Tuition Fee Policies with respect to non–EU students in Higher Education - The Case of Norway and Sweden

A Comparative Analysis on the Factors Behind Differing Policies and the Consequences Thereof

Mirela Cacan

Master of Philosophy in
Comparative and International Education

Department for Educational Research

University of Oslo

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Abstract

This study explores the factors behind policy developments in Sweden and Norway related to policy on tuition fees for non-EU students. As members of the Nordic model, Norway and Sweden have similar cultural and political backgrounds. The overall purpose of this study is to find out why Sweden has moved away from the traditional Nordic principle of free higher education, while Norway has not. In addition, the purpose is to explore the consequences of these policy developments. The comparative aspect of the study is to compare two countries within the same region and, with similar traditions and policy systems, in order to shed light on developments on tuition fee policies for non-EU students and contribute to the area of cost-sharing and tuition fee research. These aims have been addressed through a comparative analysis consisting of document analysis and interviews.

The research findings suggest that the move towards introducing tuition fees in Sweden, and the proposal to influence tuition fees in Norway, have been heavily influences by the political landscape and international trends. Tuition fees in the Nordic countries problematize the principle of free education, which has traditionally been a cultural pillar for higher education policy. The countries in question seem torn between following international developments in cost-sharing of higher education, and preserving their political and cultural traditions in higher education policy.

The findings show that both countries argued for tuition fees for non-EU students as they wanted higher quality and internationalization in higher education. Another aim was to spend public funds more strategically, especially in light of the rapidly growing number of non-EU applicants. Sweden introduced tuition fees, over a period of nearly ten years, however, reports show that the tuition fee system is more expensive than the tuition free system was. The proposal for introduction of tuition fees in Norway was withdrawn, and seemed hastier in its form than the Swedish proposal.

At this point, it seems like Sweden will keep charging tuition fees for non-EU students, however, they will try to optimize the system. When it comes to Norway, it does not seem like tuition fees will be proposed any time in the near future. In this sense, the two countries will keep developing different policies in the area of cost-sharing and tuition fees in higher education.

Acknowledgements

With a long background in volunteering with international students and being politically active, the issue of tuition fees and cost-sharing in higher education has been of interest and stood out to me, largely because it is a controversial topic revolving around both traditions and values, and strategic use of funds. Therefore, I want to thank everyone who made it possible for me to explore this topic further and who helped me grow both personally and academically during this time.

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1 Introduction

Over the last decades, there has been a massification of higher education in many parts of the world. Higher education has always been considered a public good, but through the massification of higher education, the private good perspective has become more prominent. As nation states have aimed towards becoming knowledge economies, the number of students enrolled in higher education has exploded. In 1960, 13 million students were enrolled in higher education institutions (HEIs) around the world. By 2015, the number had grown to 200 million (Viallet, 2016). The fact that more people are enrolling in higher education is generally seen as a positive development. However, higher education is expensive and with the increasing demand and decreasing political will to cover all costs of the sector with public funds, a trend of finding new sources of revenue, especially by shifting the financial burden onto students through tuition fees, has developed in many countries. As universities charge tuition fees for higher education, students have to invest in their education, and as the demand grows, the political willingness to introduce tuition fees or increase existing fee levels grows rapidly (Viallet, 2016).

With the introduction of tuition fees, higher education has in many cases become more market oriented. The terms “education provider” and “consumer” are used more frequently as a supplement to “HEIs” and “students”, and education has in many cases become a commodity. These developments raise many questions for social science researchers, such as; Will a HEI that receives part of its income from students provide better quality of education? How will raised tuition fees lead to more motivated and responsible students? Will (higher) fees lead to less education and research, higher debts and larger economic differences in society? (Viallet, 2016). Governments are heavily subsidising the higher education sector, and for example in the Nordic region higher education is offered for “free” for national and EU students, and in some cases also for non-European students (Jongbloed, 2008). There has been an increased distinction between European students (EU students) and non-European students (non-EU students) in the higher education sector, and this distinction will be elaborated on in section 1.1. Governments decide whether or not to introduce tuition fees, what financial support should be offered to students, and in which form. They influence curriculum structures, standards offered and can set incentives to promote certain studies. The government usually determines a cap for fees in the cases where HEIs are allowed to charge tuition (Jongbloed, 2008). Governing the disadvantaged has also become a key topic in political tuition fee discussions. Students are free to choose whether to study and where to study. However, the introduction of and increases in tuition fees may affect these decisions. How fees change a student's power of choice, and affect students' study progression is severely debated, and is one of the reasons why tuition fees are still being contested. On the one hand, tuition fees can be seen as an extra burden and worry for students. The argument of fairness is central in the tuition fee debates, stressing that tuition fees create differences in the access to education. While on the other hand, tuition fees are argued to provide more efficiency and quality, as the higher education institutions compete for the students through better programmes and benefits. As the higher education providers must compete for students, they may also increase students' market power (Jongbloed, 2008).

Tuition fees are part of a larger picture related to funding and cost-sharing of higher education. As governments search for alternative ways to fund higher education, cost-sharing has become increasingly relevant, and with the massification of higher education, cost-sharing has shifted away from public funds, and towards students, parents or other financial sources. Scholars and politicians are interested in the developments on the many topics related to cost-sharing, and the consequences these developments have on political, economic and social levels. Economic theory has been connected to the topic, especially concerning who funds higher education and who benefits from the returns. Many researchers are specifically interested in the argument of fairness, and the effects tuition fees have on lower socioeconomic and disadvantaged groups (Jongbloed, 2008). Other researchers are exploring the developments of markets in higher education (Amaral & Maassen, 2004). The question of who should fund higher education and why, is present in all policy discussions on higher education funding and cost-sharing. Many different models have been tried, and although there are many ways of sharing the costs, one of the most common solutions for alternative cost-sharing is charging tuition fees.

Debates on the introduction of tuition fees most often concern tuition fees for national students. However, governments are also adopting policies on cost-sharing for international students, and these often differ from the policies for national students. In some higher education systems, such as in the United Kingdom (the UK), tuition fees for non-EU students, are higher than the fees for local students (Viallet, 2016). While in other countries, like some of the Nordic countries, this same group of students is the only student group that has to pay tuition fees at all. There have been many debates and a lot of research on cost-sharing and who should pay, who benefits and what the possible consequences are. However, there is a lack of research-based information available on cost-sharing of international students, especially on European policies with respect to the funding of non-EU students. The group of international students stands out in this debate due to the multi-national context, as it is an additional debate whether the sending or receiving country should carry the financial burden of these students. As only a few studies have been conducted on the policy developments on cost-sharing for this student group, and with the recent developments in the Nordic countries related to this area, a study on this topic is a relevant and a needed contribution. The personal motivation to conduct this study is linked to a background of working with international students and student politics in Norway. Following the developments in the two countries over the last few years, such as the introduction of tuition fees for non-EU students in Sweden, and the political proposals that have been brought forward in Norway, the relevance of policies on cost-sharing in higher education in these countries has increased significantly. The two countries make for up an interesting comparison due to the similar background and traditions while currently still moving away from each other in tuition fee policies, and also because they are often used as comparisons and examples for each other in general. Consequently, this study aims to provide a contribution to the field of cost-sharing, more specifically tuition fees, for non-EU students, through a comparative study of the political developments and the consequences of cost-sharing of higher education in two Nordic countries; Norway and Sweden.

Sweden and Norway have roots in what is often referred to as the Nordic socio-economic and political model (Gornitzka et al, 2014). The Nordic countries have been holding back on the trend of introducing tuition fees, but still there have been developments in the region and the effects of the trend are noticeable even where political changes have not been made. While both countries are holding on to their policies of higher education being free of charge for national students, Sweden introduced tuition fees for non-EU students a in 2011. In Norway, higher education is still free of charge for both local and non-EU students. The study aims to explain why Sweden, like other Nordic countries, is moving away from the traditional Nordic model on cost-sharing in higher education, while Norway has (as of yet) not. The study covers topics such as the importance of cultural traditions and pillars in the national and educational sector, seen against the developments in cost-sharing policies on higher education. Further, it discusses the principle of free education, opportunities to enrol in education, who should carry the financial burden and the impacts thereof. The overall problem statement of this research project can be formulated as follows: "What are the main factors underlying the differing policies on tuition fees in higher education for non-EU students in Norway and Sweden, and what are the consequences thereof?" As a way of addressing this problem statement, the study will aim to identify and explain relevant factors that may be reasons for the policy differences between the countries, while also investigating consequences of these policies. In order to interpret the political attitudes towards tuition fees for non-EU students in Norway and Sweden, the following research questions will be guiding the study:

Research question 1:
What are the main differences and similarities among Norwegian and Swedish policies on tuition fees for non-EU students in higher education?

This question will help lay the foundation of the developments of the policies on cost-sharing for non-EU students in Norway and Sweden, and explain the differences and similarities between them. In order to do so, the question requires a discussion of the Nordic Model and the historical developments of cost-sharing and higher education in each country. The relevant data to answer this question will mainly be collected through literature review and document analysis, and the relevant information will largely be outlined in the contextual chapter, while the main findings will be outlined in the presentation of findings.

Research question 2:
What are the main factors causing the differences in Norwegian and Swedish policy on tuition fees for non-EU students in higher education?

Through the framework of policy processes related to governmental policies and organizational change in higher education outlined by Gornitzka (1999) this question aims to identify the factors that have led to the differences outlined in the findings of research question 1. The five phases of the framework, along with the literature review on cost-sharing, will guide the search for factors describing the differences in the policy developments of the two countries. Elements from the contextual chapter will be included in the framework. This part will be investigated through document analysis of policy documents related to cost-sharing of higher education, but will also be supported by semi-structured interviews.

Research question 3:
What are the consequences of the differences in policy in Norway and Sweden with respect to tuition fees for non-EU students in higher education?

This question focuses on the intended, expected, perceived and documented consequences of the introduction of tuition fees for non-EU students. Sweden has introduced tuition fees, so in the case of Sweden, there will be references to statistics and data reports. In the case of Norway, this question will revolve more around expected and perceived consequences. The document analysis, along with semi-structured interviews, will be the methods used in order to answer this question.

1.1 Clarifications and limitations

In 2011, Sweden introduced tuition fees for students outside of the European Economic Area (EEA) and Switzerland. The Norwegian proposal for introduction of tuition fees was also targeted at this student group. In this study, the group of students who are affected by the Nordic tuition fee policies will be called “non-EU students”. Students within the EEA and Switzerland will be called “EU-students”. This is in order to make a distinction between the group that Nordic tuition fee policies are aimed at and the group that is not affected by the policies. However, it should be noted that some countries within Europe are not included in the “EU-student” group, as they are not members of the EEA or go under an exception like Switzerland does. Sweden divides non-EU students into two groups – the ones who are eligible to pay tuition fees, and the ones who are not. This distinction will not be used in this study, as only the students eligible for payment will be in focus. The term “Higher education institutions” (HEIs), refers to public higher education institutions. Despite there being private higher education institutions that charge tuition fees in the Nordic countries, the role of private institutions will not be included in this study as including these institutions would be beyond the scope of the project. Cost-sharing in higher education consists of several different areas, such as tuition, accommodation and living costs. In this study, the costs in focus will mainly be tuition fees, and what is included in tuition fees will follow the definitions of the

Norwegian and Swedish governments, for example instruction and administration costs. However, understanding what tuition fees should include is a complex issue, as will be elaborated on in the discussions later in the study.

The relevant student group included under the term “non-EU students” mainly consists of fulltime self-financed Master’s degree students. However, a smaller percentage of other students, such as some Bachelor’s students, are also affected by the Nordic tuition fee policies and therefore included. The group of non-EU students includes students from developed regions such as northern America and Australia, but also students from developing countries. Development policy and higher education cooperation programmes are important when it comes to funding and accessibility of students from developing countries to higher education in Western countries. Norway no longer has a Quota Scheme for international students, while Sweden does. Students under Quota Schemes or who benefit from other scholarships are not part of the student group affected by introduction of tuition fees, as they are supported financially by the country or institution that offers them admission. The role of scholarships and other support schemes is closely related to development, aid and strategic partnership policies. Even if scholarships are a natural and important part of cost-sharing and tuition fee policies, it is not within the scope of this thesis to give a detailed discussion on the development of scholarship policies, largely because they relate too much to the other policy areas mentioned above. Therefore, the main discussion of this thesis will revolve around policies on the introduction of tuition fees, however, scholarships will be integrated as a part of the tuition fee discussions.

Students studying under international mobility agreements, such as Erasmus agreements, Nordplus/ Nordlys or bilateral exchange agreements are usually only abroad for a semester or two, and are as a part of the agreement exempted from paying not only tuition fees, but in most cases also other fees, such as the Norwegian semester fee. In many cases, these students also receive an extra scholarship. Therefore, exchange students are not affected by the tuition fee policies in the Nordic countries. Due to international agreements and interpretations of these agreements by the European Court of Justice, EU-students should be treated equally to local students in Sweden and Norway, and therefore this student group does not have to pay tuition fees either, and is thereby not affected by tuition fee policies in the two countries, even if the students are admitted to full degree programmes. Therefore, students who are mobile on exchange agreements, in addition to full degree EU-students, will not be the student groups in focus of this study.

Another group that will not be relevant in this study are doctoral candidates and researchers. This group is often seen as both students and employees, and as most researchers are paid for conducting their research, the discussion on this group is of a different nature. As mentioned, there is a lot of research being conducted on the effects of tuition fees on disadvantaged groups. Disadvantaged students will not be singled out as a group in focus or a main topic in this study, but will still be included in the full discussion on policy rationales and effects of tuition fees. In addition, the political landscapes in the two countries are complex, and this study will only be able to superficially touch upon and explain these landscapes and their effects, not provide a full picture and comprehensive discussion. Another topic that will only be partially present in this study is the role of the HEIs. Introduction of tuition fees can be discussed from the perspective of individual HEIs. Their individual internationalisation strategies, admission processes, their set amount of fees and their experiences are for example issues and information that are relevant to this study. However, this is such a large topic that there will not be room for a comprehensive study of individual HEIs in this project.

1.2 Chapter overview

This Thesis consists of seven chapters. The introduction chapter has presented the background of the study, its purpose and the guiding questions. The second chapter consists of two parts, which aim to provide a basis for the two main areas of the study; policy development and cost-sharing in higher education. The first part will present policy definitions and theories, in order to provide an understanding of how policy will be understood in this study. The second part will discuss arguments supporting and opposing private contributions in cost-sharing of higher education. Chapter three will provide the context for the study, through a presentation of the Nordic model, and Norway's and Sweden's political and higher education systems. The analytical framework, which will be used as a tool for the data collection in the thesis, will be presented in chapter four. The fifth chapter will present the methodological aspects of the study, and chapter six will provide a presentation, discussion and comparison of the findings from the research that has been conducted. Finally, chapter seven will summarize the major findings and provide a final conclusion to the thesis.

2 Literature review

The focus of this thesis is on policies and policy developments in the area of cost-sharing, more specifically tuition fees for non-EU students, in higher education. The combination of policy development and rationales for cost-sharing make up the basis for the analysis that will be conducted, which is why a literature background is needed on these two areas. The historical context on what is already known on the topic helps provide relevance and clarify what is not known. It also provides important background information to base the study on. Therefore, this chapter will aim to provide a picture of how policy and cost-sharing are defined in this study, while also providing background information on the two topics. As there are many ways to view and define policy, the first part of this chapter will explain what policy is, how it can be understood and which understanding of policy will be used in this study. The second part will focus on how cost-sharing policies have been argued for and against by policy makers. Some main arguments will be presented, and there will be examples of the policy developments and rationales in selected countries, in order to create a picture of what these processes can look like and to show some of the arguments in context. Due to the lack of research on cost-sharing policies of non-EU students specifically, the chapter will only include a shorter section regarding tuition fees for non-EU students, and will mainly undertake general literature on cost-sharing in higher education. The literature review will lay a foundation for the analytical framework presented in chapter 4.

2.1 Presentation of policy definitions and approaches

As changes to cost-sharing in higher education will be examined through policy making and policy development, the background and nature of what policy is and how it can be understood will now be presented. There will be presentations of definitions, characteristics and policy theories. An explanation of how policy will be understood in this thesis will also be provided.

2.1.1 Policymaking Regimes, Production Regimes and Knowledge Regimes

In order to explain policy both in general and in Sweden and Norway, we can look at policy explained through tree regimes; the policymaking regimes, production regimes and knowledge regimes. Comparative political economists often characterize national political economies by combinations of policymaking and production regimes. These are characteristics which have provided great insight into how advanced political economies may operate. Policymaking regimes were discussed closely in the 1980s -1990s by social scientists like Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol. Such regimes involve organization and governance of political institutions, political parties and of nation states. They vary across countries in many ways. For instance, the level of centralization and decentralization of policymaking varies within the regimes. Also, some policymaking regimes feature more political parties and tend more toward compromise compared to others. Research shows that all of these factors influence how policy is made and contributes to different national styles of policymaking (Campbell & Pedersen, 2013).

Production regimes emerged in the late 1990s and early 2000s, largely due to the emergence of the notion of Varieties of Capitalism (2001), developed by Peter Hall and David Soskice, who wanted to bring the analysis of firms back into comparative political economy. Production regimes involve the organization of economic activity through markets and market-related institutions, which govern the inter-relationships among firms, customers, employers, employees and owners of capital. There can be many differences in how production regimes are organized. Some are dominated by large firms while others are not. Some firms are state-owned, some are family-owned and some are owned by shareholders. While some production regimes have strong unions and employer associations, others do not. Researchers have demonstrated that all of these factors influence how well national economies adjust to economic challenges and problems (Campbell & Pedersen, 2013). The varieties of capitalism approach is a firm-centred political economy approach that regards companies as crucial actors in any capitalist economy. They are considered key agents of adjustment towards technological change and international competition, and their activities aggregate into overall levels of economic performance (Hall & Soskice, 2001). Following this approach, Hall and Soskice (2001) divide production regimes into two basic categories; Coordinated Market Economies (CMEs) and Liberal Market Economies (LMEs). The core characteristics of the two groups can be explained according to five key areas; industrial relations, vocational training and education, corporate governance, inter-firm relations and employee relations. Institutions in the CMEs are there to encourage cooperation between economic actors, while in LMEs, institutions are there to encourage competitive market-based relationships between economic actors. CMEs, like Germany and the Scandinavian countries, will often have centralised bargaining regimes on the national level or the sectoral level. There is a strong reliance on employers' associations in CMEs. LMEs, like the UK, tend to rely on more decentralised systems without collective bargaining, and there are usually strong hierarchies and competitive inter-firm relations (Hall & Soskice, 2001). The differences between CMEs and LMEs have become a basis for comparison, as most countries can be placed in one of the two groups. However, the two groups are the poles of a large spectrum, meaning that countries can fit more or less into the groups and one should be careful of generalisations.

Lastly, knowledge regimes produce the ideas that inform what political and economic elites do. Policymakers use ideas emerging from knowledge regimes to formulate and implement public policies that affect the organization of production regimes and in turn, how successful they are. The analysis and advice that knowledge regimes generate helps policymakers make sense of and resolve problems (Campbell & Pedersen, 2013). In "The National Origins of Policy Ideas", Campbell and Pedersen (2013) state that "those who have shown that ideas are important have paid remarkably little attention to how these ideas are produced and disseminated in the first place" (Campbell & Pedersen, 2013, p. 2). Consequently, they focus on how policy research organizations like think tanks, research groups, and others that produce and disseminate policy ideas are organized, operate, and have changed. Campbell and Pedersen use this approach to achieve two main goals; to provide an explanation of the evolution of knowledge regimes in four countries, and to reflect on country specific case studies in order to elaborate on limits to convergence and on the degrees to which knowledge regimes are influential in different societies (Campbell & Pedersen, 2013). Knowledge regimes are nationally specific constructions, whose structure and practices are largely determined by the policymaking and production regimes surrounding them. This group of regimes are constellations of policy research organizations sometimes competing and sometimes cooperating with each other. If policymakers choose to incorporate ideas produced by knowledge regimes into policy, then these policies may have subsequent effects on the policymaking and production regimes themselves (Campbell & Pedersen, 2013). Denmark is one of the countries explored by Campbell and Pedersen (2013), and is highlighted here as it is part of the Nordic Model along with Norway and Sweden. According to Campbell and Pedersen, Denmark is consensus oriented and benefits from a comparatively high level of expertise across most policy areas. Denmark makes sure that a wide range of voices, including those from organized labour, business, state researchers, and a wide variety of independent experts, are included in the conversation. However, there is a chance that the focus on consensus-making, may end up supressing alternative views (Campbell & Pedersen, 2013). In chapter 3, Norwegian and Swedish choices of policy will partially be explained and contextualised through the three regimes that have been outlined in this section.

2.1.2 The wide range of policy frameworks

Many policy theories and frameworks have been developed over the years in order to explain what policy is and how it works. The large range of theories shows what a complex field policy is, and provides an insight into how policy making and policy development can be viewed. Sabatier (1999) identified the extreme complexity of policy processes and identified its elements to include hundreds of actors, large time spans, technical disputes and disputes involving values, money, and potentially also coercion. By doing this, he showed the need for better policy theories. In order to understand the policy processes, analysts must find a way of simplifying it through a set of presuppositions that help figuring out what to look for and how to classify or categorize the information (Sabatier, 1999). Several theories are outlined by Sabatier, two of which will be briefly summarised here. The Punctuated-Equilibrium Framework, for instance, is based on policy processes tending to feature long periods of incremental change punctuated by brief periods of major policy change. These brief periods happen when opponents manage to fashion a new policy image and exploit the policy venues. This theory was originally developed in order to explain changes in legislation (True et al, 1999). The Advocacy Coalition Framework was developed by Paul Sabatier himself, along with Hank C. Jenkins- Smith. The framework focuses on the interaction of advocacy coalitions, consisting of actors from different institutions, who share a set of policy beliefs within a policy subsystem. According to this framework, policy change is a product of competition and interaction among these coalitions. (Sabatier & Hank, 1999).

A theory that is largely used in policy research is Kingdon's "Multiple Streams" model. Instead of looking at how political decisions are made, Kingdon focuses on how issues come to the attention of governments. The model states that what issues are set on the agenda or not in public policy making processes, is determined by the following two factors: 1)

Participants inside and outside governments, and 2) The process which includes the problem stream, the policy stream and the political stream. Each of three streams has a distinct life, but when they come together, a specific problem becomes important on the agenda and policies that match the problem get attention, which results in policy change becoming possible. Through the problem stream conditions become defined as problems as we come to believe that we should do something about them. This perception depends on how the conditions are brought to the policy maker's attention, for example, through changes in indicators or through focusing events. The policy stream is the process by which policy proposals are generated, debated, revised, and put forth for consideration. It is more likely to be successful if it is perceived to be compatible with policymakers' values and reasonable in cost. Lastly, the political stream is composed of public mood, pressure group campaigns, election results, and changes of administration. Changes in political streams have a powerful effect on agendas. The political streams' consensus building is governed by bargaining. When all three streams come together, a policy window opens. The policy window is an opportunity for advocates of proposals to push their pet solutions, or to push attention to their special problems (Kingdon, 1984).

Convergence Theory is the last theory to be mentioned here, although there are many other theories and frameworks out there, which it is beyond the scope of this review to include. The Convergence Theory may be more economic, but is still very much relevant to policy development and how the politics of economies are organised. Convergence Theory is essentially the idea that as capitalism develops, the economies of different countries tend to become more similar. This is the opposite of what Hall and Soskice (2001) argue in Varieties of Capitalism. Instead, they seek to show that, far from converging, European economies are actually becoming more different from each other (Hall & Soskice, 2001). Convergence Theory is also mentioned by Campbell and Pedersen (2013). They state that as far as their research is concerned, convergence theories are right about the mechanisms of change but misleading about the outcomes (Campbell & Pedersen, 2013).

2.1.3 Policy processes

As changes to cost-sharing in higher education will be examined through policy making and policy development, the background and nature of what policy is, should be presented. The study aims to explore rationales behind, and consequences of, policy developments within cost-sharing in higher education in Norway and Sweden. In order to explore these developments, there should be a clear understanding of what policy means in this context, and from what characteristics changes in policies will be identified. The following quote can be viewed as a starting point of how policy is considered in this study:

"Policies are not simply guidelines for action, but also expressions of faith, values and beliefs and instruments of (civic) education" (Gornitzka 1999, p. 15)

According to Gornitzka (1999), one of the conceptual problems raised whenever policy analyses are on the agenda, is the question "what is a policy?" What the question implies is what criteria do we use to state that issues debated, texts written and decisions made constitute a government policy? Often, this can be seen as a straightforward issue, where we divide policy formation into stages of policy making in a parliamentary decision to pursue a certain objective. But other cases are less obvious, for example, when there is no decision being made and no legally sanctioned text as a basis to represent a policy – can, and if so, how can general political talk and action be defined as policy? Gornitzka (1999) divides between several ways that academics have viewed this issue. Some have stated that for an action to qualify as a policy, there needs to be a stated objective attached to it. Others would state that a policy action has both intensions and means attached to it. There are also those who would label "non-policy" as policy. This project will rely on the following policy definition as stated by Gornitzka (1999):

"A policy is a public statement of an objective and the kind of instruments that will be used to achieve it." (Gornitzka 1999, p. 14)

The definition needs an explanation of what a public statement is. In most cases, policies are the objects of political choice or legislative choice, for example, policies linked to decisions in an elected assembly at the national level and have a parliamentary stamp of approval (Gornitzka, 1999). In this study, we will treat all official policy statements by policy actors as policies or policy documents. For example, this will include white papers, green papers, official proposals or reports, and official hearing documents. The objective of a policy can be explained as the intention of the policy and the aim that the policy wants to accomplish, for example, a policy objective can be to change the cost-sharing system or to increase the quality of education. Instruments that can be used in order to achieve an objective are the means to realise the policy. Instruments can, for example, include budget amendments or legislations. Instruments like these can be introduced, changed or abolished in order to achieve a policy objective. Policy statements and debates can also be found in channels like newspapers, and these are also official statements and helpful in order to see the full political picture, even if they are not officially issued documents. Later in this study, the different actors influencing the political landscapes in Sweden and Norway will be briefly presented, as there are many actors involved in policy formation. Policy implementation will be defined as when a policy is legally passed and is in the process of being, or has been, put into action. Even though negotiations and amendments to passed policies occur, the focus in this study will not be on policy formation versus implementation, but rather on the processes that policy making and policy change go through as Gornitzka (1999) describes in five phases; policy problems, policy objectives, policy instruments, normative base and policy linkage. Gornitzka's framework does not differ too much from other policy development theories and frameworks, such as, for example, Kingdon's Multiple Streams model. However, based on the frameworks that have been considered for this study, the policy processes framework has been considered the most suitable to use as a tool for analysis in this study. This is because the framework presents several phases of the policy processes, which are considered helpful in order to analyse and interpret the policy developments on tuition fees for non-EU students in a structured and understandable way. Therefore, these policy processes will be used to outline the analytical framework of this study, and are thus further elaborated on in chapter 4.

2.2 Cost-sharing in higher education

As higher education has become increasingly important and student numbers are growing, governments and HEIs are considering new sources of revenue in order to keep up with the demand (Johnstone et al, 2008). According to Johnstone (2008, p. 52), the costs of higher education are borne by 4 principal parties; 1) The government or taxpayer through direct or indirect taxes, 2) The students through savings, current income from part-time work and borrowing, 3) The parents through savings, current income and borrowing, and 4) Philanthropists through endorsements and contributions. The debates on cost-sharing usually revolve around which of these parties should bear the costs, and what proportions of the costs. Not all parties are expected to pay in all countries. The debates on cost-sharing tend to be emotionally and ideologically charged (Johnstone, 2008, Amaral & Maassen, 2004). With the move away from fully publicly funded higher education, one of the most important financial sources is greater contribution by students and parents through the introduction of some form of cost-sharing, usually including tuition fees. (Johnstone et al, 2008). Parts of Europe remain the last geographical areas with mostly free higher education, although the years of increased demand in higher education, overcrowding and underfunding have pressured the generous system into alternative methods of cost-sharing (Johnstone et al, 2008).

In its literal meaning, cost-sharing is merely a statement of an economic fact; that the costs of higher education are shared among different parties. But cost-sharing is also a term used to signal a policy driven shift in the distribution of the cost burden (Johnstone, 2008). In the European context, where tuition fees have been relatively small or non-existent, cost-sharing generally refers to an intended shift of a certain amount of the costs from public funds to parents and/or students, usually in the form of tuition fees to cover instruction (Johnstone, 2008). These understandings of cost-sharing will be used in this study. Tuition-fees are the main focus regarding cost-sharing in focus of this research project. It is not apparent that a larger burden of the cost-sharing towards the parents or the student refers to tuition fees for instruction. Cost-sharing can also be an increase of charges in lodging, food and transport if the institution provides such services. There can also be other non-instructional fees, such as books, application fees, graduation, student services, technology or access fees. Such fees are often smaller and less apparent to the students, which may lead to students not considering these fees when considering the cost of higher education (Johnstone, 2008).

2.2.1 Rationales behind policy making on cost-sharing in higher education

Now, when it comes to the introduction of tuition fees, this is a relatively new political topic in Europe, and especially in the Nordic region. Those who see a rationale for why the government cannot or should not fund higher education fully, have put the topic on the agenda, which creates a debate for and against cost-sharing, usually including tuition fees. The principal rationales behind the shift we are experiencing with respect to cost-sharing differ considerably in their underlying economic, political, and ideological assumptions (Johnstone, 2003). Some of the areas that policy makers use to make up arguments in support of or against tuition fees will now be presented. In most arguments, the student is central, and there are discussions on what system is best for the student, and what the returns of higher education are. Other important areas are, for example, economic growth, the economy of the HEIs and access to higher education.

The policy makers who argue for tuition fees believe that fully publicly funded higher education is nowadays generally assumed to be neither appropriate, efficient, equitable or economically feasible. As the demand for higher education grows, such massive expenditures being borne by public funds alone are considered to become impossible. Generally, cost-sharing can in some form be found in all countries, for example, through taxes that are reallocated to higher education funding, tax relief for families living under certain conditions, tuition fees for national and/ or international students, and loan and grant schemes for students (Johnstone, 2008).

One rationale for cost sharing in higher education is the neoliberal economic notion that tuition, seen as a price on a commodity, brings virtues of the market to higher education (Johnstone, 2003). One such virtue is the efficiency argument which can relate to both efficiency of students, and to HEIs providing higher education that is cost-effective and efficient. In theory, HEIs have an incentive to hold down their fees in order to attract and retain students, as the cost of higher education is an important factor of choice of HEI. Thus, HEIs become more efficient when spending their funds, and are more likely to provide what the students are presumed to want (Johnstone, 2008). Some policy makers go as far as to promote a system where HEIs instead of the governments set the fees. Fees are in this view assumed to increase efficiency, quality and – in some cases due to extra revenue – subsidise disadvantaged students. In this way, tuition fees could actually improve access, and not decrease it. If HEIs are free to set the level of fees, the fees may reflect a more realistic relationship to the different costs of instruction of subjects in addition to the returns that the student enjoys once graduated, depending on the institution attended and the subjects studied. The presence of fees can in some cases bring extra revenue for HEIs, and therefore they can offer a larger range of choices and capacity (Jongbloed, 2008). This increases the market orientation through competition in cost and quality between higher education providers. The higher the fees, the more benefits are expected from the higher education provider, from the perspective of a more direct client – provider relationship (Jongbloed, 2008). All in all, as a result of tuition fees, the institutions can spend more money on subjects, returns and quality for the student, while also including the disadvantaged students. One issue is, however, that when the fees are set or restricted, often most of the revenue is used to replace the costs the government used to fund, and therefore there is little room for supplement (Johnstone et al, 2008). And if the institutions are free to charge whatever they like, the fees could skyrocket and a society gap could easily develop. Policy makers who argue for tuition providing consumer sovereignty, often also argue that tuition fees give students more power. If students have to pay tuition fees, they will require more from the institution. Higher education that is nearly free can either be over-consumed or consumed with insufficient academic effort. Therefore, payment of tuition fees are presumed to induce a harder working and more efficient student, and a student who is more perceptive and demanding of what the HEI provides (Johnstone, 2008). Also, students have to be careful and responsible when they make choices on which HEI and which study programme to enrol in, as the cost of failure, falling behind or dropping out is larger when there is a price attached. The institutions need to serve the interests of the students and provide high quality services to attract students, while they must also keep the promised standards in order to keep good reputations and avoid drop in student numbers or even lawsuits. The tuition makes up a contract between the student and the provider of education, from this point of view, and the student has clearer expectations, demands and rights (Johnstone et al, 2008).

"The role played by education in economic growth is not as clear as it would seem. The question whether the key to this is the level of education or, on the other hand, the result of economic development, is far from having been settled by the specialists, and the two hypotheses are still opposed" (Phillips & Schweisfurth, 2014, p. 126)

The Human Capital Theory is often referred to in the argumentation of cost-sharing and relates to the public versus private goods perspectives in higher education. The theory has its origins in the work of Adam Smith in the 18th century (Phillips & Schweisfurth, 2014). The basic premise of the human capital theory is that investing in human beings increases the overall economic development and productivity of a nation, which makes higher education a public good. Through education, the student acquires skills and knowledge, and when these are applied economic productivity is increased. The more skilled and educated the population is, the more productivity and economic growth is expected. Education is believed to be a sound investment not only for the nation, but also as a private good for the individual. This rationalization is where tuition fees become relevant. The skills acquired by the individual are assumed to lead to higher returns in terms of wages and salaries. The expenditure of a wealthy population contributes to further economic growth for the nation (Phillips & Schweisfurth, 2014). In order to estimate the profitability of investing in higher education, the student weighs the benefits against the direct costs of higher education such as tuition fees, and indirect costs such as foregone earnings (Jongbloed, 2008). The private goods are higher lifetime earnings, but also non-monetary benefits such as status, access to prestigious jobs and lifestyle options. Public and private goods arguments have been used to strengthen the case for tuition fees, stating that as the returns for the individual and often the family are high, the student should also bear parts of the costs for his/her education.

The arguments based on human capital are relevant for the second rationale; the equity rationale, which is based on the view that those who benefit should at least share in the costs (Johnstone, 2003). Generally, there is an overrepresentation of children of well-off families in higher education. This is due to their purchasing power and their cultural capital, which not only includes knowledge, but also academic ambition. As stated above, the personal rates of return of higher education are high. Even if society benefits from a highly-educated population, many argue that is unfair that lower groups in society should fund such private benefits for others, because the so-called free higher education is actually paid for by the average taxpayer and consumer (Johnstone, 2008). Therefore, the less privileged pay for the education of the more privileged, and in the future, will remain more privileged. Thus, the equity rationale constructs free higher education as the average taxpayer subsiding the privileged, arguable an unfair distribution of income from the poor to the middle class and the wealthy (Johnstone, 2008). Therefore, it is only fair that the individual students pay for their choice to enrol in higher education. However, this argument can easily lead to the question of access as an important counterargument. As absence of tuition fees allows less privileged groups to take higher education and get the same profits as any other student, tuition fees can provide a barrier for equal access to education and ensure that only the privileged groups in society stay privileged (Johnstone, 2008). This could, however, be countered by using a portion of the tuition collected to fund the means-tested grants and loan subsidies for students from low income families and disadvantaged backgrounds (Johnstone, 2003)

The last rationale for larger cost-sharing in higher education to be outlined here is the necessity rationale, which focuses on the sheer need of alternative revenue in higher education. The increasing demand for higher education has led to pressure for increased public revenues in Europe and other highly industrialised countries. This has worsened by the effects of globalization, which increase the predilection as well as the ability of the taxable individual and enterprises to escape to lower tax regimes (Johnstone, 2008). Higher education increasingly has a lower priority than other public sector needs, such as elementary and secondary education, public health and security (Johnstone, 2003). As the alternative non-governmental revenue becomes increasingly imperative, a substantial portion of this non-tax revenue has to come from parents and students in the form of tuition fees and other forms of cost-sharing (Johnstone, 2008).

The shift in higher educational cost-sharing from public funds to private revenue may not be easily accepted, especially in countries with dominant socio-political ideologies that consider higher education to be a social entitlement, meaning it should be free (Johnstone, 2003). Turning to the arguments against tuition fees, one of the main topics is limitation of access to higher education. In the broader picture of costs and benefits, do students respond to introduction of, and increases in, tuition fees? How high is the price elasticity of the demand for higher education? And to what extent do these fees harm access for disadvantaged groups? (Jongbloed, 2008). This is a very contested topic because, as mentioned, some policy makers believe that tuition fees stimulate enhanced access of underrepresented student groups. The role of fees in determining demand may be looked at from the student's perspective, and the first issue to often come up is to what extent do fees have a negative effect on the student's decision to participate in higher education (Jongbloed, 2008). The students must weigh the cost of the fees against the benefits, and this is if the student can afford to pay the fees at all. Countries that have steadily increased tuition fees in public higher education are, for example, the US, Canada, Australia, and the UK. Some of these cases will be elaborated on in later in this chapter. However, research in some of these countries shows different results. The US has a long history of charging tuition fees, much longer than the European countries. Therefore, it is also the country with most available research on price elasticities. A study shows that for every 100 dollars increase in US tuition fees, participation drops by 0.7%, especially among disadvantaged students. In the UK, student numbers have dropped, but the response to increased fees is not as large as one would expect. In the Netherlands, students hardly respond to increases in tuition fees because of the relatively low level of cost and a positive price elasticity (Jongbloed, 2008, Johnstone, 2008).

As the research shows different results, this is a contested topic when it comes to cost-sharing and tuition fees in higher education.

Other factors used by tuition fee opponents are social and cultural contexts, which also usually have to do with access. Many factors can affect students' choice of higher education subject area and institution. The amount of tuition fees is one factor. Students may choose the more affordable options. But they can also be of the opinion that maximum investment gives maximum returns, and choose more expensive institutions to achieve higher quality and prestige. One issue that can arise is that more disadvantaged students may choose the more affordable options, while students from well-off families may choose more expensive institutions. This may lead to larger social inequalities and differences between rich and poor students. However, other rationales may be behind the student choices as well, for example, where friends decide to study, or whether the institution is close to home (Jongbloed, 2008). In order to enrol in higher education at all, students need to have the means to pay the tuition fees. As few students have these funds when starting university, governments have developed different loan and grant schemes. There is a special need for governments to guard access for the disadvantaged students who are unable to pay for higher education. Students from disadvantaged backgrounds are in the worst position when tuition fees are introduced or increased, as they do not have the economic safety to know whether they will be able to pay their fees. Therefore, chances are larger for disadvantaged students dropping out. As a response to these issues, governments and HEIs have facilitated tax reliefs for parents, special loan terms or special grants for disadvantaged students (Jongbloed, 2008). However, one can still debate how much this helps, how many it helps, and which criteria there should be to qualify for these special conditions. It is also more likely that disadvantaged students will not invest in higher education, but rather choose options that are cheaper and that pay off right away. Students from developing countries are also affected by limited access due to tuition fees, which can be used an argument for more financial education aid, or more schemes for scholarships to students from developing regions. It can also be used as an argument against tuition fees in the west, as it complicates the students' from developing countries chances to study in the west. An argument that is closely related to the one on social and cultural context is the one of tradition and values. In the Nordic countries, for example, there is a long tradition of higher education being free for all students, and arguing that the principle of free education also provides equal access to higher education, can be seen as a reason for not introducing tuition fees. In addition, the emphasis on the right to education is growing on international scale. The UNDHR article 26, for example, states:

"Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages…and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit" (Phillips & Schweisfurth, 2014, p. 131).

Many international documents have an increased focus on equal right to education. And as this article, some mention cost of education as well. One can argue that education that is not free does not provide equal opportunity for enrolment.

Another problematic area concerning rationales against the introduction of tuition fees is related to financial pressure on the students. Tuition fees can be viewed as discouraging, as they add an extra amount of stress on the students. Students are put under pressure and these concerns distract their minds from studying. Many tuition fee opponents argue for freedom in education and that the university should be an arena for learning and self-development. In addition, tuition fees take time away from the studies, as many students have no choice but, or would be very financially restrained if not, having paid jobs besides their studies (Callender, 2008). This also takes time away from extra-curricular activities and social events. Students may be forced to drop out and may be stuck with a student debt, but no degree. Another issue is related to debt collection of student loans. Governments have solved issues of cost-sharing in many different ways, and most have developed loan schemes for students so they can fund their education. The students have to pay back some or all of the money after graduation, and it varies among the countries how much money they get and whether it is for tuition or for living. A challenge has in several cases been collecting the student debts, for example, in the UK and the US. Students borrow money they are not able to pay back (Viallet, 2016). So, there is a risk for the governments that even if they set tuition fees in order to bear a smaller cost, they will not be able to collect all the money that went into student loans back.

2.2.2 Tuition fees for international students

Today, about 4 million tertiary-level students are enrolled in higher education outside their country of citizenship (Viallet, 2016). As the global market for international students is expanding, HEIs compete globally for the talented students and staff. The demand and encouragement for HEIs to bring in external revenue combined with the competitive global education market has resulted in tuition fees also for international students. International students are valued and considered important assets for adding diversity and new ways of thinking. But they are also considered a source of income in many HEIs. In countries like France and Germany, international students do not pay tuition fees at the moment. In England, however, students who pay tuition fees contribute 14 milliard euros or 10 milliard pounds yearly to the national economy. In England, EU-students also pay for full degrees, because there are tuition fees for local students as well. One student pays between 20000 and 30000 euros a year. In cases like this, international students can be extra attractive, and they can act as an independent source of income for HEIs (Viallet, 2016).

Due to these developments, more and more countries have moved from a homogenous fee structure, to distinguishing between local students and international students. Most countries in Europe charge non-EU students higher fees than they charge local students. In 11 countries, students are charged the same fees as local students (see figure 1).

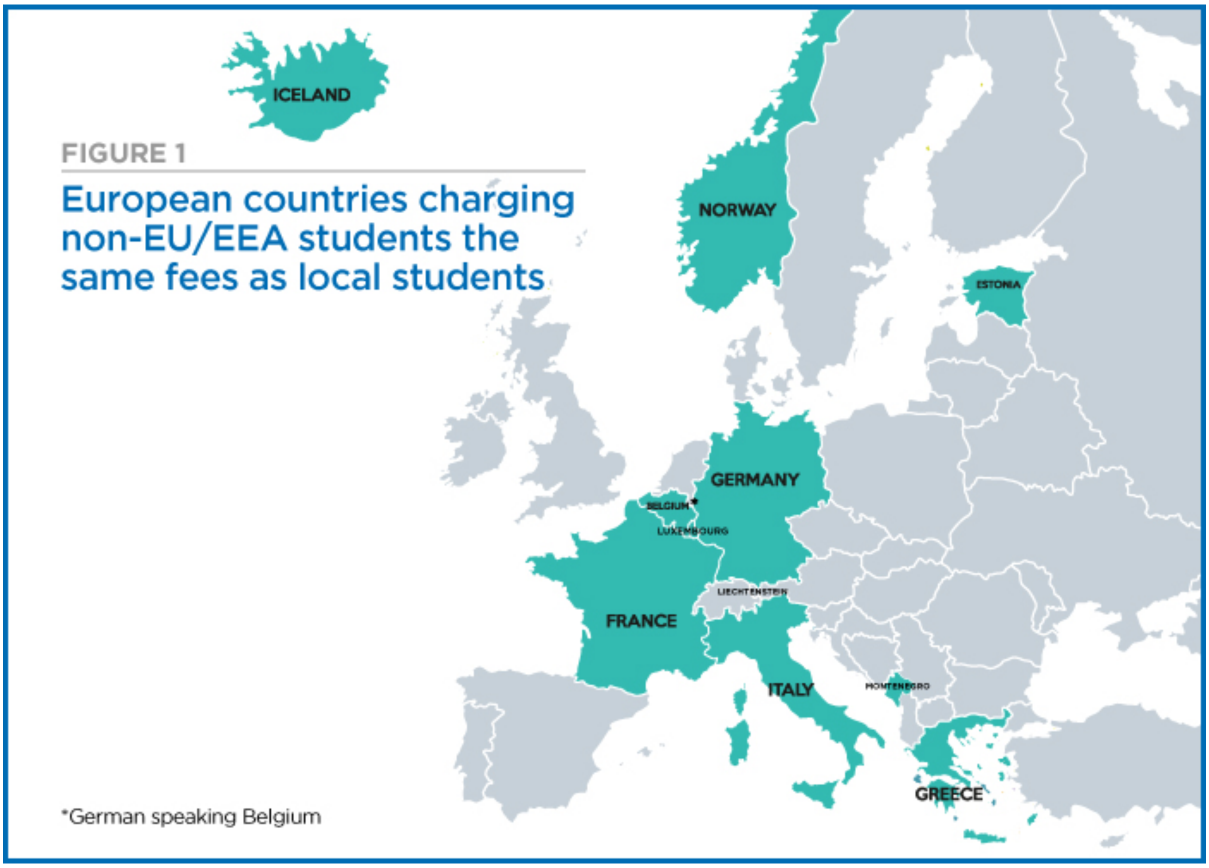

Figure 1: EAIE map over European countries charging non-EU/EEA students the same fees as the local students (Sandström, 2017)

In several countries, both local and international students are charged for programmes offered in other languages (Sandström, 2017). Also, the traditionally tuition free countries, like the Nordic countries, have started charging tuition from non-EU students. Even with their strong similar backgrounds in welfare values, socio-economic conditions and tuition free education, the Nordic countries are responding to the international pressure in different ways (Weimer, 2013). The most common way to set tuition fees is that HEIs charge international students within a policy framework set by the government, either the same or different from the framework for local students. In 18 countries, including the UK, HEIs have the autonomy to set the fees for international students. Tuition fees for international students are charged by most education systems, but a few countries still offer tuition-free full time degree programmes. These countries are; the Czech Republic, Germany, Estonia, Greece, Iceland, and Norway (see figure 2) (Sandström, 2017).

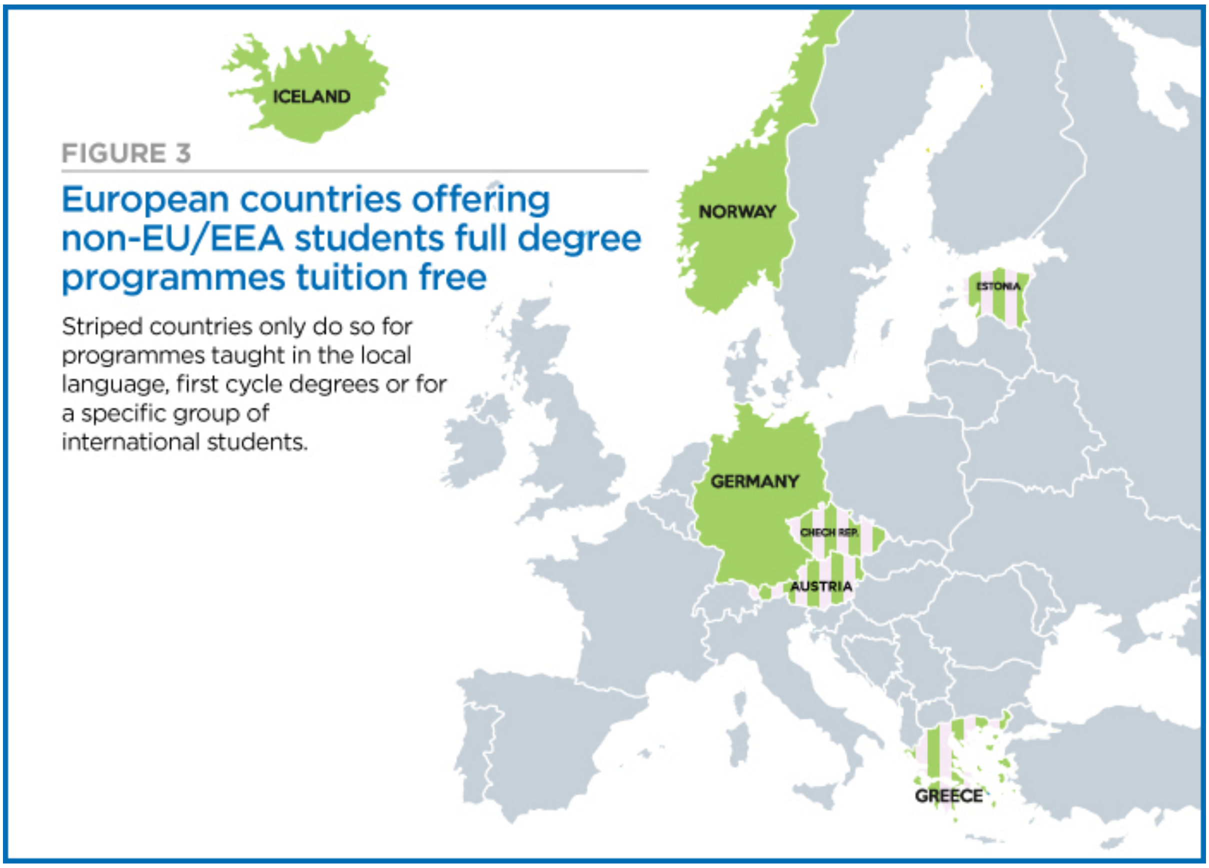

Figure 2: EAIE map over European countries offering non-EU/EEA students full degree programmes tuition free (Sandström, 2017)

As a result, the countries free of charge for non-EU students are perhaps also more attractive for these students. However, it is generally agreed on in the international community that one should facilitate for internationalization and student mobility. The fact that many countries charge tuition fees or higher fees for non-EU students is likely to draw new countries into doing the same. One can also ask why students going from a tuition free country should pay tuition to the receiving institution, while that institution can send students back for free. In the worst case, the first country ends up paying for both students. Some policy makers may feel a greater distance to non-EU students than to local students when making their arguments for why only one group should pay. In countries where higher education has normally been free, there is often a strong institutional and student movement for the traditional right to free education and that this should be equal to all. Issues like these make the case of policy making on tuition fees for non-EU students more complex.

2.2.3 The development of cost-sharing policy in the UK and Germany

The UK and Germany are two countries with a long history of cost-sharing debates and policy making, although with very different approaches and results. Each of the countries' policy making history on the issue will be briefly outlined in order to provide an understanding of some policy processes on cost-sharing, while also showing some rationales supporting or opposing tuition fees in context.

In the UK, there were few changes in higher education finance between 1962-1988, until the British government saw the need for a shift in parts of the costs from taxpayers to students through the introduction of loans to "top-up" maintenance grants. The government argued that; 1) student support entirely through grants was unsustainable, given that the high demand was expected to continue, 2) students needed additional resources to cover their living expenses, 3) loans would be more equitable than grants, since graduates enjoy a high private rate of return to higher education (Woodhall & Richards, 2008). As a result, England moved away from the principle of tuition free higher education in the 1990's. A loan scheme was introduced and a tuition fee limit that started on 1000 pounds, later grew to 3000 pounds. The arguments were that increase in fees was necessary to keep up standards of HEIs and the competitiveness of British universities. The variable fees were justified with the high returns of a degree (Woodhall & Richards, 2008). In 2010, the max amount was set to 9000 pounds and public funding was further reduced. Still, it was up to the HEIs to set the tuition fee price, but most institutions chose the maximum limit. However, the number of students in higher education in England keeps growing, and some argue in relation to human capital theory that the outcome is positive as business oriented HEIs deliver better education as students up their expectations with the investment (Viallet, 2016). Even though there have been steady increases in tuition fees in the UK, the political and ideological controversy over tuition fees and cost-sharing persists. Some of the opposition to the changes in cost-sharing have been influenced by these different political ideologies. For example, some socialists from the "hard left" have wanted abolition of tuition fees altogether, and to rather take the money from "unpopular" public expenditures such as national defence. The conservative right attracted attention to the call for enrolment expansion, which they perceived to mean less prepared students at the HEIs. They may have wanted to make up for the revenue loss by a reduction in the size and costs of the higher education sector itself (Johnstone, 2008).

Germany used to have a tuition fee ban. As a consequence of the ban the public-private cost-sharing ratio was about 85/15. In year 2000, this meant about 8000 euros of public funding and 1200 euros in private costs per student. The picture changes when opportunity costs are included. The tuition fee debate in Germany can be described through four phases: 1) dogmatic discussion, 2) irritating facts, 3) strategic and model centred discussion, and 4) political outcome (Ziegele, 2008). Impact of higher education research and the resulting empirical evidence also played a part in demonstrating that the issue of cost-sharing was not as simple as assumed and that initial positions on tuition fees could be contested. Until the middle of the 1990's, the debate on tuition fees was emotionally and ideologically charged, as those who were for tuition fees expected to solve all problems in the sector by introducing them, and those opposing fees based their no less dogmatic position on the essentials of open access being linked to tuition free education. Fees would lead to a decline in student numbers and public funding is to be a reliable source of revenue. At the end of the 1990's this black and white logic was shattered by empirical facts and research. It irritated policy makers by questioning the policy makers' perceived wisdom on cost-sharing (Ziegele, 2008). Many arguments were contested with this new information. Consequently, the nature of the discussion changed from arguing why someone favours or opposes tuition fees, to a focus on goals linked to tuition fee imposition and consequences of certain models. The rationale for this decision was to punish lazy students and incentivize efficiency (Ziegele, 2008). Tuition fees were introduced in 2006, and the sum was set to 1000 euros, not as a political decision, but legalised by the high court. In Germany, the legal dimension is an important part of policy making. But shortly after, most states returned to the principle of free education, also for international students. Rationales that have been mentioned for the abolishment of tuition fees relate to political opposition and legal issues, but mostly to rationales such as the argument that an institution for science, research and education should enrichen the society, and therefore needs to be accessible for all (Viallet, 2016). What makes Germany an interesting case is that they have made a complete U-turn on tuition fees policy due to the court ruling. However, this may be temporary as many still believe that the discussion is not over, and that sooner or later, at least some German states, will start introducing tuition fees again. This view is supported by the recent developments regarding introduction of tuition fees in the states of Baden-Württemberg and North Rhine-Westphalia (Pells, 2016, Gardner, 2017).

3 Contextual Background

This chapter will discuss the traditional common features of the Nordic countries, on the basis of what is often referred to as the Nordic model, in order to provide insight to the traditional cultural and political features of Norway and Sweden. Following the presentation of the Nordic model, the political landscape in Norway and Sweden will be briefly explained, along with the higher educational system and developments in internationalization of higher education. The history and present situation of cost-sharing and tuition fees for non-EU students in each country will also be presented in order to contextualise the study.

3.1 The features of the Nordic Model

The Nordic countries have the common features of being successful in combining economic growth with social protection and equality. Investments in education are in general higher in the Nordic countries than elsewhere. Due to the high participation rates in tertiary education and the quality of its major research units, the Nordics can be regarded as a successful region in the area of education. These countries also do well on most global indicators when it comes to economic status, social protection and well-being (Gornitzka et al., 2014). Culturally, the Nordic countries have a lot in common with respect to political and social values, traditions and religious structures. Norway and Sweden also have similarities within their languages, however this is not the case for all the Nordic countries (Gornitzka et al., 2014). Norway and Sweden, for example, have little in common with Finnish and Icelandic languages. The Nordic countries also have a largely shared cultural, political and institutional history (Gornitzka et al., 2014). Characteristics of these countries are that they are welfare states, have long traditions in development aid and that equality and equity are central values. The principle of free higher education for all enrolled students has generally been a principle in all policies and strategies, however, there have been new trends and influences when it comes to public funding of non-EU students.

With reference to the literature review on policy in chapter 2.1, the Nordic countries are decentralized Coordinated Market Economies with many actors involved in policy influence and policy making, including the higher education sector. Even though institutions have become increasingly decentralized, the two countries still have strong governments. Political processes are organized in a partly hierarchical way, but also consist of hearing rounds, compromises and negotiations. Due to the number of actors, the political process is somewhat slow (Gornitzka et al., 2014). Such actors can, for example, be political parties, government institutions, private institutions, HEIs, student unions and non-governmental organizations. Due to the high level of democracy, all actors are able to influence policy processes, and voice their objectives and opinions. Governance reforms in the Nordic are perceived and valued in similar ways, and political and administrative openness is a common feature (Gornitzka et al., 2014). The Nordic countries are adapting to global trends later than many other countries. There is a long tradition of looking to each other and learning from each other, and for cooperation between the Nordic countries. External participants in policy reforms often include Nordic peers, due to their cultural similarities (Gornitzka & Maassen, 2014). There is a clear national and regional filter that keeps traditional policies in place. This includes a need for continuously high levels of public funding to HEIs. Democratic values are important in university governance at all levels. As mentioned above, students are a part of the political landscape in the Nordic countries. Regardless of ideology, students understandably tend to resist the imposition of, or increase in, tuition fees (Johnstone, 2003). When it comes to national filters, these are partly responsible for the differences between the Nordic countries. Historically, the issue of tuition fees has been a political taboo, and tuition fees for Nordic and European students is still a taboo in the countries that have introduced tuition fees for non-EU students (Gornitzka et al., 2014). Even in a region with a high level of policy integration and convergence, with similar values and traditions, university reform outcomes get a specific national colour (Gornitzka et al., 2014).

In Norway and Sweden, parental contribution in higher education funding for students is not expected. Parents pay heavy taxes, but then enjoy the benefit of the free higher education for their children, as well as the Scandinavian convention of students paying for their living costs through subsidized student loans. This creates an economic system where tuition fees could well be resisted, even by parents who could afford the tuition (Johnstone, 2003). The student is expected to pay for accommodation, food and other costs of living, while public funds cover instruction fees (Johnstone, 2008). Until a few years ago, the Nordic countries would not have been considered a heated area regarding discussions on tuition fees. The region had a long tradition of offering free higher education, but this situation changed when Denmark introduced tuition fees for non-EU students in 2006, which led more countries to follow.

Sweden introduced tuition fees for the same student group in 2011, while Norway had two rounds of tuition fee discussions, only to shelve the topic (Weimer, 2015). In 2000, the Nordic countries had around 5000 international degree students each, with the exception of Iceland. By 2013, the total number had risen to more than 80 000. In the near future, the Nordic region is expected to host more than 100 000 international degree-seeking students. A majority will continue to enrol in English-language master's programmes, but some will also enrol in domestic-language bachelor's programmes or the emerging English bachelor's programmes. There will also be students enrolled in doctoral programmes, however, throughout the Nordic countries doctoral students are generally considered to be university employees (Weimer, 2015). Today, Sweden and Norway have differing policies on public funding for non-EU students. With political and socio-economical Nordic underpinnings in common, one can ask why Sweden has moved away from the Nordic principle of free education for all, while Norway has not?

3.2 Contextualizing Sweden

This section will provide a short description of the political landscape in Sweden, and the developments in political power over recent years. Then, the section will continue to a brief explanation of recent policy change in Swedish higher education, the higher education funding system, and internationalization of education. Lastly, the topic of cost-sharing in Swedish higher education will be addressed.

3.2.1 The political context in Sweden

From 1994 – 2002, the far-right Social Democrats (S) were in power in Sweden. However, they had minority governments, and therefore, alliances with the Left Party (V) and the Green Party (MP) during these years. In 2006, the four centre-right non-socialist parties; namely the Moderate Party (M), the Liberal Party (FP), the Centre Party (C) and the Christian Democrats (KD), formed a coalition government called "the Alliance". The Alliance was in power until 2014 ((Sweden.se., 2018a). Sweden's general elections in September 2014 ended with a minority coalition of Social Democrats and Greens taking over after the Alliance. Stefan Löfven became prime minister – although his coalition could not gain an absolute majority. The Social Democratic Party garnered 31% of the votes, and with the Green Party's

6.9%, the coalition achieved 37.9%. The centre-right Alliance gained 39.4% of the votes. Due to Sweden's system of negative parliamentarism, a government can stay in power as long as it doesn't have a majority against it, therefore the Social Democrats and the Greens could form a government by themselves (Sweden.se., 2018a) . The 2014 elections left Sweden in a complicated parliamentary situation, with a left-of-centre minority government and the Sweden Democrats (SD) being in a swing-vote position, with nearly 13% of the votes (Sweden.se., 2018a). In 2004, higher education went through a reform where the Bologna measures were introduced. In addition, the directive to explore the possibility of tuition fees for non-EU students was given. This was under the Social Democrat government. However, tuition fees for non-EU students were introduced under the Alliance. After the Social Democrats came back into power, the tuition fee system has been evaluated, and a new internationalization strategy is under way, however, the fact that there have been developments on the topic of tuition fees under both governments, ant there is as of yet no discussion of having the tuition fees abolished, this may point to some degree of consensus on the topic.

3.2.2 Higher education system and internationalization of higher education in Sweden

The first Swedish university was founded in 1477 in Uppsala. The Ministry of Education and Research is responsible for the higher education sector, and it is regulated by the Higher Education Act (S council for HE). In the 1960's Sweden introduced a general student financial aid system in order to give more students the opportunity to study at a higher education institution. Students flocked to higher education, and a clear need for a reorganization of the entire higher education sector emerged. These changes were made through the 1977 higher education reform, the century's largest reform on higher education in the country (UKÄ, 2017a). An important aim of the 1977 reform was to provide a larger proportion of the population access to higher education. Thanks to the reform, the number of students increased by 50 000. The next major reform was in 1993, which led to increased autonomy and freedom of organization for HEIs (UKÄ, 2017a). The proposition 2004/05:162 "Ny värld - ny högskola" led to changes in the organization of higher education as it stressed the importance of internationalization while also changing the structure of Swedish higher education in alignment with the Bologna declaration. The reform aimed for comparability among higher education systems (Utbildningsdepartementet, 2004a). This included a common grading system, called “the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System” (ECTS), and the three-cycled degree system of a Bachelor’s degree of three years, a Master’s degree of two years, followed by a PhD degree. A reform which gave HEIs even greater autonomy came into effect in 2011. It was designed to enable Sweden’s HEIs to perform better in the competitive international market. Among the changes was the freedom of power of HEIs to determine their own structures (Sweden.se., 2018b).

Over 80% of funding for Swedish HEIs comes from the government, with 78.2% in the form of direct grants, while 4.8% comes from other public sources. The total cost of universities and colleges in 2012 was 60.7 billion SEK (Sweden.se., 2018b). The system of student finance in Sweden is designed so that higher education is accessible to all, regardless of socio-economic background and where in Sweden a student lives. As tuition is free of charge for Swedish students and for EU-students, the student finance system is intended to cover living expenses and the cost of study materials (UKÄ, 2017b). Students in Sweden usually join local student unions in exchange for a small membership fee, varying from 50 – 250 SEK per semester- The membership gives access to various activities, discounts and information (Study in Sweden, n.d.). Living expenses in Sweden are high, although generally cheaper than in Norway. For this reason, even if university instruction is free, students need to be able to pay for housing, food and other necessities. In the 80’s, Swedish student assistance scheme had both a grant and a loan component. The repayment arrangements were of the conventional type, except that students of low income levels were allowed deferred payments. At the time, there were concerns about the repayments. The scheme was changed in 1989 to a fuller embrace of the income contingent repayment. The money collection is done through the education loans office (Chapman, 2008). Student support is made up by around 1/3 grant and around 2/3 loan. The loan must be repaid on a monthly basis (UKÄ, 2017b).

In Sweden, it is generally believed that the higher education environment should bring freedom so the student can have a good student experience. They should be able to grow as people and create a future for themselves and the country. Therefore, money should not be a factor distracting students from their studies (Viallet, 2016). One can wonder if this is not applicable to non-EU students, as they must pay fees in order to study in Sweden. With large emphasis on independent studies, Sweden is internationally competitive on higher education.

The teaching model applied at Swedish HEIs is based on the motto “freedom with responsibility”, meaning that students have less classes, and mainly pursue their studies on their own or in groups (Sweden.se., 2018b)

Swedish higher education follows international developments, particularly in the strong expansion of students, programmes and increase in internationalization of higher education. The reasons for increased internationalization are academic, cultural and political. Sweden accepts a large number of foreign students, and many Swedish students take part or all of their education abroad (UKÄ, 2017a). Internationalization of higher education was placed on the political agenda in the 1970s. During the process of Sweden joining the EU in the early 1990s, higher education policy was also affected. The reform of 1993 led to a shift in internationalization responsibilities. The allocation of funds was no longer to be for internationalization, rather internationalization would be an integrated part of the mandate of HEIs. Still, the government has kept initiating exchange programmes and higher education development programmes. The National Agency for Higher Education (HSV) is responsible for the supervision of Swedish higher education, including internationalization, and is also responsible for recognition of foreign education. Following the 2004-reform, more institutional bodies for managing higher education were developed, and responsibilities were divided. However, it has later been recognised that the large number of institutional bodies involved in higher education and internationalization processes might lead to an uncoordinated approach. Sweden developed an internationalization strategy with the proposal of tuition fees for non-EU students, however it was quite short and unspecific. Therefore, a directive for developing a new comprehensive national internationalization strategy for higher education in Sweden was given in 2017. The first half of the proposal for a strategy was presented early in 2018. The second part should include tuition fees, and should be ready in October 2018 (SOU 2018:3, 2018). Regarding internationalization, there have been many developments in the area of tuition fees for non-EU students over the years, which will be further elaborated on the next section.

3.2.3 Cost-sharing in higher education in Sweden

Tuition fees were discussed in “Advantage Sweden – Insatser för ökad rekrytering av utländska studenter till den svenska högskolan” in 2000, however in the proposal “Den öppna högskolan" a year later, the government concluded that the number of non-EU students should increase, but that the principle of free education should be kept (SOU 2017:2, 2017). In 2004, a directive was given to assess the possibilities of introducing tuition fees for non-EU students (Utbildningsdepartmentet, 2004b). Before this, introduction of tuition fees was not really mentioned. The results of this assessment were presented in SOU 2006:7, named "Studieavgifter i högskolan", and were clearly in favour of tuition fees. The directive was very leading in this direction as well. In 2009, the proposal 2009/10:65 was ready. It was built on the assessment from 2006, and suggested introducing tuition fees for non-EU students. Even if the proposal was voted on in 2010, the planned reform was already described in the budget proposal for 2010 (SOU 2017:2, 2017). Tuition fees for non-EU students became a reality in 2011. In 2013, the reform was fully adopted through a permanent reduction of 539 million SEK. In 2017, UKÄ published an evaluation of the Swedish tuition fees for non-EU students (SOU 2017:2, 2017).

With respect to bilateral agreements with developing countries, democratic and moral values have been characterising internationalization in Sweden. Internationalization at home has been an important aspect, and an economic argument within the internationalization area. The idea of tuition fees is relatively recent in Sweden compared to many other Western countries. Up until 2010, there was a significant increase in international student numbers in Sweden, especially from outside the EU. In June 2010, the Swedish parliament voted for introduction of tuition fees for non-EU students (Weimer, 2015). Underpinning the law was the goal of ensuring competitiveness of Swedish HEIs in terms of quality, rather than attracting international students through free education. The law granted Swedish HEIs the right to determine the fee level to be charged within the principle of full coverage. The fees range between 80 000 SEK and 150 000 SEK per year (Weimer, 2015). After tuition fees became a reality in 2011, Sweden experienced a 73% decrease in international applications for master's programmes and almost a 60% decline in non-EU students (Weimer, 2013).

There have been new recruitment and grant initiatives by the Swedish state and HEIs in the recent years in order to attract more international students. In addition to existing Swedish institute-administered scholarships, the government introduced two new merit-based scholarship programmes; "the Swedish Tuition Fee Waiver" and the "Swedish Institute Study Scholarships", which combined had a budget of 110 million SEK in 2012 (Weimer, 2015). In the fall of 2014, the newly elected minority SD national government considered dropping fees. Some universities opposed the move, because of their investments in a fee-based institution. The government would have had to reimburse the HEIs for the loss of revenue, an issue that was not popular during budgetary pressures. The collapse of the non-EU student intake in Sweden was largely driven by timing issues, as the window of less than six months between the legal introduction of fees and the start of the recruiting cycle for the next academic year, proved difficult (Weimer, 2015). All in all, the initiatives taken towards recruitment have resulted in the numbers of international students from non-EU countries increasing towards a pre-2011 level again (SOU 2017:2, 2017).

3.3 Contextualizing Norway

The following section will present the changes of political power and governments in Norway from 2005 and until today. Then, higher education reforms, higher education funding, and internationalization of higher education in the Norwegian context will be outlined, ending with a section on the issue of cost-sharing and tuition fees in Norway.

3.3.1 The political context in Norway

Norway's political and economic system is typical of the Nordics welfare model where the state has a relatively strong role, even if sectors are decentralized. Educational attainment is among the highest among the OECD countries (Aamodt, 2008). From the elections in 2005 until 2013 the left-wing party The Labour Party (AP) was the largest party and was in government with Senterpartiet (SP) and Sosialistisk Venstreparti (SV) (Bonde & Tvedt, 2015). In 2013 however, the Conservative Party (H) formed a right-wing government with Erna Solberg as prime minister, along with Progress Party (FrP), supported by two smaller parties; the Liberal Party (V) and the Christian Democratic Party (KrF). The right-wing government changed the course for Norway towards a different direction. V and KrF have, while supporting the government, also been crucial factors for stopping or redirecting several proposals or budget posts during the term, for example, concerning development aid and refugees. In the 2017 elections, the right-wing parties won the elections again, however with a weaker majority than the previous four years, 88 mandates against 81. The new government was formed consisting of H, FrP and V (Berg et al, 2018). Another change has been that the larger parties have been weakened, and the smaller parties have grown, which has redistributed the power more equally among the political parties. These changes in the political landscape have been important for higher education policy. Under the right-wing government, there are several examples of policy change in the higher education sector; In 2014-2015 a new structural reform for higher education with the intension of merging HEIs was put forward. The reform focused on fewer but stronger HEIs, new quality standards and new accreditation criteria. In addition, the Quota Scheme for students from developing countries has been abolished and replaced with partnership programmes between Norwegian HEIs and HEIs in developing countries, a green paper on Quality in higher education has been developed, and lastly, there have been several discussions on, and a proposal for, the introduction of tuition fees for non-EU students, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

3.3.2 Higher education system and internationalization of higher education in Norway

The first university in Norway was formed in Oslo in 1813. The Ministry of Education and Research is responsible for higher education, and it is governed by the Higher Education Act. In the last four decades, the higher education sector has undergone continuous transformation, as other Western countries. A new comprehensive reform on higher education; called the Quality Reform was passed in 2001 and implemented in 2003. The overall aim of the reform was to make Norway a nation of world renowned higher education and research. The reform made changes to governance, funding, steering and internationalization. Among the most important changes were the Bologna-based adaptions. Teacher quality was strengthened, supervision of students was improved and a new examination system was introduced. And new emphasis was placed on internationalization of higher education. Traditionally, the Norwegian state has been strong, and until recently the HEIs had limited autonomy on areas such as economy and personnel policy. The Quality Reform increased the autonomy of these institutions (Johnstone et al, 2008). Further developments were mentioned in the previous section and will also be outlined later in this section.

The government is the main source of higher education funding in Norway, even though external funding, mainly as contract research funding, has become gradually important over the recent years. Educational expenses represent a large proportion of the public budget. The state funds around 80%of the HEIs, while the remaining 20% are funds that can be defined as external, in the sense that HEIs need to compete for them. Generally, research based institutions are more expensive. The funding system in Norway has gradually changed, including less detailed budgets, net budgeting and the introduction of incentive based funding (Aamodt, 2008).

Students at Norwegian HEIs do not pay fees to the institution. Only a mandatory but limited amount of 600 – 900 NOK in semester fees is paid to the student welfare organization. Limited fees may be charged for continuing education courses (Aamodt, 2008). But even if tuition in Norway is free, the costs of living in Norway are high. Housing and food are expensive, so many students have part-time jobs. Traditionally students have been funding their living expenses, while the public funds have covered fees of instruction. The main investments for individuals are foregone earnings and the cost of student loans, which must be paid back after the students' graduation. In this context, the system of financial support for students has a central position. It is designed to help students cover their costs of living during their studies. The support is direct and universal, as it goes directly to the students and is not means tested by parents' economic situation. This supports the argument that the student, and not the parents, are expected to contribute to covering the costs of higher education, however, some students get support from their parents, for example by living at home. The support system is predominantly a loan system. Since the loan fund was established in 1947, a combination of a grant and loan has been provided to the students. In the 90s, the grant share was no higher than 14%. This increased to 40% after the Quality Reform was implemented. However, the transformation of these 40% from a loan to a grant is given that the students pass their subjects and earn credentials. The Norwegian support system is quite generous, with no tuition fees and up to a 40% grant on the student loan. The interests on the student loans are also very low (Aamodt, 2008). The fact that Norway does not follow the international trend towards increased private costs in higher education may be partially explained by the strong state economy due to the income of oil. In addition, Norway has stuck with the tradition of the Nordic countries, which have their higher education policies guided by welfare state policy, where everybody, in principle has the right to access to higher education (Aamodt, 2008).

Internationalization of higher education in Norway began gaining political recognition in the late 80s, largely due to increased student mobility through the Erasmus programme and academic exchange programmes related to development aid. In 2012, there were almost 20 000 foreign students studying in Norway, representing around 8,5% of the total student population. The largest number of international students have come from Sweden, Russia, Germany, China and Denmark (ICEF Monitor, 2015). The Quality Reform followed up on the importance of student mobility. There was a desire to develop study programmes in English, and to align the Norwegian grading and degree system with international standards, which was pursued by following the Bologna declaration. Norway was one of the first countries to introduce the following measures of the Bologna process; A 3-year Bachelor's + 2-year Master's degree structure, an ECTS grading system and the international diploma supplement. Another desire was to establish the Norwegian Centre for International Cooperation (SIU) to coordinate international areas in higher education (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2001). The role of SIU is to coordinate national measures within the field of internationalization, following official Norwegian policy. SIU is Norway's official agency for student mobility programmes and is responsible for promoting Norway as a destination for education and research. In 2009, the white paper "internationalization of higher education" was published, signalling the importance of internationalization, and also giving SIU more autonomy. While SIU is responsible for most areas concerning internationalization, the Norwegian Agency for Quality Assurance in Education (NOKUT), established in 2002, is also an important institution in internationalization of higher education. NOKUT is responsible for quality assurance in higher education, while also being the main institution for recognition of foreign education (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2009). After the change of government in 2013, the proposal for tuition fees followed, as will be outlined in the next section. In addition, the Quota Scheme, which allowed individuals from developing countries to receive a Norwegian degree scholarship on certain conditions, such as returning to their home country upon graduation, has been abolished. The funds were redirected towards international partnership programmes between Norwegian higher education institutions and higher education institutions in developing countries and desired partner countries, as a part of a new strategy (SIU, 2018). In 2017, the green paper on quality in higher education was presented, and large parts of the paper focused on internationalization as a prerequisite for quality (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2017).

3.3.3 Cost-sharing in higher education in Norway

Currently, Norwegian HEIs do not charge students tuition fees, regardless of nationality. It remains one out of two Nordics countries without tuition fees even though there have been discussions on the matter (Weimer, 2013). The idea of investigating the possibility for introducing tuition fees for non-EU students was proposed the in 2013, but the topic was soon shelved. In October 2014, the Norwegian government proposed introducing tuition fees for non-EU students for the 2015 budget. Mainly, the proposal was to cut 80.5 million NOK (9 million euros) in funding for HEIs, with the expectation that tuition fees would compensate for the lost revenue (Weimer, 2015). Of the 8000 non-EU students in Norway, only about 1700 would have been affected by the proposal. The consequences of the Swedish policy changes in this area have been frequently used as an example of what will happen if Norway introduces tuition fees for international students. If the proposal had been passed, one can assume, following the Swedish example, at least a 50% decrease in applicants from the affected countries to Norway. The proposal was opposed by higher education institutions, who believed fees would be destructive for international recruitment. Student associations also protested the proposal, arguing for the principle of free education, and also that the introduction of fees would have a domino effect, and lead to the introduction of tuition fees for local students. In a unique response, some Norwegian HEIs proposed funding the cuts on their own instead of charging the students. Whether they would have followed up on this is uncertain. In November 2014, the government withdrew the proposal and Norwegian universities remained tuition free (Weimer, 2015).

Even though it emerges every now and then, the topic of tuition fees remains a political taboo in Norway. This can be illustrated by the mandate of a national commission in 2006, which was to advise the government on the political visions on the preferred structural development in higher education until 2026. Three issues were not included in the mandate of the commission, on the basis that these issues were not expected to have different political visions before 2025. The three issues in question were; the ownership of universities, the new Bologna-based degree structure and the principle of higher education being free of charge. (Gornitzka et al, 2014)

4 Analytical Framework

In order to analyse how the Norwegian and Swedish policies on cost-sharing for non-EU students in higher education have developed and to identify the underlying factors for these developments, a consistent analytical framework will be used as a tool to guide the comprehensive analysis. The selected framework is suitable for the purpose of exploring policy development within the scope of the project. The framework will consist of several factors that can help group information during data collection and document analysis, while it also helps to represent different viewpoints of cost-sharing on higher education. This will help identify, connect and see patterns of policy developments in the data collected. The analytical framework to be presented is based on Gornitzka's (1999) framework of Policy Processes, which analyses policy development through five phases.

The selected framework of policy processes, is presented in Gornitzka's article "Governmental policies and organizational change in higher education" (Gornitzka, 1999). The framework is built up by five factors that help analyse policies. These factors are as follows:

1) Policy problems
2) Policy objectives
3) Policy instruments
4) Normative base
5) Policy linkage

The content, relevance and function of these five factors will be outlined in this chapter in order to explain the relevance of the framework choice and to explain how the framework will be used. The five phases will facilitate the search and identification of factors that have led to policy development when analysing documents, and help explain the changes and differences. They will also be a basis for comparison of policies between the two countries.

4.1 Policy problems

The policy problem is the issue being targeted in the policy document. By identifying the policy problems in the documents, it will be possible to analyse the development of the problem statements over time to see whether they have changed or whether the same policy problems remain. Relating to this study, this phase will firstly help determine whether a document is relevant. Policy problems can for example be related to introduction of tuition fees, education quality, recruitment of international students or internationalization of education. By identifying problems, it will also be possible to group them and to compare the policy problems of the two countries. These definitions can provide valuable information on what was important when, and why. It can also provide information on how connected the problem statements are, or if there is a lack of connection between the documents. This point will be helpful in answering both research question 1 and research question 2 during the document analysis.

4.2 Policy objectives

Policy objectives closely connect to policy problems. The policy objectives are the statement of the (desired) outcome of the policy. The objectives vary in the degree of how explicit or implicit they are. The more explicit an objective is, the more likely the policy is to succeed. This is because the desired outcome is clearly stated compared to implicit objectives. Still, objectives are often implicit with intentions that are vague or conflicting (Gornitzka, 1999). While making the data collection more challenging, implicit objectives still give a very valuable input on the policy development, especially since it is possible to investigate whether implicit objectives have moved towards a more explicit direction. Relating to this study, objectives can, for example, be to introduce tuition fees or to preserve the principle of free education. Other important objectives in the Nordic countries are high quality education and internationalization of higher education. An important question for all policy objectives will be to look at whether the document is supporting or opposing changes in cost-sharing. The area of policy objectives will help to answer the same two research questions as the policy problems section. By identifying the objectives, it is possible to explain developments in intended policies and use them to compare objectives over time. This point can also help answer the third research question. Even if policy objectives may not be able to answer what the consequences of a policy will be, they may be able to point to the desired consequences, whereas we later can investigate whether these objectives were achieved.

4.3 Policy instruments

Policy instruments are the tools by which an authority aims to pursue conformity in a policy. These instruments can be modality (information), treasure (money), authority (legal official power) and organization. Modality or information refers to the fundamental mechanism by which government influences society, for example societal communications and the government's ability to decide what information is necessary and relevant. Treasure refers to control of money and resources. Authority can be exercised by issuing binding laws, the government formally restricts the behaviour of its subjects. And finally, organization refers to the public bureaucracy, its ability to implement programmes and monitor environments. Few real-life policy instruments are pure examples of tools as they float into each other (Gornitzka, 1999). We can also measure how restrictive each policy is, given that the tools display varying levels of constraint (Gornitzka, 1999). Relating to this study, policy objectives can be for example to introduce tuition fees, relieve the public of expenses or reallocate funds. In introducing tuition fees, or preserving the right to free education, governments can reallocate funds and instruct HEIs in order to meet their objectives.

4.4 The normative base

Policies can be based on values, beliefs and tradition. In order to identify the values behind a policy, one can search for the values by analysing the policy problem and objectives if the values are not clearly stated through the proposal for the policy (Gornitzka, 1999). This point is especially relevant for the second research question, which seeks to identify factors motivating policy change in cost-sharing. Values are interesting to analyse, because over time, they can show a change in not only political attitude, but also cultural attitude. This point helps to identify differences between the values of two countries that generally have similar cultural traditions, and also helps compare the reasons why a country may or may not move in the same political direction as the international policy trends. In the light of the Nordic Model, central values in the Nordic region are equality and equity, including the equal right to education. In addition, the Nordic countries are known to be generous and have generous aid policies. A point made in chapter 2, was that individuals should also invest in their education due to private benefits, and therefore, pay tuition fees. An additional argument is why the taxpayers should pay for the education of a smaller privileged group, thereby investing in someone else's education and someone else's benefits. These arguments revolve around whether education should be a public good, and therefore fully state funded, or whether those who reap the largest personal gains should have to invest in education. Arguments connected to values can be that tuition fees do not provide equal access to education, and that they can create larger society gaps between the richer and poorer society groups. Related to this is differences in the amount of costs for international students versus local students. The normative base will also undertake arguments such regarding students from disadvantaged backgrounds being in the worst position when tuition fees are introduced or increased, and that chances are larger for disadvantaged students not enrolling or dropping out. Democracy is an important value in the Nordic countries. Therefore, values will also include issues like student inclusion and power of choice. The principle of free education has been strong in the Nordic region and will be an important factor in both the document analysis and the interviews. All of these are values that are relevant to consider when exploring policy changes related to cost-sharing. The mention of values, and also the lack of mentioning of values, will give a good insight into policy motivators.

4.5 Policy linkage

To what extent is the content of the policy in question linked to other government policies and political areas? Some argue that the only way reforms can be successful is if the changes made are in line with the long-term trends in society, and that if the change follows the broader trend, it will be more successful (Gornitzka, 1999). In this study, this phase will be linking the educational policies in question to other policy areas, such as economic or social policy. Relevant policy areas can be aid and development policies and strategic partnerships. Market power and position can be an important area related to cost-sharing, especially seen from the view of increasing globalization and internationalization. Immigration policy is also important for this study, considering that students from non-EU countries need visa and residence permits. The policies or policy changes on immigration can affect these students greatly, and can either complement, or stand in the way of, successful policy related to cost-sharing and tuition fees. Another relevant policy area is the general economic distribution in society, meaning the allocation and distribution of funds. Where the government decides to prioritise to spend money says a lot about political motivation and position. Linking these policy areas to cost-sharing policy will create a clearer picture of what the rationale behind the policy is, create a better basis for discussion, and help see which factors are guiding the political developments.

5 Research Methods

Studies of policy making and policy change can be approached in various ways and through various lenses. The methods we choose to approach these phenomena determine how we perceive and make sense of political and social realities. In this case, the aim is to provide detailed explanations of policy making processes and consequences on cost-sharing for non-EU students in Sweden and Norway. Measurable and quantifiable generalisations have therefore not been selected as methods for this study. Due to the purpose of the study, the approaches chosen are within the interpretative paradigm and the ontological and epistemological positions represented in the respective paradigm (Burrell & Morgan, 1992). Accordingly, a qualitative research approach has been selected through two research methods, namely qualitative document analysis and semi-structured interviews (Bryman, 2012). This chapter will provide a consideration of the strategy and the research methods applied. Furthermore, the ethical and validity challenges of the data collection process will be addressed.

5.1 Research strategy

The research strategy refers to a general methodological orientation to the conduct of research, in this case qualitative research. Qualitative research seeks deeper understanding of social phenomena, often through the perspectives of people. Reality is viewed a product of individual consciousness, meaning the way people give meaning to social life based on personal views, experiences and perceptions (Bryman, 2012). The role of qualitative researchers can be explained as the task of providing insight through subjective research to individual perceptions in order to explain the construct of social realities. This strategy is applied in this study as it serves the overall purpose of understanding the political constructs shaped by social and individual perceptions. Another characteristic of the qualitative approach is it being embedded in an anti-positivistic position. In contrast to positivists, they believe that knowledge about social realties is relativistic and can therefore not be obtained through laws and methods of the natural sciences. This is embedded in a belief of a fundamental difference between the subjects of natural sciences and the ones of social sciences. As a result of these beliefs, they argue that data collection methods of quantitative research are preoccupied with generalizations and measurement. These methods are not perceived as beneficial when collecting data on social behaviour as they fall short on grasping the complexity of social realities. Instead, qualitative methods are advocated for, as they allow explorations of how individuals interpret their social lives. This position is the most suitable for this study as it allows exploration of rationales behind choices and intentions in society, factors that cannot not optimal to measure.

5.2 Research design

The research design is the working plan and map for the conduction of the research project. A common rationale in the differing definitions and explanations of comparative and international education over the years, is that it allows gaining better understandings of educational realities, both the foreign education systems as well as in the local. Following this understanding, a comparative case design is chosen for this study. This is because of the belief that by comparing two educational systems or policies, the study can provide a better understanding of the individual political and educational contexts in question. This case not only makes it possible to compare the two countries, but also provides the opportunity to compare each country with itself, as we are exploring in depth individual developments over time in each country. The findings from the document analysis and the interviews in each case will create the basis to compare the two countries to each other. Relating to this, the historical developments on the relevant policy area will be presented along with commonalities and the differences between the two countries. The comparison will help to provide a fundament for discussions on the political processes and consequences of cost-sharing in higher education for non-EU students in Norway and Sweden, which again should provide a better understanding of the policies on cost-sharing in these two countries.

5.3 Data collection methods

Given the purpose and the research questions of this study, the selected methods of data collection to be applied have been qualitative document analysis and semi-structured interviews. The selected documents for analysis were official political documents, and the participants to be interviewed were interested parties in the policy making of cost-sharing in higher education in the two countries. These two methods were considered the best ways to gather the necessary information to answer the guiding questions. The methods will be discussed in further detail in this section.

5.3.1 Qualitative document analysis

The state is the source of a great deal of information that is of potential interest to social researchers. It produces statistical information, as well as a great deal of textual materials, such as Acts of Parliament or official reports (Bryman, 2012). In this study, official documents from the government, and also from other state institutions were analysed in order to get an overview of the development of, and rationales behind, cost-sharing policies. One of the two methods used was qualitative content analysis. The approach comprises a search for underlying themes in materials being analysed. The process through which the themes are extracted are often not specified in detail (Bryman, 2012). For this study, the themes that were searched for in the documents have been outlined through the literature review and the analytical framework above. The Policy Processes framework were used to identify the political processes throughout the documents, while the literature review supported the identification of rationales behind the intended policy making and policy changes. The benefits of this type of analysis are that it makes it easier to get an overview of the documents, while also helping identify the underlying themes in the materials. The approach is a good way to gather a large amount of information on a theme, while also being able to eliminate what is not relevant for the study. The method of selection of documents for analysis will be presented later in this chapter.

During the document analysis, the relevant data was collected from the selected documents. The chosen data was then placed in one or more groups according to the literature review on cost-sharing, the phases of the analytical framework and the Nordic model by colour codes. As shown under, it was possible to make categories based on these models. As they overlap quite a bit, they could also be integrated.

Policy Problems	**Policy objectives**	**Policy Instruments**	**The Normative Base**	**Policy Linkage**
Tuition fees	Tuition fees	Communication	The	Linkage to

			principle of free education	funding of other national policies
International-izaztion	International-izaztion	Authority	Generous aid policy	Quality and international-ization in HE
Quality	Quality	Financial	Access to education	Foreign Policy, Immigration Policy
Principle of free Education	Principle of free Education	Monitoring	Social Differences	Development and aid policy

Table 1: Example of groupings related to the Analytical Framework of Policy Processes

Similarities	**Differences**
Culture, values, traditions	Tuition fee objectives
Political structure	Application fees
Principle of free education	EU
Aid policy	Oil

Table 2: Example of groupings related to the Nordic Model

For	**Against**
Effeicency rationale	Aid
Equity rationale	Access
Necessity rationale	Financial burden

Table 3: Example of groupings based on the literature review on cost sharing

The data in each group was then combined gone through in order to make a basis for the interviews, and after the interviews were transcribed, the data was merged. Based on the groupings, similarities and differences were identified between the two countries, and this made up the basis for presenting the data through a discussion and comparison. Some of the challenges with the document analysis will be outlined in the sample section, however, one of the issues during the analysis was understanding the Swedish documents. In the beginning this was very challenging, and there was some need for translation. However, the more document that were analysed, the easier it became to understand the content.

5.3.2 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews are beneficial when collecting in-depth information about a specific phenomenon from individual perspectives. Semi-structured interviews follow a loose guide of interview questions, but allow for elaborations, additional information or rearranging the questions if the opportunity presents itself or requires it. In the case of this study, this method was meant to build on the document analysis in order to support or give alternative findings to the results of the document analysis. This was a way to strengthen the study as information is gathered from more than one source of information. There is a large difference in drawing conclusions from documents and having information told from a personal perspective, therefore these two methods should be able to supplement each other and give a better grasp on the field of cost-sharing. The interviews offered the opportunity to ask for information that has not been provided in the documents, while also asking participants open questions that would invite them to share their viewpoint regarding the topic. Semi-structured interviews also open for the opportunity for the participants to elaborate on and share their opinions on the issue, without being restricted by non-flexible questions. This allows for the collection of complex information and different viewpoints that can contribute to a detailed depiction of the topic being studied.

Two interview guides created for the interviews. Both of the guides were made in both English and Norwegian, so the respondents could choose which language they wanted the interview to be conducted in (see Appendices F-I). One of the interview guides was specific for the case of Sweden, where tuition fees for non-EU students have already been introduced, and some consequences may already have been detected. The second guide was specific to Norway, where the topic is more based on proposals, and discussion and opinion based. Still, the interview guides complemented each other to a large scale, as it was seen as important that they were comparable to each other for analysis purposes. The interview guides were divided in two parts. The first part reflected research question 2, and focused on factors, while the second part was based on consequences and research question 3. Each of these parts consisted of interview questions designed to shed light on the topic of tuition fees for non-EU students, and there were 10 – 15 questions in the interview guides, as well as sub-questions. Most of the participants chose to have the interviews in Norwegian and Swedish. The communication with Swedish speaking participants went surprisingly well, and with the complementing recordings, the answers and data collected was clear. The interviews with Norwegian and English speaking respondents went well, as expected.

After the interviews were conducted, they were all transcribed by the use of the recordings from the interviews. Next, all the transcribed data was grouped by using colours regarding where it would fit – possibly in one of the categories from the literature review presentation of arguments or one of the phases of the analytical framework. Parts of the data could be placed in several groups. Following this, the data was combined with the data from the document analysis and the data from the two countries was compared in order to fins similarities and differences. Following this, the data was presented in the findings chapter.

5.4 Sampling and research site

Norway and Sweden were selected as the countries to be studied due to their historical, political and cultural commonalities, as described in chapter 3. In addition, another criterion for the selection was the important political difference in political development on this topic, where the two countries, despite all their commonalities, at the moment have different approaches to tuition fees for non-EU students. The question of what factors were behind these different approaches made the two countries an interesting case to study. Another reason for selecting these two countries is that Norway has often looked to Sweden when developing new policies, and when there have been debates on tuition fees, the case of Sweden is often used as an example of what policies and consequences will develop in Norway if they should follow a similar path.

For the document analysis part, the study site is less relevant than for the interviews.
All analysed documents were extracted from official government webpages or from other government institution webpages. For this part of the study, there was no personal contact with participants or individual informants, meaning that the selected policy documents are the subjects and units of study. When it comes to the purposive sampling, there was a focus on choosing documents form approximately the same time period, while also focusing on

important and relevant documents, for example, tied to important events, in each country. The choice fell on the period of the Bologna declaration. Norway introduced the reform before Sweden, although they were close. As this was a great shift in higher education and internationalization, and before the tuition fee discussions, this seemed like a suitable place to start. The number of documents was not based on a specific number set in advance. As a way of selecting the documents, all possibly relevant documents were identified and screened. As the method was very time consuming and the documents often comprehensive, the next step was an elimination process where documents were excluded as they turned out to not be relevant or informative enough for the study. Still, some documents were included exactly because they did not have information on tuition fees, as the absence of mention of tuition fees is relevant information in itself. There was also a focus on having approximately the same number of documents for each case, however it was considered more important that the documents included were relevant. In the Appendices list (see Appendices A & B), the documents that were comprehensively analysed are listed, although many more documents were studied. As shown in the Appendices, fifteen Swedish and ten Norwegian documents were analysed. A large challenge with a study of this structure is that going into the data collection, the researcher does not know what documents are relevant to study, nor how many. The selection of documents was therefore very challenging. In addition, the Swedish documents were especially hard to locate because they were sorted by the date they were added to the webpage, and not when they were published. It was easy to get the impression that none of the documents were older than two years at first glance. However, once this was made clear, it became easier to search for relevant documents.

The research sites for the semi-structured interviews were Oslo, Norway and Stockholm, Sweden. This choice was based on the cities being the administrative and political capitols of the two countries. As these are the cities where political decisions are made and most of the political developments happen, these were considered the best places to locate relevant participants for the study. An important part of all qualitative interviews is sampling participants as who you select can impact the whole construct and result of the study, as the study is largely based on the participants' individual perceptions. Therefore, it is a goal to select a relevant and representative pool of participants. In order to achieve this aim within the scope of the project, it was decided to limit the number of interviews as these perceptions were meant to supplement and add further insight to the findings already made through the document analysis. The search for participants was strategic, as it was all about finding individuals who had been or still were interested and active regarding the topic of tuition fees for non-EU students. All participants were contacted through email. An invitation letter and the consent form were attached, and the email itself was amended to fit every potential participant. A critique may be that the invitation letter was only distributed in Norwegian (see Appendice C). The consent form was also in Norwegian initially, however, both forms were brought to the interviews and the respondents could choose which one to sign (see Appendices D & E). The respondents were given time to read through the documents and ask questions before the interview. It was easy to presume that due to connections, it would be easier to find interview participants in Norway, however, surprisingly it proved easier to locate respondents in Sweden. The Swedish candidates responded quickly and helped me reach more potential respondents through the snowballing effect. In Norway however, it was very hard to get replies and this required quite some work to arrange. In Sweden, all the respondents tried to put me in touch with other respondents or relevant actors. A reason for this may be that since Sweden has had tuition fees for non-EU students for some time, it is easy to know who is relevant to talk to regarding the topic. Out of approximately fifteen contacted persons in Sweden, and twelve in Norway, the final number of interviews was five in Sweden and three in Norway. One of the interviews of Swedish participants was in writing, and the consent form was amended to fit the data collection method. Even if the participants are referred to as Swedish or Norwegian, this does not relate to their citizenship. The goal was to have a varied group of participants including for example students, HEI employees and employees at state level. Even if it was hard to organize some of the interviews, the respondent group was in the end well varied.

Refrence Code	Country	Occupation	Relevance
SWE 1	Sweden	Previously employed at HEI, and still works in a relevant education insitution	The participant works within higher education management and research
SWE 2	Sweden	Employed in a relevant education insitution	The participant works within higher education management and research
SWE 3	Sweden	Used to work with educational research	The participant has been part of drafting policy and research on cost-sharing in higher education
SWE 4	Sweden	Student involved in student politics	The participant has been involved in discussions and politics related to the topic

SWE 5	Sweden	Employed in a relevant education institution (the interview answers were submitted in writing)	The participant has been part of drafting policy and research on cost-sharing in higher education
NO 1	Norway	Employee at Norwegian HEI	The participant has been involved in discussions and politics related to the topic
NO 2	Norway	Politician and society debater	The participant has expressed opinions on cost-sharing publicly
NO 3	Norway	Student involved in student politics	The participant has been involved in discussions and politics related to the topic

Table 4: List of Interview Participants

As the topic of the study is rather political than personal, the risk of making participants uncomfortable was considered smaller. Even though they were to speak from personal opinions and experiences, the topic was mainly on the political processes and not the individuals themselves. In many qualitative interviews, the questions asked to the participants are more personal, for example about their background, culture, economy or specific experiences they have gone through in their life. In that sense, the interviews of this study were less personal and therefore the chances of stepping wrongly during the interviews was considered smaller in this case. However, it was still important to make sure the participants were comfortable, could speak freely, that the position of the interviewer was objective and. It was informed that the study would be anonymous, for example, that it would be important to write the findings in a way so that it is not possible to identify the participants from the job they are doing or what parts of policy making processes they may have been part of. All of the interviews found place in the office buildings of the interview candidates or in other private office spaces, a setting it was presumed they would be comfortable in, and during the interviews it seemed they were. During some of the interviews there was disturbing noise from the outside, however, this was the only factor to mention. Each interview lasted between 20 and 55 minutes.

5.5 International and comparative components

The international components of the study are many. There are two countries in question, namely Norway and Sweden. The topic relates to policy on funding for non-EU students, and revolves around international students in a large part in general. Policy making on national levels are studied and then these national policies are compared with each other. The study also connects developed countries with the developing world as it focuses on Nordic policies for students form non-EU countries, including developing countries. The units of comparison are factors behind differing policies on state funding for non-EU students in the two countries Norway and Sweden. This means that factors and policy developments on cost-sharing and tuition fees are being studied. There is a double level of comparison in the study in the sense that the national policies, over time, within each country can be compared, in addition to comparing the policies of the two countries with each other. This way it can be possible to find out what has happened over time in each country, and also compare the countries in order to find reasons for why the countries have resulted with differing policies on cost-sharing for non-EU students.

5.6 Ethical considerations

A qualitative researcher aims to explore social, and in this case also political realities through individual perceptions. Therefore, the researcher holds a significant responsibility when it comes to possible effects on the participants as consequences of the research. Therefore, various considerations must be made through the stages of the study in order to follow ethical principles throughout the research.

Firstly, it is important for the researcher to critically evaluate and be aware of their position and their interest in the study. The researcher should consider what factors may cloud the judgement or objectiveness during the study. It is important to let go of any desire to find certain results, and to be aware of personal biases in order to not let it influence research, analysis and/ or findings. Researcher should position themselves objectively in all issues, should state it clearly if something from their personal background is present in the study. It is important to acknowledge that personal and political background, and personal connections can colour the views of the issue on cost-sharing and tuition fees, and remember that a researcher's role in a study is to facilitate further and more informed discussions on the topic, not finding the right or wrong way of organizing cost-sharing in higher education.

The first official step to ensure a researcher in Norway is following ethical principles is to notify the Norwegian Social Science Data Services of the objectives and methods of the study. This has to be done in order to be granted permission to conduct the research. When the study is approved, it means it has complied with national legal obligations related to the protection of research data, which especially concerns the privacy and anonymity of participants of the study. When it comes to the document analysis, this part is less relevant. The main ethical issue in the data collection methods concerns fair sampling of the documents and not being biased towards any of the policies or rationales in the documents. All selections and analysis should be based on the same criteria. During the interviews however, there is personal contact with participants, which makes ethical considerations very important. Some of the most crucial measures are giving the participants new names or reference codes, and also changing other important details such as for example profession or gender if relevant, for the purpose of the study. Interview recordings, notes and transcribed materials should be stored safely. All participants should receive informed consent forms, which clearly state the purpose of the study, methods used and what participation would entail for the participants. It should be made clear that the participation is voluntary, and that the participant can withdraw without explanation or consequence at any time. The language of the form should be taken into consideration. The content of the consent forms should be gone through before the interviews as well, and participants should have the opportunity to ask questions, in order to be completely sure that they understand and accept what their participation entails.

Considering possible effects on the participants, it is important to both state beforehand, and ask the questions during the interviews, as an objective party looking for a deeper understanding on the topic. The participants should not feel attacked or feel as though the interviewer is advocating for any side. The interview should also be done carefully in the sense that even though it should make the participants think, they should not have post-consequences regretting something they said, feeling they were pressured or that they did not have the chance to explain themselves well enough. The participants should be aware that they can add additional information later if they should feel like it, or withdraw if they regret giving the interview.

5.7 Validity and reliability

The meaning of the word quality in qualitative education is severely contested. Due to this, there are many ways to evaluate the quality of social research, but two of the most important criteria are considered to be measured by replication of the study and credibility of the study. These two criteria will be outlined here;

5.7.1 Replication

In a qualitative study, replication refers to what degree a study can be replicated (Bryman, 2012). This criterion can be hard to meet in qualitative research, as it is nearly impossible to freeze a social setting. However, it is possible to try to create a similar and comparable setting. The respondents may vary, or they may have changed their opinions. They may respond differently to different researchers or contexts, or if the respondents are not the same, one will never get the exact same information. Researchers adopt different roles and have different networks.

This study consists of two methods. When it comes to document analysis, replication should not be impossible if the same purposes, methods, criteria and frameworks are used. The policy documents analysed are official, therefore their validity should be strong. For the data collected it will be necessary to have very specific and clear methods and frameworks in order to gather the relevant information, as there will be much information and it can be easy to get lost in the documents. When it comes to the interviews, replication would be a lot more difficult, but as the context does not focus as much on social background as on policy processes, it could be easier to get similar results from participants in similar positions.

5.7.2 Credibility

The creditability criteria refer to the degree to which the researcher has managed to convey carry out the research according to good practice and has managed to recreate a trustworthy account to the findings through a correct recreation of the respondents' social world (Bryman, 2012). This can for example relate to how correct the interpretations and understandings of the information collected from the documents or the participants in the study are. If the participants were to read their transcriptions for example, they should be able to state that their answers consist with that is written. Creditability means that the researcher should portray a correct picture of the perceptions portrayed by the participants. One way of ensuring credibility is to use the “respondent validation” technique. In this technique, the researcher seeks to get confirmation from the participants on the interpretations and impressions the respondent has given. This is a technique that was used in this study.

It was also be necessary to make sure the Swedish language was understood correctly in the document analysis, while also making sure the language is not a barrier when it comes to informing the participants and conducting the interviews. By achieving this, and by sampling fairly and equally, the data should be reliable so that the participants would agree with the resulting findings and other researchers would reach the same conclusion when looking at these components in the same documents with the same lens, or when interviewing participants from the same positions as in this study.

6 Presentation of Findings

In this chapter, the findings from the data collection will be presented, discussed and compared. As explained in chapter 5, the data was collected both through document analysis and through semi-structured interviews. The document analysis was collected by searching for and grouping relevant sets of data in the selected documents, guided by the research questions and the five phases of the analytical framework. The interviews were structured to provide insight on the last two research questions, before the answers were transcribed and grouped with help from the literature review and the analytical framework. The findings will be presented through several sections. The first section will relate to the first research question and explain the most important similarities and differences between the Norwegian and Swedish tuition fee policies. The second part will relate to the second research question, and explain different major factors behind Swedish and Norwegian tuition fee policies, structured through the five policy development phases of the analytical framework. The third part will discuss the consequences of these policies. The discussion and comparison of the two countries' differing policies will be integrated in the presentation of the findings.

6.1 A presentation of the main similarities and differences in Swedish and Norwegian policy on tuition fees for non-EU students

This section will explain how the policies related to tuition fees for non-EU students have developed in the two countries, including the similarities and differences in Norwegian and Swedish policy on the topic. The findings in this section relate to research question 1. The content of this section will be presented with the help of a chronological and comparative timeline in order to outline differences and similarities related to policy development on the topic over time.

The most relevant and obvious difference between Swedish and Norwegian policy on tuition fees in higher education is that Sweden has introduced tuition fees and application fees for non-EU students, while Norway has not. Although, a similarity is that both countries have proposed introducing tuition fees, however, the process and results have been different. While Sweden has had tuition fees for non-EU students since 2011, Norway still funds higher education for all admitted students in 2018, no matter where they come from. In Sweden, non-EU applicants pay an application fee of 900SEK in order to have their application processed, in addition to paying an average of 125 000SEK in tuition fees. In Norway, students only pay the semester fee of 600-900NOK and some groups are exempted from this fee, as explained in chapter 1. Non-EU students have to pay in order to apply for visa or residence permit and in Norway, these fees have increased heavily in 2018. This will be discussed further in section 6.2.2 Looking at these numbers, it is clear that the policy on higher education funding for non-EU students differs greatly between the two countries. Norwegian policy on higher education funding has mostly been consistent all the time, except for the discussions and proposals of introduction of tuition fees for non-EU students in 2013 – 2014, and a few debates on the topic in the media in the aftermath of the proposals. Even if tuition fees in Sweden were discussed in SOU 2000:92, the government concluded that the number of non-EU students should increase, but that the principle of free education should be kept intact (SOU 2017:2, 2017). In 2004 however, the topic became a serious part of the political agenda, when a directive was given to assess the possibilities of introducing tuition fees for non-EU students (Utbildningsdepartementet, 2004b). Tuition fees for non-EU students became a reality in 2011, and two years later, the reform was fully adopted through a permanent reduction of 539 million SEK. These developments show that there were almost ten years from the discussions started until the full implementation of the reform, and that there were almost ten years from when the topic was seriously discussed in Sweden, until it became a topic on the political agenda in Norway. There was a strong movement from political parties, HEIs and student organizations against introducing tuition fees in both countries, however the opposition seems to have been stronger and more visible in Norway, both when considering the debate and the results of the proposals. It seems like the political consensus between the right and the left wing has been stronger in Sweden on this topic, while in Norway, this is a topic that more easily divides the two political sides. The above outline of the policy development on the topic of tuition fees for non-EU students, shows that the two countries started with similar policies on the area, based on their common values and traditions embedded in the Nordic model, regarding the principle of free education and equal access to education. This study has not been able to provide sufficient insight in whether Norway's oil based economy has part in these policies, nor whether the Swedish EU-membership has had any effect versus Norway not being a member. Sweden then moved away from Norway in this policy area, due to reasons discussed in the next section. Norway kept their policies and stuck to the principle of free higher education for all students, but after almost ten years started to look more seriously into the topic of charging tuition fees for non-EU students, largely influenced by the Swedish and Nordic policy developments in the area. There was not really a public debate on the matter of introduction of tuition fees in Norway, and it did not take long before the topic was squashed, only to resurface in newspaper debates every now and then. From the analysed data, it is uncertain whether Sweden will only make a few changes or improvements to their tuition fee structure, or whether they will consider going back to structures more similar to the ones they used to have. The Swedish interview respondents are of the opinion that it will take a lot before Sweden abolishes tuition fees now that they have introduced them, and that they will rather try to optimise the current system further. The first part of the proposed internationalization strategy can suggest the same, as will be explained in the next section (SOU 2018:3, 2018). From the data analysis in Norway, it looks as if tuition fees will not be introduced any time soon, as there is close to no mention of the topic on the political agenda. There is a strong opposition against tuition fees, and the topic is considered somewhat unpopular. However, several Norwegian interview participants, no matter their position on tuition fees, are of the opinion that the topic will be back on the political agenda again sooner or later, as alternative sources of income in higher education become relevant or necessary. Both Norway and Sweden have moved towards more strategic education partnerships related to mobility, development policy and industry. Sweden however, has introduced several new scholarship schemes, in addition to keeping the old ones, in order to support non-EU students. Norway on the other hand, has abolished the Quota Scheme, and moved the funds to more short term strategic partnerships, leaving no national scholarships for full degree students from non-EU countries or developing countries, which may point to further differences in strategies and objectives regarding mobility priorities. Based on the outline above, one can say that Sweden is moving in a clear direction regarding the introduction of tuition fees, and it is not likely that there will be any major differences in Swedish tuition fee policy for non-EU students in the near future. One can also say the opposite of Norway, with disregard to the U-turn in 2013-2014. Norway is back on track when it comes to tuition fees not being an option, and it is not likely that this will change any time soon either. Still, it may be easier to bring up the topic again now that it has already been on the political agenda. The concluding remark is, that despite some similarities, especially concerning values and policy traditions, the two countries have largely differing policies on the topic of tuition fees for non-EU students, and this is not likely to change any time soon.

6.2 The influencing factors policy development regarding tuition fees for non-EU students in Sweden and Norway

This section will relate to research question 2, and present the factors identified from the data collection and analysis which are relevant for why Norway and Sweden have adopted their respective policies on tuition fees for non-EU students, and thereby also why these policies differ to a such a large extent. The presentation of the findings in this section will be done by the help of the five phases in the analytical framework. The findings relating to the factors behind the policy development will be grouped to fit these five phases as well as possible, in with regards to providing a structured and clear presentation of the findings. However, the first two phases; policy problems and policy objectives, will be presented in the same section as they are very closely related to each other and it is therefore more suitable to present them jointly. It is also important to stress that most of the factors could fit in several phases, however, they have been placed where they are most suitable for the discussion. Some of the factors may be mentioned several times, but then in regard to new arguments.

6.2.1 Policy problems and objectives guiding tuition fee policy for non-EU students in Norway and Sweden

The section above has outlined how the two countries have viewed the issue of tuition fees since 2000. This is also relevant when it comes to policy problems and objectives, as the section above shows what the policy documents would be about, based on the political position and objectives at that specific time. In the Swedish documents that were analysed, most policy problems revolved around the introduction of tuition fees for non-EU students, such as the report on tuition fees, the proposal for introducing tuition fees for non-EU students, and the evaluation of the effects of tuition fees. Other documents were related to internationalization strategies and increased quality of higher education. In Norway, only the policy documents concerning the public hearing for the introduction of tuition fees for non-EU students had the introduction of tuition fees as the main policy problem and objective.

Therefore, most of the Norwegian documents revolved around strategy, quality and internationalization of higher education. In both countries, the reports and proposals were largely in relation to the respective countries' position in the increased globalization and internationalization of higher education. In addition, the principle of free education was an important issue in several documents regarding both countries. This section will look closer into the objectives of whether or not to introduce tuition fees, the objectives towards following international trends, and will also include a discussion of the political landscapes that were deciding factors when it comes to whether or not tuition fees were an objective in the two countries in question. In addition, there will be a discussion on the objective of introducing tuition fees as part of internationalization and quality strategies in higher education.

The most obvious and important policy objectives related to the topic of the thesis, are whether or not the objective is to introduce tuition fees for non-EU students, and thereby shifting the cost sharing towards a specific student group and arguably moving away from the principle of free education. As seen above, the two countries have completely different policies on this today, as in Sweden there has been a clear move from not wanting to introduce tuition fees, to wanting to introduce, and later actually introducing tuition fees for non-EU students. In Norway, the policy objectives related to the topic have traditionally been to not introduce tuition fees for non-EU students and to stick with the principle of free education. Except from a U-turn in these objectives in 2013-2014, this policy has been consistent. However, there will rarely be complete consensus in policy making, and there may always be some who are pushing for different objectives in both cases. In Sweden, tuition fees gradually and increasingly became an objective. In Norway however, tuition fees for non-EU students had not been on the political agenda at all, before they became a topic in 2013. The proposal of introduction came already the year later, which can seem very hasty compared to the Swedish process. This may be a factor for why the introduction did not happen in Norway. Perhaps the proposal was not well enough thought through or developed, and perhaps Swedish policy makers and other actors had more information and time to get used to the idea. It is possible that tuition fees were part of a political game in Norway, as four parties would have to agree on the budget. A proposal which goes against what two of the parties stand for could perhaps be intended as a bargaining chip for the proposing parties, although this is largely speculative. In both countries, the objective has been to introduce tuition fees for non-EU students, but to still keep higher education free for local students and

EU students. This will be discussed further in section 6.2.3. It is important to note that while the policy problem and objective in many of the Swedish documents was related to introduction of tuition fees for non-EU students, the topic was rarely mentioned in Norwegian documents. This itself shows that introducing tuition fees for non-EU students was not a policy problem or objective in Norway, even if it is not stated in the documents that it is not.

Tuition fees for non-EU students became a topic on the political agenda in Norway in 2013. Reasons mentioned for introducing tuition fees for non-EU students, and not for other students, was that they were not sure the current system was the best system for internationalization of higher education, and they did not know if they got the most from the money spent on non-EU students or what the consequences of the current system were. In 2014, the government issued a public hearing for introduction of tuition fees for non-EU students. The motivation behind the proposal was stated to be more strategic recruitment of qualitatively good non-EU students, and a more strategic use of public funds (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2014a). The latter is in line with national policy on cooperation in higher education. However, when it comes to "qualitatively good students", this is not defined, and it is unclear exactly which students the government was hoping to attract – the best academic students, or perhaps the students most active in their local environments or with other attributes. Therefore, it is also not clear how it would be ensured that these students were secured. In Sweden, it was clear that the hope was to attract students who were serious about their applications and who were highly motivated to study in Sweden. A decrease in the number of non-EU students was expected as a result of the introduction of fees, but through hard work concerning information, recruitment and service, the decrease could be limited (Utbildningsdepartementet, 2009). The Norwegian proposal for introduction of tuition fees for non-EU students was different than the Swedish one, first in that there was no comprehensive report on the topic before the proposal. In addition, application fees were not proposed and it would be up to the HEIs whether or not they wanted to charge full tuition fees or cover the whole or parts of the costs themselves (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2014a). In Sweden, the option for the HEIs to decide whether they will charge tuition was first mentioned in the directive for the new internationalization strategy. The Norwegian proposal was perhaps more rash and liberal. Two months after the hearing was announced, it was withdrawn due to a budget compromise between H, FrP, V and KrF, which meant that there would be no introduction of tuition fees for non-EU students, as the two latter parties were against the proposal (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2014b).

From 2006 to 2013, the number of non-EU students in Norway increased by 30%. According to the ministry of education, there is reason to believe that the increase was a result from the introduction of tuition fees in neighbouring countries. The Norwegian proposal referred to this argument, and also to following the trend of introducing tuition fees in the Nordic countries, as reason for introducing tuition fees for non-EU students (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2014a). It is also possible that Sweden has a higher desire of following European trends as a member of the European Union, however, in this study, there is no data to support this claim. During the interviews, international trends were discussed as objectives and factors for developments in tuition fee policy by the participants. Several respondents said that Norway should consider tuition fees for non-EU students because the country is in a unique position globally when it comes to tuition fees policies. Two participants considered Norway to have been affected by the international trends on the area of tuition fees. However, one of the participants argued:

"In a sense, Norway has been affected by international trends, and I believe it is hard not to be. However, in the end, I don't believe Norway has been influenced by these trends, because in the end, the fact is that Norway has still not introduced tuition fees." (NO 2).

The majority of the respondents from Sweden were of the opinion that developments in other countries had a large impact on the decision to introduce tuition fees in Sweden. They believe that Sweden looked to Denmark, just like they have seen that Norway looks to Sweden regarding the topic.

"Developments in other countries have partly affected Sweden since the reform was carried out in Denmark earlier. It made it less politically sensitive in Sweden." (SWE 5).

Not surprisingly, the student respondents from both countries stated that just because everybody else does something, it does not mean that we have to do it or make it a good idea.

All of the participants in both countries were of the opinion that the political landscape had been a deciding factor on whether tuition fees were a political objective or not. Respondents were under the impression that tuition fees would not yet have been proposed in Norway if the country had not elected a right-wing government, as the political sides largely disagree on this topic.

"Another reason for tuition fees becoming a political topic in Norway is cost-sharing being a part of a larger discussion in Norway, which includes the elderly, refugees, and the decreasing oil related income. The central question is "where can we cut back on expenses?" In addition, higher education is now something you can "shop" in any country. When students realise that higher education is provided for free in Norway, they will often choose to apply here." (NO 2).

In the case of Sweden, the majority seemed to believe that the political landscape formed the discussions as there was a right-wing government that proposed tuition fees. However, some respondents believed that tuition fees would not have been introduced under another government, while others disagreed.

"The proposal of introducing fees came from both the Liberal party and the Social democrats – so there was not a large political difference between the two "blocks" in Swedish politics" (SWE 5).

However, despite the arguments above, in the end, Norway ended up not introducing tuition fees. This was explained by one of the participants through the following argument:

"One of the main reasons for not introducing tuition fees for non-EU students is that there is no political consensus for it, and a possible reason for this is the deep wish for Norway to act as and be perceived as a generous and democratic country. This wish may by some be described as a non-strategic use of public funds." (NO 2).

As mentioned, the public hearing on tuition fees in Norway was called off due to budget compromises between four political parties. This points to the fact that the political landscape was indeed important as a slightly different composition could have ended with a different result if the proposal had gone to voting. This political landscape has changed even more towards the governments disadvantage, and therefore the it is not likely that the topic would achieve a majority if it was brought up again, unless parties from the left wing changed their mind, such as members from SP have expressed that they should.

Two common objectives for Sweden and Norway have been to increase quality in higher education and to increase internationalization in higher education. These two objectives are often seen as correlated because internationalization of higher education is often described as a prerequisite for increased quality in the education sector. Since the beginning of the mention of tuition fees for non-EU students in Sweden in 2004, quality has been one of the most important arguments in favour of the introduction. The name of the proposal to introduce tuition fees was "Konkurrera med kvalitet - studieavgifter för utländska studenter", a title stressing that the goal was to increase quality in higher education, and that the introduction of tuition fees was part of this strategy. Tuition fees were intended to be part of a larger internationalization strategy, which should include quality programmes, better and more strategic promotion, more grants, and amended immigration policy (SOU 2006:7, 2006). In Norway, the higher education reform from 2000 is referred to as the Quality reform, which implies that the objective of the reform was to increase quality in higher education, and the white paper explains the increasing importance of internationalization before it explains the need to see education policy from an international perspective. However, it also states that a liberal international education sector, where the market powers guide the principles, would be in conflict with the Norwegian goals for education policy (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2001).

In 2017, Norway published a strategy for quality in higher education, called ”Kultur for kvalitet i høyere utdanning,". A part of the paper focuses on internationalization as a prerequisite for quality through, for example, mobility of students and employees (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2017). Sweden, on the other hand, is in the process of making a new, improved and comprehensive national internationalization strategy. One of the objectives of the strategy is to propose how Sweden can become more attractive in higher education, examined through the evaluation of the tuition fee and application fee system (SOU 2018:3, 2018). As this part is to be presented by October 2018, one can only speculate what the result of the proposal will be. However, the objective of the directive was relatively detailed. The proposal was directed to include a well-functioning system for tuition and application fees, recruitment, admission, and visa or residence application. Regarding tuition fees, the proposal should undertake how the size of the fees is determined and what they should include, and whether the HEIs should have the possibility to pay part or all of the tuition fees (SOU 2018:3, 2018).

6.2.3 Policy instruments related to tuition fee policy for non-EU students in Norway and Sweden

Policy instruments are the tools by which the government aims to achieve their intended policy. In this section, relevant tools and factors that are related to achieving the policy objectives regarding tuition fees for non-EU students will be discussed. Firstly, we will briefly go through the four types of instruments that were listed in chapter four. It is important to see that these categories can be connected and go into each other. Control of public funds, for example, stands well on its own, however, control of funds can be issued through legal official power, such as legislations. Programmes can be implemented through legislations, and program implementation can be funded by public funds. The government can decide what information they want to share and how they want it formulated in, for example, websites, public statements, directives, reports and legislations. The way information is expressed can also influence how it is perceived. In this section, the four categories of instruments will be included, however, the findings will not be structured by these four categories, and rather loosely related to them in the discussion.

A rationale for introducing tuition fees for non-EU students in Sweden was that no matter how positive and important the contributions non-EU students made to Swedish higher education and society, they are not enough to justify full coverage of non-EU students by Swedish public funds. This view can be related to the equity rationale. The government estimated that in 2007/2008, around 500 million SEK was used to fund non-EU students (Utbildningsdepartementet, 2008). It was considered that the competitive advantage that the absence of tuition fees presented, had not necessarily resulted in the desired developments. Free tuition was therefore seen as problematic mainly for these two reasons; 1) Swedish HEIs should compete through high quality, not through free tuition, 2) From a socio-economic perspective it was seen as unjustified to spend Swedish taxpayers' money on free tuition for a growing number of non-EU students (Utbildningsdepartementet, 2008). During the interview sessions, the majority of the participants agreed that the main factor for introducing tuition fees for non-EU students was that the government thought they would save money, however, in contradiction to the government, they were of the opinion that tuition fees are not economically beneficial for society. The government cut the costs, but then allocated a large portion of the funds into scholarships. In addition, additional costs have emerged related to quality assurance, promotion and recruitment. When combining this with other administrative costs such as checking whether each applicant is eligible for payment of tuition fees, the majority of the respondents do not believe the society has benefited from the introduction of fees.

"If it is beneficial for Sweden as a country to not have tuition fees, it is also beneficial for the taxpayers" (SWE 2).

However, based on the justifications outlined above, the government used their control of public funds to shift the financial burden away from the public and on to individual non-EU students through a legislation, in order to achieve the policy objective of introducing tuition fees and restricting the fees for this specific student group. However, with the saved funds, several new programmes were introduced by the government, for example, national scholarships, local scholarships at the HEIs, and over time, HEIs have been directed to develop strong internationalization strategies.

In Sweden, there was a detailed discussion on who should pay tuition fees, and who should not. In the Norwegian proposal, it was only briefly mentioned that EU-students must be treated equally to Norwegian students due to the EEA-agreement. The information of who should pay tuition was clear in political documents and the Swedish legislation, but the arguments to why were not excessively outlined to the public. The importance of the presence of non-EU students in both countries was stressed, as non-EU students contribute to higher education quality and increased internationalization. The Swedish government considered their positive contributions to justify grants and scholarships for non-EU students, which shows that policies on tuition fees and scholarships are closely connected, and as mentioned above, the HEIs would get an increase of around 60 million SEK of public funding, to administrate their own grant programmes for specially qualified students. In addition, Svenska Institutet (SI) was to continue handling national grants (Utbildningsdepartementet, 2009). Around 40% of the non-EU students in Sweden are supported through Swedish grants, which shows that Sweden still spends a portion of the public budget on non-EU students (SOU 2017:2, 2017). In Norway, there has been no scholarship system for full degree non-EU students since the abolition of the Quota Scheme. This points to further policy differences between the two countries because the Swedish investments in scholarships have increased as a result of the introduction of tuition fees, while Norway has moved further away from these kinds of scholarships, which can imply that there are no plans of bringing the topic of tuition fees back on the agenda, as this would most likely lead to new discussions on, and implementation of some sort of scholarships. The relevance of scholarships regarding development policy will be further discussed in section 6.2.4. and 6.2.5. Sweden has invested time and money in recruitment of non-EU students after the introduction of tuition fees. A part of the internationalization strategy, which includes tuition fees for non-EU students, is to make Sweden more attractive and to improve the promotion and recruitment when it comes to non-EU students. SI and the HEIs were tasked with developing the information which would attract non-EU students, and increased funds were assigned to this purpose. While Sweden has focused on attracting non-EU students, due to the expected decrease of non-EU students following the introduction of tuition fees, Norway has focused more on achieving higher numbers of short-term exchanges through promoting and encouraging their HEIs to create high quality exchange agreements with partner institutions, and by offering economic incentives for each incoming or outgoing exchange student. International mobility and exchange have been described tools for increased quality in Norwegian higher education, and Norwegian HEIs were to become leading in academic cooperation and student mobility. It was a goal for HEIs to offer students exchange as part of their Norwegian study program, and it was considered whether to make this mandatory for the HEIs. In addition, an increased number of courses in English was mentioned as a tool to attract students, as a larger number of international students studying in Norway was also desired (Kunnskapsdepartmenetet, 2001). Norway seems somewhat split in its priorities as the country wants to focus on short term exchanges, but at the same time wants to attract non-EU students, without a very well working strategy for either (SIU, 2018).

A central issue concerning introduction of tuition fees, is the size of the fees. The governments can use their legal power to decide the size of the fees or create guidelines while allowing the HEIs to determine the final amount of the fees. As mentioned in 6.2.2 the Norwegian proposal stated that the HEIs could decide to cover all or parts of the costs themselves, however it said little on how the fees should be calculated. Sweden explained the principle of full coverage in SOU 2006:7 (2006, p.9); "Our conclusion is that these fees are to cover all such costs, but not more.” This was further explained thrugh the following statement:

“We propose that education at the first and second level for students from non-EEA countries be financed via charges fixed by each HEI. These fees should be assessed so that they cover the costs of support and service to the educational programmes, the fee system and measures related to it, in addition to the costs of tuition itself” (SOU 2006:7, 2006, p. 9-10).

Application fees of 900SEK were introduced in Sweden due to great costs and administrative resources spent on processing the applications from non-EU students. From the students who were assessed and admitted, only a small percentage started their studies in Sweden. Application fees were intended to concentrate the group of applicants to a smaller and more motivated group of students, who had high ambitions to study in Sweden (Utbildningsdepartementet, 2009). It can be argued that many potential students would choose not to apply due to the application fees, or they would drop out if a scholarship was not granted. There was generally a more positive consensus on the topic of application fees among the interview respondents, who argued that the fee is “only” 900SEK compared to the large amounts of tuition fees, and is likely to secure more serious applicants. Two of the respondents said that application fees could have been introduced alone, and then tuition fees could have been considered later if need be. The reason for this argument was the large number of non-EU applicants and that processing these applications had become a very expensive part of the admission process, as it required a lot of time and resources. Non-EU students face several obstacles when applying for admission, and there are concerns from some HEIs that the application fees are too high. While having to pay the application fees in addition to the first payment of tuition fees, students must apply for visa or residence permits and prove that they can support themselves during their stay in Sweden. Some students drop out of the admission process as their visa or residence applications are rejected or are not handled in time (SOU 2017:2, 2017). Norway does not have application fees like Sweden does. On the contrary, it was written in the proposal in 2014 that application fees were not part of the proposal, however, there was no justification to why. Norway did, however, recently increase application fees for student visas by 65% (SIU, 2018), which is a lot more than the neighbouring countries charge. One can wonder whether this has been introduced as an alternative source of income in the absence of application and tuition fees, especially considering that the same rule applies for visa renewals.

"Non-EU students are an easy group to target for increased fees due to it making up such a small percentage of the student population. As the group consists of foreign citizens, it is easier for politicians to create a distance, which may result in less protests." (NO 3).

One of the issues that was problematized during and after the introduction of tuition fees for non-EU students in Sweden was the relationship between the HEI and the student. It was stressed that "students paying fees should have the same rights and obligations as other students" (SOU 2006:7, 2006, p. 10). However, there have been cases where the legislations have been contested, for example a court case where an American student sued the HEI and tuition fees had to be repaid to the student who was not happy with the quality provided of the education programme.

6.2.2 Traditions and values affecting Norwgian and Swedish policy on tuition fees for non-EU students

Democratic values are the foundation of Nordic education policy, and freedom, integrity, equality and solidarity are values that education institutions should represent. The Norwegian Quality reform, for example, was clear on the Norwegian visions and values that should guide education policy:

"The choices we make in education policy, are a consequence of the ambitions we have for society. The Governments vision is a fair world without poverty, in peace and ecologic balance, where people are free and equal and have influence on their own lives. We build our policy on the values freedom, equality and solidarity" (Kunnskapsdepartmentet, 2001, p. 3)

Tuition fees have been introduced in many countries, a development which challenges the Nordic values of equal access to education and minimising class differences in society. The public – private goods debate relates to the latter value. The higher the private benefits, the more tuition fees are considered to be justified. One interview respondet said: "Higher education is never really free, so one has to think about who is actually paying." (NO 2) Another of the respondents said that international students do not pay taxes, and therefore are not a part of the social contract in Norway. Therefore, they should not reap the benefits.

Still, the respondent acknowledged that non-EU students bring a certain value to Norway. The question was whether this is something Norway should prioritise economically, and in which scale (NO 1). This shows that some of the respondents saw the economic and strategic issues concerning funding higher education for all with public funds.

In both countries, student organizations have a strong democratic position in higher education and have been involved in the tuition fee debates with a strong stance against the introduction of fees for non-EU students or any student group at all. In a public announcement by the National Union of Students in Norway (NSO) stated that the principle of free education is about securing free education for all. The students were afraid that introducing tuition fees for non-EU student would initiate a domino effect, where in the end, tuition fees for local students would be introduced. It was seen as a paradox that some political parties argue for increased internationalization on the one hand, while seeking to create barriers for international students access to education on the other. The proposal of introduction of tuition fees for non-EU students was arguably the end of the most important principle for equal access to education, the free principle of education. NSO stated that Norway needs non-EU students more than they need Norway (NSO, 2014). The Swedish student organizations were also active in the debate, with the position against introducing tuition fees for non-EU students. Not surprisingly, the interview respondents who are student politicians were against tuition fees for non-EU students, and they used the principle of free education as one of the main arguments throughout the interviews. They considered it to be difficult and wrong to make differences between individuals within the same system. They also mentioned the fear of the domino effect regarding tuition fees for local students. It is not clear what effect the student politicians had in the two cases, and the effects of student politics could be interesting to examine further in another research project, as it is not within the scope of this thesis.

Despite the long tradition of 100% public funding of higher education, there were no legislations on the principle of higher education in the Swedish higher education law, even though there were mentions of the principle in policy documents. On 1 July 1995, a provision was introduced in “Högskoleförordningen”, stating that the education at HEIs should be free of charge for the students (Utbildningsdepartementet, 2009). A legislation of free access to higher education for local and EU-students was however not proposed until 2009, along with the proposal of tuition fees for non-EU students, in order to ensure, and perhaps to persuade, the concerned student unions and other actors that tuition fees for non-EU students would not spread to introduction of tuition fees for local students and EU-students (prop. 2009/10:65).

“We propose a new section in the Higher Education Act, stipulating that free tuition is to apply to Swedish students and students from other EEA countries while at the same time allowing the Government the right to decide on fees for students from other countries.” (SOU 2006:7, 2006, p. 9).

In Norway, the principle of free education legislated shortly after the Quality Reform, a legislation which has become relevant for the issue of tuition fees, even if this likely had nothing to do with the rationales behind the legislation. So, while Sweden legislated the principle of free education as an insurance for local students, Norway legislated the same principle for other reasons and way before tuition fees became a topic on the political agenda. This means that Norway would have to amend the legislation in order to introduce tuition fees for non-EU students. An interesting aspect regarding the principle of free education is that there seems to be a common understanding that one wants to keep the principle in Sweden and Norway, however, there are differences in how the principle is defined, and the definition seems to be amended to fit policy objectives. Traditionally, it seems that the principle of free education has been understood as a universal principle, including all students, no matter where they come from. However, in the light of the topic of introduction of tuition fees, those who argue for tuition fees seem to define the principle to mainly include local students. They do not admit do moving away from the principle of free education, but rather state that introducing tuition fees for non-EU students does not affect the principle. In Sweden. they have gone as far as legalising the principle of free education as a counterweight to the introduction of tuition fees in order to preserve the right of free higher education for local students. However, neither the Swedish nor the Norwegian proposals for tuition fees for non-EU students provide arguments to why the principle of free education is not, or is no longer, universal. So, it seems that the principle of free education is open for interpretation when it comes to defining who it includes and what the policy objective is, which can complicate policy discussions on the topic of tuition fees. The interview respondents considered the principle of free education to be complicated, as it is a very important principle in both countries. Swedish respondents considered the introduction of tuition fees for non-EU students to be more about distributing funds than about denying someone access to education. The Norwegian respondents shared the opinion that the principle of free education stands so strong in Norway that was the main reason for tuition fees for non-EU students not being introduced.

Not all of the interview respondents agreed that higher education should be free for all students. One of the respondents questioned how far beyond Norwegian borders Norwegian values should go. Perhaps strategic and limited internationalization and cooperation would benefit Norway more in the long haul. The respondent further argued that that if Norway invests in educating students from other countries, and then loses this intelligence when the students leave the country, Norway has a problem. Because if it is not aid policy, is it then anything other than relieving other countries of education costs? (NO 2) A Swedish respondent was of the opinion that perhaps Swedish tax money should not be for the whole world. The respondent saw the benefits of funding education for EU students, but believed that perhaps there should be a limit and pointed out that there is an aid budget to help other countries and called tuition free education for non-EU students a charity (SWE 1).

International students can be seen as a tool for sustaining peace, diplomacy, gaining new perspectives and building new relations. The Nordic countries have long traditions in generous aid policy, and this includes the higher education sector. As discussed previously, both Norway and Sweden have a budget aimed at students from developing countries. The difference is that in Sweden, this budget has been strengthened through increased scholarships for full degree students, in order to ease the effects of the introduction of tuition fees. In Norway, the Quota Scheme, which granted scholarships for students from developing countries, has been abolished, and is replaced with short term strategic partnership programmes. The Quota Scheme only covered living costs, as tuition in Norway is free (SIU, 2018). A question to ask is which of the two countries has provided the easiest access for students from developing countries. Is it easier for students from developing countries to get a scholarship in Sweden or to study in Norway without the possibility of support of the Quota Scheme? Will students who are rejected from scholarships in Sweden turn to Norway instead? These are issues that could be interesting to have as research objectives. One of the topics that was largely debated by the interview participants was the importance of the socioeconomic situation of individual countries and students. There were opinions that students from developing countries should not have to pay tuition fees. Nobody seemed to believe there was an easy answer to this, but several respondents pointed to the scholarships being a partial solution. One of the respondents was concerned that tuition fees would lead to only wealthy students being able to study in the Nordic countries, especially considering the high living costs. This would lead to high inequality in the non-EU student population (NO 3).

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An issue that has been raised several times is why Norway and Sweden should provide higher education for free for non-EU students, when Norwegian students, and previously Swedish students, have to pay tuition fees when they take degrees abroad or in some cases when they go on exchange. This can be referred to an the argument of fairness. In the Norwegian Quality Reform, there was mention of the question of whether students from countries where Norwegian had to pay, should be subject to tuition fees equivalent to what Norwegian students must pay when studying in these countries. However, this was not discussed further in the white paper (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2001). Still, this does not seem to have been a major argument when it comes to the proposals of tuition fees for non-EU students. However, the argument was mentioned by most of the respondents, and they seemed to consider this an understandable, but perhaps also a somewhat childish argument, which some of the respondents followed up with the argument that just because someone else has a policy, it does not mean that one has to have the same.

6.2.3 Policy linkage between tuition fee policy for non-EU students in Norway and Sweden, and other policy areas

The linkage between tuition fee policies and other policy areas was frequent throughout the collected data. However, the collected data does not provide as many links between tuition fees policy and other policy areas, as it does between internationalization of higher education and other policy areas. As tuition fees for non-EU students and mobility are part of internationalization of higher education, this data is still relevant for the study. In addition, there is the linkage between tuition fees for non-EU students and internationalization in higher education as a topic of its own.

As mentioned in 6.2.1, tuition fees for non-EU students were largely seen as part of the strategy for increased quality and internationalization strategies. Both Sweden and Norway argue that they want an increased number of non-EU students to their countries and that these students increase internationalization and quality at the HEIs. However, it can be argued that this objective stands in contrast to the introduction of tuition fees for non-EU students, as an expected consequence of the fees is a decrease in the number of non-EU students. As a way of justifying the introduction of tuition fees, Sweden explained the introduction of fees as part of a larger internationalization strategy, which components together would result in increased internationalization. In addition, the introduction of tuition fees for non-EU students would be more cost-effective, strategic and ensure the most motivated students. However, one can ask whether this is really the case considering what obstacles tuition fees present to students. As mentioned, Sweden is developing a new national internationalization strategy, based on the strategy from 2004, which links higher education policy to foreign policy, and explains that the limit between the two areas is being wiped away. In addition, higher education is mentioned as an important part of official diplomacy, cultural understanding, and important in order to solve challenges related to increased cooperation and competition (SOU 2018:3, 2018). Internationalization in higher education is also often seen as a peace-making tool and a tool for sustainable development (SOU 2018:3, 2018). In section 6.2.3 the aid and scholarships in higher education were discussed, including their link to the policies regarding introduction of tuition fees for non-EU students. As will be discussed in 6.3, the effects of tuition fees on students from developing countries have varied.

Immigration policy is closely connected to the issue of introduction of tuition fees for non-EU students. In Sweden, there the new internationalization strategy, in cooperation with the ministry of immigration, is assigned to propose a more optimal system for assessing visa and residence applications from non-EU student applicants, as the applications are often not assessed in time and it is generally hard to get a positive response (SOU 2018:3, 2018). Interview respondents mentioned that the immigration policies do not support the current tuition fee system, and are discouraging for the applicants. According to an interview respondent, there were reports of students arriving on student visa, and then disappearing. This could be individuals exploiting the system or being victims of trafficking. According to the participant, tuition fees would therefore secure applicants who actually come to study, as there is a cost and obligation attached to tuition fees (SWE 2). It seems that Sweden with their tuition fees, and Norway with their increased visa application costs, plus the large number of applicants who never show up for their studies, neither of the countries has an optimal system for processing visa and residence applications from students.

Internationalization of higher education is increasingly viewed as a separate policy field, which has different justifications in every country. Higher education policy is increasingly blending into other policy areas, such as health policy, immigration policy, labour market policy and trade policy, which all have political aims and expectations for internationalization in higher education. Related to Norwegian foreign policy, it was stated that all Norwegian sectors should have a foreign policy, not only the foreign ministry. In addition, international education and research cooperation has a role in supporting other foreign policy areas, aid and development policy areas and industrial policy areas (Kunnskapsdepartementet,2017). Related to the increased markets in higher education, the challenge for Norway has been to find a balance between the international pressure of changing towards a market oriented and competitive higher education structure, while on the other hand maintaining and strengthening the values of Norwegian higher education.

6.3 Consequences related to the introduction of tuition fees for non-EU students in Norway and Sweden

This section will discuss the main expected and perceived consequences of introducing tuition fees in Norway and Sweden that became obvious during the data collection and analysis. The effects that tuition fees for non-EU students have had in Sweden will be discussed, and the consequences of the fact that Norway does not have tuition fees for this student group will also be looked into. This section will also be looked into through the last four of the five phases in the analytical framework.

As Norway has not introduced tuition fees at this point, we can only discuss expected, possible and intended consequences. In this case, it is important to remember the differences between the Swedish and Norwegian proposals on introduction of tuition fees for non-EU students, for example, in terms of Norway not proposing application fees, and Swedish HEIs not having the freedom to cover part or full tuition fee costs. It is also important to keep in mind that Sweden may be in the process of changing certain parts of their tuition fee system, and that if Norway was to propose tuition fees again, the proposal could differ from the one in 2014. Even if Norway has not introduced tuition fees, there may be effects of that as well, for example, that in not introducing tuition fees, Norway has attracted more non-EU students as a result of the neighbouring countries introducing tuition fees, however, there is no data available on this. Norway has however abolished the Quota Scheme and increased the fees for visa applications. One can argue that these are just other ways of increasing the obstacles and shifting the costs towards non-EU students, then the introduction of tuition fees for non-EU students in Sweden were. One of the interview respondents pointed to the changes that have followed the abolition of the Quota Scheme. This especially considers where students come from and through which programme (NO 3). The accessibility to higher education has in some way been affected. During the summer of 2016, UKÄ was assigned to map the tuition fees introduced in Sweden in 2011, and the development of these fees. The size of the fees and how it was determined was one objective of the study. The recruitment process and separate admission would also be mapped, as well as changes in student mobility - especially in relation to Sweden's partnership countries (SOU 2017:2, 2017). This has been the most important document in Sweden regarding the consequences of the introduction of tuition fees, even though there have been several follow-up reports.

One of the most important conclusions was that tuition fee education is more expensive for Sweden than tuition free education was. With the introduction tuition fees, new administrative tasks were added for the HEIs, such as the management of tuition fees and scholarships. According to the report, this implies that the tuition fees may be higher than the state compensation per student. However, what the tuition fees should cover has not been made very clear, and the HEIs interpret the regulation of full cost coverage differently, which makes the investigation somewhat problematic. The average size of Swedish tuition fees was 125 000 SEK for a school year in 2015. The HEIs had different answers to the report regarding what was included in the tuition fees. It was usual to include administration fees, marketing and recruitment, and service fees. Some HEIs also included accommodation and/or language courses in the costs. This shows that the principle of full cost coverage has been understood differently between the HEIs, which is problematic when they should all follow the same principle (SOU 2017:2, 2017). An important issue for the respondents was the size of the fees, and the principle of covering full costs, which the HEIs interpreted differently. Arguably, this have led to students paying tuition fees in the same system, but paying different sums for the same services, or the same sums for different services. fact that HEIs are setting fees differently. However, the issue is being addressed in the new internationalization strategy (SOU 2018:3, 2018).

As anticipated before the proposal of tuition fees for non-EU students in Sweden, the number of non-EU students decreased dramatically after the introduction of tuition fees. In 2010/2011, the number of non-EU students in Sweden was 14 490, while in 2011/2012 the number was 5830. Considering the effects of the introduction of tuition fees, all the interview respondents referred to the high decrease of non-EU students following 2011, but they all also said that the number has almost grown back to the old numbers. An issue some respondents highlight is the relationship between the institution and the students. Are non-EU students customers of the HEIs? Do they have the right to demand more from the institution than EU students do? Several of the Swedish respondents referred to the court case mentioned in 6.2.2 relating to this issue. All in all, the report shows that the student mobility in Sweden changed after tuition fees were introduced. Partially, the number of students from non-EU countries decreased, and partially the origin countries from the arriving students changed. The ratio between non-EU students and exchange students also shifted. Before the reform, the range of countries that non-EU students came from was wider, while after the reform students were recruited from certain countries in larger scale. After the introduction of tuition fees, the number of women from non-EU countries studying in Sweden has decreased and made up around 40% of the student group in 2015/2016 (SOU 2017:2, 2017). Regarding the question on whether Sweden is still as attractive to non-EU students as it was before 2011, respondents said that tuition fees definitely may have had a negative effect, but it all depends on the student group. Some people believe that when something is free or cheap, the quality is not good. Students decide where to study based on different things, such as the cost of the education, the quality of the education, or country/ city specific reasons. One of the participants says that colleagues have said that the paying students are more ambitious and finish their degrees, and if this is true, then perhaps tuition fees have contributed to increased quality (NO 3). The HEIs were also consulted regarding whether the introduction of tuition fees had brought any changes to their study programmes and what was offered to the students. Most HEIs answered that they had not made any larger changes in this area. However, previous reports show that changes were made through a larger range of study options and more courses in English. Therefore, the conclusion is that the national study offers have changed and have become more available for non-EU students, even if the changes may vary between the HEIs. It is also hard to determine what changes were consequences of the tuition fee reform, and what changes were due to other reorganizations in the sector (SOU 2017:2, 2017). An interview respondent pointed to statistics from Universitetskanslersämbetet (UKÄ) from 2017, showing that 22,1% of the income to the

HEIs come from 1,4% of the students, namely the non-EU students (SWE 2). The Norwegian interview respondents used Sweden as an example, and said that it would be negative with the decrease in the number of students which Norway would likely experience. However, some pointed to the numbers in Sweden slowly increasing again in time, and that this was likely happen in Norway as well. A possible positive effect from Norway introducing tuition fees, that was mentioned by two of the Norwegian participants, was that the students could also be positive that student could demand more from the HEIs. This may be considered as the participants automatically considering the students customers if tuition fees were introduced. Regarding the attractiveness of Norwegian higher education, the respondents are split between Norway attracting the students that other countries may be missing out on, and Norway attracting the students who do not want to pay. They suggest that there is most likely a mix of many rationales for choosing Norway in the application group.

7 Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to present main factors behind the differing Swedish and Norwegian policies for non-EU students, in addition to some main consequences. This contribution is valuable for the area of cost-sharing and educational research because little research has been done on the specific topic of tuition fees for non-EU students, this includes comparisons of policy developments between two countries on the topic. The presentation of findings is therefore an insightful contribution to how policy can develop on this area, and provides an understanding for why to countries with such similar backgrounds can have so differing policies.

Through comprehensive literature review, use of models and frameworks and document analysis, complemented by in-depth interviews, solid aspects of tuition fee and cost-sharing policies have been provided. In terms of the comparative aspect, the findings show that certain factors can be identified to be partial reasons for the respective policy developments in Norway and Sweden.

The first research question revolved around providing insight to the excising differences and similarities on the topic of tuition fees for non-EU students. The study shows that Sweden has steadily moved towards introduction of tuition fees over a long period of time, with higher political consensus than Norway. Sweden seems to be in the process of optimizing its tuition fee system Now. Norway on the other hand, has had a steady position in holding on to free higher education, except from the U-turn in 2013-2014, which can partially be explained by the political landscape at the time. However, the final contribution of this question is that it seems like the two countries are bound in different directions, at least for a time, as Norway is not discussing tuition fees anymore. Although several similarities could be found, the weighing argument is that the two countries are pursuing cost-sharing policies based on different factors and perhaps also values.

The second research question has perhaps been the most challenging due to its large scope. Elements from two data collection methods were used, and the phases of the analytical framework, literature review and the Nordic model were all used as reference points for sorting and making sense of the data. The research findings suggest that the move towards introducing tuition fees in Sweden, and the proposal to influence tuition fees in Norway, have been heavily influences by the political landscape and international trends, especially as tuition fees in Norway have been a struggle between the left and right (although KrF and V are considered to be right-wing), while in Sweden, the introduction of tuition fees may seem as a result of stronger political consensus (or perhaps indifference to the topic). Tuition fees in the Nordic countries are problematic in regards to the principle of free education, which has traditionally been a cultural pillar for higher education policy. The definition of the principle of free education could perhaps use a new universal definition, or more clarity in which student groups the principle actually includes, as both sides claim to sticking to the principle at this point. The countries in question seem torn between following international developments in cost-sharing of higher education, and preserving their political and cultural traditions in higher education policy. Arguments used by both in the discussions were that tuition fees for non-EU students would be part of strategies leading to higher quality and internationalization in higher education. Another aim was to spend public funds more strategically, as funding higher education for non-EU students was not justifies, especially in light of the rapidly growing number of non-EU applicants. Sweden introduced tuition fees over a period of nearly ten years, however, reports show that the tuition fee system is more expensive than the tuition free system was. The proposal for introduction of tuition fees in Norway was withdrawn, and seemed hastier in its form than the Swedish proposal. In sum, these arguments contribute to explaining why Norway and Sweden have made the chocies they have.

The most important consequences to elaborate on related to research question 3, are the following three. The first consequence is also the most obvious, as it considers student population and numbers. Tuition fees for non-EU students in Sweden decreased non-EU students by 60%, and led to less (or nearly none) applicants from certain countries as well as a decrease of female applicants. These are generally seen as very negative effects, although, the number of non-EU students in Sweden is almost back to pre-2011 level. The second consequence is speculative, as it revolves around Norway. It is possible that Norway has been affected by tuition fees for non-EU students being introduced in Sweden. This can include applicants who only apply due to free tuition or applicants who are rejected from Swedish scholarships. However, Norway can also be getting some of the best students who perhaps could not afford tuition in Sweden. It is hard to know what the consequences for Norway have been, however, it may be easy to follow the tuition fee trend as it can be hard to stand as the only country who does not charge fees. It is very likely that Norway will experience the same consequences as Sweden if tuition fees are introduced. The third, and perhaps most important consequence is that, as the example of Sweden has shown, tuition fees do not necessarily generate income. Tuition fees for non-EU students have proven more expensive than having tuition fees, which was not exactly the initial idea of the proposal. The question is, whether this is reason for going back to the old system, or whether the current system just needs time and work to become more efficient. There are many more consequences of tuition fees for non-EU students, however only the most important contributions have been outlined here, due to the scope of the study. The three research questions combined, present a clear overview the development of, the factors behind the development and the consequences of tuition fees for non-EU students. Combined, the elements provide a solid explanation of the Swedish and the Norwegian policy developments regarding tuition fees for non-EU students.

Regarding the literature review, several of the arguments presented were relevant for this study. This includes the efficiency rationale and the equity rationale The necessity rationale has also been relevant, as it is mentioned as a reason for why tuition fees will become a topic in the future. In addition, the necessity rationale is related to the Swedish argument of the large number of applications from non-EU students. The sections on policy and aid have also been very relevant for this study, especially for the normative aspect. In addition, the financial pressure argument supports Nordic traditional values of access to and worry free higher education. The findings contribute to the literature review through adding more dimensions, such as political landscape, the complexity of the principle of free education, and the negative consequences that have been found through the analysis.

The analytical framework proved very useful and suitable for this study. It made data collection quite simple and structured, and was a good starting point in what to look for. It also helped make the presentation of findings structured and to facilitate the discussion and comparison. The methods used were also very useful for this study, even though there were some challenges. However, these were overcome and the data that was desired was collected.

Limitations to this study are many. Initially, chapter 1.1 made an attempt to limit the study, and throughout the thesis, limitations have been made. However, tuition-fees are a natural part of cost-sharing and higher education, meaning that so many aspects are relevant and important for the issue. Therefore, it is hard to not go into other topics, however this has been attempted as best possible in this study. Some of the relevant areas that this study has been limited from are for example the international influence, such as EU membership and the role of the media in policy making. Recommendations for further study on this topic can be to add more countries to the comparison, for example further Nordic countries such as Denmark and Finland. It could also be useful to go in-depth into student-loans, scholarships, student income, party politics or any other area surrounding and affecting the topic of tuition-fees. The relationship between HEIs and non-EU students could be further studied, and private institutions could be included. However, this study has provided a solid basis for comparison between the two countries relating to tuition fees, and has provided insight into the factors behind their differences, in the light of policy development, the Nordic model, and comparison.

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List of Tables and Figures

Appendices

A. Document Analysis – Sweden

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C. Invitation Letter in Norwegian

Invitasjon til intervju

Jeg, Mirela Cacan, gjennomfører et masterstudium med tittelen *"Cost-sharing of non–EU students in Higher Education - The Case of Sweden and Norway: A Comparative Analysis on the Rationale Behind Differing Policies and the Consequences Thereof"*. Hensikten med dette studiet er å utforske de politiske posisjonene og den politiske utviklingen Norge og Sverige har innen temaet skolepenger for internasjonale studenter, mer spesifikt studenter utenfor EU og Sveits. Gjennom prosjektet håper jeg å kunne bidra til en mer fullstendig forståelse av debatten om og endringene som har skjedd på dette feltet de siste årene i begge land. Jeg vil se på forskjeller, årsaker og konsekvenser av de politiske utviklingene vedrørende skolepenger for internasjonale studenter. Jeg tar nå kontakt med deg med ønske om å kunne få samle inn synspunkter på dette tema. Dine personlige erfaringer og holdninger vil være av avgjørende betydning for å oppnå hensikten med studiet.

Dersom du stiller som deltaker i prosjektet vil ditt bidrag bli samlet inn i form av individuelt intervju. Målet med denne tilnærmingen er å kunne få en innholdsrik beskrivelse av synspunkter og tolkninger for å komplementere dokumentanalysen som ligger til grunn. Intervjuene vil finne sted snarlig med varighet på ca en time. Tidspunkt er mer spesifisert i eposten dette dokumentet er vdlagt. All informasjon vil bli behandlet konfidensielt og du kan til enhver tid trekke deg som informant fra prosjektet. I så fall er det ønskelig at du gir beskjed så raskt som mulig. For øvrig er det bare å ta kontakt dersom det skulle være noen spørsmål.

Takk for at du vil bidra med dine erfaringer. Din deltakelse i studiet vil være med på å utvide det utdanningspolitiske kunnskapsfeltet.

Med vennlig hilsen,
Mirela Cacan

Masterstudent; Philosophy in Comparative and International Education
Universitetet i Oslo, Det Utdanningsvitenskapelige Fakultet
Mobil +47 41045384
Mail mirelacacan@gmail.com

UiO : Universitetet i Oslo

D. Letter of Consent in English

Request for participation in the master's project:

"Cost-sharing of non–EU students in Higher Education - The Case of Sweden and Norway: A Comparative Analysis on the Rationale Behind Differing Policies and the Consequences Thereof"

My name is Mirela Cacan and I am a master's student under the programme Comparative and International Education at the Universitetet i Oslo. I am conducting a study with the aim of shedding light on the political process and debate related to tuition fees for non-EU students in Norway and Sweden seen through political development processes. The study will be conducted by the signatory with support from supervisor Peter Maassen at Universitetet i Oslo.

The purpose of the study is to explore and compare political attitudes, positions and aims on the topic on tuition fees for non-EU students in Norway and Sweden, as well as developments in these areas and consequences of these developments. In recent years, Sweden has introduced tuition fees for non-EU students, while Norway has proposed to do the same but not gone through with the proposal. Why the two countries for now have different policies on the area will be a central topic in the study. Today, there is little information from studies on policy rationales behind tuition fee policy for international students. The purpose of this study is to contribute with such information through a thorough comparison of such policies in Norway and Sweden. The most central data in the study will be document analysis of policy documents and interviews to explore the topic further.

You are invited to contribute in the study based on your public opinions on, interest for, and/ or your background in policy related to the topic of tuition fees for international students. Your personal experiences and opinions will be of large value for this study as well as for the field of educational research.

Your contribution will be in the form of an interview. The interview should last around one hour and there will be a recording for analytical purposes.

The participation is voluntary and you can withdraw at any time with no explanation. Your identity will at all times be shielded. Only my supervisor and I will have access to data that can identify you. All information will be handled with strict confidentiality.

The information we collect will be presented in a thesis consisting of 80-100 pages. The project is expected to be completed in August 2018. After the study is completed, all confidential personality data will be destroyed.

The study has been approved by the University of Oslo and is reported to Norwegian Center for Research data - NSD, Personvernombudet for forskning.

If you have any questions, feel free to ask them at any point.

Best regards

Mirela Cacan

Det utdanningsvitenskapelige fakultet, Universitetet i Oslo
Phone: + 47 410 45 384, Email: mirelacacan@gmail.com

Consent Form

I am familiar with the purpose of the study and what my participation in the project entails.

I understand that my identity will be shielded at all times and that the information collected will be presented in a master's project consisting of 80-100 pages.

I am informed that my consent to participate is voluntary and that I can withdraw my consent at any time.

I have received, read and understood the information above. I hereby consent to participate as an informant to this study.

______________________________ ______________________________

Navn i blokkbokstaver Signatur

____

Dato

E. Letter of Consent in Norwegian

Forespørsel om deltakelse i masterstudiet:

"Cost-sharing of non–EU students in Higher Education - The Case of Sweden and Norway: A Comparative Analysis on the Rationale Behind Differing Policies and the Consequences Thereof"

Jeg heter Mirela Cacan og er masterstudent under studieprogrammet Comparative and International Education ved Universitetet i Oslo. Jeg utfører et studie der målet er å belyse den politiske posisjonen og debatten vedrørende studieavgifter for studenter utenfor EU i Norge og Sverige sett gjennom politiske utviklingsprosesser. Studiet vil bli utført av undertegnede med støtte fra veileder Peter Maassen ved Universitetet i Oslo.

Hensikten med studiet er å utforske og sammenligne politiske holdninger, posisjoner og mål innen temaet studieavgifter for ikke-EU studenter i Norge og Sverige, utviklinger i disse områdene og konsekvenser av disse utviklingene. I løpet av de siste årene har Sverige innført studieavgifter for ikke-EU studenter, mens Norge har foreslått dette men gått bort ifra det. Hvorfor landene foreløpig har valgt forskjellig politikk på dette vil være sentralt i studiet. Per dags dato finnes det lite informasjon fra studier om årsaker bak politikken på og hva som styrer debatten om studieavgifter for internasjonale studenter. Formålet med dette studiet er å kunne bidra med slik informasjon gjennom en sammenligning av forholdene i Norge og Sverige. De mest sentrale momentene i studiet vil være analyse av politiske dokumenter og intervjuer som belyser temaet dypere.

Du inviteres til å delta i studiet grunnet dine ytringer om, din interesse for og/ eller din bakgrunn i politikk innen temaet studieavgifter for internasjonale studenter. Deres personlige erfaringer, oppfatninger og meninger vil være av stor betydning for dette studiet så vel som for berikelsen av det utdanningsvitenskapelige forskningsfeltet.

Din deltakelse vil være i form av et intervju med meg. Intervjuet vil vare ca en til time, og det vil bli foretatt lydopptak.

Det er frivillig å delta i studiet og du har til enhver tid mulighet til å trekke deg som informant uten å måtte begrunne dette nærmere. Din identitet vil i enhver sammenheng være vernet. Kun jeg og min veileder vil ha tilgang til personidentifiserbare data. Vi er underlagt taushetsplikt slik at all informasjon vil bli behandlet strengt konfidensielt.

Informasjonen du oppgir vil bli presentert i en oppgave på ca 80-100 sider. Studiet forventes å være ferdig august 2018. Når studiet er avsluttet vil all informasjon bli anonymisert og/ eller makulert.

Studiet har blitt godkjent av Universitetet i Oslo og er meldt til Personvernombudet for forskning, NSD - Norsk senter for forskningsdata.

Dersom du har noen spørsmål kan du stille dem nå eller i etterkant.

Med vennlig hilsen

Mirela Cacan

Det utdanningsvitenskapelige fakultet, Universitetet i Oslo
Mobil: + 47 410 45 384, Mail: mirelacacan@gmail.com

Samtykkeerklæring

Jeg er kjent med studiets formål og hva min deltakelse i prosjektet vil innebære.

Jeg er inneforstått med at min identitet vil være vernet om til enhver tid og at informasjonen jeg oppgir vil bli presentert i en masteroppgave på ca 80-100 sider.

Jeg er informert om at mitt samtykke for deltakelse er frivillig og at jeg til enhver tid har rett til å trekke mitt samtykke.

Jeg har mottatt, lest og er innforstått med den foregående informasjonen. Jeg samtykker herved til å delta som informant for dette studiet.

Navn i blokkbokstaver Signatur

Dato

F. Interview questions for Swedish participants (English)

PART 1 – FACTORS

Research question 2:
What are the main factors causing the differences in Norwegian and Swedish policy on cost-sharing for non-EU students in higher education?

1. Funding of higher education is an important policy issue in most countries. In general, what is your view on the funding of higher education, especially when it comes to the question whether it should be funded 100% from public sources, or should also contain private contributions, incl. tuition fees?

2. What is your opinion on the main arguments in favour and against the introduction of tuition fees in higher education? What is your view on introducing a specific tuition fees policy and rules for specific groups of students, e.g. non-EU students? *(Argument to consider: Who gains from the returns, free principle of education and equal access)*

3. In your view, why did tuition fees become a topic on the political agenda in Sweden? And why did it become a topic at the time it did?

4. What is your view on the public debate on the topic of tuition fees in higher education in Sweden?

5. What do you see as the deciding factor or factors for tuition fees being introduced in Sweden?

6. In your opinion, how did the political landscape in Sweden at the time affect the discussion about and introduction of tuition fees?

7. In your opinion, have developments in other countries affected the introduction of tuition fees in Swedish higher education?
   a) Should the wealth of individual states or students (and their families) be considered in tuition fee discussions?
   b) Do you see fairness as a relevant issue when it comes to the introduction of tuition fees? (for example that Swedish students have to pay fees when studying in a country of which students can study for free in Sweden) (Or: that all tax payers have to contribute to the costs of free higher education while not all tax payers profit directly from it from a private perspective through studying themselves or with family members studying)

8. How do you see Swedish traditions and values in relation to the introduction of tuition fees?
   a) The principle of free education (domino effect - legislative decisions)
   b) Equal access to education
   c) Aid policy

9. How do you interpret the implementation of tuition fees in higher education from the perspective of the Swedish internationalization strategy? (Should anything have been done differently?)

10. What are your opinions on other fees, such as the application fees?

PART 2 – CONSEQUENCES

Research question 3:
What are the consequences of the two different policy approaches in Norway and Sweden with respect to cost-sharing of higher education for non-EU students?

11. What is in general your opinion on the effects until now of the introduction of tuition fees on Swedish higher education?

12. And more specifically what is your opinion on the effects of the introduction of tuition fees on:

    a. The quality of Swedish higher education?
    b. The profile of the study programmes offered in Swedish higher education?
    c. The attractiveness and reputation of Swedish higher education?
    d. The accessibility of Swedish higher education?
    e. The composition of the Swedish student population?

13. In your opinion, have other European countries that have not introduced tuition fees in higher education, such as Germany and Norway, profited from the introduction of tuition fees in Swedish higher education?

G. Interview questions for Norwegian participants (English)

PART 1 – FACTORS

Research question 2:
What are the main factors causing the differences in Norwegian and Swedish policy on cost-sharing for non-EU students in higher education?

1. Funding of higher education is an important policy issue in most countries. In general, what is your view on the funding of higher education, especially when it comes to the question whether it should be funded 100% from public sources, or should also contain private contributions, incl. tuition fees?

2. What is your opinion on the main arguments in favour and against the introduction of tuition fees in higher education? What is your view on introducing a specific tuition fees policy and rules for specific groups of students, e.g. non-EU students? (Argument to consider: Who gains from the returns, free principle of education and equal access)

3. How would you explain the specific position of Norwegian politics with respect to tuition fees in higher education?

4. In your opinion, why did tuition fees become a topic on the political agenda in Norway recently? And what were the reasons for it becoming a topic at the time it did?

5. What is your view on the public debate on the topic of tuition fees in higher education in Norway?

6. What do you see as the deciding factors for tuition fees not being introduced in public higher education in Norway?

7. In your opinion, how did the political landscape in Norway at the time affect the discussion about the topic of tuition fees and the decision against introducing them?

8. In your opinion, have developments in other countries been of relevance in the political debates on tuition fees in Norwegian higher education?
    a. Should the wealth of individual states or students (and their families) be considered in tuition fee discussions?
    b. Do you see fairness as a relevant issue when it comes to the introduction of tuition fees? (for example that Norwegian students have to pay fees when studying in a country of which students can study for free in Norway) (Or: that all tax payers have to contribute to the costs of free higher education while not all tax payers profit directly from it from a private perspective through studying themselves or with family members studying)

9. How do you see Norwegian traditions and values in relation to the topic of introduction of tuition fees?
    a. The principle of free education
    b. The domino effect, legislative decisions (Sweden)
    c. Equal access to education

d. Aid policy

10. How do you see the issue of tuition fees from the perspective of the Norwegian internationalization strategy in higher education?

11. What are your opinions on other fees, such as the application fees?

PART 2 – CONSEQUENCES

Research question 3:
What are the consequences of the two different policy approaches in Norway and Sweden with respect to cost-sharing of higher education for non-EU students?

13. What is your opinion in general on the effects of not having tuition fees on Norwegian higher education?

14. And more specifically what is your opinion on the effects of not having tuition fees on:
   a. The quality of Norwegian higher education?
   b. The costs of Norwegian higher education?
   c. The profile of the study programmes offered in Norwegian higher education?
   d. The attractiveness and reputation of Norwegian higher education?
   e. The accessibility of Norwegian higher education?
   f. The composition of the Norwegian student population?

15.In your opinion, has Norwegian higher education profited from the fact that the other Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Sweden) have introduced tuition fees for non-EU students? (Do you believe Norway is more attractive to study in for international students as it has not introduced tuition fees?)

H. Interview questions for Swedish participants (Norwegian)

PART 1 – FACTORS

Research question 2:
What are the main factors causing the differences in Norwegian and Swedish policy on cost-sharing for non-EU students in higher education?

1. Finansiering av høyere utdanning er et viktig politisk område in de fleste land. Hva er ditt generelle syn på finansiering av høyere utdanning, spesielt når det kommer til spørsmålet om det burde være 100% finansiert av offentlige midler, eller om det også burde inneholde private bidrag, inkludert studieavgifter?

2. Hva er etter din mening hovedargumentene for og imot introduksjon av studieavgifter i høyere utdanning? Hva er ditt syn på å introdusere politikk og regler på studieavgifter for spesielle grupper, slik som for eksempel ikke-EU studenter? *(Argument to consider: Hvem tjener på høyere utdanning, gratisprinsipp, lik tilgang)*

3. Hvorfor tror du at studieavgifter ble et tema på den politiske agendaen i Sverige? Og hvorfor ble de et tema akkurat på den tiden de ble det?

4. Hva er din mening om den offentlige politiske debatten på studieavgifter i høyere utdanning i Sverige?

5. Hva ser du som avgjørende faktor(er) for at skolepenger ble introdusert i Sverige?

6. Etter din mening, hvordan formet det politiske landskapet i Sverige på den tiden diskusjonen om og introduksjonen av studieavgifter?

7. Etter din mening, har utviklinger i andre land påvirket introduksjonen av studieavgifter i Svensk høyere utdanning?
   a. Bør den økonomiske situasjonen for enkelte land eller studenter (og deres familier) bli tatt hensyn til i studieavgiftdebatten?
   b. Ser du rettferdighet som relevant tema når det kommer til introduksjonen av studieavgifter? (for eksempel, at svenske studenter må betale avgifter når de studerer i andre land, hvis studenter kan studere gratis i Sverige? Eller: at alle skattebetalere må bidra til å betale gratis høyere utdanning når ikke alle skattebetalere tjener direkte på det fra et privat perspektiv gjennom å studere selv eller med familiemedlemmer som studerer?)

8. Hvordan ser du svenske tradisjoner og verdier i relasjon til introduksjonen av studieavgifter?
   a. Gratisprinsippet (dominoeffekt – lovfestet)
   b. Lik rett til utdanning
   c. Bistandspolitikk

9. Hvordan tolker du implementeringen av studieavgifter i høyere utdanning fra perspektivet av den svenske internasjonaliseringsstrategien? (Burde noe ha blitt gjort annerledes?)

10. Hva er ditt syn på andre avgifter? For eksempel søknadsgebyrer?

PART 2 – CONSEQUENCES

Research question 3:
What are the consequences of the two different policy approaches in Norway and Sweden with respect to cost-sharing of higher education for non-EU students?

11. Hva er ditt generelle syn på effektene av studieavgifter i svensk høyere utdanning per i dag?

12. Og mer spesifikt, hva er din mening om effektene av introduksjonen av studieavgifter på:
    a. Kvaliteten av svensk høyere utdanning?
    b. Profilen til studieprogrammene tilbudt i svensk høyere utdanning?
    c. Attraktiviteten og ryktet til svensk høyere utdanning?
    d. Tilgangen til svensk høyere utdanning?
    e. Komposisjonen av den svenske studentpopulasjonen?

13. Etter din mening, har andre Europeiske land som ikke har introdusert studieavgifter, slik som Tyskland og Norge, tjent på introduksjonen av høyere utdanning i Sverige?

I. Interview questions for Norwegian participants (Norwegian)

PART 1 – FACTORS

Research question 2:
What are the main factors causing the differences in Norwegian and Swedish policy on cost-sharing for non-EU students in higher education?

1. Finansiering av høyere utdanning er et viktig politisk område in de fleste land. Hva er ditt generelle syn på finansiering av høyere utdanning, spesielt når det kommer til spørsmålet om det burde være 100% finansiert av offentlige midler, eller om det også burde inneholde private bidrag, inkludert studieavgifter?

2. Hva er etter din mening hovedargumentene for og imot introduksjon av studieavgifter i høyere utdanning? Hva er ditt syn på å introdusere politikk og regler på studieavgifter for spesielle grupper, slik som for eksempel ikke-EU studenter? *(Argument to consider: Hvem tjener på høyere utdanning, gratisprinsipp, lik tilgang)*

3. Hvordan vil du forklare den spesifikke posisjonen norsk politikk har på området studieavgifter i høyere utdanning?

4. Hvorfor tror du at studieavgifter ble et tema på den politiske agendaen i Norge? Og hvorfor ble det et tema akkurat på den tiden det ble det?

5. Hva er din mening om den offentlige politiske debatten på studieavgifter i høyere utdanning i Norge?

6. Hva ser du som avgjørende faktor(er) for at skolepenger ikke har blitt introdusert i Norge?

7. Etter din mening, hvordan har det politiske landskapet i Norge formet diskusjonen om og avgjørelsen om å ikke introdusere studieavgifter?

8. Etter din mening, har utviklinger i andre land påvirket debatten om studieavgifter i norsk høyere utdanning?
   a. Bør den økonomiske situasjonen for enkelte land eller studenter (og deres familier) bli tatt hensyn til i studieavgiftdebatten?
   b. Ser du rettferdighet som relevant tema når det kommer til introduksjonen av studieavgifter? (for eksempel, at norske studenter må betale avgifter når de studerer i andre land, hvis studenter kan studere gratis i Norge? Eller: at alle skattebetalere må bidra til å betale gratis høyere utdanning når ikke alle skattebetalere tjener direkte på det fra et privat perspektiv gjennom å studere selv eller med familiemedlemmer som studerer?)

9. Hvordan ser du Norske tradisjoner og verdier i relasjon til introduksjonen av studieavgifter?
   a. Gratisprinsippet (dominoeffekt – lovfestet i Sverige)
   b. Lik rett til utdanning
   c. Bistandspolitikk

10. Hvordan tolker du temaet om studieavgifter i høyere utdanning fra perspektivet av norsk internasjonaliseringsstrategi?

11. Hva er ditt syn på andre avgifter? For eksempel søknadsgebyrer?

PART 2 – CONSEQUENCES

Research question 3:
What are the consequences of the two different policy approaches in Norway and Sweden with respect to cost-sharing of higher education for non-EU students?

12. Hva er ditt generelle syn på effektene av å ikke ha studieavgifter i norsk høyere utdanning?

13. Og mer spesifikt, hva mener du er effektene av å ikke ha studieavgifter på:
   a. Kvaliteten av norsk høyere utdanning?
   b. Kostnaden av norsk høyere utdanning?
   c. Profilen til studieprogrammene tilbudt i norsk høyere utdanning?
   d. Attraktiviteten og ryktet til norsk høyere utdanning?
   e. Tilgangen til norsk høyere utdanning?
   f. Komposisjonen av den norske studentpopulasjonen?

14. Etter din mening, har andre norske høyere utdanning tjent på faktumet at andre nordiske land (Danmark, Finland, Sverige) har introdusert studieavgifter for ikke-EU studenter? (Tror du Norge er mer attraktivt å studere i for internasjonale studenter ettersom Norge ikke har introdusert studieavgifter?).