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TRANSNATIONAL INVESTMENTS IN INFORMATIONAL CAPITAL

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF DENMARK, FRANCE AND SWEDEN

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT OF CHILDREN, INTEGRATION AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyses the acquisition of informational capital, e.g. academic capital, measured as student mobility, and understood as transnational investments in prestigious foreign educational institutions. In the 1990s, educational "zones of prestige" have especially been the United States, the United Kingdom and, to some extent, Germany and France. Official statistics from Sweden, Denmark and France regarding the outflow of students show increasing student mobility. In particular, the study reveals that students from the upper and upper middle social classes (measured by parental occupation) are more likely than students from other social classes to pursue transnational investments, even though students from the middle and working classes have now entered the competition. This result is also recently found in an analysis of Danish academic emigrants. All in all, the studies confirm the hypothesis that students from upper classes are more likely than others to invest in specific informational capital in the field of education, in national environments but also in international settings.

INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The purpose of this paper is to analyse recent acquisitions of informational capital by Danish, Swedish and French students. Informational capital is defined as academic capital which includes dimensions of skills and recognised symbolic capital (cf. Munk 2003). The concept of informational capital originate from Bourdieu (1987, 1998), who extrapolated it from the concept of cultural capital: "I have analysed the peculiarity of cultural capital, which we in fact call informational capital to give the notion its full generality, and which itself exists in three forms, embodied, objectified, or institutionalized" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 119). The concept is often translated as knowledge capital, which is similar to the third dimension of informational capital: institutionalised capital, which is typically understood as academic qualifications. Informational capital has a certain resemblance with the concept of educational credentials lanced by Randall Collins (1979) because both concepts stress the importance of having recognized and approved education.

Here, informational capital is perceived as academic capital. I argue that informational capital is acquired in both national and transnational markets or fields as Bourdieu terms them to underline the possible accumulation of informational capital or even other types of recognised capital (see Martin (2003) for an extended discussion and analysis of fields). Acquisitions of informational capital are considered as investments. To investigate the acquisition of informational capital abroad, I analyse transnational investments in terms of student mobility[1], which I claim varies according to the country of origin and social origin. Informational capital acquired abroad (i.e., outside the student's home country) may in some countries be considered more prestigious than the same capital acquired in the national markets. The specific importance of educational credentials earned in different countries in various educational institutions is likely to be unequally distributed, meaning that the social context has a clear influence on the potential value of the informational capital.

In the early 1970s, economists addressed the issue of international capital markets and the emergence of such markets[2]: "During the past few years a number of people have contributed to the formulation of a strong theoretical framework to the study of capital

market (…..)" (Solnik 1973: xi; see also Reich 1991). Later, this idea of international markets was linked to the concept of mobility of labour. Sassen (1988: 1) argued that not only economic means and technology are operating in such markets but also that mobility of labour contributes to the formation of a transnational space for accumulation and circulation of capital (see also Traxler 2000; Traxler et al. 2001; Castells 1996-1999). Such a chain of mobility points to the need for investigating student mobility, which can be considered as a kind of accumulation of informational capital. Student mobility is related both to the domestic market, as some students return to their home country, and to the international market, as some students stay abroad for a professional career (a form of emigration; see also Tremblay 2002).

Transnational investments in informational capital are likely to be a crucial tool in the national labour market, as well as to function as a springboard in the international labour market, because employers recognise and reward credentials acquired abroad.[3] This paper combines two research paradigms, one that studies transnational markets and one that investigates the relationship between family background and the attainment of informational capital. Attainment of informational capital is mediated by a number of variables, such as social origin, gender, parents' education, and age (e.g. Cameron and Heckman 1998; McIntosh and Munk 2007). Furthermore, studies of stratification have shown a strong correlation between family background and specific compositions of education, year of birth, and occupational position (Munk 2001, 2003). These associations are presumably mediated by social networks that students' acquired in university (e.g., see Lin 2001 for a theoretical argument on social networks), thus implying that even a short sojourn abroad can have social importance. That informational capital apparently increasingly becomes a precondition for obtaining a prestigious social position in the labour market[4] and stresses the importance of investigating the acquisition of informational capital by students studying abroad. Students not only recognize the demands for new skills but they also realize that informational capital must extend to the transnational market (cf. Brown 2000; Zeng and Xie 2004: 1081). Collins (1979) has theorized that certain forms of capital, as informational capital in the broadest sense, have a credential and a symbolic dimension

at the same time, meaning that specific kinds of degrees are crucial.
Informational capital incorporates a symbolic social value that can change over time, a value bound to specific institutions; this value is related to the 'signaling' theory, stating that certain objects signal social messages of class, prestige, or other ranking (Arrow 1973; Ishida, Spilerman, and Su 1997; Brown 2001). Similarly, Bourdieu (1996: 263) shows a particular "structural homology"- a causal interdependence - between educational credentials and the "power field", an enclosed area where a number of agents and institutions struggle for obtaining social positions on the basis of legitimate symbolic capital. This causal interdependence, which varies over time among social groups, is now partially established via transnational markets and is influenced by changes in the demands for new specific qualifications and credentials (Bourdieu and Boltanski 1978).

The potential for improving social and professional opportunities by way of one's social position in the power field is the most probable motivation for the increase in the acquisition of informational capital abroad. The struggle over informational capital is one of the main reasons that students go abroad to study in specific countries, since "[agents] compete to maximise their control over valued resources." (Lamont 1992: 183). Therefore, it becomes crucial for students to choose institutions with the greatest possible informational capital.

But where can the most symbolic legitimate informational capital be earned? Here the concept of "zones of prestige" becomes relevant because it focus on special zones (Collins 2001: 421ff.) related to the concept of "zones of civilizational attraction". These latter zones refer to social contacts among a flow of sojourners, students "living outwards from civilizational centers tak[ing] their identities from these centers, and people occasionally travel[ling] to the[se] centres [for] ... symbolic purposes" (Collins 2001: 421). In other words, students move to these centers (in specific countries) because they are prestigious; recognised as offering favourable transnational investments in informational capital. This effect is a kind of halo effect.

Data

For Denmark, Sweden, and France, I use data from EUROSTAT and OECD statistics. The OECD statistics cover education for at least one year and the EUROSTAT statistics treat education for at least one semester of an academic year. For Denmark alone, I also use national statistics on full education accomplished abroad, Nordic Council data, ERASMUS[5] data, and Danish register data on the social background of Danish students (and with reference to a study of Danish academic migrants, cf. Jespersen et al. 2007). Furthermore, I apply questionnaires from the "Youth Generation Study" (from the Danish National Institute of Social Research), which comprises a dataset from 1968-2001 following a cohort of pupils born mainly in 1954. Additionally, I use a large sample survey of socio-economic background of Erasmus Students (EU 2000), including information on the parent's occupation and education.[6] I also refer to statistics, based on Registers, on the outflow of candidates and graduates from Denmark in 1995 and their return in 2003. Comparative tables[7] from the European Commission and OECD show the transnational trends through official statistics on students studying abroad and institutions involved in exchanges of students (from c. 1990-2000).[8] The variables used appear from the text, tables and notes. Basically, I use a simple comparative method in order to compare data from different countries.

Analysis of the acquisition of informational capital

The acquisition of informational capital is measured here in terms of student mobility and is understood as transnational investments in other countries. In the 1990s these prestigious "zones" have been particularly the United States, the United Kingdom and, to some extent, Germany and France. The U.S. and the UK have the highest ranking in terms of transnational investments, as students are especially going to Anglophone countries (altogether 53 per cent, see Figure 1).[9]

------ Figure 1 around here ------

Since 1993 the "internationalisation" of education has become a feature of higher education, not only in Denmark and Sweden but also to some degree in a country like France. In other words, there has been an expansion of student mobility from all these countries compared to the 1970s and the 1980s, when the number of Swedish and

Danish students studying abroad was negligible. Figure 2 indicates that relatively more students from Denmark and Sweden study abroad than students from France. The percentage of Danish students participating in a full education abroad increased through the 1990s even more than the percentage of students in higher education. Data (not shown here) reveals that 1.931 more Danish students were studying abroad, a 77 per cent increase from 1993-1999, at a time when the overall increase in students in higher education was only 25 per cent.[10] This increase in students studying abroad represents on average a 10 per cent yearly increase.

Overall, Swedish and Danish students are significantly oriented towards studying abroad. This orientation is surprising because the higher education system in Denmark and Sweden has become very much like the Anglo-Saxon educational system, with bachelor, master and Ph.D. degrees (Munk 2003). However, these relatively new education systems seem to have become no more attractive than the old systems, and many students apparently perceive education in other countries as more prestigious. A symbolic difference, therefore, still exists between Danish or Swedish education and one acquired in Germany or the United States.

------ Figure 2 around here ------

Until recently, French students were mainly inclined to use France's very the highly hierarchical educational system as a means of competing for both social and occupational positions (Bourdieu 1996; Hartman 2000). This system is called the *Les Grandes Écoles*, and especially in the first part of the 20th century were students recruited from upper- and middle classes. Some decline in the dependence of social origin has, however, occurred (cf. Alboury and Wanecq 2003). Figure 2[11] shows that relatively few French students study abroad. However, the proportion of French students going abroad to study is nonetheless slightly increasing, partly contradicting Wagner (1997, 1995). Wagner argues that producing skills in modern foreign languages or familiarity with foreign cultures is not the main issue in the typical educational trajectory for the elite among French students. This trajectory - an *élite lycée, les classes preparatories*, a *Grande École* like *École Nationale d'Administration* - is common to those students who are preparing to enter dominant positions in the national power field.

In France, ambitious students have normally gone to study in Paris, the national centre of prestigious educational institutions. Figure 2, which partly supports this observation, shows that although relatively few French students are going abroad, the number is still increasing.

In addition, one should be aware of the fact that a number of French students attending *Les Grandes Ecoles* go abroad to study through other programmes than the Erasmus program. Actually, Lazuech (1999: 155) shows that more than 30 per cent of the students from 40 per cent of the *Les Grandes Ecoles* have a longer academic stay at universities or elite schools abroad. Furthermore, it is observed that more than 30 per cent of the students from 48 per cent of the *Les Grandes Ecoles* happen to have a short course abroad. Probably, it does not mean that elite student mobility will replace the actual study at the *Les Grandes Ecoles*, which is still the most important and prestigious institution to gain an education from, but elite student mobility operates as an additional provider of Informational Capital.

Zones of prestige and internationalisation

Figure 3 shows that Danish students prefer to study mostly in Europe[12], whereas Swedish students are more attracted to the United States and the United Kingdom. The relatively large number of Swedish, Danish, and French students studying abroad indicates that informational capital acquired abroad has become more attractive and valuable. For Sweden and Denmark, this change is more associated with a view of domestic universities as less prestigious. In France enjoying intellectual prestige (especially in philosophy, literary and semiotic theory), the increase in university students going abroad may be attributable to a number of other factors. One factor is the high amount of unemployment among degree holders in France.[13] Another factor is the fact that some university students who feel uncomfortable with the centralized and hierarchical French educational system may be trying to circumvent its rigidity by studying elsewhere. In addition, the rapidly increasingly global competition for informational capital may be enticing French students to obtain credentials from elite educational institutions in the United States

------ Figure 3 around here ------

For all three countries, the increasing number of students studying abroad may have to do with aiming at a career with new opportunities abroad, as well as the desire to become more professionally advantaged in the national markets. This last argument is supported by Norwegian data showing that students find studying abroad academically advantageous and think that future employers will consider their studies abroad as an asset (cf. Wiers-Jenssen 2003: 402). Furthermore, other studies show that employers in Sweden and Norway consider studying abroad as an advantage as long as the students complete part of their education in their home country (Zadeh 1999; Wiers-Jenssen and Try 2003). In this respect, informational capital includes both symbolic value and tangible employment value.

The increasing number of Danish and Swedish students studying abroad also results from the internationalisation that received a higher priority at many universities during the early 1990s, when state stipends for studies abroad became available. This financial aid covered students from all classes, not only those with clear financial need. Student mobility appeared to increase along with the availability of these stipends. This internationalisation process is clearly reflected in the development of European student exchange programs (cf. Higher Education Admissions and Student Mobility within the EU reports 1999-2001; West 2001). Figure 4 shows the percentage of Danish, Swedish, and French students studying abroad under the Erasmus program from 1992-1999.

------ Figure 4 around here ------

The results observed for Denmark, Sweden, and France are almost the opposite of those found for the United States, because the United States is considered one of the strongest areas of the zones of prestige. Investigating the situation in the United States shows that fewer than 0.1 per cent of the American students are studying in countries like the United Kingdom, Canada, France, and Germany. One of the reasons for this marked difference, as pointed out by West (2001), is that the U.S. educational system is very hierarchical, with a ranking system that implies strong competition among its universities. American students do not need to go abroad for informational capital, because they have so many attractive, illustrious, and highly renowned institutions to

choose from within their own country, e.g., Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, Princeton, Stanford, U.C. Berkeley, Yale (Lamont 1992; Sassen 2001).

The recruitment of students varies considerably among the different countries. Broady et al. (2002) found that while the United States has worldwide recruitment, other nations have more narrow recruitment. However, 65 per cent of the foreign students in the United States come from Asia, showing that some of the U.S. dominance has to do with a specific zones-of-prestige effect; that is, much of the educational possibilities are constructed in specific places around the world. In France, more than 50 per cent of foreign students come from African countries, especially North Africa, because these countries are former French colonies (see also figure 1).

Who is studying abroad?

When it comes to studying abroad, a difference exists between educational institutions in the home countries. The systems of higher education in Sweden and Denmark come with socially recognised academic rankings. In Sweden, for example, although the old Stockholm School of Economics and the new Växjö University rank number 1 and 2 according to the proportion of students studying abroad, they have very different transnational investments. Broady et al. (2002) and Börjesson (2005) point out that undergraduates at the Stockholm School of Economics tend to invest more in the transnational market and apply for prestigious jobs in the transnational "power field".

Växjö University, however, has extensive exchange programs for recruiting Swedish students, but the majority remains in Sweden after graduation. The argument in Broady et al. (2002) is that the transnational investments by students from the Stockholm School of Economics, which is "dominant" within the national sub-field, have a dual function: first, as assets in the transnational market and, second (and simultaneously), as assets in the national market. In Denmark, students from business schools are likely to go abroad for the same reasons as their counterparts at the Stockholm School of Economics, of whom 41.2 per cent have scholarships - the highest rate in Denmark (cf. table 1).[14]

------ Table 1 around here ------

In Sweden and Denmark, many colleges and universities emphasize their connections as pipelines for sending their students to elite institutions elsewhere, particularly in the "zones of prestige." These connections with more prestigious academic institutions in other countries act as a means of raising their own institutional prestige, not only for the value of the connections themselves but also for the institutions' abilities to recruit top students in the national market. In the zones of prestige, the United Kingdom, Germany, and France continue to maintain their high educational reputation, because they have long had highly valued and famous universities. In addition, Swedish, Danish, and French students may perceive a tangible positive difference in the value of American educational credentials, stemming from their belief that degrees from U.S. universities can lead to better career opportunities.

As for class differentiations among students going abroad, the upper classes (measured by parental occupation - using managerial, scientific, associate professionals and technical positions as indicators - and parents' level of education) in Denmark and Sweden are still more likely to invest in informational capital acquired abroad.

Although their share of the transnational educational investment has decreased in favour of the middle and working classes (European Commission (2000) report on socio-economic background, 2000), the proportion of students from the upper classes studying abroad remains somewhat higher, despite the state-sponsored financial incentives for students from all classes to study abroad.

------ Table 2 around here ------

------ Table 3 around here ------

A comparison of Table 2 and Table 3 shows that Danish students with upper- and middle-class backgrounds are more likely than students with working-class backgrounds to invest in informational capital in other countries. This difference results from the fraction of mobile upper- and middle-class students and mobile working class students being equal to 62/31 = 2.00, a somewhat higher number than the fraction of domestic upper- and middle-class students and domestic working-class students. For this domestic group, the fraction is equal to (29.5 + 20.6)/(16.6 + 23.0 + 10.9) = 50.1/50.5 = 0.99 (but if non-university college students are excluded the fraction will amount to 1.42[15]). The fraction for the domestic group is a little lower for female students (0.93) and a little

higher for male students (1.21). However, we can not compare these figures with the Erasmus data, because they are not grouped by gender.

To make the categories comparable I combined the self-employed group with the group of craft and clerical workers, and the group of associate professional and technical staff with the group of managers and scientific staff. As a result, we therefore compare the data from the European Commission report and the data from Denmark, where socio-professional background is captured by father's socio-professional status. Although the figures are not perfectly comparable, we can conclude that upper- and middle-class students tend to invest more in informational capital than students with working-class backgrounds. (The classification scheme for parents of mobile students is based on professions, whereas the scheme for fathers is socio-economic status)[16] Table 3 shows the percentages as averages over a series of years. This is done to eliminate any effect of an unrepresentative distribution of age for a single year. Table 4 and Figure 5 show that students of parents with a university degree are more likely to study abroad than students recruited from a background with low education. The fraction for mobile students with a higher educational background (67/23 = 2.91) is clearly higher than the corresponding fraction for domestic students (34.5/19.4 = 1.78).

------ Table 4 around here ------

------ Figure 5 around here ------

This pattern is even stronger for Sweden (cf. tables 2 and 3 and figure 5). The fraction of mobile upper- and middle-class students and mobile working-class students is equal to 76/18 = 4.22, quite higher than the fraction of domestic upper- and middle-class students and domestic working-class students, which is equal to (27.0 + 28.6)/(8.7 + 23.1 + 12.3) = 55.6/44.1 = 1.26. The fraction for the domestic group is a little lower for female students (1.12) and a little higher for male students (1.44). However, we can not compare these figures with the Erasmus data, because they are not grouped by gender.

The classification scheme is the same as for Denmark. The obvious conclusion therefore, is that upper- and middle-class Swedish students tend to invest more in informational capital than Swedish students with working- class backgrounds. In

addition, students of parents with university degrees are more likely to study abroad than students of parents with lower education. The fraction for mobile students with a higher educational background is clearly higher (70/21 = 3.33) than the corresponding fraction for domestic students (31.1/12.9 = 2.41).

French students follow at least two different paths (cf. tables 2 and 3). Students who are attending *Les Grandes Ecoles*, the elite schools in France, frequently recruited from the French upper classes (Albourg and Wanecq 2003), are less likely to invest in informational capital coming from the Erasmus program, because they do not see this type of student mobility as necessary as do working-class students attending lower ranked universities.[17] The fraction of mobile upper- and middle-class students and mobile working-class students which equals 60/35 = 1.71 is somewhat lower than the fraction of domestic upper- and middle class *Les Grandes Ecoles* students and domestic working-class students, which equals (56.2 + 17.1)/(10.3 + 9.8 + 6.7) = 73.3/26.8 = 2.74. On the contrary, the fraction of mobile students higher than the fraction of domestic upper- and middle-class university students and domestic working-class students which amounts to (39.1 +20.7)/(11.9 + 14.7 + 13.6) = 1.48. (The classification scheme is the same as for Denmark). It is clear that this particular increasing French student mobility within the Erasmus program is really done by students from the less prestigious universities, not from the *Les Grandes Ecoles*. However, as earlier mentioned, the elite students are using other canals while at the same time orientated towards studying at the *Les Grandes Ecoles*, which they see as possessing the highest internal symbolic prestige Börjesson (2005) has lately in an extended study confirmed this profound result.

Danish, Swedish, and French students were apparently in the beginning of the 1990s generally confident that educational credentials acquired at national institutions positioned them sufficiently for professional success. Relatively few of them studied abroad or felt the need to do so. However, students changed behavior during the 1990s and an increasing number went abroad to obtain educational credentials to meet new societal demands. But studying abroad has a different meaning for the upper social classes, as argued by Broady (2002 et al.) and Börjesson (2005) following Bourdieu

(1996), Panayotopoulos (1998) and Lazuech (1999). For example, these classes in Denmark and Sweden do not always find Nordic higher education sufficient for a career in the home country, and especially not for a transnational professional career. Students from the upper classes tend to inherit transnational resources, including language skills. These students also become familiar, through experiences in the parental home, with foreign cultures and networks of friends, acquaintances, or relatives from abroad. They also meet such people during vacations and on many other occasions outside the classroom. In contrast, students from the middle and lower classes have many fewer of these resources and opportunities.

------ Table 5 around here ------

In a Danish investigation in 2001, where respondents were asked about their children's future, the results support Broady et al. (2002). Table 5 confirms that upper-class parents believe that, in the long run, their children must have part of their higher education take place in other parts of the world. Parents from upper- and middle class families appear more oriented towards having their children study abroad, in hopes of increasing their children's career opportunities, than do parents from other classes.

A recent study by Jespersen et al. (2007: 43), using probit analysis, has confirmed that Danish migrants holding an academic degree with high educated parents, are more likely than similar migrants with low educated parents to emigrate from Denmark either for a short or a long term (more than 2 years).

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

Informational capital is characterised as educational credentials serving simultaneously as skills and symbolic capital. The process of acquiring informational capital is affected and mediated through social networks in different settings, such as transnational markets in which students carry out educational strategies leading to accumulation of informational capital. Student mobility has been increasing in most countries as a tool for obtaining informational capital, not only in large countries like France but - and especially - also in smaller countries such as Sweden and Denmark.

Swedish and Danish students have for the last ten years (especially from 1993-2001)

increasingly studied in foreign countries, acquiring new skills and symbolic informational capital. (Swedish students are outpacing the Danes in this outflow). The educational system in France had previously been very closed, functioning quite differently from those in Denmark and Sweden. During the last ten years, however, more French university students have been studying abroad, even though the *Les Grandes Ecoles* still play an important role in the social reproduction of the distribution of informational capital.

Several factors have influenced this shift in the three countries. In an increasingly global economy, educational credentials becomes even more important because of the more stronger competition in the labour market. Employers recognize their need to compete in the international market, and many are demanding workers with new skills and specialised education.

In addition, the economic reality of supply and demand suggests that the shift in student mobility has resulted from the increase in the number of students in higher education in the domestic countries. As greater numbers of students are obtaining informational capital in the form of higher education, the prestige of the source of this capital in the transnational market takes on greater importance for students competing for potential positions in the power field.

For the United States, the trend of student mobility is moving in the opposite direction. The transnational educational market has a hierarchical structure: The flow of students across national borders indicates a hierarchy in the various national educational systems in terms of zones of prestige. The United States is to a high degree at the top of this hierarchy, in terms of both symbolic value and tangible skills, with students perceiving its educational institutions as likely to give them the informational capital they need for gaining better social positions. This study shows that the upper- and middle-classes in Sweden and Denmark are the most likely to pursue transnational educational investments, despite the financial incentives offered to all classes by the Swedish, Danish, and to some degree French governments. Although the upper- and middle-class

share of that market has somewhat decreased in favour of the working classes, the gap between the upper and other classes remains significant.

Overall, this study indicates the need for future research into three areas. One is the relationship between student mobility and social mobility in general. A corollary of that issue is the relationship between parental and familial capital and student decisions to study abroad. Yet another area for research is the relationship between academic credentials acquired abroad and potential positions of social power in both national and international markets.

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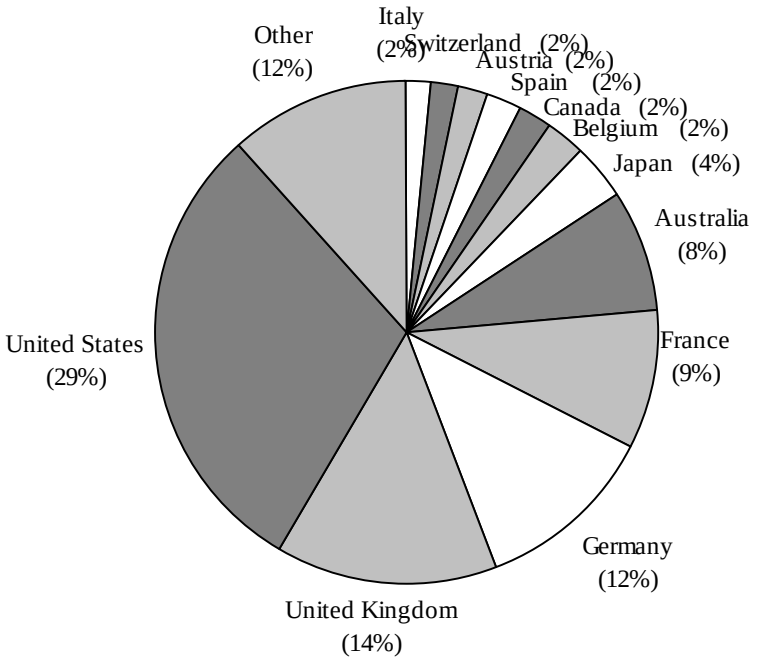

Figure 1. Distribution of foreign students in OECD countries by host country (1999) Source: OECD (2000).

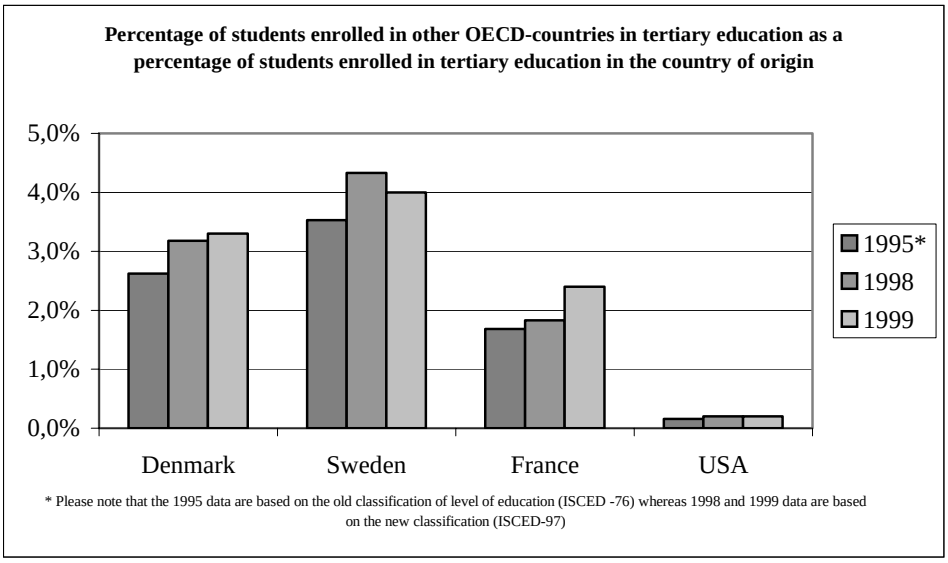

Figure 2. Students enrolled in other OECD-countries. Per cent.

Source: OECD, Education at a glance (2000) and unpublished material from OECD (2001).

According to information from the national ERASMUS-offices, the age of the ERAMUS-students in 1997/98 was 23.9 years on an average (European commission, 2000:11).

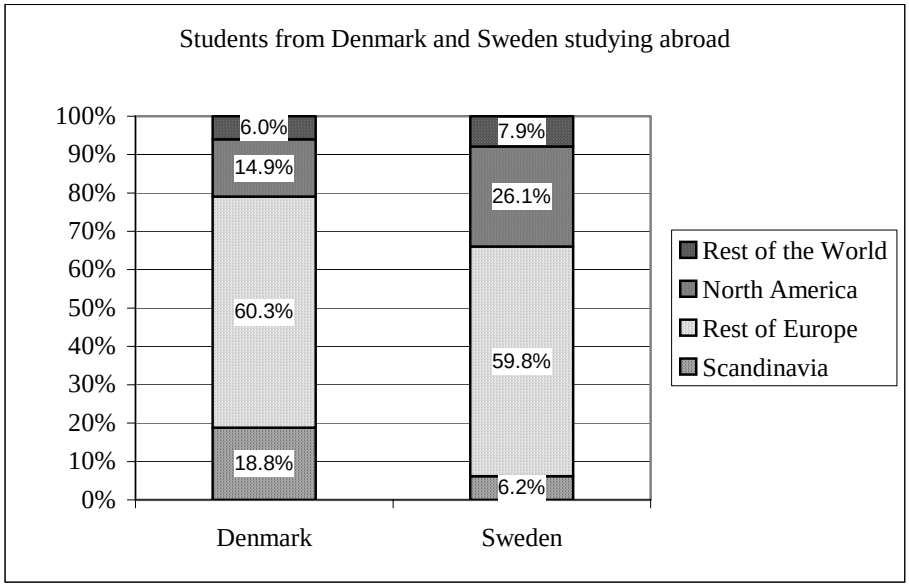

Figure 3. Students studying abroad. Per cent.

Source: Nordic Council, *Nordisk utbildning i fokus* – indicators, full education in (1997).

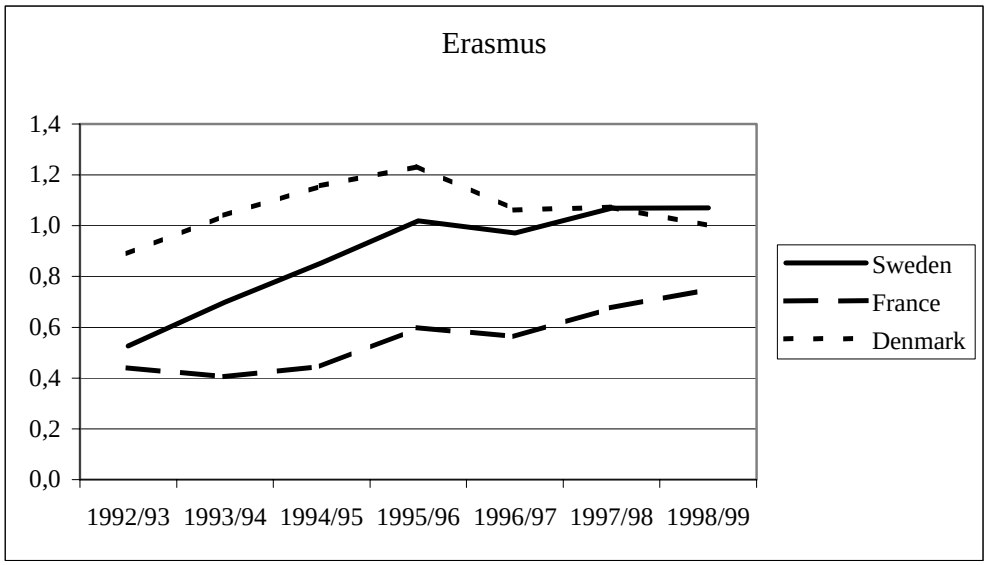

Figure 4. Outflow of Students. Per cent.

Source: European commission. http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/stat.htm (9, 2001).

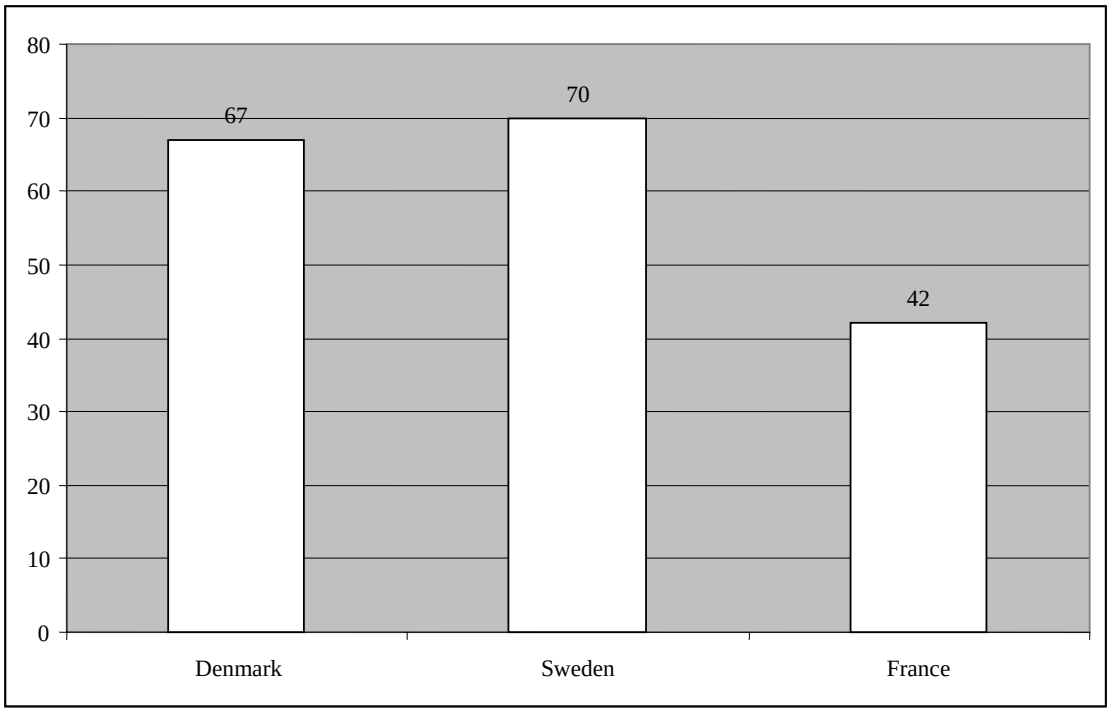

Figure 5. Share of Erasmus students where the father or both parents have a higher education.

Source: European Commission (2000 Table 17). The share of Erasmus students with parents with no higher education is 23 per cent for Denmark, 21 per cent for Sweden and 50 per cent for France.

Table 1. Educational scholarships for studying abroad (minus shorter sojourns) in 2000 distributed on educational type. Per cents as shares by host-country. Denmark.

	Place of Education						
	United Kingdom	Norway	USA	Germany	Sweden	Others	Total
Youth Education	**0.5**	**7.9**	**0.4**	**22.2**	**8.1**	**3.4**	**3.8**
Further and higher education	**97.9**	**91.1**	**97.8**	**76.3**	**91.9**	**95.5**	**94.9**
Pedagogical Education	0.7	7.5	1.8	14.0	2.7	2.5	3.0
Humanistic Education total	38.8	15.4	28.6	29.4	40.1	37.7	34.1
- Art and architecture	14.3	3.0	7.5	10.8	16.2	11.7	11.5
- Literature and language	4.4	2.4	3.0	4.7	1.8	6.5	4.4
- Film and media	9.9	1.6	8.1	2.9	7.2	5.5	7.1
Administrative Education	46.8	25.1	54.0	18.3	25.7	42.5	41.2
- Business Economy	18.3	5.1	28.2	7.9	4.5	19.2	16.8
- Social Science	17.5	8.5	16.1	4.3	15.3	8.6	13.2
Natural Sciences	4.9	7.7	7.3	2.9	5.9	4.1	5.2
Vocational Education (incl. Engineer)	5.1	26.1	3.8	6.1	9.5	4.6	7.6
Health Education	1.7	9.1	2.2	5.7	8.1	4.1	3.8
Other higher Education	**1.5**	**1.0**	**1.8**	**1.4**	**0.0**	**1.1**	**1.3**
All Education	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**
All Education	**1,843**	**505**	**496**	**279**	**222**	**1,025**	**4,370**

Source: The Danish State Educational Grant and Loan Scheme Agency (2004).

Table 2. Occupations of fathers of Erasmus students. by home country. Per cent.

		Denmark	France	Sweden
Managers and scientific staff Associate professional and technical staff	}	62	60	76
Clerical, secretarial, service and shop workers Craft and trade workers, elementary occupation	}	31	35	18

Source: The European Commission: Survey into the Socio-Economic Background of Erasmus Students, Directorate General for Education and Culture. Report (2000) table 14 and 16.The numbers are taken from table 16 and the labels from table 14. The numbers for each country add up to 100 per cent when the students with a mother and no father are included in the group of managers and scientific staff, associate professional and technical staff.

Table 3. Socio-professional background, students started on higher education, non-university college education included.

	Denmark	France		Sweden
		I	II	
Self-employed	16.6	11.9	10.3	8.7
Managers and scientific staff	29.5	39.1	56.2	27.0
Associate professional and technical staff	20.6	20.7	17.1	28.6
Clerical, secretarial, service and shop workers	10.9	14.7	9.8	12.3
Craft and trade workers, elementary occupation	23.0	13.6	6.7	23.1
Total in per cent	100	100	100	100
Total (N)	19,727	I 1,092,449		24,785
		II 54,824		

For Denmark socio-professional background is defined as the father's socioeconomic position; for Sweden as the highest parental position; and for France as the position of the head of the family. For Denmark, the percentage is an average of Danish students 24 years old or younger, born in the years 1970, -75 or -77. N therefore states the average number of people in the three cohorts. The Danish total does not contain an "Undetermined"group (about 10 per cent of the total respondents). The data for Sweden is quite similar. The share of Swedish students in this group was about 4 per cent of the total of respondents. Swedish students are up to 24 years old when beginning their education. The youngest of them belong to the cohort of 1979, and the oldest to the cohort of 1969. All of them have begun their education between 1993 and 2001.
France I refers to French universities and France II refers to French elite schools, the *Les Grandes Ecoles*. The numbers used for France come from Annuaire Statistique de la France, including the years 1994/95 to 2001/02, with the exception of 1995/96, from which year we have no data. The average annual matriculated students for France include all ages. But most of the French students were born between 1969 and 1980. The original category "Undetermined" has been removed from the table, except for the years 1994/95 and 1996/97, for which there was no such group. The "Undetermined" category was about 8 per cent for university students and about 2-3 per cent for students enrolled in *Les Grandes Ecoles*. We also had access to data from the French Ministry of Education, and in these data, the group of "Undetermined" was considerably smaller for university students, but basically the same for students at *Grandes Ecoles*.
The original Swedish data did not contain a group of inactive/unemployed. For the reason of comparison this group has been removed from the figures for Denmark and France. For Denmark, this group amounted to 6.1 per cent, for French universities to 9.6 per cent, and for French *Les Grandes Ecoles* to 7.2 per cent.
Source: Own calculations based on Danish registers with information on education and the general population; National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies, France, (INSEE); Statistiska Meddelanden, SCB, Sweden (17/12/2002)

Table 4. Parents education, students started on non-university college education included.

	Denmark	Sweden
Elementary school	19.4	12.9
High-school or medium-length, non university	46.1	56.2
University	34.5	31.1
Total in per cent	100	100
Total	61790	696571

The percentage is an average of Danish students born in 1970, -75 or –77 and maximum 24 years old.
For Denmark, parental education is actually the education of the fathers. For Sweden it is the highest educated parent. Swedish students are up to 35 years old when beginning their education. The students have begun their education between 1993 and 2001.
French data was not available.
Source: Own calculations based on Danish registers with information on education and general population data; Statistiska Meddelanden, SCB (17/12/2002).

Table 5. Per cent. Parents Income by their view on children's Future Education.

	In the long term the child have to be capable of taking a part of their education in other parts of the world?				
Gross income 2001	Agree, partly agree %	Neit-her nor %	Dis-agree, partly dis-agree %	Do not know %	Total %
0-199,000 kr.	**43.49**	28.57	26.05	1.89	21.97
200,000-299,000 kr.	**43.63**	28.94	25.12	2.31	39.87
300,000-399,000 kr.	**50.70**	31.31	16.36	1.64	19.75
400,000 kr. or more	**57.85**	26.72	14.33	1.10	16.75
Total	47.67	28.80	21.69	1.85	100.0 0
N=2167					

Source: The Danish National Institute of Social Research, Youth Generational Study (2001).

Notes

[1] Investment in education taken abroad is considered as an extra variable that might have an impact on eventual power and earnings distribution. The income distribution among emigrants from the Scandinavian countries has recently been studied by Pedersen, Roed, and Schroder (2003).

[2] Transnational investments are treated mainly in the literature of economics and international political economics (Prakash and Hart 2000; Sassen 2001). The topic is also analysed in the literature of globalisation and internationalisation where problems of investments are concerned (Hirst and Thompson 1996; Bonoli, George and Taylor-Gooby 2000). Thus, "transnational investments" is not a new topic.

[3] For example, 66 percent of Danish M.A. candidates and Ph.D. graduates return to Denmark after having worked, studied, or extensively traveled outside of Denmark, thereby indicating that educational credentials (together with work experience and social networks) can have an effect on occupational positions both in other countries and at home. Ten percent of all newly employed professors at Danish universities have worked in other countries (Ministry of Science 2003). See also Wiers-Jenssen 2003.

[4] Informational capital becomes crucial in a changing world, especially in relation to the labour markets in which competitiveness increases, thus suggesting that students are more and more inclined to find new ways of dealing with "getting a job" (Granovetter 1995). For some evidence, see Wiers-Jensen and Try (2005) for the association between investments of academic capital abroad and labour market outcomes. This topic is further studied in a project: "Danes Abroad: Economic and social motivations for emigration and return migration".

[5] The goal of the ERASMUS-program is to support mobility into higher education in foreign countries. Students in Higher Education (Universities or « extra-university » institutions) may spend a study period (from 3 to 12 months) in another participating country in the framework of agreed arrangements between universities. They generally receive a grant to help offset the 'mobility costs' of studying in another country, such as travel, language preparation and differences in the cost of living. Their award depends on several elements which vary from Country to Country.

[6] The study was based on a sample study and representative with respect to a number of factors, such as type and size of institution. Although data function as general indicators of certain trends (e.g., Sassen 1988, 2001), these data are not without problems. Most are aggregated, only roughly indicating the trends of outgoing (and incoming) students, thereby complicating any analysis of transnational positions, because the international educational field is not well defined.

[7] Statistics from OECD (Education at a Glance 2000) do not clarify the pattern of outgoing students in different countries, as the percentage is calculated relative to the "domestic students", and not relative to all students.

[8] A future study could follow a number of students after they have completed their education. According to Statistics Denmark, one can investigate students' labour market status (i.e., occupational position) in, say, 1999, as long as a record exists of a student's having studied abroad for at least a year.

[9] The tendency to go to the United States seems to have decreased a little in 2004, compared to 2003. The United States is still the leading country, also in terms of top-ranked universities (see http://ed.sjtu.cn/rank/2004/top500list.htm, accessed in 2004).

[10] Su-board (2001). The Danish State Educational Grant and Loan Schme Agency's homepage: www.sustyrelsen.dk. The big increase of student mobility stopped around 2002 and is now appearing at a stable level.

[11] See also EUROSTAT, Education across European Union 1996, 1998 and 1999. French students go mainly to the United Kingdom, Germany, the United States, Canada and Spain.

[12] OECD Statistics 2000 show that student choices are primarily the United Kingdom, Germany, Norway, Sweden, and France.

[13] A point granted from Randall Collins (personal communication).

[14] It should be noted that Danish students with a high social background in general not especially study at the Copenhagen Business School, but also at Copenhagen University, The Royal Danish Music School (Classical and Rhythm), The Technical University, and The Royal Danish School of Architecture (see Thomsen 2005).

[15] As an extra check, I calculated the same figures based on register data containing students enrolled in tertiary Education. The difference between the two analyses is quite small.

[16] Studies of the Labour Force Survey show that a range of only 14 - 40 percent of employees who are 45 years of age or older (i.e., old enough to have university-age children) hold managerial or scientific positions. However, among this smaller group here defined as upper class, 46 to 72 per cent of this group have university-age children studying abroad (European Commission 2000).

[17] Figures from http://www.lepoint.fr/static/infographie/PNT1680/commerce.pdf indicates that *Les Grandes Ecoles* students also spend time abroad, as part of their studies, e.g., students from HEC in 2004 spent 15.2 months on average in foreign countries.