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The Social Selectivity of International Mobility among German University Students

A Multi-Level Analysis of the Impact of the Bologna Process

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Abstract

This discussion paper deals with the social selectivity of internationally mobile German students prior to and after the Bologna Process thereby linking two mobility dimensions that a very rarely brought together – social and spatial mobility. Tackling this issue on multiple levels, I ask how student mobility is understood within key Bologna documents (declarations and communiqués) and how this is related to the social selectivity of international mobility among university students in Germany before and after the begin of the Bologna process (1998/99). At the European level, I examine the *Bologna model of mobility* as it is presented within central documents of the Bologna Process using a theory-guided qualitative content analysis. Sociological Neo-Institutionalism serves as theoretical and analytical framework to investigate institutional facilitators and barriers to the diffusion of the mobility model to the national and individual levels. Afterwards, I contextualize the German higher education system and describe the specific reception and translation of the Bologna model of mobility by German actors in higher education. At the individual level, Bourdieu's theory of educational reproduction is applied to the case of international student mobility to explain the socially stratified mobility behavior of German students with regard to the decision to go abroad, the country of destination and the duration of a study-related stay abroad. Further, I analyze the impact of the Bologna Process using survey data provided by the German National Association of Student Affairs (Deutsches Studentenwerk) of two cohorts: pre-Bologna (1997) and post-Bologna (2006). The main findings suggest that the social background of students is especially important when it comes to the decision to go abroad. However, if students have broken through the first obstacle and decided to go abroad, the influence of the social origin on the country of destination and the duration of mobile periods declines. The correlation between social origin and international mobility has, thus far, not weakened over the course of the Bologna Process. Rather, it has increased over time, indicating an incomplete diffusion in Germany of the relatively vague contents of the Bologna model of mobility from the European to the individual level. This result suggests that the Bologna process goals of enhanced spatial and social mobility have not (yet) been achieved.

Zusammenfassung

Dieses Discussion Paper behandelt die soziale Selektivität internationaler Mobilität deutscher Studierender im Bologna-Prozess und versucht, dabei zwei Mobilitätsdimensionen zu verbinden, die so bisher nur selten kombiniert wurden: räumliche und soziale Mobilität. Auf verschiedenen Ebenen wird untersucht, wie Studierendenmobilität in zentralen Bologna-Dokumenten (Erklärungen, Communiqués) verstanden wird und inwiefern dieses Verständnis mit der sozialen Selektivität internationaler Studierendenmobilität zusammenhängt. Auf der europäischen Ebene werden hierzu mithilfe einer theoriegeleiteten qualitativen Inhaltsanalyse zentrale Bologna-Dokumente untersucht und beschrieben. Der soziologische Neo-Institutionalismus dient dabei als theoretischer sowie analytischer Rahmen, mit dem eine mögliche Diffusion des *Bologna–Mobilitätsmodells* von der europäischen zur nationa-

len und individuellen Ebene erfasst werden soll. Anschließend werden das deutsche Hochschulsystem sowie die Aufnahme und Übertragung des Mobilitätsmodells durch zentrale deutsche Hochschulakteure dargestellt. Auf der letzten, der individuellen, Ebene wird schließlich Bourdieus Theorie der sozialen Reproduktion auf internationale Mobilität übertragen, um so die sozial stratifizierten Mobilitätsentscheidungen deutscher Studierender im Hinblick auf die Entscheidung, überhaupt ins Ausland zu gehen, auf das Zielland sowie auf die Dauer des studienbezogenen Auslandsaufenthalts zu erklären. Auf den vorangegangenen Kapiteln basierend werden außerdem Hypothesen zum Einfluss des Bologna-Prozesses gebildet, die im Anschluss mithilfe einer Pre-Bologna- (1997) und Post-Bologna-Kohorte (2006) der Sozialerhebung des Deutschen Studentenwerkes analysiert werden. Die Ergebnisse verweisen darauf, dass der soziale Hintergrund der Studierenden besonders für die Entscheidung, überhaupt ins Ausland zu gehen, großen Einfluss hat. Wenn die Studierenden diese erste Hürde genommen und sich für einen studienbezogenen Auslandsaufenthalt entschieden haben, verliert ihre soziale Herkunft allerdings an Bedeutung für die Wahl des Ziellands und die Dauer des Aufenthalts. Der Zusammenhang zwischen der sozialen Herkunft deutscher Studierender und ihrer Entscheidung, ins Ausland zu gehen, nahm im Laufe des Bologna-Prozesses nicht ab. Er stieg über die Zeit sogar an, was auf eine unvollständige Diffusion des ohnehin relativ vage formulierten Bologna-Mobilitätsmodells von der europäischen über die nationale zur individuellen Ebene hindeutet.

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Contents

1. Introduction

The Bologna Process is widely discussed as a remarkable, voluntary amalgamation of European higher education actors that brought and is still bringing profound changes to national higher education system (HE). In Germany, it is strongly associated with one of the main HE reforms since the Second World War – the introduction of a two-tiered study structure – which is praised by its supporters and attacked by its critics. Despite this polarization, observers agree that the Bologna Process brought a remarkable dynamic to national reform efforts.

However, the Bologna Process is not only concerned with the convergence of European study structures, it is also a strong promoter of international student mobility. It thereby took up the worldwide development of an increasing importance of student mobility. For instance, since the middle of the 20th century, especially since the 1990s, the absolute number of internationally mobile students increased dramatically from less than 300,000 in the 1960s to 3.3 millions in 2008 (OECD 2010). Within Europe, the European Union (EU) is seen as the most ambitious promoter of student mobility; especially the ERASMUS program is seen as a "success story" (Rivza and Teichler 2007: 464) in terms of short term student mobility. The number of European students participating in the program thereby increased from 3,244 in 1987/88 to 168,193 in 2008/09.

Within the Bologna Process, a clear focus on the quantitative increase of student mobility was set from the beginning. At the same time, another dimension of mobility – social mobility – was mainly neglected. However, since the Bologna follow-up meeting of the European ministers in charge for education in Praque in 2001, the so-called 'social dimension' of the Europeanization of higher education was at least mentioned (Schnitzer 2003). Since then, the need to diversify the student body is acknowledged regularly by 'Bologna actors' of different levels. Both mobility dimensions – the geographical and the social one – are, however, very rarely brought together. One can, however, assume an implicit relationship: if the two Bologna goals – enabling as many students as possible to be internationally mobile *and* providing equal access to HE regardless of the social background of students – are put together, the logical conclusion would be that also international mobility should be equally possible for all students regardless of their social origin.

However, just recently public attention in Germany was drawn to both the social selectivity of student mobility as well as the difficulty Bachelor students face in going abroad. The chairman of the German National Association for Student Affairs, Rolf Dobischat, claimed that the social selectivity of the German higher education system is now showing itself in the guise of international mobility (Spiegel 2011).

The question is now, whether the implicit assumption of the socially equal access to international mobility diffuses from the European 'Bologna'-level to the national and also to the individual level thereby contributing to a decrease of the social selectivity of student mobility. The probability of this diffusion may thereby depend on, for instance, the content and comprehensibility of the passages of the Bologna documents that deal with student mobility as well as the interpretation of these contents by national actors and their willingness and competence to translate them into concrete policies. Germany thereby provides a particularly interesting

case for two reasons. On one hand, it was one of the initiators of the Bologna Process and German political actors have been strikingly supportive from its outset. On the other hand, the social selectivity of German HE, as the statement of Rolf Dobischat reveals, is high compared to other countries. The questions are then, how such an institutional setting reacts to the higher level influence of the Bologna Process. And what are the consequences at the individual level?

To approach these questions, it is necessary to conduct a multilevel analysis which includes both qualitative and quantitative methods. To be able to understand the diffusion of what I will call the *Bologna model of mobility* and its consequences on the individual level, I firstly need to know what this model actually looks like. As different national systems react differently to such diffusion processes, it is secondly necessary to contextualize the German HE system. Thirdly, the consequences for German students need to be assessed in the light of the European and national context. This includes new opportunities for student mobility as well as persisting (or new) barriers for students from different social backgrounds. I will focus on the first and the third levels of this account as it would go beyond the scope of this paper to examine all three levels in equal detail and an extensive literature addresses the national context. However, I will try to do justice to the complex German HE system in order to link the national level appropriately to the European and the individual level. The overall research agenda is therefore composed of two parts:

- *European level: How is student mobility understood within the Bologna documents? Which elements are central and how are they related to each other?*
- *Individual level: To what extent is the international mobility of German students socially selective? Did this selectivity change in the course of the diffusion of the Bologna model of mobility?*

To answer these questions I will provide an overview of the development of international mobility and review the respective literature within the first chapter of this discussion paper. Afterwards, I will turn to the three levels as described above. Within the third chapter, I will thereby analyze the Bologna documents, describe the Bologna model of student mobility and provide - based on neo-institutionalism - a theoretical explanation for its diffusion (and also for barriers to this diffusion). In chapter 4, I will provide an overview of the German HE context and describe the rhetorical discourse and regulative implementation of the Bologna model of mobility. Finally, I will turn to the individual level of German students. Here, I use Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction as a theoretical tool to derive hypotheses about the social selectivity of student mobility and its interplay with the Bologna Process. These hypotheses are then examined with the help of pre- and post-Bologna data provided by the German Social Survey. Within the last chapter, I will try to bring the findings of all three levels together and discuss their theoretical, political and research-related implications.

2. Student Mobility: Prior Research, Definitions, Developments

Before I will turn to the examination of the research questions, I give a brief overview of the prior research about the three fields which are located at the centre of my research interest: social selectivity, student mobility and the Bologna Process. It is not the aim of this chapter to provide a comprehensive account of these three widespread research areas. I will thus concentrate on literature that is located at the interface of at least two of them and identify the research gap that I try to approach within this paper. Afterwards, I will turn to the definition of student mobility and its development. The latter is thereby divided into the development of ideas and programs and the development of the number of mobile students. Finally, I will turn to student mobility in Germany in order to account for the specific case I have chosen.

2.1 Social Selectivity of Student Mobility within the Bologna Process: The Research Puzzle

All three components have been widely analyzed by social scientists. A volume edited by Shavit (2007), for instance, gives a comparative account of the social selectivity of different higher education systems (for the German case, see, for example, Müller and Pollak 2011 or Powell and Solga 2011). A detailed account of the Bologna Process is provided by Reinalda and Kulesza (2005); an overview of the research undertaken up to 2009 is compiled by Serrano-Verlade (2009). Finally, especially dedicated to the internationalization of HE systems in general and the international mobility of students in particular are Ulrich Teichler and his co-authors (e.g. Teichler 2007, Teichler 2009, Rivza and Teichler 2007) who mainly deal with the development of student mobility and mobility programs. Individual and national cost-benefit analyses of student mobility were undertaken, for instance, by Doyle et al. (2010) or De Villé et al. (1996). I will not give a detailed overview of these single research topics as they alone are not central for my research question. I will, however, turn to prior research that tries to combine them.

Student Mobility and the Bologna Process

The so-called Bologna Process was initiated by the ministers in charge of education of four European countries (Germany, UK, France, Italy) who signed the "Sorbonne Joint Declaration on Harmonization of the Architecture of the European Higher Education System" in 1998. One year later, 29 ministers signed the Bologna Declaration which gave the process its name. By 2011, 47 European countries – reaching far beyond EU boundaries - have joined the Bologna Process. The process aims to create a European Higher Education Area (EHEA) in order to enhance the attractiveness and competitiveness of European HE systems, to achieve comparability and compatibility (mainly through the introduction of a two-cycle study structure, credit points,

diploma supplement and quality assurance) between the different systems and thus to promote "the most widespread student mobility" (Bologna Declaration).[1]

As student mobility is one of the key goals of the Bologna Process, both topics are frequently addressed together and analyzed at different levels, though often only descriptively (e.g. Teichler 2003, Hahn 2004a, Papatsiba 2006). The influence of the Bologna Process on student mobility is still controversial as "it takes time to introduce and implement reforms, [...] and then to gather data on outputs and outcomes. Really valid information will probably be available no earlier than around 2015" (Teichler 2009: 103). It is true that one can observe an increase of incoming students from other parts of the world since the late 1990s. However, if this can indeed be attributed to an increasing attractiveness of European HE due to the Bologna Process is questionable (Rivza and Teichler 2007). Furthermore, the impact on intra-European mobility is seen as inconsistent. On the one hand, the new degree structure, modularization and an increased use of the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) is meant to enhance student mobility (e.g. KMK 2009). On the other hand, a survey of representatives of different European higher education institutions revealed that some of them are concerned with too short, dense and inflexible study programs that could hinder the mobility of students (Bürger 2006, quoted in Rivza and Teichler 2007). This worry is shared by different actors in Germany (e.g. KMK 2009, Krawitz 2008).

Here, the introduction of BA and MA programs is one of the most profound reforms associated with the Bologna Process. Therefore, studies about the relationship between the degree type and international student mobility are often embedded in a broader 'Bologna topic'. German student surveys conducted by the Higher Education Information System (*Hochschulinformationssystem – HIS*) or the German Academic Exchange Service (*Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst –DAAD*) – just to name two organizations - provide descriptive data about mobility rates for students of 'new' and 'old' degrees (e.g. Isserstedt et al. 2010, Heublein et al. 2007). Referring to intra-German mobility (mobility between the German federal states), Krawitz (2008, also Krawitz et al. 2008) finds out that BA students are less mobile than students within the old degree structure. In contrast to this, MA students are on average more often mobile, especially at the newly determined breakpoint between BA and MA programs. The authors conclude that the newly created study structure "follows the central political objective of the Bologna Process to promote student mobility. However, within the current implementation phase this potential is not exhausted" (Krawitz et al. 2008: 9)[2].

The Bologna Process and Social Selectivity

At the beginning of the Bologna Process, a social element was missing in the declarations. Mainly because of the insistence of student groups, the Prague Communiqué (2001) approached the so-called 'social dimension' of the Bologna Process, though only in a very vague way (Schnitzer 2003). Since then, the Bologna documents regularly mention that "the need to increase competitiveness must be balanced with the

1 All "Bologna documents" can be accessed online at: http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/hogeronderwijs/bologna/documents/ [last access:19 May 2011]

2 The cited literature is partly German and partly English. I translated all direct quotes of German texts by myself if not stated otherwise.

objective of improving the social characteristics of the European Higher Education Area" (Berlin Communiqué 2003). The 'social dimension' was subsequently included into national reports. Furthermore, national strategies have been formulated in order to promote the 'social dimension' of the Bologna Process (for Germany especially BfuG 2008).

However, the interplay between the social selectivity of higher education systems and the Bologna Process has very rarely been addressed by social scientists. One attempt to provide comparable data about the social and economic conditions of students in Europe has been made by EUROSTUDENT – a joint action launched in 1997 which involves by now 25 European countries and is "seen as one of the basic tools for an ongoing monitoring of progress in the social dimension" of the Bologna Process (Schnitzer and Middendorf 2005: 11). On the basis of national reports, it develops and provides indicators to compare, for instance, access to HE, the social composition of the student body, accommodation or living expenses of students across Europe. The German data are thereby based on the Social Survey (*Sozialerhebung*) – a representative survey of the living conditions of German students which has been conducted since 1951. However, the resulting publications are rather descriptive. Even though they allow for a comparison of pre- and post-Bologna conditions or developments since the initiation of the Bologna Process, they neither embed possible developments theoretically nor do they provide multivariate empirical analyses that account for the influence of different (alternative) explanations.

As far as I know, the only micro-level study examining the relationship between a 'Bologna reform', namely the introduction of a two-tiered degree system, and the social selectivity of the German HE system was conducted by Kretschmann (2008). She found out, firstly, that the introduction of BA programs did not contribute to an increase of the willingness of young Germans to study. Secondly, it did not motivate children from lower social classes disproportionally often to access the HE system.[3]

Social Selectivity of Student Mobility

Studies dealing with student mobility mainly address its quantitative development, changes in the composition of the most popular host and most frequent home countries or the development and impact of mobility programs. The social selectivity of student mobility is only occasionally addressed.

The already cited data reports – the German Social Survey and Eurostudent – also provide descriptive data about the social composition of mobile students. The Eurostudent report thereby finds out that in all countries "students from non-academic families make substantially less use of the opportunities for studying abroad than do those from families with higher educational status" (Schnitzer and Middendorf 2005: 157). This relationship is especially pronounced in Germany (and also in Spain). Also the Social Survey (2006) reports the mobility rates for German students from different social classes[4]: whereas 9% of those students with a low social origin are internationally mobile, 21% of upper-class students go abroad during

3 However, Kretschman (2008) admits that these are only interim results as the German reforms are not yet finalized. It remains to be seen if these findings need to be revised or complemented after enough time for a proper implementation of the reforms.

4 In this case social class refers to an index of occupational position and the highest educational degree of students' parents.

their studies. (Isserstedt and Link 2008). In 2009, these percentages converged slightly (11:20%) (Isserstedt and Kandulla 2010).

There are only a few sociological studies which explicitly focus on the social selectivity of student mobility, not only trying to describe, but also to explain it. Referring to intra-German mobility, Lörz (2008) finds that students with a lower social background (parents who do not hold a HE degree) more often choose a university that is close to their parental home than those students whose parents attained HE. In addition, they are less mobile during their studies, i.e. they change less frequently to another university. According to the author, mobility during one's studies can mainly be explained by mobility at the beginning of one's studies as the latter decreases the immaterial costs of the former. Furthermore, Lörz and Krawitz (2011) report a relatively strong, positive correlation between parental educational background and the international mobility of German students. Their initial rational-choice explanation that assumes a different cost-benefit analysis of students from different social classes could, however, not be confirmed empirically. According to the authors, the social selectivity of international student mobility seems mainly to relate to different international experiences of parents and - related to this - the different support which they can offer to their children.

The Research Puzzle

So far, I briefly sketched the prior research about the Bologna Process, student mobility and social selectivity focusing on literature that is located at the intersection of these different topics. But in what way are all three topics related to each other? Does the social selectivity of international student mobility change over the course of the Bologna Process? What are the underlying mechanisms at different levels that would allow such an assumption? These questions have not yet been assessed empirically by social scientists. With a focus on German students, I will tackle these questions within this paper thereby trying to reduce the identified research gap.

Before I will turn to approach this topic, I will, however, define student mobility as it is used throughout the following chapters and report some central insights about the development of student mobility thereby focusing on the German case.

2.2 Definition(s) of Student Mobility

Even though the term student mobility may seem easily defined at first glance, there are several different shades and meanings detectable in the respective literature. It is thus important to define student mobility as it is used within the following chapters and to demarcate it from neighboring concepts.

For a start, it is possible to differentiate between *social* (also *vertical* or *upward*) and *horizontal* mobility. The former thereby refers to a change of the social position that is associated with a higher appreciation by others. In contrast to this, horizontal mobility means *geographical* or *spatial* mobility that is linked with an actual movement of persons (Jahr et al. 2002). The latter can again be differentiated in terms of the scope of the movement: is a person mobile within a region or a country or does he/she cross national borders (*international* mobility)?

There are, however, also different understandings of vertical and horizontal mobility (of students). According to Rivza and Teichler (2007), for instance, vertical mobility refers to mobility from developing to academically and economically developed countries. Here, horizontal mobility is perceived as "mobility between countries and institutions of higher education of more or less the same level of economic advancement [and] academic quality" (p. 458). A third possibility to capture vertical and horizontal mobility is more directly linked to students. It is also linked to the reform of the study structure and the Bologna Process, at least in Germany: horizontal student mobility, then, means (mainly temporary) spatial mobility within a study program whereas vertical student mobility refers to geographical mobility between programs, i.e. after the completion of a study cycle (e.g. KMK 2009). Student mobility can furthermore be *institutionalized* (*temporary* or *program* mobility) or *self–organized* (mainly *degree* mobility) (KMK 2009). It can thereby refer to actually studying at another (foreign) university or to other study-related stays abroad such as internships or language courses.

In the following, I will use the term (international) student mobility to describe the physical movement of German students from their German 'home' university to another country for a study-related stay abroad (mainly study at a foreign HEI, language course, internship) which may be institutionalized or self-organized. I, however, do not include internationally mobile German students who took up their studies at a foreign university, i.e. who were never enrolled in a German university. Thus, I mainly concentrate on temporary mobility.[5]

2.3 Development of Student Mobility

2.3.1 Ideas and Programs

In Europe, the crossing of boundaries has a long tradition going back to the Middle Ages. "Staff members and students of the medieval European universities came together from many countries. Also, craftsmen walked around in Europe for some years of an early professional career before they eventually settled" (Teichler 2003: 312). It was especially the rise of the concept of nation-states which was accompanied by an increasing regulation of educational systems that generated new barriers for international mobility (Teichler 2003). Nevertheless, European and transatlantic academic exchange was supported in order to 'learn from others'. German universities who offered prestigious doctoral studies thereby played a special role; "[b]y the end of the 19th century, already 10,000 Americans had studied in Germany" (Powell 2010: 16).

It was due to the enormous destruction and hatred of the Second World War that the rational for academic mobility partly changed. Especially the United States were committed to the 'reeducation' of the German citizenry thereby building on the potential of educational exchange. The Fulbright program for academic exchange be-

5 This decision is due to the data which I am going to use to examine the social selectivity of student mobility at the micro level as they only include German students who are registered at a German university. It would, however, be interesting to include also international degree mobility as this can be assumed to be even more socially selective.

tween the USA and other states, for instance, "was based on the hope that study abroad could enhance international understanding" (Teichler 2009: 97). Also the renewal of educational cooperation between Western European countries was seen as a mean to (re)generate mutual trust. On the other side of the Iron Curtain educational exchange was seen as an effective tool for political integration (Teichler 2009).

Apart from these attempts to create mutual trust between European countries and the US and within Europe, Baron (1993) reports that the rapid increase of mobility after the Second World War was mainly a one-way flow of students from developing to developed countries. Academic mobility was thereby mainly seen as a mean to achieve foreign policy objectives such as maintaining beneficial relations to future foreign political and economic elites. This focus in Europe on incoming students changed in the late 1970s and was complemented by the growing importance of 'study abroad'.

> "Academics and politicians expressed concern about the fact that only a small proportion of the national student population in virtually every Western European country (with the exception of Greece) undertook the effort of spending some time of their degree course in another country. It was argued that such an experience would provide essential personal and professional qualification, in terms of foreign language proficiency, knowledge about other countries, intercultural skills etc." (Baron 1993: 51)

This concern was accounted for by an upgrading of existing or creation of new means to support the international mobility of students in several European countries. In Germany, for instance, the DAAD was mainly concerned with the funding of foreign students coming to Germany. This focus changed since the 1980s; in 1990 the DAAD finally spent more funds for mobile German students and scholars than for incoming foreigners (Baron 1993).

Also at the supranational European level, political actors became more and more interested in higher education in general and intra-European mobility of students and researchers in particular (for an overview of EU policies in higher education see Van der Wende and Huisman 2004). Since the late 1970s, the different actions of the European Communities (EC, since 1992: EU) have been so extensive that different observers characterize the EC as "the most active political actor in Europe in stimulating cross-border mobility of students and reinforcing recognition in another European country" (Teichler 2009: 98). One of the first steps was thereby the establishment of Joint Study Programs (JSP) in 1976 that provided financial support to multinational networks of European HEIs, mainly at the departmental level, in order to increase the communication, cooperation and exchange between academics. A real "success story" (Rivza and Teichler 2007: 464) in terms of the promotion of intra-European mobility of students and researchers was achieved one decade later with the launch of the ERASMUS (European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students) program in 1987. Within this scheme, students receive a grant to cover extra living expenses when they choose to be temporary (up to one year) mobile within bi- or multinational university or departmental networks that try to ensure mutual recognition of study contents. For this, the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) was launched in parallel. However, different authors report that a complete recognition is still not yet achieved (e.g. Tauch 2004) and that the

grant has rather the size of "pocket money" (Wuttig 2004: 39). This may lead to a marginalization of less affluent students that are not able to afford a study-related stay abroad even if they are formally eligible to receive an ERASMUS grant (Hahn 2004a). Despite this criticism, both a remarkable publicity for student mobility (Baron 1993) and a notable increase of mobile students could be achieved via the ERASMUS program.

Finally, the Bologna Process highlights the promotion of international student mobility as one of its main objectives. As can be seen, the promotion of student mobility was not a 'Bologna idea'. Even so, it can be assumed that the related reform processes (convergence of study structure, modularization, increasing use of ECTS, quality assurance etc.) – if implemented accordingly – contribute to the facilitation of intra-European mobility. However, complaints by organizational actors and students about, for instance, too dense and inflexible study structures also point to a contrary effect (e.g. Neef 2009).

2.3.2 Quantitative Development

Parallel to the growing importance of international student mobility, the gathering, providing and analysis of data on student mobility gained popularity within both the political and the academic spheres. However, these data, especially the internationally comparative ones, are limited in several ways:

> "Some countries do not deliver data and some deliver according to other definitions, furthermore data tends to be incomplete as regards those sectors of 'tertiary education' not considered 'higher education' and regarding doctoral candidates. Finally, some countries do not include temporarily mobile students." (Teichler 2009: 96, for a detailed account of the main data problems see Kelo et al. 2006)

Thus, the following data should be interpreted as a proxy for the actual mobility of students. Worldwide, the total absolute number of students enrolled in a foreign HEI increased from around 200,000 in the 1950s to 3.3 million in 2008. In relative terms, however, international student mobility remained more or less constant as the absolute number of all HE students increased similarly fast (Teichler 2009, OECD 2010). In total, China, India and South Korea exported the highest absolute number of students in 2008, mainly to developed countries. The other way round, 50% of all internationally mobile students studied in only five countries: Australia, France, Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States. The US thereby had the highest numbers in absolute terms. However, with regard to relative numbers (3.4% of all students studying in the US) it is outnumbered for example by New Zealand (24.4), the United Kingdom (14.4) and Germany (10.9) (Isserstedt et al. 2010, OECD 2010).

With regard to intra-European mobility the ERASMUS statistic provides information about mobility patterns of ERASMUS students. It does, however, not allow conclusions about students who are mobile for a whole degree or participate in temporary study-related stays abroad outside the ERASMUS scheme. Thus, the ERASMUS statistic represents the contrary extreme to OECD data that mainly refer to degree mobility.

The absolute number of ERASMUS students increased continuously from 3,244 in 1987/88 to 168,193 in 2008/09.[6] In 2008, Germany thereby hosted 11% of all ERASMUS students thereby ranking third after Spain (17%) and France (12%). In terms of outgoing mobile students Germany had - together with France - the highest share (14% of all ERASMUS students). However, this only accounted for less than 2% of the whole German student population in 2008.

Despite the notable increase of the absolute number of ERASMUS students, the quantitative achievements of the program are also questioned as it never reached the self-imposed target of a Europe wide mobility rate of 10% of all students. Furthermore, according to Papatsiba (2006: 104), "triumphal discourses and overestimated statistics are not unusual" for those familiar with the respective statistics.

All in all, there has been a dramatic increase of worldwide and intra-European student mobility in absolute terms. When evaluating these numbers, one should, however, keep in mind the described limitations of the data as well as the parallel increase of the number of students who are not mobile.

2.4 International Mobility of German Students: A Statistical Profile

After the description of the ideational and quantitative development of worldwide and European student mobility, I will now turn to the German case. This chapter does not aim to present the German political and public discourse about student mobility or the development of German mobility programs as this is a central topic of chapter 4. Based on the findings of different student surveys and other statistical data, it will, however, describe some central characteristics of mobile German students that may help to understand some of the German specificities.

In Germany, one can find a relatively broad coverage of data about different aspects of education in general and higher education in particular. There are different cross-sectional, time-series or longitudinal surveys of young Germans holding a HE entrance qualification, HE students and HE graduates which has been conducted at the national, federal state or organizational level. With regard to international student mobility, data are mainly provided by the Federal Statistical Office (Statistisches Bundesamt 2010), HIS (Graduate Survey, Survey of young Germans holding a HE entrance certificate, Social Survey, HISBUS Online-Panel), the DAAD and also by the International Centre for Higher Education Research in Kassel (e.g. EMBAC Study, see Schomburg 2010).

According to the results of the 18th Social Survey, 20% of all German students who had already studied at least 9 terms (for universities of applied sciences: 7) reported in 1991 that they have already been internationally mobile during their studies. This percentage increased to 31.5% in 2006.[7] These numbers do not only

6 The following ERASMUS data are available online at: http://ec.europa.eu/education/erasmus/doc920_de.htm [last access: 21 May 2011]

7 The Social Survey distinguishes between the international mobility of all students and of "students in higher terms". The respective absolute and relative frequencies are much higher for the latter as there is a positive correlation between the number of terms and international mobility. In the

include studies at a foreign university. They also take account of other study-related types of mobility such as internships or language courses. In 2006, 7.2% of all students had studied abroad, 7.7% had completed an internship and 3.8% had attended a language course (Isserstedt and Link 2009).

Another representative student survey conducted in 2007 (Heublein et al. 2007 and 2008) reveals that a majority of 65% of all mobile students went to Western Europe. The second most frequent host region was North America with only 13%. The average duration of study-related stays abroad was four months with shorter periods for internships (two months) and language courses (one month) and longer ones for studies at a foreign university (six months).

These numbers, however, do not reveal what actually influences the mobility of German students.[8] Research findings about the relationship between student mobility and other socio-demographic and study-related variables are therefore presented in the following section (the following numbers are based on Isserstedt and Link 2009).

With regard to the gender of students, the 18th social survey shows that female students are more mobile than their male colleagues: 19% of all female students reported that they have already been abroad during their studies, whereas only 14% of all male students stated the same. An explanation can be the gender specific choice of the field of study. Whereas women often study humanities, the percentage of men is higher within the natural sciences and engineering. Those fields of study which are frequently chosen by women show especially high mobility rates – language and cultural studies (23%) in particular. In contrast to this, only 9% of the students of the male dominated engineering programs were internationally mobile.[9]

Also related to gender and field of study, is the type of HE institution. In Germany, students can choose between the more prestigious (research) universities and universities of applied sciences. The latter are more often chosen by male students and do not provide many 'mobile' fields of studies (above-average mobility rate). They are rather specialized on engineering and natural sciences. Furthermore, the percentage of 'upper-class' students is higher at universities as will be reported in chapter 4.2. Thus, there is a difference of 7% in terms of the international mobility of students from universities (18% of all university students are mobile) and from universities of applied sciences (11%).

In addition, the degree type is also related to international mobility of German students. Heublein et al. (2007) report that 24% of all *Diplom* students at traditional universities have been abroad (universities of applied sciences: 21%). In contrast to this, 15% of all BA students at universities went abroad (universities of applied sciences: 9%). The most mobile students are, however, MA students – 30% of them have been abroad during their studies.[10] Finally, the social origin of students is related to

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following, I will, however, mainly report the numbers for all students in order to include also BA students even if this may lead to an underestimation of the overall mobility of German students.

8 When I talk about influences I do not necessarily mean a causal relationship. It is often hard to say how the different variables interact with each other thereby making causal claims problematic.

9 However, the gender difference can not only be attributed to the field of study as the difference between male and female students of language and cultural studies is 11% (BMBF2009). Thus, there seems to be an extra gender effect on student mobility.

10 However, the authors report that these data should be evaluated cautiously, because most of the BA students included in the survey are still at the beginning of their study (up to their fourth term).

their decision to go abroad during their studies. The respective numbers have already been reported in chapter 2.1.

In chapter 2, I defined international student mobility, described its ideational and quantitative development and sketched the statistical profile of German students. Furthermore, I briefly reviewed the literature and identified a research gap: It is not yet examined empirically in what way the Bologna Process deals with the social selectivity of student mobility and to what extent it may change this relationship. Within chapter 3-5, I will try to approach this gap comprehensively at multiple levels.

The number of MA students is, furthermore, relatively small. Additionally, the mobility rate of MA students does not reveal whether they have been mobile during their MA program or earlier.

3. European Level: The Bologna Model of Mobility

The main topic of this chapter is the analysis of the Bologna model of mobility as well as the description of theories about the diffusion of this model to different levels. For the latter, I will use neo-institutionalism as a theoretical framework. I will thereby not only describe central neo-institutionalist concepts and mechanisms and transfer them to the 'Bologna case' but also reflect on the relationship between institutions and individuals as this link is important for the understanding of the behavior of German students which will be examined in chapter 5. Afterwards, I will explain the method (data selection and analysis) I used for the analysis of the Bologna model of mobility and present the findings.

3.1 Theoretical Framework: Neo-Institutionalism

Since the 1970s, neo-institutionalism has gained popularity within the social sciences, especially for educational research (Krücken and Röbken 2009). It can, however, not be characterized as a unified body of thought. Hall and Taylor (1996), for instance, identify three different 'neo-institutionalist' approaches: rational choice, historical and sociological neo-institutionalism. More recently, a fourth approach – discursive institutionalism (Schmidt 2010) – has been added. What distinguishes them are their conceptualizations of institutions as well as their understandings of the relationship between institutions and actors (Witte 2006).

It would go beyond the scope of this study to present the different approaches and their development comprehensively. I will thus pick some central concepts and mechanisms mainly, but not exclusively, from the sociological tradition. These will serve, firstly, as an analytical tool for the analysis of the Bologna documents and, secondly, to capture the diffusion of the Bologna model of mobility to different levels as well as barriers to this diffusion theoretically. It needs to be said here, that it is not possible to examine this diffusion process empirically at all levels (national, organizational, individual) within this paper. However, neo-institutionalism provides a theoretical framework useful to understand the diffusion of the Bologna model of mobility and its nation-specific translation. In addition, it serves to describe the institutional framework within which the action of German students takes place.

3.1.1 Basic Neo-Institutional Assumptions: Definitions and Mechanisms

3.1.1.1 The Three Pillars of Institutions

Neo-institutionalism rejects the idea that actors are located in a vacuum where they can act rationally only with regard to their perceived cost-benefit analysis. They are rather embedded in an institutional framework. Institutions are thereby "multifaceted, durable social structures made up of symbolic elements, social activities, and material resources" (Scott 2008: 48). They are *external* in that they exist outside so-

cial actors, *objective* in that they are accessible for different social actors, *permanent* in that they outlast single social actors, *meaningful* in that they make sense to social actors and *regulative* in that they influence social actors (Koch and Schemmann 2009). Institutions thereby "operate at multiple levels – from the world system to interpersonal interaction" (Scott 2008: 50). Following Scott (2008), I conceptualize institutions as comprised of three pillars: regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive. The *regulative* dimension of institutions thereby refers to formal rules and laws which are connected to positive as well as negative sanctions. The *normative* dimension is related to values, desirable ends, and norms as the legitimate means to reach these ends. They define appropriate behavior which leads to shame and disgrace if neglected and pride and honor if followed. The cultural-cognitive dimension of institutions, finally, refers to "the shared conceptions that constitute the nature of social reality and the frames through which meaning is made" (p. 57). It operates through a taken-for-grantedness of specific behavioral patterns which leads to confidence (in contrast to disorientation and confusion).

The distinction of the three dimensions of institutions is, however, not perfectly reflected within the empirical world. Institutions consist of elements of all three pillars, which often operate together and reinforce each other even if there are also situations in which one element can be prevalent or even contradictory (Bernhard 2010). To distinguish them serves mainly analytical purposes. This approach, however, is fruitful in that it allows us to trace the different mechanisms, strengths and importance of each dimension thereby leading to a more detailed and thick institutional analysis.

3.1.1.2 Legitimacy, Diffusion and Loose Coupling

Another central point of neo-institutionalist thinking is the idea that legitimacy rather than efficiency is the driving force behind social action. Institutions thereby provide a script for appropriate and thus legitimate behavior of actors at different levels. As legitimacy is crucial for the survival of actors, they adopt these 'myths', often unconsciously, which leads to isomorphism. DiMaggio and Powell (1983) identify three types of isomorphic pressure: *Coercive isomorphism* thereby refers to the binding effect of formal rules and policies (regulative pillar of institutions). *Normative isomorphism* mainly originates from professional guidelines that define how an actor should behave (normative pillar). Lastly, *mimetic isomorphism* mostly occurs in situations of high insecurity, when actors observe each other and copy successful 'best-practice' models (cultural-cognitive pillar).

At the highest level, the described strive for legitimacy leads, according to neo-institutionalist theorists, to the diffusion of global institutional scripts such as gender equality, the ideal of mass education or international mobility – as it has been phrased - the 'world polity' into national contexts regardless of national economic or democratic developments (e.g. Meyer and Ramirez 1977, Meyer and Schofer 2007, Rowan 2006). International organizations such as the OECD or the EU thereby play a central role for this diffusion process: as experts, they theorize, underpin and thus legitimize institutional models which are subsequently adapted by nation states. Due to the different developmental stages and institutional traditions, it is, however, not equally easy for all nations to adapt the world model. This may lead to a decoupling

of the rhetoric level from the policy level. Jakobi (2009), for instance, detects a global approval for the idea of Lifelong Learning. The implementation of respective reforms, however, clearly lags behind in many nation states. The same can be expected for the diffusion of the ideal of international mobility. This topic, has, however, not yet been examined empirically.

Transferring these ideas to a lower level, Hasse and Krücken (1999) describe how universities try to gain legitimacy by adjusting to the institutionalized myth of the rational, innovative and fair organization. As a consequence, they establish formal structures such as commissions and guidelines which are, however, often only loosely coupled to their activity structure (Weick 1976). This is what Meyer and Rowan (1977) mean by speaking of *rationalized myths*: to adapt to environmental, institutional expectations is rational as it increases legitimacy. It is, however, simultaneously a myth as it is only ceremonially implemented in the formal structures without having much effect for the actual practice. Transferring this idea to the study of international student mobility, one could hypothetically assume that the isomorphic pressure leads to the establishment of formal structures such as the appointment of an ERASMUS agent out of the staff within each faculty. If this new task (e.g. giving advice to students, advertising the program) is only an additional burden for the already full schedule of this staff member, one could further assume that he/she only fulfills this task passively with the result that nothing really changes for the mobility practice of students.

So far, these ideas mainly refer to the diffusion of cultural-cognitive elements of institutions. Turning rather to the normative and regulative pillar of institutions, historical institutionalists (e.g. Thelen 2004) assume a path-dependent adaption to international influences. They thereby reject

> "the traditional postulate that the same operative forces will generate the same results everywhere in favour of the view that the effect of such forces will be mediated by the contextual features of a given situation often inherited from the past. Of course, the most significant of these features are said to be institutional in nature. Institutions are seen as relatively persistent features of the historical landscape and one of the central factors pushing historical development along a set of 'paths'" (Hall and Taylor 1996: 941).

This does not mean that global or European models do not diffuse at all into national contexts. However, they need to be translated to be connectable to existing conditions. As Powell and Solga (2010: 721) put it: "[t]he 'best practice' in a given time and place cannot be imported one-to-one into another national educational system, and neither past success of one system nor current success of another guarantees future success".

Here, it is not possible to do justice to these ideas as it would go beyond the scope of this paper to conduct a historical analysis of the German HE system to capture institutional change. It is, however, possible to compare the German institutional HE settings of the pre- and post-Bologna periods with specific reference to barriers to and facilitation of international student mobility and its social selectivity.

3.1.1.3 The Neglected Link: Institutions and Individual Behavior

So far, the neo-institutional approach has mainly been used to describe the relationship between institutions and the nation state as well as between institutions and organizations. Neo-institutionalist ideas can thus be applied to understand the diffusion of the Bologna model of mobility into the German HE system as well as the nation-specific logic of this diffusion or translation process. It can, however, not without difficulties be used to explain the individual behavior of German students as the link between institutions and individual behavior has been largely neglected by neo-institutionalist thinkers. For the explanation of the behavior of students I will thus adopt a different theory which will be described in chapter 5.1. To be able to approach the research questions, it is, nevertheless, necessary to elaborate on the relationship between institutions and individual behavior a bit further as my whole research approach builds on the interplay between the different levels. The following considerations are thus crucial for a more comprehensive interpretation of the mobility behavior of German students which will be taken up in chapter 5.

On the one hand, institutions are seen as a formal framework that restricts individual action, but also empowers individuals – in this case: German students - to act in a specific way. Within this institutional framework, rational action is still possible since institutions and actors are clearly separable (Hall and Taylor 1996). On the other hand, institutions are interpreted as not only setting the boundaries for rational action, but as defining what is 'rational' in a specific context. They are thereby not exogenous to the individual actors, but constitute their very identity. Thus, institutional models do not only specify what one *can do*, but also what one *is*. What one is, in turn, influences what one does - "the actor on the social stage is a scripted identity and enacts scripted actions" (Meyer 2010: 4). Hence, the regulative dimension of institutions mainly defines the formal boundaries of individual action. In contrast to this, the cultural-cognitive and normative dimensions are part of the very identity of actors thereby providing a cognitive script for appropriate and taken-for-granted action and simultaneously excluding different behavior as inconceivable. Transferring these ideas to the mobility behavior of students, this means that mobile periods may be formally supported or complicated or even imposed or prohibited (regulative pillar), that being (im)mobile may be a standard (normative pillar) or that (im)mobility is simply not perceived as a possibility (cultural-cognitive pillar).

Referring back to the basic neo-institutional assumptions, it can be expected that in the course of the translation process the link between global institutional models and the respective social actors becomes weaker or at least modified with each level: Whereas the link between the model and the national, rhetoric approval is relatively strong, the actual implementation of international scripts into national legal systems is much weaker (Jakobi 2009). Organizations – here: universities - often adjust only their formal structure to these models, e.g. through the establishment of official mobility program representatives, whereas their former practice may remain relatively untouched. Individual students who are affiliated to these universities, then, are confronted with a modified model and have, depending on the cognitive strength of the ideal of being internationally mobile, varying degrees of freedom when deciding whether or not to be mobile. Thus, global scripts and indi-

vidual actions can and do differ as the diffusion process of international models is rarely complete and unrestricted.

After describing some central concepts and mechanisms of neo-institutionalism, I will now transfer these theoretical assumptions to the diffusion of the Bologna model of mobility.

3.1.2 Neo-Institutionalism and the Diffusion of the Bologna Model of Mobility

Firstly, it is important to describe why and how the Bologna model could gain such scope and prominence – within and beyond Europe – and became the European "cultural blueprint of higher education" (Schriewer 2007: 192). It started all in Paris in 1998, when four European ministers signed the Sorbonne Declaration on "the harmonization of the architecture of the European higher education system". A year later, the Bologna Declaration was signed by 29 European Ministers of Education and subsequently translated into their national systems. By now the so called Bologna Process includes 47 European nations in- and outside the European Union framework. The striking scope, speed and dynamic of the diffusion of the Bologna model is thereby achieved through the involvement of national and supranational experts, such as members of the European Commission and the European University Association, who theorize and legitimize the evolving model continuously and especially through the efficacy of the newly created follow-up structure (Ravinet 2008, Schriewer 2007). Consequently, the legitimacy of the Bologna model gained such a momentum that all European countries "are playing the Bologna game. [...] it is no longer possible to create national higher education policies that are anti-Bologna" (Ravinet 2008: 354). Within the Bologna Process, a soft policy method is thereby employed, firstly, because the European Union does not have much competence in educational policies and, secondly, because not all of the Bologna signatories are EU members. It operates through self-commitment, the regular evaluation of progress as well as mutual feedback and learning processes (naming and shaming, best practice). It thereby strongly resembles the Open Method of Coordination (OMC), which has been developed by the EU to implement the Lisbon agenda.[11] Because of the described 'softness' of the policy method, it can be assumed that the isomorphic pressure exerted by Bologna is mainly mimetic and normative (Powell et al. forthcoming). Furthermore, the Bologna model is based on a broad consensus between the signatories. It is therefore very likely that it mainly consists of normative and cultural-cognitive institutional elements as it may be more difficult to find a compromise for more concrete, regulative elements. However, with the standardization of the national reports and the utilization of scorecards, the comparison between the different national proceedings becomes simpler so that the applied method can effectively be used as normative leverage (Ravinet 2008).

Due to the non-binding and non-regulative character of the Bologna model, there is a "considerable discrepancy between the general political acceptance of the Bologna principles [...] and their actual implementation" (Schriewer 2007: 193), or in

11 Even if the effects of the 'Bologna method' and the OMC may be similar, both policy methods developed independently with their "own references and inspirations" (Ravinet 2008: 364).

neo-institutionalist terms: loose coupling. There are, however, not only "two speeds of change" (Krücken 2003: 317), but also very different formal implementations which are in accordance with the respective national institutional context as Witte (2006) could exemplify by the introduction of BA/MA courses in four different countries.

With regard to Germany, the Bologna model was not only discursively approved at the political level and in part implemented formally (especially the BA/MA reform); it also diffused to the university level. Referring to the introduction of the BA/MA structure, Krücken (2007) reports the remarkable reform-mindedness of German universities despite of their "rather conservative and slowly moving" (p. 190) character and the open criticism of the school-like character of the new courses of study, which has been expressed by professors at the beginning of the Bologna Process. The speed and scope of the implemented reforms point to isomorphic pressure to which both nation states and universities need to answer in order to gain legitimacy. For universities the pressure to introduce a new course structure was, according to Krücken (2007), mainly coercive with the Ministry of Education as the central point of reference in spite of the debates about university autonomy and deregulation. However, if this holds also true for the diffusion of the Bologna model of mobility is not yet examined. I will try to approach this question in chapter 4. However, I assume that there are no equally concrete, formal regulations about international mobility in Germany. The isomorphic pressure for the adoption of the 'mobility myth' should therefore be mainly normative and mimetic.

But how is the diffusion or translation of the Bologna model of mobility related to the behavior of German students? For a start, individual students are embedded in their national and organizational institutional context. These institutions restrict and enable them to act accordingly. If, for instance and hypothetically, studying abroad would be prohibited by law (regulative pillar) students would rarely be able to be internationally mobile during their studies. At a lower level, international mobility is varyingly strong institutionalized within different types of HE institutions, different universities, fields of study, faculties and even single programs (DAAD 2010). A study related stay abroad can be more or less common, voluntary or obligatory, supported or hampered depending on where and what one studies. It is, for example, crucial if a university has partnerships with foreign universities, how many ERASMUS or other exchange programs it provides and even if it is located close to the national border.

As described above, institutions do, however, not only define the boundaries for individual action. They also provide cognitive scripts and "affect the very identities, self-images and preferences" (Hall and Taylor 1996: 939) of individual actors. The question is then, if the idea of being mobile is so deeply rooted within the student or so strongly presented as an ideal that an alternative of action is simply out of the question. Or if, the other way round, it is unthinkable for some students to leave their social networks and live in a foreign country for a longer period.

With regard to my research question about the social selectivity of student mobility the question is in what ways the different institutional pillars of the Bologna model of mobility and the regulative and normative arrangements at the national (and organizational) level provide varying opportunities and barriers to students from different social classes.

3.1.3 Consequences for the Research Design

So far, I have presented neo-institutionalism as a theoretical as well as analytical framework that underlies this study. I have thereby a) defined institutions as being comprised of three dimensions (regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive), b) described the main mechanisms that may theoretically lead to the diffusion of global or regional institutional scripts as well as possible barriers to this diffusion process, c) transferred these considerations to the Bologna Process and d) reflected on the link between institutions and individual behavior as these ideas will be crucial to interpret the findings of chapter 5.

To analyze the whole array of neo-institutional assumptions (diffusion, path-dependency and translation; convergence and loose coupling) it would be necessary to conduct a broad comparative and historical study. This is not the aim of this paper. As already stated, I will, however, use neo-institutionalism as a framework with the help of which I can theoretically presuppose specific processes such as the diffusion or translation of the Bologna model of mobility and its framing of the behavior of German students. This may enable me to understand their mobility behavior more comprehensively.

In the following, I will therefore analyze and describe the Bologna model of mobility and presume its diffusion theoretically. Afterwards, I will describe the German HE system with its institutional pre- and post-Bologna settings and draft national specifics for the German translation of the Bologna model of mobility. Finally, I will examine the mobility behavior of German pre- and post-Bologna students using quantitative survey data. The Bologna model of mobility is thereby understood as a script that – after the national and organizational translation process – provides a cognitive, normative and regulative framework for individual behavior. If the Bologna model is indeed institutionalized in some way, this should indirectly become apparent in the students' behavior.

However, because the link between institutions and individual behavior is neither deterministic nor causal, concrete hypotheses would be misleading. It could, for instance, occur that the European script is not implemented appropriately at the national or organizational level (loose coupling), with the result that it does not provide the intended framework for individual action. Provided that the Bologna model was accurately translated into national and organizational reforms (tight coupling)[12], it could nevertheless be the case that the individual students are deeply embedded in different (cognitive or normative) institutions that weaken or contradict the Bologna model of mobility. Alternatively, it is imaginable that mobility was already deeply institutionalized – as chapter 2.3 suggests - before the development of the Bologna model so that no or only minor changes in the behavior of students are observable or that behavioral changes are in fact linked to alternative influences.

After the analysis of the students' mobility behavior, these ideas will be taken up again and reflected in the light of the findings.

12 In this case, tight coupling would only be possible if the Bologna documents would contain concrete, regulative policy suggestions. Given that the OMC as a soft mode of governance is applied within the Bologna process, this is, however, very unlikely.

3.2 Methods

As shown above, it can be assumed that the diffusion of the Bologna model of mobility may lead to its *more or less* complete and accurate institutionalization at different levels. It is, however, not yet clear what institutional elements this model contains. After the description of the data selection and analysis methods, I will thus describe the Bologna model of mobility systematically to answer the following questions: How is student mobility understood within the Bologna documents? Which elements are central and how are they related to each other (especially with regard to the link between social and geographical mobility)?

3.2.1 Data Selection

The first question to ask is which data are appropriate for a rather comprehensive understanding of the Bologna model of mobility. I thereby follow the approach of Powell, Bernhard and Graf (2012) who analyzed the European educational models for both higher education and vocational training and education. They thereby used the declarations as well as the communiqués, which conclude the follow-up conferences every two years. They selected these official European statements out of a large and diverse set of documents guiding the Bologna Process because they display the "European consensus, as it emerged from 1998 to 2010, not [...] the interpretation of one corporate actor or group or nation" (Powell, Bernhard and Graf 2012: 12). As I am also interested in the European consensus model (of mobility), I thus analyzed the same Bologna documents, namely: Sorbonne Declaration (1998), Bologna Declaration (1999), Prague Communiqué (2001), Berlin Communiqué (2003), Bergen Communiqué (2005), London Communiqué (2007), Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve Communiqué (2009), Budapest/Vienna Declaration (2010).

For me, the question was further if I should have analyzed all documents up until now or if I should have limited the analysis to documents which were signed by 2006. This point arises because the student survey that I used to analyze student mobility at the micro level was conducted in 2006 so that later amendments and additions of the mobility model cannot be related to the individual behavior of students. However, I decided to use all documents because a restriction of the database would be accompanied with a loss of information. However, it is important to keep this point in mind and to reflect it when I turn to the analysis and interpretation of the mobility behavior of students.

3.2.2 Data Analysis

To examine the Bologna model of mobility, I conducted a qualitative content analysis. The method I used is, however, not qualitative in the strictest sense of the word: I did neither approach the material in a totally open and interpretive way, nor did I try to construct a theory out of the material such as *grounded theory* researchers propose (e.g. Glaser and Strauss 1967). I rather adopted a version of qualitative content analysis that "wants to preserve the advantage of quantitative content analysis for a more qualitative text interpretation" (Mayring 2000: paragraph 7). More con-

cretely, I followed the *theory–guided qualitative content analysis* approach developed by Gläser and Laudel[13] (1999, 2009) which tries to combine two central, but contradictory elements: on the one hand it should be *open* in that it is structured by the information contained in the empirical material; on the other hand it is *theory guided* in that it builds on the existing theoretical knowledge. At the centre of this approach is a categorical system that is deduced from theoretical assumptions. This categorical system is, however, open: it can be altered inductively during the analysis, subcategories as well as specific values of the theoretical overarching categories can be developed and completely new categories can be added.

Another central technique of the theory-guided qualitative content analysis is the *extraction* of information which structures and reduces the information contained in the documents. As data belonging to the same category are normally spread over the whole text, it is useful to generate 'data bags' by merging them into a new document (Coffey and Anderson 1996). This new format facilitates a structured and systematic analysis. It is, however, important to retain the source of a categorized text segment to be able to contextualize the information again (Gläser and Laudel 1999).

Gläser and Laudel (2009) define four main steps which should be included in a theory-guided qualitative content analysis: preparation of the extraction, extraction, editing and analysis. In the following, I will shortly introduce each step and describe how I employed each for the analysis of the Bologna documents.

Preparation of the extraction

Before the actual analysis of the material can be realized, an open categorical system needs to be developed out of the theory. As illustrated in chapter 3, neo-institutionalism is the theoretical framework underlying this research. Here, especially Scott's (2008) conceptualization of institutions as composed of three pillars is seen as central. To examine the institution mobility as it is laid down in the Bologna documents, the three pillars of institutions thus constitute the overarching categories. Within each category, some sub-categories are defined. Again, I thereby follow Powell, Bernhard and Graf (forthcoming) where appropriate. The cultural-cognitive dimension of mobility refers to the underlying goals and ideals as well as the legitimization of mobility. The normative dimension is related to stated standards such as target groups, the destination and duration of (internationally) mobile periods or benchmarks. It also involves the understanding of mobility – is it only discussed geographically or also socially? This point is especially important for my research question about the social selectivity of student mobility. Finally, the regulative dimension involves information about the addressed actors at different levels (e.g. European bodies, national governments, universities, students), the mode of governance as well as the proposed policies. As hypothesized earlier, the Bologna documents are not likely to contain many regulative proposals or directions since they are based on consensus which can be easier achieved by agreeing on less concrete contents.

13 Gläser and Laudel are thereby oriented towards Mayring's *qualitative content analysis* (Mayring 2003). They, however, criticize his approach, especially his proposed usage of a rather closed categorical system, as too strictly following the quantitative paradigm. Corresponding to this criticism, they propose a more open and inductive application of theoretical codes.

Table 1: The Bologna Model of Mobility: Deductive Dimensions and Categories

<table>
<tr><th>Cultural Cognitive (Ideas)</th><th>Normative (Standards)</th><th>Regulative (Policies)</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Mobility as a goal and ideal</td><td>Type of mobility:
How is mobility discussed
- socially
- geographically</td><td rowspan="2">Actors:
Who is supposed to decide about/implement policies about mobility
Which levels are addressed?
- European
- national
- organizational
- individual</td></tr>
<tr><td>Target group:
Who should be mobile?</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Legitimization of mobility:
Why is mobility important?
What can be achieved with mobility?</td><td>Duration of mobile periods:
How long should a study-related stay abroad at least be?</td><td>Governance:
Which modes of governance are proposed?</td></tr>
<tr><td>Countries of destination</td><td rowspan="2">Policies:
Which actions, programs (e.g. ERASMUS) are to be launched/ reinforced?</td></tr>
<tr><td>Benchmarks</td></tr>
</table>

Table 1 displays the overarching categories, their first subcategories as well as the questions with which I will approach the material.

Furthermore, Gläser and Laudel (2009) add the selection of the material – this has already been described within the previous chapter – as well as the definition of analytical units to the first step of their qualitative content analysis. The software package Atlas.ti which has been used for the analysis offers the possibility to highlight textual segments and assign the adequate codes to them. Thus, the different, marked quotations are the analytical units to which I will refer during the analysis.

Extraction

The second step refers to the actual coding of the material. I thereby searched for the passages within the Bologna documents that are related to mobility and assigned the deductive codes to them. As the categorical system is open, it was also necessary to create new overarching and sub-categories inductively. The deductive codes refer primarily to the geographical mobility dimension since this is the main concern here. To capture the link between social and geographical mobility it is, however, important not to neglect the 'social dimension' completely. Therefore, I did not only look for passages that refer to geographical mobility, but also to such paragraphs that deal with the 'social dimension of the Bologna Process' and coded them accordingly.

One potential problem of the qualitative content analysis is its reliability (Kohlbacher 2006). As the coding process requires the interpretation of the material the final findings are likely to reflect the frame of reference of the researcher. It is thus advisable that the material is coded by more than one person (inter-coder-reliability if the agreement between coders is high). This was, however, not possible here.[14] A

14 As a research assistant, I was part of the INVEST (Internationalization of Vocational and Higher Education Systems in Transition) project at the WZB. Here, I was one out of four coders who analyzed the Bologna and Copenhagen documents thereby adopting neo-institutionalism as a theoreti-

detailed documentation of the whole process is therefore especially important for me to make it comprehensible and replicable. Atlas.ti offers the possibility to write memos and to attach comments to every code and quotation. I have used this feature to write definitions, add examples and comment on my decisions. That way, the final coded material still displays my interpretation. It can, however, be reconstructed by others.

Editing

During the editing process, the coded material is rearranged according to content related or temporal aspects. For the description of the Bologna model of mobility, I sorted the marked quotations particularly with regard to the three institutional pillars. I also examined how the 'data bags' that contain quotations about social and international mobility are related to each other.

It is also important not to decontextualize the contents completely to be able to trace the development and dynamic of the process. Especially with regard to the analysis of the mobility behavior of students which will follow in chapter 5, it is important to pay attention to significant changes that have been introduced after 2006 (the year of the student survey) - as they can as a matter of fact not be related to the examined students' behavior – and interpret them accordingly.

Analysis

Finally, this structured and condensed information base can be analyzed, for instance and according to the research interest, with regard to causal mechanism or the joint appearance or frequencies of codes. To answer my research question, I am less interested in the discovery of causal relationships. I will rather interpret and describe the different elements of the Bologna model of mobility and their composition especially with regard to the link between social and spatial mobility. To capture the relevance, which is granted to the different institutional elements, I furthermore conducted a quasi-quantitative analysis of the frequencies of different codes. The assumption 'the more frequent, the more relevant' should, of course, be treated with caution, especially within qualitative research. However, it can be seen as one indicator signaling the relevance of a particular element as it is interpreted by the 'Bologna actors' such as the national ministers in charge of education or the European Commission.

3.3 Findings: Characteristics and Composition of the Bologna Model of Mobility

Within the eight chosen Bologna documents, I could find 98 single quotations dealing with geographical or social mobility to which one or more out of 51 different, inductively or deductively generated codes have been allocated.[15] Many, if not all, of

cal foundation. Therefore, the use of the three institutional pillars as overarching categories is not completely unfamiliar to me. During the coding process we could find a certain degree of compliance upon which I can build for the analysis at hand.

15 A detailed table with all codes, their definition, frequency and some coding example can be found in the appendix (Tables B-D).

the quotations are thereby multidimensional in that they include codes which belong to two or all three institutional pillars. This can be exemplified by the following short extract of the Bergen Communiqué (2005): "*Aware of the many remaining challenges to be overcome, we reconfirm our commitment to facilitate the portability of grants and loans where appropriate through joint action, with a view to making mobility within the EHEA a reality*." The regulative pillar is thereby represented through a policy suggestion – the facilitation of portable grants and loans. The phrase "making mobility [...] a reality" refers to the cultural-cognitive goal of promoting mobility. Finally, some standards of the normative pillar are contained: the context reveals that the quotation refers to geographical mobility (type) within the EHEA (destination). This example which could be complemented by many other quotations demonstrates that the institutional dimensions are indeed strongly interwoven. As already stated above, for an analytical and comprehensive description it is, however, important to consider them separately.

In the following, I will thus shortly present the contents of the cultural-cognitive, normative and regulative pillar separately before joining them together to get a coherent picture.

The cultural–cognitive pillar

Within the Bologna documents, the cultural-cognitive elements of the institution mobility are mainly the articulated *goals* that are connected to mobility, the expressed *conditions* that are evaluated as necessary to achieve these goals as well as the *legitimization* of the mobility goals, i.e. why it is important or valuable to achieve these goals. All three codes frequently occur together; especially the goals with their assumed conditions and legitimizing strategies.

In addition to these overarching categories, I could identify different subcategories that are displayed in Figure 1. The main goal throughout all documents seems definitely to be the quantitative increase and the facilitation of international mobility (*promotion*). A qualitative component of mobile periods is not a direct issue.[16] In addition to the promotion of mobility, the "*social dimension of mobility*" (Prague 2001) is addressed, even though only twice (in 2001 and 2007).

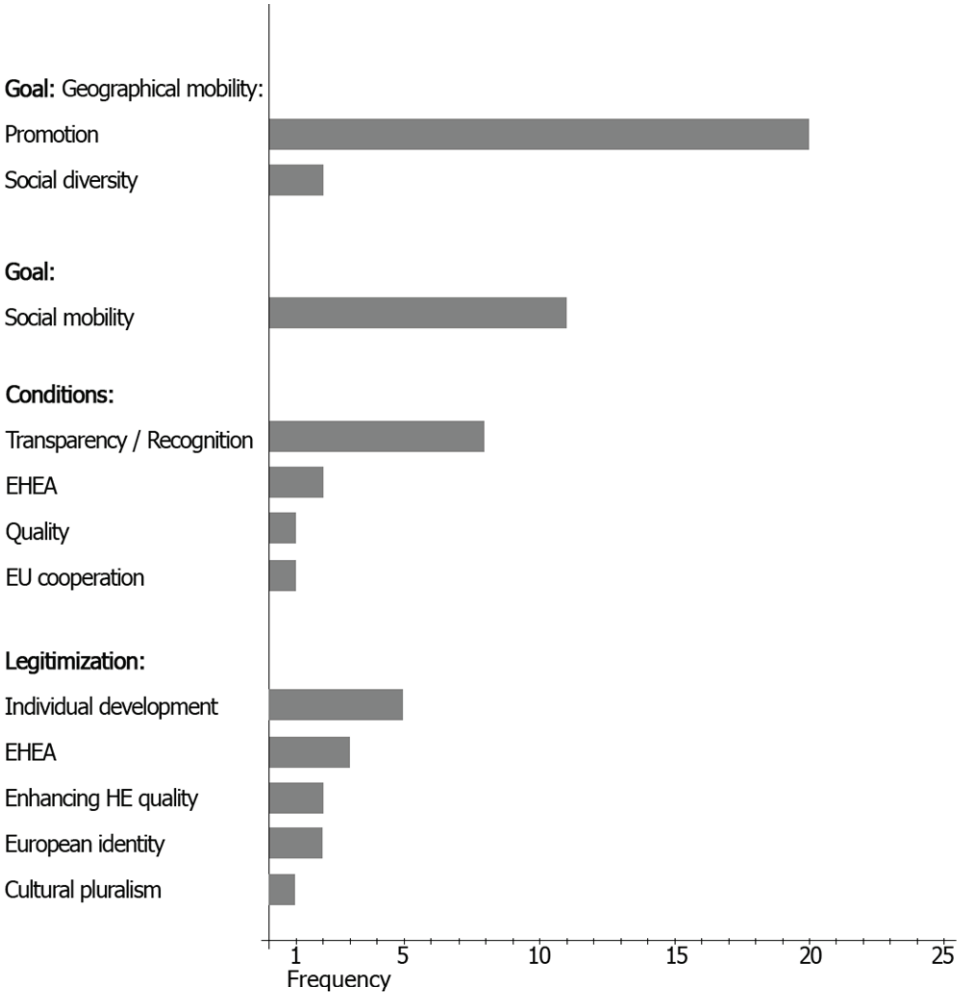
Besides the goal to promote international mobility, the goal to support *social mobility* (in terms of social cohesion, equal access to and completion of HE for students from different social backgrounds) has been discussed since the Bologna Follow-up meeting in Prague in 2001.[17] The so-called *social dimension* is thereby the new buzz word which is repeatedly mentioned within the Bologna documents - social and gender inequalities are to be reduced and HE should be "equally accessible for all" (Berlin 2003). However, the Bologna documents lack more concrete ideas about social inequalities and strategies to reduce them. The problem seems to be identified and recognized, but remains very vague (probably because of a lack of consensus about this sensitive topic). On the whole, compared to geographical mobility, the perceived relevance of social mobility seems to lag behind in both quanti-

16 It is, however, expressed indirectly through the emphasis of the importance of Quality Assurance Systems. If quality standards are high throughout the EHEA, studying or researching abroad is hence supposed to follow those high standards.

17 For a short overview, see also chapter 2.1.

tative (frequency) and qualitative (only mentioned, not specified, substantiated) terms.

Figure 1: Cultural–Cognitive Elements of the Bologna Model of Mobility



Source: Bologna documents as defined on page 20; own analysis

Some quotations specify general conditions that are seen as necessary for the achievement of the goal to increase (mainly geographical) mobility. Here, the creation of a *European Higher Education Area*, an increasing *cooperation* with the EU (use of the existing mobility programs), comparable *quality standards* throughout Europe as well as the *transparency and recognition* of study contents and structures (e.g. with the help of Qualification Frameworks and credit systems) could be identified as subcategories. The last point is quoted most frequently (eight times).

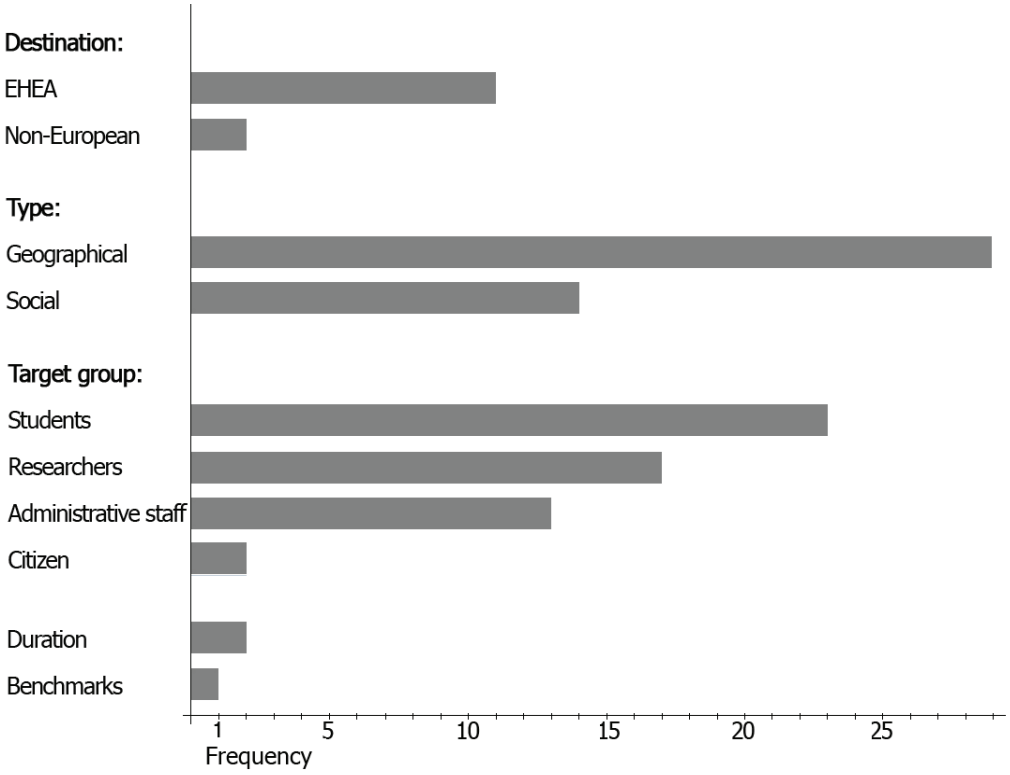
Finally, within the Bologna documents some supposedly positive outcomes are traceable that serve to legitimize the geographical mobility goal: a) the development of *cultural pluralism* and a *European identity* (e.g. through the introduction of a European dimension in HE learning), b) the creation of the *EHEA* (which is seen as both a condition for and an outcome of mobility), c) the improvement of the *quality* of HE systems through exchange and mutual learning as well as d) its importance for *indi–*

vidual development. Whereas cultural pluralism is only mentioned once, individual development is emphasized as a positive result of mobility and discussed in political (active citizenship), cultural (cultural enrichment) and economic (employability) terms.

Normative pillar

With regard to the normative pillar of institutions, the material was searched for mobility standards, such as the proposed country of *destination*, the *duration* of mobile periods and defined *target groups*. Figure 2 displays the different elements of the normative pillar of mobility and their frequency. Unsurprisingly and in accordance with the findings regarding the cultural-cognitive pillar, mobility should mainly take place within the *EHEA*. Mobility to and especially from *non–European* countries (that are not specified further) is only mentioned twice within the Bologna documents (Berlin 2003 and Bergen 2005). Likewise, the *duration* of mobile periods does not seem to be a relevant issue. Though the Sorbonne Declaration (1998) calls for at least one semester abroad for each student, this specific claim is not repeated within the later documents. As target groups for stays abroad, *students, researchers and administrative staff* could be identified. Indeed, the phrase "*mobility of students and academic and administrative staff*" (Berlin 2003) seems to be a standard formulation within the Bologna documents. However, the emphasis is clearly put on student mobility. Additionally, the mobility of *citizens* in general is discussed as well, however, only twice.

Figure 2: Normative Elements of the Bologna Model of Mobility



Source: Bologna documents as defined on page 20, own analysis

Another normative element refers to mobility *benchmarks* that should be fulfilled by Bologna member states in order to achieve the defined goals. Interestingly, even though geographical mobility is one of the main goals of the Bologna Process and setting benchmarks as part of the OMC-like policy method is one of the most frequently applied procedure to realize the Bologna goals, a concrete mobility benchmark was only defined once and not until 2009. It states that by 2020 "*at least 20% of those graduating in the European Higher Education Area should have had a study or training period abroad*" (Leuven 2009). A comparable standard for social mobility does not exist which matches the vague way in which this topic is approached within the Bologna documents.

Finally, the understanding of mobility, the mobility *type*, is captured. In accordance with the goals, two different understandings of mobility could be identified: *social* and *geographical* mobility. The latter is thereby clearly given priority – geographical mobility is ca. twice as much discussed as social mobility.[18]

Regulative pillar

With regard to the regulative pillar of institutions, three overarching, deductive codes have been identified: *actors* or *decision makers* (Who is supposed to decide about/implement policies/programs about mobility? Which levels of action are addressed?), *governance* (Which modes of governance are proposed/applied?) and *policies* (Which actions, programs are to be launched/reinforced? Which measurements are seen as necessary?). As expected, regulative contents are only formulated in a very vague way because of the lack of competences at the European level. They nevertheless occur within the Bologna documents even though at a high level of abstraction.

As corporate actors, I could identify *European* bodies such as the European Commission, EUROSTAT and especially the Bologna Follow-up Group[19] (BfuG), the *national* ministries in charge of education and HE *organizations* (universities and others). The European, national and organizational levels are addressed approximately equally often (five to seven times) with a slight emphasis on national actors. This is not surprising when taking into account the lack of competences at the European level. *Students* are also mentioned, however, only once. The reference to the different actors is thereby not obligatory. Where European actors do not have competences, they pass the responsibilities to lower levels. The vocabulary is thereby becoming less demanding with every level: whereas they "*charge* the Follow-up Group with presenting comparable data on the mobility of staff and students" (Bergen 2005),

18 The relatively frequent occurrence of some normative codes (especially type and target group) derives from the fact that, for instance, the understanding of mobility can often be identified either directly or at least with reference to the context. If, for example, the goal that students should have the opportunity to study abroad is articulated, it becomes clear that mobility is understood in geographical terms.

19 The Bologna Follow-up Group consists of representatives of all member states, the European Commission as a voting member and The Council of Europe, the National Unions of Students in Europe (ESIB), the Education International (EI) Pan-European Structure, the European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA), the European University Association (EUA), the European Association of Institutions in Higher Education (EURASHE), the European Centre for Higher Education (UNESCO-CEPES) and the Union of Industrial and Employers' Confederations of Europe (UNICE) as consultative members. (Bergen 2005)

they only "*encourage* the institutions concerned to increase their cooperation in doctoral studies" (Berlin 2003).

The identified mode of governance points to limited competences at the European level as well. As described above, the soft law which is oriented towards the *Open Method of Coordination*[20] is suggested and applied most frequently (e.g. stocktaking, data collection, preparation of national reports). Some quotations also refer to *national reforms* as important ways to achieve the mobility goals. However, rather than being obligatory, they are based on a voluntary self-commitment.

The same logic applies to the policy codes. Policies as they are coded here do not refer to laws, rules and reforms that are binding and thus coercive. Here, they are rather related to reform recommendations which are seen as necessary (or supportive) to achieve the mobility goal. They name the realms, within which reforms are seen as important, but do not give concrete policy formulations – this is seen as a national or even an organizational matter. It would have been possible to allocate these quotations to the normative pillar and interpret them as standards for best practice. However, despite their formally non-coercive character, they follow a very subtle logic of coercion in that they pressurize national actors not to 'lag behind'. And even if reforms proposed within the Bologna documents are not legally binding, they are often interpreted as such by national actors as Ravinet (2008) could show. Furthermore, they can be and in fact are used as "international arguments" to legitimize national reforms (Gonon 1998) and to forward expected criticism to the higher level. I therefore decided to code reform proposals as regulative. Thus, I consciously deviate from Scott (2008) who only categorizes coercive, rule-like institutions as regulative. I thereby try to take the specificity of the Bologna process and its striking diffusion into European national systems into account. It is, however, important to keep the very soft character of the following 'regulations' in mind.[21]

The following proposed fields of action could be identified: Firstly, there are policy suggestions that relatively directly deal with the (mainly financial) *promotion* of (mainly geographical) mobility. These include the expansion of existing and development of new mobility *programs,* the *funding* of geographical mobility in general (here, it is not specified if this is related to program or individual funding), the creation *of mobility windows* within the study structure, the facilitation of *portable grants* as well as the *financial support* of students. The last category thereby refers to the support of economically disadvantaged students and is not directly linked to geographical mobility. Secondly, policy suggestions that deal with the *improvement of information* about (again mainly geographical) mobility for both students (improvement of *student services*) and policy makers (enhanced collection of *statistical data*) could be identified. Finally, the improvement of *framework conditions* in terms of easier access to foreign *social security* systems and the facilitation of *visa* delivery

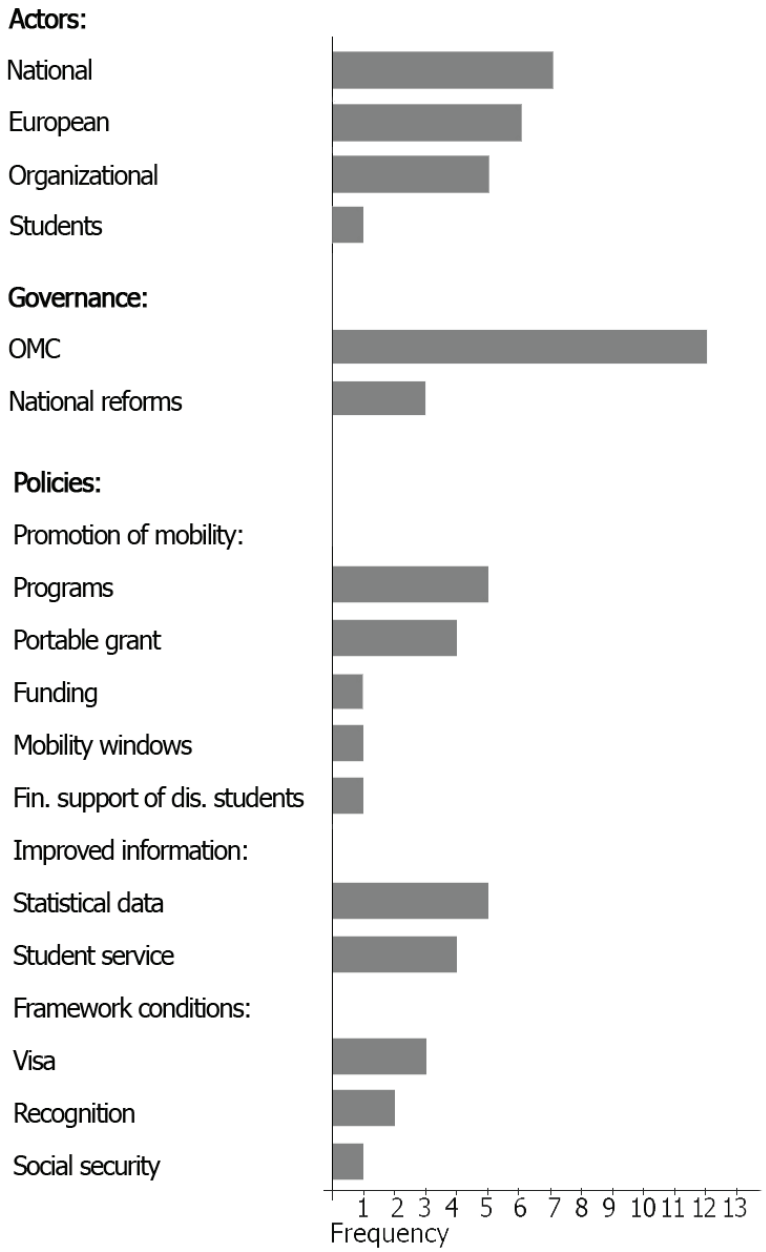
20 As explained in chapter 3.1.2 the OMC is actually an EU tool to implement the Lisbon strategy. However, within the Bologna documents a quite similar policy method developed. To save space, I will use this term here while recognizing that it is not entirely the same.

21 Furthermore, it should be said that the cultural-cognitive codes that refer to conditions for mobility and the regulative policy codes resemble each other. However, they differ in terms of their concreteness: what is generally seen as a condition for achievement of the goal (*identification* of problem) vs. what should be done to solve the problem (*recommendations* for problem solution).

are thematized. They address incoming researchers and other HE staff in particular. In addition, a better *recognition* of study contents is claimed to be necessary.

It needs to be said that most of the policy codes cannot be found frequently within the Bologna documents. Half of them are only quoted once or twice. Only the expansion and development of mobility programs, an enhanced collection of statistical data as well as the facilitation of portable grants are more strongly emphasized especially since the Berlin Communiqué (2003).

Figure 3: Regulative Elements of the Bologna Model of Mobility



Source: Bologna documents as defined on page 20; own analysis

In summary, the Bologna model of mobility stresses the goal to promote geographical mobility of students within the EHEA to contribute to their individual (political, cultural and economic) development. The transparency of European HE systems is seen as a main condition to achieve this goal. More concrete reform suggestions refer to the facilitation of portable grants, the development of mobility programs as well as the exhaustive collection of statistical data about student mobility. The Bologna documents assess actors at different levels (European, national, organizational) as equally relevant thereby reflecting the multi-level character of the Bologna Process. Taking the limited competences at the European level into account, the most frequently applied mode of governance resembles the OMC.

The so called 'social dimension' that refers to social mobility is also traceable within the Bologna documents. However, it, firstly, does not seem to be interpreted as equally relevant as geographical mobility. Secondly, the quotations dealing with this topic are even less concrete than those dealing with international mobility.

Looking at the chronological development, it can be said that both geographical and social mobility are increasingly addressed since the Berlin Follow-up meeting in 2003. Especially the regulative dimension can only rarely be found within the early documents. This shows on the one hand that mobility seems to be regarded as increasingly important for the realization of the EHEA. On the other hand this may be an indicator for the more systematic and dynamic cooperation of the Bologna actors as described by Ravinet (2008). If the other levels (national, organizational, individual) are also affected by this dynamic, it can be assumed that the diffusion of the Bologna model of mobility picked up speed since the middle of the last decade, at least formally.

However, especially geographical student mobility within the EHEA has been a topic from the beginning of the Bologna Process and is detectable in all analyzed documents thereby displaying its overall significance.[22]

The links between geographical and social mobility

To answer my research question about the social selectivity of student mobility, it is, however, important to know if both mobility dimensions are somehow interrelated. It is therefore necessary to have a closer look at those quotations that contain both elements. The search for such quotations reveals that geographical and social mobility are mainly addressed separately. Paragraphs in which they are mentioned together are mainly composed of a list of different goals to be achieved or policy suggestions that apply to both realms such as "*the need to improve the availability of data on both mobility and the social dimension*" (London 2007).

There are, however, at least two quotations that deal with the social selectivity of international student mobility:

> "They [the ministers] confirmed their commitment to pursue the removal of all obstacles to the free movement of students, teachers, researchers and administrative staff and *emphasized the social dimension of mobility*." (Prague 2001)

22 Furthermore, it must be said, that the first (and also the very last) documents – the declarations – are shorter than the Communiqués so that a simple comparison of the number of quotations has to be judged with caution. However, in qualitative terms a development from the formulation of cultural-cognitive goals to more concrete regulative elements can also be observed.

> "Mobility should also lead to a more balanced flow of incoming and outgoing students across the European Higher Education Area and we aim for *an improved participation rate from diverse student groups*." (Leuven 2009)

Even though the topic is presented in a very unspecific way and the documents do not elaborate on definitions or related approaches of actions, the need to diversify the composition of mobile students and to add a social element to international mobility is at least identified and recognized. Making international mobility accessible for all students does not seem to be a priority. However, if the goal to make HE accessible for all persons regardless of their social background (the social dimension) and the goal to facilitate international mobility for as many students as possible are brought together, it can implicitly be assumed that student mobility should be accessible to all students as well. The question, however, is how these links are interpreted by national and organizational policy makers and students and - if they are interpreted in the same way - how seriously they are considered. Given that the isomorphic pressure is far from being coercive, this last point is particularly relevant.

However, it is not only the direct link between the geographical and social mobility dimension that should be considered with regard to the research question. The link between the Bologna ideas and individual mobility behavior is far more subtle. It is rather unlikely that national or organizational policy makers establish specific mobility programs for socially disadvantaged students with reference to the Bologna Process. Yet, social class-specific 'impacts' of the Bologna model of mobility are imaginable. For instance, the expansion and funding of general mobility programs may lead to a lesser degree of selectivity and exclusiveness thus providing easier access for students from lower social classes. Likewise, an easier recognition of study periods abroad and the establishment of mobility windows within the study structure may have a positive impact on less privileged students whereas they may influence the decision of more affluent students, who can afford a study-related stay abroad either way, less strongly. Furthermore, the former can be assumed to benefit more strongly from both the facilitation of portable grants[23] and the improvement of student services.

Within this chapter, I have - based on a theory-guided content analysis - described the Bologna model of mobility and provided a theoretical framework (neo-institutionalism) to capture its (possibly incomplete) diffusion to different levels. As the national context is generally interpreted as playing "the most essential role in higher education" (Graf 2009: 577), the next section of this discussion paper will deal with the German HE system and describe how the Bologna model of mobility is interpreted and implemented within this context.

23 The different effect of portable grants can be assumed especially in countries in which public grants are paid depending on the income and assets of parents, spouses and the students themselves such as in Germany.

4. National Level: The Bologna Model of Student Mobility and the German Context

This chapter starts with a description of some general features of the German HE system ranging from the legal framework to the presentation of the different higher education institutions. Afterwards, I will address the widely debated social selectivity of the German HE system. This is an important step as the awareness that German students present a highly selective group will facilitate the interpretation of the individual level findings (chapter 5). Keeping these general characteristics in mind, I will then turn to the reception and influence of the Bologna Process in Germany in general and the interpretation and implementation of the Bologna model of mobility in particular.

4.1 Basic Features of the German Higher Education System

In comparison to other higher education systems, the German HE system can be characterized with the help of four historically grown principles (Teichler 2002 and 2005). Firstly, higher education institutions are strongly oriented towards science and research which reflects the still (at least cognitively) prevalent Humboldtian ideal of the unity of research and learning. Secondly, the HE system is not strongly differentiated in terms of quality such as, for instance, the US system with its elite universities or the French one with its *grandes écoles*. Stratification in terms of reputation is traditionally complicated by nationally harmonized salaries for professors, admission rules or public funding. These provisions have, however, gradually been changed – the salary of new professors, for instance, can now be paid on a performance-oriented basis. Additionally, the Federal Ministry for Education and Research (*Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung – BMBF*) has launched the so-called *Initiative for Excellence* in 2005 to promote some ten leading German universities and to enhance the international attractiveness of the German HE system[24]. Thirdly, in accordance with the German "ideological and normative commitments to vocationalism (*Beruflichkeit*)" (Powell and Solga 2011: 50) tertiary programs normally aim at being qualifying for a profession even though to a lesser degree in some fields of study (e.g. humanities). Finally, the state influence on German HEIs is comparably strong.

Taking up this last point, the German HE system can be characterized as a "federal system with strong coordination elements" (Teichler 2002: 356). After the Second World War the federal states (*Länder*) had exclusive competences over HE legislation in order to prevent the return of authoritarian tendencies (Pritchard 2006). However, both the difficulties for students to be mobile within Germany and the increasing cost pressure due to HE expansion led to an increasing involvement of the Federal State in HE matters, firstly through the formulation of joint tasks in 1969 and secondly through the Federal Framework Act for Higher Education (*Hochschulrahmengesetz – HRG*) in 1976 (European Commission 2007). The latter specifies a

24 More detailed information can be found on the BMBF website: http://www.bmbf.de/en/1321.php.

legal framework (e.g. general objectives of HEIs and admission requirements) which is subsequently fleshed out by the *Länder (Landeshochschulgesetze*). However, since the *Föderalismusreform* in 2006, the HRG expires leaving more room for federal and organizational autonomy. All this leads to a variety of legal provisions within the German HE system which thus needs to be coordinated by the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the sixteen federal states *(Kultusministerkonferenz – KMK*). The funding of German HEIs is mainly publicly secured as HE is perceived as a public good. However, because the funding of the HE sector has not been adjusted to its expansion, the HEIs are chronically underfunded – the proportion of the GDP which is allocated to HE and research is lower-than-average compared to other OECD countries (Hahn 2004b). In order to obtain more money, German HEIs are allowed to charge general study fees since the fall term 2006/2007. They have subsequently been introduced in some federal states and add up to 500 € per semester (European Commission 2007).[25]

The relatively strong tie between the state and the HEIs has been loosened in recent years with many reforms aiming at an increasing autonomy and self-regulating capacity of HEIs in order to increase their international competitiveness (e.g. Kamm und Köller 2010). However, not all reforms leading to a more market-driven HE system could be implemented without criticism and resistance (Pritchard 2006).

Despite these new tendencies, a large majority of the HEIs in Germany are still state owned institutions; the private and religious HE sector has been characterized as negligible (Hahn 2004b) – only 6% of the student population in 2010 was enrolled in private or church owned institutions.[26] Furthermore, the German HE system can be described as "two-tiered" (Schneider 2008: 90), mainly consisting of universities (*Universitäten*) and universities of applied sciences (*Fachhochschulen*, upgraded to *Hochschulen* in 2009).[27] The former are strongly oriented towards basic research and offer mainly a wide range of academic subjects (*Volluniversitäten*). They are the only HEIs with the right to award doctorates and the *Habilitation* (post-doctorate lecturing degree) which has long been the main condition to get a professorship (e.g. Powell et al. 2009). The latter were introduced in 1970/71; they offer only a limited range of study subjects (mainly in engineering, economics and social work) and "are characterized by their professional orientation including professors, who, in addition to their academic qualification, have gained professional experience outside the field of higher education" (Powell et al. 2009: 12). Additionally, most of the *(Fach-)Hochschul* study programs contain a compulsory practical semester.

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25 However, after several years, some federal states scrapped their study fees; others plan to do the same.

26 The latest statistics about HEIs and student numbers (fall term 2010/2011) can be found on the *Hochschulkompass* website which is provided by the German Rectors' Conference (*Hochschulrektorenkonferenz – HRK*). http://www.hochschulkompass.de

27 There are also other HEI types which are, however, of minor importance in quantitative terms and therefore not discussed in detail. They should nevertheless be mentioned here: colleges of art and music (*Kunst- und Musikhochschulen*) and universities for public administration (*Verwaltungshochschulen*) which train upper-middle-level civil servants. Additionally, an increasing number of dual study programs are offered by vocational academies (*Berufsakademien*) in some federal states. Since 2008, some of them have the official status of a university of applied sciences (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2010).

At present, there are 380 German HEIs – 109 universities (88 state-owned), 216 universities of applied sciences (106) and 55 colleges of music and art (46). In total, 2,181,694 students are enrolled in German HEIs, 67% of them in universities and 31.6% in universities of applied sciences. The usual admission requirement for students is the general HE entrance qualification (*Allgemeine Hochschulreife – Abitur*) which permits access to all HEIs even though there is a *numerus clausus* for many subjects. Persons with a *Fachhochschulreife* are only allowed to enter universities of applied sciences and those with a *fachgebundene Hochschulreife* can choose all study programs of universities of applied sciences, but only specific subjects at universities (e.g. Schneider 2008). However, a large majority of the German students accesses tertiary education with the *Abitur*; alternative pathways are less common (Powell et al. 2009).

Students in need of financial assistance can obtain state support in the form of the Federal Training Assistance Act (*Bundesausbildungsförderungsgesetz – BAföG*) in order to cover their living expenses. Half of the amount is thereby an interest-free state loan while the other half is a non-repayable grant. If and how much students obtain depends on the financial means and income of the students themselves, their parents and spouses (European Commission 2007). The BAföG aims at increasing equal opportunities for children of low-income families. However, only 29% of the student population received an average amount of 430 € per month in 2009 (Isserstedt et al. 2010). Additionally, around 3% get a performance based scholarship from different foundations most of which are linked to political parties, trade unions, industry or churches. However, these foundations are highly selective thereby placing students from underprivileged social classes at a disadvantage. In 2011, the BMBF introduced a so-called *Deutschlandstipendium* which can be paid in parallel with the BAföG. However, also this new program is a merit-based elite support and can thus not be expected to reduce social inequalities.[28]

4.2 Social Selectivity of the German Higher Education System

In order to examine the international mobility pattern of German students, it is important to be aware of the high selectivity of the strongly stratified German educational system (Allmendinger 1989).

In Germany, only primary education is really comprehensive encompassing children from all social backgrounds (Schneider 2008). Afterwards, children are distributed very early (after grade 4-6 depending on the respective federal state) into different secondary tracks. The *Hauptschule* is thereby the lowest tier and is attended by low achieving students. The leaving certificate is normally awarded after grade 9. The intermediate track is generally called *Realschule* and provides its leaving certificate after grade 10. Finally, the *Gymnasium* which ends after grade 12 or 13 offers the highest school leaving certificate (*Abitur*) which opens access to higher education (for a more detailed account of the regulations in the different federal states see Schneider 2008). The Gymnasium has a high reputation in Germany and attempts to merge the different tracks often result in resistance, especially from parental

28 More detailed information are available at http://www.deutschland-stipendium.de

groups. The latest example for this could be observed in Hamburg where the plan to introduce a comprehensive school type eventually forced the federal state's minister to resign.

Another reason for the high selectivity of the German educational system (and also for the comparably low percentage of HE students) is the secure, well-developed and highly-valued German vocational education and training system (VET). By meeting the aspirations of families from lower social classes and by offering the possibility to become a skilled worker in a faster and more secure way, it diverts working-class children from the more expensive, longer and riskier HE pathway (Powell and Solga 2011).

Both processes - early selection of children and their diversion into the German VET - accumulate the social selectivity of the German school system as parents and children from lower social classes tend to decide for the more secure and less costly educational tracks (Müller and Pollak 2011). Together with the low permeability between the different pathways, they predetermine the later educational and occupational status of children from different social classes.

Given the described selectivity at earlier stages, eventually only 7% of children from lower social classes enter the tertiary level with only 5% graduating. The respective numbers for socially privileged children are 32% and 31% (Powell and Solga 2011). Correspondingly, the composition of the student population strongly differs from the overall population of the 19-25 year olds: Whereas working-class children account for 40% of the overall population, they make up only 20% of all students n the tertiary sector (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2010).

Similar diversion processes take place for those students who finally decide for the HE pathway: children from lower social classes choose more often to study at *(Fach–)Hochschulen* than their more privileged counterparts because study programs there are shorter, more structured and practically oriented and the probability to obtain a degree is higher than at universities (Müller and Pollak 2011). Thus, only 25% of all students studying at FHs in 2009 had a privileged social background whereas 41% of all university students belonged to this category. Respectively, the numbers of students with a low social origin accounted for 20% at universities of applied sciences and only for 13% at traditional universities (Isserstedt et al. 2010)[29].

In summary, the institutional setting of the German educational system leads firstly to a very low HE enrollment rate (with 34% in 2007 it is well below the OECD average) and secondly to a highly socially selective tertiary student population. Children from lower classes are thereby underrepresented in the *Gymnasium* so that they are less likely to obtain a HE entrance qualification certificate. Furthermore, they are less likely to access the HE system if they hold an *Abitur*. If they finally decide to study, they frequently choose less prestigious FH programs. Hence, by looking at German students it is important to keep in mind that they are a relatively small and socially selective group. However, for those students with a low social background who nevertheless access tertiary education a high (and positive) selectivity in terms of their "cognitive potential" can be expected (Müller and Pollak 2011: 340) as their odds to leave the HE pathway at earlier transitions are comparably high.

29 These data are based on the already cited Social Survey. The social origin of students includes the occupational status of the father and whether he holds a HE degree and is divided into 4 categories.

4.3 The Bologna Model of Student Mobility in Germany: Facilitators and Barriers

After the description of the German HE system and its social selectivity, I will now turn to the question about the diffusion of the Bologna model of mobility into the German context. The German discourse and reform processes are thereby reconstructed with the help of the respective literature. Furthermore, central German actors who frame the German discussion and are in charge of the implementation of respective reforms as well as their positions are identified.[30] This way, I try to trace which elements of the Bologna model of mobility enter the German rhetorical and policy arena. I will, however, not use the Bologna model as described in the previous chapter as a fixed template to analyze German documents. Nor is it possible here, to compare the institutional pre- and post-Bologna setting at different levels in detail. I will, however, try to give an overview of central cultural-cognitive and normative discussions as well as regulative reforms concerning the international mobility of German students and picture possible influences on the mobility behavior of students from different social classes.

4.3.1 Central Actors within the German HE System

> "In Germany, responsibility for achieving the Bologna objectives rests with the institutions of higher education, the Länder and the Federal Government. This is due to the country's federal structure and distribution of responsibilities within its federal system." (BfuG 2005:1).

This statement which can be found in the German national report for the Bologna Follow-Up Meeting in Bergen reflects the multi-level character of the German HE system and gives a clue about the high number of actors involved. Thus, apart from the federal and *Länder* governments and the *Hochschulen*, "HE in Germany is marked by the increasing number and growing importance of intermediary actors" (Hahn 2004b: 53). Within the literature, one can find a long list of actors involved in the internationalization and Europeanization of German HEIs: the Federal Ministry for Education and Research (*BMBF*), the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs (*KMK*), the German Rector's Conference (*HRK*), the German Academic Exchange Service (*DAAD*), the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, the Science Council (*Wissenschaftsrat*), *the Stifterverband für die deutsche Wissenschaft*, the Centre for Higher Education Development (*CHE*), or the Accreditation Council (e.g. Hahn 2004a, Graf 2008). In the following, I will concentrate on the first four actors as

30 Apart from the scientific literature, I also identified some central publications of these actors, especially position papers and written recommendations. The choice of these documents is, however, not intended to be exhaustive. Due to the high number of documents available at the different homepages, it was not possible to examine all of them and to analyze them systematically. However, I managed to get an overview of the German discussion and reform efforts. The national reports prepared for the different Bologna follow-up conferences have appeared to be especially helpful as they sum up the different steps in Germany which have been taken in order to comply with the Bologna goals.

they represent both important platforms for decision-making and implementation and fora for the generation of consensus.

Jürgen Rüttgers, former German minister for education and research, was one of the signatories of the Sorbonne Declaration in 1998 which initiated the Bologna Process. Thus, the supportive position of the BMBF was set from the beginning of the Bologna Process. Together with the Federal Foreign Office and the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, the BMBF is in charge of international HE policies and the promotion and funding of international cooperation concerning the HE sector (Teichler 2007) thereby contributing to both ideational and financial promotion of reforms regarding the Bologna Process.

As the cultural sovereignty (*Kulturhoheit*) which includes educational matters and thus also the implementations of policies deriving from the Bologna Process lies at the *Länder* level, the KMK was set up as a political body for the coordination of the educational activities of the by now sixteen federal states. Even if it has no legal competencies, KMK decisions reflect the consensus gained by the sixteen *Länder* which is subsequently often "translated with no or only minor adjustments into *Länder* policies" (Witte 2006: 150).

Still one level further down (organizational level), the HRK is an umbrella organization encompassing 266 German HEIs (in 2011) which are represented through their vice chancellors. It describes itself as the *Stimme der Hochschulen* (voice of the HEIs) vis-à-vis the political and public sphere and provides a forum for the formation of a common opinion. Krücken (2007) describes the HRK as a highly institutionalized setting within which mimetic processes between different universities take place.

Lastly, the DAAD as "the most important actor in internationalization" (Graf 2008:40) needs to be mentioned. It is the worldwide largest organization fostering academic exchange. Among other activities, it spent €94 million for scholarships for Germans intending to study or research abroad, €83 million for foreign students and researchers coming to Germany and €63 million for the internationalization of German HEIs in 2009.[31] It is thereby strongly linked to the BMBF and can be seen as its "main funding vehicle" (Witte 2006: 151).

These actors have in common that they take up a distinctly pro-Bologna position which complies with their aim to increase the attractiveness and the competitiveness of the German HE system. A joint report of BMBF, KMK and HRK (2003:3), for instance, states that "the main goals of the Bologna Declaration are in line with the objectives of Bund and Länder to modernize the German higher education system". Likewise, Schwabe (2012) describes how BMBF and HRK promote the diffusion of the Bologna idea through a complementary, strategic framing process which aims at influencing the public perception of the Bologna Process positively.[32]

Within the following two chapters, I will elaborate on this account further, firstly, by briefly describing the general discussion about the Bologna Process and, secondly, by looking more specifically at the discussion and reform efforts regarding the mobility of students.

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31 http://www.daad.de/portrait/wer-wir-sind/kurzportrait/08940.de.html

32 Schwabe (2011) identifies some actors that criticize some of the Bologna goals, namely Deutsche Hochschulverband (DHV), some unions dealing with education and less organized groups such as students.

4.3.2 The Bologna Process in Germany: The General Agenda and its Precursors

Even though this chapter does not deal with the diffusion of the Bologna model of mobility in particular, it is relevant in two aspects. On the one hand it shows that the Bologna Process was not the starting point for many reforms that are attributed to it. It is rather an accelerator that contributed to the particular dynamic of some reform processes. On the other hand, it illustrates that mobility, though regularly mentioned, is overshadowed by other reforms, especially the BA/MA reform.[33] This way, it helps to embed the discussion about mobility into a broader context.

Teichler (2007) describes the attitude towards the internationalization of the German HE system until the mid 1990s as rather cautious and sceptical. Since then, however, this position changed because of the rising fear that the '*Studienstandort Deutschland*' (study location Germany) could lose (or already had lost) its attractiveness for foreign students and scholars within an increasingly globalized world. This new awareness was firstly addressed by the DAAD in 1996 with its action scheme *Strengthening the Attractiveness and Competitiveness of the German Space for Higher Education and Science*. In the same year the heads of the federal and *Länder* governments passed a joint declaration about the same topic (see KMK 1997) and the HRK (1996) published recommendations about *Attractiveness through International Compatibility*. At least since then a new, economic paradigm building on competition, concurrence and marketing could be observed (e.g. Hahn 2004b). The rising demand for internationally comparable study structures was finally addressed in 1998[34], with the Fourth Amendment of the Federal Framework Act for Higher Education which contained the introduction of new BA and MA programs (which had to be accompanied by a modularized structures and credit points) on a trial basis. Four years later, the Sixths Amendment put an end to this experimental phase and turned the new programs "into a permanent, regular element of the HE system (alongside the traditional structure)" (Hahn 2004b: 59).

The discourse about competitiveness was simultaneously held at the European level and within other European nation states which was finally one of the main reasons for the signing of the Sorbonne Declaration (Teichler 2005). Thus, the Bologna Process does in many important respects not represent a new idea. It rather jumped on the bandwagon and subsequently accelerated and reinforced the reform process within the German HE system. The same can be observed for the international mobility of students which is emphasized as one of the main goals of the Bologna Process. As described in chapter 2.3.1, the ERASMUS program was already launched in 1987 and is still the most frequently used mobility program in Germany (and Europe). Likewise, the DAAD has fostered international mobility since 1925.

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33 However, the two Bologna objectives – increasing international mobility and the harmonization of national degree structure within the EHEA – are strongly linked within the German discussion. The introduction of a two-tiered study structure is thereby seen as a necessary condition to enhance international student mobility in Germany. Student mobility, in turn, is used to legitimize this profound reform of the German HE system.

34 In fact, a similar reform of the German study structure had already been proposed in 1966 by the Wissenschaftsrat in order to shorten the average duration of study programs. This suggestion was in the climate of the student protest, however, not enforceable (Kretschmann 2008).

Even though the political impulse for the reform of the German study structure preceded the Bologna Process, the introduction of BA/MA programs is the most widely discussed reform associated with the Bologna Process – and the anchor point of much Bologna-criticism. It brought about an exceptionally fast change within the traditionally slowly moving German HE system which is normally "characterized by incremental, not by radical change" (Krücken 2007: 190). However, even though major actors - such as the above described – have been supportive from the beginning, there has also been much criticism, especially about the partly poor implementation of the reform. Students, for instance, complain about and protest against an increasing uncertainty, incapacitation and inflexibility (Becker et al. 2009) which may also affect the possibility to go abroad during one's studies negatively (KMK 2009). Others describe the new programs as "old contents in a new guise" (Neef 2009: 124).[35] This last quotation along with other complaints indicate that the formal, reformed structure of programs and the actual learning practices within these programs are only loosely coupled.

To sum up, most of the ideas and goals of the Bologna Process are actually not a 'Bologna invention'. But even though some of the intended reforms – in Germany especially the introduction of a two-tiered study structure - have been initiated before the signing of the Sorbonne or Bologna Declaration, it can be said that the Bologna Process contributed to the dynamic, publicity and maybe also to the controversial character of these developments.

In contrast to the just described BA/MA reform, the mobility goal does neither seem to be disputed within Germany, nor is it associated with such profound reforms (probably one reason for the consensus). Within the next section, I will present the political discussion and reforms that are connected to the Bologna model of mobility and discuss possible opportunities and barriers for German students.

4.3.3 The Bologna Model of Mobility in Germany: Goals, Standards and Policies

In chapter 2.3.1, I have described that educational exchange has a long tradition in Germany. The DAAD operates since 1925, the German Fulbright Commission since 1952 and the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation was set up in 1860. Since the launch of the ERASMUS program in 1987, the European dimension of educational exchange was stressed and Germany became one of the most important host and sending countries (Wuttig et al. 2007). Around this time, the HRK (1991:3) noted that "the need to increase the absolute number of German students studying abroad is politically undisputed".

However, the internationalization strategies in the 1990s rather neglected the international mobility of German students and stressed the importance to increase inbound mobility of foreign students and scholars thereby especially dealing with

35 However, not only critics but also supporters of the reform of the study structure complain about the incomplete and hesitant implementation and the formal opportunity to maintain the old degrees (especially *Staatsexamen*) simultaneously (Tauch 2004). In 2008, for instance, after one decade of structural change around 75% of all German study programs have been converted to BA/MA courses. However, only 30.9% of all students have been enrolled in these new programs (BfuG 2008).

improved framework conditions such as visa regulations, social security and student services for foreign students (e.g. KMK 1997, Teichler 2007). Also the first national reports about the *Realization of the Objectives of the Bologna Declaration in Germany* only deal with the mobility of incoming students thereby completely neglecting international mobility of German students (KMK, HRK and BMBF 2002, 2003). Concrete measures to achieve these goals are, for instance, the flexibilization of residence- and employment laws such as the Immigration Act (*Zuwanderungsgesetz*) in 2005 (e.g. BfuG 2005, 2008).[36]

However, Teichler (2007) notes that – in contrast to other OECD countries – central German actors advertized an increase of both incoming and outgoing students. And indeed, since the beginning of the 21st century, the international mobility of German students and academic staff is more often discussed (still alongside mobility to Germany) within the documents of BMBF, HRK, KMK and DAAD. The actors thereby acknowledge the increase of international student mobility as a core goal of the Bologna Process and adopt this objective as well as its conditions and legitimizations at the cultural-cognitive level (e.g. KMK 2010, 2009, HRK 2005a). Annette Schavan, federal minister for education and research since 2005, concretizes this diffuse goal by setting a benchmark – 50% of all students should be internationally mobile; 20% of them at least for one term - albeit without a specific time horizon (BMBF 2007). The new two-tiered study structure is thereby interpreted as an opportunity to achieve this goal; especially the BA degree is seen as a "hotspot for European mobility" (KMK, HRK and BMBF 2002: 21) which is meant to lead to international study-related (MA) or labor market mobility.

Also the DAAD Action Program of 2004 takes up this topic. It differs from those of 1996 and 2000 in that it deals not only with an increasing attractiveness of the German HE system for foreign students and scholars, but also addresses the international mobility of German students in detail. Like the BMBF, it calls for a 50% rate of mobile students until 2010 (which could, by the way, not be achieved). Furthermore, it claims for the "internationalization of curricula" (DAAD 2004: 5) with facilitated facultative study-related stays abroad or - preferably - a wider introduction of compulsory stays abroad.

The importance of mobility windows and an easier and more generous recognition of mobile periods are also discussed by the other actors (e.g. BMBF 2009, HRK 2001 and 2005a, KMK 2009 and 2010). This claim is mainly addressed by the founding of double degree programs or study programs with an integrated stay abroad and by the launch of the *Program for Promoting Internationalization Structures at German Higher Education Institutions* in 2006 (BMBF 2009, BfuG 2008). In addition, the HRK (2005b) gives relatively detailed recommendations for its members about a preferable design of double degree programs thereby putting mimetic and also normative pressure on them. Furthermore, the HRK rewards particularly engaged HEIs with awards or funding programs (Schwabe 2012) thereby creating incentives and a best-practice structure.

In order to increase the number of internationally mobile students, the BMBF and the DAAD also launched *the Free Mover Scholarship Program* in 2004 that is in-

36 However, these reports also show that mainly foreign scholars can benefit from the new regulations. The residence permits for foreign students, for instance, has been shortened to a one-year period which is "justified from the standpoint of security" (BfuG 2008: 34).

tended to supplement the ERASMUS program for students whose universities do not have partnerships with the desired foreign HEIs as well as the *Go Out!* campaign which provides information about the different opportunities to go abroad (BfuG 2005, 2008). Furthermore, the number of German students and researchers who could obtain an individual scholarship from the DAAD to go abroad increased from 11,985 in 1990 to 25,264 in 2009 (2000: 20,062; 2005: 20,457) (DAAD 2010b).

So far, I have only described the discussion dealing with the attractiveness of the German HE system for foreigners and with the promotion of international mobility of German students. But in what way is the social selectivity of student mobility addressed by German HE actors? One idea referring to this was proposed by the KMK (2010: 5) that states that socially and economically disadvantaged students should be "included more strongly in mobility programs and additional financial support should be considered". By analyzing the press releases of the BMBF, Schwabe (2012) could furthermore identify a common frame for the topics 'social equality' and 'international mobility' which are frequently addressed together (e.g. BMBF 2004a and b, 2010). This is due to the most visible and regulative change referring to social mobility in general and the social selectivity of student mobility in particular - the BAföG reform of 2001. This new reform can be interpreted as an "internationalization of Federal funding policy" (Hahn 2004b: 60) as it allows economically disadvantaged students to take the BAföG to a foreign university after an initial year of study at a German university. If this university is located in a non-EU country, the portability of the grant is, however, limited to one year. If the student continues his/her studies in Germany after a temporary stay at a foreign university, this period (up to one year) can be added to the maximum duration of the national aid (which normally complies with the standard period of studies as defined within the respective program regulations). Thus, a possible prolongation of the study period due to incomplete recognition does not affect the payment of the German student assistance. In addition, mobile students who are eligible to receive BAföG get, depending on the host country, an additional amount of money in order to cover extra living expenses, travel costs and fees (up to €4600). This additional support is a 100% grant (the BAföG granted for studies at a German university consists of 50% grant and 50% interest-free loan). Because of this reform, the BMBF praised itself as "pioneer" regarding the internationalization of higher education (BMBF 2002:2). In 2008, the Federal Training Assistance Act was again altered. Since then the grant is portable to other EU countries for the whole period of study thereby enabling economically disadvantaged students to go abroad for a whole degree. However, some changes were also disputed. Especially students criticized "the provision that support for stays abroad has been converted to normal BAföG support, with the exception of the tuition eligible for full grant coverage throughout a period of up to one year" (BfuG 2008: 35). Also publicly criticized, especially by students, was the recommendation of the DAAD (2004) to condition the BAföG for studies at a foreign university – like DAAD scholarships - on a performance test as this could again lower the number of less-affluent, mobile students.

But how do these insights relate to the Bologna model of mobility? And what influences on the mobility behavior of German students can be expected? The Bologna goal to promote the international mobility of students (and academic staff) as well as the identified conditions and legitimizations are widely shared by the central politi-

cal and intermediary actors in Germany. Recommendations and more concrete measures thereby mainly refer to a) the funding of mobility programs (mainly via the DAAD), b) the creation of mobility windows within the study structure, c) an easier recognition of learning contents, d) the improvement of framework conditions for incoming students and scholars as well as e) the support of socially disadvantaged students through portable grants. Those elements of the Bologna model of mobility have been interpreted as regulative in chapter 3.3 as they refer to more concrete policy *suggestions* which 'only' need to be fleshed out and implemented at the national level. However, only the last two points have been translated into actual policies with direct relevance for individuals. The other aspects remain voluntary or even purely rhetorical. Even though political actors create incentives for institutions and individuals, the resulting pressure is rather mimetic than regulative as the single HEIs or even faculties are responsible for the actual implementation of policies or usage of programs. For instance, it is not obligatory for HEIs to include mobility windows or facultative stays abroad when they create new BA and MA programs. However, some may decide to do so in order to increase their reputation or to get additional funding. Thus, the existence of so called 'international curricula and study programs', but also the frequency of HEI partnerships (including those established for ERASMUS exchange) or the usage of credit points varies widely across the different types of higher education institutions and fields of study (DAAD 2010a) so that the opportunity structure for students to go abroad depends, inter alia, on what and where they study.

Detached from this, the number of individual scholarships granted by the DAAD has increased by more than 20% between 2000 and 2009 (DAAD 2010b) thereby meeting the claim for the expansion of mobility programs as formulated within the Bologna documents. However, the DAAD explicitly advocates "an elitist system of funding based purely on performance, assured by independent academic selection committees, and thus open to all who meet these high standards"[37]. Thus, a relatively high bias towards socially privileged students can be assumed which should rather enhance the social selectivity of student mobility thereby antagonizing the Bologna aim of an "improved participation rate from diverse student groups" (Leuven Communiqué 2009). The BAföG reform of 2001 may be a counterbalance to this as it equips economically disadvantages students with the financial means to cover their (extra) living expenses, travel costs and fees while studying abroad– at least partly. The BMBF thereby met the policy recommendation to introduce portable grants for students as it can be found within the Bologna documents.[38]

However, it is important to take into consideration the harsh criticism about the inflexibility and overloading of the newly created BA programs that have - in comparison to traditional degree programs – decreased the number of mobile students (e.g. Krawitz 2008). The question is then, in what way students who receive BAföG can benefit from the new possibility to take their financial assistance with them if it is already more difficult to integrate a study-related stay abroad into their home program. These observations lead to the assumption that the public discussions and some more concrete reforms referring to (some parts of) the Bologna model of mo-

37 http://www.daad.de/portrait/wer-wir-sind/programme/08941.en.html

38 Interestingly, this policy suggestion was explicitly mentioned within the Berlin Communiqué (2003) for the first time. The German reform, however, was already implemented in 2001.

bility are only loosely coupled to the actual practice at German HEIs. It is, however, this practice with which students are confronted when deciding to go abroad or to stay home. A wide diffusion of the cultural-cognitive idea of the desirability of international mobility may thus be weakened by missing regulative provisions.[39]

In summary it can be said that the diffusion of the Bologna model of mobility into the German HE context took place mainly at the cultural-cognitive level. Also some regulative recommendations have been implemented at the national level (BAföG, immigration law) and new incentives for HEIs have been created in order to enhance their internationalization activities. However, there are signs of missing or half-hearted implementation at the organizational level with strong variations between types of HEIs, fields of study and even single universities or faculties. The financial support of economically disadvantaged students who want to study abroad has indeed formally improved. However, it is unclear to what extent they are able and willing to use this new opportunity and how the different 'Bologna reforms' interact with each other in framing the mobility behaviour of students from different social classes. These questions will – where possible – be assessed next.

Within this chapter, I turned to the German higher education context. I firstly gave a brief overview of its institutional specificity and explained the social selectivity of German tertiary education. Afterwards, I described the general discussion about the Bologna Process and, more specifically, in what way and to what extent the Bologna model of mobility diffused into the German HE system. Within the next chapter, I will turn to the last – the individual – level. Here, I will examine the social selectivity of the mobility behavior of German students and in what way it is related to the new institutional framework conditions brought about by the Bologna Process.

39 However, the Bologna Process is not yet finished - even though the target of the Bologna Process was the realization of the EHEA by 2010. German universities and also students still have to react and to adapt to the partly huge changes brought about by the Bologna Process. The current and following findings thus needs to be seen as preliminary results.

5. Individual Level: The Bologna Model of Student Mobility and the Mobility Behavior of German Students

After I have dealt with the Bologna model of mobility and its translation into the German HE context, there is another level: that of German students. In chapter 2.4, I already gave a short overview of the characteristics of internationally mobile German students. The descriptive data revealed that the social origin of students and their mobility behavior are indeed positively related. But does this hold true when other possibly related variables are controlled for? How can this difference be explained? And is there a difference between the social selectivity of the international mobility of pre- and post-Bologna students that may be associated with the Bologna model of mobility and the German rhetorical and policy-related reactions?

Within this chapter, I will try to approach these questions. Firstly, I will identify and describe an appropriate theory that can be used to explain the social selectivity of student mobility and generate hypotheses. Afterwards, the micro data as well as the used methods will be illustrated. Finally, I will present the descriptive and multivariate findings which will afterwards be discussed in the last chapter.

5.1 Social Selectivity of Mobility: Theoretical Explanations

Theories about inequality of education have not directly addressed the social selectivity of international student mobility. They rather deal with the transmission from one educational stage to another and the probability of educational success. It is therefore necessary to apply these theories to my research topic. For this, I will firstly describe the main assumptions of the rational choice approach which identifies primary and secondary effects of the individual social background as the main sources of educational inequality and explain why this approach is not suitable for the explanation of socially stratified international student mobility. As a consequence, I will secondly turn to Bourdieu and his conceptualization of educational inequality which I will use as a tool to analyze different mobility patterns. Out of this, I will derive hypotheses which will be examined afterwards.

5.1.1 Rational Choice Approaches

One popular theory of educational inequalities that originates from the rational choice tradition was developed by Raymond Boudon (1974) and subsequently refined by other authors (e.g. Erikson and Johnson 1996, Breen and Goldthorpe 1997, Esser 1999). Boudon assumes a correlation between primary and secondary effects of social origin and individual educational attainment and choices. The primary effect thereby refers to class specific school performances of children. They derive from unequally distributed cultural, social and financial resources of families and schools which lead to divergent levels of support during the process of socialization.

More central for Boudon's approach, however, is the secondary effect of social origin. It refers to rational actors who assess the value of the achievement of different educational credentials against the background of their social status and who are eager to maintain this status. These individual assessments and decisions are thereby embedded in and influenced by the institutional arrangement of different educational systems which define both the opportunities and barriers for individual action.[40]

The rational assessment of different educational options includes the likelihood of success, the costs as well as the benefits of a specific educational pathway (e.g. Becker 2011). The former is thereby related to the already described primary effect as the perceived chance to master the next educational stage successfully depends on the performance in the current one. However, even if two children from different social classes perform equally well at school, they (or their parents) may perceive their chances within the next level differently because they will not be equipped with the same amount of social and financial support by their family. Furthermore, the educational costs are evaluated class specifically. As parents from lower social classes possess less financial capital, the relative costs for the education of their children are comparatively high even if the absolute costs are the same for all students. They have also

> "a shorter time horizon within which educational investments have to show profits. They have a smaller financial bolster and cannot wait long until the direct educational costs as well as the lost incomes are compensated through higher, but also later labor market returns" (Müller and Pollak 2011: 310).

However, Boudon (1974) not only lists these direct, financial costs for individuals. He also refers to the supposed loss of social connections and family solidarity if children or young adults do not decide for the educational path which is in accordance with their social background. Whereas the costs of education are therefore overestimated by the lower social classes, the benefits are mainly valued more strongly by the upper classes. It is thereby not the assessment of the professional value of educational credentials which differs as this should be assessed similarly by members of different social classes. It is rather the status maintenance motive which is again central for individual choices:

> "[T]he probability that an individual will choose a [tertiary education] rather than b [vocational education] becomes an increasing function of his family's social status. The higher the social status, the greater the probability that a youngster will choose a over b." (Boudon 1974: 30).

The rational choice approach serves mainly to explain why so few students from underprivileged classes decide for the HE pathway (even if they hold a higher education entry qualification) thereby neglecting those who decided to study despite of their low social origin. Reimer and Pollak (2010) go one step further. Taking the edu-

40 As shown in chapter 4.2, within the highly segmented and stratified German educational system (Allmendinger 1989), the early allocation of children to different educational pathways, the decision intensive structure of the whole educational system as well as the attractiveness of the vocational education and training (VET) system lead to an accumulation of class specific educational inequalities (Müller and Pollak 2011: 311). Especially the last point diverts many potential students from the HE pathway as it offers a "low investment-low risk strategy" (Mayer et al. 2007: 249)

cational expansion and the subsequent inflation of educational credentials into consideration, they argue that the upper classes use a new, horizontal strategy to secure their status by choosing prestigious fields of study more frequently. Others suggest that they need to develop "charismatic qualities" (through, for instance, special hobbies, charity work, travels) to add value to their CV (Brown 1995: 42) or to study abroad (Waters and Brooks 2010)[41] in order to maintain their privileged position.

However, in my view, other arguments than the rational choice approach are necessary for the analysis of the differences and inequalities between different social groups of HE students (especially if the type of HE institutions and the field of study are held constant). Why should this be the case? Firstly, because the central assumption underlying rational choice models – the status maintenance motive – is violated. If it would be correct for the HE context, students with a lower social background had not decided to study at all as they already reproduced their parents' status before this choice. It is therefore not apparent why they should be less motivated to study abroad than their more privileged counterparts – they have already decided to study to move up the social ladder, why should they accept a competitive disadvantage vis-à-vis their fellow students? Contrarily, they may even be more eager to obtain such extra qualifications as they do not benefit from the same supportive networks as students from higher social classes. Secondly, it can be assumed that students from a low social class have achieved relatively good results during their educational career and that they are very motivated and diligent in order to succeed within the HE system. Robert D. Mare (1980) approaches this observation with his "differential selection hypothesis". It takes the decreasing strength of the social origin effect from one educational stage to the next into account and assumes a declining influence of the parental background at each transmission stage. Thus, individuals from lower social classes who manage the step to the tertiary level are those with the highest motivations and skills. This view is also held by Bourdieu and Passeron (1971:41) who argue that those individuals who go to a university despite of their underprivileged background could only manage this because of their "extraordinary abilities and the remarkable, familial milieu" and a "never ending chain of miracles and effort". They are therefore unlikely to differ from their upper class fellow students in terms of their ability and motivation (- they may even have more of both).

Nevertheless, students from a low social class are less internationally mobile as the data cited in chapter 2.4 show. To understand this contradiction, it is necessary to use a theory which is able to explain the class specific behavior of students without overemphasizing the importance of different individual motivations. The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu offers such a theoretical framework. In the following, I will therefore describe those concepts of his theoretical considerations which are – in my view – central for my research question before applying them to the analysis of socially selective student mobility patterns. By restricting his rich and complex

41 However, within their 85 qualitative interviews with mainly privileged UK student, who have studied at a foreign university for a whole degree, Waters and Brooks could not find much evidence for a strategic, labor market oriented rational behind the decision to study abroad. They rather gained extra qualifications "accidentally". Turning to Bourdieu's conceptualization of the milieu specific *habitus*, they notice that "unconscious daily practices can lead inadvertently to social advantage for privileged individuals" (Waters and Brooks 2010: 224).

theoretical structure, I naturally run the risk of oversimplifying. But here it is even necessary to narrow it down in order to employ it to the formulation of specific hypotheses to address the research puzzle.

5.1.2 Student Mobility from Bourdieu's Theoretical Perspective

5.1.2.1 Central Concepts: Habitus, Field and Capital

Within Bourdieu's theoretical considerations, the *habitus* occupies a central position. Bourdieu defines it as a pattern that underlies the perceptions, thoughts and actions of individuals. The dispositions which are reflected in the habitus are developed during the primary socialization process. The external cultural and economic living conditions are thereby internalized during the individual's childhood and form a class specific habitus. This internalization leads to such a deep embeddedness that the habitus becomes - literally speaking - incorporated in the individual's body – its posture, gestures, facial expression or way of speaking. As part of the body, the habitus thereby operates at the subconscious level:

> "The schemes of the habitus [...] owe their specific efficacy to the fact that they function below the level of consciousness and language, beyond the reach of introspective scrutiny and control by the will. Orienting practice practically, they embed what some would mistakenly call values in the most automatic gestures or the apparently most insignificant techniques of the body – ways of walking or blowing one's nose, ways of eating and talking – and engage the most fundamental principles of construction and evaluation of the social world." (Bourdieu 1984: 466)

The incorporation and the unconscious mode of operation lead to the *hysteresis* effect of the habitus – its rigidity and resistance against external changes.[42] However, social change is not completely impossible as the causal link between the habitus and individual practice is not deterministic; the habitus rather provides the frame or basis for individual action. Within this frame individuals can find a compromise between their habitus and the external cultural and economic conditions (Maher et al. 1990).

This leads to the next module of Bourdieu's theoretical approach: the social *field*. The habitus and the specific field within which it operates always need to be connected as they are mutually dependent and interrelated. Each historically constituted field has its specific structure and logic within which the dominant groups implant their respective habitus and practices. Bourdieu (1992a) uses the game metaphor to describe the mechanisms within a field: A field can thereby be seen as a playing field where different rules – which are defined by the dominant group – apply. Those individuals, whose habitual background complies best with the logic of the field (individuals of the dominant group), are more likely to adapt to the rules of the game as they have a natural intuition for the game.

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42 Bourdieu (1984) illustrates this argument with the example of the working class family who wins a million in the lottery and who nevertheless keeps the lifestyle that it endured before because the (economically accessible) lifestyle of the upper classes is simply out of the questions as it is not compatible with the habitus.

Within each field the different actors can furthermore use their *capital* - their trump cards - in order to win the game. Bourdieu (1986) criticizes the one-dimensional conceptualization of capital as merely economic and uses this critique as a starting point for the development of three types of capital[43]: *economic, cultural* and *social capital*. The first one refers to capital in a traditional, Marxist sense and means mainly money and estates.

Cultural capital in its *embodied state* – "culture, cultivation, *Bildung*" (Bourdieu 1986: 244) - refers to all cultural skills and knowledge that an individual gathers during his/her life course, especially during the process of socialization. As these cultural competences are internalized and thus bound to the person who has acquired them, they build a part of the (class specific) habitus: "Incorporated capital is an estate which became an inherent part of a person, the habitus; 'having' became 'being'." (Bourdieu 1992b: 56). Cultural capital can furthermore show itself in its *objectified state*. This refers to material objects and media. In order to truly possess them, it is, however, necessary to have the adequate embodied cultural capital which contains the "means of consuming a painting or using a machine" (Bourdieu 1986:247). The third state of cultural capital is the *institutionalized* one. With this, Bourdieu means mainly educational credentials. To award an educational title thereby leads to institutional recognition and the legitimization of cultural capital.

The third type of capital is social capital. Bourdieu defines it as

> "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition [...] which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital" (Bourdieu 1986: 248/9).

The affiliation to a group or to individuals can thereby lead to both material and symbolic profit in that it provides access to the cultural and economic capital of this group or individuals. Efficiently applied, social capital thereby operates as a multiplier of the other types of capital (Bourdieu 1992b). However, the number of connections to different actors alone is not sufficient to reproduce or increase cultural and economic capital. It is rather the *quality* of these connections which mainly matters in this respect – only relationships to affluent and highly recognized actors imply social capital for the affiliated individual (Albrecht 2002). Being related to the 'right' people thus means easier direct access to (economic and cultural) capital and positions as well as information about such access possibilities.[44]

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43 Sometimes Bourdieu adds symbolic capital as a fourth type which can be seen as the legitimated form of economic, cultural and social capital – recognition, prestige, reputation, glory (e.g. Bourdieu 1992a).

44 Also James S. Coleman (1988) deals with social capital and its inherent potential for information. He approaches it, however, from a rational choice perspective thereby emphasizing the rational calculation that underlies the establishment and use of social relations. This neglects the fact that the costs and benefits of social relations are hard to calculate as their uncertainty is very high (Albrecht 2002). Bourdieu avoids this problem by linking social capital to the habitus which equips individuals with 'a nose for the right contacts' (Bourdieu 1984). This embodied 'nose' is – like the habitus – class specific and may lead to social reproduction in that it relates the already culturally and economically rich to their like thereby providing access to their valuable resources.

The amount and composition of capital as well as the habitus of actors[45] correspond to a specific lifestyle which encompasses everything from their eating habits and preferred sports to their tastes in music and literature. Members of the upper class thereby apply their *sense of distinction* to show their superiority whereas the middle class is subject to *cultural goodwill* – it is oriented towards the *legitimate taste* of the upper class, but lacks the habitus to appropriate it. The working class, finally, underlies the *choice of the necessary* which emphasizes function rather than form (Bourdieu 1984). The sense of distinction is thereby a rather unconscious, habitual 'strategy' of those who possess it to distinguish themselves from the rest. The value of a specific distinctive feature thereby depends on its rarity – the more it spreads, the more likely becomes its substitution. However, the imitation of the sense of distinction is inevitably difficult and exhausting for social climbers as they lack the naturalness and the habitus of the upper class. Thus, each striving for distinction of the middle and lower classes seems to be artificial and insincere.

After presenting some main aspects of Bourdieu's 'theoretical building' and their relationship, I will now turn to the educational field - or more specifically: the field of higher education - and its inherent mechanisms before using the underlying assumptions to understand the social selectivity of student mobility.

5.1.2.2 The Education System and its Subtle Logic of Reproduction

Bourdieu approaches educational inequality by identifying a fit between the logic of the educational field and the habitus of the dominant groups within this field. Thus,

> "[t]he educational system reproduces all the more perfectly the structure of the distribution of cultural capital among classes (and sections of a class) in that the culture which it transmits is closer to the dominant culture and that the mode of inculcation to which it has recourse is less removed from the course of inculcation practised by the family" (Bourdieu 1973: 80).

The subtle nature of educational reproduction stems from the ignorance of inherent privileges. By treating pupils from different social classes as equal, the educational system translates social privileges into natural merits thereby legitimating the implicit discrimination of those who do not possess these inherent privileges. This leads to an incremental (self)elimination of children from lower social classes, because they feel out of place – as they do not have the habitual preconditions to follow the rules of the 'educational game' – and because they have lower chances to survive in a merit-based system (Bourdieu and Passeron 1971).[46]

However, some of those underprivileged students do manage to survive the selection procedure and access the higher education system. According to Bourdieu and Passeron (1971) they are, however, a very positively selected group in terms of both effort and talent. Nonetheless, the authors identify differences between stu-

45 Social actors are thereby not only stratified in a vertical way. Within each 'class' Bourdieu (1984) identifies horizontal segmentations which are characterized by the same amount, but a different distribution of cultural and economic capital thereby leading to different tastes and lifestyles.

46 This reproduction hypothesis is criticized by Halsey et al. (1980: 70): "[T]he state selective schools (much more than the private schools) were doing far more than 'reproducing' cultural capital, they were creating it too. They were bringing an academic or technical training to a very substantial number of boys from homes that were not in any formal sense educated."

dents from different social classes in terms of their performances, length of study and their probability of success – and try to find the logic behind these inequalities. Again, the class-specific habitus and the unequally distributed capital – especially in its cultural and social forms - play a central role in Bourdieu's argumentation.

Students with a privileged social background easily adapt to the rules and logic of the field of higher education whereas their less privileged counterparts feel insecure and overcharged. Whereas the former radiate self-confidence and a natural brilliance, the latter act merely in a constrained and affected way. These differences in the appearance and manner of students from different social classes stem from their different habitus and – related to this – their different embodied cultural capital which they experienced and incorporated during their socialization. Bourdieu and Passeron (1971) demonstrate this relationship with reference to language. According to them, academic language is a new terrain for all students. However, the distance between the language learned at home and the language used by the academic staff is different for students from higher and lower social classes.[47] It is, however, not only the academic language that is new for many students. First and foremost, it is the required new way of organizing tasks and structures without much guidance; being self-responsible that distinguishes school routines from HE practices. Even if this self-responsibility may partly be new for all students, those from higher social classes have, firstly, a 'natural' instinct for the rules of the HE game which was – as part of their habitus - acquired during their early socialization within a highly educated parental home. Secondly, 'educationally experienced' parents can prepare their children for the university life before and give them valuable inside tips during their studies. This way, socially advantaged students can be more self-confident and relaxed. Thus, even if students from lower social classes try to adapt to the rules of the field of higher education and to imitate their more privileged fellow students, they are disadvantaged because of the hysteresis effect of their habitus.

More directly related to international mobility, socially privileged students may have acquired more cultural capital which can be used to prepare and realize a study related stay abroad. They may, for instance, have had more opportunities to learn foreign languages (outside school), to participate in often expensive exchange programs or to undertake long travels to foreign countries so that traveling – and being away from home - may have become part of their habitus.

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47 According to Bourdieu, this leads to a "desperate imitation of the professorial language, [...] to a caricature of its virtuosity: instead of free and reasonably chosen variation, one only finds, like in the *nativistic movements*, mechanical and chaotic malapropisms" (Bourdieu and Passeron 1971: 99). Thus, language becomes one of the most subtle mechanisms of distinction towards which the judgment of professors and lecturers is unconsciously oriented. One could argue that students from lower social classes could catch up with their more privileged counterparts during their school days. However, as Bourdieu and Passeron (1971) argue, to be really able to master the academic use of language, it is not enough to pass through the school system. It is rather crucial that the foundation is laid during the process of early socialization. Otherwise, the language use – even if formally correct - seems false and obtrusive rather than natural and cultivated. The point about the mastery of language can probably mainly be used to explain differences in the performance of students from different classes. It is, if at all, only implicitly related to international mobility. It is, of course, related to the appearance and self-confidence of students and therefore, in turn, to the relationship between students and professors which can be more or less valuable in terms of access to information and resources.

Students from different social classes do not only differ according to their habitus and cultural[48] capital. It can also be assumed that they have a different social capital in terms of both quantity and quality. Firstly, students with a privileged background can directly or indirectly access the valuable social connections of their family. By using these connections, they employ their social capital to increase their cultural capital. It may, for instance, be easier for them to get a traineeship in a prestigious foreign firm. Secondly, even if it may be true that – once they enter the university – students from different social classes have relatively similar links to each other, Bourdieu and Passeron (1971) observe that those from higher social classes have the most intensive and diverse relationships to their fellow students, because of their more confident appearance. Thirdly, and maybe most importantly, socially privileged students have a more intense relationship to their professors as they have inherited their habitus so that they can interact with them in an unaffected way. In contrast to this, working class students are more likely to be intimidated by the presence of a professor and try to avoid direct conversations with him/her. Being known and accepted by well-known and highly recognized academics, however, embodies a very valuable social capital in that it can be helpful for both academic success and the access to desirable internal and external (working) positions. Turning to international mobility, these connections can be used to get valuable inside information about prestigious exchange programs and foreign universities or access to scholarships.

Finally, even if economic capital is, compared to cultural capital, of minor importance within the field of higher education, it is undeniable that the unequal distribution of economic capital leads to different living and study conditions: Is it possible for students to concentrate on their studies or do they need to pursue a job in order to cover their living expenses? Do they have the financial means to buy all the books and materials they need? Do they have a sufficiently long time horizon or do they have to rush through their studies at the cost of the quality of their contributions? This point is particularly important for international mobility as study-related stays abroad are, firstly, expensive (travel and living expenses, fees) and, secondly, often prolong the standard period of study which leads to higher overall study costs and later labor market incomes. Thirdly, they may lead to a loss of income that is needed by less affluent students in order to cover their living expenses.

By using the approach of Bourdieu, I argued why students from lower social classes are disadvantaged within the field of higher education even if they may be a positively selected group. However, Bourdieu's conclusions derive from studies undertaken within the French educational system in the 1960s. One should therefore

48 I did not explicitly mention institutionalized and objectified cultural capital. The possession of cultural goods such as books or paintings, as explained above, is only valuable in a cultural sense if the owner has the appropriate embodied cultural capital to consume them. If so, it can be assumed that they multiply or reinforce to some extent the embodied cultural capital. This means that upper class students with much embodied and objectified capital have an even greater advantage. In terms of the institutionalized capital, there should, however, not be a big difference between students from different classes. It can even be assumed that the positively selected group of students from lower social classes has 'better' certificates in terms of grades. (There may however, be a stratification in terms of the type of higher education entrance qualification which can be general, subject or institutions specific thereby restricting the study possibilities of students who hold the latter.)

be careful to transfer this logic to other systems and times (Georg 2006). The educational expansion may, for instance, have loosened the fit between the habitus of the upper classes and the implicit rules within the field of higher education. Furthermore, it is crucial to take the respective cultures within different fields of study and different types of higher education institutions into account. For Germany, for instance, it can be assumed that students from lower social classes feel more 'at home' in the universities of applied sciences as they follow a more structured curriculum and have a different composition of the student body. Similarly, the most prestigious fields of study – medicine and law – as well as the very unstructured and flexible humanities and social sciences should provide more barriers for students from lower social classes than, for instance, the more school-like engineering studies. The type of HE institutions and the field of studies are thereby interrelated.

One empirical study which used Bourdieu's ideas and transferred them to German students of social sciences was conducted by Lange-Vester and Teiwes-Kügler (2006). They identify different types of student milieus with the help of qualitative interviews. At the one pole, they find students with an elite background and a large amount of social and economic capital – *the exclusive* - who try to distinguish themselves explicitly from the rest by studying at prestigious foreign universities or by attending demanding English courses at their home universities. In contrast to this, *the insecure* are characterized by a lack of familial support; they are not equipped with the necessary techniques required to survive within the HE system, they cannot master the academic language and dissociate themselves more and more from the HE field which leads to a vicious cycle of poor results and increasing insecurity.

Using Bourdieu's approach of educational inequality, this chapter has discussed in what way and why students from different social classes differ within the HE context and described some first ideas about the relationship between those concepts and international mobility. Within the next section, I will elaborate on this link more strongly and formulate hypotheses which will be examined in the following part of this paper.

5.1.2.3 Consequences for International Student Mobility: Hypotheses

As outlined in chapter 5.1.1, the assumptions of the rational choice approach, mainly the status maintenance motive, are violated within the HE context: students from different social classes should be equally eager to succeed within the HE system as well as the labor market. Their motivations (for instance to reach a prestigious occupational position or to gain high earnings) is therefore not likely to influence their decision to study abroad. This could be shown by Lörz and Krawitz (2011) who analyzed the mobility behavior of German students from different social classes. Contrary to their hypothesis, they could not find a variation between the different social groups in terms of their striving for prestige and high incomes which, in turn, did not reduce the positive relationship between social origin and international mobility. As the survey data I have used to answer my research question do not contain information about the motivations of students to study (abroad), these secondary results need to suffice for the falsification of this rational choice assumption.

However, as discussed above, students from different social classes differ in terms of their habitus and the quantity and quality of the cultural, social and eco-

nomic capital which is available to them. The habitus of the socially privileged students equips them with self-confidence and an instinctive naturalness that helps them to orient themselves easily within the field of higher education. It is exactly this self-confidence and feeling of security that can be expected to facilitate the organization and realization of a study period abroad. If students from lower social classes do not 'feel at home' at their home university, it is more likely that they do not dare – maybe unconsciously - to go to a foreign country with a foreign culture and language where they do not have their social network to support them.[49] This assumption is most likely within the first semesters. As time goes on, students from lower social classes familiarize themselves with the field of higher education thereby leveling up with socially more privileged students.

Furthermore, it can be assumed that the cultural capital of less privileged students – even if they may have performed equally well or even better at school – does not lay the foundation to go abroad. Brooks and Waters (2009), for instance, observe that the internationally mobile students they interviewed had extensive travelling experiences either through trips with their families or exchange programs before they started their studies. They could thereby develop a "traveling culture" (p. 1097) that facilitated the decision to go abroad again. Students from less privileged backgrounds are very unlikely to have extensive travelling experiences; this can operate as an unconscious barrier.

There are also more obvious barriers to international mobility for those students. They, firstly, have less economic capital, which complicates the realization of a study period abroad. Also, a possible wage loss is probably perceived as more severe by them. Secondly, even if they know the same professors, they cannot use this social capital as efficiently as their more privileged fellow students as they shy away from direct and extensive conversations with them. Thus, they may get less helpful information, support and suggestions.

Hence, it can be hypothesized that students from different social classes do indeed differ in terms of their international mobility. This difference should, however, not derive from class specific rational decisions and motivations. It should rather be the different *capital endowments* as well as their *habitus* that (unconsciously) lead to these differences. Furthermore, the difference should decrease over time as the habitus of the socially disadvantaged students may gradually be adjusted to the field of HE:

HM1: Students from higher social classes are more often internationally mobile during their studies than students from lower social classes. This can be partly explained by class specific endowments of cultural, economic and social capital and – related to this – by the class specific habitus.

49 The already cited paper by Lange-Vester and Teiwes-Kügler (2006) describes the *insecure* students as strongly oriented towards their circle of friends within the university. They even subordinate their personal interests to the collective by choosing the same courses as their friends.

HM2: The relationship b*etween the social background of students and international mobility should be less pronounced for students who have studied 5 terms or more (compared to those who are in their first to fourth semester).*[50]

Turning to the influence of the Bologna Process which is in Germany most vivid through the introduction of BA/MA study programs, the question is to what extent and in what way the supposed diffusion of the Bologna model of mobility could change the relationship between the social origin of students and their mobility behavior. As could be shown in chapter 3.3, the Bologna model of mobility stresses the geographical dimension of mobility. However, there are also passages which deal with social mobility and even combine both elements. Furthermore, related reform suggestions such as the extension of existing mobility programs, the introduction of ECTS and a better comparability and recognition of study contents may have a more pronounced effect on socially disadvantaged students as it may become, firstly, easier for them to compete for the participation in a program and, secondly, because their time horizon within which they need to graduate is shorter (mainly for economic reasons) so that they may benefit particularly strong from, for instance, a complete recognition. Within the German context, the Bologna model of mobility is mainly adapted at the cultural-cognitive institutional level. Furthermore, criticism about the BA/MA reform as well as the recognition practice at many HEIs points to loose coupling between the rhetorical level and the level of action. However, the BAföG reform of 2001 in combination with the expansion of mobility programs can be expected to have a positive effect on the mobility behavior of socially disadvantaged students. It is thus difficult to predict in what way the Bologna Process and its German translation eventually influences the social selectivity of student mobility. On the one hand, the diffusion of some parts of the Bologna model of mobility may weaken the relationship between social selectivity and student mobility. On the other hand, incomplete and varying implementations of the Bologna script at the national and organizational level may also strengthen it. Thus, two competing hypotheses can be formulated:

HM3a: The relationship between the social background of students and international mobility should be weaker for the post–Bologna cohort than for the pre–Bologna cohort.

HM3b: The relationship between the social background of students and international mobility should be stronger for the post–Bologna cohort than for the pre–Bologna cohort (because of incomplete and contradictory reform implementations – loose coupling).

These assumptions should be especially pronounced for BA students as the Bologna reforms are most vivid in this new study structure. Here again, two opposing hypotheses can be formulated:

HM4a: The relationship between the social background of students and international mobility should be weaker for BA students than for students who are enrolled in other programs, because the diffusion of the Bologna model of mobility – which inter alia aims at

50 The distinction of 1-4 and 5-8 semesters derives from the operationalization of the variables which will be explained below.

reducing this relation – can be expected to be most advanced within BA programs (as the main reforms of the Bologna Process).

HM4b: The relationship between the social background of students and international mobility should be stronger for BA students than for students who are enrolled in other programs, because of the imperfect implementation of the study structure reform (e.g. inflexible curricula, high workload, missing mobility windows).

So far, only the link between social origin and international mobility per se has been considered. However, this correlation should not be perfect. Whereas some students from lower social classes go abroad to study, some students from upper classes probably do not. Yet, also if only internationally mobile students are considered, a class specific pattern of their mobility behavior can be assumed theoretically. This can among other things include the country of destination as well as the duration of the study periods abroad. How can this assumption be explained?

Parallel to the spread of international student mobility within Europe especially with the help of the ERASMUS program, the scarcity value of going to an 'ordinary' European country or studying at an 'ordinary' European university is decreasing. It no longer serves well as a distinctive feature of the upper classes. It can thus be assumed that upper class students choose more exclusive or exotic universities or destination countries in order to follow their (unconscious) strive for distinction. One could assume now that students from lower social classes try to imitate their more privileged fellow students in order to get the same valuable and recognized qualifications. However, they are confronted with real or perceived barriers which may keep them from copying their privileged fellow students. This leads again to the different capital endowments:

As already explained, upper class students can use their social capital more skillfully in order to multiply their cultural capital: the naturalness and ease with which they approach the academic staff helps them to get useful information about prestigious universities, exchange programs or scholarships – shortly, the most distinctive possibilities to study abroad. On the other hand, because of their more intense relationship to the academic staff, lecturers may even address their 'most brilliant' students directly to tell them about new and prestigious opportunities to go abroad. Moreover, students from upper social classes can more easily afford the more costly travels to countries outside the EHEA or the high fees of elite universities as they have more economic capital at their disposal. This is certainly related to their *sense of distinction* - if everybody could afford (financially and mentally) to study, for instance, at a US Ivy League university, it would lose its distinctive value. With the assumed diffusion of the Bologna model of mobility which emphasizes international mobility within the EHEA this relationship can be expected to increase as the expansion of European exchange programs might lead to a further decrease of the distinctive value of most European destination countries and universities. The following can thus be hypothesized:

HC1: Mobile students from higher social classes more often chose 'prestige countries' as the destination for their study–related stay abroad than students from lower social

classes. (This can partly be explained by the sense of distinction of the former as well as by their better endowment with social and economic capital.)[51]

HC2: This relationship should be stronger for post–Bologna students as 'ordinary' European destinations further lose their distinctive value.

A similar logic can be assumed for the duration of a study period abroad – the longer it is the more likely it can be realized both mentally and financially by upper class students. Again, with the spread of the Bologna model of mobility, a longer study-related stay abroad may increase the distinctive value of international mobility thereby leading to an increased duration of mobile periods especially for upper class students of the post-Bologna cohort. Taking into account the critique of the reform of the study structure in Germany, it can furthermore be assumed that the relationship between the social origin and the duration of study-related stays abroad is highest for BA students as they may have difficulties to integrate a longer period abroad into their relatively inflexible study structure. The resulting risk of a substantial prolongation of their studies and the associated higher costs should be considered more severe by students from lower social classes. Furthermore, the new rhetoric of shorter durations of education and earlier labor market entry may put additional pressure on them.[52]

HD1: In total, the duration of study–related stays abroad is longer for students from upper social classes than for students from lower social classes. (This can again partly be explained by the sense of distinction of the former as well as by their better endowment with economic capital.)

HD2: This relationship should be stronger for post–Bologna students as upper class students use longer study–related stays abroad to distinguish themselves from the increasing number of socially disadvantaged, internationally mobile students.

HD3: Within the post–Bologna cohort, the correlation between the social origin of students and the duration of study–related stays abroad should be highest for BA students because it is more difficult for them to integrate a longer mobile period of study into their shorter and more structured BA programs.

To sum up the interplay between the Bologna Process and the social selectivity of international student mobility, the assumed effects are not just black and white. Whereas the diffusion of the Bologna model of mobility may increase the equality of students from different social classes with reference to some aspects to their mobility behavior, they may even reinforce social inequality in other mobility aspects.

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51 It would, of course, be more precise to define 'prestige universities'. However, as this is not possible with the available data 'prestige countries' need to suffice. I will further elaborate on this issue below.

52 Whereas the Bologna model of mobility aims to an increase the quantity and diversity of mobile students (which complies with HM3a and HM4a), it does not contain statements about the desirability of preferably of long study-related stays abroad. Thus, opposing hypotheses to HD2 and HD3 are not formulated.

Thus, for the relationship between the social origin of students and whether they are internationally mobile or not two opposing scenarios can be theoretically proposed: On the one hand, the diffusion of the Bologna model of mobility may weaken the social inequality in terms of international students mobility (HM3a). On the other hand, it is also possible to assume the contrary (HM3b).

As more and more students with diverse social backgrounds decide for a study-related stay abroad, the socially privileged students look for new ways to distinguish themselves – they may decide for more prestigious countries of destinations or universities (HC2) or longer periods abroad (HD2). Thus the relationship between social origin and those variables should increase.

Table 2: Summary of Hypotheses

Dependent Variable: International Mobility		
HM1	Includes: 1997 + 2006	Social origin → (+) Mobility
HM2	1997 + 2006	Term 1-4: Social origin → (+) Mobility (>) Term 5-8: Social origin → (+) Mobility
HM3a	1997 + 2006	1997: Social origin → (+) Mobility (>) 2006: Social origin → (+) Mobility
HM3b	1997 + 2006	1997: Social origin → (+) Mobility (<) 2006: Social origin → (+) Mobility
HM4a	2006	BA: Social origin → (+) Mobility (<) Other degrees: Social origin → (+) Mobility
HM4b	2006	BA: Social origin → (+) Mobility (>) Other degrees: Social origin → (+) Mobility
Dependent Variable: Country of Destination (Prestige)		
HC1	1997 + 2006	Social origin → (+) Prestige Countries
HC2	1997 + 2006	1997: Social origin → (+) Prestige Countries (<) 2006: Social origin → (+) Prestige Countries
Dependent Variable: Duration of Study–Related Stay Abroad		
HD1	1997 + 2006	Social origin → (+) Duration
HD2	1997 + 2006	1997: Social origin → (+) Duration (<) 2006: Social origin → (+) Duration
HD3	2006	BA: Social origin → (+) Duration (>) Other degrees: Social origin → (+) Duration

Taking the new study structure into consideration, the correlation of social origin and mobility may decrease if the Bologna reforms are implemented in full and loose coupling is not as severe as feared by some observers (HM4a). However, if the critics of the implementation of the Bologna reforms are proved right, the relationship between the social background and both international mobility and its duration may increase (HM4b, HD3). Table 2 summarizes all hypotheses at a glance.

Within this chapter, I formulated hypotheses about the social selectivity of different aspects of student mobility thereby using Bourdieu's theory and their interplay with the Bologna Process. Before turning to the descriptive and multivariate examination of these hypotheses, I will describe the data sets, operationalizations and methods within the following chapter.

5.2 Methods

5.2.1 Data

In chapter 2.3.2, I described the difficulties to get reliable data on international student mobility. However, if only German students are considered the problem is less pronounced. As reported, there are different cross-sectional, time-series and longitudinal surveys of young Germans holding a HE entrance qualification, HE students and HE graduates which have been conducted at the national, federal state or organizational level. Some of them at least ask for realized or planned study-related stays abroad although often only marginally.

To answer my research questions, I need comparable data for at least one pre- and one post-Bologna student cohort. Furthermore, I need relatively detailed information about different aspects of international mobility (duration, country of destination) as well as information about the cultural, social and economic capital of students. The survey which meets these requirements best is the Social Survey of the German National Association for Student Affairs (*Deutsches Studentenwerk – DSW*). It is a representative, written survey of German students[53] which is conducted by HIS and funded by the BMBF approximately every third year since 1951. Its objective is "to deliver a comprehensive overview of the social and economic situation of students in Germany, and of a number of important aspects of student life and studies" (Isserstedt et al. 2007: 1). One of these 'important aspects' is the international mobility of students. Together with the overall topic of the social and economic conditions of German students and the time-series design it is located at the intersection of the different topics that I try to combine within this contributon – international student mobility, social selectivity and the Bologna Process.

To examine the hypotheses, I decided to use the 15th Social Survey which was conducted in 1997, shortly before the beginning of the Bologna Process, and the 18th social survey conducted in 2006 which represents a post-Bologna data set.[54] Both data sets have a sufficiently high number of cases (2006: 16,590, response rate: 31%;

53 Not included are students of colleges of public administration, schools for distance learning, and the universities of the German armed forces.

54 The findings of the 19th Social Survey (2009) are already published. However, the data have not yet been available when I conducted this study.

1997: 20533, response rate: 37%) which is especially important for me as some of my hypotheses include only mobile students. Both questionnaires are comparable in many aspects. However, the 15th Social Survey covers more detailed aspects of the social and cultural capital of students. Thus, it is not possible to compare all pre- and post-Bologna relationships.

Within the next section, I will describe the dependent, independent and control variables which have been used to examine the hypotheses and illustrate their operationalization. Detailed information about the generation of all variables as well as their mean and standard deviation can be found in Tables E and F in the appendix.

5.2.2 Variables and Operationalization

Dependent Variables

As the hypotheses indicate, there are three different dependent variables: a dichotomous variable that specifies whether or not students have been internationally mobile during their studies (*mobility*), another dichotomous variable about the country of destination (*destination*) and a metric variable about the duration of study related stays abroad (*duration*).

All three variables could be built in the same way for the 1997 and 2006 data. The dummy variable *mobility* contains all study-related stays abroad (studies, internship, language course, others); the value 1 is assigned if a student has participated in one or more of these activities. For the *duration* variable, the sum of the duration in months of all study related stays abroad has been generated. Finally, I defined 'prestige' countries of *destination* which should be chosen more frequently by upper class students. Given the intra-country variation in terms of the reputation of higher education institutions, the validity of the concept would be higher if prestige universities (e.g. with the help of the Times Higher Education Ranking) instead of countries could be defined. However, the data reveal only information about the country of destination. I thus defined the US, the UK, France, Canada, Australia and New Zealand as prestige countries. I thereby tried to account for the existence of elite universities (FR, UK, US), the distinctive value of a long distance (US, CA, AU, NZ) and the importance of the Anglophone language and culture for the (international) careers of students (UK, US, CA, AU, NZ).[55] If students have been in different countries for a study-related stay abroad, I have chosen the country of the longest stay.

Independent Variables

I tried to categorize the independent variables according to Bourdieu's concepts[56]. Central for my argumentation is the *cultural capital*, especially the educa-

55 This classification may seem arbitrarily (China or Bolivia are far away as well, Switzerland has universities in the top 20s of the times ranking and the Anglophone culture and language is so widespread by now that its distinctive value is disputable). However, I tried to combine all elements. Furthermore, I tested different other possibilities to operationalize 'prestige countries' (inside vs. outside the EHEA or outside the EHEA + UK + FR vs. other countries), though with only minor changes in the findings.

56 The operationalization of variables deriving from Bourdieu's theoretical assumptions can be seen as challenging. The most straight-forward measure is probably possible for economic capital as this refers to variables such as income or assets that are contained in many surveys. However, so-

tional background of the students' parents as this contributes to the habitus of the students, how easily they can adapt to the field of higher education and how much guidance they may receive from their parents. This variable is thus interpreted as the central explanatory variable signifying the social origin of students. I generated a dummy variable that indicates whether at least one parent has a HE degree.[57] This was possible for both data sets. However, there are also some variables in the 1997 survey measuring aspects of cultural capital that are not contained in the 2006 data. The first one is a dummy variable that indicates whether a student has been abroad before entering the HE system. Only 'holidays' has thereby been coded as 0. The second dummy shows whether a student has learned a foreign language between the end of upper-secondary school and the beginning of tertiary education. Whereas the latter refers more directly to language competences, the former can be understood in a broader sense as the development of a "traveling culture" (Brooks and Waters 2009: 1097) that reduces possible (cognitive) inhibitions to study abroad.

Variables that refer to *social capital* are even less frequently represented in the questionnaires. Only the pre-Bologna survey contains three questions that can be associated with social capital. It asks how often a student has talked to the lecturers outside the actual courses about personal, subject-specific or organizational questions during the last two semesters. Because all three variables seem to be very similar, I decided to build an additive index (Cronbach's alpha: 0.73). Afterwards, I have built three dummy variables for 'no contact', 'below-average contact' and 'above average contact'. Unfortunately, the 18th social survey does not contain a similar question or another question that could be interpreted as measuring social capital.

Lastly, both data sets contain some indicators of *economic capital*. Firstly, the weekly working hours of students can be seen as an indicator for their financial neediness. If their parents cannot afford to support them financially, they need to spend more time in the labor market. This, in turn, can influence the decision to go abroad (or the duration of mobile periods) negatively because of the loss of income

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cial and especially cultural capital are much more complex and latent. The latter is often operationalized through the cultural practice of parents (e.g. participation in high culture or reading habits) (De Graaf and De Graaf 2006). However, such information are not contained in the Social Survey. Even harder are the measurement and operationalization of the habitus of students as this is per definition unconscious and can thus not be easily acquired with the help of surveys. There are some variables within the Social Survey that can be interpreted as belonging to the habitus of students. There is, for instance, a question about psychological difficulties of students that affect their studies (especially exam anxiety, contact difficulties, lack of self-confidence). However, it is likely that the students that confirmed these problems are a selective group of students who are aware of their problems, do not shy away from admitting them and maybe even look for professional help. Students belonging to this group are likely to be socially privileged. Students from lower social classes are more likely to accept their problems as normal. I checked this assumption. The findings thereby confirm it. There are almost no differences between students whose parents have/don't have a HE degree. However, the former confess slightly more often to have great difficulties. This variable is therefore excluded from the analysis.

57 There is also the possibility to include the occupational status of the students' parents into the models. However, this would probably collide with the variables measuring economic capital (especially BAföG). Furthermore, it is theoretically more convincing to use the educational and not the occupational background of parents as this is decisive for the passing of a 'higher education habitus'.

during this time.[58] I created 4 dummy variables for: 0, 1-10, 11-20 and 21-30 working hours. All students who stated that they work more than 30 hours are excluded from the analysis as they seem to be only *proforma* students and thus do not belong to the actual risk population of this study. Another variable indicating the economic capital of students is whether they get BAföG or not.[59] A last dummy variable which can, however, only be generated with the 2006 survey is, whether a student moved from the federal state where he/she got his/her HE entrance certificate to another federal state to study. This indicates if a student has enough financial means to move away from the parental home. It has, of course, not only a financial dimension, but also indicates if it is conceivable for students to leave the home country or region which is probably correlated with both the cultural capital and the international mobility pattern of students (e.g. Lörz 2008). The classification as economic capital should therefore not be understood as deterministic. Because of the varying size of the different federal states (North Rhine-Westphalia: 34,000 km², Saarland: 2,500 km²) and the missing information on the specific location of the school and university town this variable is, however, relatively imprecise. Furthermore, increasingly applied admission restrictions may keep students from staying or moving even if they would actually decide differently. Thus, this variable can only be interpreted as a proxy for the financial background (and cognitive willingness to leave the parental home or town).

Control Variables

The different control variables can be classified into study-related variables and socio-demographic variables. The latter includes the gender of the students and whether they have a permanent partner.[60] The study-related variables control for the type of HE institution (university or university of applied sciences), for the number of terms a student has already studied (1-4 vs. 5-8), the field of study (engineering, humanities and arts, economics, social sciences, natural sciences, medicine, law) and whether the average mobility of a respective field of study (here: *Studienbereich* which is measured more detailed) is above- or below-average. The post-Bologna models further contain a dummy variable indicating the degree type (BA vs. others). The sample also contains some MA students. However, the number of cases is too small to analyze them comprehensively within a distinct category.

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58 However, it needs to be considered that the relationship between the economic affluence of parents and the weekly working hours of students is probably not linear. This is due to some BAföG regulations: If a student earns more than around 400 € a month the benefits are shortened. Therefore, the 'poorest' students do probably not have the highest weekly working hours. This can, in turn, be expected for those students who do not get BAföG because their parents have slightly too high earnings but not enough financial means to pay their children's whole living expenses.

59 I also tried to distinguish this variable into below-average and above-average BAföG. However, the difference between both groups in terms of their mobility behavior is rather small so that I decided to take a single dummy variable (no BAföG vs. BAföG)

60 The problem is that the information about the family status refers to the time of the survey and may therefore differ from the family status during the mobile period. However, as it is also an indicator for the general family orientation of the students (with a probably negative 'effect' on international mobility), I did not exclude it from the analysis. It would have been possible to include a variable indicating the existence of children. However, this is strongly correlated with the family status (less than 1% of those who have a child do not have a partner).

Table 3 displays all variables, their presumed correlation with the three dependent variables and whether they are contained in only one or both data sets.

Table 3: Explanatory/Control Variables and their Expected Correlation with the Dependent Variables

Variable	Data set	Expected correlation with:		
		Mobility	Destination (Prestige)	Duration
Dependent variables				
Mobility	1997 + 2006	----------	----------	----------
Destination	1997 + 2006	----------	----------	----------
Duration	1997 + 2006	----------	----------	----------
Independent variables				
Cultural capital				
HE degree of parents	1997 + 2006	+	+	+
Language course before studies	1997	+	(+)	+
Experiences abroad before studies	1997	+	(+)	+
Social Capital				
Contact to lecturers	1997	+	+	(+)
Economic Capital				
Weekly working hours	1997 + 2006	-	-	-
BAföG	1997 + 2006	-	-	-
Geographical mobility between federal states at the beginning of studies	2006	+	+	+
Control variables				
Study–related variables				
Field of study: Depending on the average mobility (above-average: +, below-average: -)[61]	1997 + 2006	+/-	o	+/-
Mobile field of study	1997 + 2006	+	o	+
Number of terms	1997 + 2006	+	o	(+)
HE institution: university	1997 + 2006	+	+	+
Degree type: BA	2006	+/-	(-)/o	-
Socio–demographic variables				
Gender	1997 + 2006	o	o	o
Family status: single	1997 + 2006	-	(-)	-

+ (positive correlation), (+) (slight positive correlation or: relationship not entirely clear, but probably positive), o (no correlation), (-) (slight negative correlation or: relationship not entirely clear, but probably negative), - (negative correlation)

61 1997 and 2006: above average: humanities, economics, law; below-average: engineering, natural sciences, social sciences, medicine.

5.2.3 Methods of Analysis

As a start, I excluded different cases in order to define and refine the risk population of this study. I excluded all interviewees who do not have a German HE entrance certificate, those who work more than 30 hours a week, PhD students (only in the 2006 survey) and all who had already studied more than eight semesters. This last step is necessary for the comparison of BA students with students of other degree types in terms of their mobility behavior. It is known that international mobility increases with each additional semester (Isserstedt et al. 2010). BA students would therefore *per se* be 'disadvantaged' and a comparison of different degree groups would be misleading if also higher terms would be included. Even if the general period of study for BA students is mainly six terms in Germany (especially at universities), I decided to analyze all students up to their eighth semester. Firstly, because many BA students do not manage to graduate within six terms and secondly, because there are also BA programs in some fields of study and especially at universities of applied sciences which last seven or eight terms.[62]

To describe the hypothesized relationships between the explanatory and the dependent variables, I have firstly used cross tables (for the dichotomous dependent variables) and compared the means of groups (for the metric dependent variable) to analyze their bivariate correlation. This first step provides a first clue of whether the hypotheses need to be falsified. If there are no group differences in terms of the frequency or mean of the dependent variables, the respective hypotheses need to be rejected and the particular explanatory variables are not added to the multivariate models.

To estimate the correlation between the independent variables and the duration of a study-related stay abroad, I have used Ordinary Least Square Models (*OLS*). This relatively uncontested linear estimation procedure tries to minimize the Residual Sum of Squares (*RSS*) in order to improve the regression parameters.

For the two dichotomous dependent variables the choice of a particular regression model is not equally easy. Often, the use of logistic regression is proposed and used. However, as Carina Mood (2009)[63] points out, logistic models lead to difficulties in terms of the interpretation of coefficients "as substantive effects, because they also reflect unobserved heterogeneity" (p. 67). It is therefore problematic to compare them across different independent variables, samples, groups within samples or over time as this would imply that the unobserved heterogeneity remains constant.

One possibility to avoid these problems is to estimate Linear Probability Models (LPM) instead of logistic models. LPMs are linear regression models which differ from OLS models in that they estimate average effects on binary dependent variables. This way, the interpretation and comparison of the regression parameters is easier. Mood lists three potential problems of LPMs: firstly, the predicted probabilities are out of range if they are higher than 1 or lower than 0. However, unrealistic predicted values are "also common in linear regression with non-binary dependent

62 It is likely that the decision to exclude all higher terms may lead to an underestimation of the international mobility of German students. However, because I am not particularly interested in the quantitative development of international student mobility, this is not seen as a severe problem.

63 The following methodological argumentation refers to this paper.

variables. This is not a serious problem unless many predicted values fall below 0 or above 1" (p. 78). Secondly, the standard errors can be invalid due to heteroscedastic residuals. This problem can easily be corrected by using robust standard errors. Thirdly, the non-linear functional form may be misspecified. As my independent variables are exclusively binary, this does, however, not pose a problem for the following analysis.

In sum, the advantages of LPMs – especially the comparability of its coefficients across samples, groups and over time which is crucial for the examination of my hypotheses – overweigh its shortcomings. Furthermore, if I would use logistic regressions, it would be advisable to add as many potentially influential variables into the models as possible in order to reduce the unobserved heterogeneity. This is, however, hardly possible as I do not have any influence on the available variables.

5.3 Findings

After describing the data, variables and methods, I will now examine the hypotheses about the social selectivity of student mobility and its interplay with the Bologna Process, firstly in a descriptive way and afterwards with the help of multivariate models.

5.3.1 Descriptive Statistics

Within this chapter, I will examine the hypotheses descriptively. I will thereby only address the central relationships in detail, whereas the others are discussed rather briefly or only displayed in a table. In order to increase the clarity of the chapter, it is organized along the three different dependent variables.

Dependent Variable: International Mobility

As central variable displaying the social background of students (and their cultural capital), I defined the educational background of their parents, i.e. whether at least one of them holds a HE degree. Is this variable indeed related to the international mobility of students and, if so, does this relationship change when pre- and post-Bologna students are compared? As can be seen in Table 4, upper class students[64] of both cohorts are more mobile than their less privileged counterparts (HM1). The total quantity of mobile students increased slightly over time (0.55%). However, at the same time the difference between the social origin groups rose from 3.5% to 6%. Thus, in contrast to HM3a, the Bologna reforms did not contribute to a decrease of the social selectivity of international student mobility. HM3b, however, is confirmed by the data.[65]

64 In the following I use different synonymous for the social origin of students. This always refers to the educational background of their parents if not stated otherwise.

65 As it is not possible to include all possible influences, this proposition should, however, not be understood deterministically. There are many factors at the different levels which can influence the social selectivity of international student mobility. The Bologna Process is only one of them, although probably an important one.

Table 4: Bivariate Relationship between the Educational Background of Parents and International Mobility of Students in 1997 and 2006

Ed. background of parents	1997			2006		
	Immobile	Mobile	Total	Immobile	Mobile	Total
No HE degree	6,030 (88.85)	757 (11.15)	6,787 (100)	4.893 (89.85)	553 (10.15)	5,446 (100)
HE degree	4,601 (85.38)	788 (14.62)	5,389 (100)	5,083 (83.97)	970 (16.03)	6,053 (100)
Total	10,631 (87.31)	1,545 (12.69)	12,176 (100)	9,976 (86.76)	1,523 (13.24)	11,499 (100)

Absolute numbers, row percentages in parentheses

Source: 15th and 18th Social Survey; own calculations

A possible reason for this may be the introduction of BA programs. In chapter 5.1.2.3, I hypothesized an interaction effect of the social origin and the degree type. On the one hand, it is thinkable that the relationship between social origin and international mobility is smaller for BA students (HM4a), on the other hand, a stronger social selectivity is also possible (HM4b). Table 5 illustrates these differences: For a start, BA students are less mobile than students of other degree types (5%) within the first eight terms of their studies. However, the actual question is if BA programs have an influence on the social selectivity of international student mobility. The difference between the social origin groups in terms of their mobility behavior is one percent smaller for BA students (BA: 5%, other degrees: 6%). This is a very small difference which does not suffice to tend towards HM4a or HM4b.[66] The degree type does not seem to influence the relationship between the parents' educational background and the international mobility of students. Nor can it account for the increase of the social selectivity between 1997 and 2006 as displayed in Table 4.

Table 5: Relationship between the Educational Background of Parents and International Mobility of Students 2006 for BA Students and Students of Other Degree Types

Degree	Ed. background of parents	Immobile	Mobile	Total
Other degrees	No HE degree	4,148 (89.34)	495 (10.66)	4,643 (100)
	HE degree	4,395 (83.43)	873 (16.57)	5,268 (100)
	Total	8,543 (86.20)	1,368 (13.8)	9,911 (100)
BA	No HE degree	731 (92.88)	56 (7.12)	787 (100)
	HE degree	678 (87.94)	93 (12.06)	771 (100)
	Total	1,409 (90.44)	149 (9.56)	1,558 (100)
Total		9,952 (86.77)	1,517 (13.23)	11,469 (100)

Absolute numbers, row percentages in parentheses

Source: 18th Social Survey; own calculations

66 The interaction effect is thus not included into the multivariate models.

I also hypothesized that the correlation between the social background of students and international mobility should be smaller in higher terms (5-8) as the socially disadvantaged students can adapt to the field of HE during the first part of their studies (HM2). However, the data reveal the reverse relationship. The overall mobility difference between students studying in their first to fourth term and those studying in their fifths to eights term averages 12% in 1997 and even 14.5% in 2006. Turning to the social origin groups in 1997, the difference between students from upper and lower social classes within the first part of their studies is 2%. This value increases to 6.5% for students who have studied 5 terms or more. The respective percentages for 2006 are 3% and 8.6%. In accordance with Table 6, the social selectivity of international student mobility is thus higher for all considered groups in 2006 than in 1997. It seems as if most students – also those from upper social classes – need some time to accustom themselves to the field of HE. Afterwards, however, more socially privileged students decide for a study-related stay abroad which leads to a clear increase of the difference between the social origin groups towards the end of their studies. The data also indicate, even though only very slightly, that upper class students studying in higher terms can use the new opportunities provided by the Bologna reforms more efficiently than their less privileged counterparts: Whereas the percentage of mobile students whose parents do not hold a HE degree (term 5-8) remains constant over time (16.59%), the percentage of mobile upper-class students rises from 19.24 to 21.17%. If this relationship remains stable after controlling for other influences needs to be examined within the next chapter.

Table 6: Relationship between the Educational Background of Parents and International Mobility of Students 1997 and 2006 for Lower and Higher Terms

Term	Ed. background of parents	1997			2006		
		Immobile	Mobile	Total	Immobile	Mobile	Total
1-4	No HE degree	3,340 (93.77)	222 (6.23)	3,562 (100)	2,855 (94.98)	151 (5.02)	3,006 (100)
	HE degree	2,800 (91.71)	253 (8.29)	3,053 (100)	2,991 (91.72)	270 (8.28)	3,261 (100)
	Total	6,140 (92.82)	475 (7.18)	6,615 (100)	5,846 (93.28)	421 (6.72)	6,267 (100)
5-8	No HE degree	2,690 (83.41)	535 (16.59)	3,225 (100)	2,006 (83.4)	399 (16.59)	2,405 (100)
	HE degree	1,801 (77.1)	535 (22.9)	2,336 (100)	2,053 (74.82)	691 (25.18)	2,744 (100)
	Total	4,491 (80.76)	1,070 (19.24)	5,561 (100)	4,059 (78.83)	1,090 (21.17)	5,149 (100)
Total		10,631 (87.31)	1,545 (12.69)	12.176 (100)	9,905 (86.76)	1,511 (13.24)	11,416 (100)

Absolute numbers, row percentages in parentheses

Source: 15th and 18th Social Survey; own calculations

The bivariate relationships between the other explanatory variables as described in chapter 5.2.2 and international student mobility are displayed in Table 7.

Table 7: Bivariate Relationship between Explanatory Variables and International Mobility of Students in 1997 and 2006

Variable		1997			2006		
		Immobile	Mobile	Total	Immobile	Mobile	Total
Language course before studies	No	11,367 (88.18)	1,524 (11.82)	12,891 (100)			
	Yes	290 (68.4)	134 (31.6)	424 (100)			
	Total	11,657 (87.55)	1,658 (12.45)	13,315 (100)			
Having been abroad before studies	No	7,186 (92)	625 (8)	7,811 (100)			
	Yes	4,427 (81.21)	1,024 (18.79)	5,451 (100)			
	Total	11,613 (87.57)	1,649 (12.43)	13,262 (100)			
Contact to lecturers during the last se-mester	No	2,172 (90.84)	219 (9.16)	2,391 (100)			
	Below average	5,930 (88.43)	776 (11.57)	6,706 (100)			
	Above average	3,555 (84.28)	663 (15.72)	4,218 (100)			
	Total	11,657 (87.55)	1,658 (12.45)	13,315 (100)			
Weekly working hours	0	5,374 (88.89)	672 (11.11)	6,046 (100)	5,742 (88.20)	768 (11.80)	6,510 (100)
	1-10	3,266 (86.36)	516 (13.64)	3,782 (100)	2,520 (85.39)	431 (14.61)	2,951 (100)
	11-20	2,404 (86.29)	382 (13.71)	2,786 (100)	1,657 (86.75)	253 (13.25)	1,910 (100)
	21-30	613 (87.45)	88 (12.55)	701 (100)	481 (83.80)	93 (16.2)	574 (100)
	Total	11,657 (87.55)	1,658 (12.45)	12,315 (100)	10,400 (87.07)	1,545 (12.93)	11,945 (100)
BAföG	No	8,360 (86.55)	1,299 (13.45)	9,659 (100)	7,094 (85.36)	1,217 (14.64)	8,311 (100)
	Yes	3,286 (90.18)	358 (9.82)	3,644 (100)	3,501 (90.42)	371 (9.58)	3,87 (100)
	Total	11,646 (87.54)	1,657 (12.46)	13,303 (100)	10,595 (86.97)	1,588 (13.03)	12,183 (100)
Mobility within Germany (federal states)	No				6,932 (88.42)	908 (11.58)	7,840 (100)
	Yes				3,701 (84,40)	684 (15.60)	4,385 (100)
	Total				10,633 (86.98)	1,592 (13.02)	12,225 (100)

Absolute numbers, row percentages in parentheses

Source: 15th and 18th Social Survey; own calculations

Most of the findings are not surprising: the two variables which indicate the cultural capital of students (whether students have learned a foreign language between the end of upper-secondary and the beginning of tertiary education and whether they have been abroad before they accessed the HE system) are positively correlated with international mobility and show a high group difference (18.8 and 10.8%).

Also the social capital of students operationalized through the contact to lecturers points in the proposed direction: The group difference in terms of international mobility between those who never talk to their lecturers outside the actual courses and those who search contact more often than the average adds up to 6.6%.

Turning to the economic capital of students, it becomes clear that the weekly working hours of students and international mobility are not – as hypothesized – negatively correlated. Within both cohorts, those who do not work at all are least mobile. The relationship for those who work is not clear. This may be due to the fact that those students who are at the beginning of their studies work less frequently and are less mobile at the same time.[67] Thus this variable is excluded from the multivariate models as it does not seem to have an independent effect. In contrast to this, the variable BAföG follows the hypothesized logic: Those who do not get BAföG are more mobile than the others (1997: 3.6%, 2006: 5.1%). Again, the group difference increases over time despite of the BAföG reform of 2001 that allows the portability of the national grant to a foreign university. It seems as if this reform did not change the mobility behavior of students from economically disadvantaged families (percentage remains constant). However, those who do not get BAföG and are mobile could slightly increase their percentage over time – which again may indicate a (slightly) socially stratified influence of the Bologna reforms to the benefit of upper-class students. Finally, those students who moved to a different federal state to study (intra-German mobility) are also more often internationally mobile (4%). This indicates that they have more financial as well as cognitive means to go abroad.

Dependent Variable: Country of Destination (Prestige)

In chapter 5.1.2.3, I hypothesized that students from upper social classes more often choose 'prestige countries' for their study-related stay abroad and that this relationship is stronger for the post-Bologna cohort as socially privileged students try to distinguish themselves from the supposedly increasing number of internationally mobile students. This whole assumption is, however, challenged by the data. Firstly, the overall percentage of mobile students increased only slightly – in 2006 it was 0.55% higher than in 1997. This raises the question whether upper class students are really forced to change their behavior. Secondly, as Table 8 illustrates, the percentage of students whose parents do not hold a HE degree and who choose 'prestige countries' is higher in both cohorts.[68] It seems as if the country of destination does not play a great role for the *sense of distinction* of upper class students. It is, however, important to keep in mind that the definition of 'prestige countries' does not

67 In 2006, for instance, almost 60 % of all students who are studying in their first to fourth term do not work (5-8 term: 49%). Only 6.5% of this group has been mobile whereas more than 20% of students within the second half of their studies attended in a study-related stay abroad.

68 I also tried alternative conceptualizations of destination countries which might capture the sense of distinction of upper-class students to check if the operationalization needs to be revised (e.g. countries inside- and outside the EHEA). However, the essence of the findings did not change.

necessarily reflect the reputation of single universities.[69] It would therefore be much more meaningful to create a variable measuring the prestige of foreign universities. This is, however, not possible with the available data. Thus, HC1 and HC2 need to be rejected here and are not examined multivariately within the next chapter.[70]

Table 8: Bivariate Relationship between the Educational Background of Parents and the Country of Destination in 1997 and 2006

Educational background of parents	1997			2006		
	Non-Prestige	Prestige	Total	Non-Prestige	Prestige	Total
No HE degree	350 (46.05)	410 (53.95)	760 (100)	324 (58.59)	229 (41.41)	553 (100)
HE degree	397 (50.44)	390 (49.56)	787 (100)	580 (59.73)	391 (40.27)	971 (100)
Total	747 (48.29)	800 (51.71)	1,547 (100)	904 (59.32)	620 (40.68)	1,524 (100)

Absolute numbers, row percentages in parentheses

Source: 15th and 18th Social Survey; own calculations

Dependent Variable: Duration of study-related stays abroad

The remaining three hypotheses deal with the relationship between the social background of students and the duration of their study-related stays abroad in months. Table 9 shows that the average duration is longer for upper class students in 1997 as well as in 2006 (HD1). However, this relationship did not strengthen over time; whereas the difference between upper and lower social class students is 0.85 months in 1997, it is only 0.55 months in 2006. The duration thereby rose for both groups with an even higher increase for students whose parents do not hold a HE degree. Thus the assumption that upper-class students use a longer study-related stay abroad to distinguish themselves cannot be confirmed with the data (HD2).

69 As the US has, according to the Times Higher Education Ranking (http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/world-university-rankings/), the highest number of universities with a high, worldwide reputation, I checked if upper-class students more frequently choose the US as a destination country. In 2006, 60% of those mobile students who went to the USA had parents holding a HE degree. (They are thereby overrepresented as they only account for 52% of the whole sample). The same can be observed in the 1997 data. This indicates that the USA with its many highly recognized universities may indeed be a *country of distinction* for HE students. It is, however, not possible to include this variable in the analyses due to the small absolute numbers of mobile students going to the US.

70 As the educational background of parents is the main explanatory variable, I did not examine the relationship between the country of destination and all the other independent variables. Only the variable "BAföG" should briefly be discussed as it displays the economic background of students. In 1997, economically disadvantages students chose 'prestige countries' more frequently (2.5%) even though this can be considered as more costly. In 2006, however, this relationship is reversed so that more affluent students go to 'prestige countries' (again 2.5% difference).

Table 9: Bivariate Relationship between the Educational Background of Parents and the Duration of Study–Related Stays Abroad in 1997 and 2006

Educational background of parents	Duration of study-related stays abroad					
	1997			2006		
	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	N	Mean	Std. Dev.
No HE degree	840	4.82	5.05	551	6.1	6.21
HE degree	863	5.67	5.83	962	6.66	6.19
Total	1,703	5.25	5.47	1,513	6.46	6.20

Source: 15th and 18th Social Survey; own calculations

Turning to the hypothesized interaction effect (degree type*educational background of parents), Table 10 reveals that the average difference between upper and lower class students in terms of the duration of their study-related stay abroad does not or only slightly differ for BA students and students of other degrees (around two weeks). Thus, HD3 is falsified and the interaction effect is not added to the OLS models. However, it becomes clear that the average duration is shorter for BA students (around 0.8 months). This may be due to their more inflexible study structure and the shorter duration of their programs.

Table 10: Bivariate Relationship between the Educational Background of Parents and the Duration of Study–Related Stays Abroad for Different Degree Types in 2006

Degree	Educational background of parents	Duration of study-related stays abroad		
		N	Mean	Std. Dev.
Other degrees	No HE degree	493	6.17	6.44
	HE degree	865	6.73	6.20
BA	No HE degree	56	5.43	3.78
	HE degree	93	5.97	6.21

Source: 18th Social Survey; own calculations

Table 11 shows the relationship between the other explanatory variables and the duration of study related stays abroad. The two variables signifying cultural capital have (as already in Table 8) a strong influence on the duration: the average duration for those who have learned a foreign language between the end of upper-secondary and the beginning of tertiary education is 2.7 months longer than the duration for those who have not done the same. The respective value for whether a student has been abroad before his/her studies is 1.5 months. The social capital, measured through the contact to lecturers, seems to be less important (0.5 months difference between those who have never had contact to lecturers and the others; no difference between the above-average and below-average group). The means of the duration of study-related stays abroad of students with different weekly working hours cannot be interpreted easily; the difference is mostly weak and the pattern does not show in one direction, neither in 2006 nor in 1997. Thus, this variable is – as for the first

dependent variable - not added to the multivariate models. For the BAföG variable, the average duration only varies slightly, especially in 2006 (0.2 months). This is surprising as the realization of a longer study related stay abroad can be expected to be more difficult for less affluent students.[71] In contrast to this, intra-German mobility seems to have a stronger influence: the study-related stay abroad of students who moved to a different federal state to study is on average 1.65 months longer.

Table 11: Bivariate Relationship between Explanatory Variables and the Duration of Study–Related Stays Abroad in 1997 and 2006

Variable		Duration of study-related stays abroad			Duration of study-related stays abroad		
		1997			2006		
		N	Mean	Std. Dev.	N	Mean	Std. Dev.
Language course before studies	No	1,737	4.97	5.26			
	Yes	139	7.64	6.46			
Having been abroad before studies	No	696	4.43	4.26			
	Yes	1097	5.93	6.03			
Contact to lecturers during the last semester	No	267	4.68	5.07			
	Below average	885	5.25	5.36			
	Above average	724	5.26	5.57			
Weekly working hours	0	777	5.26	5.75	761	6.40	5.98
	1-10	575	5.00	5.00	427	6.13	5.31
	11-20	419	5.25	5.19	253	6.54	5.72
	21-30	105	5.25	5.19	93	7.56	11.04
BAföG	No	1,459	5.29	5.55	1,209	6.46	5.53
	Yes	412	4.78	4.87	368	6.26	7.81
Mobility within Germany (federal states)	No				898	5.71	4.71
	Yes				683	7.36	7.51

Source: 15th and 18th Social Survey; own calculations

To sum up the descriptive findings, the social background of students does indeed influence their decision to go abroad during their studies (HM1). This relationship seems to be particularly pronounced for students who are already in their fifth to eight term. Thus, the assumption that the mobility behavior of socially disadvantaged students levels up during the course of their studies cannot be confirmed (against HM2). Furthermore, the social selectivity of international student mobility increases over time (HM3b) which can be interpreted as a sign for the imperfect and incomplete diffusion of the Bologna model of mobility. The introduction of BA pro-

71 However, the variable 'BAföG' actually measures the financial situation of the parents of students. It is only a proxy for the affluence of students themselves. Furthermore, the students who do not get BAföG are probably a heterogeneous group in terms of their affluence (depending, for instance, on how much their parents' income differs from the income limit defined by the Federal Training Assistance Act).

grams does not seem to alter the relationship between the social background of students and their decision to study abroad (against HM4a/b). If only mobile students are considered, the duration of a study-related stay abroad is socially selective as well (HD1). This relationship, however, decreases over time (against HD2). Furthermore, the degree type does not influence the relationship between the social origin of students and the duration of their mobile period (HD3). The duration can thus not be interpreted as a new, post-Bologna way of upper-class students to distinguish themselves. The same can be said for the choice of 'prestige countries' of destination which are not chosen more frequently by upper-class students, neither in 1997 nor in 2006 (against HC1/2).

Within the following chapter, I will examine the hypotheses regarding the international mobility of students and its duration with the help of multivariate models to control for other, possibly influential variables.

5.3.2 Multivariate Findings

The following tables present the multivariate findings about the relationship between the 'Bourdieu variables' and the international mobility of students (M) or the duration of study-related stays abroad (D) for the 1997 pre-Bologna cohort and the 2006 post-Bologna cohort. The coefficients of the first models of every table again display the dichotomous relationship between the central explanatory variable (educational background of parents) and the dependent variable (*brutto effect*). Afterwards, I gradually added the other variables which are meant to measure cultural, social and economic capital of students. Finally, the interaction effect (educational background of parents*number of terms) is added. The study-related and socio-economic control variables are contained in all except of the first models.[72] The respective coefficients are reported in Table G-J in the appendix.

The coefficient of the constant of model M97a reveals that the probability of students whose parents do not hold a HE degree to be internationally mobile is 11.2%. This probability is 3.4% higher if at least one parent graduated from a HEI. This percentage decreases when more variables are added - in M97e the coefficient only points to a 1.3% difference between the different social groups. The variables displaying cultural capital seem to be especially relevant. The probability to go abroad during their studies is 8.7% higher for students who have learned a foreign language between the end of upper-secondary and the beginning of tertiary education. The coefficient for the possibility to collect abroad experiences before entering the HE system is even higher (around 0.115). Also, those students who approach their lecturers most frequently are more likely to be internationally mobile (4.4%) than those who never do this. The coefficient for 'under-average contact' is very low and insignificant. Thus, only those students who show the greatest self-confidence and use their valuable, academic contacts most often benefit from those contacts with regard to their international mobility. Finally, students with less affluent parents – those who get BAföG - have a 1.6% lower probability to go abroad. The direction of this relationship corresponds to the assumptions about the influence of eco-

72 The variable 'term' is actually one of the control variables which are only reported in the appendix. It is, however, included in the following tables as it is part of the interaction effect.

nomic capital. However, the coefficient is astonishingly small – economic capital does not seem to be as important as social and cultural capital for the mobility of students.[73] However, within M97e, the coefficient for the educational background of parents is even smaller (0.013) than the BAföG coefficent. Thus, the educational and economic backing of parents per se is – though influential – not strikingly important for the decision of students to go abroad. It is rather their previous experience and self-confidence that is positively related to this decision.[74]

Table 12: LPM Models for the Estimation of International Mobility of Students, 1997

	M97a	*M97b*	*M97c*	*M97d*	*M97e*	*M97f*
Cultural Capital						
HE degree of parents	0.0344*** (0.00618)	0.0296*** (0.00607)	0.0165*** (0.00604)	0.0159*** (0.00603)	0.0132** (0.00613)	-0.00720 (0.00654)
Foreign language before studies			0.0878*** (0.00637)	0.0870*** (0.00636)	0.0860*** (0.00637)	0.0863*** (0.00637)
Abroad experiences before studies			0.114*** (0.0235)	0.116*** (0.0235)	0.116*** (0.0235)	0.116*** (0.0235)
Social Capital						
Contact to lecturers Reference: no contact						
Below-average				0.00969 (0.00748)	0.00978 (0.00748)	0.0102 (0.00747)
Above-average				0.0437*** (0.00870)	0.0442*** (0.00870)	0.0445*** (0.00869)
Economic Capital						
BAföG					-0.0155** (0.00627)	-0.0158** (0.00627)
Interaction Effect						
Term: Reference 1-4 5-8		0.127*** (0.00614)	0.129*** (0.00607)	0.125*** (0.00610)	0.124*** (0.00613)	0.104*** (0.00760)
HE degree of parents*term 5-8						0.0452*** (0.0123)
Constant	0.112*** (0.00384)	-0.0349*** (0.00698)	-0.0522*** (0.00698)	-0.0742*** (0.00926)	-0.0680*** (0.00971)	-0.0585*** (0.00975)
R^2	0.003	0.071	0.093	0.096	0.096	0.097
N	12,058	12,058	12,058	12,058	12,058	12,058

Robust Standard Errors in Parentheses, *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
M97b-f also contain the study-related and socio-demographic control variables

Source: 15th Social Survey; own calculations

Table 13 displays a part of the just described relationships for post-Bologna students. The educational background of parents is also related to the mobility behavior

73 However, students who do not get BAföG are not necessarily more affluent, especially if the income of their parents is slightly above the threshold (see also footnote 70).

74 All these variables are, of course, interlinked. However, also within the groups of socially privileged or underprivileged students, the cultural or 'abroad activities' of families differ. It is, however, exactly this set of activities that is strongly related to the international mobility behavior of students as the coefficients for the second and third cultural capital variables demonstrate.

of students. As already indicated by the descriptive findings, the relation is, however, much stronger. The probability of students whose parents hold a HE degree to go abroad is – depending on the respective model -between 5.8 and 4.7% higher than for students belonging to the reference group. If M97b and M06b (that contain (almost) the same variables) are compared, the relationship between the educational background and international mobility increases by 1.3% over time.

Also the coefficient for the variable 'BAföG' is higher in 2006. This can, however, be due to the smaller number of variables which have been included into M06c (compared to M97e). And indeed, if the same model is calculated with the 1997 data (M97e without the second and third cultural capital and the social capital variable), the strength of the BAföG coefficient increases from -0.015 to -0.021 thereby approaching the respective value in M06c. Nevertheless, the relationship between the economic capital of students and their decision to go abroad during their studies becomes slightly stronger despite of the BAföG reform of 2001 described in chapter 4.3.3 that aimed at increasing the international mobility of socially disadvantaged students.

Furthermore, students who moved to another federal state to study are also more likely to be internationally mobile (2.6%) which confirms the assumption that former mobility is likely to facilitate later mobility (e.g. Lörz 2008).

Table 13: LPM Models for the Estimation of International Mobility of Students, 2006

	M06a	*M06b*	*M06c*	*M06d*
Cultural Capital				
HE degree of parents	0.0578***	0.0531***	0.0470***	0.0221***
	(0.00635)	(0.00620)	(0.00631)	(0.00651)
Economic Capital				
BAföG			-0.0257***	-0.0263***
			(0.00649)	(0.00649)
Geographical mobility between federal states at the beginning of studies			0.0256***	0.0256***
			(0.00668)	(0.00668)
Interaction Effect				
Term: Reference 1-4				
5-8		0.146***	0.144***	0.115***
		(0.00664)	(0.00670)	(0.00883)
HE degree of parents*term 5-8				0.0547***
				(0.0128)
Constant	0.102***	-0.0533***	-0.0495***	-0.0356**
	(0.00416)	(0.0145)	(0.0150)	(0.0150)
R^2	0.007	0.080	0.082	0.084
N	11,113	11,113	11,113	11,113

Robust Standard Errors in Parentheses, *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
M06b-d also contain the study-related and socio-demographic control variables.

Source: 18th Social Survey; own calculations

Now, I turn to HM2 that assumes a difference between the relationship between the educational background of parents and international mobility for students who have studied 1 to 4 or 5 to 8 terms. This interaction effect is reported in M97f and M06d.

According to HM2, the relationship should become weaker with an increasing number of semesters. However, the descriptive findings (Table 6) showed a reverse link. This is confirmed by the LPM results – the coefficients of the interaction effects are significant and positive. Accordingly, the main effects of the educational background of parents that now only includes students who are in their first to fourth semester become weaker, in 1997 the coefficient is even negative, though insignificant.

The next two tables show the OLS models for the estimation of the duration of study-related stays abroad. Within the pre-Bologna cohort, the educational background has a significantly positive influence on the duration of mobile periods: Depending on the number of additional variables students whose parents hold a HE degree stay between 0.84 and 0.55 months longer in a foreign country. Also in these models, the variables indicating the foreign language competences as well as the former travelling experiences are especially relevant. In contrast to this, the social as well as the economic capital are not significantly related to the dependent variable.

Table 14: OLS Models for the Estimation of the Duration of Study-Related Stays Abroad, 1997

	D97a	*D97b*	*D97c*	*D97d*	*D97e*
Cultural Capital					
HE degree of parents	0.841*** (0.268)	0.739*** (0.276)	0.623** (0.274)	0.610** (0.274)	0.555** (0.281)
Foreign language before studies			1.030*** (0.262)	1.022*** (0.262)	1.004*** (0.262)
Abroad experiences before studies			2.248*** (0.618)	2.252*** (0.618)	2.257*** (0.618)
Social Capital					
Contact to lecturers, Reference: No Contact					
Below-average				0.219 (0.397)	0.234 (0.397)
Above-average				0.438 (0.429)	0.460 (0.429)
Economic Capital					
BAföG					-0.345 (0.311)
Constant	4.886*** (0.177)	2.479*** (0.462)	1.891*** (0.457)	1.588*** (0.555)	1.676*** (0.562)
R^2	0.006	0.045	0.068	0.069	0.069
N	1,666	1,666	1,666	1,666	1,666

Robust Standard Errors in Parentheses, *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
D97b - e also contain the study-related and socio-demographic control variables.

Source: 15th Social Survey; own calculations

In 2006, the coefficients indicating the relationship between the HE degree of parents and the duration of study-related stays abroad are not significant if control variables are added. Like in 1997, whether a student gets BAföG or not does not have a significant influence either. However, the duration of mobile periods is 1.5 months

longer for students who have moved to another federal state to study than for the reference group.

Table 15: OLS Models for the Estimation of the Duration of Study-Related Stays Abroad, 2006

	D06a	*D06b*	*D06c*
Cultural Capital			
HE degree of parents	0.578* (0.340)	0.534 (0.341)	0.434 (0.356)
Economic Capital			
BAföG			0.136 (0.509)
Geographical mobility between federal states at the beginning of studies			1.504*** (0.354)
Constant	6.049*** (0.271)	5.822*** (0.867)	5.427*** (0.848)
R^2	0.002	0.018	0.032
N	1,458	1,458	1,458

Robust Standard Errors in Parentheses, *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
D06b and c also contain the study-related and socio-demographic control variables.

Source: 18th Social Survey; own calculations

The explained variance (R^2) is relatively low in all models. With regard to the variable 'student mobility' around 10% of the variance could be explained by the independent variables in 1997. In 2006, R^2 is only 8.4%. The educational background of parents alone thereby accounts for less than 1% of the variance. For the OLS models estimating the duration of study-related stays abroad these numbers are even smaller (7% for all independent variables in 1997, 3% in 2006). This points to a high amount of unobserved heterogeneity. This does not necessarily mean that the 'Bourdieu variables' are per se insufficient to explain individual mobility behavior. Even though they can surely not tell the whole story, the low specificity of the models may also be due to an insufficiently adequate measure of these concepts. This should be accounted for in the future, not only with different operationalizations, but also earlier with a more comprehensive data collection.

To sum up, the descriptive findings could mainly be confirmed: Within both cohorts, the relationship between the social origin of students and study-related stays abroad is significantly positive even if it is controlled for the influence of other variables (HM1). This relation is stronger for post-Bologna than for pre-Bologna students (HM3b). It is, furthermore, stronger for students being in the second half of their studies (against HM2). The positive relationship between the social origin of students and the duration of their study-related stay abroad is only significant for the pre-Bologna cohort (HD1); the coefficients are weaker and insignificant in the 2006 models thereby pointing to a decreasing relationship (against HD2) as the descriptive findings have already shown. However, one has to keep in mind that the explained variance is comparably low. Thus, the findings should be revisited with better specified models in order to understand the social selectivity of student mobility more comprehensively. Table 16 displays all hypotheses and whether they could be confirmed by the data or have to be rejected. Within the final chapter, I will discuss these findings together with the insights from chapter 3 and 4 and identify some theoretical, research-related and policy implications.

Table 16: Hypotheses Revisited

Hypotheses	*Findings*
HM1: Students from higher social classes are more often internationally mobile during their studies than students from lower social classes.	Confirmed
HM2: The relationship between the social background of students and international mobility should be less pronounced for students who have studied 5 terms or more (compared to those who are in their first to fourth semester).	Falsified (reverse direction)
HM3a: The relationship between the social background of students and international mobility should be weaker for the post-Bologna cohort than for the pre-Bologna cohort.	Falsified (reverse direction)
HM3b: The relationship between the social background of students and international mobility should be stronger for the post-Bologna cohort than for the pre-Bologna cohort.	Confirmed
HM4a: In 2006, the relationship between the social background of students and international mobility should be weaker for BA students than for students who are enrolled in other programs.	Falsified (no relationship)
HM4b: In 2006, the relationship between the social background of students and international mobility should be stronger for BA students than for students who are enrolled in other programs.	Falsified (no relationship)
HC1: Mobile students from higher social classes more often chose 'prestige countries' as the destination for their study-related stay abroad than students from lower social classes.	Falsified (reverse direction)
HC2: This relationship should be stronger for post-Bologna students as 'ordinary' European destinations further lose their distinctive value	Falsified (reverse direction)[75]
HD1: In total, the duration of study-related stays abroad is longer for students from upper social classes than for students from lower social classes.	Confirmed (only 1997)
HD2: This relationship should be stronger for post-Bologna students as upper class students use longer study-related stays abroad to distinguish themselves from the increasing number of socially disadvantaged, internationally mobile students.	Falsified (reverse direction)
HD3: Within the post-Bologna cohort, the correlation between the social origin of students and the duration of study-related stays abroad should be highest for BA students because it is more difficult for them to integrate a longer mobile period of study into their shorter and more structured BA programs.	Falsified (no relationship)

75 Upper class students could, it is true, 'catch up' with socially disadvantaged students in terms of the choice of 'prestige countries'. However, also in 2006 they choose 'prestige countries' less frequently in average.

6. Conclusion and Discussion

Bringing the Three Levels Together: The Social Selectivity of International Mobility of German Students and the Bologna Process

In the introduction, I asked how the Bologna model of student mobility looks like and in what way it is related to the social selectivity of international mobility of German students. Now, I will try to summarize the central findings in the light of the German context.

As could be seen in chapter 3, the Bologna documents focus on the promotion of international student mobility in general. They thereby concentrate on the formulation of cultural-cognitive goals and ideals and define some standards of the institution mobility. When it comes to more concrete, regulative elements, the Bologna documents remain relatively vague. They are thereby rather recommendations than coercive rules. Despite of this, I interpreted them as belonging to the regulative pillar as the national actors often interpret them as binding not least because they enable them to implement unpopular reforms. The so-called 'social dimension' that refers to social mobility can also be identified within the Bologna documents. However, it is interpreted as equally relevant as geographical mobility here. It becomes clear that the Bologna model of mobility derives from consensus between the signatories who did not touch such sensitive topics as the social selectivity of educational systems in a demanding way.

Both mobility dimensions – the social and the geographical one – are mainly addressed separately. However, there are also some paragraphs that explicitly deal with the 'social dimension' of international mobility, even though in a very unspecific way. Nevertheless, the need to diversify the composition of mobile students and to add a social element to international mobility is at least identified and recognized.

The central topic of chapter 4 was then how the Bologna model of mobility is translated into the German HE context. As could be shown, the cultural-cognitive goals are adopted by German actors without major changes. The promotion of international mobility seems to be an undisputed objective which does not polarize. Most of the 'regulative' policy suggestions identified within the Bologna documents, however, remain at the level of 'suggestions'. I could only identify two elements that have been translated into actual policies with direct relevance for individuals: the reform of the immigration law – which is, however, only relevant for incoming students and scholars – and the BAföG reform of 2001. This reform is directly related to the social selectivity of student mobility, as it allows less affluent student to take their national assistance to a foreign university. Furthermore, especially the BMBF and DAAD, but also the HRK fund new mobility programs and create incentives for HEIs to internationalize their profiles which includes the increase of the number of their mobile students. Rather than being coercive, these measures mainly put mimetic pressure on German HEIs. Due to missing regulations, the practice of the different HEIs varies widely (DAAD 2010a) so that the opportunity structure for students to go abroad depends, inter alia, on what and where they study. There are also signs for loose coupling, especially with regard to the introduction of BA programs the curricula of which are, according to the critics, too dense and inflexible to allow

a study-related stay abroad. And indeed, some surveys show that BA students are on average less mobile than students of 'old' degrees.

But how does the Bologna model of mobility relate to the individual mobility behavior of German students? In chapter 5, I used some of Bourdieu's concepts, namely the different forms of capital, the habitus and the sense of distinction, to explain the social selectivity of student mobility in terms of the general mobility rate, the country of destination as well as the duration of study-related stays abroad. Based on the European and national level findings, I also included some ideas about the influence of the Bologna Process. The findings, however, show that only two hypotheses could be confirmed: Whether a student has been internationally mobile or not is positively and significantly related to the social background of students. The correlation between the social origin and international mobility could thereby not be weakened in the course of the Bologna Process. It rather increased over time. This can, however, not be attributed to the criticized character of BA programs as whether a student is enrolled in a BA program or in another program does not change the relationship between the social origin of students and their decision to go abroad. The findings, however, indicate that the diffusion of the Bologna model of mobility was rather incomplete. It seems as if it did not penetrate all levels and that there are still significant barriers for individuals to go abroad. They are most likely located at the organizational level, but also the individual level may contribute to the increasing reluctance of socially disadvantaged students to go abroad. It could be the rising claim to study as fast as possible to be available for the labor market that changed the cognitive perceptions of priorities.

If only mobile students are taken into account, the relationship between their social origin and the country of destination as well as the duration of study-related stays abroad is not equally strong or even non-existent.

Revisiting the findings, it becomes clear that the social background of students is especially important when it comes to the decision to go abroad. However, if students have broken through the first obstacle and decided to go abroad, the influence of the social origin declines. This does not necessarily mean that the hypotheses are wrong per se. As already explained, some variables, such as 'prestige countries', are not particularly good indicators to measure the underlying concepts. Furthermore, as the low explained variance demonstrates, some important variables are missing or badly operationalized. Thus, the explanatory power of the 'Bourdieu variables' is far away from being exhausted. More precise variables measuring cultural, economic, and social capital as well as the habitus of students are needed to evaluate the relationship between the social background of students as defined by Bourdieu and their mobility behavior.

One particularly interesting and relevant finding should not go unmentioned: the educational background of students and their affluence are surely related to their decision to go abroad. However, even more important for both the decision to go abroad and the duration of study-related stays abroad are the former mobility experiences of students. It seems to be very important if they have been internationally or even intranationally mobile before the beginning of their studies and if they have learned a foreign language after the end of secondary education. It is therefore not simply the educational credentials or the income of parents, but the actual practice within the parental home that is influential which points to the de-

velopment of a particular habitus with affinities to travelling and/or foreign languages: are foreign cultures and travels highly valued within the family? Do parents spend their money to enable their children to experience foreign countries early in their life course? This is of course related to educational degrees and economic affluence. However, there seem to be differences within the social origin groups.

In sum, the Bologna process deals with student mobility and the resulting model partly diffuses into the German context. However, it does not seem to be so deeply institutionalized either at the organizational or the individual level that it weakens the social selectivity of student mobility. There seem to be other and probably also new barriers at different levels that contradict the Bologna goal to diversify the mobile student population.

Limitations and Contributions

This study is limited in several ways:

Firstly, it did not exhaustively examine all levels that link the European level and the individual level so that important mechanisms could not be captured empirically. Secondly, students who are within their ninth term or above as well as students who are studying abroad for a whole degree are not included in the micro-level analysis. This might lead to an underestimation of both the extent of international mobility and the social selectivity of students. Thirdly, some concepts could only be measured as proxy variables or not at all which may be one reason for the low explained variance of the LPMs and OLS models. Finally and probably most importantly, it needs again to be stressed that the Bologna Process and related reforms are still in the making. German universities and also students still have to react and to adapt to the partly huge changes brought about by the Bologna Process. The results therefore need to be interpreted as preliminary.

However, this paper could also contribute to the current state of research as it brings together three important sociological topics that have never been approached together in such detail. This leads me to some remarks about theoretical, research-related and political implications.

Theoretical Implications

Within this discussion paper, I used two theoretical approaches – neo-institutionalism to understand the diffusion of the Bologna model of mobility and its barriers as well as Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction to explain the social selectivity of international student mobility at the individual level. Both theories are related, especially in the neo-institutionalist concept of the cultural-cognitive pillar of institutions and the habitus. The influences of both cannot be accessed directly at the individual level as they mainly operate unconsciously which makes it especially hard to examine them empirically. However, the findings point out that especially the cultural-cognitive account of the Bologna model of mobility diffused from the European to the German level where all main actors support the Bologna ideas. The discourse about the desirability of international student mobility should therefore also have reached the students themselves. However, the findings also point towards mobility barriers, especially for socially disadvantaged students. Apart from legal and organizational obstacles, this can refer to relatively visible individual barriers such as the low affluence of students from lower social classes or their supposedly stronger difficulties with foreign languages. Barriers may, however, also be more subtle and

take the shape of an inherited, 'immobile habitus' that may contradict new external cultural-cognitive scripts such as the desirability of mobility. Thus, especially by looking at the interplay between the institutional framework and individual behavior, it is important to consider alternative, institutional influences, if not empirically then at least theoretically.

Implications for Further Research

Some suggestions for future research derive from this study. Firstly and as already stressed, it is important to observe the development of the Bologna Process, the social selectivity of student mobility and their interplay further. In 2012, representatives of the Bologna member states will meet again in Bucharest to drive the realization of the EHEA forward. It is likely that the Bologna model of mobility will be refined, at least rhetorically. Also the German translation of the Bologna model of mobility is not yet finished as the continuous claims by HE actors to fully implement different mobility-related reforms (such as a complete recognition or an increasing establishment of mobility windows) demonstrate. With a further diffusion of the Bologna model of mobility, individual behavior may change within the newly created opportunity structure. Alternatively, old institutional barriers may remain and new ones may be created.

Secondly, it would be fruitful to compare the German case with other countries. As shown in chapter 4, the German HE system is highly selective. A comparison with a less selective system may reveal new insights about the interplay between the social composition of the student body and the social selectivity of student mobility. Also interesting would be a comparison with countries outside the EHEA in order to account for the (lack of) influences of the Bologna Process beyond its defined borders.

Thirdly, the full contents of the Bologna model of mobility could not be completely evaluated. There are many other aspects such as the mobility of researchers or mobility beyond the EHEA that may gain importance in the future and should not be neglected.

Finally, an almost obligatory objection: In order to get more comprehensive results, especially at the individual level, it is necessary to collect more detailed data. In Germany, there are, it is true, surveys that deal with student mobility, one of them even exclusively. However, to be able to more comprehensively examine the social selectivity of student mobility, data about the pre-tertiary experiences of students would be necessary.

Policy Implications

One main finding of this research is that the promotion of international mobility at the rhetorical level does not suffice to make international mobility more socially inclusive. However, also regulative, institutional elements are not necessarily sufficient. The individual level findings, for instance, show that the BAföG reform in Germany did not noticeably contribute to a decreasing social selectivity of student mobility even though this was loudly claimed within respective publications. This may be due to the fact that students have to pay back 50% of the received amount. If the study-related stay abroad prolongs the overall study duration – as it seems to be the case within many German programs – the students' debts increase which is probably undesirable for most students. A better coverage with mobility scholar-

ships would probably improve the situation. However, those scholarships should not only be performance based like the ones of the DAAD as this would probably rather increase the social selectivity of student mobility. Furthermore, the grants of the ERASMUS program which is still one of the most important mobility programs in Germany need to be increased in order to be socially more inclusive.

However, the findings also point out that it is not only money that counts. The socialization within an internationally open environment including prior experiences abroad and the learning of foreign languages seem to be particularly important. If this holds true, it would not be sufficient to create new mobility opportunities within the HE system. An early support of children, such as foreign language learning, more frequent organization of school exchanges (with financial support for those children whose parents cannot afford it), would then be advisable.

So far, one of the (however minor) goals of the Bologna Process – to diversify the composition of internationally mobile students – could not be fully institutionalized in Germany after almost ten years of diffusion. To the contrary, the social selectivity of international mobility of German students has even increased. How this relationship will develop in the future is an open question that needs to be assessed further.

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8. Appendix

Table A: Codes for the Bologna Model of Mobility

Cultural–Cognitive Pillar	*Normative Pillar*	*Regulative Pillar*
C_conditions C_conditions _EHEA C_conditions _quality C_ conditions _EU-cooperation C_ conditions _transparency/ recognition **C_goal_internat mobility** C_goal_internat mobility _promotion C_goal_internat mobility_social diversity **C_goal_social mobility** **C_leg** C_leg_cultural pluralism C_leg_EHEA C_leg_enhancing HE quality C_leg_European identity C_leg_individual development	**N_benchmarks** **N_destination** N_destination_Europe N_destination_nonEuropean **N_duration** **N_type** N_ type _geographical N_ type _social **N_target** N_target_administrative staff N_target_citizen N_target_researchers N_target_students	**R_actors** R_actors_European R_actors_national R_actors_organizational R_actors_students **R_governance** R_governance_national re-forms R_governance_OMC **R_policies** *R_policies_promotion* R_policies_promotion_portable grants R_policies_promotion_programs R_policies_promotion_mobility windows R_policies_promotion_ financial support for disadvantaged students *R_policies_improved information* R_policies_information_statistical data R_policies_information_student service *R_policies_framework conditions* R_policies_framework_ Visa R_policies_framework_ Recognition R_policies_framework_ social security

Table B Codes, Definitions and Examples for the Cultural–Cognitive Pillar of the Bologna Model of Mobility

Code	*Definitions/Questions*	*Frequency*	*Example*
C_goal_internat mobility	International mobility as a goal of the Bologna Process. Which mobility-related goals are defined?		
C_goal_internat mobility_promotion	increasing the number of internationally mobile: – students – researchers, teachers – administrative staff removing obstacles to mobility facilitation of mobility	20	Ministers reaffirmed that the objective of improving the mobility of students, teachers, researchers and administrative staff as set out in the Bologna Declaration is of the utmost importance. (Prague 16)
C_goal_internat mobility_social diversity	strengthening the "social dimension" of mobility diverse profile of mobile students → What is meant by 'diverse profile' is not defined or specified	2	Therefore, they confirmed their commitment to pursue the removal of all obstacles to the free movement of students, teachers, researchers and administrative staff and emphasized the social dimension of mobility. (Prague 16) ...and we aim for an improved participation rate from diverse student groups. (Leuven 139)
C_goal_social mobility	reducing social inequality equal access to HE for students from diverse socio-economic backgrounds equal completion of HE (on basis of capacity)	10	Ministers reaffirm the importance of the social dimension of the Bologna Process. The need to increase competitiveness must be balanced with the objective of improving the social characteristics of the European Higher Education Area, aiming at strengthening social cohesion and reducing social and gender inequalities both at national and at European level. (Berlin 15)
C_conditions	What are the necessary conditions for the achievement of the mobility goal?		
C_conditions_transparency/ recognition	Transparency of HE contents/structure Comparability of degrees/courses Qualification Framework ECTS Mobility as a consequence of easier recognition	8	Easily readable and comparable degrees and accessible information on educational systems and qualifications frameworks are prerequisites for citizens' mobility and ensuring the continuing attractiveness and competitiveness of the EHEA. (London 86-89)
C_conditions_EU-cooperation	Usage of EU-programs as a condition for mobility	2	They note with satisfaction that since their last meeting, mobility figures have increased, thanks also to the substantial support of the European Union programmes. (Berlin 96)

Code	*Definitions/Questions*	*Frequency*	*Example*
C_conditions_EHEA	Creation of EHEA as a condition to realize mobility	2	It emphasised the creation of the European area of higher education as a key way to promote citizens' mobility and employability and the Continent's overall development. (Bologna 28-31)
C_conditions_quality	Comparable quality of HE programs	1	Ministers also pointed out that quality is the basic underlying condition for trust, relevance, mobility, compatibility and attractiveness in the European Higher Education Area. (Prague 25)
C_legitimacy	Why is mobility important? What can be achieved with mobility? How is it legitimated? (Mobility as a condition)		
C_leg_individual development	Mobility contributes to: Individual cultural enrichment (cultural) skills for changing labor market, employability (economic) Active citizenship (political)	5	...mobility will help students develop the competences they need in a changing labour market and will empower them to become active and responsible citizens. (Leuven 18-20)
C_leg_EHEA	Mobility contributes to: Creation of EHEA Internationalization of HE Cooperation between students and researchers	3	Mobility of students and academic and administrative staff is the basis for establishing a European Higher Education Area. (Berlin 96)
C_leg_enhancing HE quality	Mobility enhances quality of HE	2	Mobility of staff, students and graduates is one of the core elements of the Bologna Process [...] enhancing the quality of higher education and research. (London 53-55)
C_leg_European identity	Mobility contributes to – the development and consolidation of the "European dimension" – the development of a European identity	2	Moreover, they stress the necessity of ensuring a substantial period of study abroad in joint degree programmes [...] so that students may achieve their full potential for European identity. (Berlin 140-142).
C_leg_cultural pluralism	Mobility contributes to cultural and linguistic diversity	1	It [mobility] encourages linguistic pluralism, thus underpinning the multilingual tradition of the European Higher Education Area. (Leuven 132)

Table C: Codes, Definitions and Examples for the Normative Pillar of the Bologna Model of Mobility

Code	*Definitions/Questions*	*Frequency*	*Example*
N_benchmarks	Mobility-related benchmarks	1	In 2020, at least 20% of those graduating in the European Higher Education Area should have had a study or training period abroad. (Leuven 132)
N_destination	What countries/regions of destination are proposed for mobile periods		
N_destination_EHEA	Geographical mobility within the EHEA	11	Ministers reaffirmed that efforts to promote mobility must be continued to enable students, teachers, researchers and administrative staff to benefit from the richness of the European Higher Education Area. (Prague 6)
N_destination_nonEuropean	Geographical mobility outside the EHEA (destination not specified)	2	We see the European Higher Education Area as a partner of higher education systems in other regions of the world, stimulating balanced student and staff exchange and cooperation between higher education institutions (Bergen 154-156)
N_duration	How long should students/staff be mobile?	2	At both undergraduate and graduate level, students would be encouraged to spend at least one semester in universities outside their own country. (Sorbonne 57-58)
N_type	How is mobility discussed? What dimension of mobility is stressed?		
N_type_geographical	International (geographical) mobility → The term "mobility" within the Bologna documents mainly refers to international mobility	29	Moreover, they stress the necessity of ensuring a substantial period of study abroad in joint degree programmes. (Berlin 140)
N_type_social	Social (upward) mobility → Mainly embedded in the discussion about the "social dimension"	14	Ministers stress their commitment to making higher education equally accessible to all, on the basis of capacity, by every appropriate means. (Berlin 92)
N_target group	Who should be mobile? Which target groups are defined?		
N_target_students	Students	23	At both undergraduate and graduate level, students would be encouraged to spend at least one semester in universities outside their own country. (Sorbonne 57-58)
N_target_researchers	Researchers, teachers, staff	17	Considering that teachers are key players, career structures should be adapted to facilitate mobility of teachers, early stage researchers and other staff. (Leuven 143-145)

Code	*Definitions/Questions*	*Frequency*	*Example*
N_target_administrative staff	Administrative staff (also "staff") → always mentioned together with students, researchers, teachers	13	They confirmed their commitment to pursue the removal of all obstacles to the free movement of students, teachers, researchers and administrative staff. (Praque 16)
N_target_citizen	Citizens in general	2	It emphasised the creation of the European area of higher education as a key way to promote citizens' mobility. (Bologna 29-30)

Table D: Codes, Definitions and Examples for the Regulative Pillar of the Bologna Model of Mobility

Code	*Definitions/Questions*	*Frequency*	*Example*
R_actors	Who is supposed to decide about/implement policies about mobility? Which level is addressed?		
R_actors_national	National governments (→ voluntary agreement, not binding)	7	We recognise the responsibility of individual Governments to facilitate the delivery of visas, residence and work permits, as appropriate. Where these measures are outside our competence as Ministers for Higher Education, we undertake to work within our respective Governments for decisive progress in this area. At national level, we will work to implement fully the agreed recognition tools and procedures and consider ways of further incentivising mobility for both staff and students. (London 160-165)
R_actors_European	EU bodies, European Associations, BFUG	6	We therefore ask the European Commission (Eurostat), in conjunction with Eurostudent, to develop comparable and reliable indicators and data to measure progress towards the overall objective for the social dimension and student and staff mobility in all Bologna countries. (London 251-254)
R_actors_organizational	Universities, "HE institutions"	5	As we move closer to 2010, we undertake to ensure that higher education institutions enjoy the necessary autonomy to implement the agreed reforms. (Bergen 191-193)
R_actors_students	Students and their representatives	1	We urge institutions and students to make full use of mobility programmes, advocating full recognition of study periods abroad within such programmes. (Bergen 144-146).

Code	*Definitions/Questions*	*Frequency*	*Example*
R_governance	Which modes of governance are proposed/applied?		
R_governance_OMC	Definition of indictors, benchmarks Measurement of progress, stocktaking (mainly European level) → strongly related to R_actors_ European (also R_actors_national, when setting targets and data collection is seen as a national task)	12	We ask BFUG to continue the stocktaking process, based on national reports, in time for our 2009 Ministerial conference. We expect further development of the qualitative analysis in stocktaking, particularly in relation to mobility, the Bologna Process in a global context and the social dimension. (London 285-288)
R_governance_national reforms	The responsibility for the decision about/implementation of reforms regarding mobility lies at the national level (voluntary, not coercive) → strongly related to R_actors_ national	3	We, the Ministers, are committed to the full and proper implementation of the agreed objectives and the agenda for the next decade set by the Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve Communiqué. [...] we will step up our efforts to accomplish the reforms already underway to enable students and staff to be mobile, to improve teaching and learning in higher education institutions, to enhance graduate employability, and to provide quality higher education for all. (Budapest 17)
R_policies	Which actions, programs are to be launched/reinforced? Which measurements are seen as necessary? (→ no legal obligation, no coercive rules → just propositions for reforms → need for action identified for these realms)		
R_policies_promotion	Which policy suggestions deal with the promotion of mobility (both international and social)		
R_policies_promotion_ Programs	Makin full use of/increase the scope of: EU programs (ERASMUS) Joint programs (university cooperation) EU action plan Cooperation in doctoral programs	5	The fast growing support of the European Union, for the mobility of students and teachers should be employed to the full. (Sorbonne 60-61)
R_policies_promotion_ portable grants	Portability of national loans and grants	4	With a view to promoting student mobility, Ministers will take the necessary steps to enable the portability of national loans and grants. (Berlin 99)
R_policies_promotion_ Funding	Funding of mobility in general (individual or programs?) → not specified for which target group or in what way	1	Moreover, mobility policies shall be based on a range of practical measures pertaining to the funding of mobility. (Leuven 136-137)
R_policies_promotion_ mobility windows	Creation of mobility windows within the study structure	1	Within each of the three cycles, opportunities for mobility shall be created in the structure of degree programmes. Joint degrees and programmes as well as mobility windows shall become more common practice. (Leuven 134-136)

Code	*Definitions/Questions*	*Frequency*	*Example*
R_policies_promotion_ financial support for disadvantaged students	Financial support for disadvantaged students (in general, not specifically for mobile periods)	1	The social dimension includes measures taken by governments to help students, especially from socially disadvantaged groups, in financial and economic aspects and to provide them with guidance and counselling services with a view to widening access. (Bergen 133-136)
R_policies_improved information	Which policy suggestions deal with improved information about mobility for its promotion?		
R_policies_information_ statistical data	Collecting better data about international and social mobility (mainly European level → stocktaking)	5	...and [ministers] agree to undertake the necessary steps to improve the quality and coverage of statistical data on student mobility. (Berlin 96)
R_policies_information_ student service	Guidance for students: In general and with regard to the "social dimension" (disadvantages students) With regard to international mobility	4	The social dimension includes measures taken by governments to help students, especially from socially disadvantaged groups, in financial and economic aspects and to provide them with guidance and counselling services with a view to widening access. (Bergen 133-136)
R_policies_framework conditions	Which policy suggestions deal with favorable (national) framework conditions for mobile students/researchers?		
R_policies_framework_ Visa	Facilitation of delivery of visa, residence and work permits (for non EU?) → addresses mainly incoming researchers (and to a lesser extent students)	3	We recognise the responsibility of individual Governments to facilitate the delivery of visas, residence and work permits, as appropriate. (London 60-61)
R_policies_framework_ Recognition	Implementation of policies that facilitate recognition of study contents/courses → favorable conditions mainly for mobile students	2	At national level, we will work to implement fully the agreed recognition tools and procedures and consider ways of further incentivising mobility for both staff and students. (London 63-65)
R_policies_framework_ social security	portability of pensions, access to social security (mainly for staff) → addresses mainly incoming researchers	1	... career structures should be adapted to facilitate mobility of teachers, early stage researchers and other staff; framework conditions will be established to ensure appropriate access to social security and to facilitate the portability of pensions and supplementary pension rights for mobile staff, making the best use of existing legal frameworks. (Leuven 143-145)

Table E: Operationalization of Variables, 15th Social Survey

Variable	*Operationalization*	*Mean (Std. Dev.)*
Dependent Variables		
Study related stay abroad (mobility)	Dummy: 0= no (includes study, internship, language course, others) 1= yes	0.12 (0.33)
Duration of study related stay(s) abroad in months	Metric variable: Sum of the duration of all study related stays abroad, includes only mobile students If the value was 0, it was decoded to 1 to signify "up to 1 month (most of those cases have "attending a language course" as an item which usually takes 2 or 3 weeks; immobile students do not have the value 0, but missing)	5.15 (5.41)
Country of destination: Prestige countries	Dummy: 0= other countries 1 = prestige countries (US, UK, FR, CA, AU, NZ)	0.52 (0.50)
Independent Variables		
Cultural Capital		
HE degree of parents	Dummy: 0= no 1= yes (university and FH, both or one of both has a HE degree)	0.44 (0.50)
Language course between end of school and start of HE	Dummy 0= no 1= yes	0.03 (0.18)
Having been abroad before studies	Dummy 0= no + only for holiday 1= yes (all other stays or combination of stays except for only holidays, e.g. school exchange, au pair, internship)	0.41 (0.49)
Social Capital		
Contact to lecturers in number within last year (outside courses)	Additive index of contact about private, content- and study-related questions (Cronbach's alpha: 0.73) Creation of three dummy variables: No contact Below-average Above-average	 0.18 (0.38) 0.50 (0.50) 0.32 (0.47)
Economic Capital		
Weekly working hours during a typical week	4 dummy variables:: 0 1-10 11-20 21-30	 0.45 (0.50) 0.28 (0.45) 0.21 (0.41 0.05 (0.22)
BAföG	Dummy variables: 0= No BAföG 1= BAföG	0.27 (0.45)
Control Variables (study-related and socio-demographic)		
Field of study	7 Dummies: Engineering Humanities and arts Economics Social sciences Natural sciences Medicine Law	 0.20 (0.40) 0.18 (0.38) 0.16 (0.37) 0.16 (0.37) 0.17 (0.37) 0.06 (0.23) 0.07 (0.26)

Variable	*Operationalization*	*Mean (Std. Dev.)*
Mobile fields of study	Dummy 0= immobile (mobility mean of field of study lies under overall mobility mean) 1= mobile	0.41 (0.49)
Type of HE organization	Dummy 0= university of applied sciences 1= university	0.69 (0.46)
Duration of studies	Dummy: 0= 1-4 terms 1= 5-8 terms	0.46 (0.50)
Gender	Dummy 0= male 1= female	0.50 (0.50)
Family status	Dummy 0= married, permanent relationship 1= single	0.47 (0.50)

Table F: Operationalization of Variables, 18th Social Survey

Variable	*Operationalization*	*Mean (Std. Dev.)*
Dependent Variables		
Study related stay abroad	Dummy: 0= no (includes study, internship, language course, others) 1= yes	0.13 (0.41)
Duration of study related stay(s) abroad in months	Metric variable: Sum of the duration of all study related stays abroad, includes only mobile students	6.4 (6.13)
Country of destination: Prestige countries	Dummy: 0= other countries 1 = prestige countries (US, UK, FR, CA, AU, NZ)	0.41 (0.49)
Independent Variables (study-related and socio-demographic)		
Cultural Capital		
HE degree of parents	Dummy: 0= no 1 =yes (university and FH, both or one of both has a HE degree)	0.53 (050)
Economic Capital		
Weekly working hours during a typical week	4 dummy variables:: 0 1-10 11-20 21-30	 0.55 (0.50) 0.25 (0.43) 0.16 (0.37) 0.05 (0.21)
BAföG	Dummy variable: 0= No BAföG 1= BAföG	0.32 (0.47)
Geographical mobility within federal states at the beginning of studies	Dummy 0 = no (federal state where students went to school is the same where they are studying) 1 = yes	0.36 (0.48)

Variable	*Operationalization*	*Mean (Std. Dev.)*
Control Variables		
Degree type	Dummy: 0= all degree types except BA (Diplom, Magister, Staatsexamen, MA) 1= Bachelor	0.14 (0.35)
Field of study	7 Dummies: Engineering Humanities and arts Economics Social sciences Natural sciences Medicine Law	 0.14 (0.35) 0.22 (0.42) 0.17 (0.38) 0.16 (0.37) 0.19 (0.39) 0.06 (0.24) 0.05 (0.22)
Mobile fields of study	Dummy 0= immobile (mobility mean of field of study lies under over-all mobility mean) 1= mobile	0.44 (0.50)
Type of HE organi-zation	Dummy 0= university of applied sciences 1= university	0.72 (0.45)
Duration of studies	Dummy: 0= 1-4 terms 1= 5-8 terms	0.45 (0.50)
Gender	Dummy 0= male 1= female	0.59 (0.49)
Family status	Dummy 0= married, permanent relationship 1= single	0.43 (0.49)

Table G: LPM Models for the Estimation of International Mobility of Students, 1997

	M1	*M2*	*M3*	*M4*	*M5*	*M6*
Cultural Capital						
HE Degree of Par-ents	0.0344*** (0.00618)	0.0296*** (0.00607)	0.0165*** (0.00604)	0.0159*** (0.00603)	0.0132** (0.00613)	-0.00720 (0.00654)
Foreign Language before Studies			0.0878*** (0.00637)	0.0870*** (0.00636)	0.0860*** (0.00637)	0.0863*** (0.00637)
Abroad Experi-ences before Stud-ies			0.114*** (0.0235)	0.116*** (0.0235)	0.116*** (0.0235)	0.116*** (0.0235)
Social Capital						
Contact to Lecturers Reference: No Contact						
Below-average				0.00969 (0.00748)	0.00978 (0.00748)	0.0102 (0.00747)
Above-average				0.0437*** (0.00870)	0.0442*** (0.00870)	0.0445*** (0.00869)
Economic Capital						
BAföG					-0.0155** (0.00627)	-0.0158** (0.00627)

	M1	*M2*	*M3*	*M4*	*M5*	*M6*
Interaction Effect						
Term: Reference 1-4						
5-8		0.127***	0.129***	0.125***	0.124***	0.104***
		(0.00614)	(0.00607)	(0.00610)	(0.00613)	(0.00760)
HE Degree of Parents*Term 5-8						0.0452***
						(0.0123)
Study-related Variables						
Field of Studies Reference: Engineering						
Humanities		0.0911***	0.0828***	0.0805***	0.0809***	0.0805***
		(0.0119)	(0.0118)	(0.0118)	(0.0118)	(0.0118)
Natural sciences		0.0205**	0.0230**	0.0221**	0.0226**	0.0221**
		(0.00958)	(0.00949)	(0.00946)	(0.00946)	(0.00945)
Social sciences		0.0277***	0.0243***	0.0238**	0.0243***	0.0239**
		(0.00939)	(0.00928)	(0.00931)	(0.00930)	(0.00929)
Medicine		0.0282**	0.0236*	0.0282**	0.0284**	0.0265**
		(0.0136)	(0.0134)	(0.0134)	(0.0134)	(0.0134)
Economics		0.0204*	0.0160	0.0207*	0.0203*	0.0203*
		(0.0111)	(0.0110)	(0.0110)	(0.0110)	(0.0110)
Law		0.0580***	0.0475***	0.0566***	0.0568***	0.0559***
		(0.0132)	(0.0131)	(0.0132)	(0.0132)	(0.0132)
Mobile Field of Study		0.0890***	0.0834***	0.0827***	0.0827***	0.0826***
		(0.00817)	(0.00809)	(0.00808)	(0.00808)	(0.00807)
HE Institution: University		0.00525	-0.00508	-0.000304	-0.00195	-0.00196
		(0.00697)	(0.00690)	(0.00693)	(0.00694)	(0.00694)
Socio-demographic Variables						
Gender		0.0161**	0.00702	0.00954	0.0103	0.0104
		(0.00644)	(0.00637)	(0.00637)	(0.00637)	(0.00637)
Family Status: Single		0.0190***	0.0177***	0.0179***	0.0183***	0.0183***
		(0.00598)	(0.00591)	(0.00590)	(0.00590)	(0.00590)
Constant	0.112***	-0.0349***	-0.0522***	-0.0742***	-0.0680***	-0.0585***
	(0.00384)	(0.00698)	(0.00698)	(0.00926)	(0.00971)	(0.00975)
R^2	0.003	0.071	0.093	0.096	0.096	0.097
N	12,058	12,058	12,058	12,058	12,058	12,058

Robust Standard Errors in Parentheses, *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Source: 15th Social Survey; own calculations

Table H: LPM Models for the Estimation of International Mobility of Students, 2006

	M1	*M2*	*M3*	*M4*
Cultural Capital				
HE Degree of Parents	0.0578***	0.0531***	0.0470***	0.0221***
	(0.00635)	(0.00620)	(0.00631)	(0.00651)
Economic Capital				
BAföG			-0.0257***	-0.0263***
			(0.00649)	(0.00649)
Geographical Mobility between Federal States at the Beginning of Studies			0.0256***	0.0256***
			(0.00668)	(0.00668)
Interaction Effect				
Term: Reference 1-4				
5-8		0.146***	0.144***	0.115***
		(0.00664)	(0.00670)	(0.00883)
HE Degree of Parents*Term 5-8				0.0547***
				(0.0128)
Study-related Variables				
Degree: BA		-0.00124	-0.00215	-0.00297
		(0.00832)	(0.00831)	(0.00830)
Field of Studies				
Reference: Engineering				
Humanities		0.0436***	0.0424***	0.0429***
		(0.0116)	(0.0116)	(0.0116)
Natural sciences		-0.000753	-0.00123	-0.000958
		(0.00957)	(0.00959)	(0.00958)
Social sciences		0.00277	0.00141	0.00212
		(0.0112)	(0.0112)	(0.0112)
Medicine		-0.0626***	-0.0651***	-0.0654***
		(0.0157)	(0.0157)	(0.0157)
Economics		-0.00980	-0.00941	-0.00889
		(0.0123)	(0.0123)	(0.0123)
Law		-0.0443**	-0.0463**	-0.0469**
		(0.0183)	(0.0184)	(0.0183)
Mobile Field of Study		0.0911***	0.0890***	0.0894***
		(0.00851)	(0.00850)	(0.00849)
HE Institution: University		0.0150**	0.0158**	0.0153**
		(0.00704)	(0.00703)	(0.00703)
Socio-demographic Variables				
Gender		0.0352***	0.0354***	0.0349***
		(0.00665)	(0.00667)	(0.00666)
Family Status: Single		0.0209***	0.0199***	0.0198***
		(0.00636)	(0.00636)	(0.00636)
Constant	0.102***	-0.0533***	-0.0495***	-0.0356**
	(0.00416)	(0.0145)	(0.0150)	(0.0150)
R^2	0.007	0.080	0.082	0.084
N	11,113	11,113	11,113	11,113

Robust Standard Errors in Parentheses, *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Source: 18th Social Survey; own calculations

Table I: OLS Models for the Estimation of the Duration of Study-Related Stays Abroad, 1997

	M1	*M2*	*M3*	*M4*	*M5*
Cultural Capital					
HE degree of parents	0.841***	0.739***	0.623**	0.610**	0.555**
	(0.268)	(0.276)	(0.274)	(0.274)	(0.281)
Foreign Language			1.030***	1.022***	1.004***
before Studies			(0.262)	(0.262)	(0.262)
Abroad Experiences			2.248***	2.252***	2.257***
before Studies			(0.618)	(0.618)	(0.618)
Social Capital					
Contact to Lecturers, Reference: No contact					
Below-average				0.219	0.234
				(0.397)	(0.397)
Above-average				0.438	0.460
				(0.429)	(0.429)
Economic Capital					
BAföG					-0.345
					(0.311)
Study-related Variables					
Field of Studies, Reference: Engineering					
Humanities		1.014*	0.870*	0.871*	0.899*
		(0.534)	(0.526)	(0.526)	(0.528)
Natural sciences		-0.00964	0.112	0.0978	0.120
		(0.501)	(0.483)	(0.483)	(0.484)
Social sciences		-0.256	-0.304	-0.310	-0.266
		(0.508)	(0.494)	(0.495)	(0.499)
Medicine		-1.286*	-1.425**	-1.340*	-1.302*
		(0.730)	(0.718)	(0.728)	(0.730)
Economics		1.284**	1.247**	1.285***	1.288***
		(0.509)	(0.492)	(0.489)	(0.489)
Law		1.406**	1.432**	1.534**	1.550**
		(0.694)	(0.678)	(0.690)	(0.690)
Mobile Field of Study		0.434	0.466	0.452	0.456
		(0.357)	(0.355)	(0.355)	(0.355)
HE Institution: University		1.072***	0.923***	0.972***	0.925***
		(0.311)	(0.305)	(0.309)	(0.313)
Term: Reference: 1-4					
5-8		1.190***	1.340***	1.317***	1.325***
		(0.277)	(0.277)	(0.276)	(0.277)
Socio-demographic Variables					
Gender		0.0833	-0.0739	-0.0496	-0.0333
		(0.289)	(0.287)	(0.289)	(0.287)
Family Status: Single		-0.0390	-0.0860	-0.0896	-0.0781
		(0.262)	(0.259)	(0.259)	(0.260)
Constant	4.886***	2.479***	1.891***	1.588***	1.676***
	(0.177)	(0.462)	(0.457)	(0.555)	(0.562)
R^2	0.006	0.045	0.068	0.069	0.069
N	1,666	1,666	1,666	1,666	1,666

Robust Standard Errors in Parentheses, *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Source: 18th Social Survey; own calculations

Table J: OLS Models for the Estimation of the Duration of Study-Related Stays Abroad, 2006

	M1	*M2*	*M3*
Cultural Capital			
HE Degree of Parents	0.578* (0.340)	0.534 (0.341)	0.434 (0.356)
Economic Capital			
BAföG			0.136 (0.509)
Geographical Mobility between Federal States at the Beginning of Studies			1.504*** (0.354)
Study-related Variables			
Degree: BA		-1.181** (0.533)	-1.256** (0.549)
Field of Studies			
Reference: Engineering			
Humanities		0.668 (0.594)	0.603 (0.577)
Natural sciences		0.623 (0.629)	0.530 (0.622)
Social sciences		0.775 (0.528)	0.612 (0.527)
Medicine		-1.180 (0.987)	-1.082 (0.974)
Economics		1.062* (0.564)	1.118** (0.562)
Law		0.957 (0.904)	0.891 (0.897)
Mobile field of study		0.700** (0.354)	0.546 (0.353)
HE Institution: university		-0.149 (0.425)	-0.163 (0.429)
Term: Reference: 1-4			
5-8		-0.854* (0.505)	-0.878* (0.515)
Socio-demographic Variables			
Gender		0.116 (0.325)	0.103 (0.323)
Family status: single		0.108 (0.326)	0.0697 (0.325)
Constant	6.049*** (0.271)	5.822*** (0.867)	5.427*** (0.848)
R^2	0.002	0.018	0.032
N	1,458	1,458	1,458

Robust standard errors in parentheses, *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Source: 18th Social Survey; own calculations

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BAföG	Federal Training Assistance Act *(Bundesausbildungsförderungsgesetz)*
BfuG	Bologna Follow-up Group
BMBF	Federal Ministry for Education and Research *(Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung)*
DAAD	German Academic Exchange Service *(Deutscher akademischer Austauschdienst)*
DSW	German National Association for Student Affairs *(Deutsches Studentenwerk)*
EC	European Communities
ECTS	European Credit Transfer System
EHEA	European Higher Education Area
ERASMUS	European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students
EU	European Union
HE	Higher education
HEI	Higher education institutions
HIS	Higher Education Information System *(Hochschulinformationssystem)*
HRG	Federal Framework Act for Higher Education *(Hochschulrahmengesetz)*
HRK	German Rectors' Conference *(Hochschulrektorenkonferenz)*
JSP	Joint Study Program
KMK	Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the sixteen federal states *(Kultusministerkonferenz)*
LPM	Linear Probability Model
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OLS	Ordinary Least Square
OMC	Open Method of Coordination
VET	Vocational education and training

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