

DISCOURSES OF INTERNATIONALIZATION
IN FINNISH HIGHER EDUCATION:
A critical discourse analysis of legitimation
strategies used in internationalization
documents

Master's thesis

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Tutkielmassa tarkastellaan kansainvälistymisen diskursseja suomalaisessa korkeakoulutuksessa erilaisten korkeakoulutuksen kansainvälisyyttä käsittelevien dokumenttien kautta. Tutkimuksen analyysin kohteena ovat kolmen tahon (”Valtio”, ”Yliopistot” ja ”Opiskelijat”) dokumenteissa käytetyt legitimaatiostrategiat ja niiden käyttötarkoitukset. Työn tutkimuskysymykset ovat 1) mitä ja mihin tarkoituksiin edellä mainitut tahot käyttävät legitimaatiostrategioita sekä 2) miten edellä mainittujen tahojen kansainvälistymisdiskurssit eroavat toisistaan.

Tutkimus valottaa aiempaa korkeakoulujen kansainvälistymiseen liittyvää tutkimusta sekä kansainvälistymisen määrittelyä. Itse tutkimusaineistoa tarkastellaan kriittisen diskurssianalyysin (Fairclough) ja käytettyjen legitimaatiostrategioiden (Van Leeuwen) analyysin avulla.

Tulosten perusteella voidaan sanoa, että Valtion dokumenteissa käytetään legitimaatiostrategioita kaikista monipuolisimmin ja niillä perustellaan kansainvälistymisen vaatimia muutoksia. Yliopistot ja Opiskelijat käyttävät strategioita suppeammin. Analyysin perusteella voidaan myös todeta, että Yliopistojen kansainvälistymisdiskurssit ovat huomattavan samankaltaisia Valtion kansainvälistymisdiskurssien kanssa. Opiskelijoiden rooliksi jää Valtion ja Yliopistojen kansainvälistymisdiskurssien ja -käsitteiden haastaminen.

Asiasanat – Keywords Critical Discourse Analysis, Legitimation strategies, Internationalization, Higher education

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1 Introduction

1.1. Introduction and the aims of this study

Some years back, when I was involved in student politics, I noticed that internationalization meant very different things to different speakers. Students, university rectors, politicians, and economists - everyone seemed to have a different interpretation of what internationalization meant in the context of higher education. Very often the term was mentioned together with competitiveness, innovations, and strategies. Students wanted to draw attention to the content of internationalization. In addition, I noticed that universities often seemed to legitimize their actions claiming, “it helps us to internationalize”. Furthermore, very often internationalization was talked about as something “inevitable” and “necessary”. Even today, internationalization is promoted because it enables some other desired changes. I became interested in researching in what contexts the term is used in higher education and for what purposes.

Internationalization of universities and its different aspects nowadays cover many other, even controversial, matters, such as introducing tuition fees for students and increasing the amount of study programmes in English. The term ‘internationalization’ has found its way into strategies and other policy papers. It seems that internationalization is the reason why strategies have been rewritten. It is a means to an end, but also an aim and an achievement itself. It is certainly not a neutral term, but loaded with presuppositions. After hearing repetitively that “Finland is a small country and to be competitive, universities have to be international”, I wanted to find out what was behind the surface, the repeated “truths” and presuppositions.

In my thesis I will look at these different discourses of internationalization in the context of higher education and examine what are the legitimation strategies (Van Leeuwen 2007) used in the texts and for what purposes they are used. Discourse, as defined by Norman Fairclough (1995:131) is spoken or written language use, and a form of social

practice. I have taken the perspective of critical discourse analysis (CDA) in analysing the discursive legitimation of internationalization. CDA is an analytical framework for studying connections between language, power, and ideology and I will mostly use Fairclough's approach of CDA in my thesis. Texts are not created in a vacuum but there is always someone who writes them, someone with an agenda, and CDA does take this into account. In addition to CDA as the theoretical framework, I will use Van Leeuwen's (2007) framework for analysing the legitimation strategies used in the texts. The legitimation answers the question "why" or "why should we do this", in other words: it helps us to see the reasoning behind the changes that are required in the name of internationalization. Van Leeuwen's framework can be used "for analysing the way discourses construct legitimation for social practices in public communication" (Van Leeuwen 2007:91), as he puts it himself.

Van Leeuwen distinguishes four main categories (ibid.) for analysis: 1) 'authorization', legitimation by reference to the authority of tradition, custom and law, and of persons in whom institutional authority is vested; 2) 'moral evaluation', legitimation by reference to discourses of value; 3) 'rationalization', legitimation by reference to the goals and uses of institutionalized social action, and to the social knowledges that endow them with cognitive validity; and 4) 'mythopoesis', legitimation conveyed through narratives whose outcomes reward legitimate actions and punish non-legitimate actions. I will introduce these categories in more detail in chapters four and six.

My data consists of documents that cover the issue of internationalization in higher education in Finland, for example strategy papers for internationalization. All the documents were available online, and most of them still are. For demonstrating power relations and different voices in the texts, I grouped the data in three different categories, namely 'State', 'Universities' and 'Students' on the basis of who has produced the text. The State papers mostly consist of documents by the Ministry of Education and Culture in Finland, the Universities' texts are strategies and policies of Finnish universities as well as documents by Unifi (Universities Finland), and Students' texts are policy papers and official statements by the National Union of University Students in Finland (SYL).

The structure of my thesis will be as follows: in the following chapter I will explain the difference between globalization and internationalization and I will introduce the “big picture” of the internationalization of higher education in Europe, starting from the Lisbon strategy and Bologna process and going all the way to national level (Finland) in chapter three. In these chapters I will also present different motives and reasons for internationalization from different perspectives. In chapter four I introduce the theoretical framework of my research. Chapter five aims to introduce the data I will use for my research and my research questions. The core analysis can be found in chapters six to eight, chapter nine is for discussing the findings and chapter ten for concluding and introducing possible suggestions for further studies.

The background section (chapters 2-3) of my thesis is relatively long. This is because firstly, the terminology (e.g. internationalization) and what is meant by it requires context and explanation for its multifaceted nature. Secondly, the context, although narrowed down to Finnish higher education, needs to be described thoroughly, because describing the context is essential in conducting CDA. Fairclough (1995:97) mentions that the method of discourse analysis includes linguistic *description* of the text (chapters 6-8), *interpretation* of the relationship between the discursive processes and the text (chapter 9) and *explanation* of the relationship between the discursive processes and the social processes (italics original), (chapter 10).

1.2. Internationalization in prior research

Internationalization, and more precisely, the internationalization of higher education is a subject that has been researched a great deal. When starting my own research on the topic I noticed very soon that finding books, articles and research papers about internationalization would not be a problem. There are a number of articles and studies concerning the internationalization of higher education, even if we concentrate on research done within ten years, which I have done. Many of the studies come from the field of education and cover topics such as the higher education internationalization

strategies (e.g. Callan 2000), international dimension of higher education (e.g. Knight 2001, 2002, 2004), challenges of internationalization (Altbach and Teichler 2001) or management of higher education in a globalizing world (Scott 2000).

However, education is not the only field interested in internationalization of higher education. Huisman (2007) states that because of “the increasing embeddedness of internationalization in supra-national and national policy-making and in institutional strategic management”, there is a growing interest in “analysing the developments from disciplinary perspectives, such as public administration, political sciences and business and management studies” (Huisman 2007:2). He also claims that often a research has a clear link to actual policy developments, and many of the publications mostly target practitioners and policy-makers rather than academics who study higher education. Huisman also adds that much of the research on internationalization has been carried out with the financial support of external agencies, which means that to some extent those commissioning research guide and steer research on internationalization in certain directions, such as choosing the topic or detailing the research questions. According to Huisman, the literature concerning internationalization is somewhat scattered, mostly because many disciplines are involved, such as history, public administration, educational studies, anthropology, law, philosophy, business studies, sociology, and psychology.

The issue – internationalization of universities – is now more current than ever. I started my research in 2008, left it for a year and a half and got back to it in 2010. Meanwhile, the Universities Act in Finland was changed, giving the universities a possibility to charge tuition fees from non-EU citizens, even though at the moment it is only a trial. In addition, globally, the mobility of both students and staff between different universities in the world is increasing; the state wants the universities to internationalize even more and it is seen as essential for the future of the whole country. I am definitely not the first one to research this phenomenon, not even at Finnish level (see for example Nokkala 2007, Söderqvist 2002, Raunio et al 2010), but I could not find any research with analysis of different levels of actors involved in the process. Although my data consists

of papers produced on a national level, the connection between EU policies and national strategies can be seen clearly, as later pointed out. In addition, as students are very much part of the internationalization process of universities, I see that it is very essential to include their voice in the research as well.

As I decided to narrow my theme down to internationalization of Finnish higher education and its discourses, I came across two doctoral dissertations: by Söderqvist (2002) and Nokkala (2007). The dissertation by Söderqvist studies the Internationalisation and its Management at Higher-Education Institutions. The research concentrates on the analysis of internationalization management in the HE institutions rather than the discourses of internationalization itself. Nokkala's (2007) dissertation, "Constructing the ideal university – the internationalization of higher education in competitive knowledge society", deals with the internationalization of Finnish and European higher education and the roles of the universities. In her dissertation Nokkala has covered many of the topics that interest me, such as different aspects of the discourse of internationalization at international, national and university level, as well as the consequences of internationalization. However, as Nokkala's background is in administrative sciences, my approach to the topic will naturally be somewhat different.

In addition to Terhi Nokkala's research, I could not find any studies that cover internationalization of Finnish higher education and its discourses. There are studies concerning internationalization in Finland, also in university context, but in addition to Nokkala's dissertation, none of them shares the same approach as my thesis, neither with the analytical framework nor the target of the study. In addition, all the studies seem to lack the student perspective.

In recent years several books have been written about Critical Discourse Analysis and education. A few of them cover similar topics to this study. Especially Norman Fairclough (whose approach to CDA I will use in my thesis) has written a great deal about CDA and universities, and there are several articles published about the changes and development of EHEA (European Higher Education Area). The most relevant

findings to this paper are presented in the following chapters. In addition, as I write about the concepts of internationalization, globalization and Europeanization in the context of higher education in the following chapters, I will introduce several articles and studies on the topic.

2 Internationalization, Globalization and Europeanization in the Context of Higher Education

2.1. International and Internationalization

Since my thesis will look at the term ‘internationalization’, I will take the term under a closer look and see how it differs from ‘globalization’ and ‘europeanization’. In addition, I will describe how these terms are connected and intertwined with ‘higher education’.

“To internationalize” literally means “to make international” (Merriam-Webster 2010). If we look at the word ‘international’, the Merriam-Webster dictionary defines it as follows:

- 1: of, relating to, or affecting two or more nations <*international* trade>
- 2: of, relating to, or constituting a group or association having members in two or more nations <*international* movement>
- 3: active, known, or reaching beyond national boundaries <*an international* reputation>

Knight (2004:8) writes, “The term *international* emphasizes the notion of nation and refers to the relationship between and among different nations and countries”. As a term, internationalization is multi-faceted, debated and all but simple to define. International and internationalization are connected to a variety of things, and as the world changes, the definitions change. As Callan (2000:16) writes, the concept of internationalization has been subject to continuing definition and redefinition, and the term internationalization itself carries different historical associations and contemporary resonance in different parts of the world. It cannot be assumed that internationalization would mean the same things for everybody. The question is not only *how* we define internationalization but also *in what context*.

As mentioned above, internationalization is not a phenomenon connected only to higher education. However, considering the topic of my research, I will concentrate on looking at the definitions of internationalization in the context of higher education. Huisman (2007) supports the definition of internationalization given by van der Wende (1996, in

Huisman 2007): “any systematic, sustained effort aimed at making higher education (more) responsive to the requirements and challenges related to the globalisation of societies, economy and labour markets”. However, Knight (2008:20) finds this approach problematic, because it “positions the international dimension in terms of the external environment, specifically globalization, and, therefore, does not contextualize internationalization in terms of the education sector itself.”

Knight (2004, 2008) discusses the different meanings of internationalization in the context of higher education, stating that the meaning and content of the term depend on the speaker and his/her view and position. However, she suggests a definition for internationalization at the national/sector/institutional levels:

[internationalization is]the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education. (Knight, 2003:2 in Knight 2004)

I find Knight’s definition valid for this research as well. I will be taking a closer look at the discourse of internationalization at national and institutional level. I will come back to Knight’s definition later in my work.

2.2. Globalization

If internationalization has several definitions, so does the term ‘globalization’. Once again, the definition depends on the speaker and the context. As in the previous section, I will concentrate on the context of higher education.

Although the terms globalization and internationalization are closely connected, it is important to make a distinction between them. Knight (2001) does this very clearly:

International and *global* are two very different terms. The former refers to the relations between nations. The latter refers to the world or global as a whole, where the idea of nation-state is not pertinent. Therefore, when one adds the suffix *ization* to these terms, one gets very different meanings. ---Globalization is understood to be the “flow of technology, economy, knowledge, people, ideas . . . across borders”. Globalization affects each country in a different way due to a nation’s individual history, traditions,

culture and priorities. Internationalization of education is a response to globalization (Knight, 1999b in Knight 2001, italics original).

This view is shared by Scott (2000) who argues that internationalization and globalization are used interchangeably, the latter term often displacing the former because “it seems to better express the urgency and volatility of international exchange”. Knight (2004:8) also writes about the relationship between globalization and internationalization as follows: “Globalization is positioned as part of the environment in which the international dimension of higher education is becoming more important and significantly changing”.

Scott does not find the terms internationalization and globalization only different but opposed (Scott 2000:4): where internationalization reflects a world-order nominated by nation-states and even the persistence of neo-colonialism and geopolitics, globalization as a phenomenon reflects processes of global competitiveness but also involves intensified collaboration. He mentions three main reasons for distinguishing the terms: firstly, internationalization presupposes the existence of nation-states and globalization is rather hostile to nation states. Secondly, where internationalization has been most strongly expressed through e.g. the “high” world of diplomacy and culture, globalization is expressed in mass consumerism and global capitalism. Thirdly, because of its dependence on the existing pattern of nation states, internationalization tends to reproduce hierarchy and hegemony whereas globalization can address new agendas of worldwide interest because it is not tied to the past.

However, the approach of Norman Fairclough reveals the problem in the definitions given above. He (2003:45) claims that global economic change is often represented as a process without human agents and the change (the globalization itself) is nominalized. This can be seen in the definitions above, although it can be questioned whether societal or political forces can be called human agents or not. In addition, Fairclough (2003:45) states that globalization is often described as a universal process without history, an inevitable process that must be responded to in particular ways. He admits that there are other representations of globalizations, where the above-mentioned presuppositions are

not the whole truth but there are also human agents involved in the process of globalization.

2.2.1. Globalization and higher education

There is no doubt that globalization and higher education are closely connected, considering the definitions given above. But how is higher education affected by globalization? Scott (2000) brings out an important point about globalization: it challenges the authority of nation-states. If we look at the European Union and for example the Bologna process (see chapter 3 in this study), we can notice that decision-making concerning the higher education systems in Europe is no longer just a national matter.

Altbach and Knight (2007:290) define globalization as “the economic, political, and societal forces pushing 21st century higher education toward greater international involvement”. To list a few more concrete examples of how globalization affects higher education, Altbach and Knight have stated as follows:

“The results of globalization include the integration of research, the use of English as the lingua franca for scientific communication, the growing international labor market for scholars and scientists, the growth of communications firms and of multinational and technology publishing, and the use of information technology (IT).” (Altbach and Knight 2007:290)

Fairclough has also written a great deal about globalization and the use of (e.g. political) power. Fairclough (2003:30-31 citing Giddens 1991 and Harvey 1990) writes that “the process of ‘globalization’ includes the enhanced capacity for some people to act upon and shape the actions of others over considerable distances of space and time”

Vaira (2004:484-485) claims that the concern about the relationship between globalization and higher education is not surprising, “given the centrality of higher education institutions in the globalized world, their historically rooted cultural features which are challenged by globalization, and their relationships with national polity, culture, and economy, which in turn are challenged too by the same process”. He continues on the effects of globalization on higher education as follows:

“[h]igher education institutions are experiencing a deep institutional change in their task environment triggered by globalization process. This process has given and is giving rise to a world economy and world polity structures that redefine institutional as well as organizational arrangements, ends and means, deemed rational and appropriate to operate in the global environment.” (Vaira 2004:502)

Vaira also talks about “the globalization’s meta-myth”, a collection of rationalized myths, which characterize the world polity. These myths, such as ‘knowledge society’, are then defined, translated and disseminated worldwide by what Scott (1995 as quoted by Vaira 2004:488) calls institutional carriers at a supranational level. These carriers, politically and socially highly legitimated agencies (such as UNESCO, World Bank, IMF, OECD and EU) then define what is appropriate and legitimate for higher education.

I found these aspects on globalization and higher education very useful and relevant for describing the context for my research, as internationalization and globalization are terms which are commonly used but in very different contexts and meanings. To complete this chapter, I will look at one more term, closely connected to the two terms mentioned previously – Europeanization.

2.3. Europeanization

I have tried to make a distinction between internationalization and globalization in the text above. There is still one more term that I must explore, a term that often appears alongside internationalization and globalization. As Callan (2000), following Scott (1999) discusses this concept, Europeanization is not just a special case of internationalization but a separate process.

If internationalization is conceptually embedded in the historical nation-state, then the Europeanization of higher education in the region, led as it is by ambitions for a European consciousness (or identity or citizenship) which adds to those deriving from nation-states without replacing them, cannot be a special case of internationalization. Neither can it be an instance of globalization, if the latter is taken to be the subjugation of local distinctiveness by irresistible world market or ideological forces.
(Scott 1999 as cited by Callan 2000:20)

If Europeanization is not a special case of internationalization, nor an instance of globalization, a relevant question is “what is Europeanization”? To put it simply, it can be defined as a “domestic change caused by European integration” (Vink 2002:1). Vink states that since the 1990s there has been “[a] shift away from direct study of European institutions towards a more indirect approach via the national political domain” (ibid.). In addition, there is a so-called “new research agenda” on Europeanization, which means that the research focuses more on changes in national political system affected by European Integration, highlighting previously under-researched questions, such as domestic implementation of EU policies, political parties, party systems, local government, refugee politics or citizenships, just to mention some examples (Vink 2002:3-4). However, the study of Europeanization processes does not concern only EU member states, but also other European countries such as Norway and Switzerland as well as candidate countries in Central and Eastern Europe. Ehs (2008:24) claims that research agenda on Europeanization has for too long concentrated on “the dynamics of the European institution-building process” and the impact of European integration processes on individual member states. In addition, she calls for a more open definition of Europeanization, mentioning Buller and Gamble (2002 in Ehs 2008), who see Europeanization as a living concept that evolves over time and allows for alterations, thus implying openness to functional and historical approaches “in the ongoing theorization process” (Ehs 2008:25). To read more about Europeanization and different aspects on it, see for example Haverland (2005), Graziano and Vink (2007), Featherstone and Radaelli (2003).

To summarize, Europeanization is not a European part of globalization or internationalization processes, although it is definitely connected and related to both. Now that I have introduced different approaches to internationalization, globalization and Europeanization, I take a closer look into the details and actual processes already mentioned above, the motives and history of internationalization of European higher education.

3 Internationalization of European universities

One could claim that European universities have always been international. Teichler (2004:8) finds it surprising that higher education is internationalizing or should internationalize, because “universities have long been considered one of society’s most international institutions”. Teichler also writes that it could be more appropriate to use the term ‘re-internationalize’; the strong national focus and low mobility have been trends of the 19th and the 20th century higher education, but not before that. If we go back in time a few hundred years not every country had universities, which meant that to study in a university one possibly had to move to another country. The mobility did not stop when more and more universities were founded in different parts of Europe, but the most famous and prestigious universities have always managed to attract students from all over the world. However, as it is impossible to cover the whole history of mobility and internationalization of European universities, I concentrate on the most significant changes within the past twenty years.

In order to analyze internationalization of Finnish universities, we have to take a look at what has happened at the European level. First, I take a look at the aims and motives of higher education institutions for internationalization as discussed by Altbach and Knight (2007). Secondly, I look at the European Union and how Finland’s membership in EU has effected the national educational policy. In this chapter I will write about the internationalization processes in Europe, concentrating especially on the Lisbon strategy, the Bologna Process and the internationalization of Finnish universities, and how these are interconnected.

3.1. Aims, motives and sources for internationalization of HE

Before going into the details of the Bologna process, where the aims and motives are stated very clearly, I will look at the more general aims and motives for internationalization of higher education.

The motivation for internationalization (of higher education institutions) has been researched by e.g. Altbach and Knight. As motivations and sources for internationalization Altbach and Knight (2007) mention Profits, Access Provision and Demand Absorption, Traditional Internationalization, European Internationalism, Developing-Country Internationalization and Individual Internationalization. I will briefly introduce each one of them as presented by Altbach and Knight (2007):

Profits: international students spend significant amounts of money in their host countries, e.g. in the form of tuition fees. In addition, in some countries the government cut public funding, encouraging the universities to get funding elsewhere

Access Provision and Demand Absorption: Profit-seeking higher education institutions can provide access to students in countries lacking the domestic capacity to meet the demand. This can happen in the form of branch campuses, franchised foreign academic programs or degrees, or independent institutions based on foreign academic models.

Traditional Internationalization: study-abroad experiences, curriculum enrichment via international studies majors or area studies, strengthened foreign-language instruction, and sponsorship of foreign students to study on campus, usually not for-profit.

European Internationalism: started with EU-funded exchange programmes (academic internationalization), led to harmonization of academic systems to ensure compatible degree structures, transferable credits and equal academic qualifications in all of Europe.

Developing-Country Internationalization: Developing countries seek to attract foreign students to their universities in order to improve the quality and cultural composition of the student body, gain prestige, and earn income.

Individual Internationalization: Students are the largest source of funds for international education, and individuals make their own decisions on what and where they study.

However, as Altbach and Knight mention, the contemporary emphasis on free trade stimulates international academic mobility. They state that “The World Trade Organization (WTO) will provide a regulatory framework to encourage international trade in education and service-related industries as part of negotiating the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS)” (Altbach and Knight 2007:291). To read more on GATS and Higher education, see for example Knight 2002.

I will now move into the Bologna process, the ‘European Internationalism’ as it is mentioned above by Altbach and Knight, and the effects of the process on Finnish Higher Education.

3.2. The Bologna process

3.2.1. The Bologna process in a nutshell

If I had to present the Bologna process in a nutshell, in a simplified way, I would use a description by Altbach and Knight (2007:293): “the Bologna process harmonizes entire academic systems to ensure compatible degree structures, transferable credits, and equal academic qualifications throughout the EU”. However, as the Bologna process is interesting as a *process* and not only for its outcomes, I will take a brief look into it.

The Ministers responsible for Higher Education in the countries participating in the Bologna Process stated as follows in May 2007:

Building on our rich and diverse European cultural heritage, we are developing an EHEA based on institutional autonomy, academic freedom, equal opportunities and democratic principles that will facilitate mobility, increase employability and strengthen Europe’s attractiveness and competitiveness. (London Communiqué 2007)

According to the European Commission, the aim of the Bologna Process is to establish a European Higher Education Area (EHEA) by 2010 and make the European higher education more compatible and comparable, more competitive and more attractive for Europeans and for students and scholars from other continents (European Commission n.d.). The Bologna Declaration was given in 1999 and signed by all the members of the European Union (European Commission 1999). The Bologna process is part of the Lisbon Strategy launched at the meeting of the European Council in Lisbon (March 2000), where the heads of state or government decided on the strategy aimed at making the European Union (EU) the most competitive economy in the world and achieving full employment by 2010 (Europa Glossary n.d.).

A year before the Bologna Declaration, France, Germany, Italy and the UK agreed on their aims for harmonization of the architecture of the European higher education system in the Sorbonne Declaration. They also called for other European countries to do the same (Sorbonne Declaration 1998). Twenty-five countries signed the Bologna Declaration in 1999, and in 2005 the number of countries committing themselves in the Bologna principles reached 45 (European Commission n.d.). The current number of countries participating in the Bologna Process has reached 46 (European commission is counted as the additional 47th member), whereas there are only 27 EU-member states. According to EHEA webpage, the non-EU participants of Bologna Process include countries such as Norway, Switzerland, Russia, Ukraine, Georgia, Turkey, Armenia and Albania.

According to the European Commission (n.d.), the top three priorities of the Bologna process are quality assurance, recognition of qualifications and periods of study and introduction of the three-cycle system (bachelor/master/doctorate). Every second year the Ministers meet to discuss and measure the progress of the process and decide the priorities for action. Each country decides on the schedules and methods of implementing the necessary process within the given frames. However, the reason behind the Bologna process is not to create a European Higher Education Area just for

the sake of it, which is obvious, but the motive for it is a complex entity of ideas. As Fairclough and Wodak (2008:112) state, “in accordance with the liberal focus of the EU on international competitiveness, and in accordance with the increasing focus on non-economic conditions for economic competitiveness associated with the KBE [knowledge-based economy], HE [higher education] reform is increasingly (though not exclusively) justified and legitimised in terms of increasing European *competitiveness* (italics original)”. They continue by stating that there is evidence of an increasing, and increasingly explicit, convergence in key documents in the Bologna Process between the strategy for HE reform and EU economic and competitiveness strategies, including the Lisbon strategy for the KBE, and the strategies for employment and competitiveness of the Competitiveness Advisory Group (Fairclough and Wodak 2008:113).

Fairclough and Wodak (2008:114) also explain how the Bologna process was implemented in the member states, using “an open method of coordination” as “a means of spreading best practice and achieving greater convergence towards the main EU goals”. In other words, there have been guidelines and timetables for achieving the goals as well as qualitative and quantitative indicators. In addition, periodic monitoring and evaluation has been organized as “mutual learning processes”. As mentioned by Fairclough and Wodak, the member states have not been told what to do and when, but they have voluntarily involved themselves in the process and committed to the common goals. Each member state has had a chance to define the national processes (needed), allegedly making the decisions concerning themselves (ibid).

However, it could be argued that in reality the possibility to choose “how to act and when” in introducing the changes needed in creating a truly harmonized system, do not really exist. Hartmann (2008:75) calls this “meta-governance” and gives examples of how, in the name of “quality”, there has been a justification for introducing quality assurance (of HE in Europe) by intermediary agencies. This formal assessment system, according to Hartmann “is not only about assessing quality but also about influence, control and last but not least mediation”. (Hartmann 2008:75). As he describes:

“Quality assurance and accreditation through intermediary organisations creates a new basis for defining the quality of higher education needed to entitle an institution to become a higher education institution. This recognition is a precondition for attracting students and for public funding. The new form of control facilitates the direct influence of industrial and employers’ associations on higher education, as the quality assurance agencies often include representatives for these organisations in order to increase their acceptance of the evaluation. Hence the evaluative state changes not only the relationship between the government and the university but also that between the university and the market” (Hartmann 2008:76)

Later on, the European Commission put harmonization of standards for quality assurance systems at the top of its political agenda (Hartmann 2008:77) and the European Network of Quality Assurances (ENQA) was established in 2000. European standards have been created, established and promoted.

3.2.2 The Bologna process in Finland

The Bologna Process in Finland has caused several major changes in higher education. At first, the response from the universities to the Bologna declaration was somewhat negative (Ministry of Education and Culture¹ (in Finland), (MECF hereafter) 2010a). Finland decided to reform the degree structure in order to strengthen the position of Finnish universities (ibid.) The two-cycle degree structure was introduced in August 2005. In addition, universities have adopted the Diploma Supplement, which is a document “jointly designed by the EU, the Council of Europe and UNESCO to provide information about the studies completed by the student, the status of the degree and the qualification provided by the degree for further studies and for jobs” (ibid.). In addition, some other changes have taken place (such as implementation of ECTS credits) and in recent years the process has concentrated on issues such as quality assurance and their recognition.

However, as I want to research the discourse of internationalization in Finnish Higher education, and what exactly has been done in the name of internationalization, I will not

¹ Ministry of Education until May 2010. However, I will refer to the author as it is written in the publications, e.g. Ministry of Education (in Finland), MEF.

go into more details of the implementation of Bologna process in Finland. As my data consists of documents that are very closely connected to the Bologna process, I will cover the topic of the implementation (briefly) in discussion and conclusion (chapters 9-10). More on the topic, see for example Ministry of Education and Culture: the Bologna Process (MECF 2010a).

3.3. Internationalization and decision-making in Finnish HE

3.3.1. Finnish Higher Education Sector – Universities and Polytechnics

In this chapter I will briefly introduce the Finnish higher education sector: what it consists of and what are the decision-making processes and policies that affect the higher education sector. The Finnish higher education system consists of two complementary sectors: polytechnics² and universities (see figure 1 below) . In my thesis I will only concentrate on the universities (and the discourse concerning them) because the two sectors, although both giving higher education, are very different. In addition, this decision was needed to keep the research data and analysis manageable.

The oldest universities were founded in the 19th century, whereas the first polytechnics were founded at the beginning of the 1990s. In 2008 there were about 104.000 (FTE)³ polytechnic students and 111.780 (FTE) university students (MECF 2009a), the actual number of students enrolled being closer to 120.000 and 140.000 respectively. As regards the mission of both sectors, the Ministry of Education and Culture state as follows on their webpage: “Universities, which are academic or artistic institutions, focus on research and education based on research. They confer Bachelor's, Master's, licentiate and doctoral degrees. Polytechnics offer work-related education in response to labour market needs”.

² The Polytechnics call themselves (since 2007) Universities of Applied Sciences, however the Ministry of Education and Culture uses the term ”polytechnic”.

³ FTE – Full-time equivalent, a unit to measure students in a way that makes them comparable although they may work or study a different number of hours per week. (definition by European Commission)

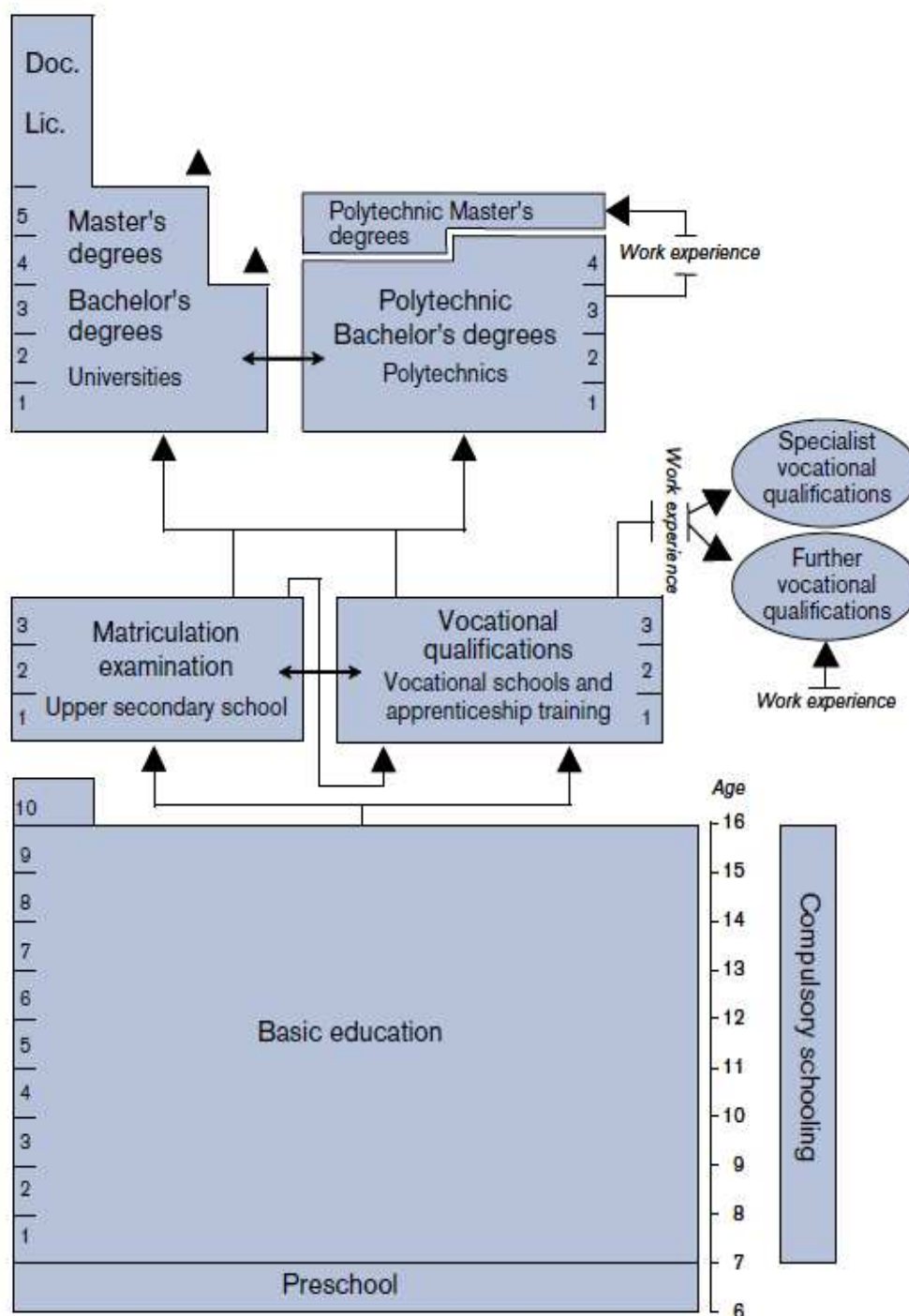


Figure 1 The education system in Finland (MECF 2005:20)

3.2.2. Finnish universities, administration of tertiary education and New Universities Act

There are 16 universities in Finland, which until 2010 were state-run with the government providing some 70% of their budgets (MECF 2010c). However, since 1 January 2010, under the New Universities Act, universities are independent corporations under public law or foundations under private law (Foundations Act) (MECF 2009a). As mentioned on the webpage of the Ministry of Education and Culture, “their operations are built on the freedom of education and research and university autonomy” (MECF 2010c.). The core-funding comes from the government, being about 64% of the budget. Although universities are independent in their internal affairs and determine their own decision-making processes, they are still subordinate to the Ministry of Education and Culture. The ministry is the highest education authority in Finland, “supervising publicly subsidized education and training provision, from primary and secondary general education and vocational training to polytechnic, university and adult education” (MECF 2010d.).

The Parliament passes the legislation concerning education and research as well as defines the basic lines for education. Each government (in office) agrees on the Government Programme, which sets out the main functions of the Government, also concerning the education sector. The most important policy paper that affects the decision-making concerning education is the Development Plan for Education and Research by the Ministry of Education and Culture. It outlines the aims and targets for four-year cycles according to the length of each governmental cabinet (MEF 2004). The plan is adopted by the Government for a six-year period but revised every four years. The universities are steered by means of performance agreements concluded by each university with the Ministry of Education. The main steering instruments are resource allocation, normative regulation and information-based guidance. (MEFC 2010e.).

The reform of the Universities Act was prepared in collaboration with universities and stakeholders. The preparation began in spring 2007. The bill came before the Parliament in spring 2009, it was passed on 16 June and the Act on the Implementation of the

Universities act took effect on 1 August. (MEFC 2010b). I will present here the major changes in the Act.

According to the MEFC, the reform “will facilitate operation in an international environment” (MECF 2010b). Its purpose for universities is to help them to react to changes in the operational environment, make the cooperation with foreign universities and research institutes easier and strengthen their role within the system of innovation. Universities became independent legal persons having a choice of becoming either corporations or foundations. The universities are no longer part of state administration. Their administration and management were reformed, and according to MECF, the universities should now have more latitude in the management of their finances, which should improve their capacity for operating in the international environment. The Government continues to guarantee sufficient core funding, but the universities will be able to apply for competed public funding (*ibid.*).

One of the most radical changes was the permission for universities to charge tuition fees on a trial basis to students from outside the EU/EEA countries who are taking part in selected international master’s programmes in English, provided that the arrangements include a scholarship scheme (MECF 2010b). The majority of study programmes will remain free of charge just as before. So far, only few universities (and polytechnics) have actually introduced the fees, although many universities and programmes have been given the permission for the trial. However, more universities and programmes will start charging fees and current estimates suggest that fees will be charged in total of 50 programmes (including polytechnics) during the trial (MECF 2011a). There is an ongoing public debate on the subject of whether introducing the tuition fees can actually bring money for the universities or whether they will decrease the number of foreign students willing to enroll in Finnish universities. However, after a year and a half, it is still too early to analyze the effects of the new act for the internationalization of Finnish universities.

As explained above, the universities are independent, however subordinate to the Ministry of Education and Culture. This has also had an effect on the internationalization of Universities, as the universities are not the only ones setting the targets and aims. The internationalization of higher education in Finland is not just a matter of higher education institutions, as I will present below.

3.2.4. Internationalization of Finnish higher education

It is not easy to evaluate processes such as internationalization of Finnish higher education, because – as already mentioned – the term itself is multifaceted. In addition, processes that do not have a clear starting and finishing point can be difficult to describe. Nevertheless, there are some turning points of internationalization of Finnish higher education, which I will present here.

An important point on the matter of internationalization of tertiary education is distinguishing whether we talk about the internationalization of the *system of higher education, units* (such as a single university) or *individuals*. (Raunio et al 2010:2, italics added). The relationships of the aforementioned to internationalization are different; the internationalization of higher education units and individuals (such as university students) are seen as a part of developing competitiveness whereas the system of higher education in Finland has been built considering the regional policy. In Finland, in the 1960s and the 1970s the common view was that universities were to serve the whole population; there was a period of strong structural development, when new universities were founded in different parts of Finland and the number of university students strongly increased (Raunio et al 2010:2).

As a policy goal, the internationalization of education became important in the late 1980s. European integration process, Finland's international position at the time and Finland's involvement in the process all affected the policy and the goals (MEF 2005:82)

The first goals set for internationalization were mostly quantitative: the number of students participating in exchanges. Finland invested particularly in European exchange programmes, and the Centre for International Mobility (CIMO) was founded in 1991 to take care of different exchange programmes (trainees, experts) and administrative grants. Since the first (national) internationalization strategy (2001), the operating environment has changed radically: there is more competition for the talented students, teachers and researchers, and also for external funding. This has led to the emergence of international education markets (MEF 2005:82). In addition, the European integration and the aim to raise the competitiveness (see chapter 3.2) have affected the whole internationalization and its processes. However, there were labour market needs in the ageing Finland as well as growing cultural and ethnic diversity, which were the rationale behind creating a new internationalization strategy, which was published in 2009. The strategy is the most thorough policy document created concerning internationalization of higher education in Finland. The strategy was created during 2008 by collecting views on internationalization of higher education institutions (by using a web-based open consultation), organizing workshops and collecting comments on the draft of the strategy paper (MEF 2008).

The strategy aims to answer the challenges created by the changes in the international operational environment, which with “the increasing multiculturalisation of society create expectations on higher education institutions” (MECF 2009a:9). The strategy provides guidelines for the internationalization of higher education institutions in 2009-2015. In addition, it sets aims for internationalization and suggests measures to achieve the aims. The five primary aims mentioned in the strategy are: 1) *A genuinely international higher education community* 2) *Increasing quality and attractiveness* 3) *Export of expertise* 4) *Supporting a multicultural society* and 5) *Global responsibility*. The measures mostly require actions from the higher education institutes and the Ministry of Education, however, some other stakeholders are mentioned as well, such as Centre for International Mobility in Finland (CIMO), Finnish Higher Education Evaluation Council (FINHEEC) and the Finnish National Board of Education (MEF 2009b).

To sum up, during the past decade one of the main reasons for creating internationalization strategies, mentioned repeatedly in policy papers by the Ministry of Education, is that Finland has to strengthen its competitiveness in tertiary education and research, which affects the overall economic competitiveness. In other words, internationalization of tertiary education is a means to answer to the needs of globalization. In addition, it has been important, that “Finland must take an active part in building up European higher education and research and develop its own capacity for operating on the international education market” (MECF 2005:82). I will come back to the internationalization strategies in my analysis of the data (chapters 6-8) as well as the discussion (chapter 9).

4 Theoretical framework

In previous chapters I discussed the internationalization development of higher education in European context. As concluded, the internationalization as a process is not just a selection of documents, but rather a vast “collection” of political decisions, policy-writing, explanatory documents, public debate, implementation of policies and so forth. Conducting a study on a collection of documents concerning internationalization in Finnish higher education, with the help of discourse analysis that focuses merely on texts, is not sufficient. To grasp the “big picture” it is important to analyze the context and the processes connected to the data as well. I wanted to find a theory or a method that would enable me to analyze both the documents concerning internationalization in Finnish higher education and the context in which they were created. In this chapter I aim to introduce the relationship between language and the society as well as my choice, Critical Discourse Analysis, for theoretical/analytical framework in this research.

4.1. Language and society

According to Fairclough (2001:19), there is not an external relationship “between language and society”, but an internal and dialectical one. This means that “language is part of society and linguistic phenomena *are* social phenomena of a special sort, and social phenomena *are* (in part) linguistic phenomena”(italics original). He continues that linguistic phenomena, i.e. linguistic activity in social context are *part* of processes and practices, not only a reflection or expression of it. Fairclough gives an example of this: the dispute over the meaning of political expressions (for example, democracy, imperialism, socialism and so forth) is not only preliminaries to or outgrowths from the real processes and practices of politics; they *are* politics (italics original). Therefore, one of the starting points in this thesis is, who defines ‘internationalization’ in higher education, and how. What are the social phenomena behind the linguistic debate? However it should be noted that even though all linguistic phenomena are social, not all

social phenomena are linguistic (Fairclough 2001:19), although they might still have a substantial language element.

Thus, seeing language both as discourse and as social practice, one is committing oneself not just to analysing texts, nor just to analysing processes of production and interpretation, but to analysing the relationship between texts, processes, and their social conditions, both the immediate conditions of the situational context and the more remote conditions of institutional and social structures. Or as it is shown in the figure below, the relationship between *texts*, *interactions* and *contexts* (Fairclough 2001:21).

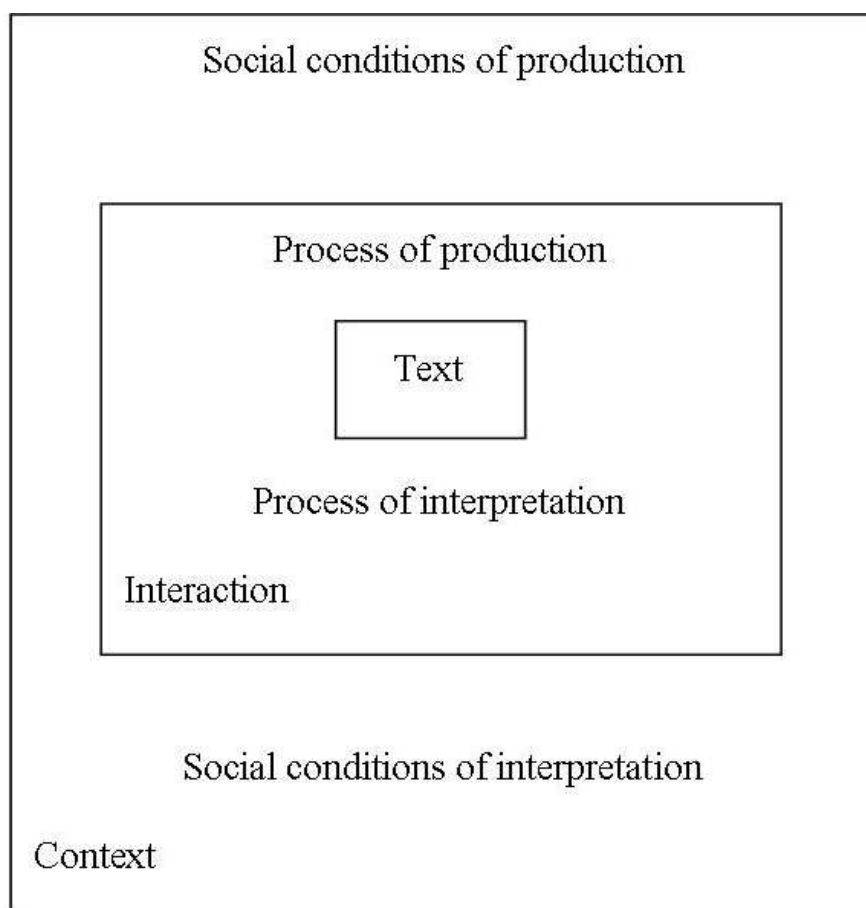


Figure 2: Discourse as text, interaction and context (Fairclough 2001:21)

Fairclough (1995:131-133) defines text as the “written or spoken language produced in a discursive event” and discourse as “spoken or written language use” and also a “form of social practice”. If we want to consider the relationship of those mentioned above (text, interactions and contexts), discourse and society or language and power, Critical Discourse Analysis provides opportunities for that (Henderson 2005:3).

As mentioned earlier, my data consists of documents produced by State, Universities and Students. They are all ‘institutional texts’, i.e. produced by institutional processes. Their creation (usually) requires interactions between people or organizations, and their purpose (among possible other purposes), in this case, is to contribute to the discourse of internationalization. In other words, there are power issues included. The content of the documents is not the only relevant target of analysis, but the process of production and interpretation, as well as the interaction involved are equally relevant. This is why I believe CDA can contribute to the analysis of my data.

4.2. Critical discourse analysis

Critical discourse analysis, (henceforth CDA), can be defined in several different ways and there are several approaches to it. My own approach to CDA is most affected by Fairclough (1995, 2001, 2003), who is described as the “most influential practitioner of CDA” (Widdowson (2004:90) cited in Poole 2010:139). However, since CDA is closer to a school than an established theory or a method for analysis, I see that it is important to give space for interpretations of CDA’s history and how it developed.

Blommaert’s (2005:22) interpretation is that it “emerged out of Hallidayan linguistics - - which was inspired by a desire to incorporate social semiotic functions into a theory of grammar”. It was seen that linguistic analysis could bring a valuable additional perspective for existing approaches to social critique (ibid.). Weiss and Wodak state that “[t]he roots of CDA lie in classical Rhetoric, Text linguistics and Sociolinguistics, as well as in Applied Linguistics and Pragmatics. The notions of ideology, power,

hierarchy, gender and sociological variables were all seen as relevant for the interpretation or the explanation of a text“ (Weiss and Wodak 2003:11). Even though subjects under investigation, as well as the methodologies differ greatly, a number of scholars seem to agree that CDA is interested in revealing power relations through language.

According to Weiss and Wodak “the term ‘CDA’ is used nowadays to refer more specifically to the critical linguistic approach of scholars who find the larger discursive unit text to be the basic unit of communication” (Weiss and Wodak 2003:12). CDA should rather be seen as a school or programme than as a single theory or method – this view is presented by Wodak and Meyer (2009:5). Therefore, also the approach to the development of CDA (and its historical background) is very much connected to each scholar’s background. (To see more about the historical development of CDA, see for example Henderson (2005) or Poole (2010)).

4.2.1 CDA, language and power

For CDA, language is not powerful on its own – it gains power by the use powerful people make of it. This explains why CDA often chooses the perspective of those who suffer and critically analyses the language use of those in power; those who are responsible for the existence of inequalities and who also have means and the opportunity to improve conditions. In agreement with its Critical Theory predecessors, CDA emphasizes the need for interdisciplinary work in order to gain a proper understanding of how language functions in constituting and transmitting knowledge, in organizing social institutions or in exercising power. (Weiss and Wodak 2003:14)

According to Fairclough, the starting point for CDA is social issues and problems, which “preoccupy sociologists, or political scientists, or educationalists“ (Fairclough 2001:229-230). This applies to my study as well: who has the power to define the discourses of internationalization? Fairclough continues that CDA can be used to analyze texts and interactions along with any type of semiotic material (text, conversations, advertisements, etc.). CDA looks for changes taking place “in forms of interaction around political and social issues”. That is why Fairclough claims that CDA is “inherently interdisciplinary”, “opening dialogue between disciplines concerned with linguistic and semiotic analysis (including discourse analysis), and disciplines concerned with theorizing and researching social processes and social change” (Fairclough

2001:230). For Fairclough (1995:23), CDA is an analytical framework for studying connections between not only language and power (as already mentioned), but also ideology. Blommaert (2005:25) claims that “discourse is an instrument of power, of increasing importance in contemporary societies.” He continues that since it is often hard to understand the way this instrument of power works, CDA aims to make it more visible and transparent. Blommaert (2005:34) also mentions that “CDA rightly focuses on *institutional environments* as key sites of research into the connections between language, power, and social processes” (italics original).

How is power signalled in discourse and what exactly can CDA investigate? How are the power issues relevant in this study? As Weiss and Wodak mention, the power is not always signalled only by grammatical forms within a text, but also “by a person’s control of social occasion by means of the genre of a text” (Weiss and Wodak 2003: 15). They continue that power is exercised or challenged often within the genres that are associated with given social occasions, and therefore, with the help of CDA it is possible to analyze “opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language” (ibid.).

My interest lies not only in who defines internationalization as a term (i.e. who has the power to define it), but who defines the discourses of internationalization. How are the actions and definitions legitimized?

Fairclough and Wodak (1997) offer eight foundational principles of CDA, namely:

- 1) CDA addresses social problems
- 2) power relations are discursive
- 3) discourse constitutes society and culture
- 4) discourse does ideological work
- 5) discourse is historical
- 6) A sociocognitive approach is needed to understand how relations between texts and society are mediated
- 7) discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory and uses a systematic methodology
- 8) CDA is socially committed scientific paradigm

4.2.3. The ‘critical’ part of CDA

Although often associated with power relations, Rogers (2004:3) states that critical research is much more. First of all, it is a rejection of naturalism (social practices/labels/programs that represent reality). She adds that in critical research, the analyst’s intention is to uncover power relationships and demonstrate inequities in society, which was also stated by Weiss and Wodak above. Another interpretation of ‘critical’ by Rogers is that in CDA, the critical is an attempt to describe, interpret and explain the relationship of form (grammar, morphology, semantics, syntax and pragmatics) and function (how people use the language to achieve something) in language. Her third interpretation of ‘critical’ is that “CDA explicitly addresses social problems and seeks to solve them through that analysis and accompanying social and political action, meaning that the intention of the analyst is explicitly (action-)oriented.

Billig identifies some crucial features, which the recent critical paradigms/theories/disciplines claim to possess and which give “particular meaning to the current use of ‘critical’.” (Billig 2003:38). The first factor is that critical approaches claim to be critical of the present social order. He adds that it’s not because of technical or methodological difference from other approaches to language study why CDA claims to be ‘critical’ but because it is rooted in a radical critique of social relations. He also claims that “Critical discourse analysts are likely to view the approaches of both traditional linguistics and conversation analysis as being ‘non-critical’, because their perspectives seem to ignore the connections between language and power.” (Billig 2003:38-39)

Billig’s view on CDA is shared by Fairclough. He states that CDA is **critical**, “first, in the sense that it seeks to discern connections between language and other elements in social life which are often opaque” (Fairclough 2001:230, emphasis original). According to him these include how language figures within social relations of power and domination, how language works ideologically and the negotiation of personal and social identities (ibid.).

Although the aim of CDA and the target of study are agreed by many scholars, the method for analysis is less so. I will now move into exploring CDA as a method for analysis as well as the critique it has received.

4.2.4. CDA as a method for analysis

The CDA representatives agree to a large extent that the complex interrelations between discourse and society cannot be analyzed adequately unless linguistic and sociological approaches are combined (Weiss and Wodak 2003:7). The question is, *how* these approaches are combined and how CDA works as a theory/method.

Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999:16) see CDA as both theory *and* method (emphasis added), as does Rogers (2004:2). Chouliaraki and Fairclough see CDA “as a method for analyzing social practices with particular regard to their discourse moments within the linking of the theoretical and practical concerns and public spheres just alluded to, where the ways of analyzing ‘operationalise’ – make practical – theoretical constructions of discourse in (late modern) social life, and the analyses contribute to the development and elaboration of these theoretical constructions.” (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999:16)

In addition, Chouliaraki and Fairclough see CDA as bringing a variety of theories, both social and linguistic, into dialogue,. This makes CDA’s theory “a shifting synthesis of other theories” (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999:16). They claim that CDA theorizes in particular the mediation between the social and the linguistic, the ‘order of discourse’ (ibid). However, Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999:17) do not support calls for stabilizing a method for CDA. Instead, they think that CDA should be seen “as constantly evolving as its application to new areas of social life is extended and its theorization of discourse correspondingly develops (1999:59).

As Rogers (2004:6) mentions, there are several different approaches to method in CDA, some more textually and/or linguistically oriented than others, some more focused on the context, or perhaps the historical aspects or social theories. She adds that there are no formulas for conducting CDA, but one should decide the analytic procedures depending

on the practical research situation, the research questions and the text under analysis. She also claims that approaches to CDA may vary, but as a method it must include the three parts: discourse, analysis, and critical. (Rogers 2004:3)

How to combat the problem of interdisciplinarity and develop an integrated theoretical framework that is “capable of reconciling different (sociological and linguistic) perspectives without reducing them to one another” (Weiss and Wodak 2003:8)? Weiss and Wodak (2003:8-9) suggest the following steps:

1) Clarification of the basic theoretical assumptions regarding text, discourse, language, action, social structure, institution and society – done on a level preceding the actual analysis, to constitute the framework for developing conceptual tools, establishing categories (etc.) In this study I have tried to give sufficient background information in chapters 1-3, as well as in this chapter concerning the terminology and CDA as the theoretical framework.

2) Development of conceptual tools capable of connecting the level of text or discourse analysis with sociological positions on institutions, actions and social structures. “The most important task of conceptual tools is to integrate sociological and linguistic positions, that is, to mediate between text and institution, between communication and structure, and between discourse and society” (Weiss and Wodak 2003:9). In concrete terms, development of conceptual tools can mean adopting elements from different theoretic approaches or schools and integrating them for a theory formation. In my analysis I will use the legitimation theory by Van Leeuwen, which I will introduce in detail below. The legitimation theory gives me the concrete, linguistic tools for analysing the data. Critical Discourse Analysis is the broader theoretical framework, helping me to point out the relationship between discourses of internationalization on European and national level, the power relations that affect the discourses on national level and how it can be revealed through linguistic analysis.

3) Defining the categories of analytical concepts, to denote the content of specific phenomena. Categories could include for example public space, identity, power, racism

etc. (Weiss and Wodak 2003:10-11). In this study there are different levels of categories. The first level includes categories of ‘power’ and ‘legitimacy’. The sub-categories for power are ‘participants’ (State, Universities, Students), which I will introduce in more detail in the following chapter. The sub-categories for legitimacy are the different legitimization strategies by Van Leeuwen (2007), which I will introduce below.

Van Leeuwen (2007) introduces a framework for analyzing how discourses construct legitimation (e.g. for social practises in public communication). Discourses of internationalization in the context of higher education are often connected to *changes* that are taking place in institutional, national or global level. Therefore, it is possible to presume that discourses of internationalization also include discourses of change. My reason for choosing legitimization strategies for analysis is because according to Van Leeuwen, legitimation adds the answer, “sometimes explicitly, sometimes more obliquely, to the question ‘Why’ – ‘Why should we do this?’ and ‘Why should we do this in this way?’ “ (Van Leeuwen 2007:93). I am interested in what the legitimization strategies used in discourses or internationalization are and for what purposes they are used. Van Leeuwen (2007) distinguishes four main strategies for legitimation: authorization, rationalization, moral evaluation and mythopoesis. He (2007:92-107) introduces them as follows:

Authorization is the legitimation by reference to the authority of tradition, custom, law, and of persons in whom some kind of institutional authority is vested, e.g. personal or expert authority. In this study, as the data consists of e.g. State papers, there are references to ministries, governments etc, which represent persons with institutional authority. One of the subcategories is called ‘conformity authorization’ which rests on the principle, that something is legitimate when ‘everybody does it’. I looked at the examples given in the data, which claimed that X and Y should be done (in the name of internationalization and because of it) because everybody else in Finland/Europe does it as well.

Moral evaluation is legitimation by reference to value systems (e.g. defined as “good” or “bad”, resting on the idea or commonly shared ideas of good and bad). There are

three subcategories, comparison, abstraction and evaluation. Van Leeuwen admits that exact tools for recognizing them are hard to give, but there are some suggestions. The easiest way to start is to look for descriptive adjectives (for internationalization or activities connected to it), such as “good”, “bad” or “essential”.

Rationalization is legitimation “by reference to the goals and uses of institutionalized social action, and to the social knowledges that endow them with cognitive validity”. There are two main sub-categories, instrumental and theoretical rationalization. Instrumental rationality “legitimizes practises by reference to their goals, uses and effects” and theoretical rationality “legitimizes practises by reference to a natural order of things (Van Leeuwen 2007:101). To recognize instrumental rationality it is important to look how and where the purpose is constructed, in conscious or uncounscious motives and intentions (=in the people) or in the action. Theoretical rationalizations, according to Van Leeuwen, often describe “the way things are”, i.e. they seem to be “telling the truth”.

Finally, **mythopoesis** (or “narrativization”, as defined by Vaara et al 2006) is legitimation “conveyed through narratives whose outcomes reward legitimate actions and punish non-legitimate actions” (Van Leeuwen 2007:92). These can be found e.g. in strategy prefaces, where there are visions of future and what will/will not happen if universities do not internationalize/changes are not made etc. When analysing the data I noticed that the narratives have similar patterns, which I will describe in more detail in chapter six.

I will introduce all the legitimation strategies in more detail in chapter 6 as I present the findings of the analysis with examples included.

4.2.5. Criticism towards CDA

There are also critical reactions to CDA and some substantial problems that have been brought up. Schegloff (1997 as cited in Blommaert 2005:32) sees CDA problematic in

social research because “analysts project their own political biases and prejudices onto their data and analyze them accordingly”. This view is shared by Rogers (2004:14), who claims that instead of being revealed *through* the data, political and social ideologies are projected *onto* the data (italics added). Schegloff (1997 in Blommaert 2005:32) also mentions that there can be problems of voice and reflexivity and “CDA tends to project specific interpretations onto discourse data and thus can motivate in a stentorian analyst's voice”.

Another problematic aspect of CDA is the “unequal balance between social theory and linguistic method, depending on the background of the analyst”, as Rogers (2004:14) puts it. She also claims that methodology is not systematic nor rigorous. However, as mentioned earlier, CDA has never been a single theory and no specific or stabilized methodology for it exists. Therefore, Weiss and Wodak (2003:12) state that “any criticism of CDA should always specify which research or researcher they relate to because CDA as such cannot be viewed as a holistic or closed paradigm”. Because I am mostly using the approach by Fairclough in this research, I will present critique towards theoretical foundations of Fairclough's CDA.

Poole (2010) targets his critique at theoretical foundations of Fairclough's CDA and its ways of working with texts. Poole (2010:151) finds it problematic that the term ‘discourse’ is variously defined and is sometimes glossed in shorthand as ‘language’. In addition he claims that “the theoretical underpinning of CDA relies on a wide variety of influences, but it is not clear that, together, these form a coherent whole” (ibid.). Another point relevant to mention is that he finds it problematic that CDA does not seem to pay attention to the fact that all readers interpret texts differently. These are all legitimate concerns, however possible to take into consideration when conducting a research. (Poole 2010:151-152)

Nevertheless, according to (Poole 2010:152), the “greatest shortcoming of Fairclough's CDA” is that it addresses only certain discourse type, usually associated with neo-liberalism, and that is done in a manner that is not genuinely ‘critical’”. He continues

that “[t]rue criticality would involve reading against the grain of *all* texts, searching for the hidden attitudes and assumptions behind *all* arguments, and weighing the strengths and weaknesses of *all* theories”. Poole claims that Fairclough’s CDA does not do this and accuses him of choosing texts “whose underlying assumptions he [Fairclough] finds politically distasteful.” Poole explains how this leads into interpreting the texts already before the analysis as they are selected. Therefore he sees that “textual analysis in Fairclough’s CDA becomes a mere sideshow, with linguistics serving him only as a repository of metalinguistic terminology“ (Poole 2010:152).

I admit that Poole presents valid arguments concerning Fairclough’s theoretical foundations of CDA. I believe that the critique given above is possible to take into consideration when conducting a research using CDA. To sum up, Wodak and Meyer conclude well what any critical discourse analyst should remember:

In any case, CDA researches have to be aware that their own work is driven by social, economic and political motives like any other academic work and that they are not in any privileged position. Naming oneself ‘critical’ only implies specific ethical standards: an intention to make their position, research interests and values explicit and their criteria as transparent as possible, without feeling the need to apologize for the critical stance of their work (Van Leeuwen, 2006:293 in Wodak and Meyer 2009:7)

I acknowledge that these aspects and the given critique should be taken into account when planning the research and research questions. As I have demonstrated above the method for CDA is not systematic, which on one hand can be problematic but on the other hand gives the researcher a great deal of freedom in planning the research and using the methods one is familiar with (the background of the researcher) and what best suits and serves the research. Especially in multidisciplinary research this can be seen as an asset, not a defect.

The shortcomings of CDA can be avoided. Keeping in mind the dangers presented above I have to acknowledge my background and viewpoint: my personal viewpoint on the subject is affected by the fact that I am a student and I have been active in student organisations (whose documents are also under analysis in this research). However, in my analysis my intentions are to bring the power relations and legitimation strategies

visible, keeping the “pretext”, as much as possible, neutral. Yet I acknowledge that instead of analysis, interpretation of texts is a possible danger.

I believe that the background of a writer can never be totally wiped out of the processes of analysis. In my point of view, according to all the background research I have read on this matter so far, text analysis *always* is also interpretation, no matter how solid or consistent the theoretical or methodological basis is. As a writer, my job and my challenge is to give plausible and consistent justifications for my choices, analysis, and – interpretation.

5 The present study

5.1. Aim of the present study

Finally, it needs to be asked, what, in the year 2020, will be seen as the major accomplishments of internationalization during the past 30 years? Are we taking a long-term perspective on the implications and consequences of internationalization? What are key issues or questions that require further evaluation, research, and policy analysis to address and guide the long-term impact and implications of internationalization at both the institutional and sector levels? (Knight 2004:29)

The aim of the present study is to analyze the different discourses on internationalization in the context of Finnish higher education and examine what are the legitimation strategies used in the discourses of internationalization. My aim is to find out who defines internationalization and how. I believe that for example the Bologna process and other effects caused by the EU define the discourses on internationalization in Finland. I believe there is a need to bring out variety of views on internationalization, e.g. the less powerful voices. My aim is to analyze the texts and different aspects and dimensions of internationalization with the help of CDA.

The current study focuses on the legitimation strategies used in the documents, the power relations and nominalization in texts, as well as the voice of texts.

5.2. Research questions

In this chapter I will introduce my research questions. My main research questions are as follows:

- 1) What are the legitimation strategies each stakeholder uses concerning internationalization and for what purposes?
- 2) How do the discourses of internationalization differ between the different stakeholders (State, Universities, Students)?

In order to answer these questions I have also defined some sub-questions.

For the first question:

- How does the use of legitimation strategies differ between the stakeholders and does it have any effects?
- Is there a common narrative (or several of them) that is/are mentioned when talking about internationalization? How are they constructed and are there any differences between them?

For the second question:

- Are the different discourses of internationalization competing against each other? Which of them is the dominant one and why?
- Do students challenge or reproduce the dominant discursive practises?
- What are the power relations between different 'speakers'?

It will be interesting to see which aspects of internationalization are emphasized and which are left with less attention. I also want to analyze texts produced by students because my hypothesis is that those might have different discourses of internationalization compared to the other texts that I analyze.

In order to analyze discourses of internationalization, I have to determine what is included in the discourses of internationalization. In chapter two I presented a definition of internationalization by Knight (2004):

[internationalization is]the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education. (Knight, 2003:2 in Knight 2004)

I used the definition by Knight when analysing the data. Not all the clauses under analysis were in the form: "internationalization is ___" or "because of internationalization, X should be done". Instead, a variety of activities were mentioned (content of internationalization). Discourses of internationalization are not only clauses

or sentences where the term “internationalization” is mentioned, but larger entities. I will give a more specific description of what I have included in this study under the discourses of internationalization in the following subchapter called Collection and selection of data.

5.3. Collection and selection of data

My data for analysis consists of documents, which can be divided in three different categories on the basis of who has produced them, namely ‘State’, ‘Universities’ and ‘Students’ documents. I went through dozens of documents that were available on the Internet. The documents that were only available in Finnish were translated (by Kirsi Marttinen, K. M. and David Hackston, D. H.) The texts that were translated are clearly marked in the analysis, either with K. M. or D. H. All other examples are from data that was available in English.

Here is a short description of collecting and choosing the data for each category:

- 1) **State documents:** State documents consist of strategies and development plans. All of them are written by the Ministry of Education and Culture in Finland and they were available on the webpage of the Ministry.

There were several documents that cover internationalization. I decided to include the most relevant documents that cover the internationalization in Finnish higher education. My original plan was to also include government programmes but in the end their contents concerning internationalization of higher education were scarce. Therefore I ended up using documents only by the Ministry of Education and Culture. Documents by the Ministry were excellent for analysis for the great amount of relevant material in each document. The collected documents were written during the past decade.

As the documents were long and covered other subjects along internationalization, I singled out those chapters and parts of texts that cover both internationalization/international activities and higher education and thus were most relevant for my study. Altogether I went through more than 40 documents concerning internationalization, globalization, higher education in Finland and other similar texts, produced by the Ministry of Education. At the end I chose four texts for my analysis.

Ministry of Education (2001). *An international strategy for higher education 2001*

Ministry of Education (2004). *Education and Research 2003-2008. Development plan*

Ministry of Education (2007). *Education and Research 2007–2012. Development plan.*

Ministry of Education (2009). *Strategy for the internationalisation of Finnish higher education institutions*

All the chosen texts were available in English, meaning that they have been translated by the Ministry of Education. The translations are (in my opinion) very true to the Finnish originals, to the extent that is possible considering the differences between Finnish and English.

- 2) **Universities' documents.** I have collected a variety of university strategies written by the University of Jyväskylä, the University of Tampere and the Aalto University. I have also included some documents by Unifi, Universities Finland, (former University Rectors' Council, Suomen yliopistojen rehtorien neuvosto), which is an organization representing all universities in Finland. All the documents were available online.

The collection of data from university documents was not as easy and straightforward as the collection of State documents. At first my plan was to

analyze documents (such as strategies, policies and working group memos) produced only by the University of Jyväskylä, but the amount of material (suitable for analysis) was simply not enough. In addition, although there were papers about international matters, internationalization as a phenomenon or matter was not really mentioned in most documents. Therefore I had to broaden my criteria of selecting the data to cover discourses of internationalization in a broader sense (which I will explain in more detail below) and I decided to include documents produced by other universities as well. In addition, as already mentioned, I also included three policy papers by Unifi.

The University texts that I chose for analysis:

Aalto Yliopisto 2010: *Aalto-yliopiston strategia 2010* (in Finnish)
(The Strategy for Aalto University)

Jyväskylän yliopisto 2002: *Jyväskylän yliopiston kokonaisstrategia 2002- 2010*
(in Finnish).
(The Strategy and Operational Agenda of University of Jyväskylä)

University of Jyväskylä 2010: *Excellence and Dynamism: University of Jyväskylä 2017*

University of Tampere 2010: *Let's shape the future! Change in the University of Tampere 2010–2015*

Suomen yliopistojen rehtorien neuvosto 2005: *Manifesti*
(University Rectors' Council 2005: Manifest)

Suomen yliopistot Unifi ry 2008: *Lausuntopyyntö korkeakoulujen kansainvälistymisstrategiasta* (In Finnish)
(Comment for the Strategy for the internationalisation of Finnish higher education institutions.) Universities Finland.

Suomen yliopistot Unifi ry 2010: *Teesit* (In Finnish)
(Universities Finland 2010:Theses).

As mentioned above, some of the documents were available only in Finnish. I have translated the examples that I analyzed, aiming for a translation that would convey the idea of the original sentence. I used the same tense and structure as

much as possible (e.g. passive vs. active sentences). The original texts in Finnish can be found in the appendix.

- 3) Student documents:** I chose to use the documents by the National Union of University Students in Finland (SYL hereafter). SYL represents all university students in Finland due to the fact that being a member of a student union is automatic/compulsory if one studies at a university, and all student unions form SYL. I have analyzed a collection of official comments, policy statements and some speeches by SYL. In addition, there is a statement given by SYL and other national student organizations in Nordic and Baltic regions.

Most of the documents by SYL were available on their webpage until late autumn in 2010. Due to the reform of the SYL webpage, all their documents were temporarily removed from the webpages. However, after addressing the SYL office about the problem, they sent me all the necessary documents by email. I went through more than 60 documents by SYL and in the end I chose seven documents, which were relevant and covered the topic of internationalization. The challenge with these documents was that they were single statements or commentary papers and there were not many strategies that define internationalization or its contents. In addition, the documents that cover internationalization were mostly comments to the documents of the Ministry of Education.

The Student documents that I chose for analysis are:

SYL 2001: Suomen Ylioppilaskuntien liitto: *Lausunto korkeakoulujen kansainvälisen toiminnan strategiasta 13.12.2001*

(Comments to the Ministry of Education for the International strategy for higher education 2001)

SYL 2002: *Opetusministeriölle 17.12.2002 pidettävään kuulemiseen Koulutuksen ja tutkimuksen kehittämissuunnitelmasta vuosille 2003-2008*

(Comments for the hearing organized by Ministry of Education concerning the Development Plan for Education and Research 2003-2008)

SYL 2005: National Union of University Students in Finland, Suomen ylioppilaskuntien liitto (SYL). *Linjapaperi 2005* (Policy lines 2005)

SYL 2006: Suomen Ylioppilaskuntien liitto. Lausunto Opetusministeriölle 20.12.2006: *Koulutuksen ja tutkimuksen kehittämissuunnitelma vuosille 2007–2012*.
(Statement for the Ministry of Education concerning the Development plan for Education and Research 2007-2012)

SYL 2007: Suomen Ylioppilaskuntien liitto: Kannanotto 7.3.2007: *Maksuton koulutus – Suomen kilpailuvaltti*.
(Statement concerning feeless education)

NOM (Nordic and Baltic students) 2010: *Joined statement against tuition fees*.

SYL 2010: Suomen ylioppilaskuntien liitto: *Kansainvälistymispaketti jokaiseen yliopistotutkintoon*.
(Statement: Internationalization package for each university degree)

All the documents except for the joined statement by Nordic and Baltic students were in Finnish. I translated the examples that I used in my analysis (except for one example that was translated by David Hackston). The examples given in chapters six, seven and eight are in English and all the examples in Finnish (with the translations) can be found in the appendix. All translations are clearly marked.

For my analysis I chose documents that are either relevant *concerning the context* of the internationalization processes of Finnish higher education or deal with the process (of internationalization) itself. Some of the documents included pictures (e.g. some Ministry reports and strategies) but I did not include the photos in the analysis, because they did not seem relevant as a part of the discourse. I concentrated on the documents produced within the last ten years because it firstly, seemed sufficient to show the possible changes in the discourses of internationalization and secondly, allowed me to keep the research material manageable. In addition I chose documents that were related to each other, examples of different categories (given above) but created at the same time (e.g. commenting the same issues).

The challenge in the analysis was caused especially by the difference of the texts. Whereas the strategies (e.g. by the Ministry of Education and Culture) are more descriptive and analytical, the student statements are very short summaries of certain subjects, expressing the opinion clearly about certain, defined matters. In other words, the genre of the texts is different, which makes using the same analytical tools for them very challenging.

The data in this thesis is divided in different categories on the basis of who has produced the texts. The texts written by the Ministry of Education as well as by the universities are representing an organisation or institution instead of a certain, defined group of people. The text produced by the Ministry of Education and Culture in Finland can be seen representing the 'state' or 'government', since its strategies and aims are defined in the Government programme. The texts produced by universities are a little bit more complicated, when considering the voice in them, because whereas the texts by the Ministry of Education and Culture do not represent the voice of people who work at the ministry, (but is more the voice of the state), the university texts can be seen as the voice of the whole university (including the rector, students, teachers, other personnel). Due to the fact that in Finnish universities all the different interest groups are well presented in decision-making (university senate, faculty boards, working groups), in theory, university speaks representing the whole 'university community'.

However, it is not as simple as this. There are two aspects that should be taken into consideration: the production of texts and the universities' relationship with the Ministry of Education. As it has been stated before in this thesis (chapter 3 p. 25), despite their autonomy, universities are very much tied to the strategies of Ministry of Education and Culture in Finland, which can surely be seen in the texts produced by universities (as later pointed out in the analysis). The texts (such as university strategies) produced by the universities probably present rather compromised viewpoints by the different groups it represents rather than a collection of the different viewpoints present in academic communities. This is mostly due to the system of text production: the strategies are

written and prepared by the university administration (in different levels: departments, faculties, central administration). The papers are then commented in department/faculty councils before being finally approved by the university senate.

Compared to the previous voices, the voice of Students is different. The definition of 'Student' texts is challenging as well, since students are not a homogenous group of people. "An average university student", according to common views and presuppositions, is 20-25 years old, single, living in a student flat and studying for his/her first degree. However, all students are not "average university students"; some students live with their parents, have a family of their own, might be over 30 years, working part-time and speak Swedish as their mother tongue. However, all of these students are represented by the National Union of University Students in Finland (SYL). In general, university students are very well organized in Finland (mostly due to the fact that the position and duties of student unions is defined in the Universities' Act, and that the membership is compulsory for all university students). All the student unions form the National Union of University Students in Finland (SYL), and therefore SYL can be seen as representing all university students.

The texts mentioned above are the ones that I decided to include in the analysis, concerning the discourses within Finland by Finnish stakeholders. However, as mentioned earlier in this thesis, the discourse of internationalization is also very much defined on the European level, e.g. in European Union documents. There is a strong intertextuality between the "Finnish" text and the "European/other" texts (documents of EU, OECD, etc), which I will explain in more detail in chapter 10 (conclusions).

To sum up the collection and selection of data, I will try to demonstrate how the selected documents are in relation to each other. The parliamentary elections are held every fourth year. Usually within a few weeks, a coalition government is formed and a government programme prepared. The government programme gives the outlines for the policy-making and preparations for the ministries for the following four years. In chapter three, I gave an example of a document that is written following the cycle of legislative

period, the Development Plan for Education and Research in Finland. I will give another example that demonstrates the chain in decision-making and relationship of different documents.

The government programme (2007-2011) of Matti Vanhanen's government states that, "A national internationalisation strategy will be devised for higher education in order to increase the international mobility of students, teachers and researchers." Therefore, as stated on the webpage of Ministry of Education and Culture: "The aims listed in the Government Programme are given more concrete content in a strategy document and in policy programmes, which are co-financed by the Ministry of Education as regards education and research" (MECF 2011b). As planned in the government programme and mentioned in the Ministry webpage, the Ministry of Education and Culture in Finland prepared (among other strategies) the Strategy for Internationalization of Higher Education. In addition, the universities have started to write their own strategies to implement the aims listed in the Strategy by the ministry. The role of the students is multi-faceted. The student representatives are in most cases included in the working groups (of Ministries and universities) to ensure that the student perspective is taken into account. However, as a result, the strategies/policies represent the ideas of other stakeholders. Very often (on the basis of my research on the data and previous experiences in student politics), the role left for the students is to comment on the strategies. The universities have a possibility to take part in the political discussions e.g. via Unifi, but since their funding comes mostly from the Ministry, they still have to adapt their operations to the requirements of the Ministry. The students, in this case, the National Union of University Students in Finland (SYL) representing them, is accountable only for the student unions it represents, therefore the students have greater freedom of commenting.

5.4. Method of analysis

Critical discourse analysis itself does not suggest any particular method for analysis, but rather combines different methods and approaches (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999).

First of all, my interest lies in the legitimation strategies. It should be noted that all the different stakeholders have different political agenda and strategies. As Wodak and Meyer (2009:174) mention, legitimation is a *political* strategy, not semiotic, although it is a strategy created with the help of language in speech and texts. Although all my data covers the discourses of internationalization, the purpose, aim, or agenda of the documents is not purely to define internationalization or aims concerning it. Therefore I believe that it is important to analyze the strategies for legitimation, because through that we can more easily see “the hidden agendas”, or the real targets the internationalization of higher education is “used for”.

My method is qualitative in nature since my aim is to analyze what are the (qualitative) differences between the different discourses of internationalization and what are the legitimation strategies used. As for the linguistic analysis, I will use Van Leeuwen’s framework (that I already briefly introduced in the previous chapter) for analysing the legitimation strategies used in discourses of internationalization, i.e. in the selected texts.

As already mentioned, I chose legitimation strategies for analysis because according to Van Leeuwen, legitimation adds the answer to the question ‘Why’ – ‘Why should we do this?’ and ‘Why should we do this in this way?’ (Van Leeuwen 2007:93). Finding answers to these “why” –questions is interesting, considering the different stakeholders under analysis.

In addition, a valid question is: what does studying discursive legitimation mean from the perspective of CDA? Vaara et al (2006:793) write that “from this perspective, legitimacy means a discursively created sense of acceptance in specific discourses or orders of discourse. The key point, here, is that it is the discourse and its characteristics that define what can be considered as legitimate/illegitimate.” Later on they continue saying that “CDA perspective allows one to shift attention from established legitimacy to the processes of legitimation by examining the concrete discursive practices and strategies used. In its simplest form, this means that specific actors try to persuade and

convince others through various kinds of rhetorical moves.” In other words, with the analysis of legitimation strategies it is possible to find out what are the aspects of internationalization that each stakeholder sees important. What is “beneficial”, “positive” or “desirable”, or on the other hand; what is regarded as “harmful” or “negative” (Vaara et al 2006:794).

Then, to reveal the different power positions of the stakeholders, differences in legitimation strategies and finally, the differences between the discourses of internationalization, I will compare the findings based on the analysis of the use of legitimation strategies. I will present the framework for analysing the legitimation strategies in detail together with the actual analysis in the following chapters.

For the analysis I chose sentences/clauses that refer to internationalization. In other words, descriptions of actions and processes connected to internationalization. Most of them include the term “internationalization” itself, others describe the content or an aspect of internationalization. After choosing examples of texts that refer to internationalization, I categorized them using Van Leeuwen’s (2007) framework for legitimation strategies. Van Leeuwen’s framework gives tools for recognizing the strategies and also gives detailed examples of conducting analysis and different categories and sub-categories. The use of the legitimation strategies will contribute to the analysis of power relations, as well as the relationship between the texts and their purpose (social context).

In the following chapters I will present the legitimation framework by Van Leeuwen in more detail, as I present the findings of this study.

6 State

The following sections include the analysis of the legitimation strategies used in ‘State’ documents. Each strategy type, as presented earlier, has its own section. In this chapter I will introduce Van Leeuwen’s framework in more detail as I present the findings. The legitimation strategies in State documents are used for legitimating 1) the need to write internationalization documents 2) the need for change to enhance internationalization.

6.1. Authorization

Van Leeuwen (2007, Van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999) has characterized the legitimation as answering to the question: “Why should we do this?” One type of answer to that question comes in a form of legitimation by reference to the authority of tradition, custom, law, and of persons in whom some kind of institutional authority is vested. There are several sub-categories, which I introduce by giving examples. In this section I have **bolded** some words or parts of clauses in the examples, which I then take under a closer look in my analysis. In addition to this, I have bolded the different **types of legitimation (sub-categories)**, as they are mentioned for the first time in each chapter.

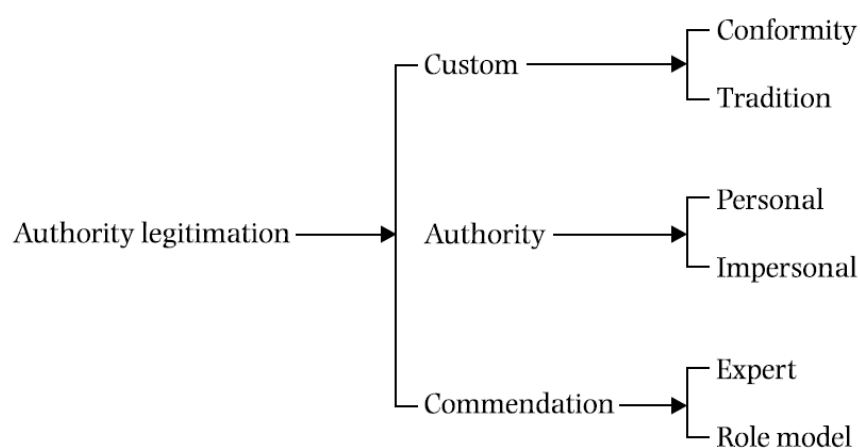


Figure 3: Types of Authority legitimation (Van Leeuwen 2007:97)

In the case of **personal authority**, legitimate authority is vested in a person because of their status or role in a certain institution. As Van Leeuwen mentions, “such authorities then need not invoke any justification for what they require others to do other than a mere ‘because I say so’, although in practice they may of course choose to provide reasons and arguments” (Van Leeuwen 2007:94).

The Strategy for the Internationalisation of Higher Education Institutions in Finland 2009–2015 (Ministry of Education 2009:4-5), as many other documents by the Ministry of Education uses personal authority legitimation in many ways. The foreword is written by Henna Virkkunen, Minister of Education and Science, in which she is stating the need for the strategy, its possible outcomes and possibilities, and the reasons for carrying out the suggestions of the document. In other words, the Minister of Education and Science is used as the personal authority to legitimize the whole strategy. In addition, in the section that describes the “preparation of the strategy”, it states that:

Example 1: Preparation of the higher education institution internationalisation strategy is included in the Government Programme of Prime Minister Matti Vanhanen’s second cabinet. The Development Plan for Education and Research for the period 2007-2012 provides added focus to the Government Programme and sets priority areas for the internationalisation of higher education institutions.
(Ministry of Education 2009:6).

Again, the status, in this case, of an institution (Prime Minister’s cabinet/ Government Programme), is where the authority is vested. As the preparation of the strategy is “included in the Government Programme” and internationalization of higher education institutions set as a” priority area”, the reader is given an impression that there were no choices but to carry on with the creation of the strategy.

In the case of **expert authority**, legitimacy is provided by expertise rather than status (Van Leeuwen 2007:94). The legitimation by authority can refer to a single sentence, or a whole document, as is the case in the following example, again from the same strategy as above:

Example 2:

The Ministry of Education was responsible for the preparation of the higher education institution internationalisation strategy. The strategy was drawn up using an open and interactive methodology. Views on the subject were invited from **higher education students** and **personnel** as well as from the **business community** and **other stakeholders** for the preparation of the strategy. In spring 2008, a web-based open consultation was implemented, in which over **1,200 respondents** shared their views on the internationalisation of higher education institutions. In addition, **six thematic workshops** discussing key issues in internationalisation were organised and in these brainstorming sessions proposals for measures to be taken were invited and discussed. **A total of 130 experts** participated in the workshops. (Ministry of Education 2009:6)

The expert authority is created in several different ways. Firstly, several different participant groups (students, personnel, other stakeholders) are mentioned, creating a sense of expertise due to the different background of the participant groups. Secondly, the number of participants is big, creating an idea that all possible viewpoints have been taken into account. Thirdly, the text mentions that “total of 130 experts participated in the workshops”, which is a very straightforward way of referring to expertise.

Example 3:

Finland is an active player in the European higher education and research cooperation; however, **several studies** and **comparisons** demonstrate that scarcity of internationality is among the weaknesses of the Finnish higher education, research and innovation system. (Ministry of Education 2009:5)

Example 3 demonstrates well the legitimation for need to internationalize. “Several studies” and “comparisons” are regarded as the expert authority, stating the “scarcity of internationality”. Therefore, if scarcity of internationality is a weakness, there is an assumption that it should be increased.

Another sub-type of authorization legitimation is the **authority of conformity**. In the case of conformity, finally, the answer to the “why” question is not “because that’s what we always do”, but “because that’s what everybody else does”, or “because that’s what most people do” (Van Leeuwen 2007:97).

Example 4:

Like other countries, Finland is opening up to international influences. (Ministry of Education 2004:9)

Example 5:

International competition for talented students, teachers and researchers is gaining momentum while **Europe is pooling resources with a view to strengthening its impact on the global level**. Finland must provide its own education and research system with conditions which enable it to operate on an equal footing with others. (Ministry of Education 2004:13)

In the example 4 above, the message is that “opening up to international influences” is normal or acceptable because other countries do it as well. In the second text the message is that since others are doing something (in this case: improving conditions to compete for talented students, teachers and researchers), Finland should “keep up” with them. The need for the competition is not explained but it is assumed in the text. The legitimation lies in the idea: “as others are doing it, we should be doing it as well”.

6.2. Moral evaluation

Moral evaluation legitimation is based on moral values, rather than imposed by some kind of authority without further justification (Van Leeuwen 2007:97). As Van Leeuwen states, in most cases moral evaluation is not explicitly made (e.g. defining something good or bad) but rather only hinted on, by means of adjectives such as “healthy”, “normal” or “natural”. This means that finding an explicit, linguistically motivated method for identifying moral evaluations is almost impossible. According to Van Leeuwen (ibid.), “as discourse analysts we can only ‘recognize’ them on the basis of our common-sense cultural knowledge”. However, he offers different subcategories and tools for recognizing them.

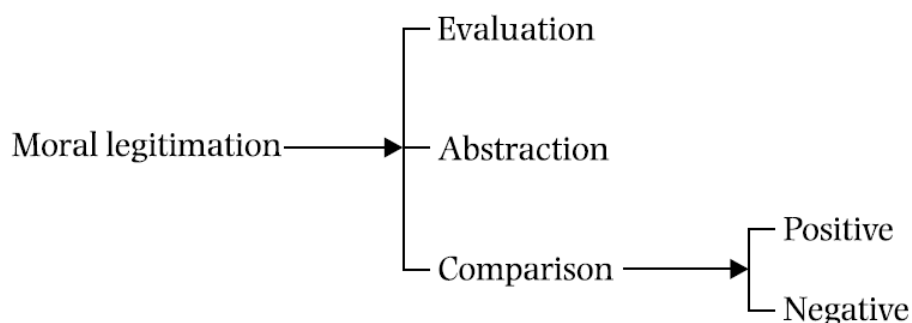


Figure 4: Types of moral evaluation legitimation (Van Leeuwen 2007:100)

I could not find any good examples of **evaluation**, which is often based on using evaluative adjectives, such as “normal” or “natural”. The second subcategory, **abstraction**, is more present in State texts. This is how Van Leeuwen describes it:

Another way of expressing moral evaluations is by referring to practices (or to one or more of their component actions or reactions) in abstract ways that “moralize” them by distilling from them a quality that links them to discourses of moral values. (Van Leeuwen 2007:98)

At first I could not think or find any examples, until I realised that the whole discourse of internationalization is full of abstractions.

Example 6:

The higher education institution internationalisation strategy provides guidelines for the internationalisation of higher education institutions in 2009–2015. It sets five primary aims for internationalisation: 1) A genuinely international higher education community 2) Increasing quality and attractiveness 3) Export of expertise 4) Supporting a multicultural society and 5) Global responsibility (Ministry of Education 2009: 10-11)

As this is from the strategy for the internationalisation of higher education institutions, we can read that these aims are synonyms for internationalization, something that internationalization aims for. In other words, the practise or action (internationalization) is referred to with these aims (which are rather abstract) and these abstract aims with positive qualities (word choice, such as “increasing quality” and “export of expertise”) then moralize the practise/action. State documents are full of examples or abstraction, here is another one:

Example 7:

Internationalisation **promotes the mental growth and understanding of global responsibility in an individual.** (Ministry of Education 2009: 17)

One of the key terms concerning abstraction is nominalization. In nominalization the actor behind the action stays unclear because the participants of the clause are excluded or other semantic elements are lost (Fairclough 2003:143). The moral values, in this case (mental growth and understanding of global responsibility) are defined by the writers or

the text and closely connected to the question of ideology. The moral values that are present in this text are not discussed nor debated but given. The aims of internationalization (as given by this example) are connected to globalization and what is seen as desirable.

The third subcategory of moral legitimation – **comparison**, is a strategy widely used in State texts. As Van Leeuwen (2007:99) points out, “comparison in discourse almost always has a legitimatory or de-legitimatory function”. This is also the case in the following example:

Example 8:

Despite our progress, the low level of internationalisation is still one of the key weaknesses of the Finnish higher education and research system when **compared with our competitors**. - - - Not only are we **behind the large science nations** in researcher, teacher and student mobility but we are also **behind small, developed countries**. (Ministry of Education 2004:14)

In the sentence above Finland is positioned in comparison with other countries and how they are doing. The unspoken suggestion is that Finland should be doing better, therefore something has to be done and the low level of internationalization is mentioned as a reason for the problems. To create stronger feeling of comparison, i.e. the difference between the current state (of internationalization in Finland) and desired state, words and expressions such as “low level”, “key weaknesses”, “behind”, “not only – but” are used. These words carry a rather negative “sound”, highlighting the need for change. Another similar example:

Example 9:

The international operating environment of higher education institutions is changing rapidly. Finnish higher education institutions must **compete** increasingly harder **to retain their position** as producers, conveyors and utilisers of competence and new knowledge. (Ministry of Education 2009:17)

In this example, competing harder is seen as the positive activity that will enable Finnish higher education institutions retain their position, i.e. achieve something good. Therefore, the needed change (activity: harder competition) is legitimated by

comparison. The urgency for the change is created using describing the operating environment as “changing rapidly”. In addition, the HE institutions “must compete **increasingly** harder”, hinting that the pace of working must increase, and this will only result in **retaining** the position, i.e. keeping it. All these word choices result in creating a sense of urgency and need for change.

There is another sub-category of moral evaluation, something that Vaara et al (2006) call “**nationalistic moralization**”. In nationalistic moralization national interest is seen as the key value in discourse.

Example 10:

Participation in the globalisation of education, science and technology and influencing it in the EU, OECD, UNESCO and in other international forums is **in the best financial and cultural interest of Finland**. (Ministry of Education 2009:17)

In the example above, the participation in globalization is evaluated as being “in the best financial and cultural interest of Finland”. Thus, “participation” is the moralized activity. The purpose of “name dropping”, i.e. mentioning EU, OECD and UNESCO is to convince the reader; almost everyone knows these institutions/organizations and their power. In addition, it is very hard to deny that “influencing education” would not be important, since the mentioned institutions have power and their decisions and policies also effect Finland. However, what this “participation” means is at this point still left open.

Example 11:

A strategic objective in the *internationalisation of science and research* is **to support Finland’s development and competitiveness** ---(Ministry of Education 2007:45)

The example above states very clearly the strategic objective in the internationalization, which is to **support** “Finland’s development and competitiveness”, i.e. national interest. Hence, this can be seen as an example of nationalistic moralization as well. Just as in the previous examples, it is very hard to argue that the objective is not desirable. In addition, as we could see from the previous examples (e.g. example 8), “negative” words can be

used to create a sense of urgency and highlight the need for change. In this example the word “support” is used in creating a positive feeling about internationalization and its effects.

6.3. Rationalization

Rationalization, by Van Leeuwen, is legitimation “by reference to the goals of institutionalized social action and to the social knowledges that endow them with cognitive validity” (Van Leeuwen 2007:92). He (2007:101) distinguishes two main types of rationality: **Instrumental rationality**, which “legitimizes practises by reference to their goals, uses and effects” and **theoretical rationality**, which “legitimizes practises by reference to a natural order of things.” I will give concrete examples of these below.

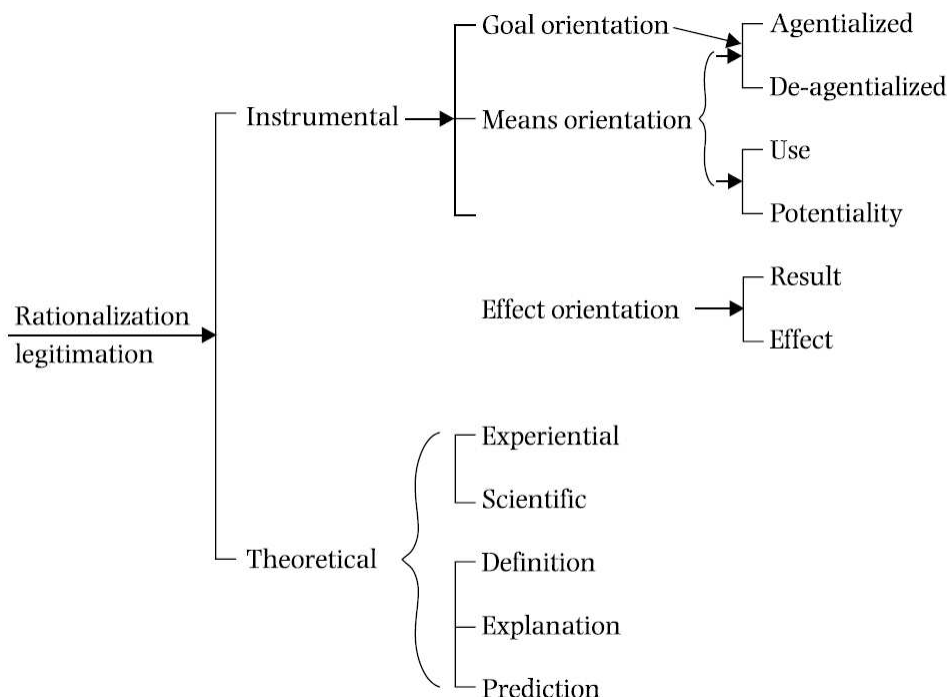


Figure 5: Types of rationalization legitimation (Van Leeuwen 2007:105)

6.3.1. Instrumental legitimation

According to Van Leeuwen (2007), purposes (just as legitimations) are constructed in discourses in order to explain why social practices exist. However, he continues that to serve as legitimations, purpose constructions must contain an element of moralization. There are different types of **instrumental legitimation** used in State documents, of which I give some examples below.

One type of instrumentality is what Van Leeuwen calls **goal-orientation**, constructing purposes “as in people”, as conscious or unconscious motives, aims or intentions. As Van Leeuwen (2007:102) states, this requires a) *that the agency of the actor of the purposeful action is explicitly expressed* and b) *that the purposeful action and the purpose have the same agent*, or “if the purpose is a state, that the person to whom that state is attributed is also the agent of the purposeful action” (*italics added*). Although Van Leeuwen uses examples of “people”, the framework works with institutions as well. As a legitimation strategy, goal-orientation is not very commonly used in State documents, but I will give an example of this. To highlight the desired change or action in the examples, I have **bolded** the predicate and underlined the goal/result (object/predicative of the clause).

Example 12:

Finnish higher education institutions **utilise their research and expertise** to solve global problems and to consolidate competence in developing countries
(Ministry of Education 2009:11)

In the example above, “*Finnish higher education institutions*” is the *purposeful actor*, “**utilise their research and expertise**” is the **purposeful action** and “to solve...” is the purpose. As can be seen, the purposeful action and purpose share the same agent (Finnish higher education institutions).

Another type of instrumentality is **means-orientation**, which is probably the most common strategy used in State papers. In means-orientation, “the purpose is constructed

as “in the action”, as the action is a means to an end” (Van Leeuwen 2007:102). The formula of these is either “I achieve doing/being/having y by x-ing” (agency intact) or “x-ing serves to achieve being/doing/having y”.

Example 13:

By international networking higher education institutions **consolidate** the development potential of their region, their overall competence level, available resources, competitiveness and innovation ability as well as make business life in the region more varied. (Ministry of Education 2009:11)

In the example above, the purpose is constructed in the action (international networking), which is a means to an end (consolidating the development potential...). As in the example above, and other examples of instrumental rationalization, I will use *italics* for the action under analysis, e.g. internationalization or actions that are legitimating internationalization.

Van Leeuwen presents a number of sub-categories for means-orientation, for example the category of **use**, “where the purposeful action is represented as a tool to achieve a goal” (Van Leeuwen 2007:103). Two examples of these:

Example 14:

Attracting foreign students is one **way to increase** the availability of labour, because study in Finland teaches students about the country and binds them more to Finnish society and working life than other immigrants. (Ministry of Education 2001:19)

Example 15:

Internationalisation **will also create** the basis for work related immigration. (Ministry of Education 2007:42)

In example 14, *attracting foreign students* is the purposeful action and a tool to achieve the goal, which is “increasing the availability of labour”. Example 15 demonstrates well what Van Leeuwen and Wodak call “objective strategy legitimation”. This means that the activities, in this case, ”internationalization” or activities that are mentioned to

enhance internationalization are objectivated through nominalization. The nominalized activity (internationalization) is the subject of the means-process. Nominalization is typical in governmental discourse (Lemke 1995 in Fairclough 2003:144) but why is nominalization used? As Fairclough (2003:143) points out, “nominalization characteristically involves the ‘loss’ of certain semantic elements of clauses ... and may involve the exclusion of Participants in clauses”. Therefore, who is behind the “action” stays unclear. As a rule, it could be said that the more abstract the goal, the more likely nominalization is used. I will give another example to support my idea:

Example 16:

Moreover, *internationalisation of higher education institutions* **promotes** diversity in the society and business community, international networking, competitiveness and innovativeness, as well as improves the well-being, competence and education of the citizens. (Ministry of Education 2009:9)

Again, the activity (internationalization) is nominalized. The purpose is relatively abstract (“...promotes diversity in the society...”), and it would be hard to imagine any real agents for the clause. This is also an example of another subcategory, **potentiality**, which focuses on *potential* of specific actions that serve for specific purposes. These are usually found in “clauses with “facilitating processes”, such as ‘allow’, ‘promote’ (as above), ‘help’, ‘teach’, ‘build’, ‘facilitate’, etc. in which the purposeful action is subject and the purpose object or complement” (Van Leeuwen 2007:103). Another example of potentiality:

Example 17:

Internationalisation **promotes** the mental growth and understanding of global responsibility in an individual. (Ministry of Education 2009:17)

Again, the nominalized action (internationalisation) is a means for achieving the purpose object, “the mental growth and understanding of global responsibility in an individual”. As the examples above demonstrate, internationalization is often used as the purposeful

action, the means to achieve a goal/ purpose. However, internationalization is not always the purposeful action, but the goal itself, as in the following example.

Example 18:

Taking internationality into account consistently in the human resources policy of higher education institutions **consolidates** internationalisation (Ministry of Education 2009:36)

This is another example of the category of potentiality. Purposeful action (in italics) is the subject of the sentence and the purpose (internationalization) is the complement.

Another similar example:

Example 19:

The mobility of personnel **promotes** the internationalisation of higher education teaching and research, the popularity of exchange studies and the creation of joint and double degrees and international elements of study programmes. (Ministry of Education 2009:29)

There is one more type of instrumental legitimation, the **effect orientation**, which emphasizes the outcome or effect of actions, something that turned out (rather than something that could have been planned) (Van Leeuwen 2007:103). There are two sub-categories for effect orientation, **result** (“no identity between the agent of the action whose purpose is to be constructed, and the agent of the action that constitutes the purpose itself”) and **effect** (“the purposeful action itself is the agent or initiator of the purpose action”) (ibid.). Here is an example of the latter:

Example 20:

Studying and working abroad **improve** the individual’s language skills and position in the labour market and increase understanding between cultures and societies. (Ministry of Education 2009:17)

In the sentence above “studying and working abroad” is the purposeful action. “Improving individual’s position in the labour market” or “increasing understanding

between cultures and societies” cannot be planned, nor are they specific goals, but rather effects of purposeful actions (*studying and working abroad*).

6.3.2. Theoretical legitimation

In the section above I presented different types and examples of instrumental legitimation. Another type of rationalization legitimation is the **theoretical rationalization**, in which legitimation is grounded, “not in whether the action is morally justified or not, nor in whether it is purposeful or effective, but in whether it is founded on some kind of truth” (Van Leeuwen 2007:103). Theoretical legitimations often provide explicit representations of ‘the way things are’, as Van Leeuwen puts it (*ibid.*).

In State documents theoretical legitimation is used mostly in describing what internationalization is, i.e. the theoretical legitimation takes the form of **definition**, one of the subcategories. In definition, one activity (e.g. internationalization) “is defined in terms of another, moralized activity” (Van Leeuwen 2007:104). Van Leeuwen continues that for “a definition to be a definition, both activities must be objectivated and generalized, and the link between them must either be attributive (‘is’, ‘constitutes’, etc.) or significative (‘means’, ‘signals’, ‘symbolizes’, etc.)”. Two examples of this:

Example 21:

Internationalisation of higher education, research and innovation systems is at the core of societal renewal (Ministry of Education 2009:9)

Example 22:

The global economy will mean stronger multiculturalism in all societies. The number of foreigners living in Finland is relatively small but expected to double within the next ten years. The education system must be ready to give a better response to immigrants’ special educational needs. *Internationalisation* is **one means available for responding to challenges stemming from globalisation**. (Ministry of Education 2004:13)

In the example 21 internationalization is defined by “at the core of societal renewal” and the link (‘is’) between them is attributive, therefore this is an example of definition. In the second example (22), again the link (‘is’) is attributive and the activity is defined by another activity. Another important point about the definition is that “the statements either function as kind of axiom, referring forwards to the more detailed activities to which they are hyponymically related, or as a conclusion, referring backwards to the activities they summarize” (Van Leeuwen 2007:104). In example 21 it is somewhat unclear whether the reference is forwards or backwards, as it could be either. Example 22 is clearly referring forwards. There are also other sentences in State documents that are clearly referring to the future, possible achievements, as in the following example:

Example 23:

*The internationalisation of the education system and international research cooperation **are** key factors for success in global competition.*
(Ministry of Education 2007:42)

This example, although referring to possible positive outcomes of internationalization, can be also interpreted as stating the results of internationalization already experienced elsewhere. Hence, it is usually the context that reveals whether the statements refer to the past or the future.

6.4. Mythopoesis

Legitimation can be also achieved through narratives and storytelling. The fourth type of legitimation is called **mythopoesis** (Van Leeuwen 2007:105). In mythopoesis legitimation is “conveyed through narratives whose outcomes reward legitimate actions and punish non-legitimate actions” (Van Leeuwen 2007:92).

The two main types of mythopoesis are **moral tales** and **cautionary tales**. As Leeuwen describe them, in moral tales, protagonists engaging in legitimate social practises are rewarded. Cautionary tales convey what will happen if the norms of social practises are not conformed (Van Leeuwen 2007:105-106).

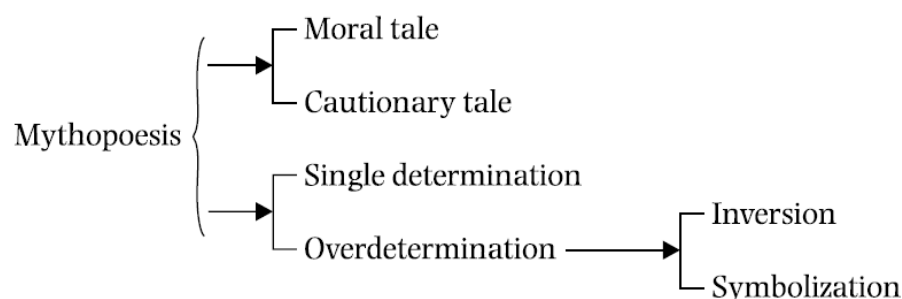


Figure 6: Types of Mythopoesis

In State documents, mythopoesis is used mostly in prefaces/ introductions/forewords of documents. As Van Leeuwen does not really give tools for describing mythopoesis, I decided to look at some texts that seem to fit in the category of narrative, and wrote down some common features in them. I noticed that the narratives had similar patterns and/or stages of descriptions, which could be described as follows:

- 1) Positive connotation about Finland, reference to the past**
- 2) Positive example (about internationalization)**
- 3) Description of current situation**
- 4) Challenges/problems (cautionary tales)**
- 5) (Possible) reward for positive actions or opportunities in change**

I will now give examples of mythopoesis in the narratives that I found, which also follow the pattern given above. The reference to each stage (as given above) is signaled by numbers. The following is taken from the foreword of the Strategy for the Internationalisation of Higher Education Institutions in Finland 2009–2015.

Example 24:

Investment in knowledge and competence is the sustainable core of Finland's national success strategy (1).

International comparisons and evaluations have shown that a high-quality education and research system affords us significant strength and a competitive edge (2).

In the circumstances created by globalization (3) Finland has to ensure the development of national strengths through international cooperation. --- There is a paucity of foreign students, researchers and teachers in Finland; neither is there much in the way of foreign research or development funding. (4)

Creative and innovative individuals provide the foundation for success. (5)
(Ministry of Education 2009:4)

Another similar example, taken from the International Strategy for Higher Education:

Example 25:

Participation in the integration process called for a great upsurge in international activity throughout the educational system, and especially in higher education.

(1)

Finland - - - invested particularly in increasing student and teacher exchange and in general building up international contacts and European networks in the 1990s. (2) ---

Situation has changed --- (there have been) competition between institutions --- for talented students, teachers and researchers ---(3)

The cultural diversification of Finnish society will continue and intensify.

Unpredicted changes in the political, social, or economic systems of countries or regions could bring about uncontrolled flows of migration. (4)

To succeed (in strengthening international competitiveness), it must take an active part in building up European higher education and research. (5)

(Ministry of Education 2001:1-2)

In general, the narratives in State papers are all very similar and follow the pattern given above very closely. As I looked for the narratives concerning internationalization, I could say that all the narratives that I found started with positive connotation to Finland and its success in the past, stating usually some concrete examples. Then a description of the current situation was given, usually referring to the changes in operating environment. These usually refer to the “need to strengthen the competitiveness”, globalization or other “current trends”, which are expressions widely used in State documents. Following that, another description was given, usually referring to the problems that Finland/universities would face in the future, unless something was changed, i.e. a cautionary tale was given. Finally, the narrative would give examples of legitimate actions and the rewards for them.

6.5. Summary of legitimation strategies in State documents

The strategies used in State documents are varied. Especially the examples of rationalization legitimation were easy to find and recognize, particularly the

subcategories of instrumental legitimation (means-orientation) and theoretical legitimation (definition). Abstraction is also used to the extent that the abstracted expressions do not even seem abstract anymore. Using several different legitimation strategies creates a feeling of “stronger” legitimation, as it seems to the reader, that there are several different reasons for “doing X”, in this case, actions for internationalization.

As I mentioned earlier, the legitimation strategies in State documents are used for legitimating 1) the need to write internationalization documents 2) the need for change to enhance internationalization. The needed change and the actions for achieving the desired change vary a great deal and are described in different levels. I will come to this in more detail in chapter 9, where I compare the legitimation strategies used in State, University and Student documents.

7 Universities

Surprisingly, I had difficulties in finding examples of legitimation strategies used in University documents. As I mentioned in section 5.3.2 (Data collection and selection), the documents I originally chose to be analyzed, were not sufficient in the end, because I could not find enough text examples that contained the term internationalization or anything to do with it. In addition, Universities did not try to define internationalization, but the definitions by Ministry of Education and Culture in Finland seem to be taken as given. In other words, the “need” for internationalization was not questioned and in general the strategies of Universities seem to concentrate on introducing the changes that are “necessary”, concerning the objectives set for internationalization of universities.

7.1. Authorization

As mentioned before, **authorization** is the legitimation by reference to the authority of tradition, custom, law, and of persons in whom some kind of institutional authority is vested (Van Leeuwen 2007:92). The first example is an example of **personal authority legitimation**:

Example 26:

In creating this Strategy, we have taken into consideration **the national and international development objectives** affecting the operation of universities, as well as the proposals made by the **units of the University of Jyväskylä**. The Strategy has been created through an extensive and multifaceted interaction process, in which both the **staff and students** have participated. **Every member** of the University community has had the opportunity to submit proposals online. Furthermore, our **stakeholder groups** have provided feedback on the Strategy. (University of Jyväskylä 2010:3)

In the example above, the legitimation is created by listing different groups and stakeholders related to the University of Jyväskylä. First of all, the strategy actually mentions “the national and international development objectives”, which can be seen as a reference to (e.g.) the Strategy for Internationalisation of Higher Education Institutions in Finland, which states some development objectives concerning universities. In

addition, units of the university are mentioned, along with staff and students. With mentioning all these groups it is possible to create a feeling that this strategy has been approved by all of them.

Example 27:

Several **international evaluations** support the development ideas of Finnish research and innovation environments (concerning e.g. internationalization). (Aalto Yliopisto 2010:5)

In the example above, authorization legitimation and its subcategory of **expert authority** is used as a legitimation strategy. The text first presents some changes that are planned to take place in the near future, and the changes are then legitimized with the sentence in example 27, where “international evaluations” is the expert authority. Both in the example above and in the following example, the authority is the subject of the clause. This choice of using active clause instead of passive clause creates a stronger feeling of “action”, where the actors are known (e.g. compared to a passive clause without agent). The example below contains another type of authorization that is used in University documents, **nationalistic authorization**, which I mentioned and explained in more detail in section 6.1.

Example 28:

In future, **Finland needs** a regionally comprehensive, internationally competitive university network that can guarantee a high level of education, research and artistic and professional work, needed by different sectors and individuals in the society. (Unifi 2005, translation K. M.)

The key words in this example are “Finland needs”. The legitimation of the changes proposed is therefore based on the needs of our country. At the same time it is implied, that all this that Finland needs in the future is not available at the moment. Hence, it must be created. Again, this is legitimation for change.

7.2. Moral evaluation

As introduced in section 6.2., there are three different types of moral legitimation; evaluation, abstraction and comparison.

Example 29:

Finnish universities have created a strong competence basis for our nation as well as national well-being. **In ever growing global competition it is not enough anymore**, but the possibilities for internationalization of research and education must be further promoted. (translation K. M.)(Unifi 2005)

This is an example of analogy, **a comparison**. The comparison in this case is made by referring to the past situation (“strong competence basis”) and comparing it to the current situation (“it is not enough anymore”). As Van Leeuwen (2007) states, comparison in discourse almost always has a legitimatory or de-legitimatory function. In this example, the option of maintaining the current situation without the proposed change (the promotion of internationalization possibilities) is de-legitimized.

Example 30:

International mobility is needed to strengthen the research cooperation, to improve the content and quality of teaching and to learn new forms of support services. (translation K. M.) (Aalto Yliopisto 2010)

In the example above, **abstraction** is used as the legitimation strategy. In this case, “international mobility” is the action that is abstracted. The staff exchange is given a “new” name which then enables many desirable things as listed above.

7.3. Rationalization

7.3.1. Instrumental rationalization

Just as State documents, University documents also use **rationalization** as a strategy of legitimation. Similarly, goal-orientation is not used, but there are several examples of **means-orientation**:

Most commonly, the types of means-orientation legitimation strategies used were the type of “X-ing serves to achieve being/doing/having Y”, such as in the example below:

Example 31:

By internationalizing universities extend their territory in recruiting researchers and students and involve themselves in solving important global challenges with other top experts in their field. (translation K. M.) (Aalto University 2010:13)

The content of the sentence is simple: internationalization is a means (for universities) to achieve something desirable, such as extending their territory in recruiting or involving themselves in solving global challenges. The sentence also implies that there really are important global challenges that need solving, and universities *with other* experts are expected to do that. The comparison is used in defining the status of Finnish universities, in this case, top experts.

Example 32:

*The university **will implement** this change (“shaping its own future”) by streamlining its administrative structure and by providing the staff with improved opportunities for research and internationalization (Tampere University 2010)*

As mentioned earlier, in its simplest forms the formula of means-orientation is “I achieve doing Y by X-ing”, just like above. However, if we try to figure out what is actually said in the sentence, it doesn’t seem to say anything very concrete, even though the agent of the sentence is defined (the university). In other words, “providing the staff with improved opportunities for research and internationalization” will help to implement changes in the university so that it can “shape its own future”. It is possible that these sentences are less arbitrary for someone more familiar with working in the university environment, but in general this and many other sentences seem very arbitrary. There are other examples of these sentences that do not seem to convey any concrete message. The following is an example of goal-orientation:

Example 33:

The universities have a desire to develop and internationalize from a strong Finnish competence base to answer the future needs of society. (translation K. M.) (Unifi 2005)

When it comes to the structure, this is an example of goal-orientation: it has a purposeful actor (universities), a purposeful action (desire to develop and internationalize) and a purpose (to answer the future needs of society). However, including “from a strong Finnish competence base” (note: direct translation of “vahvalta suomalaiselta osaamis pohjalta”, which sounds somewhat awkward in Finnish as well) tries to bring a “nationalistic aspect” (as in nationalistic authorization) to the sentence, however makes it sound arbitrary, nearly nonsensical.

The following sentence is an example of **use-orientation**, where purposeful action (international mobility) serves as a tool to achieve a goal (strengthening the research cooperation...).

Example 34:

International mobility is needed to strengthen the research cooperation, to develop the content and quality of teaching as well as for learning new service methods. (translation K. M.) Aalto University 2010:13)

As many examples of the use-orientation, this example mentions a purposeful action that serves as a tool for achieving several goals but does not give any closer explanation on how this actually happens. The purposeful action, international mobility, can refer to a number of activities (and most commonly student/teacher exchange). However, the connection (and realization) between the purposeful action (international mobility) and the goal(s) are left for the reader, although the connection between them is presented as “natural”.

Potentiality (facilitating processes) is also used as a strategy, as in the following example:

Example 35:

University will develop a separate language strategy, that will **ensure** - - - extensive internationalization. (translation K. M.) (Aalto Yliopisto 2010:13)

As mentioned in chapter 6.1.1., **potentiality** focuses on potential of specific actions, in this example, creating a language strategy (purposeful action, subject of the clause) that

will serve in ensuring “extensive internationalization” (purpose, complement). However, once again there is no further explanation or description of how this could actually happen and what extensive internationalization actually means.

7.3.2. Theoretical rationalization

Surprisingly, I could not find any examples of **definition**, one of the three different types of theoretical rationalization. Universities simply do not define internationalization in their documents and strategies. Nor is there explanations or predictions. It is possible that these types of legitimations exist, and the amount of data I chose was simply not enough. However, considering that my data consists of three University strategies and two documents by Unifi, I think it is a finding in itself that certain types of legitimation strategies are not present.

7.4. Mythopoesis

In the previous chapter I introduced a structure that is commonly used in narratives (**mythopoesis**). It is as follows:

- 1) Positive connotation about Finland, reference to the past**
- 2) Positive example (about internationalization)**
- 3) Description of current situation**
- 4) Challenges/problems (cautionary tales)**
- 5) (Possible) reward for positive actions or opportunities in change**

The following example of mythopoesis has most of the features mentioned above. I have included a number referring to the different features mentioned in the narrative after each sentence referring to it.

Example 36:

Finnish universities have created a strong competence basis for our nation as well as national well-being.(1,2)

In ever growing global competition it is not enough anymore but the possibilities for internationalization of research and education must be further promoted. (3)

The big and rapidly developing economies of the East are increasing the amount of higher education and research along, as well as improving their quality. (3)

Compared to Finland, the availability of cheap but highly educated labour increases very fast in those countries and knowledge-based jobs are offshored from Finland to abroad. (4)

International educational and research markets are strengthening, which offers the Finnish universities excellent opportunities to open up and participated in the markets. (5)
(translation K. M.) (Unifi 2005:3)

As can be seen in the example, this narrative also follows the structure given above very closely. In addition, the content is also very similar to those in State documents, where mythopoesis was used.

7.5. Summary of legitimation strategies in Universities' documents

All different main types of legitimation strategies (authorization, moral evaluation, rationalization and mythopoesis) were used in University documents. The examples of means-orientation (instrumental rationalization) were easy to recognize and several examples could be found (just as it was in State documents). The examples of moral evaluation were not as easy to find and I could find examples of only two subcategories (abstraction and comparison). In addition, I could not find any examples of definition (subcategory of theoretical rationalization), which I consider to be an interesting finding itself.

Just as in State documents, the legitimation strategies in University documents are used mainly for legitimating change(s). The examples point out the legitimate actions, such as the ones of goal- or use-orientation, which show concrete outcomes of legitimate (desirable) actions in internationalization. However, compared to State documents, the urgency for change seems smaller in University documents. The strategies are used in a similar way in both State and University documents, but University documents contain less variety in using the strategies.

In order to complete the comparison between the different stakeholders and their use of strategies, I will present the findings in Student papers in the following chapter. Chapters nine and ten discuss and conclude all findings in this study.

8 Students

The Students' texts were in many ways different to State and University texts. First of all, whereas many State and University documents were strategies (i.e. texts to be read as such), many of the student texts were reactions to other documents, such as strategy papers written by Ministry of Education. Student texts included strategy papers as well, but most student texts were statements and comments to other papers. Because of this, the structure of information as well as suggested actions (concerning internationalization) are different compared to State and University papers.

As I did not find examples of authorization in my selection of Student papers, I will move into introducing the strategies that were found in Student documents. The examples found in Student texts were not as easily categorized as the texts by Universities and State, which meant that I had to do further analysis of the text, which I will introduce in more detail below. In addition I will point out to which other document each example refers to (if known).

8.1. Moral evaluation

There were not many examples of **moral evaluation**. As many of the texts did not really fit into the categories by Van Leeuwen, or the analysis was rather complex because of the structures of the sentences, some of the examples I present here may be controversial. However, I will try to reason my choices for choosing the categories.

Example 37:

The starting point for SYL is that the internationalization of higher education institutions is a **good** thing and Finland needs foreign degree students in its higher education institutions. (Translation K. M.) (SYL 2007)

In this example the moral value is very simply asserted with the word “good”. The clause “and Finland needs...” does not really give any reasons or clarify the moral evaluation.

Example 38:

In the international cooperation between universities **it is important** to further develop practices for quality assurance to ensure that the studies conducted as an exchange student are equivalent to studies conducted in Finland and their content is relevant to the degrees. (Translation K. M.)(SYL 2002)

In this example the most relevant detail is the use of the word “important”. The word, along with words like “normal” or “natural”, is evaluative in its nature, thus giving evaluative tone to the whole sentence. However, as mentioned earlier, it is important to remember that these examples are mostly comments on other papers, in this case, a comment to the Ministry of Education concerning the Development Plan for Education and Research. Therefore, it makes sense that students point out aspects of internationalization (in this case international cooperation between universities) that are important for students. In other words, how certain changes/developments suggested in strategy papers affect students, or what their impact should be.

8.2. Rationalization

There were several examples of the use of **rationalization** as a legitimating strategy in Student papers

Example 39:

The description can be broad but the target is clear – Finnish society keeps up in the global world only *by being internationally interesting* – and this is the ground that the higher education system is able to create. (Translation K. M.) (SYL 2010)

In this example the legitimation is created with **means-orientation**. By being internationally interesting (purposeful action, X-ing) Finnish society keeps up in the global world (purpose/goal). It should be noticed that the target mentioned in the

example above (Finnish society keeping up in the global world) is very similar to the targets (and means) mentioned in State and University papers. Unlike many other Student papers, this document is not a reaction or comment on any State/University document, but a statement of SYL to a current matter (internationalization of universities).

Although there were examples of means-orientation (instrumental legitimation), the examples of **theoretical rationalization** could be found more easily. The following two examples represent the subcategory or theoretical rationalization, namely **definition**. As already mentioned in chapter 6.1.2., in definition one activity (e.g. internationalization) “is defined in terms of another, moralized activity” (Van Leeuwen 2007:104). Here are three examples of definition:

Example 40:

Free [university] education is one of the most significant competitive factors in attracting foreign degree students to Finland. (Translation K. M.)(SYL 2005)

Example 41:

Feeless education (leading to a degree) is one of the foundation pillars of the equality in Finnish society. (Translation K. M.) (SYL 2002)

Example 42:

Internationalization of society and higher education is a necessity for Finland. (Translation K. M.) (SYL 2007)

As Van Leeuwen stated, an important point about definition is that “the statements either function as kind of axiom, referring forwards to the more detailed activities to which they are hyponymically related, or as a conclusion, referring backwards to the activities they summarize” (Van Leeuwen 2007:104). All three examples above (and especially the second example) refer backwards. In the examples above, there is a very clear theme-rheme structure (as defined by Halliday 1985), where “feeless/free education” is the theme and point of departure.

Compared to University and State documents, Students use a legitimation strategy, which is close to definition (theoretical rationalization) but difficult to categorize exactly. The structure of the sentences is as follows:

Internationalization activity (purposeful activity) + MUST/SHOULD BE (+ verb) + another moralized activity:

Example 43:

Internationality **must be** a natural part of university operations.
(Translation K. M.) (SYL 2005)

Example 44:

Internationalization **should be** a cross-functional principle in the development of university operations.
(Translation K. M.) (SYL 2005)

Example 45:

Internationalization **must be** a structural part of university studies.
(Translation K. M.) (SYL 2005)

These examples define what internationalization SHOULD be, i.e. from a student perspective; what internationalization still isn't or what it still lacks. However, it should be noted that this expression of a "desired state of things" is simply expressed differently in Student texts compared to State and University texts (because State and University texts do not use structures and word choices as those above). Again, there is a clear theme-rheme structure in the examples above, internationalization/internationality being the theme.

Similarly, there are examples that tell us what internationalization *should not be* or how it *should not be carried out*:

Example 46:

Issues concerning international affairs **cannot** be categorized under a single operational function based on their content or operational context. (Instead, internationalization should be a cross-functional principle in the development of university operations.)
(Translation K. M.) (SYL 2005)

Example 47:

Internationalization **cannot** be carried out only by temporary projects or project funding. (Translation K. M.) (SYL 2005)

These examples are somewhat difficult to categorize, since although they define internationalization, they don't contain any suggestions for actions. This is connected to one of the key findings in this study: whereas State and University documents use legitimation strategies for legitimating change, students seem to use the legitimation strategies mostly either for keeping things as they are, (i.e. pointing out the possible undesirable outcomes of internationalization and the changes it brings) or for stating what internationalization should not mean. The two examples above (46-47) do not state the undesirable outcome although they imply that there is one. It is hard to categorize these two examples, but in my opinion they belong to the category of means-orientation, and the subcategory of result (although the negative result is not given). This could be called a **negative means-orientation**, which is clearer in the following examples:

Example 48:

Internationalization **must not** weaken the position of Finnish and Swedish as the languages used in science. (Translation K. M.) (SYL 2005)

Example 49:

Internationalization or supranational educational supply **must not** jeopardise the feelessness, equality or quality of education. (Translation K. M.) (SYL 2002)

The assumption in example 48 is that internationalization **can** weaken the position of Finnish and Swedish. Similarly in example 49 the assumption is that internationalization or supranational educational supply **can** jeopardise feelessness (etc.). Thus, the examples define by negative means-orientation what internationalization should not be or should not cause. In other words, the examples above de-legitimize undesired changes caused by internationalization. And again, the theme-rheme structure stays the same as in previous examples.

Example 50:

There **should not** be any financial obstacles for internationalization, guaranteeing equality even in internationalization. (Translation K. M.) (SYL 2005)

The example above is difficult to analyze using Van Leeuwen's categories because the structure does not fit in the categories very well. However, just as in example 48, this is a de-legitimation of financial obstacles in internationalization, because it will bring inequality. Although this example does not fit in Van Leeuwen's description of definition (considering the structure), in my opinion that is the most suitable category for this, because the sentence refers forwards to possible outcomes. Students oppose "financial obstacles" (such as tuition fees) in most papers that cover internationalization. The example above is a widely used structure in Student papers for de-legitimizing purposes.

There are some examples, which are less arguable in structure. They show how controversial the financial issues are from a student perspective:

Example 51:

Matching national education systems with (the requirements of) international competitiveness **is** a challenge that even students must find solutions to. (translation K. M.) (SYL 2005)

This is an example of **definition**, a sub-category of theoretical rationalization. In this example the content is more interesting than the structure, because of the first part of the sentence: "matching national education systems with the requirements of international competitiveness". The students admit that competitiveness must be taken into account when thinking about the national education system, just as it is stated in State and University papers. In other words, students confirm the idea (already acquired by State and Universities), that globalization affects national education (since in most papers, globalization is seen as the reason for increasing competitiveness also in education). Although I have concentrated in distinguishing the different categories (giving examples of each), I think that the content should not be left without attention either.

However, Student papers are not very consistent when it comes to their view on education and internationalization/globalization and their relation with the competitiveness of Finland.

Example 52:

Finnish higher education institutions **have to** be competitive both in Finland and internationally. (Translation K. M.)(SYL 2002)

Example 53: (same as 40)

Free [university] education **is** one of the most significant competitive factors in attracting foreign degree students to Finland. (Translation K. M.)(SYL 2005)

Example 54:

The strategy presents well how increasing the competitiveness of higher education **requires** solving the problems in educational or degree systems on a national level. (Translation K. M.)(SYL 2001)

Example 55:

In SYL's opinion, the strategy views education in a far too instrumental light. As it is, the strategy focuses too particularly on the notion that globalisation will inevitably improve the quality of both education and research, two major factors that drive maintained competitiveness. SYL firmly believes, however, that education and research serve a much broader function in the promotion, renewal and furthering of human knowledge and culture. (Translation D. H.) (SYL 2010)

The example 53 uses definition as a strategy but the others (examples, 52, 54 and 55) are difficult to analyze with Van Leeuwen's framework. Although these examples can be recognized as discourse of internationalization (because of their content), they are not easily categorized. However, the examples above demonstrate that although legitimation strategies affect how the reader interprets the message, consistent argumentation also requires consistence in content in order to convey a clear message. In these examples the relationship between higher education, competitiveness and globalization is somewhat unclear. Nevertheless, it has to be noted that the documents have been produced during a decade, which means that supposedly all the discourses of internationalization have changed during that time, not only the students' view on internationalization and competitiveness.

8.3. Mythopoesis

Students also use **mythopoesis** in their texts. However, the narrative and positive/negative outcomes of the legitimate/non-legitimate actions are different, and the structure I introduced earlier (see 6.4. and 7.4.) does not apply wholly to the narratives that were found in Student texts. Once again, this is the structure introduced in chapters six and seven:

- 1) **Positive connotation about Finland, reference to the past**
- 2) **Positive example (about internationalization)**
- 3) **Description of current situation**
- 4) **Challenges/problems (cautionary tales)**
- 5) **(Possible) reward for positive actions or opportunities in change**

Here is an example of a narrative concerning the discussion on introducing the tuition fees in Finland.

Example 56:

Internationalisation is vital for both science and the future of our societies. The implementation of tuition fees for students coming from outside the EU/EEA-countries will dramatically cut down the **amount of incoming students** and is the starting point of making education a commodity. Promoting the Nordic-Baltic region as a **socially just area with a high standard of equality** will help us to **attract international students** to come and stay here. Our societies need this **highly educated work force** to contribute to the **prosperity and development of our region** – which they already do during their studies. (NOM Nordic and Baltic students 2010)

The narrative does not include any positive connotation towards Finland, nor does it give a positive example of internationalization (although it mentions that it is “vital” for the future of our societies). There is no description of the current situation either. However, the sentence “implementation of tuition fees...” can be regarded as a cautionary tale, since it tells us what will happen if the tuition fees are introduced (it will dramatically cut down the amount of incoming foreign students, who are needed in our society). The narrative ends with a moral tale, a description of the reward that will be given to “us”, if the tuition fees are not introduced; Nordic-Baltic region can attract international students.

It has to be noted that the power of this narrative is not in the structure but rather in the intertextuality of the text as well as the word choice. The text mentions several international activities/desired actions/positive outcomes (bolded in text) that often appear in State and University documents concerning internationalization, such as the amount of incoming students, attracting international students, the need for educated work force and development of “our” region. And what is more important, the text gives a cautionary tale of what will or will not happen if tuition fees are introduced. In addition, word choices such as “vital”, “dramatically cut down” or “need” create urgency and seriousness in the text. In other words, Students use the common ground (mentioning outcomes of internationalization desired by everyone) for arguing against outcomes that are highly negative for students (introducing tuition fees).

Since Student documents that I chose for analysis mostly consisted of comments and statements on other documents, they did not contain many examples of mythopoesis, which according to this study, can be found at least in strategy papers.

8.4. Summary of legitimation strategies in Student documents

Compared to State and University papers, the legitimation strategies used in Student papers were less varied. In addition, using the framework by Van Leeuwen for analyzing legitimation strategies was somewhat problematic at times, and I believe that the categorization of the examples given in this chapter can be questioned. The texts that I had included in my analysis did not use authorization as a legitimation strategy. However, this does not mean that Students do not use it as a strategy as there were other papers where examples could have been found. However, it is easy to conclude that as a legitimation strategy authorization is not widely used in Student papers.

The use of moral evaluation in Student papers is different from State and University papers. Whereas in State and University documents the moral evaluation is based on the best interest of Finland and the universities, in Student papers it is based rather on the

best interest of students, i.e. individual members of the academic community. This is somewhat “logical” if we consider that the purpose of e.g. the National Union of University Students in Finland is to do interest work for university students. Therefore, evaluation is made from a student perspective. Similarly, the purpose of strategies by State (e.g. the Ministry of Education) is to keep the best interest of the whole of Finland in mind.

Rationalization was most commonly used as a legitimation strategy in Student papers. However, using the framework by Van Leeuwen was at times somewhat problematic, since the structures used in Student documents did not always fit in the framework in a straightforward way. Unlike State and University documents Student documents concentrated a great deal in describing what internationalization should/should not be.

The fourth category of legitimation strategy, mythopoesis, could be found in student texts, but not as clearly used as in State and University texts. There were cautionary tale-elements, but the typical structure that I found in State and University papers was not used in Student papers. This might also be because the data (Student documents) did not include any strategy papers, which seem to be the most common type of document where mythopoesis is used, at least according to the findings of this study.

9 Discussion

The aim of this study was to find out how the discourses of internationalization differ between the different stakeholders (State, Universities, Students), and what kind of legitimation strategies are used and for what purposes. In addition, I wanted to see the possible power relations present in the discourses of internationalization. In this chapter I will discuss the most important findings of this study. In addition, I will examine how my approach to the topic as well as the analytic framework worked in conducting the study. the conducting of the analysis as well as the most important findings of this study.

9.1. Use of legitimation strategies

The summary of the legitimation strategies used in State, University and Student texts were given at the end of each section of analysis (chapters 6-8). The most important findings of this study concerning the use of legitimation strategies are that:

- there is most variation in using the different legitimation strategies (by Van Leeuwen) in State documents
- State and Universities use the strategies mostly for legitimating change
- Students use the strategies for defining legitimate actions from the students' point of view. The focus is on what is beneficial to the students/individual members of academic communities (as opposed to the benefit of Finland)

The starting point for the discourse of internationalization is different for each stakeholder. Where State texts take “what is best for Finland” as their starting point, Students concentrate on the effects on individuals as well as society. The positive/negative outcomes of the “internationalization actions” are stated clearly, which highlights the solutions for legitimate and non-legitimate actions (e.g. tuition free education/tuition fees). University documents have a similar starting point to State documents, although stressing the effects of internationalization on universities, their teachers and students.

If we look at e.g. the reasoning behind the rationalization legitimation, we can find differences between State, Universities and Students. Whereas globalization, competitiveness, and labour markets are brought up by State and Universities in their reasoning, Students mention e.g. equal opportunities and social justice.

9.2. Discourses of internationalization

There is great variety in discourses of internationalization. First of all, one always has to define what one means with “discourse of internationalization”. As concluded in earlier chapters, the term itself is under a constant debate and redefinition. In the context of higher education, internationalization usually refers to a variety of actions that enable higher education institutions as well as their staff and students “to internationalize”. According to the documents that I went through and analyzed, there are several common aspects of internationalization that are shared by all stakeholders, such as:

- mobility of teachers and students
- internationalization of higher education can have an effect on the competitiveness of HE institutions/Finland
- internationalization can have positive outcomes (on HE institutions as well as on individuals)
- internationalization can be defined by several different activities

Although sharing some similar features, there are also several differences in the discourses. As can be seen from the examples above, they are rather general views on internationalization, “abstractions” if we use Van Leeuwen’s categories. The more details are given for internationalization, the more there is dispute over the topic. In addition, nowadays the discourses of internationalization are often also discourses of globalization, Europeanization, competitiveness, innovation and so forth. In other words, the ideologies are “embedded” in the discourses. As this study also shows, the discourses are intertwined and internationalization needs to be (re-)defined in each discussion in order to make sure that everyone talks about the same thing.

As Raunio, Korhonen and Hoffmann (2010:2) point out it is important to distinguish whether we talk about internationalization of the system of higher education (=units) or individuals. Considering this, we can also see the difference in the focus between the different stakeholders. The discourse of internationalization for State and Universities are mostly *discourses of change* and the legitimation strategies are used for legitimating the *need for change*, concerning the whole of Finland. The Students concentrate on defining internationalization mostly from the perspective of students and reacting to the discourses of internationalization presented in State documents. In other words, the relationship of State, Universities and Students are also demonstrated in the content of the discourses of internationalization. State, which produces the greatest number of documents concerning internationalization, covers the topic with a view of the whole of Finland, keeping the best interest of the whole country in mind. Universities do not really question the rhetorics or content given in the State documents, they rather try to “make the most of it”, i.e. bring in the view of internationalization by universities, academic communities. This is understandable, since in spite of being independent, their funding still comes mainly from the state and the steering instruments guide their actions, as already mentioned several times in this study. Students’ role is to be the critical voice, paying attention to details and the view of the students and of those who are affected by the changes that internationalization can bring.

It is somewhat surprising to notice, how much State documents define the discourses of internationalization in Finland. Neither Universities nor Students really try to (re-)define internationalization and its contents but they even take the terminology as given (except for the term “maksuton koulutus”, feeless education, instead of the term “free education”). It could be argued that State *defines* the discourses of internationalization to a large extent, Universities *reproduce* those discourses and Students try to *challenge* them.

However, if we look at the ‘big picture’, it is not actually the State who defines the content of the discourses of internationalization. As concluded already in chapter four, the European Union strongly affects the educational policy lines. With a further analysis

of EU level documents compared to Finnish higher education policy lines, we could very easily find evidence of interdiscursivity. As the aims and action plans of the EU policies (such as the Bologna process) are agreed and implemented, the language and discourse – including terminology and expressions – are acquired as well. Thus, as concluded earlier, the discourses or their contents are very little questioned or challenged.

The whole question of power, who can decide what is legitimate and what is not, is a complex question. The structures behind the text production are complicated, often institutionalized. However, it is not only the text production that is complicated, but so is the interpretation of texts. In chapter eight I demonstrated the students' view on competitiveness by presenting very different pieces of text from Student documents. The reason for this "inconsistency" is not only in students, but also due to the fact that matters such as competitiveness are extremely hard to define. The interpretation and reaction from students can be therefore due to the context and different definitions. This seems to be a common trend in discourses of internationalization: the terminology and the contents are constantly argued and redefined. Therefore, when analyzing discourses or internationalization one first has to describe and define the starting point for the analysis.

Choosing CDA as the theoretical framework turned out to be a good choice. As mentioned earlier, CDA looks for changes taking place in forms of interaction around political and social issues and it is an analytical framework for studying connections between language, power, and ideology (Fairclough 2001). The discourses of internationalization are often ideological, although not always in a straightforward way. The ideologies behind the discourses of internationalization can be revealed using the framework by Van Leeuwen (2007), as the framework helps us to see what are the goals, means, authorities, moral values etc. connected with internationalization of higher education, as given by the producers of the text. Thus, CDA and the chosen methodology (Van Leeuwen's framework) help to analyze "opaque as well as

transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language”(Weiss and Wodak 2003: 15) as mentioned earlier.

9.3. Conducting the analysis

Although Van Leeuwen’s framework was in many ways a great tool for analysis, as mentioned previously, I had some difficulties in analyzing the Student documents. The legitimation strategies were not the best possible tool for analysis concerning the University and Student texts. This was mostly due to the type of texts, as the Student texts were mostly comments or reactions to other documents and the Universities’ documents seem to lack the definitions of internationalization. In addition, Van Leeuwen’s framework did not give clear outlines for conducting an analysis with these types of texts. There are several documents by Students that could not be analyzed using Van Leeuwen’s framework. This is mostly because their form was not suitable for it.

However, as a whole, the framework worked well and the analysis seems valid. The possible controversial interpretations are clearly marked and mentioned in the analysis, however they did not interfere with the broader analysis and interpretation of the data and findings.

10 Conclusion

As this study shows, discourses of internationalization in Finnish higher education are varied. As Finland is a member of the European Union, the decision-making concerning higher education policy is no longer just a national matter but the decisions made in EU level affect the national policies as well. The Bologna process has had a strong effect on Finnish higher education policies and generally, being a member of the EU affects the national decision-making in many ways. The aims set by the EU find their way into the Finnish government programme, then into Ministry strategies and finally in the universities' documents.

The purpose of this study was to look at the different discourses of internationalization by different stakeholders. My aim was to find out what are the differences by looking at the legitimation strategies used in the discourses of internationalization. The results show that there are differences in using the strategies. In addition, there are also differences in the purposes the strategies are used for.

As mentioned several times in this study, the term internationalization is constantly under definition and re-definition. Internationalization means different things for different stakeholders. The power relations are most clearly shown in the struggle for trying to define or describe what internationalization means. And it seems that the struggles will continue if the European integration keeps deepening and expanding, which means that discourses of internationalization (and globalization) will expand as well.

I believe that there are several aspects in discourses of internationalization that could be studied further with the help of Critical Discourse Analysis. There are several interesting topics that I came across with when conducting this study. To mention a few:

- there is discussion and dispute over the English translations of Finnish polytechnics (Ammattikorkeakoulu). The polytechnics call themselves

“universities of applied science” whereas many universities and the Ministry of Education still call them polytechnics. The discussion on the translations has been at times very heated. Some of the questions that interest me: why universities do not want to be associated with polytechnics? Why polytechnics do not want to use the term *polytechnic*, but rather call themselves universities of applied science? Is the “dual structure” of Finnish higher education institutions clear for international applicants?

- the discussion on tuition fees and feeless higher education in Finland. Many stakeholders see that feeless education has been based on the Finnish values (such as equality) and introducing the tuition fees will bring inequality to Finnish society. There is also a linguistic aspect on the matter. There are two competing terms; *ilmainen koulutus* (free education) versus *maksuton koulutus* (feeless education), so it would be linguistically very interesting to look at the use of language and choice of terms concerning the topic.
- the effects of the Bologna process on universities and how they market themselves. Finnish universities have not been very active in “selling” themselves, because higher education has been and still is (mostly) free for everyone. However, as the Finnish universities try to compete with other European universities and universities worldwide, they have adopted new marketing strategies. It would be interesting to study, for example, how the marketing strategies of Finnish universities have changed during the past ten years.

This study has tried to fill the research gap in including the voice of the students in the analysis of the discourses of internationalization. I would hope that other studies in the future took the voice of students into account, as they seem to be the only stakeholder really trying to challenge the “given”, dominant discourses.

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Appendix

Example 1:

Preparation of the higher education institution internationalisation strategy is included in the Government Programme of Prime Minister Matti Vanhanen's second cabinet. The Development Plan for Education and Research for the period 2007-2012 provides added focus to the Government Programme and sets priority areas for the internationalisation of higher education institutions.
(Ministry of Education 2009:6)

Example 2:

The Ministry of Education was responsible for the preparation of the higher education institution internationalisation strategy. The strategy was drawn up using an open and interactive methodology. Views on the subject were invited from higher education students and personnel as well as from the business community and other stakeholders for the preparation of the strategy. In spring 2008, a web-based open consultation was implemented, in which over 1,200 respondents shared their views on the internationalisation of higher education institutions. In addition, six thematic workshops discussing key issues in internationalisation were organised and in these brainstorming sessions proposals for measures to be taken were invited and discussed. A total of 130 experts participated in the workshops.
(Ministry of Education 2009:6)

Example 3:

Finland is an active player in the European higher education and research cooperation; however, several studies and comparisons demonstrate that scarcity of internationality is among the weaknesses of the Finnish higher education, research and innovation system.
(Ministry of Education 2009:5)

Example 4:

Like other countries, Finland is opening up to international influences.
(Ministry of Education 2004:9)

Example 5:

International competition for talented students, teachers and researchers is gaining momentum while Europe is pooling resources with a view to strengthening its impact on the global level. Finland must provide its own education and research system with conditions which enable it to operate on an equal footing with others.
(Ministry of Education 2004:13)

Example 6

The higher education institution internationalisation strategy provides guidelines for the internationalisation of higher education institutions in 2009–2015. It sets five primary aims for internationalisation: 1) A genuinely international higher education community 2) Increasing quality and attractiveness 3) Export of expertise 4) Supporting a multicultural society and 5) Global responsibility
(Ministry of Education 2009: 10-11)

Example 7

Internationalisation promotes the mental growth and understanding of global responsibility in an individual.
(Ministry of Education 2009: 17)

Example 8:

Despite our progress, the low level of internationalisation is still one of the key weaknesses of the Finnish higher education and research system when compared with our competitors. - - - Not only are we behind the large science nations in researcher, teacher and student mobility but we are also behind small, developed countries.
(Ministry of Education 2004:14)

Example 9:

The international operating environment of higher education institutions is changing rapidly. Finnish higher education institutions must compete increasingly harder to retain their position as producers, conveyors and utilisers of competence and new knowledge.
(Ministry of Education 2009:17)

Example 10:

Participation in the globalisation of education, science and technology and influencing it in the EU, OECD, UNESCO and in other international forums is in the best financial and cultural interest of Finland.
(Ministry of Education 2009:17)

Example 11:

A strategic objective in the internationalisation of science and research is to support Finland's development and competitiveness ---
(Ministry of Education 2007:45)

Example 12:

Finnish higher education institutions utilise their research and expertise to solve global problems and to consolidate competence in developing countries
(Ministry of Education 2009:11)

Example 13:

By international networking higher education institutions consolidate the development potential of their region, their overall competence level, available resources, competitiveness and innovation ability as well as make business life in the region more varied.
(Ministry of Education 2009:11)

Example 14:

Attracting foreign students is one way to increase the availability of labour, because study in Finland teaches students about the country and binds them more to Finnish society and working life than other immigrants.
(Ministry of Education 2001:19)

Example 15:

Internationalisation will also create the basis for work related immigration.
(Ministry of Education 2007:42)

Example 16:

Moreover, internationalisation of higher education institutions promotes diversity in the society and business community, international networking, competitiveness and innovativeness, as well as improves the well-being, competence and education of the citizens.
(Ministry of Education 2009:9)

Example 17:

Internationalisation promotes the mental growth and understanding of global responsibility in an individual.
(Ministry of Education 2009:17)

Example 18:

Taking internationality into account consistently in the human resources policy of higher education institutions consolidates internationalisation
(Ministry of Education 2009:36)

Example 19:

The mobility of personnel promotes the internationalisation of higher education teaching and research, the popularity of exchange studies and the creation of joint and double degrees and international elements of study programmes.
(Ministry of Education 2009:29)

Example 20:

Studying and working abroad improve the individual's language skills and position in the labour market and increase understanding between cultures and societies.
(Ministry of Education 2009:17)

Example 21:

Internationalisation of higher education, research and innovation systems is at the core of societal renewal.
(Ministry of Education 2009:9)

Example 22:

The global economy will mean stronger multiculturalism in all societies. The number of foreigners living in Finland is relatively small but expected to double within the next ten years. The education system must be ready to give a better response to immigrants' special educational needs. Internationalisation is one means available for responding to challenges stemming from globalisation.
(Ministry of Education 2004:13)

Example 23:

The internationalisation of the education system and international research cooperation are key factors for success in global competition.
(Ministry of Education 2007:42)

Example 24:

Investment in knowledge and competence is the sustainable core of Finland's national success strategy (1).

International comparisons and evaluations have shown that a high-quality education and research system affords us significant strength and a competitive edge (2).

In the circumstances created by globalization (3) Finland has to ensure the development of national strengths through international cooperation. --- There is a paucity of foreign students, researchers and teachers in Finland; neither is there much in the way of foreign research or development funding. (4)

Creative and innovative individuals provide the foundation for success (5)

(Ministry of Education 2009:4).

Example 25:

Participation in the integration process called for a great upsurge in international activity throughout the educational system, and especially in higher education (1)

Finland - - - invested particularly in increasing student and teacher exchange and in general building up international contacts and European networks in the 1990s. (2) ---

Situation has changed --- (there have been) competition between institutions --- for talented students, teachers and researchers ---(3)

The cultural diversification of Finnish society will continue and intensify. Unpredicted changes in the political, social, or economic systems of countries or regions could bring about uncontrolled flows of migration (4)

To succeed (in strengthening international competitiveness), it must take an active part in building up European higher education and research. (5)

(Ministry of Education 2001:1-2)

Example 26:

In creating this Strategy, we have taken into consideration the national and international development objectives affecting the operation of universities, as well as the proposals made by the units of the University of Jyväskylä. The Strategy has been created through an extensive and multifaceted interaction process, in which both the staff and students have participated. Every member of the University community has had the opportunity to submit proposals online. Furthermore, our stakeholder groups have provided feedback on the Strategy.

(University of Jyväskylä 2010:3)

Example 27:

Useat kansainväliset arvioinnit tukevat näitä suomalaisen tutkimus- ja innovaatioympäristön sekä korkeakoulutuksen kehittämisajatuksia.

(Tutkimusjärjestelmän kansainvälistäminen, perustutkimuksen merkitys, urajärjestelmien kehittäminen...)

(Aalto Yliopisto 2010:5)

Several international evaluations support the development ideas of Finnish research and innovation environments (concerning e.g. internationalization).

(Translation K. M.)

Example 28:

Suomi tarvitsee tulevaisuudessa alueellisesti kattavan, kansainväliseen kilpailuun kykenevän yliopistoverkon, joka takaa yhteiskunnan eri sektoreiden ja yksilöiden tarvitseman korkeatasoisen koulutuksen, tutkimuksen ja taiteellisen toiminnan. (Unifi 2005)

In future, Finland needs a regionally comprehensive, internationally competitive university network that can guarantee a high level of education, research and artistic and professional work, needed by different sectors and individuals in the society. (Translation K. M.)

Example 29:

Suomalaiset yliopistot ovat tuottaneet kansakunnalle vahvan osaamisperustan ja luoneet kansallista hyvinvointia. Kovenevassa globaalissa kilpailussa se ei kuitenkaan enää riitä, vaan yliopistojen tutkimuksen ja koulutuksen kansainvälistymisen edellytyksiä on edelleen parannettava. (Unifi 2005)

Finnish universities have created a strong competence basis for our nation as well as national well-being. In ever growing global competition it is not enough anymore, but the possibilities for internationalization of research and education must be further promoted. (Translation K. M.)

Example 30:

Kansainvälistä liikkuvuutta tarvitaan tutkimusyhteistyön vahvistamiseksi, opetuksen sisällön ja laadun kehittämiseksi sekä uusien palvelukäytäntöjen oppimiseksi. AY 2010:13)

International mobility is needed to strengthen the research cooperation, to improve the content and quality of teaching and to learn new forms of support services. (Translation K. M.)

Example 31:

Kansainvälistymällä yliopistot laajentavat reviiriään sekä tutkijoiden että opiskelijoiden rekrytoinnissa ja pääsevät mukaan ratkomaan merkittäviä maailmanlaajuisia haasteita muiden alojensa parhaiden osaajien kanssa. (Aalto University 2010:13)

By internationalizing universities extend their territory in recruiting researchers and students and involve themselves in solving important global challenges with other top experts in their field. (Translation K. M.)

Example 32:

The university will implement this change (“shaping its own future”) by streamlining its administrative structure and by providing the staff with improved opportunities for research and internationalization (Tampere University 2010)

Example 33:

Yliopistot haluavat kehittyä ja kansainvälistyä vahvalta suomalaiselta osaamis pohjalta vastaamaan yhteiskunnan tulevaisuuden tarpeisiin.
(Unifi 2005)

The universities have a desire to develop and internationalize from a strong Finnish competence base to answer the future needs of society.
(Translation K. M.)

Example 34:

Kansainvälistä liikkuvuutta tarvitaan tutkimusyhteistyön vahvistamiseksi, opetuksen sisällön ja laadun kehittämiseksi sekä uusien palvelukäytäntöjen oppimiseksi.
(Aalto Yliopisto 2010:13)

International mobility is needed to strengthen the research cooperation, to develop the content and quality of teaching as well as for learning new service methods.
(Translation K. M.)

Example 35:

Yliopisto laatii erillisen kielistrategian, joka (turvaa kotimaisten tutkijoiden, opettajien ja opiskelijoiden suomen ja ruotsin ammatillisen kielitaidon ja) mahdollistaa laajan kansainvälistymisen.
(Aalto Yliopisto 2010:13)

University will develop a separate language strategy, that will ensure - - - extensive internationalization.
(Translation K. M.)

Example 36:

Suomalaiset yliopistot ovat tuottaneet kansakunnalle vahvan osaamisperustan ja luoneet kansallista hyvinvointia.

Kovenevassa globaalissa kilpailussa se ei kuitenkaan enää riitä, vaan yliopistojen tutkimuksen ja koulutuksen kansainvälistymisen edellytyksiä on edelleen parannettava.

Idän suuret ja nopeasti kehittyvät taloudet lisäävät korkeakoulutuksensa ja tutkimuksensa määrää ja kohottavat niiden tasoa.

Suomeen verrattuna halvan mutta korkeasti koulutetun työvoiman määrä kasvaa nopeasti ko. maissa, ja asiantuntijatyötä siirtyy Suomesta ulkomaille.

Kansainväliset koulutus- ja tutkimusmarkkinat vahvistuvat, mikä tarjoaa Suomen yliopistoille erinomaiset mahdollisuudet avautua ja osallistua niihin.
(Unifi 2005:3)

Finnish universities have created a strong competence basis for our nation as well as national well-being.(1,2)

In ever growing global competition it is not enough anymore but the possibilities for internationalization of research and education must be further promoted. (3)

The big and rapidly developing economies of the East are increasing the amount of higher education and research along, as well as improving their quality. (3)

Compared to Finland, the availability of cheap but highly educated labour increases very fast in those countries and knowledge-based jobs are offshored from Finland to abroad. (4)

International educational and research markets are strengthening, which offers the Finnish universities excellent opportunities to open up and participated in the markets. (5)

(Translation K. M.)

Example 37:

SYL lähtee siitä, että korkeakoulujen kansainvälistyminen on hyvä asia, ja että Suomi tarvitsee korkeakouluihinsa kansainvälisiä tutkinto-opiskelijoita.

(SYL 2007)

The starting point for SYL is that the internationalization of higher education institutions is a good thing and Finland needs foreign degree students in its higher education institutions.

(Translation K. M.)

Example 38:

Yliopistojen kansainvälisessä yhteistyössä on tärkeää kehittää edelleen laadunvarmistuksen käytäntöjä sen takaamiseksi, että vaihto-opiskelijoina suoritettut opinnot ovat tasoltaan suomalaista koulutusta vastaavia ja sisällöltään tutkintoon soveltuvia.

(SYL 2002:5)

In the international cooperation between universities it is important to further develop practices for quality assurance to ensure that the studies conducted as an exchange student are equivalent to studies conducted in Finland and their content is relevant to the degrees.

(Translation K. M.)

Example 39:

Määritelmä voi olla laaja, mutta tavoite selvä – suomalainen yhteiskunta pärjää globaalissa maailmassa vain olemalla kansainvälisesti kiinnostava, ja tätä pohjaa korkeakoulujärjestelmä pystyy erinomaisesti luomaan.

(SYL 2010)

The description can be broad but the target is clear – Finnish society keeps up in the global world only by being internationally interesting – and this is the ground that the higher education system is able to create.
(Translation K. M.)

Example 40:

Tutkintokoulutuksen maksuttomuus on yksi merkittävistä kilpailutekijöistä ulkomaisten tutkinto-opiskelijoiden houkuttelussa Suomeen.
(SYL 2005)

Free [university] education is one of the most significant competitive factors in attracting foreign degree students to Finland.
(Translation K.M)

Example 41:

Maksuton tutkintokoulutus on yksi suomalaisen yhteiskunnan tasa-arvon peruspilareista.
(SYL 2002)

Feeless education (leading to a degree) is one of the foundation pillars of the equality in Finnish society.
(Translation K. M.)

Example 42:

Suomen elinehto on yhteiskunnan ja korkeakoululaitoksen kansainvälistyminen.
(SYL 2007)
Internationalization of society and higher education is a necessity for Finland.
(Translation K. M.)

Example 43:

Kansainvälisyyden on oltava luonteva osa yliopistojen toimintaa.
(SYL 2005)

Internationality must be a natural part of university operations.
(Translation K. M.)

Example 44:

Kansainvälistymisen on oltava kaiken läpäisevä periaate yliopistojen toiminnan kehittämisessä.
(SYL 2005)

Internationalization should be a cross-functional principle in the development of university operations.)
(Translation K. M.)

Example 45:

Kansainvälistymisen on oltava rakenteellinen osa yliopisto-opintojen kokonaisuutta.
(SYL 2005)

Internationalization must be a structural part of university studies.
(Translation K. M.)

Example 46:

Kansainvälisiä asioita ei voi erotella yksinomaan omaksi toimintasektorikseen sisällöllisesti tai toiminnallisesti. (Kansainvälistymisen on oltava kaiken läpäisevä periaate yliopistojen toiminnan kehittämisessä.)
(SYL 2005)

Issues concerning international affairs cannot be categorized under a single operational function based on their content or operational context. (Instead, internationalization should be a cross-functional principle in the development of university operations.)
(Translation K. M.)

Example 47:

Kansainvälistyminen ei voi olla yksinomaan hanketoiminnan ja -rahoituksen varassa.
(SYL 2005)

Internationalization cannot be carried out only by temporary projects or project funding. (Translation K. M.)

Example 48:

Kansainvälistyminen ei saa heikentää kotimaisten kielten asemaa tieteen kielinä.
(SYL 2005)

Internationalization must not weaken the position of Finnish and Swedish as the languages used in science.
(Translation K. M.)

Example 49:

Kansainvälistyminen tai ylikansallinen koulutustarjonta eivät saa vaarantaa koulutuksen maksuttomuutta, tasavertaisuutta tai laatua.
(SYL 2002)

Internationalization or supranational educational supply must not jeopardise the feelessness, equality or quality of education.
(Translation K. M.)

Example 50:

Opiskelijoiden kansainvälistymiselle ei saa olla taloudellisia esteitä, jotta tasa-arvo toteutuisi myös kansainvälistymisessä.
(SYL 2005)

There should not be any financial obstacles for internationalization, guaranteeing equality even in internationalization.
(Translation K. M.)

Example 51:

Kansallisten koulutusjärjestelmien ja kansainvälisen kilpailukyvyyn yhteensovittaminen on haaste, johon myös ylioppilasliikkeen on osaltaan vastattava
(SYL 2005)

Matching national education systems with (the requirements of) international competitiveness is a challenge that even students must find solutions to.
(translation K. M.)

Example 52:

Suomalaisten korkeakoulujen on oltava kilpailukykyisiä niin kotimaisesti kuin kansainvälisestikin.
(SYL 2002)

Finnish higher education institutions have to be competitive both in Finland and internationally.
(Translation K. M.)

Example 53: (same as 40)

Tutkintokoulutuksen maksuttomuus on yksi merkittävistä kilpailutekijöistä ulkomaisten tutkinto-opiskelijoiden houkuttelussa Suomeen.
(SYL 2005)

Free [university] education is one of the most significant competitive factors in attracting foreign degree students to Finland.
(Translation K. M.)

Example 54:

Strategiassa tulee esille hyvin, että korkeakoulutuksen kilpailukyvyyn kasvattaminen edellyttää kansallisten koulutus- tai tutkintojärjestelmän ongelmien ratkaisemista.
(SYL 2001)

The strategy presents well how increasing the competitiveness of higher education requires solving the problems in educational or degree systems on a national level.
(Translation K. M.)

Example 55:

SYL näkee strategian käsittelevän koulutusta erittäin välineellisesti. Strategiassa on liian yksipuolisesti painottuneena se, että kansainvälistyminen parantaa laatua koulutuksessa ja tutkimuksessa, jotka puolestaan ovat kilpailukyvyyn ajureita. SYL uskoo vakaasti, että koulutuksella ja tutkimuksella on laajempi funktio ihmiskunnan tiedon ja sivistyksen välittäjänä, uusintajana ja edistäjänä.
(SYL 2010)

In SYL's opinion, the strategy views education in a far too instrumental light. As it is, the strategy focuses too particularly on the notion that globalisation will inevitably improve the quality of both education and research, two major factors that drive maintained competitiveness. SYL firmly believes, however, that education and research serve a much broader function in the promotion, renewal and furthering of human knowledge and culture.

(Translation D. H.)

Example 56:

Internationalisation is vital for both science and the future of our societies. The implementation of tuition fees for students coming from outside the EU/EEA-countries will dramatically cut down the amount of incoming students and is the starting point of making education a commodity. Promoting the Nordic-Baltic region as a socially just area with a high standard of equality will help us to attract international students to come and stay here. Our societies need this highly educated work force to contribute to the prosperity and development of our region – which they already do during their studies.

(NOM Nordic and Baltic students 2010)