EU: EDUCATION POLICIES AND THIRD COUNTRIES

CIVILIAN POWER OR *JUST* FOREIGN POLICY?

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Abstract

Despite the lack of attention from academia, there are concrete examples that show an attempt to Europeanize the education policies and institutions of countries outside of the EU.

This dissertation investigates the relationship between education and foreign policy, looking at the partnership between EU and third countries. Following a social constructivist theoretical framework, the results of the expert interviews, policy analysis, and empirical cases showed that, indeed, education is closer than ever to the realm of high politics and foreign affairs. The results have shown that, the same time, the EU retains a positive image of a soft and civilian power. Can we expect a growing EU cultural diplomacy?

Keywords: European Union, Education, Foreign Policy, Europeanization, Civilian Power

Word Count: 18629

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1 INTRODUCTION

One of the most successful and popular initiatives of the European Union (EU), Erasmus, celebrated its 25th anniversary in 2012. The EU mobility program is a success story that topped 3 million participating students in 2013 and will see a new phase this year with the launch of Erasmus+. While there is a general lack of attention in research concerning EU and education policies, the development of the last years has paved the way to even more unexplored areas. Is there a connection between education, enlargement, and foreign policy? If yes, to what extent?

For instance, the opportunity to study abroad through Erasmus is not an exclusive prerogative of EU[1] citizens. An increasing number of non-EU countries have been able to join the program by adapting their Higher Education Institutions (HEI) to meet the requirements and "join the club." Those not eligible for the Lifelong Learning Programme (LLP) or Erasmus have other opportunities: TEMPUS, Erasmus Mundus, bilateral agreements (e.g. EU-US Atlantis Programme), and the intra-ACP academic mobility scheme with Africa, the Caribbean, and the Pacific region.

From a simple partner, the European Union has become the leader of the Bologna Process,[2] a European-wide policy. Despite being only a supporting competence[3], education in the EU has gone through a deep process of Europeanization. The European Union promoted itself among European HEIs through funding and opportunities, ultimately leading to the harmonization of the education systems.

Reinforced by the progressive Europeanization of the national agencies,[4] the education policies of the European Union played a central role in the reform of the HEIs in Europe and the consequent internationalization policies. Through Erasmus, the European Union developed other education initiatives aimed at creating partnerships between Europe and third party countries, with the strategy of aligning those HEIs to European standards. For

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[1] I use the terminology EU for the European Union and Europe for the geographical region.
[2] Marco La Rosa, "Fostering Mobility within Higher Education Institutions" (University of Padova, 2012).
[3] European Union, "Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union," (2012).
[4] Morten Egeberg and Jarle Trondal, *National Agencies in the European Administrative Space : Government Driven, Commission Driven or Networked?*, Working Paper / Arena (Oslo: Arena, 2007).

instance, TEMPUS was established right after the fall of the Berlin Wall, with the purpose of "[…] respond[ing] to the modernisation needs of the higher education sector in Central and Eastern European countries." [5]

Erasmus+, the follow-up of the LLP, starts this year and aims at becoming the first global mobility scheme, as well as a tool to extend and expand the EU HEI modernization agenda. In an ever-growing competitiveness among HEIs,[6] the European Union supports the role of its member states creating international opportunities and strategic partnership in the fields of education, research, youth, and sports between the EU and third countries. Erasmus+ also aims at increasing the competitiveness of the EU HEIs by bringing together international students and researchers using EU funds.

After unsuccessful attempts to coordinate a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), the European Union promoted itself through other initiatives, mostly in the so-called macro-structures of external governance.[7] Education falls in this field, and we are now seeing an attempt to go further and extend the EU education policy well beyond the current borders, starting with the countries involved in the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) and reaching the Asian, African, and American market. The press release "Erasmus+ will boost EU's Eastern Partnership"[8] signals this trend and highlights the leading role expected from HEIs in Europe.

1.1 RESEARCH QUESTION AND STRUCTURE

There are many concrete examples of an attempt to Europeanize the education policies and institutions of countries outside of the EU. Turkey is the country with the highest number of Higher Education Institutions adopting the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) and Diploma Supplement (DS) label.[9] Ukraine received €53.6 million from the European

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[5] European Commission, "History of Tempus," (2013).

[6] Eric Schwartz, "Comparative Analysis of Accountability Policies in Higher Education: How Do Us and Eu Institutions Meet the Challenges of the 21st Century?," *Proceedings of the Ivth International Conference on Globalization and Higher Education in Economics and Business Administration - Geba 2010* (2011).

[7] Sandra Lavenex, Dirk Lehmkuhl, and Nicole Wichmann, "Modes of External Governance: A Cross-National and Cross-Sectoral Comparison," *Journal of European Public Policy* 16, no. 6 (2009).

[8] European Commission, "Erasmus+ Will Boost Eu's Eastern Partnership," news release, 13 September 2013, 2013, http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-13-698_en.htm.

[9] "Ects Label Holders 2012," (2012).

Commission (EC) to modernize its education system in line with the Bologna Process and adopted the two-tier structure (3+2).[10] Syria implemented the ECTS grading scale and received €9.5 million to improve its education system.[11] Kyrgyzstan is implementing the ECTS grading scale and enacting a reform aimed at introducing a Bachelor + Master's Degree system.[12] This further integration between the EC and the national education administrations of both Member States and non-EU countries is a trend already seen in the European Union with the silent rise of a European Public Administration.[13] Thus, education, research, and cultural policies become important elements in the EU's foreign policy.

This leads me to ask, why does the EC so heavily invest in the reform of education systems in non-EU countries like Syria, Turkey, Ukraine, and Kyrgyzstan? Is education a part of the EU's foreign policy?

I operationalize the main research question in two sub-questions:

- Does the European Commission actively think about education in foreign policy terms?
- If there is a process of Europeanization of the education policy beyond the EU, is this driven by the interests and lobbying of European HEIs?

To answer these questions, I will use the empirical example of the Erasmus+ program, which includes the previous LLP, Sports, and Youth programs that have been extended to non-candidate and non-EEA states.

The research project is highly relevant in the field of both social sciences and humanities. The EC has gained increasing powers in the area of education. With the push for internationalization of all higher education systems (see, for example, the opening of international branches of US and European universities in China and the Middle East), this area is closer than ever to the realm of high politics and foreign affairs, yet maintains an

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[10] "Brief Summary of Tempus Impact Study in Ukraine," (2013).
[11] "Evaluation of the Contribution of Tempus to the Development of Higher Education in Syria," (2013).
[12] "Brief Summary of Tempus Impact Study in Kyrgystan," (2013).
[13] Jarle Trondal and B. Guy Peters, *The Rise of European Administrative Space : Lessons Learned*, Working Paper / Arena, Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo (Oslo: Arena, Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo, 2012); ibid.

image of soft and civilian power. After the successful expansion of the Bologna Process outside the borders of the EU, it may become more obvious that education is an area where the EU exerts its soft power. This study aims to contribute to this knowledge field, which has until now been largely unexplored from a foreign policy perspective.

The thesis proceeds as follows. After introducing, its terms and theoretical framework, including the literature review (Chapter 2), and methodology (Chapter 3), I will give an overview of the EU education policies with a clear focus on the Bologna Process, mobility, and TEMPUS (Chapter 4). Chapter 5 reports my findings, including the policy analysis and outcome of the expert interviews. In Chapter 6, I discuss the results presented in the two previous chapters, followed by my conclusions (Chapter 7).

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 THEORY AND CONCEPTS

The uniqueness of the EU as a global actor is a challenge when considering the choice of a theoretical framework that includes a foreign policy perspective. The EU has a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and, since 2009, a diplomatic body (the European External Action Service – EAS). However, some might argue that "common" might not be the right definition,[14] as each Member State has its own foreign policy. Krotz and Maher[15] argue that in some areas, such as peacekeeping, EuropeAid, and development and policy support (including education), the EU acts as a single entity, while in others, such as the use of military force, the divisions are evident. This argument demonstrates the EU's more natural approach towards acting as a civilian power. The first approaches in studying Europeanization come from the theories of International Relations (IR). The two dominant and competing theories are neofunctionalism and intergovernmentalism. While the initial theories fit well in the 1950s and 1960s, the application of traditional IR theories to the current situation becomes challenging due to the complexity and increasing policy areas of

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[14] Philip H. Gordon, "Europe's Uncommon Foreign Policy," (2012).
[15] Ulrich Krotz and Richard Maher, "International Relations Theory and the Rise of European Foreign and Security Policy," *World Politics* 63, no. 03 (2011).

today's European institutions. In view of these challenges, a parallel set of theories has emerged from IR with a clear focus on the European integration process.[16] Wiener[17] groups this mosaic of theories in three parts:

- Explaining European Integration (federalism, neofunctionalism, and liberal intergovernmentalism).
- Analyzing European Governance (governance approaches, policy networks, new institutionalisms, and social constructivism).
- Constructing the European Union (discursive approaches, gender studies, normative theory, and critical economy).

Bache, George, and Bulmer[18] follow a similar division: starting with the theory of European integration, continuing with theories of EU governance, and ending with critical perspectives. This shows that there are many approaches towards integration theories and that the changes of the competences and political scenarios of the EU require frequent revisions, particularly when it comes to the EU and third countries.

The challenge of my research is how to apply a European integration theory to a field that includes non-EU members in an area (education) where the EU has only a supportive competence. To paraphrase Ruggie, "What makes Europe hang together when it comes to education?"[19]

There are different lines of reasoning that can interpret and answer this question. Rationalist approaches, such as liberal intergovernmentalism, focus on the material interests of the single states (a prominence of trade and economic interests and interest groups affecting other areas, such as education and culture[20]). Neofunctionalists underline the importance of the regional integration (e.g. Slovenia and Croatia with the rest of the Balkans), the transfer of domestic

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[16] Wiener and Diez present an overview of the main European integration theories in Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez, *European Integration Theory* (Oxford University Press, 2009).

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ian Bache, Stephen George, and Simon Bulmer, *Politics in the European Union* (OUP Oxford, 2011).

[19] John Gerard Ruggie, "What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-Utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge," *International organization* 52, no. 4 (1998).

[20] For a recent approach to the topic see Andrew Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht* (Routledge, 2013).

alliances (HEIs in Ukraine seeing the EU as a better instrument to achieve their goals[21]), and the positive spillover effect from trade and job market into education. While both theories have some good points, I find them unfit to study the relationship between the EU and third countries due to their focus on Member States. Moreover, none of them looks thoroughly at the effects of socialization, an important component of my research.

Instead, I see social constructivism, a middle ground theory,[22] as the preeminent theoretical framework that addresses the research topics and its challenges.

Part of this choice resides in the presence of two different sides of the same coin, each with its own interests, aims, and beliefs: the EU and third countries.

The EU, especially the European Commission,[23] aims at projecting a positive image of itself both within and outside the EU. Education, culture, research policies, funds, and aid are a perfect representation of this positive image of EU as a civilian power.[24] However, education and culture are also core national topics, even within the Member States; one could argue that an expansion of education policies to third countries is an elusive (but still very "positive") way to do foreign policy.

The importance of sending a positive image affects external actors, as well as the EU itself. Wendt[25] highlights the importance of this positive collective self-esteem and the need of a group to feel good about what they are doing, which he terms a "mirroring" [26] effect. Social constructivism identifies in this positive feeling how the EU legitimates its actions and behavior. This brings us to the other side of the coin: the third countries and their view of the EU.

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[21] Helen Wallace, Mark A. Pollack, and Alasdair R. Young, *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 6., [rewritten] ed., The New European Union Series (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).
[22] Social Constructivism is often categorized as an ontology rather than a theory. Moreover, constructivism is seen as a middle ground as it can "engage in meaningful conversations" with both Rationalists and Reflectivists. See Bache, George, and Bulmer, *Politics in the European Union*.
[23] Risse underlines the role of the EC as "norm entrepreneur." See Thomas Risse, "Social Constructivism and European Integration," in *European Integration Theory*
ed. Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
[24] There will be more on the EU as a civilian power later in the chapter.
[25] Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, Cambridge Studies in International Relations, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
[26] "Actors come to see themselves as a reflection of how they think Others see them," ibid., 327.

If we look outside the EU's borders, the importance of "reflecting on how interaction with the EU over time may shape and redefine national positions"[27] is a key element. Georgian Former President Mikheil Saakashvili sees membership in the EU and NATO as a long-term priority.[28] Can we argue that the European Union attracts new members? The first social constructivist element to consider is the normative power of the EU institutions: the ability of EU-level ideas, norms, and policies to be considered positive and beneficial on the national level (improving their penetration and acceptance). This is what Rosamond calls the "constitutive effect of norms."[29]

The second element is European identity.[30] Social constructivists see "Europeness," or European identity, as a non-fixed identity, meaning that changes over time and place. I intend to use social constructivism to see how HEIs see themselves in respect to Europe and if there is a desire to be seen and considered as a European university. Moreover, social constructivism can be used to examine the way in which the European Union acts as an arena for communication and persuasion.[31] As I will better illustrate, communication and persuasion are important elements in the Bologna Process and, more generally, in the open method of coordination (OMC).

To complete my theoretical framework, I originally intended to make use of the liberal constructivism of Van Apeldoorn, Overbeek, and Ryner[32] to link material (economic) benefits and ideals based on the inclusion of economic benefits in EU education programs. However, as the results will show in the next chapters, a classical social constructivist approached perfectly fit the research project.

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[27] Bache, George, and Bulmer, *Politics in the European Union*, 42.

[28] NATO, "Joint Press Conference with President Mikheil Saakashvili of Georgia and Nato Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen," news release, 2013, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/opinions_101792.htm.

[29] Ben Rosamond, "New Theories of Integration," in *European Union Politics*, ed. Michelle Cini and Nieves Perez-Solorzano Borragan (OUP Oxford, 2013), 131.

[30] Risse, "Social Constructivism and European Integration."

[31] Rosamond, "New Theories of Integration."

[32] Bastiaan Van Apeldoorn, Henk Overbeek, and Magnus Ryner, "Theories of European Integration: A Critique," *A Ruined Fortress* (2003).

Constructivism is my theoretical framework, but there is another key concept of the research topic worth considering: Europeanization.[33] Europeanization as such is not a theory,[34] it is rather a consequence, and we can define it as "a process in which domestic politics, policies, and polities are changed through engagement with the EU system."[35]

Bache, George, and Bulmer summarize the uses of non-EU-specific Europeanizations. As shown in Table 1, policy transfer, political ideas, and practices are all elements mentioned earlier in this chapter that reflect a social constructivist approach.

Table 1: Uses of Europeanization: Non-EU-Specific (Source: Bache, George, and Bulmer, 2011, 60)

Usage	Focus on
Horizontal transfer or "crossloading" between states.	The movement and practices between European states (whether EU members or not). The EU may or may not play a role in facilitating these movements. This usage is linked to ideas of policy transfer and is also referred to as "crossloading."
Exporting forms of political organization.	The transfer of European political ideas and practices beyond Europe.

The process of Europeanization brings up another concept: the EU as a civilian power. In fact, the EU tends to project itself as a civilian power in opposition to military powers. The concept of civilian power was a matter of debates in academia while the international presence of the EU was on the rise, often with a positivist approach. In 1982, Bull argued

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[33] Some authors use the term Europeanization as a synonym for European integration. See Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier, *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe* (Cornell University Press, 2005).

[34] Heather Grabbe, "Europeanization Goes East: Power and Uncertainty in the Eu Accession Process," in *The Politics of Europeanisation*, ed. Featherstone Kevin; Radaelli Claudio Maria; (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); ibid.

[35] Bache, George, and Bulmer, *Politics in the European Union*, 58.

"Europe is not an actor in international affairs, and does not seem likely to become one,"[36] drawing on the growing idea that civilian power could substitute for the traditional military as a means of influencing international relations. Over thirty years after Bull's argument, the EU is not only present all over the world with various initiatives, including peacekeeping missions, but it has built up military coordination among the Member States.[37] The debate is still on as to whether the EU is to be considered a civilian power or a military power. For example, Smith recognizes the minor military characterization of the EU, while pointing out the difference between "exercising (civilian power) and being (a civilian power)." [38] The first case focuses on the diplomatic, political, and cultural initiatives (such as Erasmus+), while the second looks at the EU as a whole. This is an important difference, and it is not my intention to debate if the EU is or is not a civilian power. Rather, I will focus my argument on the first case of exercising civilian power, which better represents those characteristics of persuasion and deference[39] that I argue are part of the EU's image.

In connection to social constructivism, how is the EU perceived with its leading role in the European Higher Education Area? We could assume that the perceived image of civilian power is a persuasion tool that strengthens the EU's normative power. [40] The positive conditionality ("We will give you funds if you change this") is easier to digest if the idea of the EU is "good." It is what Joseph Nye calls "soft power" or "power of attraction," as "a country may obtain outcomes it wants in world politics because other countries – admiring its values, emulating its example, aspiring to its level of prosperity and openness –want to follow it."[41]

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[36] Hedley Bull, "Civilian Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?," *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 21, no. 2 (1982): 151; ibid.
[37] The so-called "Battle Groups"
[38] Karen E. Smith, "Still 'Civilian Power Eu'?," *European Foreign Policy Unit Working Paper* 1, no. 2005 (2005): 1.
[39] Christopher Hill, *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy* (Palgrave, 2003).
[40] Ian Manners, "Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?," *JCMS: journal of common market studies* 40, no. 2 (2002).
[41] Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (PublicAffairs, 2004), 5.

As the literature review shows, this good image and the power of attraction that it triggers are widely studied in connection to other social and cultural areas, leaving the education environment an interesting case to study.

2.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

The link between EU education policies and external relations has little presence in the academic research. This situation can be explained by the relatively low number of actors involved in current programs such as Erasmus Mundus and TEMPUS. However, the new program Erasmus+ aims at increasing these numbers, making the issue highly relevant to study. The new program is expected to affect education, youth, and cultural policies for the countries participating,[42] a form of civilian power and soft imperialism[43]. In this context, one can summarize the articulation of the self-image of the EU, which, as opposed to the US, constructs its international representation on human rights, justice,[44] and now also education. In accordance with my hypothesis, Europeanization via education seems thus to constitute a growing tendency of promoting a particular positive self-image in foreign policy.

Concerning foreign policy, Lavenex and Schimmelfennig[45] theorize the growing influence of policies that are not directly connected to the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy outside of the current European space. When it comes to external influence, Lavenex[46] investigates the "ability to induce third countries' adaptation to predetermined EU norms and regulations." In her studies on external governance, Lavenex [47] focuses on justice and home

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[42] Member States; acceding, candidate and potential candidate countries; EFTA states (Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway). Concerning the third countries, the extension of the program is expected to be clarified in the first quarter of 2014. It seems certain that the neighbor countries will be included (Algeria, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Egypt, Georgia, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Moldova, Morocco, Occupied Palestinian Territory, Syria, Tunisia, and Ukraine. Russia is considered part of the group despite having a separate bilateral program). The full participation of Switzerland is currently on hold due to the consequences of the referendum passed in the country in February 2014.

[43] Björn Hettne and Fredrik Soderbaum, "Civilian Power or Soft Imperialism? The Eu as a Global Actor and the Role of Interregionalism," *European foreign affairs review* 10, no. 4 (2005).

[44] Ian Manners and Richard Whitman, "The" Difference Engine': Constructing and Representing the International Identity of the European Union," *Journal of European Public Policy* 10, no. 3 (2003).

[45] Sandra Lavenex and Frank Schimmelfennig, "Eu Rules Beyond Eu Borders: Theorizing External Governance in European Politics," ibid.16, no. 6 (2009).

[46] "A Governance Perspective on the European Neighbourhood Policy: Integration Beyond Conditionality?," *Journal of European public policy* 15, no. 6 (2008).

[47] "Eu External Governance In'wider Europe'," *Journal of European public policy* 11, no. 4 (2004).

affairs, and environmental and energy policy. Though she does not apply this ability to the education policy, I believe that it is a relevant area of application. Keukeleire[48] defines "structural diplomacy" as the "strategies and partnerships with other regions in the world, which are aimed at promoting structural long-term changes in these regions," and mentions human rights, EuropeAid, free trade, and economic cooperation.

From the institutional point of view, there are interesting studies on the loyalty of national agencies by Egeberg and Trondal,[49] which, in the case of the Lifelong Learning Programme, are the backbones of the European Commission at the national level. Some elements of Erasmus+ are yet to be unveiled, in particular the cross-sectorial and cross-national cooperation between national agencies, countries involved, and HEIs. We can assume that workshops and training will be organized for those HEIs and for countries that will be part of the new program. The process will spread the EU work style and structure to new countries and institutions.

The process of Europeanizing higher education in the European Union has been studied by academics from different perspectives, as we can see in Trondal,[50] Bache,[51] Feyen & Krzaklewska,[52] Keeling,[53] Enders,[54] and Olsen.[55] There are comparative studies for England, Sweden, Finland, and Scotland;[56] national cases following the enlargement for the

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[48] "The European Union as a Diplomatic Actor: Internal, Traditional, and Structural Diplomacy," *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 14, no. 3 (2003).

[49] "National Agencies in the European Administrative Space: Government Driven, Commission Driven or Networked?," *Public Administration* 87, no. 4 (2009).

[50] "The Europeanisation of Research and Higher Educational Policies: Some Reflections," *Scandinavian Political Studies* 25, no. 4 (2002).

[51] "The Europeanization of Higher Education: Markets, Politics or Learning?*," *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 44, no. 2 (2006).

[52] "The Erasmus Programme and the 'Generation Erasmus'–a Short Overview," (Peter Lang Edition, 2013).

[53] "The Bologna Process and the Lisbon Research Agenda: The European Commission's Expanding Role in Higher Education Discourse," *European Journal of Education* 41, no. 2 (2006).

[54] "Higher Education, Internationalisation, and the Nation-State: Recent Developments and Challenges to Governance Theory," *Higher education* 47, no. 3 (2004).

[55] "The Many Faces of Europeanization," *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 40, no. 5 (2002).

[56] Sotiria Grek et al., "National Policy Brokering and the Construction of the European Education Space in England, Sweden, Finland and Scotland," *Comparative Education* 45, no. 1 (2009); ibid.

Czech Republic,[57] Slovakia, and Estonia;[58] and studies on the effects of TEMPUS as a capacity-building tool for HEIs.[59] Several studies are published on the effects of the Bologna Process from both the European Commission[60] and academics, some with a clear focus on the micro-transformation of programs and fields of study.[61]

If we take foreign policy, institutionalism, and Europeanization into consideration, there are studies that can be applied to my research question; however, none of them tackle it directly. Thus, I can conclude that there is a clear gap regarding the Europeanization of education policies outside of the EU.

3 METHOD, SOURCES, AND CASE SELECTION

Radaelli[62] expertly explains the challenges a researcher faces when it comes to analyzing the process of Europeanization. Finding the causality between the EU and HEIs, as well as finding the connection between education policy and foreign policy, are some of the challenges of this research. To meet these challenges, I used a deductive mixed method[63] on two parallel levels. The first level focused on the European dimension while the second had a local/national approach.

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[57] Petr Pabian, "Europeanisation of Higher Education Governance in the Post-Communist Context: The Case of the Czech Republic," in *European Integration and the Governance of Higher Education and Research* (Springer, 2009).

[58] Deborah L. Michaels and E. Doyle Stevick, "Europeanization in the 'Other'europe: Writing the Nation into 'Europe'education in Slovakia and Estonia," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 41, no. 2 (2009).

[59] Antigoni; Stensaker Papadimitriou, Bjørn;, "Capacity Building as an Eu Policy Instrument: The Case of the Tempus Program," in *HEIK Seminar* (University of Oslo: Higher Education: Institutional dynamics and Knowledge cultures, 2013).

[60] I mention some of the reports in Chapters 4 and 5. A broad comprehensive report is, for example: European Commission and EACEA, "State of Play of the Bologna Process in the Tempus Partner Countries (2012)," (2012).

[61] An example is Anna Maria Tammaro, "Outcomes of the Bologna Process in Lis Higher Education: Comparing Two Programs in Europe," *International Information & Library Review* 44, no. 4 (2012).

[62] Claudio Maria Radaelli, "Europeanisation: Solution or Problem?," (ECSA-Austria, 2004).

[63] John W. Creswell, *Research Design Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (Johanneshov: MTM,, 2013), Ljudupptagning :, 1 CD-R (18 tim., 47 min.) : mono; Paul S. Gray et al., The Research Imagination an Introduction to Qualitative and Quantitative Methods, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,, 2007), http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511819391 Table of Contents / Abstracts.

In relation to the European space and the education policy of the EC, I carried out an interpretative policy analysis,[64] which included the documentation concerning Erasmus+ and the reports and studies published by the EC on Tempus, the Bologna Process, and the LLP. As complementary documents, I looked at statements from stakeholders[65] that have been active on education issues on the European level and press releases and audiovisual material from the European Institutions. In order to complete my research on the supranational level, I carried out expert interviews with members of the DG Education and Culture and of the European External Action Service (EAS). I followed the scheme of a semi-structured interview, with a dedicated questionnaire for each of them.[66]

The questions asked to the members of the DG Education and Culture included general enquiries about the policy-making process, the actors involved, the role of the EC in the Bologna Process, and negotiations with stakeholders, as well as more direct questions such as, "Do you think that education is part of the EU foreign policy?" The questions directed at the EAS are more explorative on the topic and are designed to understand the role of the EAS when it comes to education. In order to assure a high level of privacy, all experts interviewed by phone received all the quotes before the publication of the dissertation and had the occasion to accept, clarify, and edit their statements; the opportunity was vastly used.

The policies are analyzed through Kingdon's [67] model of multiple streams and windows of opportunity. Kingdon's model highlights the policy cycle through the definition of three independent and yet simultaneous streams:

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[64] Hendrik Wagenaar, "Interpretation and Intention in Policy Analysis," in *Handbook of Public Policy Analysis: Theory, Politics, and Methods*, ed. Frank Fischer, Gerald J. Miller, and Mara S. Sidney (2007).

[65] Before the publication of the first proposal, from my personal experience, there were intensive contacts between the Commission and NGOs connected with HEIs and internationalization. Examples of NGOs active in this field are Academic Cooperation Association (ACA), European University Association (EUA), League of European Research Universities (LERU, European Association for International Education (EAIE), European Youth Forum (EYF), European Students' Union (ESU), and Erasmus Student Network (ESN).

[66] See Appendix III.

[67] John W. Kingdon and James A. Thurber, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*, vol. 45 (Little, Brown Boston, 1984). See also John W. Kingdon, "Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies," (New York: Longman, 2003).

- The problem stream: Problems are always present; however, they receive attention only when the conditions highlight a problem or a policy maker decides that there is a problem in need of a solution.

- The policy stream: A stream of solutions that starts with an idea (often by "policy entrepreneurs") that is re-shaped by many actors; the idea can advance or stop, depending on various components, notably the agenda setting.

- The politics stream: Consisting of public mood, interest groups, and political groups.

The streams can convergence when there is a "window of opportunity" and policy entrepreneurs can push for a solution.[68]

While this model was developed for the US Federal Government, in the few last years it has been increasingly applied to EU policy analysis. Kingdon's model was initially used to study health and transportation policies and was later extended to education policies in the US by McLendon and Cohen-Vogel.[69] In EU policy analysis, we find it in Peters[70] and Zahariadis.[71] Ertl[72] applied the model to the European Union policies in education and training and Corbett[73] inspired me by using Kingdon's model in her study about European integration and education. Similarly to Corbett, my interest is in the policy cycle, the formulation and re-elaborations of policies, and the work of policy entrepreneurs. This requires a simplified use of the model.

The local/national approach included two national case studies: Georgia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. The countries are at different stages of European

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[68] Many examples can be given here; for example, the nuclear disaster in Japan led the politics (public mood) and policy streams (the policy entrepreneurs such as the Green Party) to have a window of opportunity to stop all nuclear plants in Germany. Without this window of opportunity, the problem would have not been taken into consideration.

[69] Michael K. McLendon and Lora Cohen-Vogel, "Understanding Education Policy Change in the American States: Lessons from Political Science," *Handbook of education politics and policy* (2008).

[70] B. Guy Peters, "Agenda-Setting in the European Union," *European Union: Power and policy-making* (2001). See also "Agenda-Setting in the European Community," *Journal of European Public Policy* 1, no. 1 (1994).

[71] Nikolaos Zahariadis, "The Multiple Streams Framework: Structure, Limitations, Prospects," *Theories of the policy process* 2 (2007).

[72] Hubert Ertl, "European Union Policies in Education and Training: The Lisbon Agenda as a Turning Point?," *Comparative Education* 42, no. 1 (2006); ibid.

[73] Anne Corbett, *Higher Education as a Form of European Integration: How Novel Is the Bologna Process?* (Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo, 2012); ibid.

integration. Georgia is in the process of signing an Association Agreement (AA) with the EU and the Commissioner for Enlargement and European Neighbourhood Policy, Štefan Füle, considers it "a top priority."[74] The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is an EU candidate country. The two countries offered different perspectives as non-EU members, making them an interesting choice to study.

The national case study included an analysis of the EU education policies in place in the two countries. In particular, I looked at the information that the European Commission provided concerning the Bologna Process and its implementation in both countries. To complement the policy documents, I carried out expert interviews with international relations officers and academic staff from the main HEIs.[75] The questions aimed to highlight the impact of EU policies and the Bologna Process on their HEIs. In addition, I looked into the level of satisfaction of the experts in relation to working with the EU and if this opinion is correlated to the collaboration between EU and non-EU officers.

Most of the sources I analyzed are publicly available. However, my current position in the Erasmus Student Network and my extensive social network within the internationalization of higher education allowed me to have access to more documents and contacts concerning educational issues, giving me further insights in the issue I intend to study.

4 OVERVIEW OF THE EU'S EDUCATION POLICIES

4.1 THE EU AND THE BOLOGNA PROCESS

When in 1988 the *Magna Charta Universitatum,* promoted by the University of Bologna, was signed by over 400 Higher Education Institutions[76] there was no formal cooperation among the Member States concerning education. The *Magna Charta Universitatum*

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[74] European Commission, "Eu-Georgia: Signature of Association Agreement Top Priority," news release, 25 Apr 2014, 2014, http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-14-484_en.htm.

[75] Ilia State University (Georgia), Tbilisi State University (Georgia), FON University (the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia), and University "Ss. Cyril and Methodius" in Skopje (the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia).

[76] Today it contains the signatures of 776 Higher Education Institutions from 81 countries. Observatory Magna Charta - University of Bologna, "Signatory Universities," http://www.magna-charta.org/cms/cmspage.aspx?pageUid={8e9114fe-86db-4d26-b9d7-167c03d479aa}. Accessed 8 Feb. 2014

underlined the principle of European cooperation and mobility in education and research. It is commonly recognized as the first step towards the harmonization of higher education policies in Europe and the Bologna Declaration in 1999.[77]

The evolution and implementation of the Bologna Process has been well covered in academia.[78] In the last twenty years, the education systems in Europe have gone through many changes and the literature focuses mostly on the effects of the reforms on countries and disciplines;[79] nevertheless, I found the role of the actors involved in this process more interesting.

The Bologna Process is not an initiative of the European Union. It is the result of a series of intergovernmental agreements beginning with the Sorbonne Declaration,[80] which was signed by the ministers of four countries (namely France, Germany, Italy and the UK), and ending with the 2012 Bucharest Ministerial Conference,[81] which now includes 47 countries.

The European Union currently plays a leading role in the Bologna Process [82] and the expansion of the European Higher Education Area. [83] The EU institutions have the knowledge, capacity, data, and financial instruments to promote the Bologna Process as a global standard by both Member States and the European Commission. Indeed, the Bologna

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[77] Bob Reinalda and Ewa Kulesza, *The Bologna Process - Harmonizing Europe's Higher Education : Including the Essential Original Texts*, 2. rev. ed. (Opladen Bloomfield Hills: Budrich, 2006); ibid.

[78] See ibid. Also Adrian Curaj, *European Higher Education at the Crossroads : Between the Bologna Process and National Reforms* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2012); EURYDICE (Organization) and Education Audiovisual & Culture Executive Agency, *Focus on Higher Education in Europe 2010 : The Impact of the Bologna Process* (Brussels: Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency, 2010); Curaj, *European Higher Education at the Crossroads : Between the Bologna Process and National Reforms*; EURYDICE (Organization) and Education Audiovisual & Culture Executive Agency, *Focus on Higher Education in Europe 2010 : The Impact of the Bologna Process*. For a comparative perspective see

[79] For a national case, see Gabriele Ballarino and Loris Perotti, "The Bologna Process in Italy European Journal of Education Volume 47, Issue 3," *European Journal of Education* 47, no. 3 (2012). For an example of disciplines, see Mariano Sanz, "Dental Education and the Bologna Process European Journal of Dental Education Volume 7, Issue 4," *European Journal of Dental Education* 7, no. 4 (2003).

[80] EHEA, "Sorbonne Joint Declaration," (1998).

[81] "Bucharest Communiqué," (2012).

[82] Since 2009, the Bologna Process has been co-chaired by the country holding the EU presidency and a non-EU country.

[83] The European Higher Education Area was the main objective of the Bologna Process. It was established in March 2010.

Process allowed the EU to achieve a leading role in the process and to further engage in education policies.

During the drafting of the Treaty of Rome in 1957, education was considered a national affair by the Member States and excluded from the final treaty. The Single European Act (1986) mentioned education and the Maastricht Treaty (TEU) in 1992 included a dedicated article[84]. Education achieved a supportive role in article 165 of the Treaty of Lisbon (TFEU),[85] when all Member States were already integrated in the Bologna Process.

4.2 MOBILITY: FROM SOCRATES TO ERASMUS+

The Erasmus program (European Region Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students) was established in 1987. The name "Erasmus" derives from Erasmus of Rotterdam (1465-1536) who lived and worked in several countries. He left his fortune to the University of Basel, becoming a precursor of mobility grants.

The first Erasmus program was proposed in early 1986 and the initiative received mixed reactions. Some of the Member States were against a mobility program outside of national control, especially those countries that could rely on a high number of bilateral agreements such as the United Kingdom.[86] Most of the Member States needed an increase of bilateral agreements and were generally in favor of an internal mobility program. In fact, the necessities of HEIs was a key factor for the development of the program.

Erasmus was adopted in 1987, after a troubled legislative process.[87] The program evolved alongside the increasing importance of education policies in the European Union[88] and with the progressive expansion of the Bologna Process and the establishment of EHEA.

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[84] Education is included in article 126 of the European Union, "Treaty on European Union (Maastricht Treaty)," (1992).

[85] "Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union."

[86] Reinalda and Kulesza, *The Bologna Process - Harmonizing Europe's Higher Education : Including the Essential Original Texts*.

[87] The European Court of Justice had to confirm the decision after complaints from some Member States. The decision was made by the Council of Ministers, as only with the Treaty of Maastricht in 1992 was a legal basis created for the European Council of Ministers of Education.

[88] Particularly regarding vocational training.

Folllowing the original Erasmus (1987-1995) was Socrates I – Erasmus (1995-2000), Socrates II – Erasmus (2000-2007), the Lifelong Learning Programme (2007-2013), and the upcoming Erasmus+ (2013-2020). From 1987 to 2007, the program did not go through substantial changes, but grants were raised, mobility expanded to more countries, and the administrative framework was strengthened. In 2007, the Lifelong Learning Programme (LLP) was launched with the goal of expanding the mobility program at all levels. Erasmus became one of the key points for the new program and included placement in enterprises, university staff mobility, and training. With the LLP, the mobility of teachers and administrative staff around Europe started to take hold. The program included stricter requirements for HEIs willing to take part (and thus receive funds) in LLP projects such as the adoption of ECTS and further integration with the Bologna Process developments. Candidate and eligible countries aligned themselves with the Member States, adopting compatible education structures and policies and creating a *de facto* European standard.

Erasmus+ was adopted in December 2013 after two years of negotiations among Commission, Parliament, Council, and stakeholders.[89] It combines seven EU education, training, sports, and youth programs and, despite the general EU budget cuts, received a 40% budget increase [90] for a total budget of €14.7 billion.[91]

The initial proposal of the Commission was a "global Erasmus Programme" with mobility opportunities all over the world. The negotiations kept the international dimension, but strong limitations were introduced for mobility opportunities outside of the EU. The result is a program with three key actions (Table 2) that has a limited mobility focused on neighborhood countries, but a stronger integration with the Bologna Process and current beneficiaries of TEMPUS grants. The new program invests even more into structural reforms in third countries and strategic partnerships lead by European HEIs.

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[89] The initial proposal was called Erasmus For All. I do some comparisons between the two proposals in the next chapter.

[90] European Commission, "Erasmus+ Guide Published, €1.8 Billion in Funding Available in 2014," news release, 12 Dec 2013, 2013, http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-13-1241_en.htm.

[91] The budget is divided as follows: learning mobility of individuals (at least 63%), cooperation for innovation and the exchange of good practices (at least 28%) and support for policy reform (4.2%). Further funds will be provided to fund the actions with third countries; however, the Council did not take a final decision on the issue.

Table 2: Key Actions of Erasmus+ (Source: European Commission, 2013)

Learning mobility of individuals (KA1)	Cooperation for innovation and exchange of good practices (KA2)	Support for policy reform (KA3)
Staff mobility.	Strategic partnerships.	Open method of coordination.
Mobility for higher education students, vocational education, and training students.	Large scale partnerships between education, training establishments, and businesses.	Prospective initiatives.
Student loan guarantee exchanges.	IT platforms, including e-twinning.	EU recognition tools.
Joint Master degrees.	Cooperation with third countries and focus on neighborhood countries.	Dissemination & exploitation.
Mobility for higher education for EU and non-EU beneficiaries.		Policy dialogue with stakeholders, third countries and international organizations
Volunteering and youth		

With Erasmus+, the European Commission is exporting policies, capacity building, and mobility on a larger scale. The new program enhances the global opportunities of European HEIs. Research, mobility, and internationalization are important factors in global rankings and education is an ever-growing competitive market. Erasmus+ gives a competitive advantage to these HEIs, influencing third countries' education policies by providing funding and expertise.

4.3 THE CASE OF TEMPUS

TEMPUS was launched on July 1990 as a "Trans-European Mobility Scheme for University Studies" targeting the HEIs of Central and Eastern Europe after the fall of the Soviet Union. TEMPUS I was initially limited to Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, closely followed by Bulgaria, Romania, Yugoslavia (1991), Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Slovenia, and Albania (1992). TEMPUS was one of many programs established by the European Community

towards the former Communist bloc.[92] Its focus was higher education, especially promoting initiatives aimed at modernizing Central and Eastern European HEIs. Sayer defines these initiatives as "dominated by the assumptions of know-how from the West to fill a vacuum left by system collapse in the East."[93]

The Council established TEMPUS II on April 1993 with an extension of the program to other countries. The same process occurred for TEMPUS III (1999) and TEMPUS IV (2007), dividing the partner countries in four regions: Eastern Europe, Western Balkans, Southern Mediterranean, and Central Asia as shown in Figure 1: TEMPUS IV Partners (Source: European Commission, 2014). The recently established Erasmus+ includes the former TEMPUS program, extending the actions available to both EU and non-EU HEIs.[94]

The establishment of TEMPUS right after the fall of the Soviet Union is a clear signal of the interests of the European communities, and later the EU, on including education in its cooperation activities and foreign policy. TEMPUS and the Bologna Process are closely linked; themes and objectives (such as the adoption of ECTS and the three-cycle education system) overlap, and the European Commission releases ad hoc reports on the status of the Bologna Process in the TEMPUS countries.[95]

TEMPUS has a singular management system that is divided among different actors. The Education, Audiovisual, and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA) is in charge of the management and implementation of the program and the EuropeAid Development and Cooperation Office (DEVCO) and the Directorate-General for Enlargement (ELARG) are in charge of the supervision. Moreover, the European External Action Service (EAS) contributes to the strategic orientation and the Directorate-General for Education and Culture

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[92] Other examples include TACIS (Technical Aid to Confederation of Independent States), PHARE (Poland and Hungary Action for the Reconstruction of their Economies), and CARDS (Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Development and Stability in the Balkans). Some of the programs were used as pre-accession financial support before being merged into the IPA (Instrument for Pre-Accession).

[93] John Sayer, "Comparative Research as an Instrument for Eu Aid and Development Programmes," *Oxford Review of Education* 32, no. 5 (2006): 636.

[94] European Commission, "History of Tempus."

[95] There are reports for each country and a general report from the European Commission and EACEA, "State of Play of the Bologna Process in the Tempus Partner Countries (2012)."

(DG EAC) brings in expertise and coordination with the higher education policies of the EU and the Bologna Process.

Eastern Europe	**Southern Mediterranean**	**Western Balkans**	**Central Asia**
Armenia	Algeria	Albania	Kazakhstan
Azerbaijan	Egypt	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Kyrgyzstan
Belarus	Israel	FYR of Macedonia	Tajikistan
Georgia	Jordan	Kosovo 1	Turkmenistan
Moldova	Lebanon	Montenegro	Uzbekistan
The Russian Federation	Libya	Serbia	
Ukraine	Morocco		
	Palestine		
	Syria		
	Tunisia		

Figure 1: TEMPUS IV Partners (Source: European Commission, 2014)

Unlike LLP/Erasmus, TEMPUS is funded by the Council on an annual basis. There are three financial sources for the program: Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance (for the Western Balkans), European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (for Southern Mediterranean

and Eastern Europe), and Development Cooperation Instrument (for Central Asia). The different sources of funding will be maintained with Erasmus+.[96]

5 EUROPEANIZATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

5.1 EDUCATION AND ENLARGEMENT

Chapter 26 (education and culture) of the Copenhagen Criteria clearly states, "Member States need to have the legal, administrative and financial framework and necessary implementing capacity in place to ensure sound financial management of the education, training and youth Community programmes (currently Leonardo da Vinci, Socrates, Youth)."[97]

Despite not being a competence of the European Union, education and culture is part of the so-called *acquis communitaire*. This means that the adoption, implementation, and enforcement of EU education policies is a non-negotiable condition to join the union.

Looking at the countries that joined the European Union in 2004, we have a homogenous education structure based on the three tiers of higher education. This structure includes the implementation of the ECTS credit system and a growing internationalization. For instance, a student might have a better chance to find a master program in English in Poland or Estonia than in Italy or Spain.

The enlargement promoted internal mobility in all areas. While some countries complained about the increasing numbers of immigrants from the former Eastern bloc, those same countries are becoming increasingly popular destinations for exchange students, as shown in Figure 2: Inbound student mobility (study exchanges and work placements) growth since 2007 (source: Eurostat, 2013).

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[96] Ibid.; European Commission, "History of Tempus."; "Tempus Iv (2007-2013): Overview of the Programme," http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/tempus/programme/about_tempus_en.php.
[97] European Union, "Conditions for Membership - Chapters of the Acquis," http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/policy/conditions-membership/chapters-of-the-acquis/index_en.htm.

Iceland
77 %

Norway
53 %

Estonia
75 %

Latvia
128 %

Lithuania
78 %

Poland
102 %

Czech Republic
57 %

Slovakia
82 %

Hungary
74 %

Romania
57 %

Bulgaria
104 %

Portugal
65 %

Slovenia
94 %

Cyprus
121 %

Turkey
166 %

Liechtenstein **45 %**

Luxembourg **139 %**

Malta **157 %**

● > 40 % growth
● 20-40 % growth
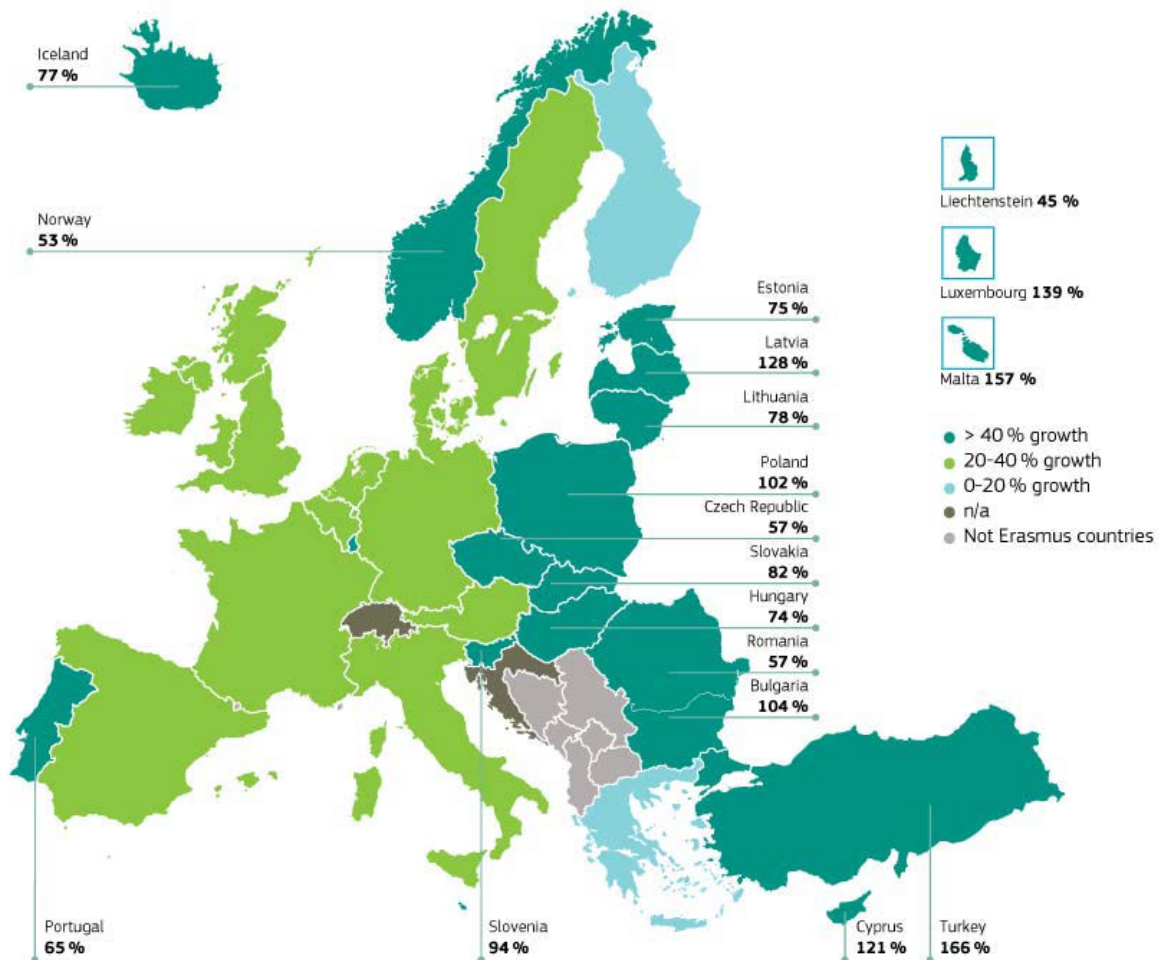● 0-20 % growth
● n/a
● Not Erasmus countries

Figure 2: Inbound student mobility (study exchanges and work placements) growth since 2007 (source: Eurostat, 2013)

Education and enlargement go hand in hand from different perspectives. The first effect is a common and integrated framework that includes ECTS, three-cycles, and recognition (institutional level). The second is the intercultural dimension and experience, the so-called European value of mobility (citizens' level). As an indirect consequence of the European integration, a third effect involves the change of school curricula with a more "European" approach (cultural level). This includes ethno-cultural citizenship and civic education, as well as the very definition of Europe.[98] To give an example, Slovakia is now considered part of Central Europe, not east. Vilnius defines itself the center of Europe and calling Poland an

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[98] Avril Keating, Debora Hinderliter Ortloff, and Stavroula Philippou, "Citizenship Education Curricula: The Changes and Challenges Presented by Global and European Integration," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 41, no. 2 (2009); ibid.

Eastern European country is nowadays politically incorrect. While I focus on the policy level in this work, the impact of Europeanization in education is wider than just EU programs, and this impact is worth mentioning.

Countries like Georgia, which does not share a border with any Member State, do not hide their desire to join the EU. The difference is that the farther East we look, the more challenges the EU faces from all points of view. The type of foreign policy that can make a difference for general citizens, education, culture, and sports initiatives are usually safer and easier to accept than political initiatives leading the way to further development. The next chapters will present how education is indeed seen as an integrated part of the EU foreign policy.

5.2 POLICY DOCUMENTS ANALYSIS

As shown in the previous chapter, the European Commission is very active in its own education program, as well as in the Bologna Process. In this chapter, I looked into the Erasmus+ legal base (and the previous Erasmus For All proposal) and at the reports published by the European Commission. The documents I took in consideration for the policy analysis are shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Documents Considered in the Policy Analysis

| Erasmus+ | Proposal for a regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council establishing "Erasmus FOR ALL". The Union Programme for Education, Training, Youth and Sport. COM (2011) 788 final (and following versions)[99] |
| | Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council establishing "Erasmus+": the Union Programme for Education, Training, Youth and Sport[100] |

[99] European Commission, "Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council Establishing "Erasmus for All". The Union Programme for Education, Training, Youth and Sport," (2011).
[100] European Union, "Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council Establishing "Erasmus+": The Union Programme for Education, Training, Youth and Sport " (2013).

TEMPUS Studies	State of Play of the Bologna Process in the Tempus Partner Countries (2012)[101]
	Overview of the Higher Education Systems in the Tempus Partner Countries – Western Balkans[102]
	The Main Achievements of the Tempus Programme in Western Balkans 1991-2013[103]
	Overview of the Higher Education Systems in the Tempus Partner Countries – Eastern Europe[104]
	The Main Achievements of the Tempus Programme in Eastern Europe 1993–2013[105]

This list has the double scope of showing the sources I used in my analysis, as well as highlighting the interest of the European Commission in the education sector of non-EU members. The European Commission has published other studies on education, HEI governance, and institutional changes of non-EU members; however, to keep within the boundaries of my research questions, I choose to focus on documents relevant to the two cases (Georgia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia).

5.2.1 Erasmus+ Legal Basis

The very first proposal of the European Commission was the idea to use the name "Erasmus" for all the programs previously grouped under the Lifelong Learning Programme. While many initiatives of the European Union are criticized,[106] Erasmus is perhaps the one project that directly affects the citizens and positively increases a sense of European identity among the students.[107] The first proposal was ambitious; the press release accompanying its

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[101] European Commission and EACEA, "State of Play of the Bologna Process in the Tempus Partner Countries (2012)."

[102] European Commission, "Overview of the Higher Education Systems in the Tempus Partner Countries – Western Balkans," in *A Tempus Study*, ed. Philippe Ruffio, et al. (2012).

[103]"The Main Achievements of the Tempus Programme in Western Balkans 1991 – 2013," in *A Tempus Study*, ed. Róisín Mc Cabe, et al. (2013).

[104] "Overview of the Higher Education Systems in the Tempus Partner Countries – Eastern Europe," in *A Tempus Study*, ed. Philippe Ruffio, et al. (2012).

[105] "The Main Achievements of the Tempus Programme in Eastern Europe 1993 – 2013," in *A Tempus Study*, ed. Róisín Mc Cabe, et al. (2013).

[106] An example is agriculture policy. For instance, the first European Citizens' Initiative aimed at moving part of the agriculture budget to education policies, mainly Erasmus. The main slogan was "The European Union spends more on cows than people."

[107] Simon Bauwens et al., "Results of Esn Survey 2008: Exchanging Cultures," *Brussels: The Erasmus Student Network* (2008).

publication[108] reports that with the new program, 2.2 million higher education students would be able to receive grants (compared to 1.5 million under current programs). In addition, the figures included 135,000 students getting support to study in a non-EU country, as well as non-EU students coming to study in the EU.

The Explanatory Memorandum clearly states, "The Commission also stresses that in its external actions, it will concentrate on promoting and defending Union values abroad, promote assistance to transitional and democratic processes and project the external dimension of internal policies."[109] Furthermore, referring to Articles 165 and 166 of TFEU[110] on development of quality education and vocational training, the EC advocates that "the Union and the Member States shall foster cooperation with third countries and the competent international organisations respectively in the sphere of education and sport (Article 165 (3)) and vocational training (Article 166 (3))."

The proposal and the following amendments that lead to Erasmus+ are tagged as "Text with EEA relevance," which may be a formality due to the presence of actions directed to third countries. However, the text does include reference to the importance of exporting European education policies, structures, and governance. This is clearly expressed when the Commission states, "[The Programme] should in particular support institutions that have a European governance structure [and] cover the whole spectrum of policy fields that are of interest for the Union."[111] In terms of numbers, the proposal includes "an indicative amount of €1,812,100,000 from the different external instruments."[112] The approved proposal includes the source of these external instruments: "The Development Cooperation Instrument (DCI), the European Neighbourhood Instrument (ENI), the Instrument for Pre-accession

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[108] The first proposal from the European Commission was European Commission, "Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council Establishing "Erasmus for All". The Union Programme for Education, Training, Youth and Sport.". The press release: "Erasmus for All: 5 Million in Line for Eu Funding," news release, 23 Nov 2011, 2011, http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-11-1398_en.htm?locale=en.

[109] "Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council Establishing "Erasmus for All". The Union Programme for Education, Training, Youth and Sport."

[110] European Union, "Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union."

[111] European Commission, "Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council Establishing "Erasmus for All". The Union Programme for Education, Training, Youth and Sport."

[112] Ibid.

Assistance (IPA) and the Partnership Instrument for cooperation with third countries (PI). Funds might also be made available from the European Development Fund (EDF)."[113]

Further goals of the regulation include "increasing the attractiveness of the Union higher education institutions and supporting the Union external action" and "the promotion of mobility and cooperation between EU and third countries."

5.2.2 TEMPUS Studies

While in the legislation and work documents the language used is very formal, the reports published by the European Commission under the TEMPUS Studies series take a very different approach. The documents give a better insight into the views and scopes of the authors, providing valuable material for my research question.

To organize the content, I analyzed and coded key sentences in three categories: policy transfer, strategy elements, and power projection. I used the same categories for the Western Balkans and Eastern Europe and I did not include repetitions in the documents.[114]

The choice of categories reflects the Europeanization process presented in the theoretical framework. Policy transfer and strategy elements refer to practical and measurable facts, the first focusing on legislation and the second on politics. Power projection includes key sentences projecting a positive image of the EU and a certain degree of authority.

In this chapter, I present the key findings of my analysis; however, all the sentences extracted can be found in Appendix III divided in tables and categorized with the relative references.

When it comes to legislation, the EU is the driving force in the implementation of the Bologna Process. The study reports that TEMPUS and the LLP helped member states, candidates, and third countries to adopt and implement the reforms. For instance in Algeria, Kosovo, Morocco, and Tunisia, the Bologna Process is officially embedded in their education systems; Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Moldova, Montenegro, Serbia,

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[113] European Union, "Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council Establishing "Erasmus+": The Union Programme for Education, Training, Youth and Sport ".

[114] During the analysis, I noticed that the same text is often used for both regions. In some cases, one could replace the Western Balkans with Eastern Europe (and vice-versa) to obtain almost the same chapter present in the other report.

Ukraine, and Kosovo have reached a high degree of implementation, with ECTS being applied in more than 75% of their programs and higher education institutions. In addition, both Georgia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia formally adopted a National Qualifications Framework (NQF), a detailed description of the three cycles of education.[115]
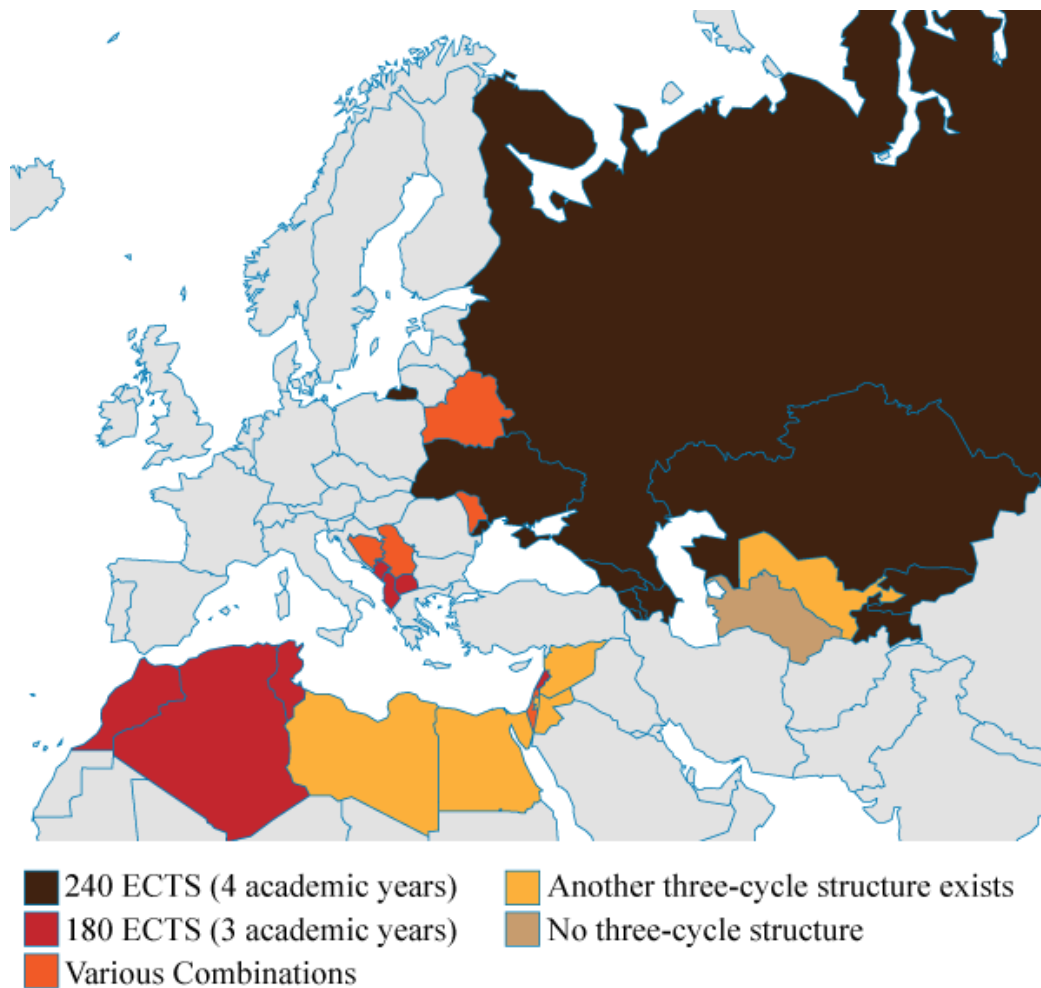
Figure 3: Student Workload/duration for the Most Common Bachelor Programs (European Commission, 2011)

One of the most problematic areas is the three-year cycle of education. Despite the gradual affirmation of the EU/EHEA system, many countries continue to use the four-year bachelor degree inherited from the Soviet era, or use various combinations, as shown in **Error!**

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[115] European Commission and EACEA, "State of Play of the Bologna Process in the Tempus Partner Countries (2012)."

Reference source not found.. This discrepancy is not only a matter of years of study, but also of recognition between institutions and harmonization of the job market. Third countries are also markets for EU HEIs that rely on tuition fees, as students with a three-year Bachelor degree might be more willing to do a Master's abroad.

TEMPUS contributed to curriculum reforms (during Tempus IV, more than 40% of all projects in the region focused in this area) with courses and programs becoming more similar to their counterparts in the EU, as part of their modernization involves the adoption of new teaching methods and materials, as well as infrastructures and laboratories. Furthermore, the studies highlight how the exchange of best practices and the increased relations between EU and non-EU academics has had a major impact in the implementation of the Bologna Process. EU academics become ambassadors of the EU education policies as "many European professors are already accustomed to designing courses based on learning outcomes and ECTS credits and have transferred this know-how to colleagues in the Partner Countries in the region. Professors there have been convinced of the merits."[116] Georgia, Moldova, and Serbia have all defined the learning outcomes in their laws and regulations.[117] In terms of numbers, during Tempus IV (2008-2012), 80 projects involved the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and 81 involved Georgia.[118] Moreover, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia received €27 million in Tempus grants from 1996 to 2006, while Georgia received €7.435 million from 1995 to 2006.

When it comes to politics, 11 Tempus Partner Countries have signed the Bologna Declaration, including Georgia. The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia signed the declaration in 2003, but it is no longer counted as a Tempus country. Among the remaining 16 non-signatory countries, five (Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Morocco, and Tunisia)[119] participated in the Bologna Policy Forum in March 2010 to discuss how worldwide cooperation in higher

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[116] European Commission, "The Main Achievements of the Tempus Programme in Western Balkans 1991 – 2013," 6.

[117] European Commission and EACEA, "State of Play of the Bologna Process in the Tempus Partner Countries (2012)."

[118] European Commission, "The Main Achievements of the Tempus Programme in Western Balkans 1991 – 2013," and European Commission, "The Main Achievements of the Tempus Programme in Eastern Europe 1993 – 2013."

[119] European Commission and EACEA, "State of Play of the Bologna Process in the Tempus Partner Countries (2012)."

education could be enhanced through the Bologna Process. The EU provides incentives to promote the Bologna Process in Belarus, Egypt, Israel, the occupied Palestinian territory, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan. Other countries, particularly those in the Western Balkans, are motivated to promote the Bologna Process as part of their larger policy objective to be integrated into the EU.[120] On the Bologna Process, one of the reports says, "it is often considered as a pre-requisite for reinforcing institutional collaboration and for the exchange of students and staff with counterparts in the EU"[121] and "the programme has helped these countries in their social development, human capacity-building and their reform process, to prepare for accession to the EU. Croatia is now an EU Member State and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia have already been granted the status of EU Candidate Countries."[122] The authors go even further, writing, "the Bologna Process is widely influencing the neighbouring countries of the EU and Central Asia"[123] and that "Lebanon and the Maghreb countries have adopted the 180 ECTS credit system, being influenced by their long-standing relations with certain EU Member States."[124] To conclude the strategic elements, one of the reports clearly states, "the European External Action Service contributes to the strategic orientations of the Programme."[125]

The strategic elements suggest the importance of the link between education and foreign policy and show the motivation of the European Union to export its policies and influence in the education sector. To accompany this process, the EU both projects its positive image and plays with what the concept of Europe really means.

What is a European HEI? Where is Europe? Reading the report, professors from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia are, for instance, not European, as "contacts with European professors, made through Tempus, have sometimes led to further research activities"[126] and

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[120] Ibid.

[121] Ibid., 14.

[122] European Commission, "The Main Achievements of the Tempus Programme in Western Balkans 1991 – 2013," 4.

[123] European Commission and EACEA, "State of Play of the Bologna Process in the Tempus Partner Countries (2012)," 17.

[124] Ibid., 19.

[125] European Commission, "Overview of the Higher Education Systems in the Tempus Partner Countries – Eastern Europe," 8.

[126] "The Main Achievements of the Tempus Programme in Western Balkans 1991 – 2013," 6.

the development of "opportunities for Presidents and Rectors of higher education institutions in the region to visit their peers in Europe."[127] Students are told they can "pursue their post-graduate studies either in Europe or in other Western Balkan countries,"[128] which draws a geographic distinction where none exists.

While seeing these sentences might put a smile on the reader's face, it represents a gradual appropriation of European identity and a conflation of the meaning of EU and Europe. Laflan writes, "identity building has been fostered by membership, the external projection of an EU identity, the appropriation by the EU of the concept of 'Europe,' and the cement provided by the founding values and the addition of EU symbols to Europe's forest of symbols."[129]

5.3 CULTURE AND FOREIGN POLICY

Education and culture are closely related fields. On the Commission level, there is one DG and one Commissioner that works with education, culture, multilingualism, and youth. It is natural to assume that there are synergies between education and cultural policies; moreover, education is a fundamental part of culture and influences our values, ideals, and views. Culture and education follow similar patterns, and an initiative of the European Union in the culture sector towards third countries can be seen as a strengthening of its civilian power.

The European Commission is indeed working on a preparatory action in order to discuss the role of Culture in the EU's External Relations. On its official Twitter account (CultExtRel), one of the first tweets (22 May 2013) was the quote, "'The win-win situation for #China and #EU goes through education and student exchange' Jian Shi".[130] Since then, it seems as if the European Commission was fairly active on social media and often organized meetings with stakeholders on the topic. The negative comments are not censored, "The 3 Ds of the EU: Difficult, different, distant" of Rajendra K. Jain[131] or "If you want to build an European

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[127] Ibid., 8.

[128] Ibid., 7.

[129] Brigid Laflan, "The European Union and Its Institutions as "Identity Builders"," *Transnational identities: becoming European in the EU* (2004): 75-76; ibid.

[130] Culture External Rel, ""The Win-Win Situation for #China and #Eu Goes through Education and Student Exchange" Jian Shi (Twitter)," https://twitter.com/CultExtRel/status/337288278552244224.

[131] ""The 3 Ds of the Eu: Difficult, Different, Distant" Rajendra K. Jain (Twitter)," https://twitter.com/CultExtRel/status/337553738547986432.

Union you must have ONE cultural policy" of M Costa, Sao Paolo.[132] Questions such as "Are we speaking of culture in external relations or culture as external relations?"[133] are not missing and the answer can be found in the recent press release mentioned in the previous chapter.

On April 7, 2014, the European Commission published a press release entitled *Maximizing the impact of cultural diplomacy in EU foreign policy.*[134] The press release featured a speech of Androulla Vassiliou, Commissioner for Education, Culture, Multilingualism, Sport, Media and Youth, where she mentioned key words such as soft power, cultural diplomacy, and [external] relations: "Cultural diplomacy is an opportunity for us to share these values and our European culture with other countries. Developing a more active and dynamic role for European culture on the international stage is one of my key priorities. Used intelligently, I believe this 'soft power' can benefit the EU and its Member States in their relations with the wider world."[135]

The European Agenda for Culture [136] includes culture as a key component of external relations and underlines the importance of education. The Dutch MEP, Marietje Schaake, was one of the moderators for the panel discussion on culture in EU External Relations held at the Bozar Centre of Fine Arts in Brussels. She comments on the topic, "culture can play a very important role in development, in advancing human rights, it is a part of trade and we should make it a more integral part of an enlargement policy. Think of issues like media freedom, freedom of expression..."[137] She also admits that foreign policy experts and circles do not think that culture is a priority in external relations, as she thinks it should be. Morten Løkkegaard, a Danish MEP, comments that he would like Catherine Asthon, the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, to give much more

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[132] "'If You Want to Build an European Union You Must Have One Cultural Policy' M Costa, Sao Paolo. (Twitter)," https://twitter.com/KlausBondam/status/337581123767005184.

[133] "Q&a on Added Value @Bozarbrussels : Are We Speaking of Culture in External Relations or Culture as External Relations? (Twitter)," https://twitter.com/CultExtRel/status/453524624547270657.

[134] European Commission, "Maximizing the Impact of Cultural Diplomacy in Eu Foreign Policy," news release, 2014, http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-14-382_en.htm.

[135] Ibid.

[136] "Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on a European Agenda for Culture in a Globalizing World," (2007).

[137] "Marietje Schaake, Mep - Culture in Eu External Relations," (2014).

attention to culture and think of it as one of three pillars, next to economy and geopolitics, when thinking about external relations.[138] The European Commission and some MEPs would like to see more cultural diplomacy (or culture as diplomacy?); however, these comments show that there is little interest in culture (and thus education) from the European External Action Service, something that I perceived from the expert interviews.

5.4 INTERVIEWS: EUROPEAN COMMISSION AND EXTERNAL ACTION SERVICE

5.4.1 European External Action Service

The European External Action Service was a challenge for my research. The people I contacted preferred not to take part in any interview and the offices in Brussels were not very accessible.[139] Despite the challenge, I managed to receive two questionnaires filled in by two officers that work or worked with education policies in Georgia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

From the policy documents, the role of the EAS in the program is not very clear; it has a strategic component, but it appears that there is not much involvement in the program management. The marginality of education is highlighted by the fact that both respondents had different positions and education was only one of their defined tasks. When asked about the role of the EAS when it comes to EU education policies, the answers were "peripheral," "report and assistance," and that "international cooperation lies with DG Education and Culture and on bilateral level with DEVCO and the Delegations in beneficiary countries." In addition, they do not see an increasing role in this field from the EAS.

The respondents were asked to state their level of agreement with certain statements; Table 4 shows general agreement on the importance of education, but conflicting ideas on the role of education in the EU foreign policy.

Table 4: State your level of agreement with the following statements. Only the respondents' choices are shown. (n=2)

Statement	EAS (FYROM)	EAS (Georgia)

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[138] "Morten Løkkegaard (Mep) About "Culture in Eu External Relations"," (2014).
[139] I was asked to submit the questionnaire in advance; after doing so, I did not receive any reply.

The European Union improved the quality of education in non-EU countries.	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree
Non-EU HEIs are more competitive thanks to the support of the EU.	Agree	Agree
Promoting the Bologna Process is important for the EU.	Agree	Strongly agree
Promoting the Bologna Process is important for the EU HEIs.	Agree	Agree
Promoting the Bologna Process is important for the non-EU HEIs.	Agree	Agree
EU education policies are an important component of EU foreign policy.	Disagree	Strongly Agree
Through EU education policies, we can influence other policies in non-EU countries.	Agree	Agree

The EAS questionnaires, despite the low amount of respondents and content, contributed to the overall understanding of the topic, complementing the outcomes of the EC interviewees.

5.4.2   European Commission

The European Commission was easier to contact and I had the opportunity to conduct three phone interviews with functionaries working respectively with Tempus, the Bologna Process, Erasmus Mundus, and Communication matters. Like those in the EAS, the respondents preferred to remain anonymous.

When asked their opinion of how much the EC influences the evolution of the Bologna Process, the respondents underlined that the European Commission is a full member in all the working groups and in the Bologna Follow-Up Group (BFUG). In addition, all respondents pointed out that the Bologna Group is an intergovernmental initiative and that, ultimately, it is a state decision if and how much they want to adopt the tools provided by the Bologna Process. Nevertheless, one of the respondents underlined that the EC's role grew constantly and "now it is one of the major players within the Bologna Process." Another

interesting comment is that the EC works very closely with the EU presidency[140] and assists with its knowledge and competence.

Concerning the input of non-EU countries, one of the respondents underlined that there are "immense differences among the members of the Bologna Process and only a few countries outside of the EU are really active." The respondent underlined the importance of ownership, not just the simple application of the program and said, "we would like to see more active contribution not only participation from non-EU Member States" and that "being part of the Bologna Process is also a matter of foreign policy for non-EU countries." Another respondent stated "to his knowledge, most of the input comes from member states, but there are exceptions." The third underlined how, for example, "Armenia, the current co-chair, is a very active member in the Bologna Process."

When it comes to the Europeanization of education in third countries, the term was not very clear to one of the respondents and I specified that I was asking about the level of EU (or European) integration. The comments are generally positive, from "yes, I would say so" to more elaborate answers that underline how "the Bologna Process does provide instruments to establish comparable structures and tools used by all participating countries" and that "a common framework is very important." Another interesting fact is that there are countries "ready to start heavy reforms in order to join the Bologna Process" and the example of Kazakhstan, the latest member, was given. One of the respondents highlighted the importance of Tempus and the other programs that promote the Bologna Process.

When it comes to Erasmus+, there is a general positive attitude towards the new program, particularly the simplification of having a single program; however, some downsides were highlighted, such as some consistency issues between the key actions regarding mobility and cooperation. In general, "the majority went through what the Commission had proposed, taking into account the adjustments negotiated with the Council and the European Parliament." The European Commission did not have much pressure from interest groups, as, starting from 2009, the EC organized stakeholder forums to gather feedback. Moreover,

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[140] As stated before, the EU president holds one of the two chair positions of the Bologna Process.

the low budget for education does not attract big interest groups for research grants. None of the participants mentioned particular interest groups.

To a question concerning the expansion of Erasmus+ outside of the previous LLP recipients, one of the respondents said, "Europe needs to be aware that there is a world outside of the European Union." Another respondent emphasized that it is a citizens' need, as they "had to turn down many students that asked about scholarship to study in non-EU countries" and that it was "a natural move" from the initial focus on Europe; however, the participant also felt that the focus should be on Europe, as the program is funded by EU citizens' taxes. One of the respondents said, "We have proposed the Erasmus European model to the world; from now on the credit mobility will be based on bilateral agreements between EU and non-EU universities." When it comes to political objectives, respondents underscored the importance of internationalization and competition, as non-EU students bring revenues to some HEIs (the example of Scandinavian countries was brought up). Respondents also mentioned the achievements of the EU in the field of education outside its borders, including the active participation of the EU in the Bologna Process, the bilateral agreements between EU and third countries,[141] and the importance of education as a soft power tool that keeps "channels open" and "increases understanding." The European Union has a general interest in exporting EU education policies, as there is also interest from third countries.

Concerning responsibilities, the DG EAC is in charge of the program; however, DEVCO, Enlargement, and the EAS are all involved. For example, the budget for Joint Master Degrees comes from the DG EAC, but the budget for credit mobility and capacity building comes from DEVCO. Candidate countries receive other funds from Enlargement. However, "once we agree on the modalities, the budget is managed by DG EAC and its executive agency [EACEA]."

From the interviews, I perceived that the participants' relationship with the EAS is generally good, but is sometimes complicated by the geographical organization of the service. As one of the respondents affirms, "[we] have to meet multiple people covering the subject, which

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[141] Examples of third countries that have been part of these agreements include China, Brazil, South Korea, Australia, USA, and part of India. For instance, I was part of the EU delegation in two high-level policy dialogue meetings in China concerning youth and mobility.

sometimes makes it harder, as they do not always share the same point of view." In terms of budget and strategy, "it has been decided that the object of priority is neighboring countries [Eastern and Southern Mediterranean Partnerships]," while the candidate countries are already a priority with the pre-accession strategy. Moreover, "all pre-accession countries and neighboring countries can, based on agreements to be signed, be treated as member states in Erasmus+." One of the respondents mentioned the importance of having third countries' students and academics "return as ambassadors and politically enlightened people and it is true for EU and non-EU students" while at the same time highlighting that education policies are still a Member State competence and that the reach of the EU is limited.

I did not find strong evidences of active lobbying from European HEIs. The European Commission organizes stakeholder forums and meetings to gather feedback and listen to requests from HEIs, National Agencies, and NGOs on its own. In the research sector, the interest groups tend to be louder, but the budget is also larger. As one of the experts pointed out, "the budget of education is peanuts compared to research and innovation."

There is a good level of satisfaction with the work done. The main complaint is the high level of bureaucracy and the length of the decision-making process; one of the respondents would like to see more attention to social issues and inclusion, especially when it comes to education policies and mobility opportunities.

As a final question, I asked the respondents if they think that the EU is doing foreign policy through its initiatives in third countries in the field of education. All the respondents answered positively: "education is a very soft policy, but very effective," and "the EU is not doing enough. Some member states have a clear strategic approach on using education as a soft tool in their foreign policy and it could be further elaborated on the European level." The lack of staff and budget are mentioned as problems. Education is also easier to use as a foreign policy tool, as it is a less controversial tropic for other countries and "you can really affect a number of people who can become the future leading class of a country." Moreover, the EAS saw "this area as a very useful way to also be instrumental to other types of dialogue."

5.5 A Higher Education Institution Perspective: Expert Interviews

International relations officers, as well as academics, were very eager to help me with the research question. However, all the experts I contacted preferred to answer via mail rather than have a phone interview. This led to less in-depth results, but did provide me with clear and direct answers and statements. All the respondents decided to remain anonymous.

5.5.1 Georgia

In the case of Georgia, I contacted 17 people, four of which were competent in this area and gave me their availability. The respondents come from the two main HEIs in the country: Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University and Ilia State University.

The results showed a positive inclination towards the EU. To the question of whether their HEI benefits from working with the EU, all answered yes. When asked if the influence of the EU is positive for their HEI, all respondents gave very positive answers and two of them did not leave space to misinterpretation, answering, "yes, definitely." In addition, they are all in favor of Georgia becoming an EU Member State.

All people interviewed agree that the EU influences their institution. In terms of governance, there is a general agreement that the EU has an influence in this field; respondents said that "[their] university uses the experience of EU countries to improve the governance" and "people are trained; certain management processes start to modify so that they resemble similar practices at EU HEIs." As already shown in the previous chapters, curricula are highly affected by the EU, and the respondents agree on this topic too, with particular emphasis on academic mobility. For example, "those professors who received training or education in the EU countries obviously build their program curricula and courses accordingly. There are many curriculum development programs." Tempus has a big impact on curricula; as some of the experts say, "we have a lot of new courses/programmes in the framework of TEMPUS projects, which are built on the model of EU University programmes"; "In the frame of one of my TEMPUS projects SALiS we develop course in science education – Student Active Learning in Science. I am conducting this course with my students and it is very popular and successful."

The main advantage from working with the EU is the exchange of ideas and experiences. Some respondents mention mobility and scholarships. The EU is regarded as a capacity-building opportunity; however, some of the respondents mention that the EU has higher expertise only "in some areas." Regulations and bureaucracy are still the main disadvantages, though this is not mentioned by all respondents.

All respondents think that their HEI is trying to be more similar to its EU counterparts; the answers show different degrees of agreement, from "We are trying to be a part of EU and to make changes in our HEI to be similar to EU HEIs" to "in some ways."

The respondents showed a good relationship with the EU. Their main motivations to work with the European Institutions range from gaining new experience and knowledge to achieving a higher degree of internationalization for their HEI and offering opportunities to their students. All interviewed showed that working with colleagues coming from Member States has a positive influence on their opinion of the EU.

Only one of the respondents had other comments on the issue, saying, "Georgia was and is part of Europe. The USSR time was very difficult time for my country; we couldn't develop many directions in Science, especially in Science Education. So, now with the help of EU colleagues we can go in the right way and improve the ways of learning and teaching."

5.5.2 Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

The expert interviews about the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia's HEIs were not as successful as in those in Georgia. Despite contacting forty-two people working with EU issues at five HEIs, only one person from the University "Ss. Cyril and Methodius" in Skopje filled in the questionnaire. In addition, I had the opportunity to interview a person that works in a consultancy firm that assists HEIs with EU grants in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

While I cannot generalize the results of one interview for the entire country, from a broader perspective the results are perfectly in line with the answers received from the Georgian experts; therefore, it is legitimate to assume that further interviews would have still given similar results.

The expert answered in depth to all the questions. The respondent agrees that his HEI benefits from working with the EU. Benefits include mobility, research, and personal development opportunities for academic and administrate staff, as well as students. As in Georgia, the cooperation with the EU and EU HEIs influences the governance, curricula, and management of the faculties. Some examples of influence include the "broadening and enriching the range and content of courses offered at the Faculty of Economics," "promoting exchange of expertise and experience concerning pedagogical methods and/or specific study and research fields," "preparing long-term recognition of studies between institutions through ECTS," and "strengthening the capacity for international co-operation." Moreover, "many of the academic staff realized study visits at some of the EU Universities (individually through Erasmus mobility or some joint projects), which allowed them to modernize the courses taught at the Faculty." Modernizing the course curricula is mentioned among the main advantages of working with the EU, together with the availability of textbooks, the exchange of experiences, and the implementation of different evaluation methods for the students. No disadvantages are mentioned.

Similar motivations to the Georgian case are mentioned as motivation for working with the EU. The expert is in favor of joining the EU ("very much in favor"); however, not the EU of today "with many political, economic, and institutional problems." Peers are still very important when it comes to opinion about the EU, as both colleagues and social network contribute to its formation.

6 EDUCATION: A BRIGHT(ER) FOREIGN POLICY FUTURE?

Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 focused on presenting the results of my research. The purpose of this chapter is to link the historical perspective, the policy analysis, and the interviews with the theoretical framework and the research question. I divided the chapter in four subchapters. The first is focused on policy cycles (using the Kingdon model) and the role of the European Commission as policy entrepreneur; it also discusses the increased importance of education at the community level and serves as an introduction for the second subchapter on Europeanization. Chapter 6.2 discusses education as a process of European integration in

third countries by showing its multiple approaches. Chapter 6.3 highlights the importance of agents and cooperation overtime from a social constructivist perspective. Chapter 6.4 focuses on the foreign policy component and future perspectives.

6.1   POLICY CYCLES: WHAT DO WE SEE?

In the second chapter, I presented how literature neglected the importance of the daily work of policymakers and bureaucrats in the European institutions. The empirical dimension of policymaking is often undervalued; for example, the European Commission does not have any decision-making power in the Bologna Process, but through its technical capacity, it can bring key proposals to the table, influencing the decisions and the direction of the process.

The European Commission has continuously expanded its competences since its inception. In education, there have been attempts to start initiatives from the European Commission since1955,[142] but it is only because of a window of opportunity that the new policy area took off. In fact, The European Commission has been a real policy entrepreneur in education.

In Chapter 4, I presented how education policies develop at the community level; Erasmus was initially proposed in 1986, Member States were hostile to it, and it was withdrawn in 1987, only to be re-proposed the same year when conditions were more positive.[143] Despite this, some Member States challenged the decision before the European Court of Justice, which maintained the program.

Kingdon's model, briefly introduced in Chapter 3, is a good framework to analyze the EU education policies. The model takes into consideration three simultaneous streams: problem, policy, and politics.

The problem stream represents those issues that are always present but require certain conditions in order to emerge; in our case, education issues came up in the previous 30 years,

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[142] Corbett gives a brief, but informative overview of these attempts up to 1987, while my research area starts from the same year. She analyzes the policy cycles highlighting four major events in Corbett, *Higher Education as a Form of European Integration: How Novel Is the Bologna Process?*

[143] The UK, who held the presidency when Erasmus was first proposed, was not in favor of the program .The proposal was submitted again under the Belgian presidency.

as Corbett[144] points out. The policy stream consists of possible solutions to problems; it focuses on an idea started by policy entrepreneurs that is re-shaped by other actors and compromises. The EC started a pilot exchange program in 1981 but education, as a delicate legislative area and a national competence,[145] was not part of the political agenda up to 1986. The politics stream includes public mood, interest groups, and political groups; in our case, this includes citizens, NGOs, representatives from HEIs, and various member states. Therefore, as in many legislation processes, the politics stream changed the game and, with the proposal of the European Commission, education was put on the political agenda. Erasmus was a popular proposal among student organizations, HEIs, and many member states that saw it as an opportunity for their students; the Commissioner Manuel Marin "declared that Erasmus himself would have been shocked to see the Community unprepared to spend money on students, yet prepared to spend a fortune on its cows."[146] The change of conditions (mood, presidency, and interest groups) led to a window of opportunity and the approval of the program.

Why is it so important how education made it into the EU's agenda? Its first outcome was the creation of the Erasmus program, but, consequently, the entire DG Education and Culture was created, leading the way to further policies. Intergovernmentalists would probably say that this is a result of the negotiations among Member States. There are certainly elements in favor of this approach, but social constructivism can perhaps give us another point of view. The ability of EU-level ideas, norms, and policies to be considered positive and beneficial on the national level is what Rosamond would call the "constitutive effect of norms."[147] Education was a delicate topic for the Member States because of national interests. However, being against education policies is unpopular; it was in 1986 and it still is today, both in the EU and in third countries. Erasmus, together with the Bologna Process, started a process of the Europeanization of higher education.

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[144] Corbett, *Higher Education as a Form of European Integration: How Novel Is the Bologna Process?* Need more citation info here.

[145] This was shown in Chapter 4, where I wrote about the presence of education in the various EEC/EU treaties

[146] Corbett, *Higher Education as a Form of European Integration: How Novel Is the Bologna Process?*, 16.

[147] Rosamond, "New Theories of Integration," 131.

6.2 EUROPEANIZATION: EDUCATION AND KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY

Is education an important area in the European Union? If we look at the history of the EU, education has never been an issue in the spotlight. The first initiatives were based on economy and political necessities: coal, steel, energy, and a common market that included more and more goods. At the same time, the European Union was not a closed market and the rise of competition from other areas of the world created further challenges.[148] Its enlargement towards the east partially mitigated the competition loss, but a new strategy had to be formed in order to compete with markets investing in technology, one based on knowledge and social cohesion. This is shown in the Lisbon Strategy, which aimed "to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion."[149] How do you achieve a knowledge-based economy without European integration in the education field? Will the countries that join the union be able to integrate their HEIs in this knowledge-economy?

There are elements that point to the Lisbon Strategy as the turning point of education. For instance in Socrates I, a program introduced in Chapter 4, there are two goals: to increase mobility for students in higher education and to promote broad and intensive cooperation between institutions at all levels of education in every Member State. In 2000, Socrates II set a goal to strengthen the "European dimension in education" while further enhancing mobility and cooperation, including all candidate countries. The LLP provided even more opportunities for candidate countries and, together with TEMPUS, made use of the tools developed in the Bologna Process.[150] Erasmus+ is the natural continuation of this expansion policy, providing mobility, cooperation, and funding opportunities to third countries. This is all line with the Europe2020 strategy, where education is one of the five targets. Does this answer the question of whether education is an important area of the European Union? Not

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[148] The competition does not exclude education. In a global world, quality of education and rankings can make a difference, as mentioned in the interviews; therefore, internationalization for HEIs is necessary.

[149] European Council, "Lisbon European Council," (2000).

[150] Chapter 5.1 gives an overview of the importance of education in the *acquis communitaire* through an enlargement perspective.

completely, but the interviews with functionaries of the EC in chapter 5.4.2 have shown that there is much more to think about.

The EU became the leader of the Bologna Process through funding (TEMPUS, LLP/Erasmus+) and policy-making. As the interviews show, however, the Bologna Process relies on the increasing support of the European Union, with one of the two chairs of the process being the country holding the EU presidency. The European Commission, thanks to its technical capacity, also became a major player.[151]

The elements above are a powerful example of how education is a part of the European integration process and how it is perceived on the macro, but also personal, level. Moreover, it shows that education policy-makers are not passive actors that *go with the flow*, but "norm entrepreneurs," to quote Risse.[152] One of the experts interviewed said that they proposed the Erasmus European model to the world and that the Commission was actually asked to bring this model in certain countries. They are norm entrepreneurs, but also actors of change in third countries; we could almost say "Europeanizators." Interviews and policies showed that the European Union, and especially the European Commission, think about education in foreign policy terms.

How does Europeanization affect third countries? As introduced in the theoretical framework, Europeanization is the process in which domestic politics, policies, and polities are changed through engagement with the EU system. The result of these changes can be grouped following the uses of Europeanization referred to non-EU members by Bache *et al.*[153] I adapted the categorization of Bache *et al.* to the outcome of the interviews and the policy analysis. Table 5 maintains the two original typologies (or usage) and their focus in the left column: horizontal transfer or "crossloading" between states and exporting forms of political organization. The right column presents the results that I will discuss in this and the next chapter.

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[151] From the interviews, we can understand that not only the EC is present in all working groups of the Bologna Process, but it also cooperates with the EU presidency providing assistance, thus affecting policy and politics.
[152] Risse, "Social Constructivism and European Integration."
[153] Bache, George, and Bulmer, *Politics in the European Union*, 58.

Table 5: Uses of Europeanization and Third Countries: Education. (Adaptation of the table in Bache et al.)

Usage and Focus	Results
Horizontal transfer or "crossloading" between states. *Focus on: The movement and practices between European states (whether EU members or not). The EU may or may not play a role in facilitating these movements. This usage is linked to ideas of policy transfer and is also referred to as "crossloading."*	**Direct (EU)** • Copenhagen Criteria for candidate countries and integration pressure. • Requirements and regulations. HEIs forced to change their practices in order to be eligible for grants and cooperation. • Normative power and projection. The EU is a convincing actor and third countries can be convinced to adopt the policies of the EU.
	Indirect (Intergovernmental) • EU countries and HEIs export their national policies and practices, which are heavily influenced by EU policies. • Bologna Process and OMC. The countries decide, but the policy ideas often come from the EU.
	Mixed • EU rograms set general objectives and aims. EU HEIs work with non-EU HEIs, transferring EU policies. • Harmonization of education policies through the Bologna Process. The EU has a key role in the policy-making and funding.
Exporting forms of political organization. *Focus on: The transfer of European political ideas and practices beyond Europe.*	**Direct (policies)** • New courses and programs similar to the EU. • Change of study curriculum. • Implementation of standards (ECTS, recognition, learning outcomes).
	Indirect (agents) • Peers. Influence of EU academics, students, administrative staff, and NGOs. Ideas and practices are spread through colleagues in the EU (actors). • Mobility and exchanges. Third country nationals are guests of HEIs in the EU.

The main idea is that the EU acts directly and indirectly on education policies of third countries, as well as on the ideas and practices of the people involved. The results answered the question concerning the process of Europeanization of education policy beyond the EU. Moreover, we can also see a pattern of European integration in a social constructivist framework with people and practices in focus. Very soft policies, such as education, are very welcome by third countries; this is evident in all the interviews with Georgian and Macedonian respondents. Enthusiasm is shown for new curricula, programs, teaching tools and, in general, cooperation with EU HEIs, especially in the case of Georgia (see Chapter 5.5.1). With the Association Agreement and the subsequent status of a candidate country, the opportunities increase (and so does the funding) to reach a high level of compatibility for the country in the moment of accession.[154] This is shown for projects and grants in the policy analysis (Chapter 5.2.2). Moreover, the interviews have shown that candidate and neighborhood countries are a strategic target for Erasmus+.

Some policy transfers are more subtle. As mentioned in one of the TEMPUS studies, the implementation of certain reforms are required in order to cooperate with EU HEIs through EU funding.[155] Some policies are welcomed by third countries because they are considered "better," thanks to the influential normative power of the European Union.

In addition, there is policy transfer between Member States and third countries and practices that are adopted by non-EU HEIs as result of cooperation with their EU counterparts. Here the EU indirectly affects the policies of third countries because Member States are already affected by EU policies.

As stated in one of the expert interviews with the EC, the decision whether to adopt certain policies or not is, in conclusion, a national issue. The EC would like to see more participation and "ownership" of the program from the non-EU members, instead of having them play a general passive/receiving role. I interpret this desire as part of a positive image projection that the EU sends to external actors which, as Wendt[156] says, has a mirroring effect on the

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[154] In fact, there are numerous studies concerning the impact of EU legislation at the national level; some scholars sustain that 70-80% of the new legislation in the new Member States is EU-related.
[155] For example, through signing an Erasmus charter.
[156] Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*.

Commission itself. My conclusion on this point is that there is a certain degree of trust in the proposals from the EU in the field of education and that what has been achieved up to now is a result of good cooperation. The normative power of the EU, in line with social constructivism, plays a major role here. In addition, I see the role of agents to be a key factor in the transfer of European political ideas and practices beyond Europe, as I will discuss in the next chapter.

6.3   EDUCATION: A POSITIVE IMAGE FOR EVERYONE

In 2009, I conducted a research project with the Erasmus Student Network AISBL[157] concerning information provision and willingness to study abroad. One of the results showed that 40% of the students contacted former exchange students (n=6842) and that the internet (71.90%) was still the main source of information. This personal experience is just an example of how peer-to-peer relationships are important and how "agents" can shape one's opinion.

By agent, I mean a person or institution that, aware or not, represents and/or promotes a wider spectrum of other people or institutions. An example could be Lund University working with a HEI in South Africa; through cooperation, the relationship between the two becomes stronger and a positive image of Lund University, Sweden, and, finally, the European Union is given. We see this phenomenon occur in interviews with employees of HEIs; working with colleagues from the EU influences their views on the institution itself.[158] There is a semantic, but important, difference in this point. For the people interviewed, working with the EU does not mean working with the EU institutions; in this case, who represents the EU are HEIs, academics, and students: the agents.

Who are the agents in our case? Using a social constructivist approach, I identified three different agents that, unconsciously and with different modalities, promote a positive image and transfer European political ideas and practices beyond Europe through education:

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[157] ESN Survey 2009: Information for Exchange. http://www.esn.org/sites/default/files/ESNSurvey2009_0.pdf
[158] This would not be as effective without the normative power of the European Union.

- HEIs and academics
- Administrative staff
- Students

HEIs and academics are the core promoters of the Bologna Process. From a constructivist point of view, they are at the center of the arena when it comes to communication and persuasion.[159] EU HEIs are generally more successful than their non-EU counterparts in the case study (this can be seen through international rankings, number of publications, and incoming/outgoing students) and tend to become a model to follow or, at least, a source of ideas and change. The interviews in Chapter 5.5 clearly showed that the cooperation with HEIs from the EU is seen as a source of knowledge, training, and experience. Both TEMPUS studies and interviews show the profound changes in third countries when it comes to curricula reform ("We have a lot of new courses/programs in the framework of TEMPUS projects, which are built on the model of EU University programs"), governance, learning outcomes, even duration of studies. The power of persuasion and communication is highlighted in the EC interviews of Chapter 5.4; education keeps the channels open and allows people to meet and talk. Going even further, the respondents say that working with colleagues from the EU positively influenced their views on the European Union. Social constructivism explains this as an effect of their interaction with the EU over time.[160]

Policies and ideas do not go anywhere without a proper administrative apparatus; policies need implementation. The relationships between EU and non-EU administrative staff can change the practices of public administration. One of the respondents from Georgia said that training and management process are often changed to resemble their counterparts in the EU. In the study, this is mostly shown in the TEMPUS reports: quality assurance, external auditing, transparency, and modern governance are all key terms and practices that the EU projects introduced in administration for third countries.[161] In addition, staff exchanges contribute to solidify these practices and create social networks.

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[159] In Chapter 2.1, I wrote more on persuasion and deference in foreign policy. More can be read in Hill, *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy*.

[160] Bache, George, and Bulmer, *Politics in the European Union*.

[161] As mentioned in the introduction, Lavenex talks about macro-structures of external governance and the rise of a European administration that goes beyond EU borders. More in Lavenex, Lehmkuhl, and Wichmann,

Students are perhaps the most interesting agents of the three. While the study did not focus on student mobility itself, the results have shown an important role for students as agents. Perhaps the quote that best sums up their role is from the EC interviews, which calls students and academics returning from an exchange in the EU "ambassadors and politically enlightened people." This leads us to understand that positive collective self-esteem in the EU, as mentioned in the theoretical framework, does show a foreign policy element.[162] Indeed, the future political class of some countries could be formed by people that studied in the European Union; aiming at contributing to the education of a potential political class does sound like foreign policy.

Are these agents of EU education and foreign policy then? My answer is yes. They all spread values, political ideas, and practices common[163] in the European Union, they influence the perception of third countries and they reinforce the power projection of the EU. Sure, it is still soft foreign policy, but is it less effective?[164]

The effectiveness of soft foreign policies depends on its purpose. When it comes to spreading the so-called European values, the results showed a high degree of success. Social constructivists see Europeness or European Identity as a non-fixed meaning that changes over time and places; the European Union contributes to this meaning by projecting its identity as "European" and creating some sort of performance anxiety in non-member states that want to join the club and be "European." The reality is, of course, that they are all European; it sounds and it is illogical to say that rectors in the Western Balkans visit their peers in Europe[165] or that students can pursue their studies in Europe. They are already in Europe, for where would they be otherwise? One of the Georgian respondents made this very

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"Modes of External Governance: A Cross-National and Cross-Sectoral Comparison."; Egeberg and Trondal, *National Agencies in the European Administrative Space : Government Driven, Commission Driven or Networked?*

[162] We could interpret the answer from the interview as the need of a group (the EC) to feel good about what they are doing. As Wendt puts it, "Actors come to see themselves as a reflection of how they think Others see them." Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, 327.

[163] It is important to say that not all EU HEIs are the same; there are immense differences within the EU in terms of education policies and practices. Perhaps in education we look more united from outside; the growing EU programs in education, in my opinion, heavily contribute to this image projection.

[164] For instance, Christopher Hill in *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy* (Palgrave, 2003) highlights the effectiveness of persuasion and deference, as mentioned in the theoretical framework.

[165] See European Commission, "The Main Achievements of the Tempus Programme in Western Balkans 1991 – 2013," 8. or Appendix II.

clear, saying that Georgia was and is part of Europe, and that the Soviet times were hard for the country. Nevertheless, the EU and Europe overlap in media, academia, and also among the public, highlighting even more the importance of being European.[166]

6.4 FROM EDUCATION TO CULTURAL DIPLOMACY: ANOTHER CIVILIAN POWER ATTEMPT?

Jan Zielonka claims that the EU foreign policy is paradoxical; it is becoming a powerful international actor without becoming a superstate.[167] The EU cannot afford to become a superstate from a foreign policy perspective, as division and internal conflicts arise whenever there is a crisis, political or financial. The examples of the bombing of Libya, the recognition of Kosovo, and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan show a European Union with a weak or non-functioning common foreign policy.

Alongside what we could call fiascos in *realpolitik*, the European Union also has great success stories as a civilian power. The enlargement towards the former Communist bloc is perhaps the most successful one, but the EU is also a major international donor through EuropeAid, its development aids and, of course, education and cultural programs. The EU thus exercises civilian power to attract and persuade third countries. The recent case of Ukraine is an example in this direction and the interviews confirm this idea.

My perception while working on this research project is that the European Union recognizes that its main strength is indeed this power of attraction and that it could invest more in it. Education, culture, sports, and youth initiatives have so far played a marginal role, but perhaps this is changing. In the words of Commissioner Vassiliou, quoted in Chapter 5.3, one can assume that there are plans to invest in cultural diplomacy as a soft foreign policy.[168] The words show the willingness to invest more in this sector and my results show that education has a role in this new cultural diplomacy and thus in a new, stronger attempt of to promote the EU as a civilian power.

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[166] For more on identity building and on the European Union as conflated with Europe, see Laflan, "The European Union and Its Institutions as "Identity Builders"," 75-76.
[167]

[168] European Commission, "Maximizing the Impact of Cultural Diplomacy in Eu Foreign Policy."

7 CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this dissertation has been to investigate the role of education in the EU foreign policy. To achieve the objective of my research I looked into the development of the education programs, analyzed policies, and interviewed experts from the European Commission, the External Action Service, and HEIs in both Georgia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. The results not only show that the European Commission and, thus, the European Union consider education as part of their foreign policy, but also that this is a policy area destined to grow and receive more consideration in the future. And this will perhaps be a bright future, considering the general positive reception of third countries and their willingness to adopt reforms.

Coming to our main research question, what is then the reason for investing in education in third countries? The results have shown that, with a relatively small budget, the investments have a massive return in terms of image and cooperation opportunities; opportunities that start with education and often end in the business and political worlds. This process has two engines. First, the European Commission as policy entrepreneur can influence and shape continental reforms and promote a European model. The second engine is based on the contribution of the EU agents; students, academics, and institutions are all ambassadors of so-called European values. They became strategic resources capable of influencing policies, practices, and the very idea of Europe.

Education, together with social and cultural policies, are models followed by third countries and they have an impact on the aspiration and meaning of Europeness.[169] The desire to be in Europe, while semantically illogical, has a strong value in foreign policy terms. States cannot so easily ignore the public mood, as has been recently shown in Ukraine; soft foreign policies can be as effective as *realpolitik*. The increasing cooperation and interaction between EU and third members, as Bache points out, may shape and redefine national positions.[170] Therefore, further investment of resources in this direction is logical and this investment can be seen in

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[169] Considered as European identity, Risse, "Social Constructivism and European Integration."
[170] Bache, George, and Bulmer, *Politics in the European Union*, 42.

the recent initiatives of the European Commission, namely Erasmus+, Creative Europe, and the new "Preparatory Action discussing the role of Culture in EU's External Relations."

There is a consistent process of Europeanization of the education policies in Member States and third countries. The Bologna Process is an intergovernmental initiative, but it is the European Union that is leading the way. This is the result of the normative power of the European Union, which affects the ability of EU-level ideas, norms, and policies to be considered positive and beneficial. Thus, the social constructivist framework perfectly adapts to the research question. The normative power of the European Union in the education sector is prominent and the effect of power projection on both EU and non-EU citizens is shown in the interviews. Surprisingly, the results showed almost no mention of funds as a motivation; instead, ideals, values, and eagerness to be more similar to HEIs in the EU are all key factors that motivate the respondents.

The European Union shows a dynamic approach towards education and foreign policy and I believe that the relationship between the Bologna Process, the EU, and third countries makes this area worth further investigation, in particular with the launch of Erasmus+.

Civilian Power or just foreign policy? Perhaps both.

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APPENDIX I: LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

All the abbreviations are defined in the text upon usage, however in order to facilitate the reading, all abbreviations are explained here:

AA Association Agreement

ACA Academic Cooperation Association

BFUG Bologna Follow-Up Group

CARDS Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Development and Stability in the Balkans

CFSP Common Foreign and Security Policy

CoE Council of Europe

DCI Development Cooperation Instrument

DEVCO EuropeAid Development and Cooperation Office

DG Direction Générale (General Directorate, EU Department)

DS Diplomat Supplement

EAC (Directorate-General for) Education and Culture

EACEA Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency

EAIE European Association of International Education

EAS see EAS

EC European Commission

ECTS European Credit Transfer System

EDF European Development Fund

EEA European Economic Area

EAS European External Action Service

EHEA European Higher Education Area

ELARG (Directorate-General for) Enlargement

ENI European Neighbourhood Instrument

ENP European Neighbourhood Policy

EP European Parliament

Erasmus European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students

ESN Erasmus Student Network

ESU European Students' Union

EU European Union

EUA European University Association

HEI Higher Education Institution

INGYO International Non-Governmental Youth Organization

IPA Instrument for Pre-Accession

IR International Relations

LLP Lifelong Learning Programme

MEP Member of the European Parliament

NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organizations

NGO Non-Governmental Organization

OMC Open Method of Coordination

PHARE Poland and Hungary Action for the Reconstruction of their Economies

PI Partnership Instrument for cooperation with third countries

TACIS Technical Aid to Confederation of Independent States

TEMPUS Trans-European Mobility Programme for University Studies

UNESCO United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization

NQF National Qualifications Framework

APPENDIX II: OTHER FACTS AND FIGURES OF BOLOGNA PROCESS, ERASMUS+ AND TEMPUS

The Bologna Process: from Sorbonne to Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve, 1998-2009

1998 Sorbonne Declaration	1999 Bologna Declaration	2001 Prague Communiqué	2003 Berlin Communiqué	2005 Bergen Communiqué	2007 London Communiqué	2009 Leuven/ Louvain-la-Neuve Communiqué
Mobility of students and teachers	Mobility of students, teachers, researchers and administrative staff	Social dimension of mobility	Portability of loans and grants Improvement of mobility data	Attention to visa and work permits	Challenges of visa and work permits, pension systems and recognition	Benchmark of 20 % by 2020 for student mobility
A common two-cycle degree system	Easily readable and comparable degrees	Fair recognition Development of recognised Joint degrees	Inclusion of doctoral level as third cycle	QF-EHEA adopted National Qualifications Frameworks launched	National Qualifications Frameworks by 2010	National Qualifications Frameworks by 2012
		Social dimension	Equal access	Reinforcement of the social dimension	Commitment to produce national action plans with effective monitoring	National targets for the social dimension to be measured by 2020
		Lifelong learning (LLL)	Alignment of national LLL policies Recognition of Prior Learning (RPL)	Flexible learning paths in higher education	Role of higher education in LLL Partnerships to improve employability	LLL as a public responsibility requiring strong partnerships Call to work on employability
Use of credits	A system of credits (ECTS)	ECTS and Diploma Supplement (DS)	ECTS for credit accumulation		Need for coherent use of tools and recognition practices	Continuing implementation of Bologna tools
	European cooperation in quality assurance	Cooperation between quality assurance and recognition professionals	Quality assurance at institutional, national and European level	European Standards and Guidelines for quality assurance adopted	Creation of the European Quality Assurance Register (EQAR)	Quality as an overarching focus for EHEA
Europe of Knowledge	European dimensions in higher education	Attractiveness of the European Higher Education Area	Links between higher education and research areas	International cooperation on the basis of values and sustainable development	Strategy to improve the global dimension of the Bologna process adopted	Enhance global policy dialogue through Bologna Policy Fora

Figure 4: main milestones of the ministerial conferences within the Bologna Process up to 2009. The Leuven Communiqué sets new goals and the mobility target of 2020 (Source: EACEA/European Commission, 2012)
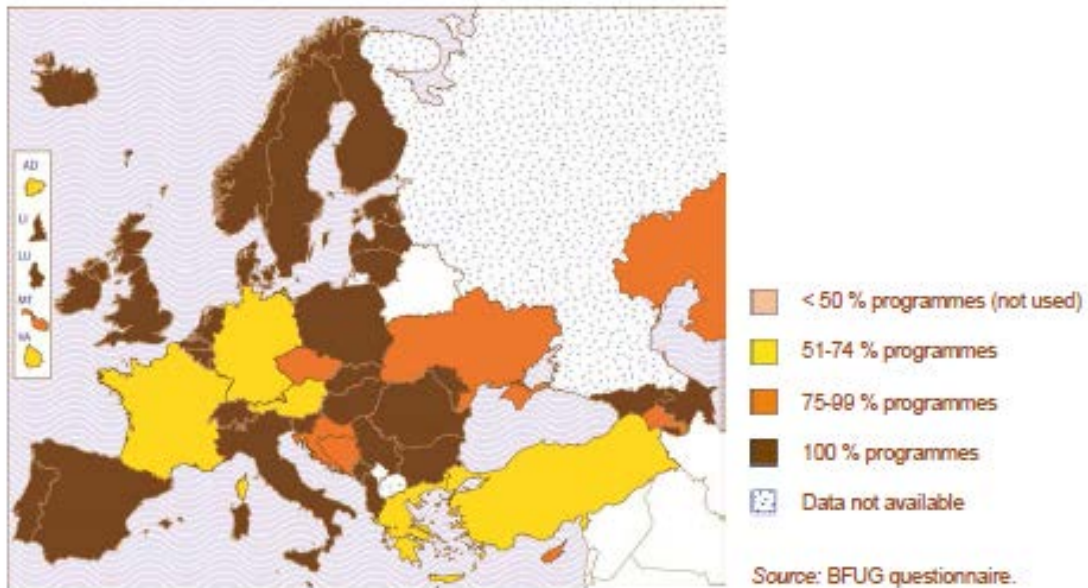
Figure 5: Share of programmes using ECTS credits for accumulation and transfer for all elements of study programmes, 2010-2011 (Source: EACEA/European Commission, 2012)

Figure 6: Total Budget by Year for all Countries in Eastern Europe Participating in the Tempus programme (Source: EACEA/European Commission, 2013)

Figure 7: Breakdown of the Total Budget Committed by Country (1993-2013) (Source: EACEA/European Commission, 2013). Note that Eastern Partners joined the Tempus Programme at different stages.
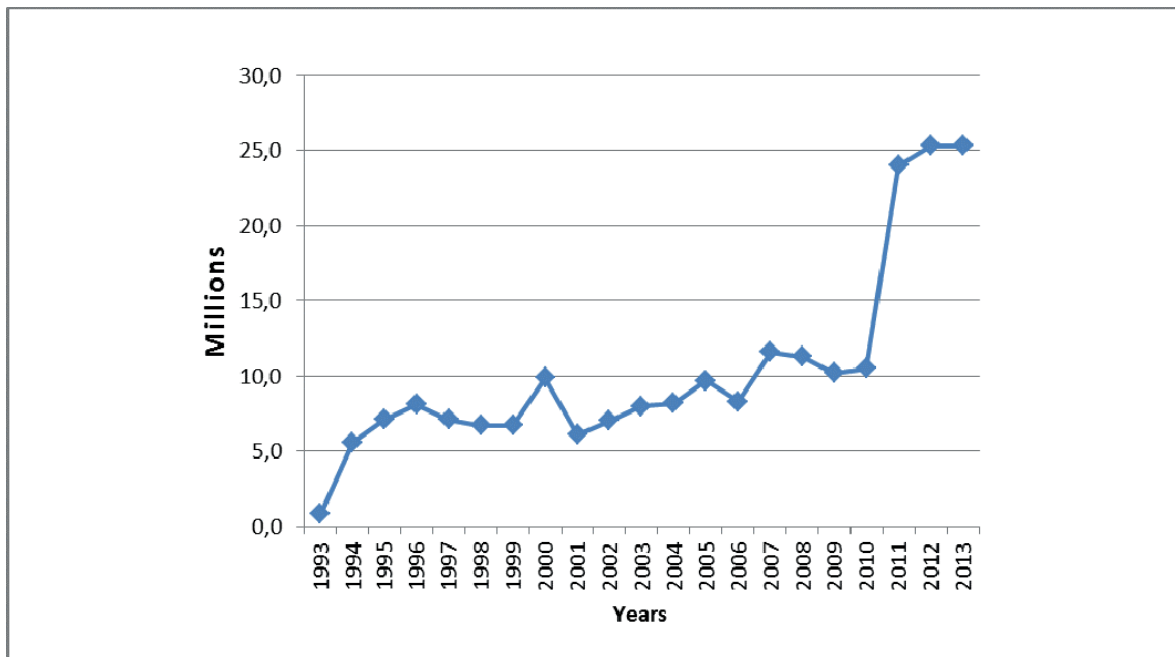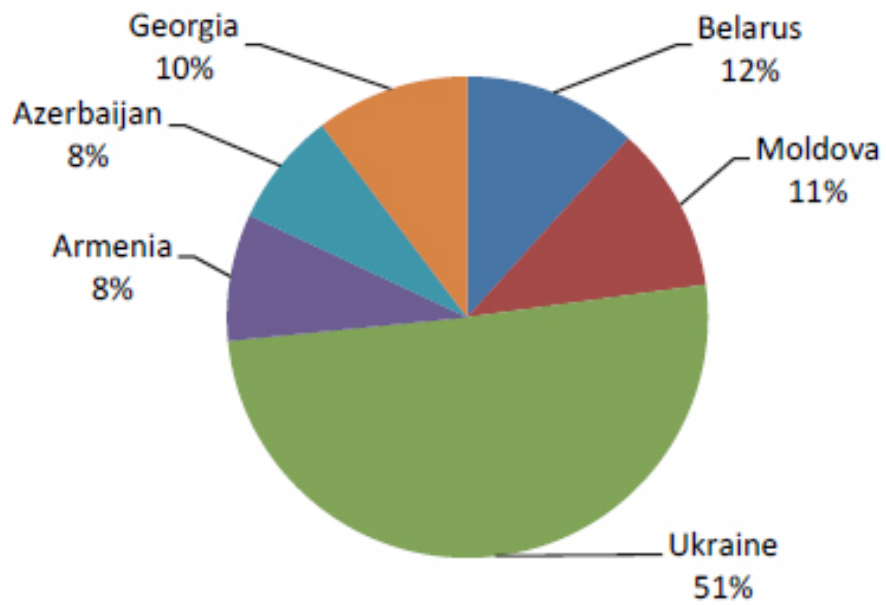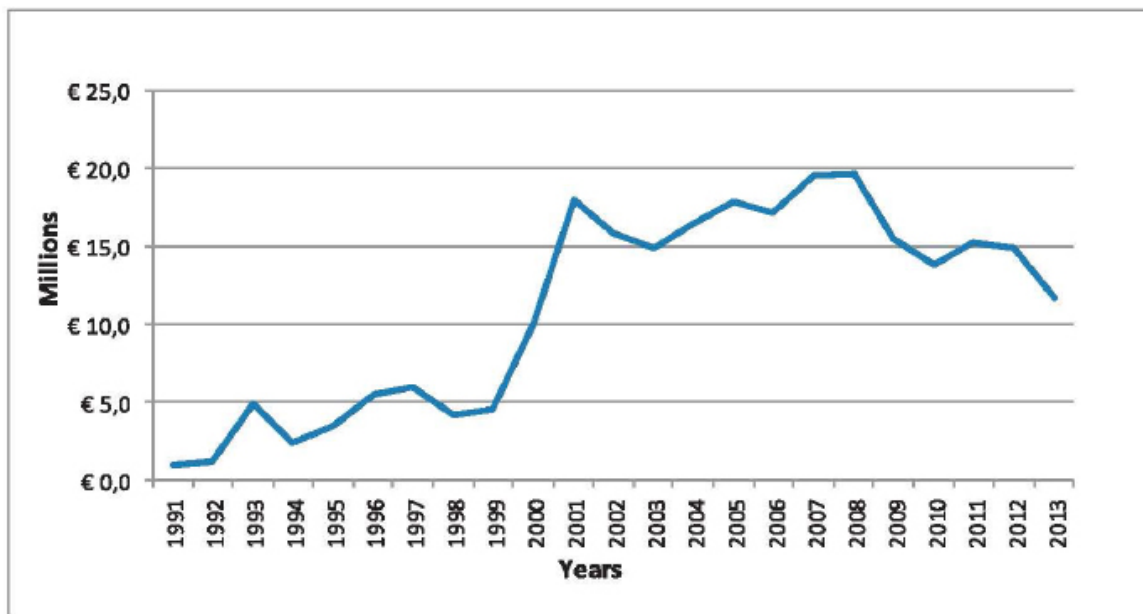

Figure 8: Total Budget by Year for all Countries in Western Balkans Participating in the Tempus programme (1991-2013) (Source: EACEA/European Commission, 2013)
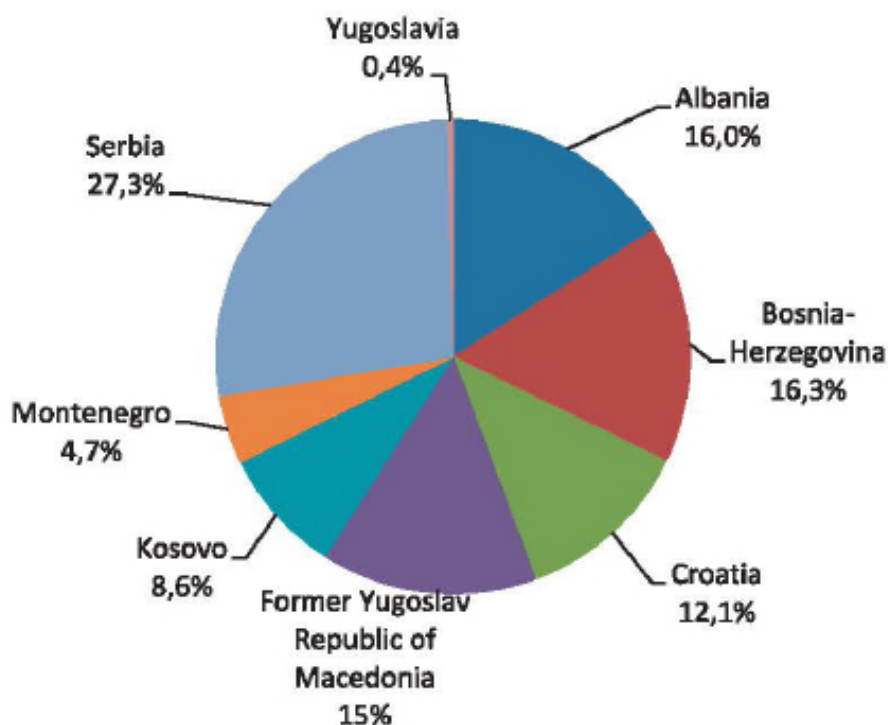
Figure 9: Breakdown of the Total Budget Allocated (1991-2013) (Source: EACEA/European Commission, 2013). Note that Western Balkans joined the Tempus Programme at different stages and some lost their eligibility during the same period becoming candidate countries.

Table 6: Erasmus+ Key figures (2014-2020) (Source: European Commission, 2014)

Key figures: Erasmus+ (2014-2020)	
Overall budget	**€14.7 billion** Additional funds will be allocated for funding the actions with third countries (partner countries), but the decision will probably be taken in 2014.
Overall mobility opportunities	More than 4 million people
Higher Education	Around 2 million students
Vocational Education and Training students	Around 650,000 students
Staff mobility	Around 800,000 lecturers, teachers, trainers, Education staff and Youth workers
Volunteer and Youth exchange schemes	More than 500,000 young people

| Master's degree loan guarantee scheme	Around 200,000 students
Joint Master Degrees	More than 25,000 students
Strategic Partnerships	Around 25,000 linking together 125 000 schools, vocational Education and Training institutions, higher and adult Education institutions, Youth organisations and enterprises
Knowledge Alliances	More than 150 set up by 1500 higher Education institutions and enterprises
Sector Skills Alliances	More than 150 set up by 2000 vocational Education and Training providers and enterprises
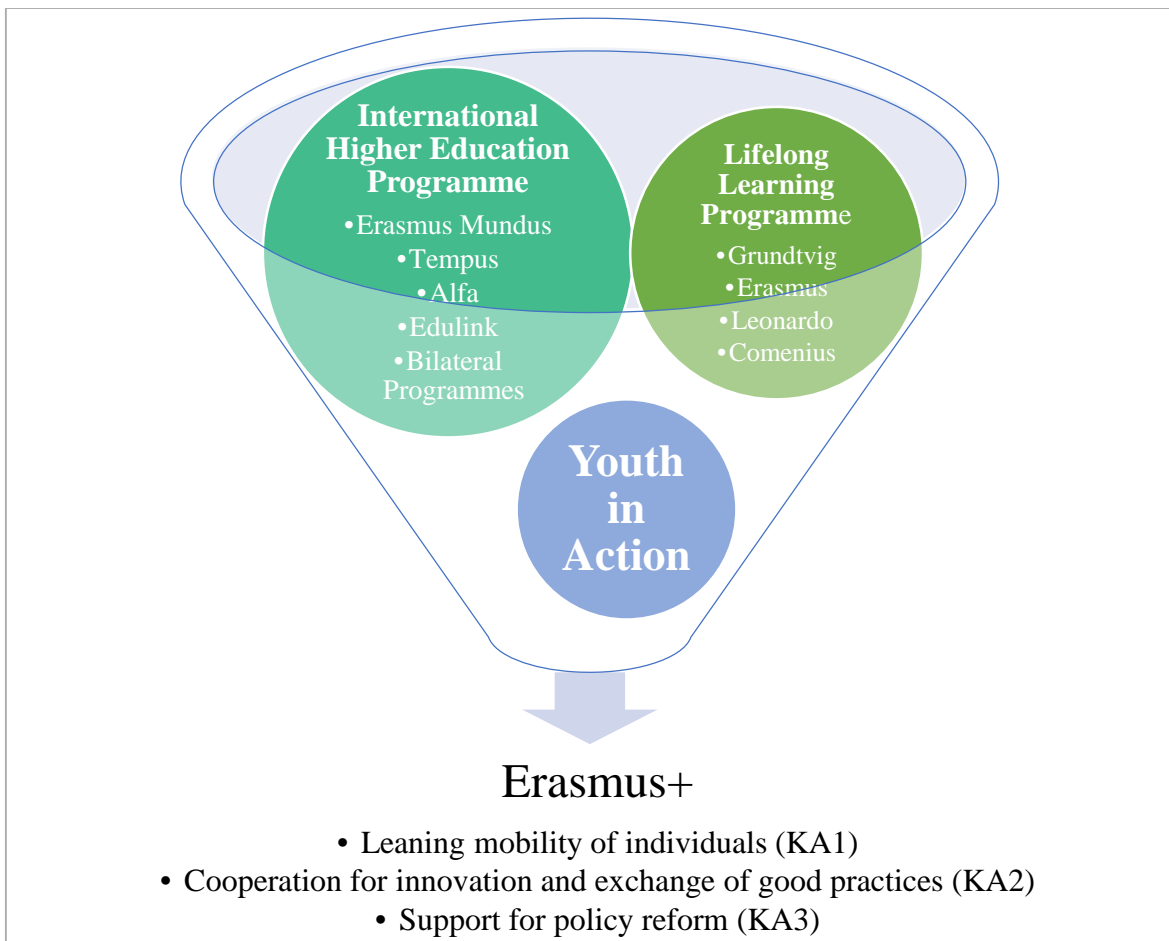
Figure 10: Current programmes and new Erasmus+ actions

APPENDIX III: POLICY ANALYSIS

Due to the large amount of text to analyze, I decided to include in the appendixes the full sentences that I found relevant to my thesis presented in Chapter 5. The sentences are divided in three tables that correspond to the categories "Policy Transfer", "Strategy Elements" and "Power Projection". I avoided repetitions, as already mentioned, the documents have common sentences for both Eastern Europe and Western Balkans.

To make the table more reader-friendly, I opted for a simplified referencing method. Instead of a footnote for each sentence, I added another column where I report document and pages for further references. Moreover, I coded each document with a letter to enhance the readability of the table:

A	State of Play of the Bologna Process in the Tempus Partner Countries (2012)[171]
B	Overview of the Higher Education Systems in the Tempus Partner Countries – Western Balkans[172]
C	The main achievements of the Tempus Programme in Western Balkans 1991 – 2013[173]
D	Overview of the Higher Education Systems in the Tempus Partner Countries – Eastern Europe[174]
E	The main achievements of the Tempus Programme in Eastern Europe 1993 – 2013[175]

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[171] European Commission and EACEA, "State of Play of the Bologna Process in the Tempus Partner Countries (2012)."

[172] European Commission, "Overview of the Higher Education Systems in the Tempus Partner Countries – Western Balkans."

[173]"The Main Achievements of the Tempus Programme in Western Balkans 1991 – 2013."

[174] "Overview of the Higher Education Systems in the Tempus Partner Countries – Eastern Europe."

[175] "The Main Achievements of the Tempus Programme in Eastern Europe 1993 – 2013."

Table 7: Sentences and concepts coded as Policy Transfer category

Policy Transfer	
In Algeria, Kosovo3, Morocco and Tunisia, the Bologna Process is officially embedded in their education systems. It has been introduced in the legislation and has become part of the national strategy.	A, 6
Eight countries (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Moldova, Montenegro, Serbia, Ukraine) and Kosovo have reached a high degree of implementation, with ECTS being applied in more than 75% of their programmes and higher education institutions	A, 11-12
Nine countries (Western Balkan countries, Armenia, Georgia, Moldova and Tunisia) have reached the level where a National Qualifications Framework for higher education has been formally adopted and the implementation process has started.	A, 12-13
In many countries, the implementation of the three-cycle structure is leading to lively debates on the extent to which it is necessary to take into account the national specificities of the labour market, institutions, programmes, disciplines and qualifications.	A, 18
Georgia, Moldova and Serbia have defined the learning outcomes in their laws and regulations	A, 25
The process of adopting a National Qualifications Framework is underway in the majority of Tempus Partner Countries	A, 37
Tempus was designed to contribute to reforming and upgrading the higher education institutions and systems in the Tempus Partner Countries'	B, 8
Joint Projects target higher education institutions and fund multilateral partnerships between these EU and Partner Country institutions, to develop, modernise and disseminate new curricula, teaching methods and teaching materials	B, 8
Promote further convergence with EU developments in the field of higher education	B, 8

More than 700 cooperation projects have been funded during the entire period, 163 in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	C, 2
Tempus has contributed to the modernisation of higher education systems and the alignment of systems with EU developments in the field of higher education.	C, 4
During Tempus IV, more than 40% of all projects in the region focused on curriculum reform. This has always been a popular topic for Tempus projects, because it allows professors to work together in international consortia, to revise old courses or develop new ones	C, 6
Based on the principles of the Bologna Process, many European professors are already accustomed to designing courses based on 'learning outcomes' and ECTS credits and have transferred this know-how to colleagues in the Partner Countries in the region. Professors there have been convinced of the merits.	C, 6
These bottom-up reforms have encouraged Ministries of Education in the region to redesign the degree structure along the Bologna model. The three-cycle system of Bachelor, Master and Doctorate has been introduced	C, 7
Tempus encourages the involvement of enterprises in designing new curricula.	C, 9
Tempus has had an impact on national policy reform in the Western Balkans. Tempus came to the region at the right moment when most of the countries were beginning to introduce major reforms in higher education.	C, 9
Participation in the Tempus Programme with EU institutions has helped promote Bologna principles and tools and highlight their usefulness.	C, 10
Legislation governing the arrangements for implementing ECTS has been introduced [in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia].	C, 10
Tempus has been a major driver for promoting Bologna reforms in the region and, compared to other Tempus regions, the Western Balkans are currently the most advanced in implementing Bologna principles.	C, 10

Table 8: Sentences and concepts coded as Foreign Policy category

Strategy Elements	
The Tempus Programme and the Bologna Process have gone hand in hand, supporting the reform process in the EU and its neighbouring countries over the past decade.	A, 1
Eleven Tempus Partner Countries have signed the Bologna Declaration (Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Moldova, Montenegro, Russia, Serbia and Ukraine). Among the remaining 16 non-signatory countries, five participated in the Bologna Policy Forum in March 2010, to discuss how worldwide cooperation in higher education could be enhanced through the Bologna Process (Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Morocco and Tunisia) (Map 1).	A, 5
The Bologna Process is currently implemented on a voluntary basis using incentive mechanisms in Belarus, Egypt, Israel, the occupied Palestinian territory, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan.	A, 6
the Western Balkans countries are motivated to promote the Bologna Process as part of their larger policy objective to be integrated into the EU	A, 9
It is only natural that improving their already advanced level, will allow them to integrate better with EU Member States and participate fully in EU education and research programmes in the future	A, 9
Obviously, implementing the Bologna Process in the Tempus Partner Countries is a long and complex process, as is also the case in the European Union. Nevertheless the Bologna Process is a reference in most countries neighbouring the EU and it is often considered as a pre-requisite for reinforcing institutional collaboration and for the exchange of students and staff with counterparts in the EU.	A, 14
The Bologna Process is widely influencing the neighbouring countries of the EU and Central Asia	A, 17

Lebanon and the Maghreb countries have adopted the 180 ECTS credit system, being influenced by their long-standing relations with certain EU Member States.	A, 19
the Bachelor structure, which is the backbone of any higher education system, appears to be largely embedded in the geo-political context	A, 19
Since the inception of the Stabilisation and Association process in 1999,cooperation between the EU and its South Eastern European partners has been a major objective of the European Union's external relations and enlargement policy	C, Pref.
The European Commission's new education programme,Erasmus+ (2014-2020) incorporates Tempus-like activities in its capacity-building strand.	C, Pref.
During Tempus IV, both Croatia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia gradually joined the Lifelong Learning Programme and were therefore not eligible for Tempus funding any longer.	C, 2
The programme has helped these countries in their social development, human capacity-building and their reform process, to prepare for accession to the EU. Croatia is now an EU Member State and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia,Montenegro and Serbia have already been granted the status of EU Candidate Countries.	C, 4
they have gained intercultural experience of working with EU countries where there have been limited prior links	C, 5
All the Tempus Offices have established effective working relationships and constructive dialogue with the Ministry of Education, education authorities and the EU Delegations and offices.	C, 9
Tempus has not only had an impact on study programmes or on individual capacity-building, but has also contributed to forwarding the aims of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement and the Bologna Process. Significant progress has been made in particular in the implementation of the Bologna principles in the country and Tempus has been instrumental in supporting higher education institutions in the process.	C, 20

The Erasmus Mundus programme's objective is to promote European higher education	D, 22
Tempus sought to contribute to socio-economic reforms, through cooperation in higher education. These countries were later to join the EU itself.	D, 7
The programme is integrated into the European Union's 'Neighbourhood', 'Enlargement' and 'Development' policies, which aim to promote prosperity, stability and security.	D, 7
The European External Action Service contributes to the strategic orientations of the Programme	D, 8
The European Union has a vital interest in promoting stability, better governance and economic development at its Eastern borders.	E, 1
The EU decided to launch the "Eastern Partnership" initiative in May 2009. As a specific Eastern dimension of the ENP, this new strategic policy initiative seeks to back political and socio- economic reforms in the Partner Countries, facilitating their convergence towards the EU in a bilateral and multilateral framework.	E, 1
After the end of the Soviet Union, a number of professors and political leaders, in particular from the Caucasus, established links with US academic institutions, obtaining their PhD there. Conversely, fewer contacts existed with European universities. In this respect, the National Contact Points in the EU have been instrumental in helping institutions from the region to find EU partners.	E, 5-6

Table 9: Sentences and concepts coded as Image Projection category

Power projection*	
Contacts with European professors, made through Tempus, have sometimes led to further research activities after the end of the project, such as joint publications and peer-reviews	C, 5

Professors from EU universities have worked together with professors from the region, to pool their expertise in an academic discipline and modernise a chosen curriculum.	C, 6
Mutual recognition of degrees, for students who wished to pursue their post-graduate studies either in Europe or in other Western Balkan countries	C, 7
As the benefits of such equipment became apparent, university governing bodies were persuaded to invest more themselves. New equipment was often coveted by researchers and people working in the industry, who didn't have access to such up-to-date materials.	C, 7
All this has contributed to helping students find jobs immediately after graduation and reducing youth unemployment - a widespread phenomenon in the region.	C, 8
Opportunities for Presidents and Rectors of higher education institutions in the region to visit their peers in Europe	C, 8
Through Tempus, staff at higher education institutions have also developed their management skills and improved their skills in international relations which, according to many, would not have been possible without Tempus.	C, 20
The programme also aimed at promoting inter-cultural understanding as a means of sustainable growth, peace and reinforced the 'intercultural' and 'civil society' dimension of the EU's policies in these regions.	C, 35

* most of the text in this table is also present in the document E.

APPENDIX IV: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR EXPERT INTERVIEWS

Questionnaire for the Higher Education Institutions

1. General Questions
   1.1. Higher Education Institution:
   1.2. What is your position at your Higher Education Institution (HEI)?
   1.3. Do you work with EU projects, funding or relations? In which way?

2. EU and your HEI
   2.1. In your opinion, does your HEI benefit from working with the EU?
   2.2. From your experience, is cooperating with the EU influencing the governance of your HEI? If yes, Can you give some examples?
   2.3. From your experience, is the EU influencing how programmes and courses are built? If yes, Can you give some examples?
   2.4. (if yes to 2.2 or 2.3) Do you think the influence of the EU is positive for your HEI?
   2.5. What is the main advantage from working with the EU?
   2.6. What is the main disadvantage from working with the EU?

3. Cooperation with EU HEIs
   3.1. In your opinion, is your HEI becoming more similar to EU HEIs?
   3.2. Did you introduce from EU HEIs course curricula, governance styles, work practices? If yes, can you give some examples?

4. You and the EU
   4.1. What is the main motivation for you to work with the EU?
   4.2. Are you in favor of your country joining the EU?
   4.3. Did working with EU colleagues and projects influence this opinion?
   4.4. Any other comment?

Questionnaire for the European External Action Service

1. What is your position in the External Action Service?
2. Do you work with EU education policies?
3. Please, state your level of agreement with the following statements

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Not Applicable
The European Union improved the quality of education in non-EU countries	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Non-EU HEIs are more competitive thanks to the support of the EU	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Promoting the Bologna Process is important for the EU	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Promoting the Bologna Process is important for the EU HEIs	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Promoting the Bologna Process is important for the non-EU HEIs	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
EU education policies are an important	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

component of EU foreign policy						
Through the EU education policies we can influence other policies in non-EU countries	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

4. What is the role of the External Action Service when it comes to EU education policies?
5. From your experience, do you see an increasing role for the External Action Service in the field of education?
6. (if yes) In which way? Can you give some examples?
7. Would you like to be anonymous? Yes ☐ - No ☐

Questionnaire for the European Commission

1. General Questions

   1.1. What is your position in the EC? Are you involved in the drafting of education policies?

2. Bologna Process and third countries

   2.1. How much, from your perspective, does the EC influence the evolvement of the Bologna Process?

   2.2. From your experience, do non-EU countries give input in the work for the Bologna Process?

   2.3. In your opinion, are we seeing a process of Europeanization in non-EU countries when it comes to education?

3. EU Programmes and third countries

   3.1. Are you pleased with the content of the approved Erasmus+ compared to the proposed Erasmus For All? Why?

3.2. Are you aware of any interest group involved in the process? Can you mention any of them?

3.3. From your perspective, why does the EC want an expansion of Erasmus outside the previous LLP recipients?

3.4. How do HEIs in the EU benefit from Erasmus+?

3.5. How do HEIs outside the EU benefit from Erasmus+?

3.6. In your opinion, what is the best achievement of the EU in the field of education outside of its borders?

4. Management

4.1. Who is in charge of third countries when it comes to Erasmus+?

4.2. Do you cooperate with the External Action Service? How?

4.3. Do you have priorities when it comes to funding for certain countries?

5. Other

5.1. From your perspective, does the EU help improving HEIs in third countries?

5.2. Are you satisfied of your work? What would you improve?

5.3. Do you think that the EU is doing foreign policy through its initiatives in third countries in the field of education?

APPENDIX V: NOTE ON EXPERT INTERVIEWS

All respondents asked for anonymity during their interviews. In the case of HEIs and EAS, I received filled-in questionnaires. As I reported almost all content in the research, I did not see the need to include the filled-in documents in the appendix.

In the case of the functionaries of the European Commission, I have all recordings, but chose to not include a transcript in the thesis and to report only the relevant content in the text. The reason for this is that I want to guarantee the highest degree of privacy to the people that were available to be interviewed. There are not many people working on these issues and a transcript might identify my respondents. In addition, I followed this approach for the quotes included in the text, excluding those that could lead to the people interviewed. I believe that the security and safeguarding of the respondents is of the utmost importance.