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ANALYZE THE BOLOGNA PROCESS AND EUROPEAN HIGHER
EDUCATION INTEGRATION FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF GOVERNMENT
NETWORK STRUCTURE THEORY

Master's Thesis

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ABSTRACT

In 1999, France, Germany, the United Kingdom and Italy jointly signed *the Bologna Declaration* and proposed to establish an open European Higher Education Area (EHEA). The Bologna Process promoted the integration of higher education in Europe, and counteracted the integration of European politics and economy. Currently, 48 countries have joined the Bologna process. The influence of the Bologna process has also developed from Europe to other countries in Asia, Africa, and North America. The Bologna Process has established six goals at the beginning: credit system, degree system, student mobility, lifelong learning, quality assurance and European research area. From 1999 to 2000, the Bologna Process has accomplished these goals and put forward a plan for the new decade.

The dissertation takes 2010 as the node and divides the Bologna Process into policy objectives and policy subjects through the policy network analysis framework, and analyze the correlation between policy subjects through the neo-functionalism. The result shows that the Bologna process will further deepen its goals in the next decade and attract more countries to join in the context of globalization. However, due to differences in economic and political backgrounds, there will be an differentiate integration based on their own background and goals.

Keywords: Bologna process; Globalization; Higher Education

ABSTRAKTNÍ

V roce 1999, Francie, Německo, Spojené království a Itálie společně podepsaly Boloňskou deklaraci a navrhly vytvoření otevřeného evropského prostoru vysokoškolského vzdělávání. Boloňský proces podporoval integraci vysokoškolského vzdělávání v Evropě a působil proti integraci evropské politiky a ekonomiky. V současné době se k boloňskému procesu připojilo 48 zemí. Vliv Boloňského procesu se vyvinul také z Evropy do dalších zemí v Asii, Africe a Severní Americe. Boloňský proces stanovil na začátku šest cílů: kreditní systém, studijní systém, mobilita studentů, celoživotní učení, zajišťování kvality a evropský výzkumný prostor. Od roku 1999 do roku 2000 dosáhl boloňský proces těchto cílů a navrhl plán pro nové desetiletí.

Disertační práce bere rok 2010 jako uzel a rozděluje boloňský proces na politické cíle a politické subjekty prostřednictvím rámce pro analýzu politické sítě a analyzuje korelaci mezi politickými subjekty prostřednictvím neo-funkcionalismu. Výsledek ukazuje, že boloňský proces v příštím desetiletí dále prohloubí své cíle a přiláká další země, aby se připojily v kontextu globalizace. Kvůli rozdílům v ekonomickém a politickém pozadí však bude existovat diferencovaná integrace na základě jejich vlastního pozadí a cílů.

Klíčová slova: Boloňský proces; Globalizace; Vysokoškolské vzdělání

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INTRODUCTION

We owe our students and society a larger and higher education system, giving them the best opportunity to discover their own advantages (Allegre et.al 1998). To enhance the cohesion and international competitiveness of European Higher Education, several European countries decided to establish a common learning principles. In May 1998, the Ministers of Education of the United Kingdom, France, Germany and Italy gathered in the French Sorbonne, calling on all European countries to integrate various resources and promote the European continent to achieve new innovations in knowledge creation, cultural inheritance, social transformation, and technological innovation (Caddick 2008). The aim of *the 1998 Sorbonne Declaration* is to build a new pattern of higher education structure, which is more open and multi-dimensional, and encourages the international exchanges and cooperation. The subscribe of the *Sorbonne Declaration* promote the construction of a European Higher Education Area (EHEA). In June 1999, 29 European countries signed the *Bologna Declaration* in Bologna, Italy, thus starting the process of European higher education reform-the Bologna Process. The goal of the Bologna Process is to enhance the cohesion of European higher education and determine the basic structure of higher education systems, processes and degrees within Europe. The Bologna Process include six specific measures, which ensure the quality of higher education and promote international exchanges. Besides, the Bologna Process also dedicates to improve the talent flow of the labor market and policy integration. The demand for talents in the common European labor market promotes higher education in various countries to coordinate education systems to train suitable graduates. The European Commission is a full member of the Bologna Process with voting rights. Therefore, the higher education policy of European Union is intertwined with the decision-making power of the Bologna Process higher education policy. All member states of the Bologna Process are also signatories of the European Cultural Convention of the Council of Europe. This is also a necessary condition for joining

the Bologna Process. Therefore, the Bologna Process have extended the educational goals to European politics, economy, society and other fields.

The policy network is a new and important theory emerging from western policy science, and it has been gradually used in public policy research since the late 1970s. Policy network theory is used to describe and explain dynamic and complex policy analysis, and has become the dominant paradigm for the policy making process of the British political class (Dowding 1995). Its theory mainly comes from the complexity of contemporary public issues, and the paradigm that relies on government agencies to formulate and implement policies is no longer applicable. The policy process takes place in a network formed by various interdependent subjects. Therefore, the key to successful governance is through effective network management. The policy network structure not only includes the government organization structure, but also refers to the formal and informal relationship mode formed by various subjects in the network. The policy network refers to a group of organizations or a consortium of several organizations linked together due to interdependence of resources (Benson 1982). The concept of policy network has been the main focus of policy analysis and one of the most important tool base of policy analysts in the past ten years (Hudson & Lowe 2004).

With the development of the Bologna process and globalization, a new requirement is the hope that more policy subjects can join the Bologna process. These policy subjects include member states, student representatives, teacher groups, employers, etc. In addition, one of the goals of the Bologna process is to promote cooperation among member states and other subjects to promote the European education and even economics and politics integration process. Therefore, the traditional government paradigm is no longer suitable for studying multi-country and multi-subject policy reform content. The research of policy network scholars focuses on the relationship existing between the subjects in the policy network. By studying the relationship variables and mutual influences between the subjects, the policy network structure is

used to infer the characteristics of the policy network structure and its influence on the policy process and results. The dissertation will combine the framework of the policy network structure to analyze the policy subjects in the Bologna process and their mutual relevance, and explore the progress and future direction of the Bologna process through case analysis.

CHAPTER I RESEARCH BACKGROUND AND RESEARCH QUESTION

Since the 1980s, the internationalization of higher education has become an important trend (Gu 2006). Teichler (2007) pointed out that higher education should have no borders, knowledge and scientific research in various fields should promote the development of overall education research, and universities should have an international perspective. But at the same time, higher education is largely influenced by the cultural and political system of the region. The economic and social background will affect higher education funding, university and college rules and regulations, course arrangements and qualification certifications. Therefore, since the end of the Second World War, European countries have taken many measures to eliminate the various characteristics of the higher education system among countries (Teichler 2007). With the deepening of European political and economic integration, European countries have become closer and closer in economic, political, and social fields. The Bologna process has become an important extension of the European integration process. The European Commission hopes that by strengthening the compatibility and mutual inclusiveness of countries in higher education, it will promote the flexible and international flow of students, teaching and research personnel, and even higher education stakeholders in European countries, to fundamentally realize the preservation of European cultural diversity and the promotion of harmony. At the same time, it would enhance the mutual understanding of people in the European region, and create a good internal environment and a stable political ecology for the European integration process.

However, although European culture has the characteristics of the same root, but with the increasing number of immigrants with foreign cultural backgrounds, the diversity and complexity of European culture have become more obvious. For a long time, the European Union and the European region have been facing two dilemmas: First, the

different languages and educational systems of the EU countries have led to the non-recognition of university education diplomas between the EU and other European countries, which affects several productivity factors like talents flow, mobility and technological development. Second, the current EU higher education system is not flexible enough due to the restriction of traditional higher education and culture effect, which makes it hard to cultivate high-tech talents who have an international vision to adapt to the 21st century in the context of globalization. In the face of increasing competition, the European region should strengthen cooperation in higher education and integrate educational resources from various countries.

Up to now, there are 48 member states joined the Bologna process. Since the establish of the Bologna Process, European higher education has undergone profound changes and attracted widespread international attention. In view of the close attention of non-European countries to this process, the Bologna process itself is also adjusting its position to establish a European Higher Education Area in a global context. Currently, the United States, Canada, India, China, Central Africa and Latin America and other countries and regions are affected by the European Higher Education Area and actively and deeply promote the exchange and cooperation of higher education between countries and regions .

This year is the 21st year of the Bologna Process. Taking 2010 as the time node, the Bologna process can be roughly divided into two stages. In the first stage, from 1999 to 2010, European countries have initially achieved the goals set in the *Bologna Declaration*, and established a more competitive, compatible and integrated system in the European region. The higher EHEA provides important intellectual and technological support for promoting the construction of the European economic and political community. In the second stage, the EHEA countries agreed that the Bologna process should be promoted under the perspective of globalization, and the cooperation relationship should be extended to North America, East Asia and Africa, and the Bologna Process began to generalize. As pointed out in *the 2010 Bologna*

Process Policy Forum Joint Statement, EHEA countries need to strengthen cooperation with higher education institutions or scientific research institutions in all regions of the world to jointly respond to the common challenges. Therefore, EHEA should cooperate with all parts of the world. The region has jointly established a practice-oriented higher education community. In October 2010, 72 countries have participated in the Bologna Process meetings (including 20 from Asia and North America, African countries, accounting for nearly one-third), and 11 participating institutions (including 3 non-EU international organizations).

Therefore, the dissertation dedicates to analyze the Bologna Process and focuses on the changes and challenges after 2010. In terms of the Bologna Process from the perspective of globalization, the dissertation focuses on the following questions:

- (1) Can the Bologna Process be analyzed by the policy network structure? If can, which are the policy subjects and how to calculate the corresponding correlation degree?
- (2) What are the goals and changes of the Bologna Process after 2010?
- (3) Analysis from the perspective of policy network, what are the future trends of the Bologna Process?

CHAPTER II LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Studies on the European Higher Education Integration

The concept of European higher education integration was put forward with the development of the Bologna process, which refers to the establishment of a European higher education area by countries that have joined the Bologna process to achieve consistent standards in terms of higher education system, objectives, and quality. Its policy can be traced back to the first meeting of the Ministers of Education of the European Community in 1971, and it formed a framework agreement for an action plan in the field of education in 1976. Marked by the publication of *the Bologna Declaration*, it is planned to establish a unified European Higher Education area in 2010 (Xin 2006). The historical evolution of the European Higher Education Integration process is divided into four stages: (1) Educational integration, which is caused by the spillover effect of political and economic integration, and reacts on political and economic integration; (2) From vocational education to the integration of general education; (3) From the low level to the high level of higher education integration; (4) The integration of higher education extends from EU countries to other European countries and Asian, African and North American countries (Shen 2009).

Most studies focus on the Bologna process and its promotion effect on the European Higher Education Integration (Cardoso et al. 2008). These studies mainly focus on the establishment of the European higher education quality assurance system, the promotion of higher education reforms in European countries and the development of European vocational education. There are also several scholars analyze specific areas (Calugher & Lungu 2016; Gabriela 2019). For example, Paile (2006) suggested that the Bologna Process had provided a standardized framework on military education. The evolution of international exchanges had significant implications for military

professionalism (Callado-Munoz & Utrero-González 2019). Furthermore, studies includes the spillover effect of European integration on higher education perspective (Kurt 2003; Martina 2013), and the consequences and development of the European Higher Education Integration (Svetla 2011; Vassiliki 2014; Degtyarova 2015; Maryna 2018).

2.2 Studies on the Bologna process

2.2.1 The Content of the Bologna Process

In 2014, representatives of European higher education institutions and academic accreditation information centers in seven countries jointly formulated the European Higher Education Regional Accreditation Manual. The manual provides an effective reference for qualification assessment and accreditation, fosters a fair atmosphere, and enhances quality assurance in the accreditation process. In general, the Bologna process has the following six major reform plans:

2.2.1.1 Establish an Easy to Understand and Comparable Degree System

The purposes of the Bologna process is to break down the educational barriers among countries, and to promote the development of European educational integration. One of the obstacles that European countries face in transnational exchanges of higher education is that they cannot be co-trained due to the differences in teaching goals and content, and the certificates obtained cannot be recognized by the labor market. After negotiation, member states introduced a diploma supplement, which includes additional information about the institution where students graduated or additional information about their respective higher education systems, so that the results of graduates can be more easily understood. Comparable degree systems make it easier for people to understand the abilities of students who have obtained academic degrees,

and can train students in accordance with social and cultural coordination. At the same time, the reform of the degree system has promoted the flow of graduates among member states and fostered standardized employability. The diploma appendix is widely praised in the United Kingdom and Germany, but it is not all accepted in the member states. This mainly depends on the international orientation of schools, graduates and disciplines.

2.2.1.2 Secondary and Tertiary Degree System

Another important reform of the Bologna process is to unify the degree system among the member states. Based on the various educational backgrounds and goals of each member country, the teaching arrangements and degree system are also very different. Some countries (such as Germany, Finland, Russia, etc.) pay more attention to the academic training of students, so they set a longer time during the undergraduate period and adopt the two-level degree system. Such a degree setting can help students to master a professional knowledge systematically, but there are problems such as hindering international exchanges due to the various setting of different academic goals and the long teaching time that cannot meet the needs of the labor market. *The Bologna Declaration* signed in 1999 advocates a two-level degree system for higher education. In the following process, the third-level doctorate was also introduced and became an important part of European reform. The Bologna Process also advocates a minimum of three-year undergraduate education, and requires countries to ensure that their undergraduate graduates can be employed.

The German higher education system first introduced a bachelor's degree system and then gradually introduced a master's degree system. In 2004, 19% of German universities began to implement a bachelor or master degree system. In August 2007 this index rose to 61%. In December 2011, this index reached 85% (Blomeyer 2011). Some of the 16 German states have almost completely introduced the secondary degree system. For example, Lower Saxony has introduced 98% of schools, and the

introduction rate of Hamburg has reached 97%, which reflects the policies of various departments on the process of higher education (Blomeyer 2011). Germany has even further divided the two-level degree system. For example, full-time undergraduate education is at least 3 years, but not more than 4 years. A master's education based on a bachelor's degree cannot be shorter than one year or more than two years. The introduction of undergraduate and master's degree systems is the most challenging and controversial part of the German education reform. The main controversy is that German scholars do not believe that Germany's original education system cannot be recognized by the international market. At the same time, some scholars also believe that the new curriculum is time-consuming, highly bureaucratic, and deviating from the core of education (Mayer & Friedrich 2013). In 2012, almost two-thirds of students received bachelor's degree. The proportion of education in the master's degree system is the highest in the field of social sciences. The practice of implementing bachelor's and master's degrees in law, medicine, art and other disciplines and other national-level study programs is still controversial. Compared with the previous 5-6 years of first-degree courses, people are more likely to receive a three-year undergraduate education, thereby increasing the penetration rate of higher education. In some cases, this is even more important for young women.

In recent years, the degree reform has also achieved certain results. Data for 2011 shows that both undergraduate and graduate students have found suitable jobs, the unemployment rate is below 5%, and only a small number of graduates are engaged in jobs that are not equivalent to their academic qualifications. The empirical data on salary also showed positive results (Mayer & Friedrich 2013). Undergraduates are very popular in the labor market, and the income difference caused by different degrees is no longer obvious, and even has a tendency to disappear (Mayer & Friedrich 2013). At the same time, in the process of reforming their higher education systems, countries also attach importance to the connection with the job market.

2.2.1.3 Credit System

To further enhance the international student flow, the Bologna Declaration introduces a credit system, which means that students can move between domestic and foreign universities. The European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTs) has been included in the Bologna Declaration as an appendix. The total annual study time is 45 weeks multiplied by 40 hours, which means that the annual study time should be 1,800 hours, and each semester is 900 hours. The amount of learning in each semester is divided into 30 credits, and each credit represents 30 hours of learning. Therefore, this means that course design should follow this basic logic to allocate course time. A 5-credit module means that each student spends 150 hours of study time on average, including time for preparatory work, lectures, complete homework, and time to prepare for exams. It is believed that this system makes curriculum planning more realistic and makes it easier to transfer credits. The introduction of the credit system means the transformation of certain viewpoints. Student time becomes the focus of curriculum planning. Compared with the previous teachers dividing credits based on the difficulty of the course and the syllabus, the new credit system reflects the student-centered concept of the Bologna Process. The student's study time and learning gains are taken into account in the credit value. As of 2010, 90% of colleges and universities have adopted the ECTS system for bachelor's and master's degrees, and 88% of them have used all courses of the ECTS credit accumulation system. There was a target that by 2020, at least 20% of the students in the European Higher Education Area should have had a study or training period abroad (Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve Communiqué 2009). The target was further specified in the Bucharest that students should obtain 15 ECTS abroad.

2.2.1.4 Facilitate International Mobility

The Bologna Process called for more international mobility opportunities for students, teachers, researchers and administrators. The establishing of a unified credit system

and degree system helps student international flow and further satisfy the need of the labor market in the context of globalization. In the *2009 Leuven Bulletin*, training graduates' employability was listed as one of the priorities for the development of higher education in the next ten years. The *2015 Yerevan Bulletin* clearly stated: The employability of graduates is one of the most important goals of the European Higher Education Area. We need to ensure that at the end of each learning stage, students can master the skills needed to enter the labor market, and on this basis, they can work in the future.

All recent data show that the number of students studying abroad is increasing. At the same time, some new forms of international mobility, such as short-term courses or summer schools, overseas internships and language courses, are becoming more and more common. In the fifth or sixth semester, out of every 100 undergraduates, 22 students from comprehensive universities and 25 students from universities of applied sciences participate in more extensive international activities overseas (DAAD 2011). Data also shows another change in the nature of international mobility, that is, more students choose the increasingly well-known vertical mobility, which refers to receiving undergraduate education in one country and studying in another country. At the same time, more and more disadvantaged students have obtained the opportunity to participate in higher education, and they can move freely in the European higher education area and even around the world. In the future, the Bologna process will further promote student mobility and achieve the goal of at least 20% of the graduates of the European Higher Education Area with the experience of studying and training abroad in 2020 (Leuven/ Louvain-la-Neuve Communiqué 2009). Besides, the data shows that student mobility is still constrained by the imbalance of economic development among countries. The data shows that compared with the overall enrollment of higher education, in terms of degree flow, whether it is the outflow of students from the European higher education area or the flow of students from non-European higher education area countries, the number of European higher education areas is extremely limited, and there is still a big imbalance in the

distribution of outflow and inflow places. In most countries in the European higher education area, the inflow and outflow rate of students in the flow of degrees is less than 5% (Eurydice 2015). The biggest imbalance faced by countries in European higher education areas is often not the flow of students between countries in the education area, but the flow of students outside this educational space (Ferencz 2015). At the same time, international mobility has also brought about the problem of brain drain, which has further triggered the discussion on the value of internationalization.

The cooperation of European countries in higher education, especially the flow of students, teachers and administrators between countries, has greatly facilitated exchanges and resource sharing among European countries, and has cultivated a large number of outstanding graduates for the European common labor market. The flow of students and graduates in the common labor market and the continuous development of the European research area have promoted the free cross-border flow of talents, knowledge, and technology in the European higher education area, and further promoted European integration.

2.2.1.5 Focus on Quality Assurance and Lifelong Learning

Promoting European cooperation in quality assurance through the development of comparable standards and methods is one of the six goals initially proposed by the Bologna Process. The quality assurance in the Bologna process involves both internal and external guarantees. The European Commission want to establish a link between the Bologna Process and lifelong learning. To this end, it is necessary to recognize that people have obtained corresponding qualifications and abilities outside the higher education system and can transform them into higher education. *The Bologna Declaration* stipulates that credits can also be obtained from non-higher education systems, including lifelong learning. At present, the European Higher Education Quality Assurance System is mainly composed of three organizational elements, namely the European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA),

Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance in the European Higher Education Area, European Quality Assurance Register for Higher Education Integration, and provide European countries with guidance and consulting support on the implementation of quality assurance. The establishment of ENQA marked the official launch of the European higher education quality assurance system under the framework of Bologna. After 20 years of construction, the European higher education quality assurance framework system has achieved deep integration with the laws and regulations in the higher education field of European countries, thus promoting the integration of higher education quality evaluation standards and the convergence of school goals among European countries. As of 2018, the number of third-party independent institutions that have completed registration with EQAR has reached 45 (EQAR 2019).

On March 4, 2008, the European Higher Education Quality Assurance Registration Center was established, which is the first legal entity to appear in the Bologna process. The registration center uses quality assurance standards and guidelines as a reference to review the qualifications of external quality assurance agencies, effectively improving the transparency of European higher education quality assurance, and enhancing the credibility and professionalism of external quality assurance agencies (Jiang, Xia 2018). In 2005, the European Higher Education Area Quality Assurance Standards and Guidelines were issued to provide standards and guidance for the external quality assurance of higher education and the operation of quality assurance institutions.

Since the start of the process, almost all countries have required higher education institutions to establish internal quality assurance systems, and 22 countries have established external quality assurance institutions. In *the 2015 Yerevan Communiqué*, they promised to open up qualified foreign higher education evaluations. The participation of institutions promotes the internal and external guarantees of the quality of higher education. Despite the rapid development of the quality assurance

system, there is still insufficient participation in the internal and external quality supervision and assurance processes. It is mainly divided into two aspects: one is the insufficient participation of students in the quality assurance process. In recent years, there has been little progress in student participation in quality assurance (Eurydice 2015). The reason is that, on the one hand, the limitation of the participants in the initial design of the quality assurance system does not take into account the role of the student. On the other hand, letting students participate in the quality assessment may reduce the final assessment. The second is the insufficient participation of cross-border quality assessment agencies. From 2012 to 2015, only Austria and Armenia have opened cross-border assessments. At the same time, in some countries that open cross-border assessments, they have not strictly followed the requirement. The assessment agencies should be included in the European Higher Education Quality Assurance Registration Center means that these cross-border quality assessment agencies are likely to be unqualified. This is also largely due to concerns about the quality of higher education in the country.

Lifelong learning is a mission recognized by all countries in the European Higher Education Area, which is subordinate to the principle of social responsibility. Accessibility, quality of supply, and transparency of information should be ensured. Lifelong learning includes the acquisition of qualifications, the expansion of knowledge and understanding, the accumulation of new skills and abilities, and the enrichment of personal growth. Lifelong learning means that qualifications can be obtained through flexible learning paths, including intermittent learning and work-based paths. *The Leuven Communiqué* (2009) lists lifelong learning as one of the priorities for the future development of the European Higher Education Area.

During the Bologna process, the concept of lifelong learning has been further developed and practiced in the European higher education area, a relatively stable government support system for lifelong education has been established, and diversified kinds of lifelong learning have been formed. All these provide students

with a relaxed policy environment for lifelong education. Higher education institutions expand lifelong learning paths and create various higher education programs, such as distance learning, evening courses, vacation courses, etc., to meet the increasingly diverse learning needs of students and provide part-time students with more educational opportunities. Besides, government authorities and higher education institutions have also provided financial support for various projects that assist lifelong learning. The Bologna process has expanded a broader space for the development of lifelong education in Europe. However, due to the characteristics of lifelong education and the environment of the educated, the implementation of the lifelong education policy in the Bologna process also encountered many problem. One is that EHEA countries have inconsistent recognition of the concept of lifelong education, so lifelong education goals, curriculum settings, and talent training goals are inconsistent. For example, lifelong education in Belgium is being promoted as a project of adult education. Through training, educators can obtain qualifications, but it is impossible to obtain a degree certificate. In Danish universities, lifelong education courses are not allowed in the first cycle, and are only available in the second cycle. Romanian higher education institutions only provide lifelong education to undergraduates in scientific disciplines that have been accredited. The second is the inconsistency and limitation of the funding sources of lifelong education projects. Only 8 of the 40 member states have set a budget for lifelong education projects. Some other countries provide life-long education funds through general public budgets, and personal donations are also an important source of life-long education funds. However, in terms of statistics, there are still many countries that do not have sources of funding for lifelong education.

2.2.1.6 University and Student Participation

In the early days of the Bologna Process, it was often led by the government. However, it became increasingly clear that the process can only be successfully implemented if the university is fully involved in the process. Therefore, the

Conference of Presidents, universities and student organizations have become the first batch of consulting members in the Bologna Process. They currently play an important role in the process, and their views will be adopted and used as the basis for consultation in the promotion meeting of the Bologna Process. The participation of higher education institutions and countries in internationalization cannot be ignored. In the future development of the European Higher Education Area, as the trend of internationalization continues to strengthen, institutions and countries are indispensable for a comprehensive strategy for internationalization. International cooperation will be further developed, with more and more joint projects, degrees and cross-borders, cooperative projects will be constructed. Especially with the continuous development of educational technology, MOOCs and other forms of "Internet + education" may become a new path for the internationalization of higher education.

In addition to the guiding role of the opinions of students and universities in policy formulation, the competition between students and talents is also an important part of the Bologna process. Along with the Bologna process, the European Higher Education Area was established simultaneously in 1999, and the European Research Area (ERA) was established within one year, which is the running European Research Framework Programme. The European Higher Education Area has launched the Erasmus Project, and the EU-funded young scholars program will gradually expand to the entire Bologna Process, or gradually carry out related cooperation with other national-level projects. With the Bologna process, universities compete for outstanding teachers and outstanding students. This view is completely different from the philosophy of the 1950s or the postwar period. Before 2005, one of the main features of European higher education system was the free tuition. The general public tends to view higher education as a public product and should be free for everyone. Therefore, all states only charge tuition for students who fail to complete their studies on time. Although this measure has aroused discussions about whether the pursuit of efficiency in higher education will reduce the quality, the dropout rate and the

unfinished school rate have indeed dropped significantly, and have completely disappeared in the upper grades (Mayer 2013). At the same time, there is still an imbalance in the flow of talents among the member states, which is related to the educational attractiveness and economic background of the member states. Currently, the internationalization level of doctoral candidates in France, the United Kingdom, Switzerland and other countries has exceeded 30% (Wang 2012). The internationalization level of Austria, Belgium, Spain and other countries is around 10%-20%, and Finland, the Czech Republic, Poland, Albania and other countries, the international level of Ph.D. stays below 10% (Wang 2012).

2.2.2 Reports from the European Union and International Organizations

Since the start of the Bologna Process in 1999, the member states have convened a summit every two years (from 2010 to once every three years) to discuss the construction of the European Higher Education Area and the development of the Bologna Process. In addition to the *Sorbonne Declaration* and the *Bologna Declaration* that have been signed so far, it also includes the *Prague Communiqué (2001)*, *Berlin Communiqué (2003)*, *Bergen Communiqué (2005)*, *London Communiqué (2007)*, *Leuven Communiqué (2009)*, *Budapest-Vienna Declaration (2010)*, *Bucharest Communiqué (2012)*, *Yerevan Communiqué (2015)*, and *Paris Communiqué (2018)*. These reports discuss the directions of student mobility, credit certification, quality assurance, lifelong learning, credit conversion, and increasing the attractiveness of European education. In addition, the European Commission (EU), the Council of Europe (COE), the European University Association (EUA), the National Unions of Students in Europe (ESIB), the European Association of Institutions in Higher Education (EURASHE), the European University Association, and other European International Organizations, European Student Unions and European Employers' Organizations participated in the discussion. The ministerial meeting that promotes the continuous development of the Bologna process is an effective practice of the elite-driven model in the European integration process. The

following shows the main content of each conference and a summary of its development process.

In 2001, the *Prague Communiqué* was signed, emphasizing the necessity of lifelong learning and participation in teaching, and further clarified that enhancing the competitiveness and attractiveness of European higher education is to establish European higher education. In 2003, the *Berlin Communiqué* was signed, which promoted the three-stage model of higher education reform system and promoted mutual recognition of academic degrees and academic systems. In 2005, the *Bergen Communiqué* was signed to further promote the interoperability of higher education and academic qualifications and strengthen the establishment of a higher education quality assurance system. The *2007 London Communiqué* was a link between the past and the next. It reviewed the achievements made in the past few years in terms of degree mobility, degree structure, lifelong learning, quality assurance, etc., and pointed out the future development direction and the vision of joint cooperation. These conference reports and declarations guide the reform direction of member states in the next two years and promote mutual cooperation and communication among member states.

2.2.3 Analysis From Experts and Scholars

At present, scholars' research on the Bologna process mainly focuses on the following aspects:

(1) Analysis of the internal motivation of the Bologna process: The aim of the Bologna Process is to promote the in-depth development of European political and economic integration and the enhance the competitiveness for the international higher education market. Specifically, the need to build a European education system is to promote cross-cultural and multilingual learning research within Europe, and accomplish the demand for comprehensive training of talents in the European labor

market.

(2) Discuss the content and impact of the agreement reached in the Bologna Process. Eric Froment (2003) pointed out that the *Sorbonne Declaration* first proposed the idea of building a European higher education area, which was the beginning of the Bologna process. The *Bologna Declaration* defined the outline of the European higher education area and marked the Bologna process. The *Prague Communiqué* provided a policy guarantee for the Bologna process. Pavel Zgaga (2003) analyzed the significance of the Bologna Process to the reform of European higher education, starting from different levels of concepts in the analysis of the world system and combining the theory of neo-institutional sociology to analyze the Bologna process in-depth. The Bologna process requires higher education across Europe to achieve reorganization and integration in curriculum arrangements and degree systems, deepen mutual connections and establish standardized systems.

(3) The third perspective focuses on the development of the Bologna process among European countries, the reforms that various countries have made, and the problems they still face. Fo Zhaohui (2017), in *The Motivation and Measures of Current Italian Higher Education Reform*, believes that under the influence of the Bologna process and the need to overcome its own higher education deficiencies. Italy began to carry out a thorough and in-depth reform of the higher education system in 1999. The reform adopted measures such as introducing the European credit transfer system, reorganizing degree courses, and establishing a two-level degree system to make the Italian higher education system more autonomous, flexible and efficient, and enhance the attractiveness and competitiveness of higher education. Since the reforms did not last long, although the initial reform results have been shown, there are still several problems that need to be overcome. Ma Xiaojie and Li Shengbing (2008) proposed in the *Finnish Higher Education Policy Adjustment in the Bologna Process* that as one of the signatories of the Bologna Process, the Finnish Ministry of Education in Northern Europe actively responded to the reform. Finnish higher education has made

some progress in reforming the degree structure, establishing a credit transfer and accumulation system, a scientific quality assurance system, promoting personnel mobility, developing international courses, and strengthening scientific research cooperation and exchanges. However, at the same time, the reform of higher education in Finland has also caused some controversy in Finland. Scholars worried that the integration promoted by the Bologna Process not only has a positive meaning for Finland, but may also cause a negative impact. Li Chunsheng and Shi Yueqin (2006) pointed out in the *Reform of the Russian Higher Education System under the Framework of the Bologna Process* that Russia signed the *Bologna Declaration* in 1999, introducing the basis of a series of reform measures taken by the Russian higher education system under the framework of the Bologna Process. In the above, the problems and challenges faced by Russian higher education under this framework are analyzed from the three aspects of education content and quality, resource support in the national-society latitude, and national security. Katrin Tons (2009) analyzed the Bologna process in Germany. He pointed out that the Bologna process protected the autonomy of transnational exchanges. The smooth progress of the Bologna process in Germany depends on the status of the German government at the international level and the coordinating role of the federal government within the country. Lukas Geaf (2009) compared the different characteristics of the internationalization of higher education in Germany and the United Kingdom, and pointed out that Germany has a comparative advantage because it regards higher education as a public good. Karola Hahn (2003) pointed out the duality brought about by the Bologna process. On the one hand, the Bologna process has brought about a high degree of cooperation at the higher education level, and more and more higher education policies are applicable to the world. On the other hand, it has brought more competition. Higher education has transitioned from domestic integration to international competition.

CHAPTER III METHODOLOGY

The first part of the dissertation based on the existing literature. The literature comes from CNKI, Wanfang Data, Baidu Library, Baidu Academic, UCL Library, ProQuest Central, JSTOR Arts and Sciences IV, Springer Link, Gale General onefile, EHEA, Eurydice and other related websites, which includes journals, books, postgraduates and doctoral dissertations. The research process is as follows: First, search keywords such as the Bologna process, policy network structure, and European Higher Education etc. in the database. Second, review related articles cited or mentioned above. The time range of the literature contained in the dissertation is from 1978 to 2021, and the content citations in the dissertation are mainly theoretical concepts, policy reform progress and statistics data. This dissertation is based a total of more than 200 articles, which provides a theoretical framework for the analysis.

3.1 The Policy Network Theory

Policy network theory is the introduction of network theory into the field of policy analysis and research, to obtain the interaction between policy subjects and the impact on the policy process. Peterson and Bomberg (2017) defined a policy network as a group of policy entities that have their own interests or shares in a specific policy department and have the ability to promote policy success or cause policy failure. With the development of globalization, the formulation and promotion of policies have become more complicated. It is no longer possible to explain the complex political process and government subsystem simply by relying on the previous paradigm (Falkner 2000). The *Iron Triangle* refers to the formal and informal interest interaction generated by the game among interest groups, parliamentary subcommittees and administrative agencies in the policy process (Jordan 1990). However, the structure of the *Iron Triangle* does not exist in all political fields, and their impact on the policy process varies with policy issues and time

(Ripley&Franklin 1980). The difference between the policy network structure and the Iron Triangle lies in the loose structure of the government network, the members institutions are often updated, and the decision-making is relatively confuse and mainly depends on the cross interest relationship between the participants (Heclo 1978). Therefore, cross-border and cross-organizational multiple governance concepts and practices have emerged, and multiple entities have directly or indirectly joined the formulation of public policies. Policy network research is mainly divided into three schools- the American school, the British school and the European continental school (mainly Germany and the Netherlands). American scholars have mainly followed traditional research and conducted research in the field of public policy through network analysis (Knoke & Laumann 1987), and its concept and methodology are closely related to sociology (Peters 1998). The interest coordination theory represented by the United States regards policy networks as describing the mutual adjustment of various complex relationships between interest groups, including all relationships between public and private participants. The functional assumptions of interest coordination policy network analysis include: the existence of the policy network reflects the relative status or rights of specific interests in a certain policy field; the policy network structure affects the interaction logic between network members, and then affects the policy process and policy result. The British school originated in the 1970s and 1980s and was first proposed in 1979 by Jeremy Richardson and Grant Jordan (1979). The British policy network research mainly comes from three studies. The first is the analysis on the intergovernmental relations initiative (IGR) in 1986. The second is the analysis on the relations between government and industry (GIR), and the third is the Nuffield Fund in 1992 Seminar on *Comparison of Policy Networks in the Process of British Policy* held in the clubhouse. British scholars believe that policy networks can be used to describe the concept between the state and interest groups. The British policy network emphasizes the coordination between interest groups and government departments, and its main theories are derived from pluralism and corporatism. Pluralism emphasizes the formation of many voluntary, competitive and non-hierarchical command groups in

society. Various groups compete with each other to influence policy and the government allocates social resources passively. The third is the governance school headed by Germany and the Netherlands. Governance school's definition of the policy network's functions includes the following perspectives: First, adjusting the interaction between actors, including the introduction of new members, as well as the planned exclusion of existing members. Second, adjusting the form of resource allocation, which dedicates to reversing the imbalance of resource allocation in the network structure and improving the status of disadvantaged resource owners in the network. Third, modifying and adjusting network rules, which refers to make incremental adjustments to the rules according to the needs of network membership and normal operation of the network; the last is to integrate value norm recognition, which helps to create a free dialogue space and different value viewpoints enhance the cohesion between network structures. The policy network is the third form of social structure that is compatible with the market and bureaucratic hierarchy (Powell, 1990). The policy network structure can avoid the dysfunctional consequences of the traditional hierarchical government administrative model, such as the unbalanced impact of policies on different subjects and market failures due to no market participation. Although there are different schools of view, the researches and definitions of the policy network are not completely mutually exclusive, because the policy network is not only influenced by policy making, but also reflected in the policy process and policy results.

According to Colin's description, the policy network has three characteristics (Klijn 1996). The first is the interdependence of subjects. The main bodies of the policy network depend on each other and achieve their goals through interaction. The second is that the policy network is a process. The policy network is composed of subjects with different resources, backgrounds, and interest goals. These subjects do not have the ability to independently lead other subjects. They can only seek the dynamic process of achieving their respective interests and goals by using their respective resources. The third is that the activities of the policy network are subject to

institutional constraints. The main body of the policy network forms different types and rules because of mutual dependence and interaction. These rules will in turn influence and restrict the development path of these subjects, so as to allocate resources among the subjects and avoid conflicts.

Under the concept of policy network, scholars have formed different analysis models and research paths. It mainly include: (1) Rational Choice Approach. Rational choice regards the interacting subjects in the policy network as self-interest seekers, and discusses the behavioral relationship between the subjects by analyzing their respective goal realization paths. (2) Formal Network Analysis, which focuses on the network structure formed on various relationships. (3) Group/Personal Interaction Approach, which uses anthropological research methods to analyze the interaction between individuals and groups. (4) Comparative approach. Comparative research compares the differences in policy reforms and policy objectives between different countries, regions, different policy sectors or sub-sectors, and their impact on the formation of policy network structure; (5) Structural approach. Structural research analyzes the interaction between different collectives in the society (Evans et. Al. 1985; Marsh & Smith 2000).

Criticisms of policy networks are mainly concentrated in the following aspects (Klijn & Koppenjan 2000). (1) Lack of theoretical foundation and clear concepts; (2) Focus on description, lack of theoretical explanation; (3) Emphasis on cooperation and coordination consistency, and ignoring the existence of conflicts and the role of rights; (4) Lack of clear evaluation standards and evaluation frameworks, and underestimating the role of government goals. Policy network analysis equates the government with other organizations, ignoring the government as a public interest defense. The role of the leader may seriously affect policy innovation (Klijn 1996; Marsh 1998).

Klijn (1995) compared game management theory and network construction model,

and pointed out the differences between the two: (1) Game management focuses on cultivating resources to be added to the distribution, while network construction focuses on changing resources distribution between each member countries. One of the reform goals of the Bologna Process is to promote student mobility and credit certification among member states, thereby helping member states to balance education levels and student employability. Although the Bologna process encourages new member states to join, no one entity can independently formulate a leading strategy, but reach consensus through consultation among member states. (2) Game management theory often uses various policy rules consciously, some of which are not well known. Managers must be familiar with these rules so that they can decide to start or end the game process. Network construction guides development in a specific direction by influencing interaction rules. The Bologna Process has formulated a number of codes of conduct such as quality assurance, credit certification, and lifelong learning to ensure that future member states can achieve the goals of the Bologna Process. (3) The goal of game management is to compromise and promote common ideas, while the network structure is to change mainstream cognition, values and concepts. In the Bologna process, the education ministers of the member states will meet every two years to discuss the development direction of the next two years. Through discussion at the meeting, the member states establish common perceptions, behaviors and relationships (Levy & Merry 1986).

These characteristics indicate that the Bologna process has shown some characteristics of policy networking. Therefore, the dissertation will use the policy network theory to analyze the Bologna Process, and mainly focuses on the policy subjects of the Bologna Process and its relevance. To improve the weakness of the policy network theory, the analysis will first refer to the reform content and progress reports of the Bologna Process, and use data after 2010 to discuss the latest progress and future trend of the Bologna Process. Finally, several case study has been conducted to show the policy implement of the representative countries.

3.2 Neofunctionalism

The analysis of neo-functionalism and the Bologna process focuses on two aspects. First, it is believed that the European Higher Education Integration is a spillover phenomenon from European economic integration and European political integration. The development of the Bologna Process is highly related to the condition of European economic and political integration. The fairness of higher education in the Bologna process is related to economic development of the country. For example, in terms of immigration, in almost all countries, immigration status is negatively correlated with the degree of higher education. Young people born abroad are more likely to withdraw from education and training at an early stage than local students. Similarly, the parent's educational background has a huge impact on the student's achievement in higher education. Children whose parents have received secondary education have a much lower chance of obtaining higher education than children whose parents have received higher education. The second is gender inequality in professionalism caused by deep-rooted cultural prejudices. In the European higher education area, although women account for more than 50% of the total number of students and new enrollment in most countries, the gender imbalance in different majors is serious: in the fields of engineering, computing, transportation and security services, and construction, there is less than one-third of the new entrants are women; in the fields of social services, health care, and education science, women account for more than 70% of new entrants (Eurydice 2015). How to reduce or even eliminate the influence of social and economic background on the participation of disadvantaged groups in higher education has become a huge challenge for countries and regions to ensure equity in higher education. Li Changhua (2005) pointed out that European universities are facing common difficulties and based on common demands in adapting to changing societies and environments. Ben Rosamund (2000), a professor at the Copenhagen School of Political Sciences in Denmark, pointed out that while European economies, especially EU countries, promote economic and

currency integration, they also promote the integration process to have a spillover effect in the field of higher education. Due to the interweaving of various factors, European universities are combined to a certain extent. Under the trend of liberalism, the service-oriented, product-oriented, and market-oriented trends of higher education have become more and more obvious, and a wide range of cross-border higher education has become possible. At the same time, the output effectiveness of higher education has become the most concerned issue of all higher education stakeholders. Therefore, the study of the Bologna process can be analyzed from the economic situation between countries. The second is the impact of the financial crisis on the Bologna process. Bologna proposed under the global financial crisis. The financial crisis has had a direct impact on European higher education to enhance its global competitiveness, which is reflected in the reduction of European governments' financial allocations to higher education. In Austria, all public universities currently implement free education, and their education investment accounts for about 4.5% of the total investment in the national economy, second only to a few developed countries such as Germany and the United States (Eurydice 2015). Switzerland is a confederate country. Education is basically managed independently by the cantons. State subsidies only account for 12% of Switzerland's total education expenditure, while 88% of the cost is borne by the local government. Only two of the 12 universities in Switzerland (the Zurich Polytechnic Institute and the Lausanne Polytechnic Institute) are under the jurisdiction of the state. According to the latest statistics, the education funds of the Swiss Confederation cantons account for an average of about 24% of their total fiscal expenditures (Eurydice 2015). Switzerland also promulgated the *Inter-cantonal University Agreement* to ensure that Swiss citizens of all cantons can enter universities on an equal basis, and students with different conditions can move equally. For the member states of the Bologna Process, the investment in education finance is undoubtedly the first. Increasing the investment in education finance can not only increase participation in higher education as a whole, but also provide conditions for targeted compensation for disadvantaged groups, such as students with disabilities, minority students, and

students with difficult family conditions. However, due to the differences in the level of economic development, the financial payment capacity of various countries is not balanced, and there are also differences in the solvency function of higher education. Countries such as Denmark, Finland, and Norway provide all students with free higher education and generous subsidies and loans. However, students from Greece, Luxembourg, Malta and other countries still need to pay relatively high study fees. Georgia, Kazakhstan, and Lithuania Students in the three countries even need to pay more than 100% of GDP per capita during higher education (Eurydice, 2015) . At the same time, as more and more students enter higher education, the balance between student numbers and higher education funding has been broken. Many countries in Central and Eastern Europe are facing a negative situation between student enrollment and public funding (Pruvot et.al. 2017). The limitation of higher education funding restricts the substantial increase in higher education participation in the European higher education area. At the same time, the imbalance of higher education funding has caused the unfair participation in higher education among countries in the region. The per capita investment in full-time students in Europe's Bologna signatories in 2005 was 8,300 Euros (Pruvot et.al. 2017). However, in the context of the international financial crisis, economic conditions in European countries have deteriorated, and the UK, which used to implement a free policy for higher education, has also begun to implement a charging policy for higher education. On the one hand, high tuition fees mean that the state's support for higher education funding has declined. On the other hand, it also means that colleges and universities have raised the threshold for intervention, which is very detrimental to the flow of college students. In 2009, the *Prague Declaration* of the European University Association pointed out that in the context of the financial crisis, not only should the financial investment in higher education not be reduced, but on the contrary should increase investment in higher education and R&D activities. Because the higher education bears the responsibility of training talents for the European economic recovery.

There is an increasing agreement on the tendency of marketization of higher

education (Bologna Declaration 1999: 1; Melton 1996; Cowen 1996; Hartley 1996; Kohler 2003; Verri 2003; Scott 2003). The marketization promotes the changes in teaching structure, from theoretical learning to applied research, and the increased competition between the fundings, students and teachers. Hufner (2003) claimed that higher education should be considered as a public good and supported less government involvement and universities to be financially autonomous. “The explanatory variables in politics, economics, and sociology have driven institutional change at the national level.” (Barrett 2019) The politics and economy status influence the policy decision making as the countries tend to be egoism. In the process of analysis, we need to recognize the political status and economic differences among member states, and the impact of these differences on member states' participation in policy-making in the Bologna process and their competitive position in the knowledge economy in the global market. Our research combines economic and political factors to predict the policy-making and status of member states.

At same time, although we regard the Bologna process and the following higher education reform as a game phenomenon for the marketization of education among the member states and universities, we still can not deny the role of the government in promoting policy reform. Governments rationally remove the negative externalities caused by interdependence (Moravczik 1994). The Bologna Process dedicate to enhance the higher education integration, and accelerate the sharing of knowledge and student international flow. Therefore, the refusal of a country or institution to join the Bologna Process will bring loss to both domestic and international education. As the countries are facing severe international competitions on talents, some poorer countries would like to join the Bologna Process even facing the risk of talent accelerate drain.

According to the new functionalism theory, the Bologna Process, as a important part of the European Higher Educational Integration, is the spillover effect of European Political Integration and Economic Integration. Therefore, the dissertation will

analyze the relations among Bologna member states from three perspectives: politics, economy and society. At present, the Bologna process is facing the economic pressure brought by globalization, the political formulation system at the national level under intergovernmental doctrine and the policy formulation of some supranational organizations and groups. The following study will comprehensively consider the economic background, political situation, higher education structure and policy implementation of various countries for comparative analysis, and select two countries as representatives for case study. Learning from the changes made by these countries in the past decade, the dissertation will combine with the relationship between policy subject and relevance proposed by the policy network structure and predict the future development direction of Bologna process.

CHAPTER IV POLICY NETWORK STRUCTURE ANALYSIS

4.1 Policy Objectives

One of the core goals of the Bologna process is to promote the integration of European higher education, thereby promoting the European integration. Research on whether cross-border exchanges in the Bologna process will trigger the convergence of higher education policies shows that although there are differences in policy dimensions and experimental samples, the convergence is significant (Voegtle et. al. 2011). Communication between network entities can strengthen consensus and reduce differences of interest, thereby contributing to the development of the Bologna process and the development of European higher education integration.

Another important significance of the Bologna process is to promote the integration of talents in the European labor market, thereby promoting the development of economic and political integration. After the Second World War, the scientific and technological revolution quickly set off around the world, and it put forward new requirements for schools. Schools must adjust their educational goals in the face of these requirements. This also requires students to obtain learning methods from the school, that is, they can obtain independent learning methods from the school and actively acquire new knowledge useful for future life. According to estimates by Czech scholars, the specialized talents provided by higher education can only meet one-half of the actual needs (Furlong 2003). Therefore, higher education should give graduates a high degree of cultivating learning ability and corresponding skills.

4.2 Policy subject

4.2.1 Member States in the Bologna Process

In the 21st century, European countries hope to take the construction of the European Higher Education Area as an opportunity to carry out further reforms in higher education. This is the common interest appeal of all member states of Bologna, and it is also the driving force behind the continued development of the process. With structural tools as a guarantee, the implementation of agreed structural reforms is a prerequisite for the consolidation of the European Higher Education Area (EHEA, 2015). The Bologna process not only triggered large-scale changes in European higher education, but was also regarded as a model for cross-border policy coordination (Vogtle & Martins 2014). The Bologna process is committed to effectively handling the competition and cooperation in the field of higher education in the process of regional integration, and to coordinate the conflicts between regional integration and education integration. The opening and continuous expansion of the Bologna process has benefited from the unique pattern created under the "European Model" of pluralism and regional co-governance: the governments of member states play a leading role, and supranational institutions implement legal coordination and multi-level governance (Wu, Liu 2007).

From the perspective of policy subjects, the member states of the Bologna Process are not only the subjects of policy formulation, but also participants in the policy network structure. Based on the overall goals of the process, each member state has implemented the spirit of convergence proposed by the process, adjusted and revised its own higher education policies or laws, established corresponding executive agencies and formulated new policies to improve the country's higher education. The education system should be adjusted to promote the integration and development of higher education in Europe. The 22 member states of the European Higher Education Area have completed all 10 implementation steps of the national qualification framework, 31 countries have realized the automatic issuance of diploma supplementary documents, the implementation of the European credit transfer and

accumulation system is nearly complete, and more than half of the members The country realized that higher education expenditures accounted for more than 2.7% of public financial expenditures (Eurydice 2015). During the Bologna process, the member states focused on the overall goals and the spirit of European higher education integration and convergence, and their own higher education policies and The law has been adjusted to gradually integrate the higher education reforms of the member states (Yang 2009). The member states as the main body of interest constitute a closed policy community, presenting a high-density, weakly connected, and high-frequency interactive group.

Forrest (2003) proposed that there are two factors that affect the interaction of policy subjects in the policy network. The first is the cohesion within the network and the degree of coordination between organizations. Among them, network cohesion can be improved by organizing meetings and seminars. The Bologna process also convenes a meeting every two years to clarify the direction of further reforms. At the same time, the policy network system is also committed to establishing a high degree of interdependence between various subjects, cultivating common goals, and forming information sharing and long-term cooperation (Forrest 2003). The second is the closedness of the network, that is, the degree of openness to participants trying to join the network. Based on a special political and historical background, the ability to build trust and shared values is also a key factor in the role and influence of the network (Forrest 2003). The Bologna process is an inter-state commitment for the establishment of the EU higher education area. The member states must ensure the smooth progress of the Bologna process through cooperation and consultation at the European level. The Bologna Process is committed to promoting mutual cooperation and exchanges between member states, and building a unified European higher education system, including ten specific goals such as the degree system, credit system, joint degree, quality assurance, personnel mobility, lifelong learning, and European research areas. And through the biennial meeting to follow up the progress of each member state, and determine the follow-up development direction. A summit

of education ministers is held every two years to ensure the relationship between member states and to formulate new reform directions.

At the same time, there is a relatively large competitive relationship between member states, which originates from the competition between member states and other non-member states, as well as within member states (Yang, Jin 2009). Under the influence of economic and political interests, there are certain risks in cooperation between European countries. This is also one of the biggest problems encountered by the Bologna process so far. There are many members of the Bologna Process, and the economic and social development status of each country is different. In addition, due to the large differences in the level of higher education development among the member states, the lack of a universal international language in teaching, and the deviation of policy orientations, some European countries are at a disadvantage, and problems such as the backflow of students have occurred. phenomenon. In response to the Bologna competition, the member states must first meet their own interests and the needs of national development, and on the premise of fulfilling the requirements of the integration of the Bologna process, they can also maintain their own characteristics. Attract more outstanding student resources and teacher teams.

4.2.2 Universities , Higher Education Institutions and Student Groups

From the perspective of relevant stakeholders, the political network of the Bologna Process should also include universities and higher education institutions, teachers and experts, students, and labor market employers. In terms of universities, the European University Association and the European Higher Education Association have joined the Bologna process as an agreement. The European University Association guarantees that all universities actively participate in the Bologna process and participate in the process of formulating and discussing various policies on higher education in the process. Colleges and universities conduct surveys and statistics on the progress of reform goals in the Bologna process, and provide survey reports and

reform proposals. The European Higher Education Association includes an international organization composed of higher education institutions such as polytechnics, colleges, and university colleges. It is committed to promoting higher education and research in the two stages of bachelor and master's degrees and the establishment of a European lifelong learning system. The Pan-European International Education Organization is geared to 100 national organizations in the global academic community, including scholars from more than 3 million universities and higher education research departments (Eurydice 2015). They actively participate in the reform of the Bologna Process and promote European higher education cooperation and exchanges. In the process of development in Bologna, the Pan-European International Education Organization participated in the organization of various exchange activities in the field of higher education, promoted the flow of teachers and students between universities in various countries, and promoted the development of transnational higher education in Europe (Li 2014). From the perspective of universities, the Bologna Process is not a change actively requested by universities and higher education institutions, but a top-down reform from the European Higher Education Association, from the European level of integrated degree qualification framework, quality assurance framework and lifetime Educational framework. Therefore, colleges and universities cannot independently apply for reforms in the Bologna process as subjects. On the contrary, colleges and universities often join the policy network structure as participants. The problems and contradictions in the reform process often exist between super-interest groups such as the state, alliances, and universities. For example, the reform of the three-level degree system often lacks support from universities, and universities are more inclined to academic training methods. The educational goal of exporting to the labor market has also aroused intense discussion among college teachers. In addition, colleges and universities often have negative attitudes and opinions when participating in the Bologna policy. On the one hand, there is a lack of communication between the school and the state in terms of policy goals, and there is also a lack of financial support (Lv 2015). Teacher organizations actively participate in the expression of opinions and consultations in

various meetings, but they have no actual decision-making power. On the other hand, universities are also analyzing the pros and cons of whether they should join the Bologna process. In Germany, many university teachers are resistant to the Bologna process. They believe that the current German higher education system is relatively successful, and it is undesirable and incorrect to blindly join and introduce other higher education systems. In terms of students, students have also participated in the proposal of the Bologna Process. Student unions from 38 countries have formed an alliance. Since the Berlin Conference in 2003, the idea of the Bologna Process from the perspective of students has been proposed at the Summit of Education Ministers. But in fact, although many countries have begun to formulate laws and some measures to increase student participation, 64% of the member states have not improved student participation, and only one third of the countries that have made actual progress (Lv 2015). The students believed that the Bologna process did not treat students equally as participants in the management process of universities, and did not face up to the value and ability of students in the management of universities (Wang 2012). For example, in the quality assurance system of higher education, students participate in The quality evaluation link is a very important part, but students only act as observers in the process of participation, and do not have voting rights and decision-making rights (Zhang 2013). Therefore, students can only evaluate the current quality assurance system and cannot participate in the construction and management of the higher education quality system.

4.2.3 Employers and the Labor Market

Employers and the labor market they represent are a very important part of the reform process of the Bologna Process. The Bologna process involves the reform of the three-level degree system for undergraduates, masters and doctors, quality assurance, European credit exchange and joint degrees, and promotion of the flow of teachers and students within Europe. These reforms are all trying to reduce the difference in labor force caused by differences in cultural background and education, so as to

promote the mobility of the labor market and meet the market's demand for labor. Therefore, employers who are stakeholders are very concerned about the reform content of the Bologna Process. One of the goals of the meeting held by the Bologna Process is to strengthen employers' understanding of the policy.

To sum up , the main bodies participating in the Bologna process include the member states, the university groups represented by the European University Association and the European University Association, the teacher group represented by the pan-European international organization, and the student group represented by the European Student Union, and the employer groups represented by the European Employers' Organization. At the same time, there are also Internet interest groups who voluntarily provide decision-making proposals for the discussion of the Bologna process. There are positive and negative attitudes towards participation among these stakeholders. This is precisely because each group is based on their own interests, so the political network subjects are relatively scattered. These differences have affected the policy promotion of the Bologna process. Among them, the main body composed of universities, teachers, students, and employers is at the end of the policy network because of its weak power, relatively looseness, and inability to make formal decision-making (Zhu 2011). The policy of the Bologna process is mainly composed of the political elites of the member states, through the signing of agreements to maintain the closure and exclusion of the process, and through meetings to achieve the interaction of the main body. On the whole, the Bologna process is in a relatively complex policy network environment, in which the closed policy network structure promotes the formulation and implementation of policies, and the relatively loose interest alliances among the network entities hinder the further progress of the Bologna process.

From the perspective of network entities, Bologna's future development direction has the following points: First, it includes more network entities, namely universities, teachers, students, and employers. This will not only help to include the consideration

of multi-stakeholders in the policy formulation process, but also help the follow-up implementation of the Bologna process. At the same time, the future direction of development is to promote the integration of various stakeholders, starting from the needs of the policy process rather than their own interests, and to enhance the participation of various entities. This requires giving teachers, students, employers, and other network entities greater communication space and decision-making power, thereby enhancing their sense of participation and response to the policy-making of the Bologna Process (Crosier, Purser and Smidt 2007).

CHAPTER V THE PROGRESS OF THE BOLOGNA PROCESS AFTER 2010

In 2010, the Bologna process made significant progress and achieved the initially set goals. By 2010, 95% of the higher education institutions had reached the degree structure requirements (Sursock & Smidt 2017). As of 2005, a total of 48 European countries have signed the Bologna Declaration. Kazakhstan, Belarus, and San Marino have respectively joined the Bologna Process in 2010, 2015 and 2020. These European countries not only become members of the Bologna Process in terms of their educational level, but also share common goals and competitive relationships in economy, society, and politics. From 2010 to 2020, with new challenges includes the continuous deepening of European integration, globalization and Europeanization, the Bologna process has also put forward new goals. The new decade dedicates to establish a Europe of Knowledge and emphasizes the importance on the effect of higher education on policy, economy, and society (Corbett 2005; Bourdan 2012). The new policy will focus on the combination with sociocultural and economy development, and be a participants of the economy knowledge. Taking 2010 as the node, the following will analyze the new policies of the Bologna Process, and analyze the progress made by each subject in accordance with the policy network framework.

5.1 Policy content and policy objectives after 2010

The European Higher Education Area was established in 2010, and the consolidation and development of the European Higher Education Area has become the new mission of the Bologna Process. In the continuous evaluation and reform, all aspects of the field of higher education have been involved, and the new action goals of the Bologna Process have been formed:

5.1.1 Facilitate the international mobility of students and academic staff

Since the establishment of the Bologna Process, the flow of students in the European Higher Education Area has made great progress. Currently, the European Higher Education Area is the main area for student mobility (90%), followed by the United States, Canada, and China with approximately 64% and 55%, respectively (Schmidt & Napier 2020). However, the guarantee of funds and language barriers still require the joint efforts of all countries to improve the loan and bonus application process and provide corresponding language training and services. Language issues are also an important obstacle to student mobility, and sufficient attention should be paid to the national and university levels. Colleges and universities need to provide language services for outward and inward students, develop English and multilingual courses and projects, use multilingual teaching for joint degrees, and encourage students to learn languages other than the official language of the country as a solution language. The main measure of the problem. Germany provides students with language reserve learning services in addition to English in advance to promote the balanced flow of students in the European higher education area. French legislation passed since 2013, the courses of higher education institutions can be taught in languages other than French, and actively support the movement of students abroad. Austria has established a website for student mobility projects and is connected to the official website of Bologna to provide timely information services. Finland focuses on the mobility of disadvantaged groups (mainly students with financial difficulties), provides special information services for them, and emphasizes that they can obtain special scholarships, loans and related subsidies.

5.1.2 Increase the inclusiveness of higher education

European countries regard the expansion of higher education opportunities as a prerequisite for social progress and economic development. The meeting called on countries to take more measures to enable more school-age young people to enjoy

high-quality higher education, and to ensure that most of them can successfully complete their studies. Besides, due to the large differences in higher education in Europe, the students entering European universities are also diverse. Higher education should provide equal higher education for all students, especially to create learning opportunities for students from disadvantaged groups in society, including economic subsidies, consulting and employment guidance services. The aim is to promote the further development of the social dimension of higher education, expand the enrollment opportunities and completion rate of higher education, and enhance the cross-border mobility of teachers and students, especially students and academic staff in war-torn or difficult areas.

At present, the European Higher Education Area mainly adopts the following two measures to eliminate differences among students: one is to increase the participation of students as a whole, and it is also hoped to increase the chances of receiving higher education for disadvantaged groups in society through this; the second is to directly focus on disadvantaged groups. The problem of higher education in order to achieve a balanced state of the source of higher education students. Some countries in the Nordic region, such as Denmark, Finland, and Norway, mainly adopt the first measure, which can increase student participation at the overall level and maximize the number of students in higher education. Turkey provides free higher education for students. Denmark and Norway will provide loans and scholarships for outstanding students. Countries such as Malta, Germany, and the United Kingdom have increased the number of colleges and universities in the past few years to meet the growing demand for higher education students. Countries such as Belgium, France, Greece, Italy, and Germany have also increased government spending to provide financial guarantees for student consultation. Many other countries have focused more on the higher education issues of disadvantaged groups (mainly including disabled students, minority students, and socially or economically disadvantaged students, etc.). 40% of countries provide scholarships, loans and basic living and study subsidies for disadvantaged groups; 15 countries provide special examinations and learning

environments for disadvantaged groups; 6 countries (Albania, Republic of Macedonia, Moldova, Portugal, Romania and Serbia)) Tuition fee reduction and exemption for special groups. In recent years, various European countries have established corresponding financial guarantee systems, and only 7 countries have not yet provided any financial guarantees. In countries such as Finland, the United Kingdom, Denmark, Malta, Luxembourg and the Netherlands, more than 80% of students can receive scholarships during their undergraduate studies (Celik 2012). However, the number of countries where students at the master's level receive scholarships is relatively small. Only two countries, Finland and Luxembourg, provide scholarships for more than 80% of students (Wachter 2004). The UK has set up a special agency to supervise the admission procedures of college students to ensure equal admission of disadvantaged students. In addition, in order to further eliminate differences in student background and promote lifelong learning, member states have also provided other educational methods in recent years, including amateur and distance education, MOOC and short-term universities.

5.1.3 Cultivate graduates' employment and entrepreneurial abilities to meet the needs of European social development

The economic globalization increase the competition pressure of higher education funding and talent flow. It also increased the need of shared learning and a strengthened position in the global market for knowledge and economy (Barrett 2019). In March 2015, the 6th University-Enterprise Forum was held in Brussels, Belgium. This forum pointed out that enterprises should regard universities and scientific research institutions as an important part of their industrial value chain, and keep close ties with higher education institutions to promote the employment of students and the development of society.

5.1.4 Implement the structural reform of the agreement to further promote the mutual recognition of academic credits

A common degree structure and credit system, common quality assurance standards and guidelines, and cooperation between countries in promoting student and academic mobility and joint degrees are the cornerstones of the European Higher Education Area. To implement the structural reform of the agreement, it is necessary for policymakers, academic groups and various stakeholders to actively participate in the reform process, and formulate relevant policies to promote the development of the process. *The 2015 Bologna Process Implementation Report* showed that more than 75% of higher education projects in 44 countries have adopted ECTS, and only 3 countries have higher education adoption rates below 75%, namely Albania, Russia and the United Kingdom (Eurydice 2015). The application of ECTS at the doctoral level has also been developed. By 2014, 21 countries have fully applied ECTS in the third-level degree system, and 14 countries have used it for doctoral teaching.

5.1.5 Further advance the quality assurance of higher education

In order to enhance the trust and attractiveness of higher education, European countries will continue to strengthen their public responsibilities for quality assurance of higher education and attract more stakeholders to actively participate in the development of quality assurance. In 2014, representatives of European higher education institutions and academic accreditation information centers in seven countries jointly formulated *the European Recognition Manual for Higher Education Institutions*. The manual promotes a flexible approach for international academic qualification certification within Europe. The entire book provides an effective reference for qualification evaluation and recognition. The intention of the manual is to foster a culture of fair recognition and enhance quality assurance in the recognition process. *The Bucharest Conference in 2012* emphasized that fair academic and professional certification is the cornerstone of the European Higher Education Area, including the recognition of formal and informal learning activities. Degrees and professional certification not only facilitate the free movement of academic staff, but

also increase the career mobility of graduates. However, students' participation in the quality assurance process is insufficient. Recently, students from various countries have made little progress in participating in quality assurance (Eurydice 2015). The reason is that, on the one hand, the limitation of the participants in the initial design of the quality assurance system does not take into account the role of the student body; on the other hand, letting students participate in the quality assessment may reduce the final assessment. As a result, the loss of vested interests is caused, so higher education institutions are more indifferent. The second is the insufficient participation of cross-border quality assessment agencies. From 2012 to 2015, only Austria and Armenia have opened cross-border assessments; at the same time, in some countries that open cross-border assessments, they have not strictly followed the requirements for assessment agencies to be included in the European Higher Education Quality Assurance Registration Center means that these cross-border quality assessment agencies are likely to be unqualified (Geaf 2009). This is also largely due to the quality concerns need for higher education in the country.

5.2 Empirical Analysis on the Bologna Process from 2010-2020

5.2.1 Member States

One of the important changes in the Bologna Process in the new decade is the trend of globalization. On the one hand, more countries joined the Bologna process. Since 2010, the number of member states of the Bologna Process has increased. From the initial 29 countries that signed the Bologna Process, to the participation of Belarus at the Yerevan Conference in 2015, it has reached 48 member states. The scope is sweeping across Europe and expanding from the Atlantic to the Pacific. On the other hand, the Bologna Process itself is also adjusting its own plans, from the establishment of the European Higher Education Area to the European Higher Education Area in a Global Context. Some countries in Asia, Africa and other

developed countries like the United States have been greatly affected by the Bologna process. Currently, the United States, Canada, India, China, Central Africa and Latin America and other countries and regions are affected by the European Higher Education Area, and are actively and deeply promoting the development of higher education exchanges and cooperation between countries and regions. Australia's eight-school alliance actively learns from the "Bologna Process" to increase student mobility and improve the mutual recognition of credits and qualifications between countries (Xu 2013). It has signed relevant agreements with France and Guinea to promote student mobility. Latin American regional governments and higher education institutions have also responded to the Bologna process. Continued attention has been paid to the process, and the development trends and policy measures adopted are closely monitored. The two sides are currently working hard to build a "Europe-Latin America Higher Education Cooperation Zone (Bai 2014). Although the degree of integration varies across regions, from discursive originations as in Latin America to broader extents of cooperation as in Asia, the educational institutions to serve the broader society as countries embrace democratic trends (Ansell 2008; Barrett 2019; Kamens 2012). There have been some empirical examples on the higher education cooperation between the European, Latin and Asian countries. For example, Egypt and Palestine have accepted some disciplines in the Bologna Process and evaluate curricula for studies abroad through degrees, credits, and quality assurance systems (Barrett 2019). Nava attributes the end of the Cold War and the political transitions of countries to the internationalization in higher education (Barrett 2019). The political communities in Africa and Latin America are willing to give priority to regional higher education cooperation and to develop more formal structures of cooperation (Llavori 2013). In South-Africa, there have been efforts historically to cooperate on higher education on the Bologna Process, especially by the impact of the globalization (Vergera & Javier 2010).

5.2.2 Universities and Colleges

On the one hand, the new decades of the Bologna process give more attention and priorities to the universities and colleges. The challenge and opportunity for international education flow gave universities and other institutions a new experience of governmental participation. With the high need of opinions and cooperation, the universities and colleges experienced unprecedented institutional change in the knowledge society (Cantwell & Kauppinen 2014). In March 2015, the 6th European University-Enterprise Forum was held in Brussels, Belgium. This conference was hosted by the European University Association. Participants The personnel are mainly universities and enterprises, the State Administration of Education and Culture, policy makers and representatives of relevant stakeholders.

On the other hand, the Bologna Process hopes to enhance communication with the government and the labor market at the level of universities, so that university education can meet the needs of the labor market. Through the discussion at the meeting, the Bologna process requires universities to strengthen entrepreneurship education, adopt innovative teaching methods and experiences, and adhere to the entrepreneurial spirit. At the same time, the conference demonstrated the university-enterprise self-test tool U-B Tool designed by the European University Association. It is a new type of online self-assessment tool that contains 47 indicators, involving the formulation of cooperation plans, the progress of cooperation, and the criteria for sustainable and successful partnerships. It aims to help universities, enterprises and other relevant stakeholders evaluate the quality of their cooperation process and the diversity of their cooperation results, so as to improve the efficiency of cooperation between universities and enterprises and improve the employability of graduates (The Sixth European University-Business Forum 2015). The holding of this forum indicates that the European academic and business circles have formed a dynamic cooperation mechanism. Enterprises regard universities and scientific research institutions as part of their development, and universities actively adjust teaching according to the market and actively develop new cooperation models for research, and jointly commit to the development of European higher education and

the improvement of graduates' employability.

5.3 Labor Market and Other Institutions

One of the goals of the Bologna process is that higher education can meet the needs of the labor market. Therefore, the participation of employers and the employment situation of students are the focus of the new decade. Influenced by the globalization, the institutions related to higher education are invited to be a private sector in the Bologna Process.

In the European Higher Education Area, the level of participation of employers varies from country to country. In terms of course development, some countries require employers to participate in the design and revision of courses. For example, Austria and the Netherlands require employers to participate in the development and evaluation of scientific research projects in universities, especially universities of applied technology, to strengthen the integration of production, education and research. Albania, France and the United Kingdom set up specific degrees according to the needs of the market. Employers and universities together determine the required course plan, degree plan, course content, teaching methods, and the frequency of course content updates. Most countries in the European Higher Education Area have established systematic graduate employment tracking services and social feedback mechanisms.

Countries such as Denmark, France, and Italy have enriched the content of services and feedback information, and used them as an important reference for priority scientific research projects supported by national financial support. It includes not only the employment rate, job positions and specific salary, but also the employer's satisfaction with graduates, its evaluation of the school's training model, and the degree of recognition of the school. Countries such as Sweden, France, Germany, and

Italy have achieved normalization of tracking services and social feedback. The collection of information and data in various aspects through effective means such as questionnaires, interviews and online feedback platforms has realized the socialization and regularization of information feedback, and has gradually formed a specific mechanism.

From this, we can find that since 2010, the Bologna process has gone deeper into its goals. From the analysis of the policy network theory, the Bologna Process has added more policy subjects and is committed to strengthening the coordination relationship between the various subjects (government, universities, employers). Facing the progress of globalization, the Bologna Process has also expanded its membership to other countries. Except for European countries, Asia, Africa and North America are all affected by the Bologna process. At the same time, despite the conflict with traditional education concepts, more colleges and universities still actively adjust their teaching content and academic system to help students flow. Faced with the increasing demands of the labor market, the employer's concept has also been paid more and more attention. At the same time, from the perspective of neo-functionalism, the relationship between the main body of the policy network also reflects the stratification due to the differences in economic growth and policy background. This stratification is reflected in the specific measures adopted by various countries. Some countries (such as Denmark, Finland, etc.) prefer government investment to enhance their higher education competitiveness and eliminate educational inequality within the country. Due to the influence of economic and political background on education, we believe that more subjects will join the Bologna process in order to better integrate into the European economy in the future. But at the same time, because the differences between countries still exist, as more member states join, the differences among the member states of Bologna will increase. Therefore, differential integration under the Bologna process may be the direction of future efforts.

CHAPTER VI CASE STUDY

As the Bologna Process devoted to promote the academic improvement, support labour market demand and facilitate international cooperation, we intend to find if there is a better cooperation between Eastern and Western Europe in Higher Education Area and policy areas. There is substantial studies on the policy borrowing and policy convergence during the Bologna Process (Heinze & Krill, 2008), but few on the comparison between various policy regimes. Therefore, we conducted case study to compare with the economy and political background of different countries and regimes to explore if there is any advantages and needs for further development. We also conduct comparative analysis from the aspects of national governance, policy economy, and higher education structure. At the same time, in combination with the new requirements of the Bologna process in the new decade of globalization, we have selected two types of representative countries for analysis, Germany and Kazakhstan. Germany was the first group of countries to join the Bologna process (Germany signed the Sorbonne Declaration with Britain, Italy, and France as the first four countries in 1998). As a typical European country, Germany, regardless of the background and process of educational reform And the goals are very similar to the Bologna process. Although there are certain differences between different countries, Germany's educational, economic, and political backgrounds are similar to those of France, Britain, Finland and other countries. In addition, Germany took the lead in reforming the school system according to the Bologna Process, and many scholars have conducted analysis and research on this. Therefore, we first choose Germany as the first case study for analysis. The second country of choice is Kazakhstan. Unlike Germany, Kazakhstan is the last country to join the Bologna process so far, and it is an Asian country. Kazakhstan's participation reflects the new requirements and development direction of the Bologna process that globalization has set, as well as the learning attitudes of other countries, such as Africa, Asia, and North America, towards the Bologna process, in addition to European countries. At the same time,

Kazakhstan also differs from Germany and other European countries in terms of education and economic background. Kazakhstan is an independent country from Russia, and there are still problems such as insufficient funds and language barriers in educational development. Therefore, the study of Kazakhstan is of great significance for our future analysis of the challenges and requirements of globalization to the Bologna process.

6.1 The Process of the Bologna Process in Germany

Germany, the Federal Republic of Germany, is located in the middle of Europe. With its excellent geographical location, it plays a pivotal role in European politics and economy. The administrative regions of Germany are divided into three levels: federal, state, and regional. The federal state is a polity with state power and is the highest state power. Germany implements federalism in culture and education, and the states have educational legislative powers. Germany amended the Basic Law in 1969 and 1971 to expand the educational authority of the federal government, and enacted the Law on the General Program of Higher Education in 1969.

The development of higher education in Germany has a long history. Although the first few universities in Europe in the Middle Ages were not in Germany, Germany became the country with the most universities in the 16th century. The establishment of the University of Berlin in 1810 became an important part of the German higher education reform. From the second half of the 20th century to the 1990s, German higher education has also undergone many reforms, mainly around the following three aspects: (1) improving the efficiency of higher education and improving the structure of higher education; (2) strengthening higher education and the labor force. The balanced relationship of the market promotes university employment rate and functional training; (3) Facing the process of globalization and Europeanization, it enhances Germany's position in European education.

During the Bologna process, Germany has carried out the following reforms. (1) Reform the degree system of higher education. Before the reform, the degree in Germany was a two-level system, with the first level including Diplom, Magister, and Staatsexmen. The second level is a doctorate. This kind of secondary education structure has a long education period, which is not conducive to students' international exchanges and meeting the labor demand of the job market. After the Second World War, Germany did not accept the American higher education philosophy, but returned to the traditional education model. In order to meet the demand for higher education talents in the international market, Germany has carried out a three-level degree reform, adopting the internationally universal three-level bachelor-master-doctoral degree. Although Germany has carried out reforms, Germany still maintains a more academic education model. German master's education is aimed at a single subject professional education, rather than a combination of general education and specialist education like the United States. (3) Germany is committed to the expansion of the internationalization of higher education. In order to further enhance Germany's position in the international higher education market, the federal government has put forward nine plans: the university's internationalization strategy, the establishment of an international legal framework, the establishment of a welcome culture, the establishment of an international campus, and an increase in the international flow of students. To increase the international influence of German universities, attract outstanding scientists, expand international research cooperation and establish transnational higher education. In 2007, the federal government and the federal state government formulated the University Agreement 2020 to customize a new higher education plan to meet the growing demand for college students and job market requirements. In order to enhance its competitiveness in the international market, Germany has developed a university excellence program. In 2006, the German Science Council and the German Science Foundation announced nearly 1.9 billion euros in funding in the University Excellence Program, building 30 outstanding research centers, providing an average of 6.5 million euros in research directions for elite teams each year, and establishing 40 research institutes (Weltalmanach 2006).

Each research institute can get 1 million euros in funding. It is estimated that 210 million euros will be invested each year to promote the development of cutting-edge university education. As of 2011, a total of 11 elite universities have been selected. The federal government bears 75% of the costs, and the federal state where the funded universities are located bears 25% of the costs (Weltalmanach 2006). Another major reform of German higher education is to promote the integration of higher education and the job market. Germany combines higher education with vocational education, and has successively launched higher vocational education in 16 federal states. In addition, Germany attaches great importance to the international development of higher education, through the internationalization of courses and the establishment of cooperative training programs with foreign universities to enhance the advantages and competitiveness of German higher education in the international market. In 2014, there were approximately 301,000 foreign students in German universities, and about a quarter of them were qualified for university admission in Germany (Weltalmanach 2006). There are about 76,000 German international students scattered around the world, mainly studying in the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Austria and the United States.

The route of German higher education reform is very similar to the goals and challenges of the Bologna process. Following the six development strategies set out in the Bologna Declaration, Germany has carried out school system reform, ECTS credit certification, lifelong learning and vocational education development, and so on. At the same time, Germany is also facing the dilemma of transforming from traditional education to modern education, as well as the challenges brought about by globalization and informatization to previous education models. However, Germany, as the first batch of countries to sign the Bologna process, has certain advantages in technology and economy, and has played a very good exemplary role in the process of transformation. From the process of education reform in Germany, we can summarize the following advantages: (1) Formulating a clear administrative structure of higher education is an effective way to quickly respond to policy reforms. In the process of

German higher education reform, the tasks and functions of German higher education actors have been newly defined, and government management responsibilities and higher education responsibilities have been adjusted accordingly at the federal, federal state, and local levels. Germany has strengthened the role of the state as a higher education policy actor; in terms of higher education, the federal system has also introduced a competitive mechanism; the federal government has become an intermediary to jointly participate in and construct the EU's education integration policy. The joining of the state government facilitated the government's support from various aspects such as policy formulation, education reform and capital investment, and also reflected the significance of the government's role in the reform of the Bologna process. (2) In addition to the government and the federal government, attract more entities to join the reform process. In the analysis of the policy network structure, we mentioned that the expansion of policy subjects is one of the future development trends of the Bologna process. Germany has established the "Bologna Process-National Coordination Mechanism" to implement the inter-institutional cooperation alliance of higher education actors in the Bologna process. It is composed of the following actors: the Federal Ministry of Education and Research, the German Academic Exchange Center, the Joint Conference of University Presidents, The Federal State Council of Ministers of Culture and Education, the Student Freedom Association, the German Employers Association, the German Education and Science Union, the Degree Accreditation Committee, and the German University Students Association. These subjects reflect the participation of non-governmental universities, students, and employers in the policy formulation and response process, thereby helping to achieve the goals of the Bologna Process for the integration of higher education and the promotion of employment. (3) Germany's economic advantages and financial investment. Germany's economic development has always been in a high position in Europe and the world. In 2020, Germany's GDP ranks fourth in the country. From 2000 to 2020, Germany's GDP has been rising steadily. (Except for the decline from 2019 to 2020, this may be due to the impact of the epidemic, which will be analyzed later.) (Worldbank 2021). In the process of reform of the Bologna

Process in Germany, the increase in government investment is of great significance. Facing the challenges of globalization and technological development, Germany has promoted the professional development of German higher education by increasing financial support for sophisticated laboratories and research. These investments benefit from Germany's long-standing economic advantages and its emphasis on technological development, and also help to improve the plight of Bologna process globalization.

6.2 The Process of the Bologna Process in Kazakhstan

Kazakhstan established Soviet power in November 1917, named the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic in 1936, and officially became independent in 1991. Kazakhstan's political system adopts a presidential republic, and its economy is privatized on a large scale. The private economy accounts for more than 80% of the country's total economy (Zhao, Lie 2004). Although the oil crisis and the influence of Ukraine have led to a slight decline in 2020, Kazakhstan's economy ranks among the top in Asia and the world. Accompanied by economic development is the progress and higher requirements for higher education. Kazakhstan's education has been greatly influenced by Russia. The education system has shown a serious totalitarian system, and secular education and religious education coexist, and religious education occupies a lot of power. With the Russian October Revolution and the liberation of World War II, higher education in Kazakhstan has developed rapidly. In 1991, Kazakhstan declared independence and became an independent sovereign state. The economy transformed from a planned economy to a market economy, which accelerated the process of denationalization and privatization. With the overall transformation of society, the education field has also undergone tremendous changes. Kazakhstan attaches great importance to the popularization of basic education. The popularization rate of basic education is as high as 99.8%. The second is to attach importance to vocational education. After graduation, students must receive

corresponding vocational education before they can enter the labor market (Li 2010). At the beginning of independence, Kazakhstan faced an economic crisis due to social transformation. So in 1993, Kazakhstan carried out a large-scale reform of higher education, changing the situation of national unification of higher education in the past, encouraging private education, and diversifying the main body of higher education. For a time, non-state higher education developed vigorously. The number of students in colleges and universities increased rapidly. Non-state funds in the society were quickly injected into the education field. The development of higher education ushered in a new spring. Currently, Kazakhstan has a total of 177 universities, 68 of which are Chinese universities and 109 non-state universities (Li 2010). Colleges and universities have their own financial budgets and can independently arrange the use of funds under the unified rules and regulations of the education management department. At the same time, national universities can also establish contacts with domestic and foreign educational organizations, and can sign exchange projects for teachers and students, but the formulation of teaching plans is not completely autonomous, and there are certain restrictions on enrollment and degree award. According to the Ministry of Science and Education of Kazakhstan, each state university can independently set up some majors and subjects upon approval, and at the same time accept the supervision of the national education quality supervision system. However, the curriculum and teaching hours of national universities need to be approved by the state. The Ministry of Education will also provide scholarships.

Kazakhstan's reforms in the Bologna process are mainly concentrated in three areas: cross-border exchanges, quality assurance system and school system unification. (1) Cross-border exchanges. Although Kazakhstan has made great progress from economy to education after independence, there is still a big gap in economic and technological education compared with European countries. Therefore, one of the goals of Kazakhstan's education reform is to learn advanced Western technology through international exchanges. In 1994, Kazakhstan established the Bolashak

Presidential Scholarship Project. In 2021, the government allocated 1,055 for the Bolashak Project. Projects, including 555 master's, doctoral and residency projects (Nurmaganbetova 2021). However, although the number of overseas students in Kazakhstan has increased rapidly in recent years, the total number is still very low compared with similar countries. The number of international students only accounts for 2.7% of the total number of university students, and they are only distributed in a limited number of countries with a large number of students like Russia and the United States. At the same time, in a horizontal comparison, Kazakhstan has more people studying in the United States than Afghanistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and other countries, but there is still a certain gap compared with Pakistan, Mongolia, Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. This not only affirms Kazakhstan's leading position in education among the five Central Asian countries, but also illustrates the gap with other regions. Therefore, how to enhance the attractiveness of international talents and expand foreign cooperation and exchanges is still what Kazakhstan needs to work on in the next ten years. Another factor that has an impact on Kazakhstan's international communication is language barriers. According to statistics, 70% of academic publications used by people are written in English, 17% are French, 3% are German, 1.37% are Spanish, and a small number of other national languages. However, due to historical reasons, the official languages of Kazakhstan are still Kazakh and Russian. Among the teaching languages of universities in Kazakhstan, 56.5% of students use Russian, 42.6% of students use Kazakh, 0.98% of students use English, and 0.1% of students use Uzbek (Li 2010). It is determined to reform higher education with the Bologna Process as the main theme. So far, the state has strongly supported the cultivation of English talents. From 2000 to 2005, with the substantial increase in the number of students, the number of students studying in English increased by 249% (Grando 1997). (2) Educational system reform. Kazakhstan also adopts a three-level academic system, with universities, graduate students, and doctoral students. However, it takes 5 years for a university, 3 years for a graduate student, and 5 years or even longer for a PhD. This school system is more traditional and can train students in a more systematic and

in-depth manner. However, this school system is not suitable for international exchanges, nor can it meet the needs of the labor market. In addition, university graduates in Kazakhstan cannot directly enter foreign companies, and a series of supplementary trainings are required to obtain corresponding qualification certificates to enter the foreign labor market. In accordance with the requirements of the Bologna Process, Kazakhstan has also carried out corresponding educational system reforms and credit reforms.

From the perspective of the development of the internationalization of higher education in the world, there are many factors that affect the international mobility of students and teachers, including: language teaching, tuition and other living expenses, the academic reputation of the school, the flexibility of the study period, and the application for studying abroad in your home country. Conditions, future development directions, geographical and cultural backgrounds between countries, understanding of the political culture of the other country, etc. After joining the Bologna process in 2000, Kazakhstan carried out a series of reforms to better adapt to and join the process of globalization. Similar to Germany, Kazakhstan is also facing the influence of traditional education, even more serious. Therefore, the teaching system and credit standards are reformed in accordance with the setting of the Bologna Process, thus speeding up exchanges with students from other European countries. At the same time, Kazakhstan has also promoted the popularization of English to reduce the obstacles to student communication caused by language barriers, and set up a unified national examination standard to strengthen the quality of higher education. On the other hand, unlike developed countries in Europe such as Germany and France, although Kazakhstan has made tremendous economic progress in recent years, there are still economic differences. Kazakhstan has increased its investment in education, but university education funding has still not reached the world average of 4.9% (Li 2010). Therefore, Kazakhstan adopts multiple sources of funding to promote international exchanges. The state funded the establishment of international universities in Kazakhstan in order to internationalize and globalize the country's higher education

(Wu, Guo 2002). The analysis of Kazakhstan reflects the differences within the member states of the Bologna Process and the direction of future efforts.

CHAPTER VII CONCLUSION AND FURTHER RESEARCH DIRECTION

7.1 Significance of the Bologna Process

The Bologna process improved the teaching framework of the European Higher Education Area and facilitated the flow of students among the member states. From a student's perspective, the Bologna Process on the one hand increases the overall participation of students. On the other hand, it is to directly pay attention to the higher education problems of disadvantaged groups and realize the balance of higher education students. The Bologna Process helps European countries improve the recognition procedures and methods of previous learning, and pay more attention to formative evaluation in the evaluation process, so as to fully tap the individual's potential. In addition, the promotion of higher education requires the state to increase public support and improve financial guarantees, which is also an important guarantee for the development of the social dimension of higher education. From the perspective of improving higher education, in terms of qualification framework, countries retain their own characteristics and build their own national qualification framework on the basis of the overall qualification framework of the European Higher Education Area; in terms of academic recognition, countries adjust higher education policies and even legislation, In order to better realize the popularization of the "Lisbon Convention" in the field of higher education in Europe; in terms of mobility, higher education institutions in various countries use Bologna tools in a unified manner to carry out various mobility projects according to national practices; in terms of quality assurance, almost all countries The legislation of the United States clearly stipulates the requirements for the establishment of an internal quality assurance system, requiring higher education institutions to establish their own quality assurance and development strategies; at the social level, various countries have introduced various policies and

measures to implement them on the basis of expanding the acceptance of higher education. Guarantee, for example, through the introduction of guidance documents, Norway will take general measures-abolish tuition fees, and ensure that every student has the possibility to receive subsidies or loans to expand participation in higher education (Eurydice 2015).

The construction of the Bologna Policy Forum platform provides the possibility to strengthen policy dialogue and cooperation in the field of higher education in Europe, the Middle East, North Africa and Asia (MENNAS), through active interaction with UNESCO's globalization process. As a model of successful regional higher education cooperation, the policy framework under the Bologna Process provides a template for the practice of regional education integration in Asia, Latin America and other regions.

At the same time, the Bologna process, as a driving force for the integration of European education, has also had a positive impact on European integration. First of all, the Bologna process promoted the reform and development of higher education in various countries and contributed to the establishment of the European higher education area. The coverage of member states has greatly exceeded that of the European Union. At the same time, Europe's competitiveness and attractiveness in the international higher education market have been greatly enhanced, and its share in the international student market has increased. The Bologna process has even become a template for higher education reform in all regions of the world. The continuous development of the European higher education area provides more possibilities for the development of European economic and political integration. Secondly, the cooperation of European countries in higher education, especially the flow of students, teachers and administrators between countries, has greatly promoted exchanges and resource sharing between European countries, and cultivated a large number of European common labor markets. Outstanding graduates, the flow of graduates in the common labor market, and the continuous development of the European Research

Area have promoted the free cross-border flow of manpower, knowledge, and technology in the European Higher Education Area, and further promoted European integration. Educational integration and European integration complement each other and influence each other.

At present, European higher education has basically formed an integrated system of system compatibility and resource interoperability (Zhang 2013). The free flow of personnel, knowledge and technology in the European higher education field, from various higher education institutions to countries and European higher The barriers between the districts have been broken, extensive cooperative relations have been formed, and the European higher education integration process has made considerable progress.

7.2 Current Problems in the Bologna Process

The promotion of the internationalization strategy undoubtedly requires huge financial support and systematic institutional guarantees. The huge actual investment and the instability of short-term gains ultimately led to the lack of motivation in the internationalization strategy of the countries in the Bologna process. Most countries are in it. The guidance document encourages the internationalization of higher education. However, more than half of the countries do not have corresponding internationalization strategies to guide various stakeholders in the internationalization process. Higher education institutions in many countries also lack comprehensive internationalization strategies (Eurydice 2015). For higher education institutions, whether individual higher education institutions in the global market can remain intact under the wave of globalization and benefit from the Bologna process has become the key for scholars to question the sustainability of the Bologna process. For students, the difficulties in flexibly identifying and transferring courses and credits between different countries, as well as funding and language issues, further weaken their

motivation to participate in international flows. For some disciplines with a higher degree of specialization, the differences in the professional qualification certification process between different countries, especially the differences in curriculum regulations, directly restrict the possibility of international mobility of students in these majors. At the same time, in the process of the internationalization of higher education, the integration between the European higher education area and the different higher education systems in the world has become a new challenge. Compared with the integration of European education, the internationalization of higher education will face a more complex global situation and competitive market. The exchanges and collisions between different cultures will inevitably require more comprehensive material and institutional guarantees and support. The distribution of benefits among different countries in the European higher education area in the process of higher education internationalization will also trigger new games.

7.3 Conclusion and Further Direction

This dissertation mainly studies the background, content, process and future development direction of the Bologna Process. This dissertation first summarizes the existing literature and policies and reports related to the Bologna Process, and analyzes the background and specific policy content of the Bologna Process. Next, the analysis draws on the theory of policy network structure to classify the policy subjects of the Bologna process, and analyzes the future development path by analyzing the correlation between the subjects. At the same time, the dissertation combines the theory of neo-functionalism, considering the influence of economic and political background on education, and selects two countries, Germany and Kazakhstan, for case analysis. Through analysis, we come to the following conclusions: (1) Unlike the traditional single national policy, the Bologna Process is committed to promoting cooperative relations between countries and between governments, universities and employers. The policy network structure can analyze the interest competition and

cooperation relationship between the various entities more clearly by dividing the policy subjects and clarifying the policy objectives. Therefore, the policy network theory is applicable to the analysis of the Bologna process. The policy subjects in the Bologna process mainly include the governments of member states, universities and other educational organizations, and the employer market. (2) After 2010, the Bologna process has entered a new decade. In the first ten years, the Bologna process successfully completed its set goals. In the new decade, the Bologna process is committed to deepening the six goals and promoting the integration of various subjects. (3) The new challenge currently facing the Bologna process comes from the new requirements of globalization on education and the labor market. In the future, more countries will join the Bologna process, but they will also face imbalanced resource allocation and internal stratification due to huge differences in political and economic backgrounds.

Heinze and Krill (2008) analyzed the relationship between the Bologna Process and country-specific factors, and treated the Bologna Process as a process of transnational communication. They proposed the sigma and delta convergence to calculate the minimization of the variation in domestic policies and the minimization of the distance to the exemplary model (Heichel et al. 2005). The approach is appropriate to analyze the cultural/institutional/socio-economic similarity among a group of countries in the policy transfer area (Luchinskaya & Ovchynnikova 2011). The higher similarities will bring larger sigma convergence. Delta convergence only applies to one country, and is used to estimate the direction of convergence towards one specific model (as the Higher Education model in the Bologna Process). Therefore, the factor can be used to discuss the similarity degree among countries, whether the countries have convergence tendency and the differentiate degree among countries. One of the shortcomings of this paper is the lack of quantitative analysis. Therefore, it is not possible to describe the degree of association between the subjects and its changing trend more specifically, which will be the direction of future research.

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