abroad (Ferencz and Wächter, 2012). The rationales behind the EU mobility policy are to enhance European integration and to make Europe more competitive in regard to other continents. Ferencz and Wächter write that another reason behind the priority the Commission gave to mobility is the current lack of a strong legal mandate on which it can justify measures in the field of education. As stated before, education is not a EU competence. However, in the subject of student mobility, that is of a European character, the Commission is seeking to take a more central stage (Ferencz and Wächter, 2012).

Along with the European Commission, international associations in different fields of study have been established the past decades, actively promoting mobility. Throughout Europe, there are some independent associations promoting an international experience, often based on an ideology of intercultural dialogue and mutual understanding.

Incentives to study abroad

Similar to migrants, students make their decision to study abroad based on a combination of push- and pull factors (Ferencz and Wächter, 2012). Several studies have been done on the subject of incentives and obstacles in student mobility. A recent report published by the Netherlands Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis (CPB, 2012) distinguishes several mechanisms for student degree mobility, of which the quality of education is the primary. Although considerations on quality of an institution are not always objective and quantifiable, international renowned university rankings such as the Times Higher Education and the Shanghai Ranking seem to have a significant impact on universities' reputations. The absence of an institution with the desired level in the home country can be an important reason to cross the border. So is limited access to universities in the home country. Likewise, the access to a foreign university, both in terms of residence permits and in costs, is an important factor of attraction. Van der Mei (2003) states that the decision to study in another country is often based on shortcomings in the domestic supply of higher education. For example, students from Luxembourg move because of a lack of higher education facilities in their home country. In the Netherlands the existence of a *numerus clausus* for certain studies including medical and veterinary sciences causes many students to move to Belgium. Thereby, Dutch students are allowed to keep their student grants when moving abroad. Van der Mei also lists the cultural and living conditions of the destination country as a pull-factor.

According to the report by the European University Foundation (Financing Increasing Student-Mobility, 2005), differences in costs of living between the European countries are hardly an obstacle to mobility.

As stated in the European University Foundation report (Financing Increasing Student-Mobility, 2005), there is a considerable advantage for countries where a 'school based' language is spoken, i.e. English, German, Spanish and French. Institutions in countries where a minority language is spoken are of less interest to students. Van der Mei (2003) states similarly that language seems to be a critical factor in the consideration of mobile students. This theory is confirmed by the number of students choosing Britain, France or Germany as their destination (see 1.4 *The trends in degree mobility in Europe*). This is in contrast with the number of students leaving those countries, for British and French secondary education do not include foreign languages in secondary education the way that 'minority language' countries do.

Another factor in the students' decision making process are better employment prospects. (Teichler, U. and others, 2011). Several studies have shown that studying abroad enhances career possibilities.

The OECD (OECD. 2001) writes that tuition fees may play a role in the decision of the student, especially in the case of students from developing countries. In the scope of this paper it seems irrelevant, however, cost considerations might have become more important in south-north migration.

The above named factors influence degree mobility. Since these mechanisms differ per country, some countries are more favored as a destination than others. When there is a disparity in quality of education, the payment required of foreign students and the chances of the labour market, inequality in intra-European student fluxes is likely to occur.

Trends in degree mobility in Europe

Before starting this chapter, it must be noted that there have been weaknesses in the statistical data concerning student mobility. Although improvement has been made, limitations of current statistics remain. In spite of a growing interest in the topic within the scientific and the political world, still high standard empirical research is missing.

According to reports of the Directorate General of Education of the EU student mobility within Europe is high compared to regions in the rest of the world (Teichler, 2011). Also, the mobility levels have risen the past decade. But one of the most important findings of the study is that the numbers in mobility between the individual countries vary immensely.

In 2006, Europe had a 50,9 percent share of the internationally mobile students. 1.5 million foreign students choose Europe as their destination. (Teichler, 2011) That the majority of the internationally mobile students study in Europe is quite striking, given that the continent only hosts 10 percent of the total world population. However, these numbers are not equally distributed over the continent. The primary destinations for foreign students are the United Kingdom (13 percent), France (8 percent) and Germany (7 percent). Two third of all international students in Europe are in these four countries (Teichler, 2011). We can conclude that overall inbound mobility in these three countries is higher than in the other European countries.

The ambition of the Bologna declaration was to increase student mobility towards Europe and secondly to increase intra-European mobility (Ferencz and Wächter, 2012). Numbers show that since 1999 the number of non-European students have risen, whilst the share of intra-European nationals decreased. The Institute of International Education (2011) notes that, even though student mobility levels have not yet shown the numbers that were estimated during the Bologna agreements, Europe has the largest market share of foreign students compared to other regions worldwide, counting up to 49 percent.

As to outbound mobility, the number of students that comes to the continent is considerably higher than the number of students that leaves. The ratio of outbound to inbound mobility in 2007 was 0,033, meaning that for every 1000 incoming students, only 33 would leave for another country. This imbalance is clearly visible in most European countries, although the numbers differ significantly.

It is estimated that 38,2 percent of the 1.5 million foreign students in Europe are from an EU/EEA country themselves (Teichler, 2011). The Institute of International Education (2011) says that approximately 77 percent of the Western-European students chooses a destination within western Europe.

Trends in intra-European degree mobility in the Netherlands

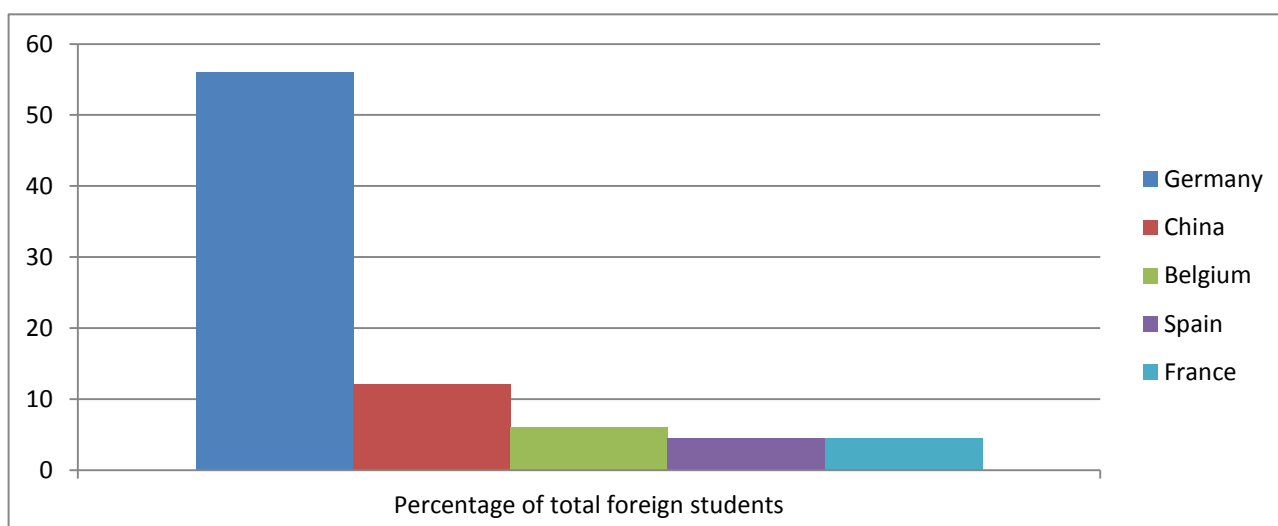
The percentage of foreign students as a part of the home students in the Netherlands below the EU average (Richters, 2012). However, when compared to other western-European countries the Netherlands have a significantly larger influx of European students. The number of EU/EEA students that studies in Holland is five times higher than the EU average, and is still increasing.

As is shown in table 1, the total number of international students enlisted in a funded higher education institution was 58.423 in 2011/2012 (CPB, 2012). In relation to the Dutch students, the share of foreign students is 8,8 percent. As to the origin of these students, graph 1 shows that the large majority (56 percent) comes from Germany. China (12 percent), Belgium (6 percent) and Spain (4,5 percent) are next, with considerably lower figures. A very large share, 73 percent, of the foreign students is from a country within the European Union, the European Economic Area and Switzerland. The estimated number of EU/EEA students enlisted in tertiary education in the year 2011/2012 was 42.648.

	2011/2012
Total number of students	666.859
Total foreign students	58.423
Percentage of foreign students	8,8%
Percentage of EU/EEA	73%
Percentage of non-EU/EEA	27%

Table 1 Inbound degree mobility in the Netherlands.
Source: *De economische effecten van internationalisering in het hoger onderwijs* (2012).

Graph 1. Nationality of foreign students 2011/2012. Source: *De economische effecten van internationalisering in het hoger onderwijs* (2012).



When looking at the outbound degree mobility, we see that this number is considerably lower than the inbound mobility. The share of Dutch students (75,9%) choosing to study within the EU/EEA is however, very similar to the percentage of intra-European students coming to the Netherlands (73%). This can be derived from table 2.

Table 3 shows us that except for the USA, neighbouring countries are the most popular destinations for Dutch students.

	2008/2009
Total number of students studying abroad	15984
Percentage of Dutch students in EU/EEA	75,9 %
Percentage of Dutch students in non EU/EEA	24,1%

Table 2 Outbound degree mobility in the Netherlands.Source: *De economische effecten van internationalisering in het hoger onderwijs* (2012).

	2008/2009
1. Belgium	30,5%
2. UK	20,0%
3. USA	11,5%
4. Germany	10,0%
5. Belgium	4,2%

Table 3 Top 5 destinations for outbound degree mobility. Source: *De economische effecten van internationalisering in het hoger onderwijs* (2012).

Economics of inbound student mobility in the Netherlands

To be able to judge whether an imbalance in degree mobility is of far-reaching consequences, it is important to link the mobility data to the budgets tied to it.

A distinction is made in direct effects on the Dutch economy, such as college fees and the contribution of the government to the higher education institutions, and the indirect effects. The indirect effect of the degree mobility in the Netherlands is more complex to measure, as it is not possible to quantifiably measure these effects. Secondly, they are of a more long-term nature.

The calculations made in this section are largely based on the report '*De economische effecten van internationalisering in het hoger onderwijs*.' by the Netherlands Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis. The Netherlands Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis (CPB) was commissioned by the Dutch government in 2012 to calculate the economical effects of internationalisation in higher education. To be able to include a broader framework, the CPB used the term *welvaartseffecten*, which can be translated as *the effects on the prosperity of the state*, rather than *economic effects*. This choice depicts the far-reaching influence that student mobility can have on a national economy and that it is hard to encompass the effects.

Direct economic effects

In most European countries higher education institutions receive per capita funding from their government. The institutions receive this sum for all national and EU/EEA students. In other words, the more students the institution has, the more funding it receives from the ministry of Education.

Students can also apply for financial aid, *studiefinanciering*, to help them pay their studies. This is a considerable expenditure for the Dutch state. It is estimated that the total sum of financial aid for tertiary education is 1.354.000.000 euro per year. However, in this thesis, as justified in the methodology, the discussion about the costs of financial aid for students is largely evaded, since the European law on the right of citizens of other nations to receive financial aid is still unclear. Still, member states have different approaches in whether to grant foreign students access to their social allowances. The

focus will lay on the sum that the ministry of education pays the higher education institutions per registered foreign EU/EEA student.

According to the Dutch National Budget of 2013 (Rijksbegrotingonderwijs 2013) the average expenses per capita are 6100 euro per year for a student at a university of applied sciences and 6000 for a student at a research university.

53 percent of the foreign students is enlisted in a university of applied sciences, and the rest in a research university (CPB, 2012). However, this number depicts all foreign students and the data does not show how EU/EEA students in particular are distributed between the two types of universities. On the basis of an 50-50 percent distribution we can calculate that 6050 euro times 42.628 accumulates for a 257.899.400 euro annual government contribution to other EU/EEA students tertiary education.

The students themselves only pay a small amount of the costs to the institution. In the Netherlands, the national and the EU/EEA students pay the so-called *statutory tuition fees*. This amount is set every year by the government. In the academic year 2012/2013 the statutory tuition fees were 1,771 euro per year for both the bachelor and the masters degree.

Third country nationals do not receive this government funding. This is visible in the elevated tuition fees that apply for non-EU/EEA students, as depicted in table 4. The fees that apply to non-government funded students are called *institutional fees*. Generally, higher education institutions charge third-country nationals with a contribution that covers the actual costs they make per year. However, it is not very clear as to what a student actually costs per year. Moreover, there are high differences in the costs of a humanities bachelor and a natural sciences or a medicine bachelor.

Institution	EU/EEA + Switzerland	Non-EU/EEA
TU Delft	1,771	8.096
University of Amsterdam	1,771	9,000
University of Wageningen	1,771	9,480
University of Maastricht	1,771	9,500

Table 4 Bachelor tuition fees for the academic year 2012-2013. Source: Universities web sites

Indirect economic effects

The CPB investigated the effects that foreign students have on the prosperity of the state. These effects seemed to be very broad. The influence of foreign students on the quality of education was assessed and the value of highly-talented foreigners for the Dutch knowledge economy (CPB, 2012).

The large influx of foreign students creates a more international classroom, which results in more internationally orientated students (CPB, 2012). This can be of positive effect on the reputation of the country worldwide. The impact these effects have on the economy, however, not be measured quantifiably.

A second feature that strengthens the future workforce, is the fact that, in general, foreign student contribute to a higher quality of education. Research on study results shows that foreign students have higher grades than home students.

The largest contribution that foreign students make to the Dutch economy seems to be made after studying. The CPB-report calculated that if one out of five foreign students stays in the Netherlands to work, the positive effect on government finances would be an annual 740 million. Likewise, the OECD states that migration of undergraduates can help relieve stress on the labour market, as this group can fill specific shortages (OECD, 2001).

As shown in *Trends in intra-European degree mobility in the Netherlands*, at present Holland has a situation in which the inbound flux of degree students by far surpasses the outbound flux. Secondly, a considerable share (73%) of these foreign students are from the EU/EEA and Switzerland.

When combined with the data on funding of higher education, we may conclude that the direct economic effects of such a situation are negative for the national education budget. This accounts only for the EU/EEA students, as their education costs are largely covered by the Dutch government. The non-EU/EEA students carry the full costs of their education themselves.

When looking at the indirect economic effects, a more complex outcome is at stake. A large flux of foreign students can contribute to the economy, as long as a part of these students will work in the Netherlands after their graduation.

Chapter 2 Theories relating to imbalances in student mobility

- 2.1 Welfare Magnets
- 2.2 European solidarity
- 2.3 Binding (Retaining talented students in the country)

This chapter will elaborate on the theories that are relevant to the question on how the imbalance of inbound and outbound students can be defined. The theories used are, more specifically, theories on welfare migration. Although the literature on welfare migration generally refers to workers and families, they are to some extent relevant to student mobility.

Before starting this chapter, it must be stretched that in this context student mobility is not the same as migration. First of all, this paper focuses on the European Union and the European Economic Area. Within law, a clear distinction is made between those who are subject to immigration control and those who are not. In this perspective, EU/EEA citizens that move to other EU/EEA states are not migrants.

Moreover, the European Union interprets the term migration as the movement of people across borders to live and work. The EU emphasizes that the term is in general used for third country nationals.

Secondly, mobility is often used to describe a dynamic and non-permanent movement. Migration is, in most literature, defined as a movement of people to another country or region in order to settle permanently. (Sociology Dictionary)

Welfare migration implies the movement by a person to another country, selected for the accessibility of its welfare system. It is very important to underline here, that the prospect of using the social system of the destination country is not among the pull-factors for international students. The decision to study abroad is influenced by factors such as the quality of the university and the attractiveness of the country. The social benefits in reach of the student are often a side issue. This has to do with the fact that students that choose to study abroad are quite often students of a higher social and economical background. As stated by Murphy-Lejeune (2001), mobile students in Europe can be viewed as a new migratory elite. The OECD (2012) confirms that studying abroad remains to be a privilege of an economic elite.

It is important thus to understand that international students are not necessarily welfare migrants. But, and that is important for in the scope of this paper, the way governments approach these inbound students can definitely be regarded in the same way as they approach welfare migrants.

A second remark that should be made is that the literature is, in general, about the migrants' access to the social benefits of another state. Social benefits imply welfare, health care allowances and financial support for students. In this paper, only the money that the national government pays the higher education institution is relevant. As explained in *empirical framework* this is around 6050 euro per student per year. It can be argued whether this falls under welfare, but in any way, it is not the student that pays this.

Once arrived, the students are entitled to apply for the social benefits in the state. This means that, in the context of this paper, the outcomes of student migration are important, not the incentives. The main actor concerned here is the state.

In *European and national policies for academic mobility* (2012), the writers state that establishing more balance in academic mobility is on the Bologna agenda. The Mobility Strategy 2020 proposes to limit discrepancy between inbound and outbound mobility, in both degree and credit and exchange mobility. The rhetoric in the 2020 strategy is that high fluxes of students leaving a country can result in migration, and constitute therefore a form of *brain drain* and thus assuming a loss for the home country and a gain for the host country. Paradoxically, as is also concluded in this thesis, countries that have large inflows do not necessarily consider themselves as beneficiaries. States such as Austria and the Netherlands are exploring ways to limit inflows. This indicates that, although with different motivations, recipient states and export states both propose balance.

2.1 Welfare Magnets

According to the *welfare magnet* theory, countries that offer generous benefits attract people from countries that have a less extensive welfare system.

Mabbett and Bolderson (2002) state that unrestricted migration, as is the case in the EEA, is liable to have negative effects on the national financial support systems that are in place. This can be explained by the following argument: if students can move and reside freely, countries that offer relatively high levels of welfare provision will become so-called 'welfare magnets'. Further on Mabbett and Bolderson state that, if these theories would be applied on the situation in Europe, the freedom of movement will further affect the authority of the welfare states in the EEA. De Giorgi (2009) similarly states that welfare migration might constitute a fiscal burden for the host country.

An assumption made by policy makers in the domain of the *welfare magnet* theory is: Our social policy cannot be too generous in order to avoid large fluxes of migrants. Another approach would be to make the access to the social benefits exclusive to nationals.

The *welfare magnet* theory, when applied to intra-European student mobility, would entail that migrants, in this case students, choose their destination on the sheer availability of welfare provision. In practice however, as explained in chapter 1, students often make their decisions based on quality of education and language.

Secondly, in the framework of the *welfare magnet* theory, national governments would actually be wise to limit investments in education and study grants, hence avoiding to become an educational magnet. However, several European countries actually broaden their investments in attracting more European students. Van der Mei (2003) writes that there are no facts indicating a raise in taxes or a reduce of investment in education in order to counter incoming European students.

2.2 European solidarity

In this section the question is asked as to in what degree states are prepared to pay for education for citizens of other European countries without acting out of self-interest and pursuing their own benefits. Do nations that have larger inflows of EU/EEA students see themselves as contributors, and nations that send large numbers abroad as beneficiaries? And is there more solidarity towards European students than towards third-country nationals?

The financial crisis has eroded solidarity between nation states. In difficult times, solidarity towards foreigners declines, writes Giubboni (2006). This statement is confirmed by the fact that the discussion in the Netherlands (case study # 2) was raised in times of severe budget cuts.

Solidarity often exists between persons that have a connection, i.e. within the spheres of a group or community. Social solidarity is the principle of spreading the wealth obtained by a certain member of the group to the other members.

The view of the Court in matters of national welfare systems and EU law is clearly explained in a paper by Koen Lenaerts, Judge and President of the Chamber of the Court. "The Court has taken the view that nationals of the host member states must show a certain degree of financial solidarity with the nationals of other member states who have established a 'genuine or real link' with the society of the state." (Lenaerts, 2011). The Court sees it as the duty of the national authorities to judge the existence of such a link. In the case of degree mobility, it is legitimate to say that the student, moving to a new country for a three to five year study is indeed engaged in a relationship with the host country.

However, this assumption can be argued as well. Critics say that the fact that Dutch education is entirely in English and the higher education institutions have increasingly become education factories the bonds between the foreign student and the Netherlands are minimal.

When it comes to social benefits, most Court decisions imply that member states are to grant maintenance costs for students, such as the Dutch *studiefinanciering*, to nationals of

other member states, as long as the student does not become an unreasonable burden for the state. In the scope of this paper the discussion on solidarity is only on tuition fees, i.e., the expenses a government makes on the EU/EEA students making use of the higher education system. These per capita costs are equal to those of the national students, arguing that we can hardly speak of an unreasonable burden. The burden the student forms for the host country can certainly be seen as proportional.

Lenaerts observes that “Social solidarity is more easily offered to EU citizens who will contribute to financing the welfare system of the host member state than to those who will not.” (Lenaerts, 2011) Lenaerts thesis would explain the popularity of the theory of *binding* in the Netherlands. This theory supposes that EU/EEA students are most welcome, as they will later on add value to the Dutch economy and thus finance the welfare system in return.

2.3 *Binding*: Retaining foreign students

This theory describes the aim of the government to attach international students and alumni to the Netherlands. As shown in the *empirical framework*, there is a positive impact on the economy when international students will stay in the country after graduation. They will, as economically active persons, contribute to the economy by working and paying taxes. The assumption is made that the money they bring to the Dutch economy will in time surpass their costs (CPB, 2012).

At the origin of this theory is a calculation made by the Netherlands Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis (CPB) The CPB was commissioned by the minister of Education as a reaction to questions asked in the Dutch lower chamber. Some members of parliament expressed their concerns about the growing costs of the EU/EEA students in the Dutch tertiary education. The CPB (2012) calculated that if one out of five foreign students stays and works after graduation, it will contribute an approximate 740 million euro to the treasury.

This way of thinking approaches international students as prospect contributors of the economy. In the words used in EU legislation, economically inactive persons are seen as possible economically active persons, in the advantage of the host country. Bluntly said,

this theory can be viewed as a quid-pro-quo approach where tax-payers' expenses for foreign students are accepted, as long this investment will be returned eventually. This seems to be in contradiction with European solidarity. The former chairman of the VSNU (Association of Universities in the Netherlands) Sijbolt Noorda has advocated in *Transfer Magazine* a more social view on internationalisation. He regrets the fact that the government bases its actions in the field of internationalisation on a sheer calculations of costs. More sceptics (Beerkens, 2013) say that internationalisation should be more than labour market policy. Beerkens reads the *binding theory* as an illustration of an increasing emphasis on short-term economic benefits.

The rhetoric around the subject of *binding* fit to the current trend where incoming degree mobility is associated with the competitiveness of the tertiary education of the host country (Ferencz and Wächter, 2012). Not only are both institutions and governments eager to attract foreign students to improve the quality of their education system, but also to add value to their knowledge economy and research landscape. In other words, inflows of talented or highly educated people can have large positive impacts on the economy. This accounts even more for states that are facing negative demographic trends. Professor of International Studies Ziguras writes that most economically developed societies deal with low birth rates and ageing populations. Recruiting foreign students, i.e. young people that have yet to start their career, can help to sustain the number of working-age people that are necessary to support the increasing group of retirees (Ziguras, 2006).

Chapter 3 Case Studies

3.1 The Nordic agreement

3.2 The Netherlands versus Germany and Belgium

That the subject of this paper is one of relevance is clear by the numerous cases across the European continent where politicians, institutions and other actors involved expressed their discontent with the current state of affairs.

The two cases selected for this paper are similar in situation but different in solution. In both cases there is a substantial imbalance in inbound and outbound mobility. The following chapter will lay out the context and reconstruct the discourse of both cases.

3.1 Case 1 The Nordic agreement

Within the Scandinavian countries there is a substantial imbalance in degree mobility. (see table 4). In the year 2010-2011, 2500 Norwegians were enrolled in Danish higher education institutions (Visscher, 2010). That is in contrast with the number of Danes studying in Norway, that was only 195. This is a ratio of roughly 1 to 12. Norway, Finland, Denmark and Sweden signed a mutual financial compensation agreement for the imbalance in student mobility. This arrangement is also called the *student voucher*.

Already in 1996 four countries of the Nordic Cooperation signed an agreement that they would contribute equivalent to 3000 euro per student going to the other country. Iceland was exempted from the agreement. The agreement was made in order to stimulate inter-Scandinavian degree mobility. What is interesting, is that the four countries agreed to settle the financial balance in an inter-parliamentary forum. The depth or the surplus will be paid to the other country via a reduction or an increase of the share that the countries annually contribute to the Nordic Council.

Recently, the two countries have renewed their agreement and upgraded the sum to 4000 euro per year per 2014. The agreement states that Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden shall reimburse 75% of the total number of students studying and residing in another Nordic state. To illustrate, if the number of Norwegians studying in Denmark is to remain stable, the Norwegian state has to pay 10 million euro to Denmark. Both parties

said the negotiations went prosperous. The Danish minister of higher education said that everyone felt that the Danish wishes were proportional. The Norwegian minister stated that the agreement is in the interest of a good neighbour relationship. All parties concerned referred to the arrangement as a *gentlemen's agreement*.

What is interesting, is the tone of the discourse. To quote Morten Ostergaard, the Danish minister of Education, "It is a robust agreement that is securing a better share of the burden between the countries." Ostergaard refers to the financial burden.

All EU/EEA citizens are entitled to free higher education in Denmark. One argument for this construction is that the extra costs would be for the governments instead of the individual students. Countries have experimented with the instruments to channel influxes of foreign students. Several measures can be implemented, of which raising the college fees.

Complementing to the construction of demanding money from the European home countries of the inbound students, Denmark has implemented two other methods to take the pressure of the imbalance. In 2006, Denmark raised tuition fees for third-country students (Oxford Research, 2013). Within the European legal framework, the countries cannot raise tuition fees for EU/EEA students without raising them for their nationals as well, with the risk of threatening the accessibility of higher education. By raising tuition fees for third-country nationals, the government and the higher education institutions attempt to compensate for the costs of local and EU/EEA citizens. Secondly, whether it was intended or not, it can result in a reduction of inbound non EU/EEA students. The introduction of college fees for non-EU/EEA students in Denmark directly resulted in a decrease of 50 per cent within a year. (Transfer Magazine, December 2010). Two years later, the number of non EU/EEA student started rising again. A study made for the Nordic Council (Oxford Research, 2013) attributes this rebound to the widespread system of scholarships and marketing initiatives. According to this report, one of the arguments for the introduction of tuition fees was to avoid that non EU/EEA countries would send students to Denmark knowing that the Danish government would pay for their education.

Another method to diminish the economic burden of a high influx of foreign students, is to reduce the disparity between inbound and outbound fluxes. This could be done by sending more students abroad. In order to achieve this, a strategic internationalisation policy is necessary. Denmark has become proactive in stimulating outgoing mobility. The

Danish Agency for International Education has started a program in 2011, aiming at informing the Danish of the added value of studying abroad.

An example that is frequently referred to in the thinking of this policy is the situation of South-North mobility. In this situation, southern European countries would have to make a transfer per student to the northern countries. Or, like the Nordic situation, the amounts would be offset in an intra or supra national body.

One of the factors that makes this situation complex is the calculation of the actual costs for the country that takes the student in. (CPB, 2012). For example, medical studies are more costly than business studies. Secondly, the foreign students spent money in the country of residence. As stated before, several studies show that foreign students contribute to the economy directly and indirectly by boosting the economy. Foreign students add value when they work in the country. Even if they move away after graduation, they take with them the social networks and the relation with the country they studied in, hence acting as ambassadors for that country.

The Nordic Agreement should be regarded in line with the culture and politics of the region. Norway and Denmark both spend more than 2,2% of their GDP on higher education (Education at a Glance, 2012). These are the highest percentages worldwide. The costs for higher education in these countries are thus relatively high. Within the Nordic countries, education is seen as a right for its citizens and those rights are, by definition, free rights. Free higher education is one of the cornerstones of the Nordic countries.

An interesting observation of the Oxford report is the following. The introduction of tuition fees for non EU/EEA students and the Nordic Agreement are in fact questions to the welfare state model. If the increasing pressure of incoming international students endangers home student's access to higher education, then maybe the free education-model has outlived its usefulness in this globalized world.

Country of Origin	To Denmark	To Finland	To Iceland	To Norway	To Sweden	All Nordic Destinations
Denmark		47	58	863	979	1,947
Finland	187		31	291	3,880	4,389
Iceland	1,634	29		245	478	2,386
Norway	2,188	59	39		1,445	3,731
Sweden	1,342	567	53	1,179		6,782
Norden	5,351	702	181	2,578	3,141	15,587

Table 4 Nordic degree mobility. Source: *Ook Scandinavisch hoger onderwijs staat onder druk*. Transfer Magazine (2010).

3.2 Case 2 The Netherlands versus Germany and Belgium

In 2011 a discussion flared up on the large influx of German students. The minister of education Zijlstra feared that the excessive increase of German students would have negative effects on the quality of the Dutch higher education. Some Dutch politicians suggested that Germany should help finance the costs of the increasing number of German degree students in the Netherlands (du Pré, 2011). This led to a fiery discussion.

Besides the impact on the quality of education, the impact on the education budget also played a part. As shown in chapter 1, the number of EU/EEA students residing in the Netherlands is by far exceeding the amount of nationals leaving the country. The Dutch government contributes 6000 to 6100 euro per European student to the educational institutions. German students form the largest community of foreign students, translating to a significant cost for the Dutch government.

There was a variation of criticism and support for the minister from a number of very different quarters. Former senior officer at the ministry of Education Ferdinand Mertens expressed his concerns about the extra costs of the German students in *Transfer Magazine*. He emphasized the paradoxical situation of the marketing-like aggressive promotion and recruitment in Germany by government funded institutions. Only the institutions benefit from generating large numbers of EU students. The import of those students are paid for by the Dutch treasury, whereas the short-term profits go to the institutions. Mertens refers to the working paper *Onbegrensd talent* from 1997, where

policy makers already warned for the fact that imbalances in student mobility could have negative financial implications for the Netherlands. One proposal against these implications was the principle that the money should follow the student. However, on a European level the idea ran aground and no solution was established with Germany.

Eventually, the minister saw a solution as to limit the costs of the German students. Instead of recouping the costs from the German government, the minister sought a solution at the recruitment level. Some education institutions in the border regions had become dependent of a substantial share of German students. The institutions invested highly in recruitment of German students. Moreover, some study programmes were even entirely in German, to the discontentment of the minister, dubbing it as 'fake internationalisation'. By limiting the recruitment practices of higher education institutions in border regions the minister hoped to limit the fluxes (Slappendel, 2012).

The institutions in the border region thus were ordered to limit their recruitment in Germany. The minister emphasised that he was still convinced of the benefits of having foreign students in our higher education, but that balance was essential.

A year later, criticism of the same nature was warranted. Only this time it was the Belgian minister of Education on the increasing number of Dutch students coming to Belgium, complaining that some European countries deliberately raise tuition fees and make other states carry the burden (Seegers, 2012). Tuition fees in the Netherlands are around 1771 euro per year, whereas in Belgium they are 578 euro per year. In 2012, 5573 Dutch nationals were studying in Belgium. This is 2,6 percent of the total students in higher education.

Minister Vercruysse said that things will become problematic for Belgium to finance a large group of students that is not part of the Belgian society. The majority of the Dutch students will leave the country directly after graduation. This reasoning is in line with the theory behind binding, as the Belgian minister is only welcoming to foreign students as long as they will contribute to the Belgian economy.

The above cases illustrate the complexity of the debate and the contradictions in the national approaches. The same way Holland receives a large influx of German students, Belgium receives a large flow of Dutch students. However, as to the outgoing mobility to Belgium, the Netherlands have not yet offered to come up with solutions, in the same way that Germany has not responded to the Dutch concerns.

Chapter 4 Discussion

It appears that differences in the European countries in regard to quality of education, language, costs of education and chances at the labour market, in combination with the free movement for students, result in an imbalance of intra-European student mobility.

From the case studies we can derive that countries do actively seek ways to deal with the imbalance. Actions to restrict incoming foreign students run aground, as the Court will ensure that the non-discrimination principle is respected. Another optional measure is to raise tuition fees. This is an unpopular measure as it is likely to raise protest by the national students. Thirdly, the government can restrict institutions to actively promote their education abroad. This is what happened in the Netherlands, in regard to the large influx of German students.

Another approach to balance the inbound and outbound mobility is not to limit the number of foreign students, but to limit the imbalance by increasing the number of national students that study abroad. This approach is used in Denmark, where a national campaign is set in place to stimulate Danes to study abroad.

Finally, a country can also decide that imbalance in student mobility is not a problem, as long as the educational budget is in balance. As the case in the Nordic Agreement, countries recoup the costs for educating citizens of other nations to these other nations. This way, governments outsource the higher education of their citizens to other states. This form of financing degree mobility thus has no big impacts on the countries that receive much students. In this line of thought, Europe would be heading towards a payment system where governments compensate for the students sent abroad. Advocates of this rationale would plea for a federal system of study grants and loans. The possibilities of this system should be further investigated, as they might have far-reaching political consequences. It would mean that education, legally no competence of the EU, would get a more federal character. The question remains as to how such developments would be received in the European-sceptic sentiment that is in the continent today.

The countries involved in the Nordic Agreement view their agreement as a gesture of solidarity. However, some critics may say that this quid-pro-quo measure has nothing to do with solidarity, as it reflects a sheer striking of the financial balance. Internationalisation in higher education should, according to some, be seen as the tool to create global citizens. This rationale pleads for an open landscape of higher education in Europe, where

countries will feel as responsible for educating their own citizens as those of their neighbour. This reflects an optimistic, perhaps utopian vision of a solidarity in Europe. It is difficult to say whether this system is tenable if imbalances keep on increasing.

However, this is the system that is in place today and is likely to be there tomorrow. It seems that for now, the Netherlands have accepted the current state of affairs. The essential difference is that policy makers now focus on the national benefits of welcoming foreign students. The rhetoric around the subject of 'Binding' fit to the current trend where incoming degree mobility is associated with the competitiveness of the tertiary education of the host country (Ferencz and Wächter, 2012). Inflows of talented or highly educated people can have positive impact both on institutions and on the overall economy. This added value might be an important recruitment incentive for states that are facing negative demographic trends and a decline in labour force. This rationale explains as well why Denmark, in spite of the financial impact the incoming students had on the country, never actually sought at limiting incoming students, but rather finding another way of funding them. Some might critique the rationale behind binding as prioritising economic and competition-based motives over positive points as creating intercultural dialogue and understanding. Another remark is that recruiting and retaining foreign students for the national labour market can have negative implications for the country of origin. The country of origin loses talented people, which can imply a *brain drain*.

A balance is also favoured by typical import countries and one can imagine, for countries with an disproportional outflow as well. For the international classroom to succeed, a well-balanced student mobility is necessary too. A natural balance, one that would be in place if supply and demand would be equal and if differences in the level of higher education institutions would not exist, seems not realistic. Thus, a balance in student mobility can only be achieved through policy reforms. And since it concerns intra-European mobility it is only logical that such agreements are to be made on a European level. Once more, this will not be easy in times where national administrators have to justify every bit of sovereignty that is shifted towards 'Brussels'.

Chapter 5 Conclusion and Recommendations

Conclusion

The present study was set out to determine the effects of intra-European degree mobility in the scope of the free movement principle. The central question of this paper was:

In what way is the free movement principle in Europe resulting in an imbalance of intra-European student mobility and which concepts and arrangements have been presented?

The free movement principle makes it easy for European students to study in another member states. As a necessity to establish the internal market and later to increase the notion of European citizenship, the European Commission sought to further take away internal borders by establishing the free movement for all EU citizens. In combination, the EU treaty reforms and the Bologna agenda have shaped the higher education landscape on a European level. By removing barriers to degree mobility, numerous students do no longer base their decisions on proximity of a university, but other factors have gained importance. Factors such as quality of education, the lack of education in the home country and future career chances drive students abroad. These factors, and differences in national regulations concerning education funding, create a complex and dynamic web of fluxes of degree students in Europe. Differences in the European countries in regard to quality of education, language, costs of education and chances at the labour market, in combination with the free movement for students, result in an imbalance of intra-European student mobility and confirms the hypothesis.

Certain countries, namely countries with excellent education and countries where language is no obstacle, are popular student destinations.

As explained in the case studies, Denmark and the Netherlands deal with a significant imbalance in inbound and outbound degree students. The inequality of both fluxes have a significant implication on the education costs, causing these countries to actively seek ways to deal with the imbalance.

Denmark and Norway have, within the Nordic Council, established an agreement where each country financially compensates the host country. This way, continuity of intra-

Nordic mobility is ensured without having severe impacts on the national education budgets.

The first case study on the Nordic agreement showed that a mutual agreement on sharing the costs of degree mobility can be established. An interesting observation is that, although mutual respect and inter-state relationships are on a high level, still a very realistic and pragmatic construction is formed.

When looking further into the rationale behind the situation in Denmark, it becomes clear that the reason behind the construction is highly intertwined with the culture. Raising tuition fees to cover expenses is not an option, as the idea that education should be free is embedded in Danish society. The country would rather recoup the costs of foreign students at the other governments.

In the Netherlands, the large number of German students led to a discussion about if the Netherlands should financially support the German students in Dutch universities. The minister of education found a solution in restricting the institutions in the border regions to actively recruit German students.

One significant finding is that policy makers on an institutional level, a national level and on a European level all emphasize the importance of degree mobility. However, the reasons behind this favorable position differ. For institutions, foreign recruitment is a way of ensuring registration of new students and enhancing the quality of their (international) education. On a European level, intra-European student mobility is essential to create an intercultural dialogue and thus enhance European integration. The research also pointed out that, even though the EU has no mandate to act in the field of education, the Commission sees for herself a directing role in the issue of student mobility.

For governments, the economic implications of degree mobility play a larger role, as the prosperity of the country is prime responsibility of the state. The imbalances of student mobility seem to have the most implications for the state, as the state has to carry the extra costs of the foreign EU/EEA students. Several European states that are dealing with a large influx of students are exploring ways to limit the extra expenses.

Another interesting finding was that the implications that foreign students have on the national education budgets are not structurally seen as a problem, but that they are highly related to conjuncture in politics and the state of the national public finances. Only when

times are difficult, for example as a result of the financial crisis, the subject becomes topical. Secondly, the discussion is also raised every year at the start of the semester.

The study implied that a balance is favoured by typical import countries. Further research should confirm the hypothesis that for countries with a disproportional outflow, a certain degree of balance is desirable as well. A natural balance, one that would be in place if supply and demand would be equal and if differences in the level of higher education institutions would not exist, is unrealistic. Thus, a balance in student mobility can only be achieved through policy reforms. And since it concerns intra-European mobility it is only logical that such agreements are to be made on a European level.

Recommendations

The findings of this research suggest several recommendations. First of all, further investigation on the Nordic Agreement should be conducted. It is unclear whether all parties involved, that being students, higher education institutions and national governments still stand behind the agreement. If a situation is accomplished where all stakeholders are satisfied, and reciprocal degree mobility is ensured, the Nordic agreement can well be considered a best practice. Further research on the Nordic Agreement would provide a benchmark for a pan-European construction. The question remains as to if such a construction would work for states that have different models for funding higher education than the Nordic countries have. It is likely that differences in culture, political climates and relationships between the European countries might be more complex.

It would be interesting, from an economical geographical point of view, to research what the imbalance of student mobility does to areas and institutions that cope with abandonment and decrease of scale in higher education. Are these states happy to outsource the education of their nationals to other states, or would they rather not see such a large outbound mobility and even desire more incoming European students?

It is important to bear in mind that, although the subject is much discussed, it does not necessarily call for an urgent solution. One of the findings of the research was that the implications that foreign students have on the national education budgets are not structurally seen as a problem, but that they are highly intertwined to conjuncture in politics and the state of the national public finances.

Another recommendation would be to improve the monitoring of European student mobility. Although improvement has been made, still some limitations of current statistics remain. In spite of a growing interest in the topic within the scientific and the political world, still high standard empirical research is missing. The empirical research was rather difficult, as there was not much comprehensive European data. Most probably, this lack of data has to do with the ever changing of the composition of the European Union and the European Economic Area. Some reports use the EU 27 as their research scope, whereas others make use of Europe 32, including non-EU countries that, for example, are included in the EHEA. However, these countries do not have the free movement of students and

the reports using EU 32 were unfit as a source for this thesis. There have been weaknesses in the statistical data concerning student mobility.

Secondly, the data available on the fluxes of intra-European mobility is largely focused on degree mobility. There is, except for the Erasmus programme data, no comprehensive data on temporary mobility. Some reports do not distinguish between degree and credit mobility, which makes the numbers the more vague.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Visscher, R. (2010). *Ook Scandinavisch hoger onderwijs staat onder druk*. Transfer Magazine, volume 4, 2010/2011, 22-24.

Appendix B

Heuts, E. (2011). *Kwestie Duitse studenten gaat tot gedonder leiden*. Transfer Magazine, volume 7, 2010/2011, 8-10.

Appendix C

Slappendel, A. (2012). *Nog geen importstop op Duitse studenten. HBO-bestuurders in de grensstreek: Zijlstra slaat door*. Transfer Magazine, volume 5, 2011/2012, 14-15