

“Inward student mobility and the transformations of higher education systems in France and the UK since the 1920s”

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- Juncture to reflect on HE and its internationalisation.
- Student mobility doubly affected by a crisis of globalisation and a crisis of the funding of HE systems both revealed by the 2008 crisis, unresolved since then and exacerbated by Covid-19. Internationalisation and student mobility are challenged from different directions:
 - The extent to which internationalisation may address the growing inequalities within and between countries.
 - Internationalisation is challenged by a growing focus on immigration and emerging neonationalism (Brogger 2021; Douglas, 2021) and welfare nationalism (Tange and Jæger 2021)
 - Environmental issues
- This has led to question whether internationalisation can be corrected, transformed, reimagined, reversed (Shahjahan & Morgan 2016; Stein 2019) and to reflect on the ways to develop a sustainable cosmopolitan HE system (Marginson 2020)
- This connects to key debates on the connections and clashes between the rationales behind mobility (Unterhalter and Carpentier 2010; Teichler 2017, Bamberger et al 2020) and the articulations and tensions between global, national and local (Marginson and Rhoades 2003). Internationalisation is seen beyond a response to globalisation as a process with intentions and consequences (Knight 2014; De Witt and Altbach 2020) acknowledging the agency and responsibility of HE systems and their institutions to address global and national challenges.
- I propose to look back at some of those issues by comparing and contrasting the historical trends, patterns and structures of funding, expansion and differentiation of HE systems to those of inward student mobility in the UK and France since the 1920s.

- The UK context
- The French republican model and the question of mobility
- My approach
- Data
- Expansion and fluctuations of mobility
- Intensity
- Historical layers of rationales and the structure of inward student mobility.
- Political Economy and scholarships
- International students and HE provision
- Mobility and Institutional Differentiation
- Conclusion

A long story

- UK (important to distinguish between the four nations) (Carpentier 2010; Perraton 2014). Transition from binary to unified system in 1992. Marketisation after 1998
- Tensions around international fees and state subsidies reflecting balance between economic (geo)political, cultural and financial rationales (Harris 1995).
- Considered as justifiable foreign aid by the 1963 Robbins report, fees were eventually introduced in 1967 and increased to full-cost for non-EEC (European Economic Community) students in 1981 (the UK joined the EEC in 1973).

Inward mobility and the HE system

- Ongoing debates on the rationales, policies and practices behind internationalisation and their effect on global and national social justice (Mulvey 2021). This includes the ethics of international fees (Enslin and Hedge 2008) and the consequences of international students falling “outside of collective demands for educational equality” (Tannock 2013) as well as the student experience as immigrant (Waters and Brooks 2021).
- Questions of financial dependence of universities (Carpentier 2021; Bolsmann and Miller 2008)
- Pedagogies, internationalisation of a curriculum (Lomer and Mittelmeier 2021)
- Has international students contributed to add resources or substitute for public funding? Has student mobility reduced or increased resource differentiation? Reversibly, has differentiation stratified access and experience of international students (Carpentier 2021)?
- 2008 crisis: intensified the tensions between the income generation agenda and immigration policy
- Brexit: impact of the shift of EU students from home to international students?
- Covid-19 underlined the vulnerability of marketized and internationalised systems?

Internationalisation and the republican model

- Key debates from the literature on mobility traditionally focus on post(colonial) factors, Francophonie and immigration (Kabbanji and Toma 2020; Karady 2002; Slama 1999; Bian and Malet 2017).
- More recently, internationalisation is increasingly associated to autonomy and marketisation reshaping the equalitarian ideal of the republican model of HE and the idea of public service (Carpentier and Courtois 2020).
- Competitive funding and mergers (Highman and de Gayardon 2022) towards the international model (Musselin 2021) by concentrating resources towards world-class universities accessing league tables (Hazelkorn 2015) are seen as a threat to the principles of the republican model of equality (Harari 2019).

The introduction of fees for non-EU international students (in mobility) in universities in 2019 seen as a major departure from the French republican model (Charle and Verger 2012) based on free and non-selective access to universities for several reasons.

- widening the existing inequalities between universities.
- weakening the contribution of the French system to global social justice and diminishing its influence abroad-especially in the francophone world (Geisser 2018).
- paving the way for future home fees as observed in the UK (Carpentier 2021; Chauvel et al. 2015).
- Fees either as saving the republican model or destroying it (Carpentier and Courtois 2020).
- Critics of the reform included students and staff unions, universities (some waving fees) and the Constitutional Council

Questions regarding inward student mobility are not peripheral but at the heart of dilemmas regarding the expansion of HE systems in both countries. The following seeks to explore those connections by examining the historical dynamics between the trends of expansion and institutional differentiation of HE systems and inward student mobility in the UK and France around the following set of themes:

- The historical trajectories of expansion of international and home students
- The intensity of mobility
- The political economy and scholarship
- Inward student mobility and teaching provision
- The links between inward student mobility and institutional differentiation

History of HE

- I propose to contribute to the historical analysis of student mobility (Perraton 2014, 2020; de Wit and Merkkx 2012) by exploring the extent to which inward student mobility has transformed HE systems and has in return been influenced by them.
- A reasoned use of history (Aldrich 2003)

Quantitative history

- New annual historical datasets on the long-term dynamics of inward student mobility and the expansion, transformation and institutional differentiation of HE in France and the UK complementing the key work of Perraton (2014; 2020)
- Methodology of quantitative history (Marczewski 1961) which offers a system of collecting and processing of data which provides homogenous statistical series comparable across time and space.

Database

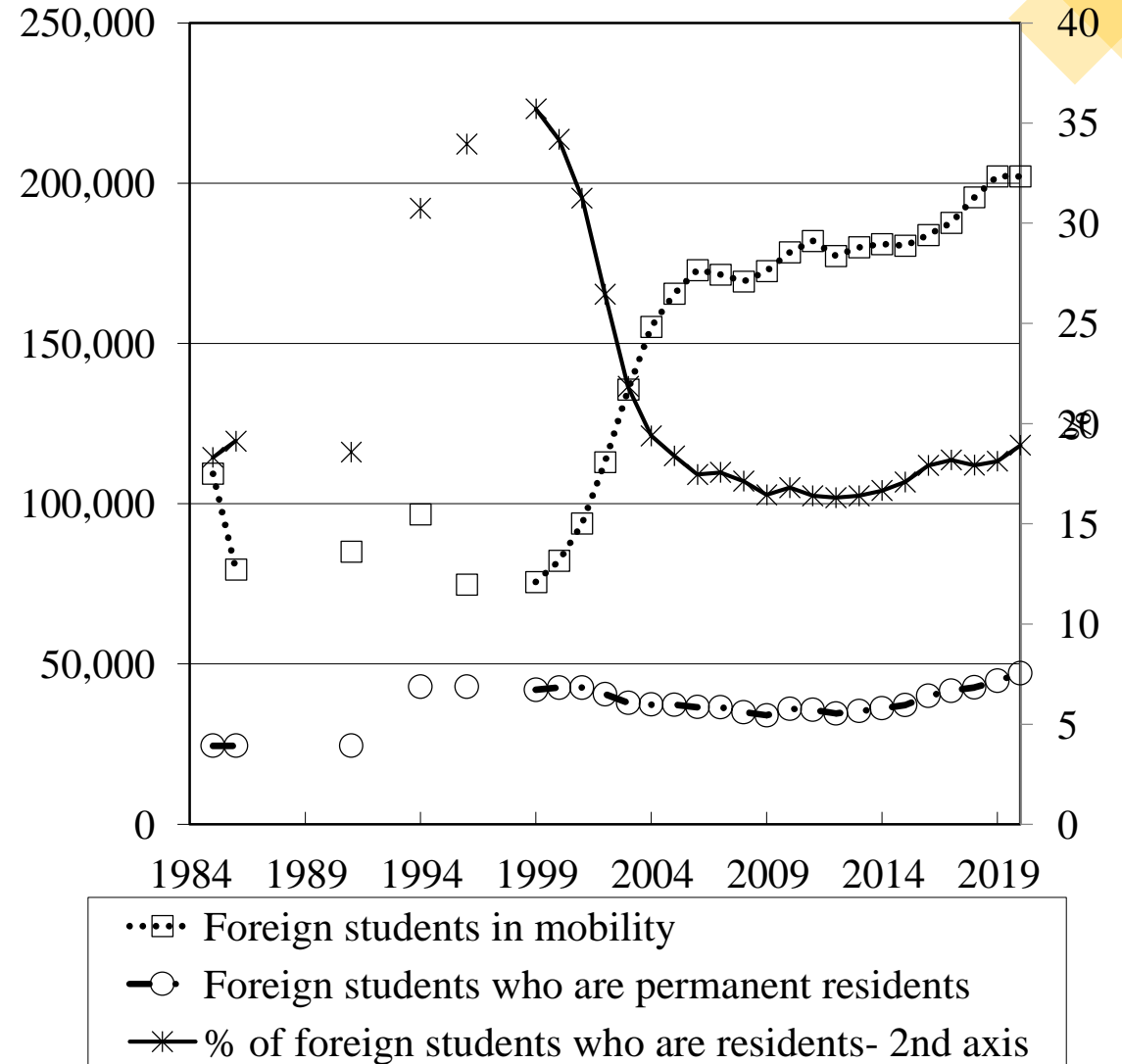
- numbers of international students disaggregated according to their origins (countries; EU/non-EU)
- By mode and level of studies (full/part time; undergraduate/postgraduate; disciplines),
- By institutions in France (Universities/Grandes Ecoles/others) and the UK (polytechnics and post-92/pre-92 Universities).

Merits and limits

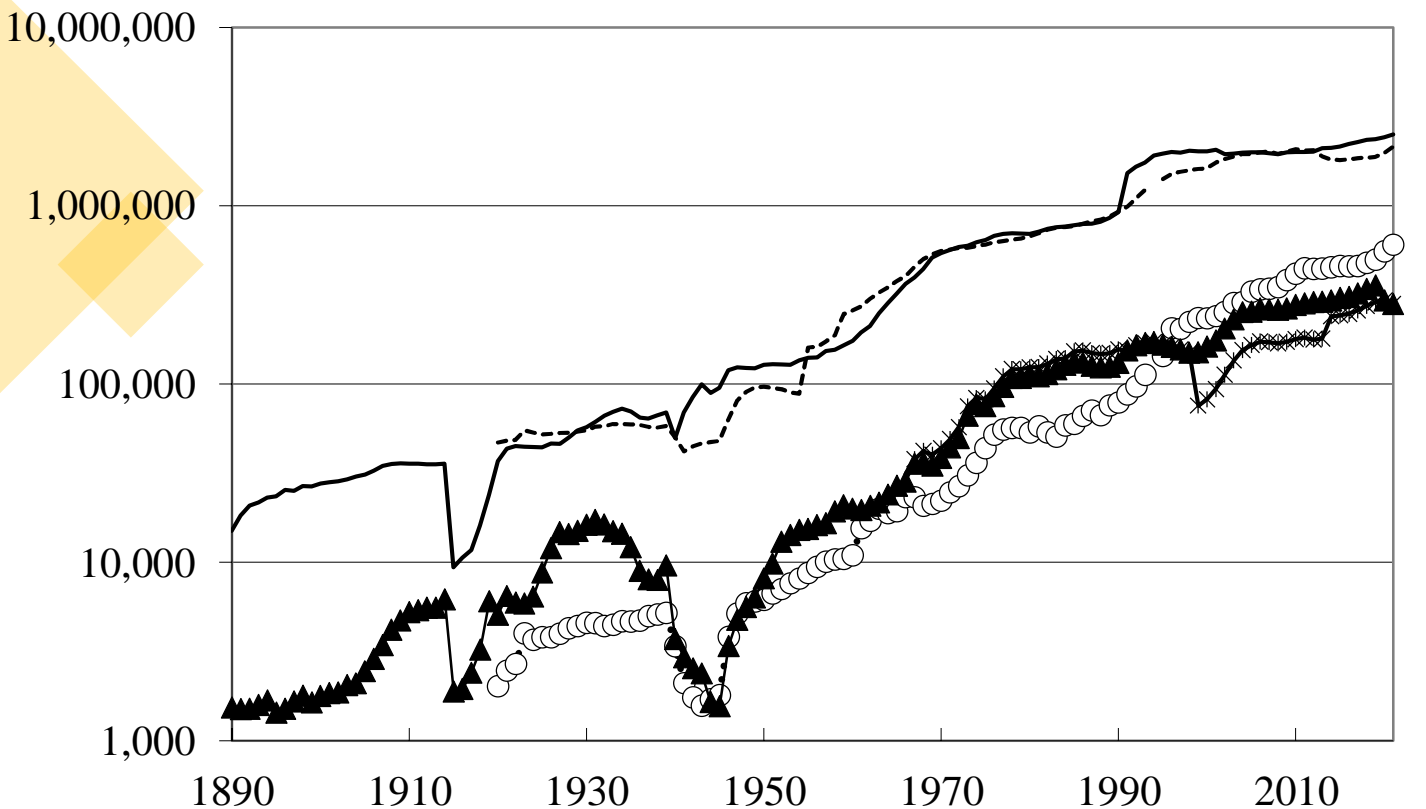
- France and the UK are key players in student mobility with HE systems of comparable size although driven by distinctive models of expansion and differentiation and commonalities with geopolitical factors
- Similar wealth and imperial past.
- Internationalisation debates unpack differently in both systems.
- Quantitative data: focusing on trends, patterns and structures and recognising some limitations and risk of essentialising students (Lomer 2018) of being “trapped within a set of nation-centric assumptions’ (Rizvi and Lingard 2010) with individuals or groups rarely considered (Marginson et al. 2010).

• Foreign, international, home, EU/non-EU.....Mobility or nationality

- Beyond technicalities, the distinction often reflects political considerations regarding immigration or finance (Waters and Brookes 2021; Teichler 2017).
- UK: focus is on mobility with foreign residents with settled status (and refugees)- impact on fees
- France: focus on nationality until 2013, (foreign residents and refugees as international students)
- Shift towards mobility with foreign residents with a French secondary education diploma being recorded as home students. End of statistical illusion of international students with different journeys (Slama 1999).
- Significant move. French numbers overestimated until 2013 compared to UK and explains recent decrease of international students in France.



Historical expansion and fluctuations of inward student mobility



- UK Home students (universities only until 1961 and full time students until 1981)
- UK International students (universities only until 1961 and full time students until 1981)
- France Home students (Universities only until 1991)
- ▲— France International students (Universities only until 1991)
- *— France international students in mobility (universities only until 2013)

Trends and patterns

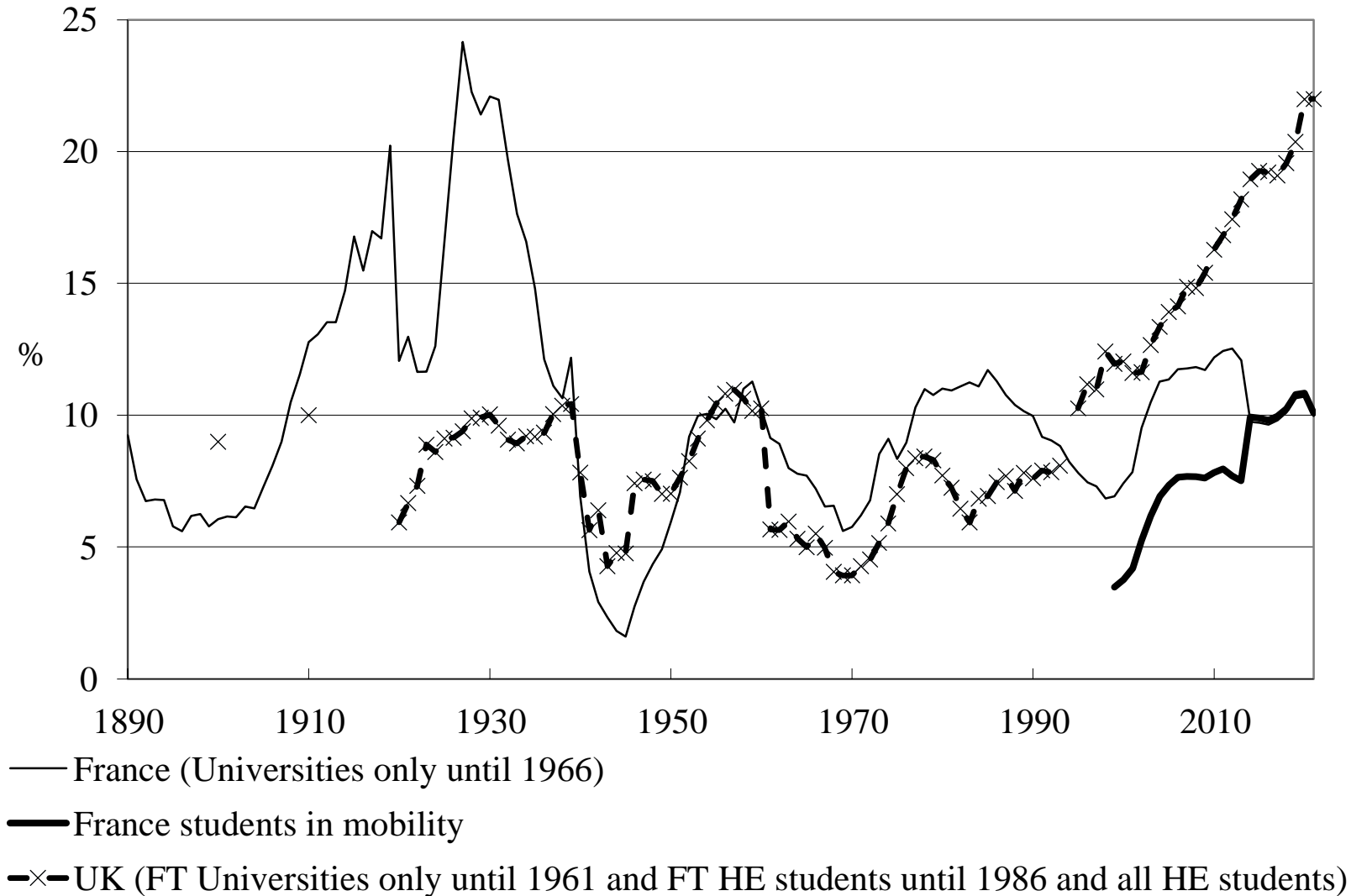
- Considerable rise in the HE system and their number of international students ((similar shapes)
- France recruited more until Britain caught up in the mid-1990s, leading ever since.
- significant fluctuations in both countries, often but not always synchronised.

Factors

- Supply (gvt and institutional policies) and demand (from international students and sometimes their government) responding to structural economic, (geo)political, social, and cultural forces.
- Periods of growth/crisis, war/peace, migration/nationalism, welfare system/neoliberalism, imperialism/decolonisation
- Overall, similar trends in the numbers of home and international students (synchronous or not, with similar or different directions and amplitudes).
- Fluctuations appear to be sharper for international than home students, especially during wars and crises. Does this suggest that international students absorb shocks?
- Economic crises had a particularly negative impact in France in the 1930s and in the UK during the 1980s and straight after 2008.

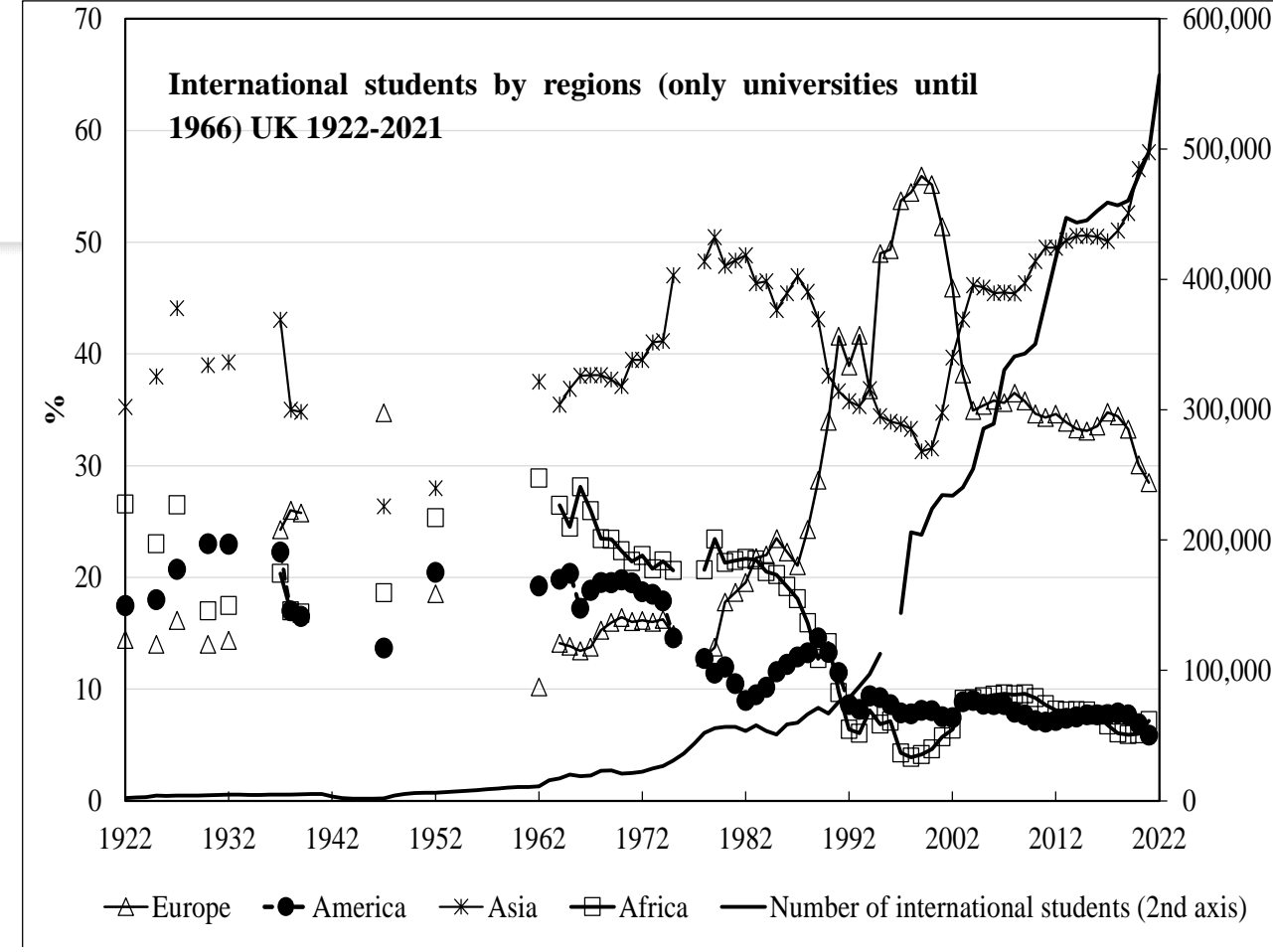
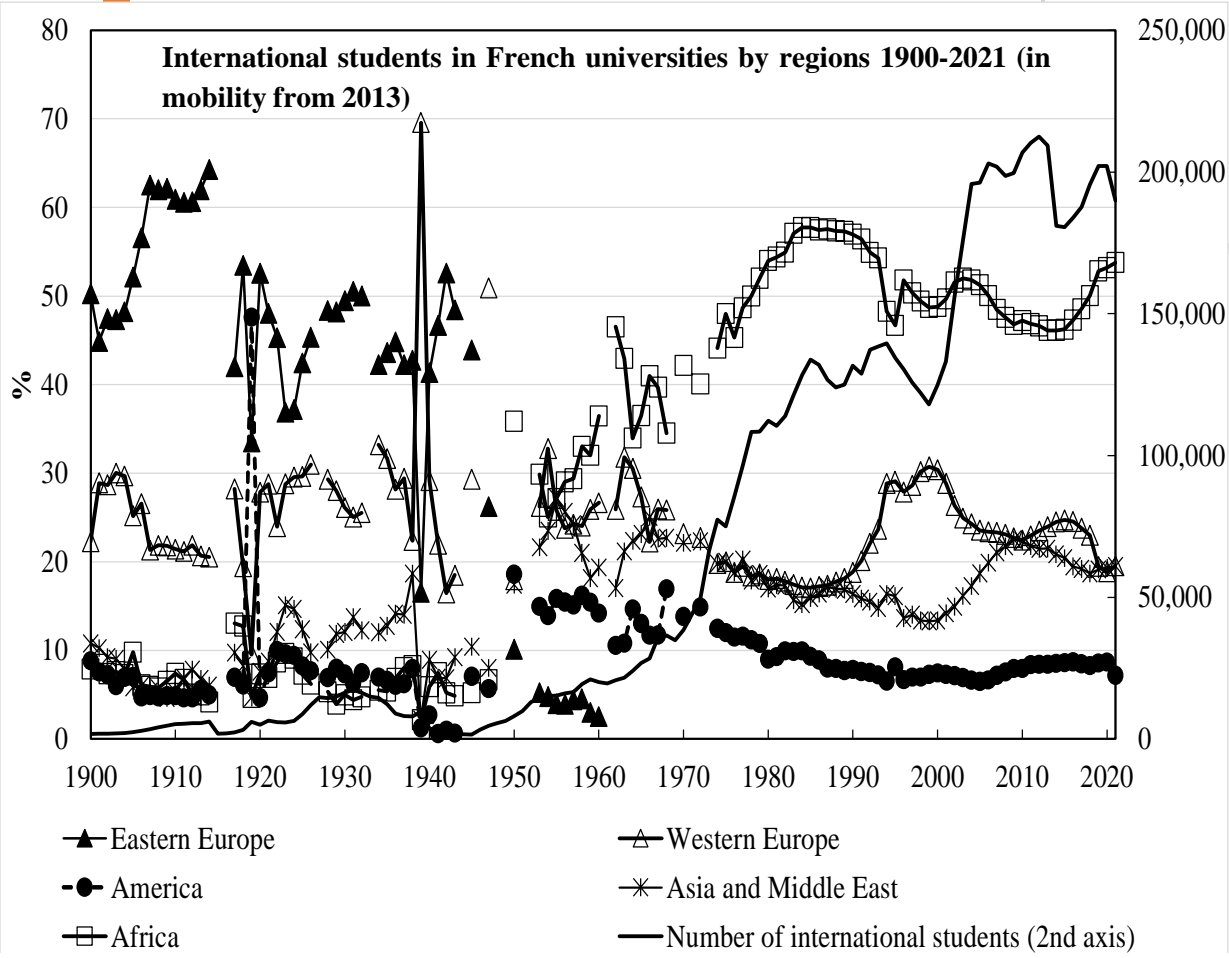
Intensity and the historical trajectories of home and international students

- Proportion of international students in overall enrolment is a valuable proxy for intensity to be interpreted carefully as the result of the dynamics of home and international students (higher or lower intensity can mean different things)
- Substantial presence of international students over the whole period.
- France golden age after the 1900s until the great depression (although overestimated)
- UK started an uninterrupted rise in intensity in the 1990s to reach 22% today.
- Massification in the 1960s explains a decrease in both countries
- Second phase of massification of the 1990s coincided with increased inward student mobility in both countries especially in the UK



Historical layers of rationales and the transformations of inward student mobility:

- 1890-1945 Elite systems, French soft power in Eastern Europe and British Empire challenged by the great depression and wars
- 1945-1980s The post-war national construction of HE systems, post-imperial agenda and cold war
- 1980s-1999: The Long recession, scale back, Europeanisation/immigration control/marketisation
- 1999-2008 The alignment of rationales - Second expansion of internationalisation, Globalisation, soft power and cost-sharing in the UK: the rise of students from Asia
- The post-2008 era: tensions between rationales and instability. crisis of globalisation, tension between income generation and immigration policies, Covid-19



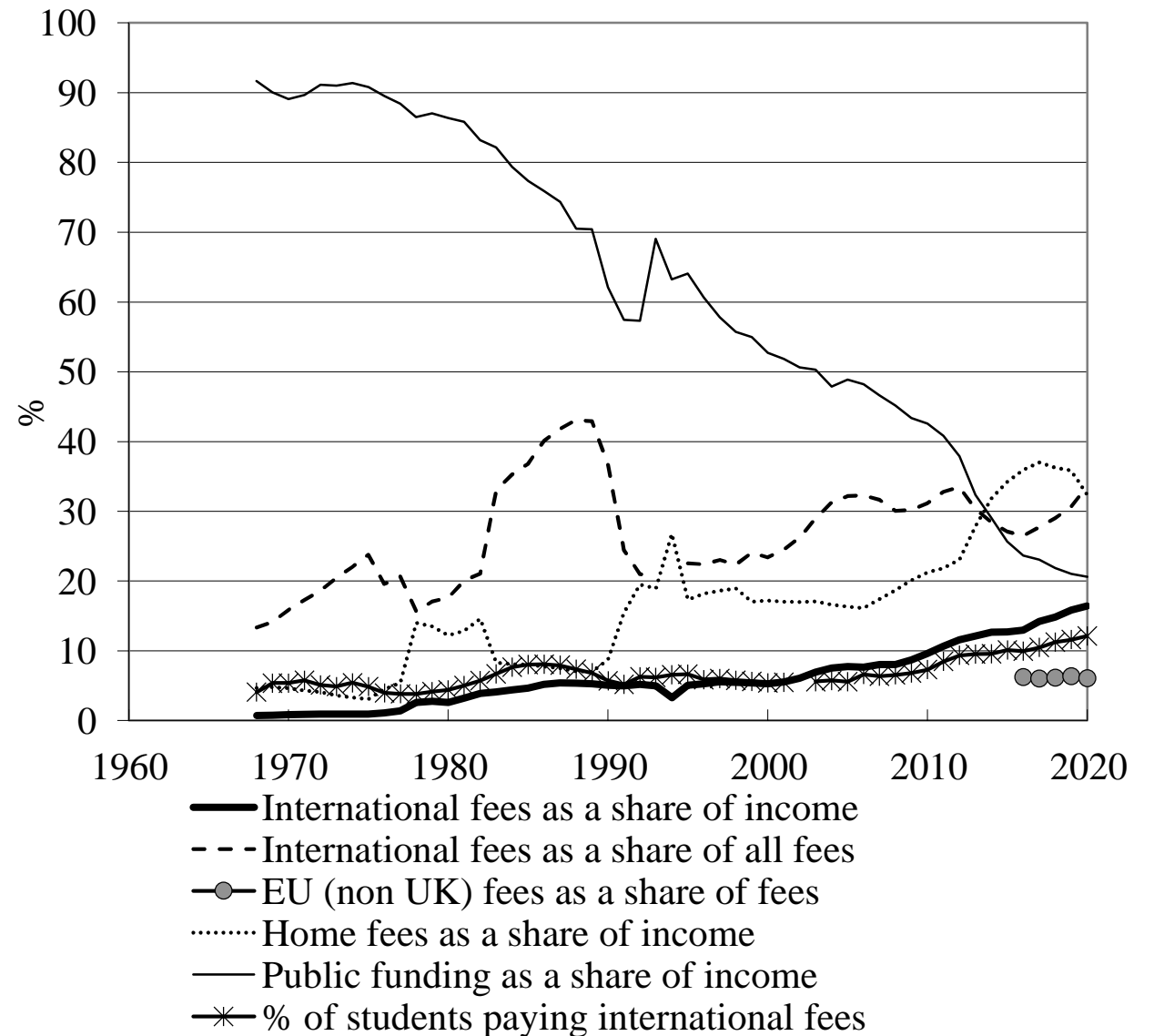
Changing political economies

Historical layers of mobility

- Changes in the structure of inwards student mobility
- Disappearance and re-emergence of rationales and the connection and clashes between them.
- Importance of global, national and local factors.
- Acceleration in changes and instability.
- Financial rationale dominant but also instable and fragile when clashing with emerging global issues (immigration, conflicts, economic crises, neonationalism, Covid-19).

Rationale and funding

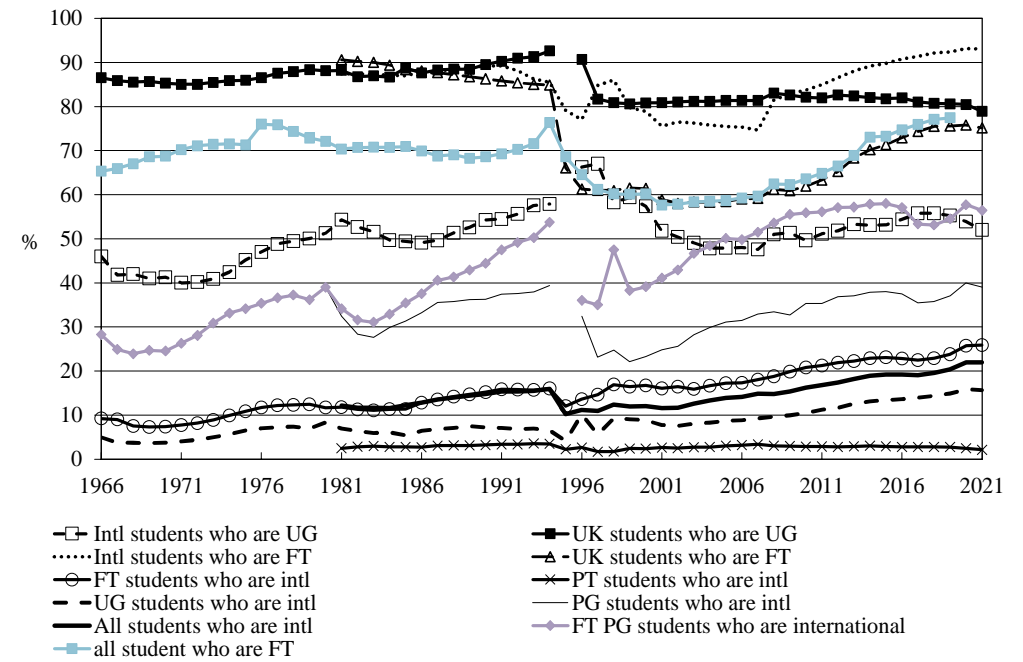
- 2008 crisis exacerbated ongoing tensions revealing the vulnerability of HE systems and their mobility to income generation characterised by constrained public funding in France and overreliance on fees in a context of public-private substitution in the UK (Carpentier 2021).
- Started in 1973: fees in the UK and public funding
- 2008: from cost-sharing to public-private substitution? Alternation. 2005-2015 home students drive fees then international students. 20% of students are non-EU paying 35% of overall fees.



Mobility and Teaching provision

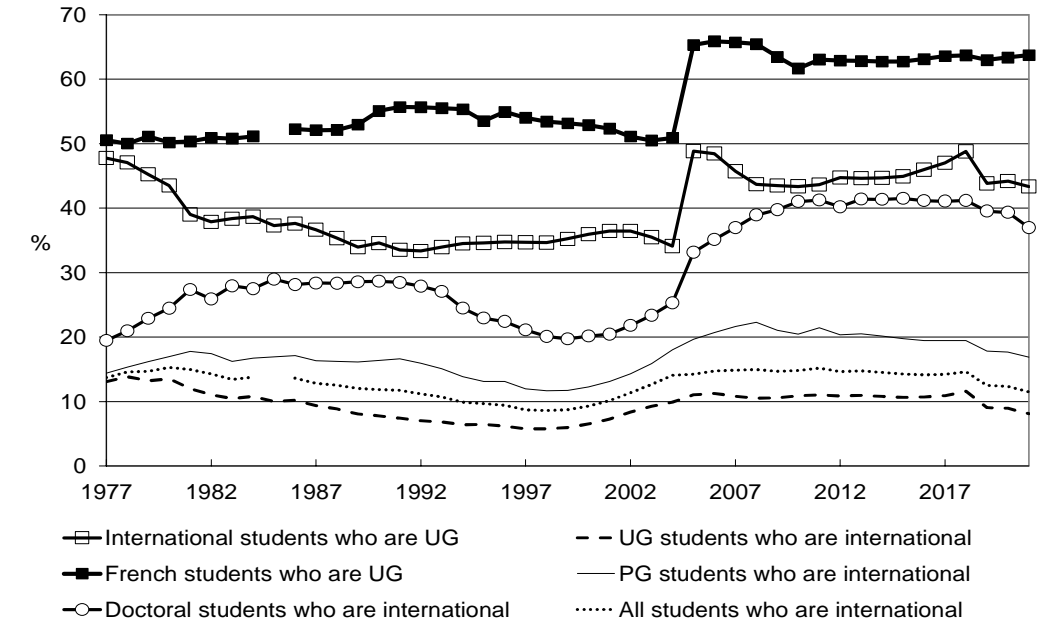
UK

- International students overwhelmingly FT (90%) until the early 1990s after which they experienced a slow decrease to reach 75% in 2006 before slowly reverting to 95% today (Visas). Home students experienced similar turning points but with much stronger fluctuations with the share of FT dropping from 85% in 1992 to 60% in 2006 after which the effect of fees policy on part-time study drove the share of FT back to 75% today.
- The proportion of undergraduates amongst international students increased from 40% to 70% from 1966 to 1997 before slowing down to 45% in 2006 and increasing again to 55% today. This contrasts with the stability of home students who remained overwhelmingly undergraduate (between 80% to 90%).
- Since 1966, international students increased their proportion of overall enrolment from 10% to 22% and their share of FT enrolment from 10% to 25% while their share of PT students decreased from 5% to 2%. They significantly increased their share of the UG (5% to 15%), and PG communities (28% to 40%), although they reached that level twice already in 1978 and 1993. Nearly 60% of full-time postgraduate students are international today.



France

- Rise in the proportion of international students who are postgraduates from 50% to 65% since the 1970s. Back to 50% after the LMD reform applied the Bologna process in 2003 (Dakowska 2019).
- International students represent 15% of the overall undergraduate population (same as the UK), 20% of postgraduates (half than in the UK).
- Proportion in the doctoral population (doubled since 2000 to 40%) was stressed by opponents of fees highlighting their key role in doctoral schools not only as students but also as teaching assistants in a context of declining numbers of French doctoral students.

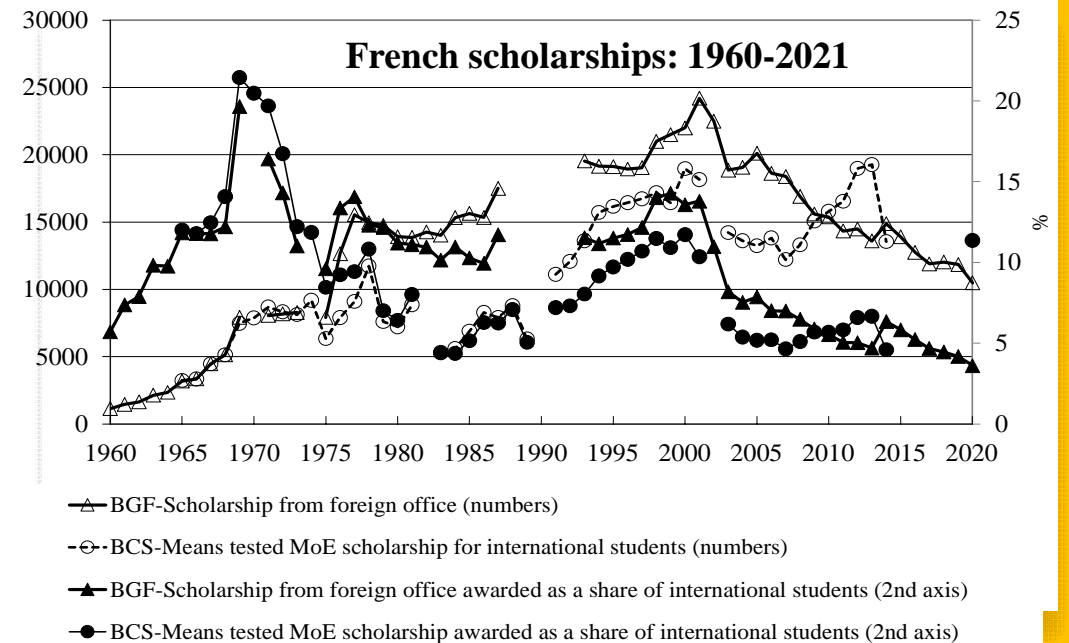


All

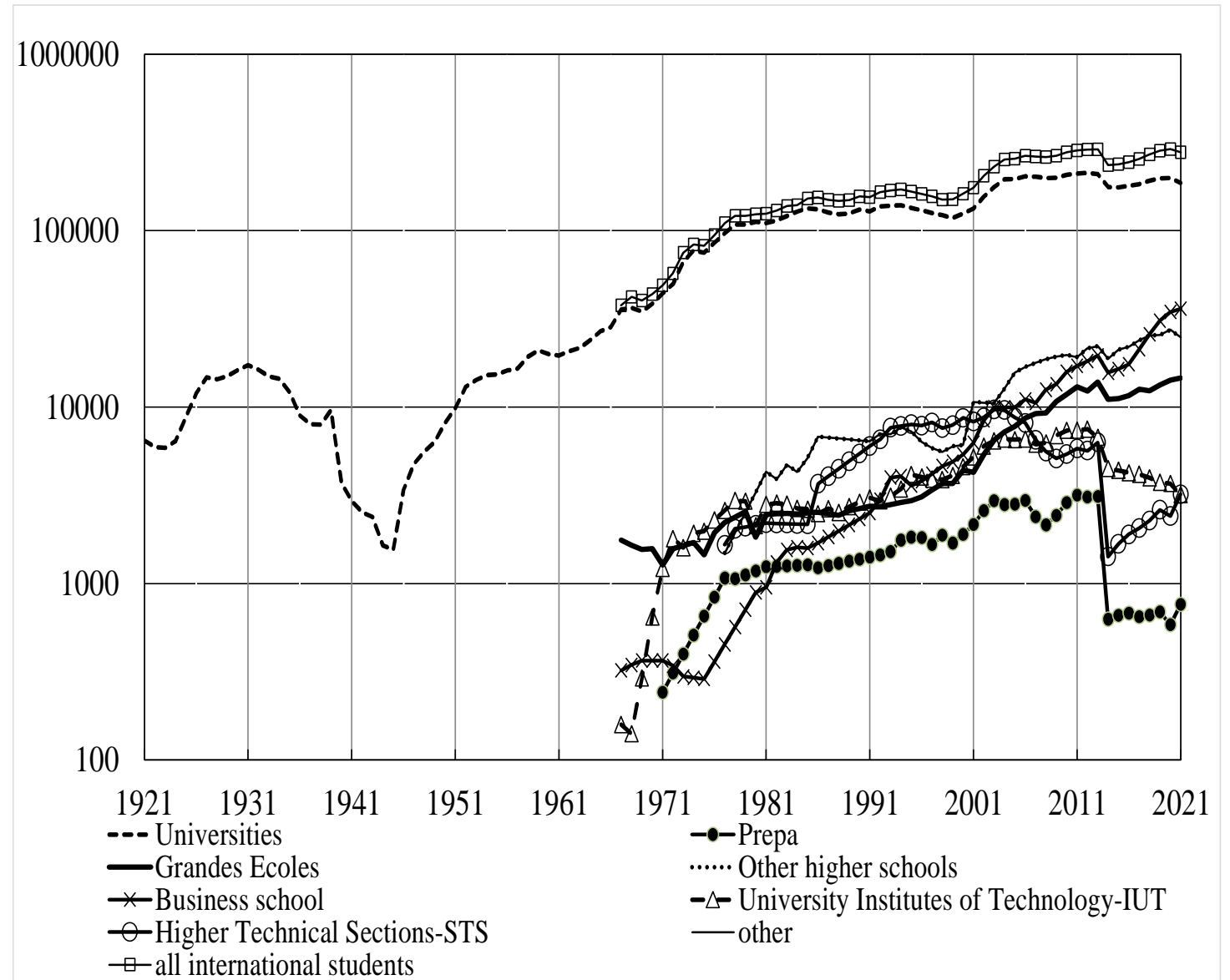
- This shows a story of changes but also continuity.
- This also shows suggests that international students experienced over the period a more stable mode and level of study than home students.
- This shows that international students had a key role in sustaining HE systems teaching provision and research capacity.
- In both countries, international students are divided equally between UG and PG but represents a large proportion of postgraduate provision in the UK and doctoral education in France.

Scholarships

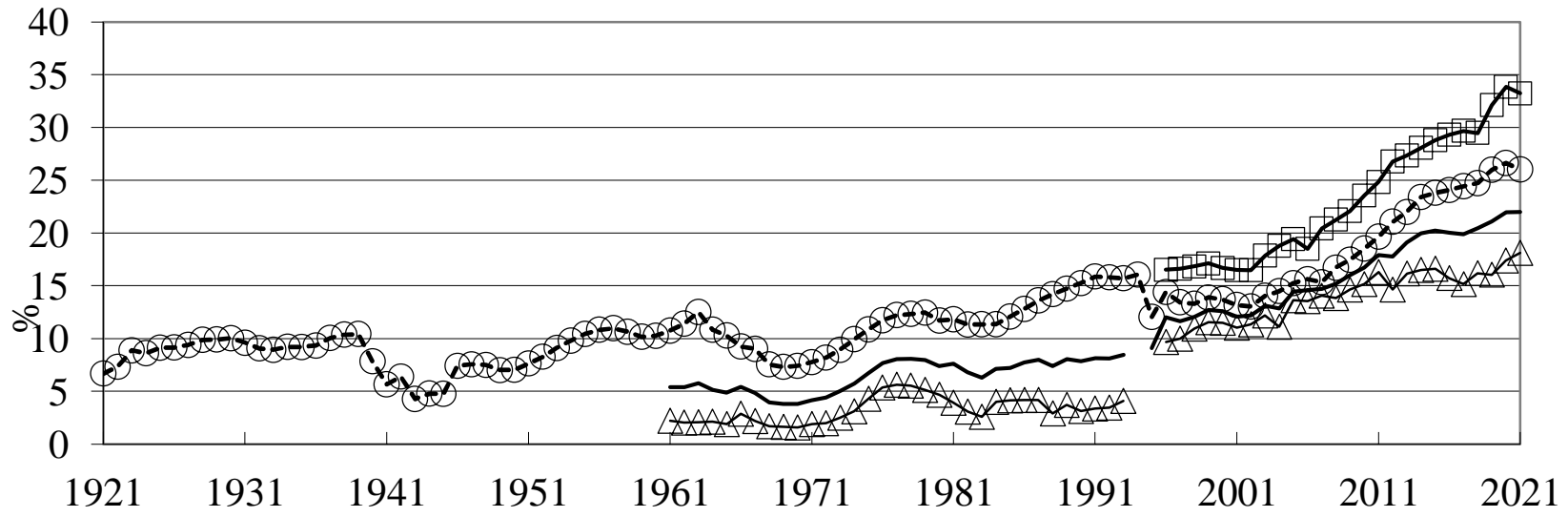
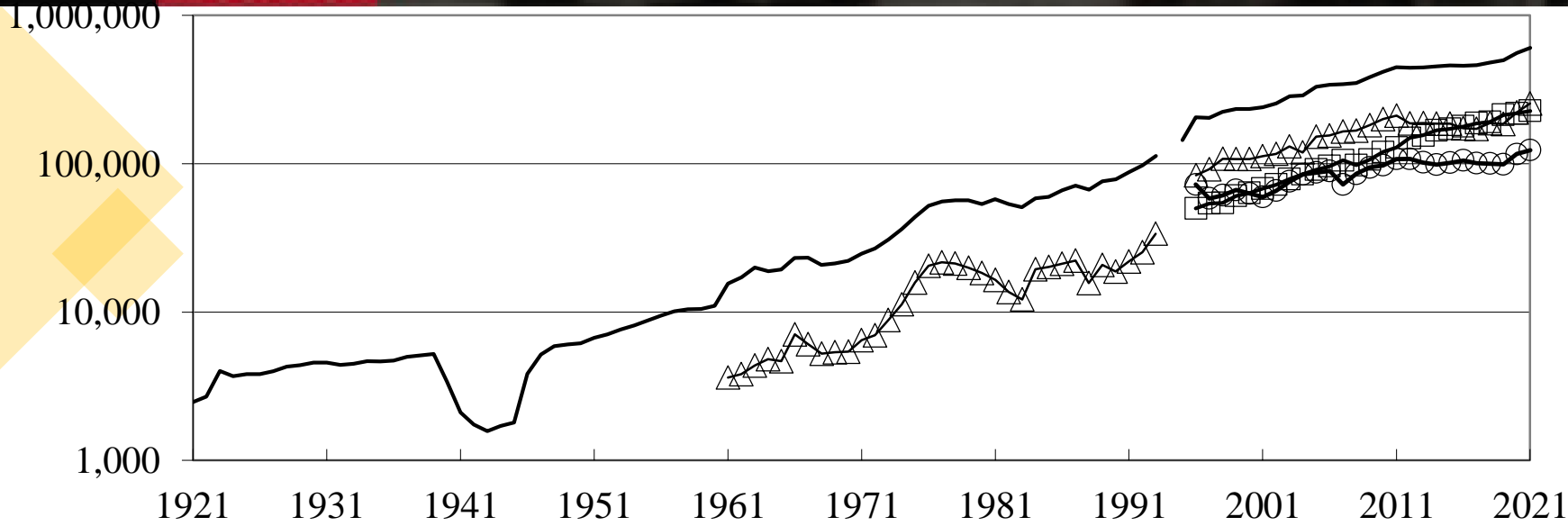
- Other scholarships are available (here focus is on government)- one means-tested and another not for each country
- Increased diversification of socioeconomic background of international students (Walter and Brooks 2021)
- There are notable similarities in the trajectories of scholarships despite different political economy.
- In both countries, the social dimension of scholarships were undermined by economic and immigration pressure and the soft power agenda as well as the fact they are mainly postgraduate.
- In France, firstly, there is a disconnect in numbers between international students and scholarships. Secondly, means-tested scholarship are for foreign residents focuses on national rather than global social justice (except for refugees). The scholarship for mobile students (BGF) are not means tested limiting their impact on global social justice. Scholarships and recent fee rise in universities?
- In the UK means tested scholarship never caught up with numbers of international students
- Contemporary marketized system is less generous than the free systems of the 1960s or the one with milder fees in the 2000s.
- Since 2012, Means-tested scholarship suffered more than other forms of support.



- The university sector has always been and remains the key recipient of international students but has left space to other segments of the HE system. 90% of international students were enrolled in university in 1974 against 67% today (respectively 75% and 59% for all students).
- Internationalisation outside universities started rising in the 1970s with business schools, some Grandes Ecoles and higher technical section.
- A second phase started in the 2000s driven by Grandes Ecoles and the (increasingly for profit) private sector with especially new professional schools and Business schools increasingly focused on income generation and League tables (Blanchard 2009)
- Social stratification of international students (Courtois 2018) through institutional differentiation. Will the introduction of fees in universities change their student composition and affect their global social justice mission?



Differentiation in the UK binary and unified systems



—△— Public sector of HE & Post 92 Universities -⊙- Pre 92 universities -□- Russell — All

- A highly stratified binary system regarding student mobility
- 70% of international students in universities whose intensity (15%) was higher than polytechnics (5%).
- Unification boosted the number of international students of ex-polytechnics (post-92 universities) with a reduction of the gap with pre-92 universities and Russell groups.
- Gap increased again after a first wave of marketisation in 2002 and a second wave following the end of student number control after 2012 (increasing the gap between Russell groups universities and others)
- Question raised about how this might contribute to further social stratification of mobility?

- International students have always been a significant part of HE system.
- Constant changes in rationales have historically constructed and recurrently transformed student mobility.
- Political economy: the increased financial contribution of international students was not followed by a rise in scholarships
- Student mobility influenced the provision of HE systems and vice-versa (doctoral schools, disciplines, mode of study)
- Student mobility institutional differentiation and has a potential to increase of reduce inequalities between institutions
- This historical overview suggests that student mobility has transformed HE systems and has been influenced by them (stratification, funding, social justice, pedagogy...).
- This suggests that Changes must be at the systemic and internationalisation levels. The need for realignment of the rationales requires public investment to reverse public-private substitution in the UK and address underfunding in France
- This might address the longstanding tensions around the rationales which made HE systems vulnerable and exposed by the 2008 downturn which placed inward student mobility at the crossroad of a crisis of HE system (mainly funding) and a crisis of the current form of globalisation
- Covid-19 exacerbated those tensions but also offered an opportunity to reassess internationalisation after the lost opportunity of 2008.