

Tiffany Viggiano

Higher Education and Global Social Injustice



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Tiffany Viggiano

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Abstract

This dissertation, composed of three unique scholarly articles, explores some of the ways in which institutions of higher education facilitate and mitigate social injustice on a global scale. Specifically analyzing the behavior of administrative actors—defined as those that serve in a leadership role outside of the classroom—the purpose of the research was two-fold. Firstly, I aimed to identify the mechanisms by which administrative actors at U.S. and Finnish institutions of higher education legitimized and rationalized their involvement in globally unjust educational practices. Secondly, I sought to identify the ways in which administrative actors in these economically privileged countries can or have mitigated their institutions' involvement in global structural injustice. Three lines of inquiry guided this investigation: (1) In what ways do administrative actors at U. S. and Finnish institutions of higher education justify and reproduce global injustice? (2) How might administrative actors at institutions of higher education in these economically affluent countries begin to mitigate their institutions' role in global social injustice? (3) In what ways have administrative actors at institutions of higher education in these economically affluent countries addressed global social injustice? What challenges do they face? Sub-study I explained the ways in which 26 practitioners at community colleges in three different community colleges, located within different states the U.S., conceptualized the role of international students on their campuses. Findings indicated that administrative actors assumed international students to be a privileged class of students, and therefore did not apply the logic of social justice to the non-domestic students in the same way that it was applied to domestic coun-

Abstract

terparts. Through literature review, Sub-study II theoretically explored the ways in which humanism and critical theory have been applied to justify study abroad at the community college. Drawing on Young's (2006) justice theory, Sub-study II constructs a globally critical humanist rationale to study abroad at the community college, and provides examples of the ways in which administrative actors could employ such a frame to advocate for more globally socially just practices. Sub-study III analyzed 15 interviews from administrative actors at an institution of higher education in Finland. Findings indicated that, although participants often articulated a responsibility for injustice, factors associated with neoliberalism, as well as unclear and conflicting definitions of global responsibility, contributed to blame shifting and excusing discourse. The investigation concludes with implications for future research.

Keywords: higher education, internationalization, social justice, critical, neoliberal, coloniality, practitioners

Tiivistelmä

Tämä kolmesta tieteellisestä artikkelista koostuva tutkimus tarkastelee tapoja, joilla korkeakoulut vaikuttavat maailmanlaajuiseen sosiaaliseen epäoikeudenmukaisuuteen. Tutkimuksella oli kaksi ensisijaista tavoitetta, joihin vastattiin analysoimalla korkeakouluhallinnossa vaikuttavien toimintaa. Ensiksi tutkimuksessa pyrittiin tunnistamaan se mekanismi, jolla korkeakouluhallinnossa toimivat yhdysvaltalaisissa ja suomalaisissa korkeakouluissa perustelevat omaa osallisuuttaan maailmanlaajuisesti epäoikeudenmukaiseen koulutuskäytäntöön. Toiseksi pyrittiin tunnistamaan ne tavat, joilla toimijat näissä taloudellisesti etuoikeutetuissa maissa voivat lieventää tai ovat lieventäneet organisaatioidensa osallisuutta globaaliin rakenteelliseen epäoikeudenmukaisuuteen. Tätä tutkimusta ohjasi kolme tutkimuslinjausta: (1) Millä tavoin korkeakouluhallinnossa toimivat yhdysvaltalaisissa ja suomalaisissa korkeakouluissa perustelevat ja tuottavat maailmanlaajuisia epäoikeudenmukaisuutta? (2) Miten korkeakouluhallinnossa toimivat taloudellisesti varakkaina maissa lieventävät korkeakoulujensa osallisuuttaan maailmanlaajuisessa epäoikeudenmukaisuudessa? (3) Millä tavoin taloudellisesti vauraiden maiden korkeakouluhallinnossa toimivat ennaltaehkäisevät maailmanlaajuisia epäoikeudenmukaisuutta? Millaisia haasteita he kohtaavat? Osatutkimuksena selvitettiin, missä ja millä tavoin yhdysvaltais-korkeakouluissa työskentelevät tutkittavat määrittelevät kansainvälisten opiskelijoiden roolin kampuksillaan. Löydökset osoittavat, että toimijat olettivat kansainvälisten opiskelijoiden olevan etuoikeutettu joukko opiskelijoita, eivätkä tämän vuoksi soveltaneet sosiaalisen oikeudenmukaisuuden logiikkaa ulkomaisiin opiskelijoihin samalla tavalla kuin sitä sovellettiin kotimaisiin opiskelijoihin. Osatutkimus II on kirjallisuuskatsaus, joka

tarkasteli tapoja, joilla humanismi ja kriittinen ajattelutapa ovat vaikuttaneet oikeuteen opiskella korkeakouluissa ulkomailla. Vedoten Youngin (2006) oikeusteoriaan, tutkimus pohjautuu globaaliin kriittiseen humanistiseen perusteluun opiskella ulkomailla korkeakoulussa ja tarjoaa esimerkkejä tavoista, joilla päättävät tekijät voivat käyttää sellaista kehystä, joka tukee maailmanlaajuisesti sosiaalisesti oikeudenmukaisempia käytäntöjä. Osatutkimus III:ssa analysoitiin 15 Suomen korkeakouluissa toimivan hallinnollisen vaikuttajan haastattelut. Tutkimus osoittaa, että vaikka osallistujat usein tunnistivat vastuunsa epäoikeudenmukaisuuden rakentumisessa, neoliberalismiin vaikuttavat tekijät sekä epäselvät ja ristiriitaiset määritelmät globaalista vastuusta johtivat tämän vastuun sivuuttamiseen. Tutkimuksen lopputulos jättää mahdollisuuksia uusille tutkimuksille.

Avainsanat: korkeakoulutus, kansainvälistyminen, sosiaalinen oikeus, kriittinen, neoliberali, harjoittajat

Original papers

This dissertation is composed of three articles, listed below, and hereafter referred to as sub-studies I, II, and III. I was the first or sole author in all three articles: I had a major role in data processing, analysis, and reporting.

Sub-study I: Viggiano, T., López Damián, A. I., Morales Vázquez, E., & Levin, J. S. (2018). The others: Equitable access, international students, and the community college. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 22(1), 71-85.

Sub-study II: Viggiano, T. (2019). Thinking globally about social justice. In R. Raby & G. Malveaux (Eds.), *Study Abroad Opportunities for Community College Students and Strategies for Global Learning*. IGI-Global Publisher: Hershey, PA (pp. 184-199).

Sub-study III: Viggiano, T. (2019). Global Responsibility in Finland: Egalitarian Foundations and Neoliberal Creep. *Journal for the Study of Postsecondary and Tertiary Education (JSPTE)*, 4, 245-262.

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Through all of these interactions I have come to draw the most important conclusion of this dissertation: only when we are brave enough to have uncomfortable conversations, conversations that question our foundational beliefs, can we even start to learn. Still, when I think about the pitfalls of criticality—as I often did throughout this long journey—I am inspired by Bert's ability to remain critical with unwavering kindness. This is the eternal struggle.

Jyväskylä 1.12.2019

Tiffany Viggiano

1

Introduction and Impact

1.1 From National to Global Social Justice

One of the primary missions of most institutions of higher education is to facilitate social justice within the confines of respective nation states (Marginson, 2018; 2019). To begin from the widely accepted discourse of the knowledge society (Välilmaa & Hoffman, 2008), education is the greatest predictor of social mobility and is therefore a powerful tool in the pursuit of social justice (World Bank, 2015). Through promoting access to education to the less advantaged in society, society as a whole will improve (Moses & Chang, 2006). Scholars go so far as to argue that it is only this pursuit of the social good that justifies public contribution to institutions of higher education (Marginson, 2011). As such, a traditional goal of higher education has been to provide a pathway to social mobility in the pursuit of a socially just society (Goldrick-Rab & Kendall, 2014; Marginson, 2019). The ability to accomplish this goal rests on the capacity of institutions of higher education to enact equitable policy (Marginson, 2018). Equity can be defined as the purposeful attempt to treat people in differing circumstances in different ways so as to maximize the achievement of basic goals (Baum, 2004; Espinoza, 2007). In the U.S. the equity argument has been further employed to address “the lingering effects of past discrimination and remedy for past wrongs” (Moses & Chang, 2006, p. 9). Globally, institutions of higher education in many other countries also have a strong history of enacting equity policies to ensure access

to higher education for less privileged groups within their respective nations (Marginson, 2018). While nations and institutions have varying degrees of success, there is near global scholarly consensus that institutions of higher education should pursue social justice by employing some equitable policy to advance the social good agenda domestically (Marginson, 2018; 2019).

Though often neglected by scholarship (Shahjahan & Kezar, 2013), similar economic and social arguments can be employed to advocate for the social good agenda beyond domestic borders. Importantly, modern conceptions of social justice are not geographically bound (Nussbaum; 2006b; Young, 2006). In a globalized world, society transcends national boundaries—we exist in a fluid system of scapes that ebb and flow (Appadurai, 1990). Because institutions of higher education influence life outcomes for individuals outside of their national constituency—via international student recruitment, study abroad, service trips, international partnerships, branch campuses, etc. (Viggiano, 2019)—they are responsible for ensuring that these interactions are socially just (Young, 2006). Similar to many nations, globally, the rates of economic return for graduates of tertiary education are the highest of any branch of the education system (World Bank, 2015). Higher education degrees can be viewed as the primary marker of social stratification internationally (Carnevale & Strohl, 2010). As such, international organizations such as the World Bank (2015) and the International Association of Universities (2008) assert that equitable and efficient tertiary education is a fundamental part of ending extreme poverty globally.

However, global access to tertiary education is far from equitable, especially as it relates to international student mobility—a fundamental part of contemporary higher education (Altbach, Reiseberg, & Rumbly, 2016). For example, often the money that international students spend studying abroad is more than equal to the amount of foreign aid given to the home countries of these students: international education is used as a pipeline to siphon funds from the Global South to the Global North (Altbach, 2016). In most cases, international higher education is funded by individuals and families: the large majority of the globe's 4 million international students pay for their tuition themselves—not governments, philanthropic organizations, corporations, or institutions of higher education (Altbach & Knight, 2016). Consequently, international students are disproportionately the economic elite of select nations (Schofer & Myer, 2005). In addition, the majority of international students in high-GDP countries predominantly hail from only a handful of countries (IIE, 2016). In Finland, roughly 8% of all international students hailed from countries defined by the World Bank (2016) to be low-GDP (Finnish National Agency for Education, 2016). Less than 2% of international students in the U. S. hail from countries defined by the World Bank (2016) to be low-GDP (IIE, 2016). Although the U. S. hosted 1,043,839 international students in the 2015/16 academic year (IIE, 2016), nearly 50% of all international students enrolled in U. S. institutions of higher education come from China or India (IIE, 2016). I

refer to potential international students from low socio-economic status backgrounds, low-income countries, or under-represented lower middle-income countries as asymmetrically represented education seeker (ARES) throughout this dissertation.

ARES are excluded from even attempting to attain a degree from an international institution of higher education, simply because of the position in life into which they were born. For example, if a typical ARES of a low or lower-middle income country such as Madagascar or Cambodia were to have applied to attend the University of California in 2015 the ARES would have first been expected to demonstrate their ability to pay roughly \$58,000 prior to enrollment in the university (International Finances, 2014). This cost was at least 60 times the country's annual gross national income per capita (World Bank, 2016). The total estimated cost for an international student to complete a bachelor's degree in six years is approximately \$348,000 – at least 350 times a low-income country's annual gross national income per capita in 2015 (World Bank, 2016). This is the case for most citizens of low/low-middle income countries: 66% of the earth's 7.4 billion people (World Bank, 2016). Many of those people are citizens of nations that were historically ravaged by colonialism and continue to be oppressed by the modern global economic system (Stein, 2016; 2017; Quijano, 2007).

Because of issues of prestige, institutions of higher education and governments decisions to ignore the socio-economic difference among international applicants perpetuates a world system that privileges students based on birth right (i.e., citizenship and socio-economic status of their parents) with colonial roots. From 2009-2012, 50% of the 100 highest ranked universities in the world were located in U. S. (Marginson, 2016b, p.23). In many cases, international students who graduate from universities within Western, high-GDP nations are more likely to be successful economically because a Western degree is more prestigious than a degree from their home country (Marginson, 2016b). Because of global perceptions of quality, a degree from a Western institution is valued everywhere in the world, but a degree from a low-GDP country only has value in certain environments (Mattoo, Neagu, & Ozden, 2008; Oyelere, 2007). As such—similar tiers of higher education in the U. S., in which the most prestigious colleges and universities grant students the largest economic advantage (Bok, 2009)—there is also a global tier system (Marginson, 2016b). Thus, international higher education policies help to ensure that the poorest half of the world cannot gain access to equitable education called for by the World Bank (2015), the International Association of Universities (2008), the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) [2015; 2017]. Without blatantly perceivable malice, institutions serve to reinforce global injustice, and therefore are facilitating what Young (2006) calls a structural social injustice. The resulting privileging of the already advantaged serves to reinforce the colonial structure (Stein, 2016; 2017; Quijano, 2007). In pursuing only national interests, institutions of higher education are not addressing “the lingering effects of past

discrimination and remedy for past wrongs” (Moses & Chang, 2006, p. 9) on a global scale.

Critical race scholars critique the role institutions of higher education play in facilitating the reproduction of historical oppression within the U.S., calling for policies such as tuition discounting and affirmative action initiatives that address historical injustices, but few scholars have done so globally—one exception being Yao, Mwangi, and Brown (2018). This is to say that actors at institutions of higher education widely advocate for socially just institutional initiatives—particularly as it relates to social stratification—among citizens within their respective countries, but do not consider their responsibility in facilitating social justice for those with primary affinities to other countries.

The subfield of Critical Internationalization Studies—still in its infancy—questions the ethics of internationalization as it relates to higher education (Stein, 2017). Though, prior to this century, most understandings of justice were linked to conceptions of a nation state (Young, 2006), researchers have begun to think beyond the national container (e.g., Andreotti, Stein, Pashby, & Nicolson, 2016; Shahjahan, 2013; Shahjahan & Kezar, 2013; Shahjahan & Morgan, 2016; Stein, 2016; Stein, 2017). Shahjahan and Kezar (2013) conceptualize and articulate the ways in which methodologically nationalist assumptions likely limit and distort research outcomes. From the lens of decolonial critique, Stein (2016) theoretically constructs a typology of the ethical challenges associated with the internationalization of institutions of higher education. In the new millennium, philosophical scholars such as Martha Nussbaum (2006b) assert that,

extending justice to all world citizens, showing theoretically how we might realize a world that is just as a whole, in which accidents of birth and national origin do not warp people's life chances pervasively and from the start' is one of the most urgent unsolved problems of social justice. (p. 1)

Through critical research, scholars can begin to answer this unsolved problem by identifying mechanisms of injustice and offering potential alternatives (Martínez-Alemán, Pusser, & Bensimon, 2015). However, as a whole, critical internationalization scholarship has been largely theoretical and lacks philosophical foundation and empirical grounding.

The empirical work that does exist often neglects the agency of individual administrative actors. Recent empirical critical internationalization research has analyzed the ways in which journal articles (Mwangi, Latafa, Hammond, Kommers, Thoma, Berger, & Blanco-Ramirez, 2018), and documents and initiatives (Stein, Andreottie, Bruce, & Suša, 2016) exhibit and facilitate socially unjust behavior globally. Broad internationalization of higher education scholarship has detailed at length the ways in which national, regional, and institutional policy influence the pursuit of global social justice at institutions of higher education (Altbach & Knight, 2007; Mihut, Altbach & de Wit, 2017). The less common strain of research that does engage with individual actors focuses primarily on faculty or

students (ex. Lee & Rice, 2010; Levin & Aliyeva, 2015). International scholarship, critical and beyond, largely fails to explain empirically the role that administrative actors at institutions—institutional members that serve a leadership function outside of the classroom—play in mitigating and facilitating global injustice.

Young (2006) calls for research that illuminates the ways in which all types of actors participate in injustice, as such research on the role of administrative actors contributes unique and essential data to the conversation. She suggests that “all agents who contribute by their actions to the structural processes that produce injustice have responsibilities to work to remedy these injustices” (Young, 2006, pp. 102-103). Through qualitative inquiry—and grounded within the cultural context of two countries (Finland and the U.S.)—my research empirically and theoretically identifies mechanisms of global injustice and avenues by which administrative actors at institutions of higher education can address Nussbaum’s (2006b) unsolved problem of social justice.

1.2 Research Purpose and Questions

This dissertation builds on the work of critical internationalization scholars to contribute both theoretical and empirical data that illuminates the ways in which administrative actors at institutions of higher education facilitate or impede global social injustice. In identifying these mechanisms, the research highlights avenues and strategies for intervention. The purpose of my research was twofold. Firstly, I aimed to detect the mechanisms by which administrative actors at U.S. and Finnish institutions of higher education legitimized and rationalized their involvement in globally unjust education. Secondly, I aimed to suggest avenues to address this injustice, to detect the ways in which administrative actors at institutions of higher education in these economically privileged countries can or have mitigated their institutions’ involvement in global social injustice. Three questions guided my inquiry:

- 1) In what ways do administrative actors at U. S. and Finnish institutions of higher education justify and reproduce global injustice?
- 2) How might administrative actors at institutions of higher education in these economically affluent countries begin to mitigate their institutions’ role in global social injustice?
- 3) In what ways have administrative actors at institutions of higher education in these economically affluent countries addressed global social injustice? What challenges do they face?

2

Theoretical Orientation and Perspectives

2.1 Neoliberalism and Globalization

Characterized by economic competition, the reduction of social responsibility on the part of government and business, and privatization, neoliberalism can be described as an attribute of the modern era of globalization with roots in the North American and British economic reform movements of the 1970s (Levin, 2017). However, because of factors associated with globalization—more complex international trade, shrinking space between countries, ideas transcending national borders, and geographical borders themselves becoming increasingly permeable (Appadurai, 1990; Caluya, Probyn, & Vyas, 2011; Eriksen, 2014)—it has been argued that neoliberal ideology has become the global dominant “thought collective” (Dean, 2012, p. 151). This globally dominant ideology is expressed by those in power who utilize arguments of “freedom” and “democracy” to inspire economic extremism and lull the populous into complacency (Clark, 2005; Dean, 2012; Harvey, 2007).

Neoliberalism is now the ideology employed by contemporary world leaders to justify the distortion of traditional ideals of democracy and natural rights, specifically individual liberty, to suit the needs of corporations (Clarke, 2005; Harvey, 2007). While the basis of the ideology appeals to those who hold the ideals of liberty associated with a democratic society, in practice neoliberalism grants economic liberties only to elites, and social liberties are restricted continually by both governments and corporations (Clarke, 2005; Harvey,

2007). Rather than breaking up monopolies in the pursuit of liberty, contemporary democracies promote the freedoms of big business, and regulations such as Citizens United (2010) in the U. S. have given these corporations the rights of citizens (Levitt, 2010). While the role of democratic governments of the past was to intervene in private industry when the needs of the populous were not served by the practices of corporations—for example, the U. S. anti-trust legislation of the early 1900s that disbanded monopolistic railway, oil, and steel companies—contemporary political systems have allied with corporations despite the disadvantage to consumers (Burbules & Torres, 2000; Harvey, 2007). Thus, although the era of globalization since the 1970s has been associated with increased global democracy (Eriksen, 2014), it is inaccurate to assert that the rise of democracy is associated with increasing liberties (Harvey, 2007). As Harvey (2007) points out, freedom is now “just another word” (p. 5).

Neoliberalism places considerable emphasis on an unencumbered “free” market, when in actuality this freedom plays out as a series of safety nets designed to protect the historically affluent and powerful. For example, at the macro-level, when Mexico defaulted on their loan from the U. S. in 1992, the U. S. pressured the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to intervene in Mexican social politics (Harvey, 2007). The IMF forced the Mexican government to reduce funding to social programs so as to be able to pay back the money lent by the U. S. at a faster rate (Harvey, 2007). In this way, neoliberal policies serve to reproduce the status quo by ensuring that countries that can afford to lose never will, and that those that cannot afford to lose are likely to do so at considerable expense (Fairclough, 2013; Harvey, 2007). These conditions provide evidence to support the application of a theory of coloniality: Historical colonizers are able to continue and strengthen a system that disadvantages those who have been the victims of colonization for centuries (e.g., Latin American and African nations, as well as the lower class and people of color around the world) [Quijano, 2007].

Because much of the world is entrenched in what Olssen and Peters (2005) call the “neoliberal discourse of Western nation states” (p. 314), symptoms of neoliberalism appear as a part of the “natural order” (Ayers, 2005). The values adopted by institutions of higher education and world leaders influence the values of every member of society (Ward, 2012). For example, even scholars, those obligated to project objectivity by trade such as Brown and Lauder (2006), use international students as strawpeople to advocate for competition between nations so as to alleviate domestic pressure to expand educational access. Arguments such as these are founded within the knowledge economy discourse, which perpetuates the neoliberal value of competition on the world stage (Gaffkin & Perry, 2009; Nokkala, 2006). The knowledge economy discourse encourages students to excel academically in order to bring competitive advantage to their home countries (Ayers, 2005; Nokkala, 2006).

Because of the rise of the knowledge based economy, neoliberal principles have a significant influence on institutions of higher education (Levin, 2001; Olssen & Peters, 2005; Ward, 2012). As a motor for the knowledge based economy, institutions of higher education are pressured by government to develop links with private industry (Olssen & Peters, 2005; Ward, 2012). In particular, the neoliberal attribute of competition is amplified at institutions of higher education (Olssen & Peters, 2005; Ward, 2012). Global ranking systems encourage institutions of higher education to invest funds predominantly in science and engineering research (Marginson, 2016a; 2016b; 2016c). Practitioners take on the neoliberal discourse of the knowledge economy to advocate for the internationalization of institutions of higher education in response to perceived international competition (Gaffkin & Perry, 2009; Nokkala, 2006; Stein et. al., 2016).

Scholars who study academic capitalism note that the rise in corporate involvement at colleges and universities, associated with the competition for funds, has pushed institutions of higher education to view their students as consumers rather than learners, focus on research as a means of revenue generation, and undermine the traditional ideals of a liberal education (Cantwell & Kauppinen, 2014; Marginson, 2016a; Nokkala, 2006; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004; Ward, 2012). International students are treated as revenue sources (Caluya et al., 2011; Stein, 2016).

Despite Stiglitz (1999) economic proof that knowledge is non-rivalrous in nature—that is, there is essentially no marginal cost to add additional users and there is little additional cost for dissemination—neoliberal conceptions of knowledge as a commodity for purchase have proliferated an illusion of scarcity which encourages competition and limits access (Brown & Lauder, 2006; Burbules & Torres, 2000; Clarke, 2005; Olssen & Peters, 2005; Ward, 2012). For international students and ARES, this has manifested as a devaluing of the social good of international education (i.e., peacebuilding between nations) and a focus on the economic good (i.e., revenue generation via price discrimination) [Viggiano, 2015].

The neoliberalization of education fosters a world system in which humanist values are dis-incentivized in favor of economic and individualistic values (Burbules & Torres, 2000). In Finland, elements associated with neoliberalism have been critiqued through the lens of managerialism (Tapanila, Siivonen & Filander, 2018) and new public management (Pekkola, Siekkinen, & Kivistö, 2018). From elementary school to graduate education, students are besieged with neoliberal rhetoric (Ward, 2012). For example, in the U.S., Ayers (2005) critical analysis of community college mission statements demonstrated that neoliberal influence has moved colleges to promote the values of marketization at the cost of the social and human ideals previously allied with institutions of higher education. Thus, while education of the past served as a guide to ethical development for societal good, education of the present discourages ethical development in favor of the achievement by students' individual goals and the generation of capital for students, institutions, and

governments (Labaree, 1997; Levin, 2001; Nussbaum, 2006a; Ward, 2012). The values of neoliberal education are then instilled in students and replicated in society (Ward, 2012). In this way, neoliberal education perpetuates a value system that incentivizes competition under the guise of a meritocracy, discouraging consideration about the rights and needs of the less powerful in favor of personal advantage (Mignolo, 2007; Ward, 2012).

However, it is not neoliberalism alone that fuels the exploitation of historically disadvantaged peoples: This exploitation existed long before the neoliberal era (Mignolo, 2007). The lens of coloniality explains the root of the global inequality, which neoliberal ideology has openly exacerbated and exploited (Mignolo, 2007). Though beyond the scope of this research, these two theories coupled together likely explain the conditions that have nurtured the modern nationalist populist political movements. The following section applies the lens of coloniality to define the roots of discrimination and construction of othering that reinforce contemporary power differentials associated with neoliberalism.

2.2 National Borders and Coloniality

Coloniality refers to the deep-rooted history—dating back to the 1400s—of exploitation of native peoples and those predominantly located in African and South American regions by European nations, modern nations with European roots, and the upper class in previously colonized countries (Quijano, 2007). Though elites and members of colonizing countries—and those that have indirectly benefited from colonization—may claim that they no longer benefit from colonization today, their modern strategic global advantage stems from the resources extracted and structures created through their historical relationship to colonization (Quijano, 2007; Stein, 2016).

Modern colonial borders are historically rooted social constructions of reality that have implications for the people who live inside and outside of these borders (Mignolo & Tlostanova, 2006; Nussbaum, 2006b; de Sousa Santos, 2007; Stein, 2016; Stein et al., 2016). Borders are utilized to promote a historical power structure of colonization by excluding some groups of people from resources based on the location of their birth (Mignolo & Tlostanova, 2006; Stein, 2017; Stein, Hunt, Suša, & Andreotti, 2017).

Borders in this precise sense, are not a natural outcome of a natural or divine historical processes in human history, but were created in the very constitution of the modern/colonial world (i.e., in the imaginary of Western and Atlantic capitalist empires formed in the past five hundred years). [Mignolo & Tlostanova, 2006, p. 208]

This is to say that colonial borders are not a-historical and were created for the purpose of oppression. Now—under the guise of economics, safety, and security—those who have

inherited power associated with colonial borders strengthen and manipulate these borders as a means of continued oppression (Stein, 2016). Although the current individuals within these privileged countries may not have been involved in the direct colonization of other countries, their continued reliance on these borders to restrict and bestow rights is an example of the ways in which those who have inherited power continue to directly benefit from the inequity created by colonization (Stein, 2016). In maintaining these borders, the historical advantage of colonizers and those aligned with colonizers is preserved (Mignolo & Tlostanova, 2006; Stein, 2016). As such, although there is now less overt colonial domination, colonial domination has not disappeared but has simply become more insidious (Quijano, 2007; Stein, 2016). The social ramifications of colonialization have survived (Quijano, 2007; Stein, 2016).

Even more relevant than physical national borders to the discussion of global social injustice, are ideological borders that stem from our global history of colonialization (Mignolo & Tlostanova, 2006). Modern Western hegemonic thinking is “abyssal thinking” (de Sousa Santos, 2007, p. 45). De Sousa Santos (2007) argues that within the Western frame the world is divided into two parts, the Global North and Global South, and only the social reality defined from the perspectives of those in the hegemonic Global North are considered as valid constructions of reality. This invisible division shapes global, national, regional, institutional, and individual action (de Sousa Santos, 2007). Societies use these borders to grant privileges to those on one side of the abyssal line and justify the exclusion of those on the other side of the abyssal line (de Sousa Santos, 2007). Therefore Finland—though not identified as a colonized or colonizing country itself—has been able to reap the benefits of colonization through association with historical colonizers by being considered a Western country.

The ideological inclusion of Finland within the Global North has manifested as institutional inclusion and economic privilege. For example, Finland has been a part of the EU since the 1990s. Because Finland shares currency, legal regulations, and institutions with the other member States of the EU, the success of Finland is inextricably linked to the success of the colonizing member states. As a member of the EU, Finland has agreed to privilege workings with historical colonizers over those in historically colonized countries. For example, international exchange among European nations is lavishly funded by the EU as a means of “political and economic integration” (Altbach & Knight, 2007), simultaneously privileging and strengthening the abyssal division. Conversely, the people of low and middle-GDP countries, and those less ideologically decedent of European thought, are purposefully excluded from participation (de Sousa Santos, 2007; Quijano, 2007). Implicitly, people who hail from these countries are perceived as less deserving, less relevant, less capable, and less than equal (de Sousa Santos, 2007; Quijano, 2007).

Mignolo (2007) trace this hegemonic Western discrimination to abyssal thinking rooted in colonialism:

If we observe the main lines of exploitation and social domination on a global scale, the main lines of world power today, and the distribution of resources and work among the world population, it is very clear that the large majority of the exploited, the dominated, the discriminated against, are precisely the members of the 'races', 'ethnies', or 'nations' into which the colonized populations, were categorized in the formative process of that world power, from the conquest of America and onward. (pp. 168-169)

Thus, those that do not align with the ideological, racial, ethnic, or national identities of the colonizers continue to be disadvantaged. Conversely, those that do align in some way—as is the case for Finland—continue to be advantaged. Shahjahan and Kezar (2013) identify that there is a “reduced responsibility for human suffering tied to national boundaries” (p. 27). Thus, colonial borders, both physical and ideological, serve to reproduce social injustice.

Rather than thinking about the world in terms of rigid borders, Appadurai (1990) conceived as the world as a fluid system of scapes in which people, media, technology, money, and ideas flow. Appadurai's (1990) Scape Theory draws attention to the ways in which borders warp power differentials, and the ways in which any given policy will move each scape in different ways. While Appadurai's (1990) theory included only these five scapes, scholars have extended scape theory to include new scapes. For example, Caluya et al., (2011) and Luke (2006) define the existence of an eduscape to discuss the ways in which institutions of higher education have become globalized institutions. From the vantage point of Scape Theory it is easier to perceive the ways in which internationalization strategies may simultaneously advantage and disadvantage peoples (Appadurai, 1990). In alignment with the modern neoliberal world order the increased freedom does not coincide with increased liberty (Harvey, 2007): In this case the freedom to temporarily physically transverse borders within the eduscape has not coincided with an increase in social rights and protections for ARES. The overlap between eduscape and ideandscape is very much dominated by neoliberalism and abyssal thinking associated with the global imaginary.

2.3 The Global Imaginary and Critical Theory

The dominant global imaginary, stemming from the concept of the social imaginary, is the subconsciously agreed upon rulebook that informs all humans of the questions worth asking and the validity of answers (Stein et al., 2016). In alignment with Western abyssal thinking (de Sousa Santos, 2007), through global education those in power legitimizes perspectives that align with the global imaginary and delegitimizes perspectives that do not (Stein et al., 2016).

[T]he Third World War was the battlefield of international educational cooperation—and struggle: continuing dominance of Western models and systems of higher education, the influence of the English language, the impact of foreign training, the dominance of Western scientific products, ideas, and structures. (Altbach & de Wit, 2016, p. 7)

The dominance of Western education has formed and continues to shape this global imaginary and international education has been used as a tool to exacerbate historical power differentials (Chernilo, 2011; Shahjahan & Kezar, 2013; Stein et al., 2016). Operating from within the global imaginary, institutional internationalization efforts do not address global structural inequity but instead exacerbate global structural inequity (Chernilo, 2011; Stein et al., 2016).

To combat the culturally embedded assumptions, which lead to global structural inequity, researchers must engage in decolonial thinking through the use of critical theory (Mignolo, 2007). Critical theorists recognize power differentials as the ever present basic explanatory element, and therefore serve to unmask elements of power that have been historically obscured from view via implicit bias, cultural habitus, etc. (Ayers, 2005). Through this approach critical theorists yield valuable counterhegemonic data and are particularly qualified to address questions of inequity and social justice (Ayers, 2005).

Higher education scholars have employed critical theory to draw attention to othering in institutions of higher education. Pusser and Marginson (2013) point out that critical theory has been utilized by higher education scholars to address social problems. For example, scholars advocate for the rights of some non-U. S. citizens, such as undocumented immigrants, to attend institutions of higher education in the U. S. Those against granting access to non-citizens argue to restrict this access in an effort to preserve the boundaries of citizenship (Chen & Rhoads, 2016). This argument stems from xenophobic and nationalistic idealism (Huber, 2009) and is backed only by laws that legitimize exclusion (Rincón, 2010).

Critical scholarship such as Marginson (2012) and Huber (2009) discredit exclusionary legal arguments in favor of people's rights to better their lives.

A human rights frame should be used in educational discourse beyond the immigration debate to focus the efforts of researchers, practitioners, and policy makers toward equal educational opportunity as a human right all students deserve. (Huber, 2009, p. 725)

Huber (2009) cites social reform leaders to argue that the first step to recognize the civil rights of people is to acknowledge basic human rights, to accept that equality cannot be bestowed by a dominant group because all people in a globalized world are already equal.

Critical scholars recognize that structural inequality is embedded within societies. As Nussbaum (2006b) notes, "because all the major Western theories of social justice begin from the nation-state as their basic unit, it is likely that new theoretical structures will also

be required to think well about this problem" (p. 1). In 2016, Stein echoed Brown and Tannok's (2009) point that, "there are no political or moral (social justice) frameworks at the global level that provide an alternative way of re-imagining equality in educational opportunity as a global project" (p. 386). Because critical scholarship is useful for both re-imagining and issues of equality (Brown & Tannok, 2009; Martínez-Alemán et al., 2015), it is the most useful frame for this pursuit. Nonetheless, critical internationalization scholars have yet to ground the ethics of the internationalization of higher education in moral philosophy. As such, in the following section I apply justice theories of the new millennium to global higher education as a way of "re-imagining equality in educational opportunity" as free from the confines of the nation state (Brown & Tannok, 2009, p. 386).

2.4 Philosophy of Justice in a Globalized World

Research that comments on the ethics of internationalization is woefully incomplete without acknowledging the assumptions of the scholar. Although it is commonly understood that openly identifying assumptions through theoretical grounding is a mark of quality scholarly work (Anyon, 2008), philosophical grounding is less common. Nonetheless, those that refuse to openly disclose philosophical assumptions are likely susceptible to the same critique as those who do not ground in theory: "hidden perspectives are not easily examined, and can channel our opinions unbeknownst to us" (Anyon, 2008, p. 4). Quality research is reflexive, openly acknowledging that one's own perspectives may influence findings (Anyon, 2008; Marecek, 2003). Attempts to appear unbiased, in fact shroud and entangle the lines of fact and perspective (Anyon, 2008; Marecek, 2003). Importantly, critical scholars cannot "openly and explicitly position" (Fairclough, Mulderrig, & Wodak, 2009, p. 358) ourselves against injustice if we do not define injustice.

The most popular theory of justice of the last century was John Rawls' (1971) Theory of Justice, a theory that had a major influence on Young (2006). "[J]ustice is the basic structure of society, which concerns 'the way in which the major social institutions distribute fundamental rights and duties and determine the division of advantages from social cooperation'" (Rawls, 1971 as cited by Young, 2006, p. 111). With Social Contract roots, Rawls' (1971) fair and equal opportunity principle (FEOP) states that, while it is acceptable to have unequal groups in society—typically associated with economic inequality—these inequalities cannot disadvantage the least advantaged.

Scholars have since applied Rawlsian ideas globally so as to fit the international dimensions of the new millennium. Despite Rawls' (1993) contention that his theory of justice was not intended to function on a global scale, scholars such as Beitz (1979), Pogge (1989), and Young (2006) extend the notion of the social contract to a global system: a Global

Contract. The primary premise of the social contract is to mediate shared mutual connection: The political institution exists only to help to justly mediate these shared mutual relationships (Young, 2006). Thus, for Young (2006), the primary argument for the ethical obligation of citizens to those who reside outside the nation state is that social relationships are not restricted by national borders. Given strict immigration laws and the vastly unequal global wealth distribution, people do not have a choice in which society they will join (Nussbaum, 2006b; Young, 2006). Political borders are formed only by historical power relationships, not ethical right or an agreement amongst the citizens of the world (Young, 2006). Thus, from the perspective of the Global Contract, arguments of exclusion based on geographical borders are unethical (Beitz, 1979; Nussbaum, 2006b; Pogge, 1989; Young, 2006). To make this point, Young (2006) uses the contextual example of the ways in which sweatshops transcend national borders but asserts that sweatshops are only one example of many types of institutions that facilitate global inequity. At the global level, it is evident that institutions create a global system that violates FEOP (Beitz, 1979; Nussbaum, 2006b; Pogge, 1989; Young, 2006).

It is from the perspective of a Global Social Contract that Viggiano, López Damián, Morales Vazquez, and Levin (2018) applied Rawls (1971) to the study of administrators' and faculty's perspectives of international students at three community colleges in the United States. The findings of this study demonstrate that professional members of the institution did recognize inequality, but rationalized this inequality through cognitive dissonance (Viggiano et al., 2018). The "decision makers first crafted a class of privileged international students and then discrimination on the basis of said privilege" to perpetuate a system in which only the affluent had access (Viggiano et al., 2018, p. 11). These scholars find this to be a violation of FEOP and suggest that their findings can serve as a "mirror for community college decision makers to begin to recognize their role in global justice," thus demonstrating the applicability of this philosophy to educational policy and research at postsecondary institutions of higher education in the U. S. (Viggiano et al., 2018, p. 12).

Young (2006) further elaborates on a version of the global social contract to develop the Social Connections Model. The central tenant of this model is that, "all agents who contribute by their actions to the structural processes that produce injustice have responsibilities to work to remedy these injustices" (pp. 102-103). Given that institutions of higher education are international actors (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002), members of these institutions have an obligation to act in ways that work to mitigate structural inequity. In this model traditional borders still exist, but they are not the primary bearer of rights. Instead rights are more associated with Appaduri's (1990) conception of fluid scapes, and bestowed on individuals based on interaction. From the perspective of the Social Connections Model, an individual's right to attend a university is dependent on if the university has contributed to an injustice that influences the individual.

There are five ways in which Young's (2006) model differs from previous models of responsibility. These differences represent the basic tenants of the theory: (1) "Non-isolating"—the responsibility of one party does not absolve the responsibility of other parties—[p.119] (2) "Judging of background conditions"—although individuals may be behaving in culturally acceptable ways and ignorant of their participation, they are still responsible for injustice—[120] (3) "More forward looking than backward looking"—rather than seeking specific retribution by allocating proportional blame, all individuals currently participating are responsible to intervene now—[121] (4) "Shared responsibility"—institutions are not responsible, rather it is the individuals that comprise the institution are responsible—[122] (5) "Discharge only through collective action"—individuals can discharge their responsibility only by encouraging others to join their cause—[p.123].

Young (2006) suggests that scholars use the Social Connection Model to identify and assign responsibility for global structural injustice. All those responsible for injustice should leverage their power, privilege, interest, and collective ability so as to work to mitigate such injustice. She further advises that one goal should be to identify the mechanisms by which these injustices are perpetuated so that individual actors within organizations can target these mechanisms so as to address these social injustices.

Young's (2006) Social Connections Model can be applied to illuminate the ways in which administrative actors that comprise institutions of higher education have been facilitating global social injustice. It is from the foundation of Young (2006) that Viggiano (2019) constructs the Critical Humanist Rationale and applies it to study abroad at the U. S. community college. This rationale grounds critical theory within the philosophical foundation of Young (2006) to discuss ways to reconceptualize and question the ramifications of internationalization activities outside of the national container. By addressing issues of social justice globally, Viggiano (2019), and the other works discussed in this synopsis, align with the emerging subfield of critical internationalization studies. Throughout this dissertation I am informed by Nussbaum (2006b) and ground critical internationalization research in Young's (2006) philosophical foundation.

3

Critical Internationalization Research and Epistemology

Though critical theory dates to the Post-World War I Frankfurt School (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2011), the subfield of Critical Internationalization Studies is in its infancy. Higher education scholars have long applied critical theory, arguing that “It is the role of critical scholars to see through the guise of the neoliberal hegemony to re-imagine a world in which education could serve to benefit those disassociated from wealth and power (Fairclough, 2013; Martínez-Alemán, Pusser, & Bensimon, 2015). Bohman (1999) argues that critical theory aligns with central notions of democracy and combines research and theory to argue for ethical responsibility and equity. Individual scholars have attempted to apply a critical perspective internationally at an increasing rate over the last few decades (Harman, 2006). However, only in 2017 did scholars coin the term Critical Internationalization Studies: Stein (2017) expands on Amy Metcalfe’s vocalized conception of critical internationalization studies to define this subfield as a scholarly perspective that questions the assumption that the global massification of higher education leads to positive global outcomes and acknowledges the potential risk that this massification poses to reproduce global inequity. Within this subfield, higher education scholars question the ethics of internationalization as it relates to higher education, power, and privilege (Stein, 2017). Unlike previous research, Stein (2017) and Stein et al. (2016) clearly delineate the theoretical multiplicity of critical internationalization studies, uniting the subfield with language by which to discuss theoretical and epistemological grounding.

3.1 Articulations and Ethics of Internationalization

Stein et al. (2016) construct a social cartography that offers language for categorizing and articulating the culturally loaded assumptions behind the global discourse that surrounds internationalization at institutions of higher education. The scholars draw on their own experience and past research to construct four overlapping categories and provide examples to demonstrate each category. The categories of articulations identified are Internationalization for the Global Knowledge Economy, Internationalization for the Public Good, Anti-oppressive Internationalization, and Relational Translocalism.

Stein et al. (2016) use the example of the “21 Day International Challenge” launched by the University of Canterbury in New Zealand to exemplify discourse that falls within the category of Internationalization for the Global Knowledge Economy on their cartograph. Stein et al. (2016)’s Global Knowledge Economy Articulation can be defined as a discourse that conceptualizes higher education as an export on the global market. Stein et al. (2016), Metcalfe and Fenwick (2009), and Ozga and Jones (2006) identify the Global Knowledge Economy discourse as a global metanarrative.

The Global Knowledge Economy—also referred to as the knowledge society—metanarrative aligns closely with the discourse associated with neoliberalism (Gaffkin & Perry, 2009; Harvey, 2007; Nokkala, 2006; Välimaa & Hoffman, 2008). From this perspective, knowledge is seen as a form of capital to be accumulated (Stein et al., 2016; Stein, 2016). Non-Western knowledge capital is devalued unless there is some sort of economic exchange value (Stein et al., 2016; Stein, 2016). The global economy is perceived as a competitive arena in which individuals, institutions, and countries must compete for dominance (Nokkala, 2006; Stein, 2016; Stein et al., 2016). Countries compete for globally skilled workers under the assumption that there is a concrete set of skills that will bring success in the global economic competition (Nokkala, 2006). Countries therefore invest in institutions of higher education for the purpose of imbuing students with these global skills and receiving an economic return on investment (Nokkala, 2006; Stein & Andreotti, 2016). Internationalization brings competitive advantage to the institution through the means of developing the marketable skills of domestic students, bringing additional revenue streams, or building the marketability and therefore prestige of the campus (Nokkala, 2006; Stein & Andreotti, 2016). As such, the decision to incorporate internationalization is subject to a cost-benefit analysis (Stein et al., 2016).

The Global Knowledge Economy Articulation is associated with one of Stein’s (2016) Ethical Challenges of the Internationalization of Higher Education: “Higher Education as a Global Export” (p. 9). International students are seen as revenue generators, sources from which to derive global competency for domestic students, or threatening others that could interfere with the competitive advantage of the nation state (Nokkala, 2006; Stein & Andreotti, 2016; Stein, 2016; Stein et al., 2016).

The next category of discourse Stein et al.'s (2016) Global Public Good Articulation. The logic of the public good (Labaree, 1997) is expanded globally. Actors that employ this articulation might advocate for expanded access to institutions of higher education, but do not advocate for changing the institutions themselves to accommodate new demographics, cultures, and conceptions of truth. The Global Public Good Articulation may critique the economic focus of the Global Knowledge Economy Articulation, but the benevolence of internationalization is not questioned, and this articulation does not acknowledge the way in which institutions of the Global North have contributed to global inequity. This articulation is rooted largely in the pursuit of equality rather than equity and does not recognize the world as an unequal playing field. "The World Beyond 2015—Is Higher Education Ready?" report as an example of this articulation.

The Global Knowledge Economy Articulation and the Global Public Good articulation also differ in how actors that employ these respective articulations respond to the second of Stein's (2016) ethical challenges: "The National Container". The national container is the idea that the pursuit of global equity is limited by the pursuit of a geographically bounded social justice agenda (Shahjahan & Kezar, 2013; Stein, 2016). Implicit nationalism and birth right perpetuate differential treatment of humans with privileged national identities (Shahjahan & Kezar, 2013; Stein, 2016). Most scholars unwittingly reinforce the national container through methodological nationalism: assuming the nation state is the basic unit of analysis (Chernilo, 2011; Shahjahan & Kezar, 2013). Nation State building is explicitly privileged over the welfare of those that exist outside of socially constructed borders (Shahjahan & Kezar, 2013; Stein, 2016). Geographically bounded agendas are in place that reinforce the power lines drawn during the time of colonialism and enslavement (Shahjahan & Kezar, 2013; Stein, 2016).

Actors that apply the Global Public Good Articulation may at times appear to extend their social justice agenda outside of the national container, but succumb to the third ethical challenge: the "Market Driven Humanist Rationale" (p. 9). While actors that employ the Global Public Good Articulation express a desire to help those outside of geographic boundaries for the purpose of bettering the world, they are selective about the responsibility they take for the global injustice and do so only when it is economically advantageous to both parties (Stein et al., 2016). This is problematic because selective recognition of equity and inclusion can reproduce the legitimacy of the unjust system without substantially contributing to a more just system (Stein, 2016). For example, actors that do not recognize the decolonial critique of global power differentials shaped by a history of colonization, may advocate for financially equal partnerships, without recognizing that the playing field is inherently unequal. The Market Driven Humanist Rationale is one of benevolent intervention that does not recognize decolonial critique (Stein, 2016; Stein et al. 2016).

Specifically, those who employ a Global Public Good Articulation and fall into the

ethical trap of the Market Driven Humanist Rationale and “benevolently intervene at ease” (Stein, 2016, p. 10). This is to say that the pursuit of global equity is not an obligation but a choice that yields the outcome of moral superiority (Stein, 2016). Good is done for the purpose of advancing the goals of institutions in the Global North and their nationally contained constituents (Stein, 2016). Therefore, interventions can never be to the disadvantage of those intervening (Stein, Hunt, Suša & Andreotti, 2017). For example, institutions may encourage students to participate in global service projects so as to develop the student’s cultural competence. Students participate in the program for the purpose of feeling good about themselves or to improve the reputation of themselves or their institution, rather than for the purpose of substantially intervening in an unjust system (Stein, 2016). As such, in this articulation, interventions need not benefit the disadvantaged group in the long term for the goal to be accomplished. Thus, policies rooted in the logic of benevolent intervention, do not disrupt the unjust power structure but instead justify participation on the basis of the likely false assertion of global good (Stein et al., 2017).

In addition, the perceived student outcomes associated with the ethical challenge of the Market Driven Humanist Rationale, such as cultural competence, are also associated with an implicit outcome of moral superiority that is used to justify epistemic dominance (Stein, 2016; Viggiano, 2019). This is to say that students are encouraged to see themselves as bringers of Truth to an otherwise thoughtless land (Zemach-Bersin, 2007). Zemach-Bersin (2007) provides the example of a young man who claimed to have been given a “chief cloth” perceived himself to be “treated like a god” (p. 16). In this way, U.S. students actively reproduce colonial actions through their placement in privileged positions while abroad (Zemach-Bersin, 2007).

“Epistemic Dominance” is the fourth of Stein’s (2016) Ethical Challenge of Internationalization (p. 9). She summarizes past scholarship to define the concept of epistemic dominance as the idea that Western knowledge is always valuable and other types of knowledge are of limited value. Those that employ the Global Good Articulation generously bequeath Western knowledge to the less fortunate, which creates a paternalistic and infantilizing relationship. Students at institutions of higher education that apply a Global Good Articulation are not encouraged to question the system that perpetuates global inequity or the student’s own role in global inequity, but instead students are encouraged to justify their own privilege by virtue of their mastery of Western knowledge. For example, actors that apply a Global Good Articulation are not interested in partnerships for the purpose of learning factual knowledge from each other, but instead for the purpose of developing their own cultural competence. Therefore, only certain types of non-Western knowledge have value to those operating from the perspective of the Global Good Articulation.

The final of the Stein’s (2016) Ethical Challenges of Internationalization is “Equity and Access on a Global Scale”. As Brennan and Naidoo (2008) point out, solutions may advan-

tage and disadvantage a global social justice agenda simultaneously. For example, Brennan and Naidoo (2008) suggest the possibility that policies that extend access to less privileged groups may advantage the students that they serve, but disadvantage less privileged group as a whole.

In many ways Equity and Access on Global Scale is an ethical challenge because of the ethical perils of the previously mentioned challenges. The economic exploitation of international students will not lead to equitable access (Stein, 2016). Higher education institutions suggest that they are facilitators of equity and social mobility for the public good, yet this concept is typically contained within the national container (Marginson, 2007; Shahjahan & Kezar, 2013; Stein, 2016). If the concept were to be applied outside of the national container, there is a danger that this expansion would be rooted within a Market Driven Liberal Humanist Rationale, which would reproduce global inequity through the logic of benevolent interventionism (Stein, 2016). Moreover, extending access to elite institutions of higher education located within the Global North may in fact reinforce the epistemic dominance of Western education (Stein, 2016). Thus, each of the previous four ethical challenges poses a barrier to the pursuit of equity and access on a global scale. There is a paradox. Actions that promote equitable access on a global scale will likely succumb to one of the ethical pitfalls identified by Stein (2016). The following section details the ways in which multiple critical internationalization discourses diverge and overlap when grappling with this paradox and ethical challenges.

3.2 Critical Theory & the Multiplicity of Critical Internationalization Studies

Critical scholars have not formed consensus on the solutions to ethical problems created by the internationalization and globalization of higher education, nor is that the objective of critical work (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2011; Stein, 2017). Kincheloe and McLaren (2011) assert that it is difficult to provide an idiosyncratic definition of critical theory because it is against the nature of critical research:

...critical theory is always changing and evolving; and critical theory attempts to avoid too much specificity, as there is room for disagreement...To lay out a set of fixed characteristics of the position is contrary to the desire of such theorists to avoid the production of blueprints of sociopolitical and epistemological beliefs. (p. 287)

Rather, as Stein (2017) demonstrates, critical scholars embrace paradox and conduct research from a variety of critical perspectives. Because of the implicit paradoxes of ethical internationalization, there is no unproblematic solution to what will solve all ethical ten-

sions; rather, scholars should seek to explain paradoxes in ways that illuminate possible solutions (Stein, 2017). What unites critical perspectives is that critical work answers the call for scholarship (e.g., Harney & Moten, 2013; de Sousa Santos, 2007; Shahjahan, 2013; Stein, 2017) that reframes problems, asks questions, and envisions alternative realities that are contrary to the traditional ethical and political conceptual frames that have produced said problems (Stein, 2017). Critical researchers are particularly interested in, “issues of power and justice and the ways that the economy, matters of race, class, and gender, ideologies, discourses, education, religion, and other social institutions, and cultural dynamics interact to construct a social system” (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2011, p. 288). Critical internationalization scholars grapple with the paradoxes of international ethics in different ways (Stein, 2017).

The third and fourth categories of internationalization articulation identified by Stein et al. (2016)—Anti-oppressive Internationalization and Relational Translocalism—are examples of the ways in which critical discourses differ. The Anti-oppressive Internationalization Articulation is grounded in a commitment to social justice that is rooted in critical theory. This articulation questions who is included, who is disadvantaged, and how is good defined. Those who employ this discourse are critical of international rankings because these rankings reflect both ethnocentrism and universalism. While those who utilize this articulation may apply arguments rooted in nationalism, it is applied to argue in favor of nations in the Global South rather than the privileged nations of the Global North. To demonstrate this discourse, the scholars draw on the example of internationalization that is integrated into the mission of Universidade Federal da Integração Latino-Americana (UNILA). The final articulation, Relational Translocalism, employs the same critique as Anti-oppressive Internationalization whilst also recognizing one’s own role in facilitating the globally oppressive system of economics. Those that employ the Relational Translocalism Articulation attempt to disentangle individual responsibility from allegiances to nations, institutions, and organizations that impede global social justice. In practice, actors who employ the Relational Translocalism discourse recognize the paradoxes associated with the pursuit of ethical internationalization of higher education identified by Stein (2016), and do not shy away from complexity.

In Finland, Andreotti, Stein, Pashby, and Nicholson (2016) created a framework for the purpose of discussing scholarly conversations about the nature of international discourse, in which various discourses are plotted on a triangular Venn diagram of sorts, with three dominant categories: neoliberal, liberal, and critical discourse. Actors who employ neoliberal discourses advocate for education to be utilized as a tool for economic development, which may or may not be to the benefit of students or larger society. In contrast, actors who employ discourses that exists purely within the liberal frame are in favor of education as a tool for personal and societal development. Liberal discourses differ from critical

discourses in that liberal discourses do not acknowledge the socio-cultural structural impediments to utilizing education as a tool for global equity. Actors who employ a purely liberal discourse do not acknowledge global power differentials. While seemingly distinct categories, discourses exist on a continuum in which the three discourses—neoliberal, liberal, and critical—may or may not coexist within a single argument (Andreotti et al., 2016). The point at which these discourses overlap is called an interface.

Within the critical category, Stein (2017) finds that there are a variety of discourses. She suggests that there are three ways of categorizing critical internationalization research: radical, liminal, and soft. Scholarship that falls in all three categories rejects neoliberal pressures of international education and laments the marketization of international education that is to the disadvantage of the less advantaged in society. However, the three categories differ in the degree to which they assume the existing global structure could be adapted to serve the disadvantaged. The radical and liminal categories of critical internationalization research call into question the historical foundation upon which the global system of higher education was built. But, those who conduct research from only the radical or liminal perspective find themselves in a paradoxical position: radical and liminal researchers advocate for a transformation of the system, sometimes without strategies for participating in the currently unjust system.

While Stein's (2017) radical and liminal categories fall into what Andreotti et al. (2016) call the critical discursive orientation, the soft critique falls into both the critical and liberal discursive orientation. Scholarship that falls into the soft critique discursive orientation may argue for reviving international exchange as a means of facilitating cross cultural learning and diplomatic relationships. Arguments in favor of global citizenship and development aid that suggest that the Global North should contribute educational resources to the Global South as a means of building up these "developing" economies fit into this category (Stein, 2017). The soft critique includes scholarship that focuses on a modest rebalancing of local and international interests so as to benefit lower-GDP countries, but—in contrast to the radical and liminal critiques—does not acknowledge and examine all of the mechanisms thoroughly by which global power differentials privilege wealthy nations (Stein, 2017). Stein (2017) asserts that the soft critique may exist within a nationalist frame, and that soft critique may disregard the critiques made by radical or liminal critical theorists. Stein (2017) places research from notable scholars into this category (Altbach & Knight, 2007; Lee & Rice, 2007; Marginson, 2006; 2007; 2012; Nussbaum, 2002). Although she acknowledges that the bulk of critical internationalization scholarship falls into the category of soft critique, she does not acknowledge the different perspectives that exist within the category of soft critique.

Stein (2017) loses sight of the liberal-critical continuum presented by Andreotti et al. (2016). Stein (2017) creates a rigid dichotomy in which scholars either accept nationalist

boundaries as a foundation for future hegemony—fitting snugly within Stein’s (2017) soft critique and Andreotti et al.’s (2016) liberal category—or reject the entirety of current systems of higher education—fitting firmly within Stein’s (2017) radical or liminal critique and Andreotti et al.’s (2016) critical category. Stein (2017) largely ignores what Andreotti et al. (2017) call the liberal-critical interface.

I argue that soft critique is a continuum of perspectives that all fit within the continuum of the liberal-critical interface described by Andreotti et al. (2016). Unlike previous critical internationalization scholarship, my work operates within this liberal-critical interface: I am informed by the critiques made by radical and liminal theorists, but I do not reject the current global system in its entirety. Unlike my predecessors, I employ empirical tools to identify concrete solutions within the current system without accepting nationalism as an ‘inevitability’.

4

Methodology and Methods

4.1 Critical Qualitative Methodology and Ontology

To address problems of global structural injustice Young (2006) suggests identifying the mechanisms by which these injustices are facilitated. Questions that deal with process are addressed appropriately with qualitative research methodology (Maxwell, 2005), and this methodology is especially useful for the exploration and explanation of social and education related problems (Barbour, 2008). As such, I adhered to normative approaches of qualitative research: I utilized multiple methods of analysis and an interpretivist approach, and I attempted to make sense of phenomena based upon the meanings people bring to them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Mason, 2002; Maxwell, 2005).

I utilize critical theory to inform my methodological approach throughout my investigations. In a research context critical theory guides the questions that researchers ask, the ways we construct our investigations, and the ways in which we identify and discern data (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2011). Throughout these three studies I paid great attention to and incorporated what could be considered general tenants of critical research (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2011). This is to say that I selected research questions and synthesized data to include those that best highlighted competing power interests between individuals and society especially as it related to emancipation, human agency, and justice. Throughout my data collection and analyses, I rejected of economic determinism as the only possible

explanation for phenomena, made attempts to identify unconscious processes and hegemony, and consciously sought to recognize elements of privilege (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2011). As such, a critical qualitative approach, best fit to my research questions (Marecek, 2003), and ensured that I maintained theoretical validity throughout my investigations (Anyon, 2008; Maxwell, 2005).

Kincheloe, McLaren, & Steinberg (2011) recognize modes of research that hold the tenants of critical theory to be fundamental to their research as belonging to a critical research bricolage [referencing and applying Denzin & Lincoln's (2000) reference of Lévi Strauss, 1968]. Critical bricolage rejects assumptions of research neutrality and disallows the possibility of universal truth that has traditionally accompanied Western research. In this sense, bricolage is the process of employing research methods as they are needed in relation to the context of the research situation and the general assumptions of critical theory. Given the flexibility to choose the methods that best suit the context, those who employ bricolage are best able to, "move beyond the blinders of particular disciplines" (p. 168).

I applied different research methods in each of the three investigations outlined in this dissertation. Different methods were required given the differing contexts of each of each of the investigations (Kincheloe et al., 2011). Two of the papers focused on the U. S. and one on Finland. Study I and II were grounded within the U. S. context—specifically the U. S. community college context—and Study III was grounded within Finnish context. Specifics on the methods used in each study are detailed in subsection 4.4. The following section details my purposeful approach to qualitative research by highlighting the motivations behind my varied site selections (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Mason, 2002).

4.2 Site Selection: The U.S. and Finland

The U.S. is an example of a country that does a particularly poor job at addressing global structural inequity. For example, although the U. S. hosted 1,043,839 international students—defined here as student's who do not have U.S. citizenship or consider the U.S. to be their home country—in the 2015/16 academic year (Institute of International Education [IIE], 2016), these students are often the economic elite of their nations (Schofer & Myer, 2005), and the majority hail from only a handful of countries (IIE, 2016). Nearly 50% of all international students enrolled in U. S. institutions of higher education (IHEs) come from just two countries, China or India (IIE, 2016). Less than 2% of international students in the U. S. hail from countries defined by the World Bank (2016) to be low-GDP (IIE, 2016). As such, there is demand for research that addresses the mechanisms by which this inequity is justified.

Community College Context in the U. S. The tension surrounding social justice, community, and internationalization present among U.S. community colleges provides a unique opportunity to learn about the motivations of administrative actors (Stake, 2010). Within the U.S., community colleges have a social justice mission to facilitate the socio-economic mobility of the historically disenfranchised (Ayers, 2005; Meier, 2013). However, scholars have identified community colleges as ideal institutions to facilitate global justice as well. Treat and Hagedorn (2013) find that characteristics associated with the community college such as open access, adaptability, and their student-centered mission make these institutions well placed to serve the expanding middle class of low and middle GDP countries. In addition, Copeland et al. (2017) suggest that community college rationales for internationalization may differ from the motivations of their four-year counterparts, suggesting that community college administrators may value internationalization because of their open-door mission rather than an explicit mission to internationalize for the purposes of revenue generation or prestige (Copeland et al., 2017).

While narrow conceptions of community have caused practitioners and scholars to question the role of internationalization at the community college (Raby, 2012), on the grounds of Young's (2006) Social Connections Model internationalized community colleges have a responsibility to extend their mission to international constituents. There is significant evidence that community colleges have not operated solely within national boundaries for decades, and they continue to actively pursue an international agenda (American Council on Education [ACE], 2016; Levin, 2001; 2002; 2017). Of the associates granting institutions that participated in the ACE (2016) survey, 41% indicated that increasing the number of students that study abroad was their primary internationalization goal and roughly 72% indicated that internationalization had accelerated at, at least a moderate rate between the years of 2011 to 2015. Importantly, Raby (2012) points to changing student demographics in which many of the students are themselves international or have strong social and familial ties to international communities. As such, from the perspective of Young (2006), given that community colleges are directly influencing the life outcomes of those outside their local community borders, community college administrative actors have a responsibility to the people outside of their local communities.

Though community college practitioners have a responsibility and inclination to pursue socially-just study abroad initiatives (Ayers & Palmadessa, 2015), it can be difficult to articulate issues of global social justice and to justify the pursuit of such initiatives to those in power. Community colleges are particularly susceptible to the pressures of neoliberalism (Levin, 2001; Ayers, 2005). In a neoliberal environment the liberal and critical voices are hushed (Andreotti, Stein, Pashby, & Nicolson, 2016). Critical research can bring to audition strategies to resist neoliberal pressure (Martínez-Alemán, 2015). Practitioners can

use the findings of this research to articulate, justify, and shape their approach to globally-just study abroad initiatives at the community college.

Solórzano and Yosso (2002) utilized counternarrative to advance a critical social justice research agenda. In the absence of a counternarrative the views of master narrative are universalized and come to be seen as “objective” reality. The hegemonic ideals that underline the master narrative are valued at the expense of those that are less powerful. Counternarratives serve to highlight taken for granted assumptions in society by illuminating the possibility of difference and can be used as a tool to disrupt hegemonic world views and advocate for social justice (e.g. Harper, 2009). The use of counternarrative can therefore provide a guidepost for empowering those who are disadvantaged by the hegemonic discourse. In line with this critical agenda, I utilize counternarrative to begin to answer my research questions in alignment with critical internationalization scholars (Stein, 2017). In the hopes of identifying a counternarrative to the U. S. system, I turned to Finland.

Finland. While no tertiary education system is doing particularly well at mitigating their role in global structural inequity, research and data suggest that administrative actors in Finland are interested in facilitating a system that supports more equitable international education than other countries. For example, about 8% of all international students and 10.5 % of new international students hailed from low-income countries (Finnish National Agency for Education, 2016). In the 2015/16 academic year Finland served more international students per capita than the U. S.: 0.7 compared to 0.3, respectively. As mentioned, national policy mandates scholarships for at least some number of these international students (Cai, Hölttä, & Lindholm, 2013). In addition, Bisaso, Hölttä, Pekkola, & Virtanen (2015) give small examples of the ways in which branch campuses have been used successfully to strengthen management capacity in African countries, such as educating PhD students in preparation for university leadership. Lehtomäki, Moate, and Posti-Ahokas (2018) discuss the ways in which Finnish students develop a potential disposition toward global responsibility via their involvement with institution facilitated programing related to the UN SDGs.

Finnish institutions may provide examples of IHEs that do a better job of striving to mitigate their involvement in global structural injustice, and therefore provide a counternarrative (Solórzano and Yosso, 2002). Eidfjord, Dam, Dijkstra, and Werfhorst (2016) identify Finland as a country that values equitable education for the purpose of democratic citizenship. Because of these egalitarian values, in many ways the Finnish higher education system has been an example of a system that walks the tightrope of globalization—carefully avoiding the pitfalls of neoliberalism typically associated with internationalization strategy—but this tight rope is becoming increasingly difficult to walk (Simola, Rinne, Varjo, & Kauko, 2013). Institutions of higher education (IHEs) are a reflection of the history and value system of the society in which they are embedded (Kivistö, & Tirronen, 2012; Välimaa & Nokkala, 2014).

4.3 European and Finnish Contexts

The recent history of Finnish higher education can be seen as the pursuit of an egalitarian education system to compliment the values of an aspiring egalitarian society (Välimaa, 2005). Prior to the Higher Education Development Act of the 1960s IHEs resided only in the populous regions of the South: new institutions were built in an effort to expand access to education and equalize access to career opportunities across the region (Hölttä & Pulliainen, 1996). There was a decentralization of the higher education system and a push for increased institutional autonomy (Hölttä & Pulliainen, 1996) and an expansion of higher education via polytechnic institutions, which were envisioned to facilitate domestic student equity (Kivinen, Ahola, & Hedman, 2001). Though these changes were not without critique, Kivinen et al. (2001) suggest that a defining struggle in the 1980's and 1990's was to get enrollment in IHEs to reflect the values of an egalitarian society.

Bologna, the EU, and Accelerated Globalization. The new millennium brought about an increased focus on the internationalization of tertiary education. Rinne (2000) argues that the 1995 integration of Finland into the EU led to the beginnings of a radical shift away from the Nordic Welfare Model of higher education towards a rhetoric of marketization and choice that was debilitating to the pursuit of domestic equity. Nokkala (2012) asserts that much of this marketization rhetoric stemmed from the EU's pressure to compete with the U.S. for international students, a driving force of the 1999 Bologna Process.

The Bologna document details a degradation of national identity in favor of the competitive appeal of the market. For example, "The vitality and efficiency of any civilisation can be measured by the appeal that its culture has for other countries." (Bologna Declaration 1999 as cited in Nokkala, 2012). This statement details a complete reversal of nationalism, suggesting that worth and value is defined by other nations rather than the nation itself. Paradoxically, Nokkala (2007) argues that the degradation of national boundaries creates a fragmented society, with actors both within and outside the state, in which governments perceive the free market as the only force capable of universal governance. In line with neoliberalism, the countries themselves use globalization as a justification to decrease their own social responsibility to both domestic and international peoples (Nokkala, 2007). In the early 2000s Välimaa (2004) noted that the term globalization itself was commonly linked to the Americanization.

As such, global competition—particularly with the U. S.—has challenged the Nordic welfare model. Finnish scholars connect global competition to many of the recent changes taking place at IHEs in the country: increased financial autonomy for university administration, a managerial approach to administration, financial steering mechanisms issued by government, more rigid review process for accreditation and funding (Nokkala, & Bladh, 2014) as well as increased competition amongst academics, and an increase in

non-permanent professorial positions (Ylijoki & Ursin, 2013; 2015). Kivistö & Tirronen (2012) demonstrate the ways in which the mergers of three IHEs in Helsinki led to a 'new elitism' that privileges prestigious institutions. These elements are associated with the rise of global neoliberalism (Levin, 2017). These neoliberal pressures stifle academic freedom and the ethical voice typically associated with Finnish IHEs (Nokkala & Bladh 2014).

Recent Finnish internationalization strategies demonstrate the relationship between neoliberalism and the pursuit of globally equitable higher education policy. Although never a clearly defined term, section 5 of the 2009 internationalization plan for Finnish higher education is devoted to the concept of 'global responsibility':

Higher education institutions [should] utilise their research and expertise to solve global problems and to consolidate competence in developing countries...[t]he activities of higher education institutions [should be] ethically sustainable and support students' prerequisites to function in a global environment as well as to understand the global effects of their activities. (Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture, 2009, pp. 11-21)

From the context of the report, global responsibility is a mandate to address global inequity. This mandate may empower Finnish practitioners to address global higher education inequity called for by UNESCO. Nonetheless, Välimaa and Weimer (2014) demonstrate the way in which the rhetoric of the Bologna process infiltrated the rhetoric of the 2009 internationalization plan. They highlight the focus on competition and revenue generation. When describing the reasons for internationalization, rather than focusing on a moral or ethical responsibility arguments of competition are employed, the plan states that "[IHEs] attract a highly educated labour force and foreign investments... Finnish higher education institutions must compete increasingly harder to retain their position as producers, conveyors and utilisers of competence and new knowledge" (pp. 15-17). The newest internationalization plan, for 2017 to 2025, leaves out global responsibility entirely, and focusses on the economic benefits of international education (Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture, 2017).

Kivistö & Tirronen (2012) name this detachment from the social good in favor of the market, 'the global corporate state', which undermines the traditional welfare state. Weimer (2013) describes the way in which this argument applies to specific policy like international student tuition. Still some scholars adopt neoliberal rhetoric, for example, Cai, et al. (2013) use terms like "selling point" to suggest that international education could be a "new economy-boosting company" to replace revenue lost from the fall of Nokia (p. 144). Scholars attempt to integrate the global corporate state with that of the traditional welfare state. For example, Cai and Kivistö (2013) suggest that price discrimination against international students could be considered an equitable policy: given that many international students are indeed from high and middle-income households, then it makes sense

to charge tuition to these students when this tuition is used to fund low-income students. This argument is reminiscent of what Viggiano et al. (2018) call the international access paradox. Their research found that administrators constructed an argument that suggested that international students should be charged tuition because they are affluent, but the tuition policy itself ensures that only the affluent can attend, thus continuing to reinforce the argument (Viggiano et al., 2018).

However, undoubtedly circumstances in Finland do differ from the entirely neoliberal entrenched U. S. system. For example, as Cai et al. (2013) notes, Finnish institutions were required to start a scholarship fund when they began to charge international student tuition as so that IHEs would continue to be able to serve international students from developing countries. Further research will determine if scholarships are enough to maintain access for these low-income international students. Scholars such as Kivistö & Tirronen (2012) do see the growing trend of new elitism in Finland as a potential threat to the Finnish model of egalitarian higher education, but they nevertheless conclude that the state will continue to steer progress associated with the traditional goals of equity. In the view of Kivistö & Tirronen (2012), the Finnish model is not yet in jeopardy of falling prey to American style elitism, as such it may provide an institution that can serve as a counter narrative (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002) to the neoliberal institutions within the U. S.

4.4 Methods of the Sub-Studies

Given the differing country and institutional contexts, I employed different methods to answer the research questions in each of the sub-studies (Kincheloe et al., 2011). The following sections detail the specific methods employed for each of the sub-studies. Sub-studies I and III were empirical. Sub-study II was theoretical.

Sub-study I: This investigation stemmed from John Levin's larger and longitudinal qualitative investigation related to globalization and neoliberalization of North American community colleges. The initial study was a comparative case study analysis of seven community colleges in the U.S. and Canada. The first round of data—not used in this investigation—was collected in the early 2000's. The sites were selected because of their open pursuit of internationalization on their campuses. As such, the institutions have an established and documented history of internationalization. These same sites were revisited by John Levin in 2013. The interviews gathered from John's visits—analyzed in this investigation—were transcribed by another researcher and myself the subsequent year.

For the purpose of this investigation, we applied purposeful criterion sampling to reduce the data to institutions and interviews that "fit" our research questions (Howe & Eisenhart, 1990). As such, we eliminated data from pre-2013 and Canadian community

colleges. We selected three U.S. colleges within different states [Hawai'i, Washington, and California]. Each of the community colleges selected expressly articulated goals related to globalization and/or diversity in their mission statements.

The interviews analyzed were those with data from people we identified as decision makers—individuals who have some official influence on institutional policy. The 26 interviews analyzed included interviews with chancellors, presidents, finance and student affairs administrators, deans, faculty chairs, faculty leaders (both present and former), and major committee members (e.g., curriculum). Participants answered questions relating to institutional change since the turn of the century, their roles, and general background information. The robust number and length of the interviews (60-90 min) enabled deep and comprehensive analysis (Becker, 1996).

Two of my co-authors and I applied a three phase (Richards, 2009) content analysis (Lichtman, 2013) to analyze the interview data. In the descriptive phase, we noted descriptive attributes of the interviewees. In the topical coding phase, we applied a categorical lens previously identified from our review of the literature (Maxwell, 2005). In this phase the data—motivations for international student presence on campus—was sorted into four categories: revenue generation, open access, academic benefit for domestic students, or other. The other category was created to leave room for the possibility of unexpected data (Bogdan & Bicklen, 2011), but was later disregarded during our validity check (Maxwell, 2005) as we did not find data that fell within this category. In the final phase, the analytical coding (Richards, 2009), we applied theoretical frames to extract latent meaning from data (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004).

In the analytical coding phase, we operationalized and applied Van Leeuwen and Wodak's (1999) "macro-strategies". The macro-strategies are useful for critically analyzing discourse and have been utilized to explain the ways in which people rationalize exclusion and inclusion (Van Leeuwen & Woodak, 1999). As such, we applied this frame to determine the ways in which participants engaged with inclusion and exclusion of international students. We searched for elements of the four strategies within the sample transcripts: construction, perpetuation and justification, transformation, and reconstruction. The construction category illuminated the ways in which participants conceptualized difference. The perpetuation and justification category enabled us to explore the ways in which decision makers rationalized the treatment of international students. The transformation category captured the ways in which decision makers employed analogy as a means of rationalization. The destructive category caught data that was in contrast to the dominant discourse on international students (Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999).

Sub-study II: In this chapter I explored the ways in which humanism and critical theory have been applied to justify study abroad at the community college through a complex literature review (Hart, 2005) and theoretical exploration. In alignment with Hart (2005)

research articles were selected purposefully. Articles for analysis were collected in December of 2017 using google scholar with the search terms: higher education, humanism, community college, study abroad, and internationalization. In addition, recent articles—2013 onward—focusing on study abroad or internationalization at the community college from key community college focused publications were considered: *Community College Review*, *Community College Journal of Research and Practice*, and *New Directions for Community Colleges*. Lastly, references in key articles were explored.

I analyzed and organized the literature review by applying theory to construct an etymological explanation (Hart, 2005) of humanism. Guided by Andreotti et al.'s, (2016) *Paradigms of Discourse I* explain the ways in which previous scholarship has applied humanism to the study abroad rationale at the community college: the neoliberal, liberal, or critical application. The first section of the literature review demonstrates that scholarly literature predominantly rationalizes study abroad within the liberal and neoliberal frame. Even critical discussions are predominantly confined to the national container.

The remainder of the chapter draws on Young's (2006) justice theory, to imagine a globally critical humanist rationale to study abroad at the community college. I drew on publicly available data from the U.S. based Institute of International Education (IIE) to frame questions and problems of ethics from the perspective of the theoretically constructed category of the critical humanist rationale. This data was collected from the IIE Open Doors website in December of 2017.

Sub-study III: This investigation is part of a larger research project funded by Fulbright Finland and the Lois Roth Endowment. Throughout the entirety of the investigation I engaged in ten months of participant observation, focus groups, interview collection within multiple Finnish institutions of higher education.

Explorational interviews at multiple institutions of higher education allowed me to confirm that I had indeed selected a critical case (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Critical cases are cases that are selected for their strategic importance to the subject being studied (Flyvbjerg, 2006). As opposed to representative cases, critical cases are exceptions to the norm and therefore provide rich data useful for in depth qualitative analysis of said exception (Flyvbjerg, 2006). For critical favorable cases such as this one, limited generalizations can be made along the logic of "if it is not valid for this case, then it is not valid for any (or only few) cases" (p. 230). Given Finland's noted track record of navigating neoliberal pressure (Simola et al., 2013), theoretical and empirical scholarship (outlined in the site selection section of this overview) suggested that Finland is a suitable place to search for examples of a critical case that deviates from the solely neoliberal approach to internationalization.

Although explorative interviews suggested that more than one institution within Finland could have served as an example of a critical case, the specific institution selected was chosen because of its mission of global engagement and historical commitment to

global responsibility. Specifically, it had high international student enrollment, an institutionalized history of addressing global responsibility on campus, and, importantly, had partnered with international organizations to host events related to global responsibility.

This investigation draws on 15 interviews with higher education practitioners at the selected institution. I conducted semi-structured interviews until I reached indicators of saturation (e.g. answers were consistently repeated in different phrasing, no new theoretically relevant information was gathered for multiple interviews) [Morse, 1995]. Participants were selected based on two selection criteria. First, the investigation targeted administrators that held roles that facilitated internationalization activities on campus (e.g. internationalization coordinators, members of the internationalization office, and leaders of international research or service initiatives). Second, similar to Levin, Viggiano, López Damián, Morales Vazquez, and Wolf (2017), administrators in key roles of influence over institutional policy were targeted (i.e. rectors, department heads, and the like). Collectively, I call these participants internationalization actors. Interviews were collected over the period of six months in English. My line of questioning was open ended and theoretically guided (Anyon, 2008). Pseudonyms were assigned to maintain confidentiality.

To analyze my data, I utilized content analysis (Lichtman, 2013), specifically categories identified by Andreotti, Stein, Pashby, and Nicolson's (2016) social cartography of the discursive orientations in the corporate/civic imaginary of higher education. Cartographies are useful for problematizing common-sense imaginaries so as to reveal implicit assumptions and contradictions. I operationalized the discursive categories of this cartography: Participants' rationales for internationalization and global responsibility were divided into critical (e.g. references to colonialization, power, exploitation, resistance), liberal (e.g. references to public good, nation building, and acculturation), and neoliberal categories (e.g. reference to competition, prestige, decreased social welfare, and commodification of knowledge or people). Overlaps were noted.

4.5 Additional Ethical Considerations

Many institutions of higher education require research that involves human subjects to be pre-approved through an institutional review board. To ensure informed consent, many IRBs require researchers to submit a full research plan, including potential questions, participants, risks, etc. prior to the investigation's commencement (Mertens, 2019).

All of the studies conformed to the University of California, Riverside's (UCR's) human research review board protocol. When human subjects were involved, the UCR IRB reviewed and approved the protocol for the study months before data collection. Although this is considered low ethical risk research, it is standard protocol for the IRB to require a

detailed application whenever human subjects are involved. The IRB required an explanation of the investigation, funding sources, and possible risks and benefits for participants. Feelings of stress or discomfort were identified as a possible risk. Feelings of self-worth were identified as a possible benefit. They also reviewed and approved all supplementary materials such as the informed consent waiver, potential interview questions, email recruitment templates, and letters of invitation to the institution. For each study, a protocol was established for storing and managing confidential data. All recorded interviews were to be password protected and locked. In accordance with the protocol, all participants in the studies signed waivers of consent to the recording, transcribing, and eventual publication of research relating to their interviews. Participants that wished to withdraw their interview after completion, were permitted to do so at any time. Throughout the publication process every attempt was made to maintain the confidentiality of participants. Pseudonyms for participants, position, and institutions were employed. Only information extremely contextually relevant to the investigation was reported in publications. For example, in one instance, the journal reviewers and editor requested additional information about participants such as race, title, and gender. This request was denied and the information was not disclosed as a means of protecting the confidentiality of participants.

The foundational principles of most U.S. IRBs—by which academic research projects are screened for ethical compliance—stem from the concepts outlined in the Belmont Report (Mertens, 2019). However, the Belmont Report was originally designed for health professionals in response to extreme physical harm. Little consideration was given to the ways in which these principles could be adapted for qualitative researchers in other fields of study (Mertens, 2019).

Given this foundation, it is perhaps not surprising that modern qualitative researchers critique IRBs for being better suited for biomedical research, less concerned with protecting participants and more concerned with covering university liability (Mertens, 2019). As Bentar (1998) states, “[t]here is little consideration of whether ‘practice meets up to its moral rather than its legal requirements’ (as cited by Robinson-Pant & Singal, 2013, p. 221). Institutional research ethics are insufficient guides for qualitative researchers (Mertens, 2019). It is the responsibility of the qualitative researcher to consider additional ethical questions, often independent of the institutional body, from the researcher’s own paradigm (Mertens, 2019).

As such, my ethical considerations stemmed primarily from my critical foundation. The critical foundation is encompassed within what Mertens (2019) calls the transformational paradigm. For those that come from a transformative paradigm, the researcher must consider how their research will present the reality of those who have been disadvantaged by society (Mertens, 2019). Researchers in this paradigm acknowledge that there are many versions of reality, but some versions of reality impede human rights (Mertens, 2019). To meet

the ethical standards of the paradigm, transformative researchers must actively advance social justice (Mertens, 2019). It is not enough to document the realities of participants and 'do no harm', the researcher must facilitate good (Mertens, 2019, Robinson-Pant & Singal, 2013).

Given the subject of my research, I was primarily concerned with ensuring that the data was reported in such a way that they did not further perpetuate problematical discourses that facilitate further global social injustice. I was informed by Stein et al.'s (2016) cartography that identified the ways in which actors conceptualize internationalization, and the ramifications of those conceptualizations: Global Knowledge Economy, Internationalization for the Public Good, Anti-oppressive Internationalization, and Relational Translocalism. These concepts are detailed in previous sections.

At the University of California, Riverside I was directed to represent my data within the Public Good discourse, rather than Anti-oppressive or Relational Translocalism. For example, sub-study I deviates from my ethical paradigm by employing language that reinforces epistemic dominance (Stein, Andreotti, Suša & 2019). Recognizing the ethical conflict, I left this university so as to pursue the guidance of those who do not impose an inconsistent ethical paradigm.

To stay true to the ethical paradigm, in shaping the research agenda of this dissertation I considered the benefits to those who less often benefit from research. For example, Robinson-Pant and Singal (2013) critique international research for being to the benefit of socio-economically privileged nations without particular benefit to others. Often researchers drain time and resources from those in less economically privileged countries, and the benefits are reaped by those in privileged nations (Robinson-Pant & Singal, 2013). As such, my research did not drain the resources of low/middle GDP nations whilst still attempting to be of benefit to those nations. Rather than problematizing those within low/middle GDP nations, I reframed problems in a global context as they related to Finland and the U.S. I contribute towards transformative change (Mertens, 2019) by illuminating ways in which privileged individuals can address these global problems, rather than putting the burden on those who have been historically disadvantaged.

5

Overview & Coherence of the Sub-studies

These studies all addressed the ways in which administrative actors at institutions of higher education justify their involvement in global social injustice. The articles identify strategies by which administrative actors could begin to mitigate their institutions' involvement in global social injustice. Sub-studies I and II identified elements of social injustice at U. S. community colleges. Sub-study I addresses the ways in administrative actors at three different community colleges in three different U.S. states justify the inclusion and exclusion of international students on their campus. Sub-study II addresses the ways in which administrative actors at community colleges across the U. S. might begin to reconceptualize their mission to serve international constituents. Sub-study III explains the ways in which administrative actors involved in internationalization in Finland conceptualize global responsibility and their role as it relates to global responsibility. The following sections describe the sub-studies and their findings more in depth.

5.1 Sub-study I: The Others: Equitable Access, International Students, and the Community College

Summary and Introduction. This study applied Rawls (1971) theory of justice globally to assess whether administrative actor's perspectives on the purpose of internationalization at their community college could be considered ethical. We identified and explained the ways

in which these administrative actors rationalized motivations for international recruitment. Through our analysis, we identify the existence of what we call the International Access Paradox: “community college decision makers first crafted a class of privileged international students and then justified price discrimination on the basis of said privilege” (Viggiano et al., 2018, p. 81). This circular argument prevented decision makers from recognizing or responding to the needs of low socioeconomic status (SES) international students and international students from disadvantaged countries.

Answer to Study Research Questions. This results of this investigation suggest some of the ways in which practitioners at three U. S. community colleges (CCs) [located in California, Washington, and Hawaii] justified and reproduced global structural injustice. Though the results of this investigation did not suggest that practitioners were actively attempting to mitigate their role in global social injustice, it was evident that participants were highly supportive of social justice initiatives. Their conceptions of social justice appeared to be constrained by their perceptions of their institutional mission statements. Elements of social justice initiatives, such as the open access mission, were limited to the institution’s target demographics. These target demographics differed based on the location of the institution, but never included international students. Although low-income students were often included in target demographics, practitioners did not recognize the possibility that students could be simultaneously low-income and international. Thus, the existence of ARES was not considered. The results of the investigation suggest that practitioners may not fully recognize their role in global social injustice because their missions do not address this issue.

The neoliberal conceptualization of international students as sources of economic revenue masked the administrative actors’ ability or willingness to conceptualize financially needy international students. As such, findings suggest that so long as administrative actors conceptualize the reason for internationalization of the community college in terms of monetarism, then they will reproduce global structural injustice via the International Access Paradox. In identifying the presence of the International Access Paradox, giving it a name (Boris, 2005), provides a platform from which to discuss and resist this mechanism of global social injustice. Practitioners interested in pursuing a globally socially just agenda can consider the International Access Paradox when crafting their institutional mission statements.

In the conclusion of the article, we identified a more socially just avenue for practitioners to follow. The following sub-study discusses additional tools that administrative actors at the community college could employ to begin to discourage the false assumptions of their peers.

5.2 Sub-study II: Thinking Globally about Social Justice

Summary and Introduction. This research was published in an edited volume published by IGI-publishers. Initially, submissions were requested in the form of 500-word abstracts from scholars and practitioners in the field of international education as it relates to the community college context. The editors reviewed these submissions and asked those that cohesively fit the theme to submit full chapters. The full chapters were peer reviewed by those who had submitted full works. Each author was requested to review two additional chapters. The comments from the reviewers were incorporated and sent to the editors for additional review. Comments were again incorporated. The final draft was sent for publication.

Grounded in Young's (2006) Social Connections Model, this chapter discussed the ways in which administrative actors rationalize internationalization at the community colleges. Andreotti et. al's (2016) Paradigms of Discourse are applied to explain the ways in which humanism can be manipulated to serve a variety of ideological frames. The work demonstrates that neoliberal, liberal, and nationally bound critical rhetoric implicitly disadvantage international constituents. The chapter subsequently constructs a more globally just rationale for internationalization at the community college. The Critical Humanist Rationale is applied to begin to question the relationship between community college study abroad initiatives and global social injustice: "Who is included in the community mission? Whose cultures come to be understood from involvement in study abroad? How are U. S. cultures represented by study abroad?" (Viggiano, 2019, p. 184). Enrollment data from the Institute of International Education is employed to start to answer some of these questions. The chapter concludes by discussing concrete strategies administrative actors can employ to begin to reconceptualize their contextually dependent departments.

Answer to Research Questions. The chapter demonstrates the ways in which the rationales for international students at the community college influence the way in which the institution engages with global injustice. Although rationales rooted in humanism may appear to address injustice, the chapter detects the ways in which these humanist liberal, neoliberal, and nationally bounded critical rationales employed by practitioners instead facilitate global injustice. The historically rooted and narrow conception of community, privileging of domestic students, and revenue seeking behavior serve to reinforce global inequity. In practice, these rationales manifest as price discrimination against international students and study abroad programs that neglect to consider U. S. institutional impact on their host culture and de-incentivization of diverse international experiences. These rationale driven actions likely contribute to a disproportionate representation of white students in study abroad, an underrepresentation of ARES at U.S. institutions, lopsided U.S. student enrollment in study abroad in countries low/middle GDP countries, etc.

Conversely, the critical humanist rationale addresses issues of global injustice. Two principles guide the critical humanist rationale: the primary objective of internationalization at the community college is to be to mitigate social injustice and that the world is both interconnected and filled with global power differentials. The rationale argues that, given that community colleges have become globalized institutions (Levin, 2001; 2002; Levin, 2017), community colleges are equally responsible to stakeholders outside and inside of their geographical community.

Specifically, the chapter provides a variety of questions to help practitioners begin to think about the implications of their actions from the perspective of the critical humanist rationale: "Are students completing with realistic expectations of their 'global competence'; Do staff and students recognize their own privilege and involvement in global social injustice; Are students studying in a wide range of countries; Are you engaging and considering all dimensions of the triangle; Is one piece of the triangle more dominant than another? How can you ensure that the neoliberal discourse does not drown out the critical or liberal discourse; etc." (Viggiano, 2019, p. 195-196).

The following sub-study (Sub-study III) explored the ways in which administrative actors at one institution in Finland were engaging with questions similar to those recommended in Sub-study II. Specifically, the study explored the ways in which administrative actors conceptualized their role in facilitating global responsibility. Andreotti et al.'s (2016) frame was used to analyze the interview data. Sub-study III finds that global responsibility has at least two definitions: the neoliberal and the liberal/critical.

5.3 Sub-study III: Defining Global Responsibility

Summary and Introduction. This investigation relied on interview data with administrative actors to construct definitions of global responsibility. The investigation documented the ways in which these administrative actors conceptualize their role in relation to this constructed definition of global responsibility. Through the application of Andreotti et al.'s (2016) Paradigms of Discourse to the interview data, two definitions of global responsibility emerged: the neoliberal and the liberal/critical. Although Sub-study III did not disentangle the liberal/critical, Sub-study II confirms that this is an important avenue for future research.

Both definitions of global responsibility described in this paper were in consensus on issues relating to domestic affairs, in terms of research and the education of Finnish citizens, but the conceptions began to deviate when discussing people from other countries and multinational cooperation. Those that came from the perspective of critical/liberal global responsibility saw multinational cooperation as a means of recognizing global

privilege and utilizing that privilege to address the wicked problems of the world. The critical/liberal definition and operationalization of global responsibility served to facilitate United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 4. Encompassed in the mission of critical/liberal global responsibility was the service to ARES. However, the findings of the investigation suggest that existence of the concept of global responsibility did not implicitly exist as a counter narrative to the neoliberal metanarrative of the Global North. The neoliberal perspective on global responsibility was tied to nationalism and a devaluing of the social good in favor of economic prosperity.

Answer to Research Questions. The neoliberal definition of global responsibility documented in this sub-study implicitly encouraged global social injustice. Similar to DeJaeghere (2014), this investigation demonstrated that the members that articulate both the neoliberal and critical/liberal definitions of global responsibility attempt to “connect abstract rights with real material needs and social injustices” (p.236). As such, both the neoliberal and critical/liberal definitions of global responsibility were in consensus on some issues relating to domestic affairs, in terms of research and the education of Finnish citizens. However, the conceptions began to deviate when discussing people from other countries and multinational cooperation. Consistent with the literature (e.g. Shultz, 2007; Stein et al., 2016; Metcalfe & Fenwick, 2009; Ozaga, 2007; Vander Dussen Toukan, 2017), neoliberal ideology does not recognize power and privilege differentials internationally and therefore perpetuates global inequity.

Those that came from the perspective of critical/liberal global responsibility saw multinational cooperation as a means of recognizing global privilege and utilizing that privilege to address the wicked problems of the world. Encompassed in the mission of critical/liberal global responsibility was the service to ARES. This logic also aligned well with SDG 4.b, which lays out the role of tertiary education in accomplishing the SDGs: “substantially expand globally the number of scholarships available to developing countries, in particular least developed countries, small island developing States and African countries, for enrolment in higher education... in developed countries and other developing countries” (UNESCO, 2015, p.17).

The institution in this study was in many ways an example of a critical/liberal globally responsible institution, but the case also illustrates that—regardless of the guise of institutional autonomy—in a neoliberal environment globally responsible ideals are best transposed into concrete action when the ideals are formally institutionalized and tied to national funding mechanisms. This is in accordance with the well documented literature on higher education and neoliberalism in other countries (e.g. Ayers, 2005; Levin, 2001; 2017; Ward, 2012). The findings of this study suggested that without these steps from those in power, there was a fundamental switch in the way in which even critical/liberal globally responsible administrative actors operated. Administrative actors transitioned from active-

ly addressing social injustice to not actively engaging in social injustice. But simply pulling away from participation will not help to accomplish SDG 4. Should the government aim to promote global responsibility, then the findings suggest that the government should consider formally institutionalizing global responsibility within the national strategy and tying global responsibility to funding mechanisms.

5.4 Coherence

Nationalist arguments are present throughout all three investigations. These assumptions reveal cognitive dissonance amongst administrative actors. Although administrative actors claimed that they were interested in pursuing social justice, they subconsciously privileged—and at times completely confined—social justice to their own national container. The International Access Paradox discussed in Sub-study I documents this point. The pursuit of domestic justice initiatives was used to justify their involvement in the facilitation of global injustice. Participants therefore implied that the two were incompatible. There was an implicitly adversarial relationship between what is best for the domestic group of focus and what is beneficial for the world.

Sub-study II yields a salient example of this cognitive dissonance. One participant stated that it was the responsibility of the university to address, “huge global challenges” and for “wakening the thinking of our young people that everybody can carry part of the responsibility” (Viggiano, 2019a, p. 8)—therefore recognizing that justice initiatives extend beyond national borders—but later noted:

[i]t is more of a national responsibility, if that kind of term even existed Some people feel that it is actually the responsibility of the universities to charge tuition fees from people who are not contributing to society and contributing to the universities through paying taxes (Emma). [Viggiano, 2019a, p.10]

The argument—which the participant does not formally claim as her own, but does employ—is that international students are not worthy of social justice initiatives because they do not contribute to the national tax base. Of course, the argument does not acknowledge that it is unlikely that many of the current domestic students themselves were contributing to the tax base, nor does it acknowledge that strict immigration policies are what prevent international students from contributing to said tax base. More importantly however, the argument fails to acknowledge the responsibility to serve all of the world’s citizens so as to promote global social justice. Instead, social justice is confined to the national boundary. This is a substantial deviation from the original supposition that global social justice was a shared global responsibility.

Sub-study III reveals that one possible root of this cognitive dissonance is the ideologically malleable definition of humanism. Many participants seem to have conceptualized humanism from a liberal/neoliberal frame: internationalization is a useful investment so long as it is to the net economic benefit of the host society. Few participants recognized that their articulated conception of humanism was incompatible with the pursuit of global social justice.

Sub-study III argues that theoretical grounding can counteract cognitive dissonance and offers specific tools for administrative actors to begin this work. A critical humanist rationale for participation in internationalization activities operates from the first principle that internationalization is useful as, “a means to mitigate global social injustice by promoting initiatives and positive outcomes, for all people involved. It is associated with the interconnected nature of the world and global power differentials” (Viggiano, 2019b). In Sub-study II, there was evidence that some Finnish administrative actors may have operated from within this paradigm of thought. Participants noted that they saw internationalization as a way to “address the wicked problems of the world” and get students to “understand belonging to a wider community, as in ‘I’m not just Finnish or whatever, but my role as a world citizen’” (Viggiano, 2019a, p. 9). Some administrative actors noted specific policies that they had considered so as to facilitate global social justice: non-EU scholarships, open access, development cooperation, etc. (Viggiano, 2019a). Nonetheless participants identified structural neoliberal impediments to enacting policy grounded within a globally critical conception of humanism. Sub-study III suggests tools for addressing these challenges related to asking the right questions: awareness of global impact of each action, realistic conception of global competence, purposefully rethinking departmental missions, considering representational international enrollment, etc..

Although Sub-study III takes place in a different cultural context than Sub-study II, it is likely that the tools identified would be useful for addressing neoliberal impediments. Sub-study III documents the ways in which a globally critical conception of humanism could potentially direct globally ethical policy at U.S. community colleges (such as those included in Sub-study I), but could also be applied to different institutional and national contexts. The neoliberal impediments identified in Finland are the same that were addressed in Sub-study III. Future research should consider in what ways these findings apply to institutions of higher education within different cultural contexts.

This dissertation investigated the role of various types of administrative actors at institutions of higher education in facilitating global injustice in two different countries: the U.S. and Finland. The breadth of this investigation was not for the purpose of comparison, but rather to gather diverse data in an effort to begin to discuss this interconnected global phenomenon. I do not claim that these findings are generalizable—in that I do not claim that the experiences of these administrative actors are representative of the experiences of ad-

ministrative actors in all countries and contexts. However, I do identify the ways in which actors at these institutions are influencing structure and policy that does influence the world as a whole. Each study stands alone and brings new data to bear in the global conversation. Administrative actors across these investigations contributed to structural social injustice. In addition, I do make one claim of generalizability. In alignment with the case study methodology identified by Flyvbjerg (2006), if administrative actors at the critical case are contributing to social injustice, then it is likely that administrative actors in much of the abyssal construction (de Sousa Santos, 2007) of the Global North are contributing to structural social injustice. Future research from this theoretical perspective in more diverse cultural, institutional, and individual contexts would contribute to this conversation.

6

Discussion, Avenues for Future Research, and Conclusions

6.1 Limitations Leading to Future Research

Given the global nature of injustice, all injustice research is limited by our inability to capture all diverse global contexts in a single study. This investigation is certainly no exception. I focused on only two countries, both within the global North. By making claims about the U.S. and Finland as units of analysis, I am engaging in methodological nationalism while critiquing it. This is a paradox of critical internationalization research. Thinking within borders provides easily conceptualizable and useful categories for analysis. Nonetheless, the work is limited in that it primarily captures findings that fit within these borders.

As such, a significant limitation is that the studies with this investigation purposefully selected institutions within two countries that exist within the abyssal construction (de Sousa Santos, 2007) of the Global North. Consequently, this research discusses social justice from only the perspectives of those within economically privileged countries. The voices and perspectives on social justice from those that reside within colonized countries are entirely absent. The framing, findings, and conclusions of this research are influenced by this positioning. Thus, future research should explore the ways in which administrative actors at institutions of higher education in the abyssal construction (de Sousa Santos, 2007) of the Global South leverage their limited power to promote a more just system.

Along these lines, another limitation is that this dissertation does not fully represent the diversity within the Global North. Although these countries were selected because they appeared to represent extreme sides of the neoliberal spectrum within the Global North, there is likely significant variety that is overlooked by such a broad brushstroke. Future research should address these research questions in different national contexts.

To this end, there is still research to be done within the countries included in this investigation. Given the diversity of institutions and State contexts within the U.S., future research should investigate these research questions at institutions of higher education other than community colleges. Empirical U.S. research investigated only institutions within California, Washington, and Hawaii, future research should look to other states. Moreover, the institutions in the U.S. were selected because of their historical involvement in internationalization. Future research should explore the ways in which administrative actors operate at institutions without a historical involvement in internationalization. In Finland, the institution was selected because, based on preliminary analysis, it was likely to be a globally responsible institution. Future research should explore Finnish institutions of higher education that do not have a history or outwardly portray their involvement in global responsibility. Moreover, this research investigated only a traditional Finnish university, future research should explore technical Finnish universities.

The Social Connections Model holds that the power, privilege, and positionality are important components of responsibility and justice (Young, 2006). This dissertation reported findings related to those with a similar positionality (administrative actors) future research should apply Young's (2006) model to continue to explore the ways in which other actors (e.g. students, faculty, politicians) facilitate and mitigate global social injustice.

Given that this research focused on administrative actors within institutions of higher education, data relating to international funding schemes were beyond the scope of this research. For example, although individuals mentioned the North, South, South program, this data could only represent the program from the perspective of participants. In the absence of document analysis and additional interviews, it is not able to fully capture the role of North, South, South itself in global injustice. As such, these forms of cooperation are not fully addressed within this research. Future research should address the ways in which international funding schemes influence global social justice.

6.2 Site Specifics

Finland. Finland was selected as a possible location in which to find a counter-narrative to the global—and amplified within the U.S.—neoliberal hegemony's influence on the internationalization of higher education. Furthermore, the specific case studied in Finland

was selected as a critical case, meaning that it was the most likely to yield the anticipated data. Thus, the findings are not necessarily representative of all of Finland. This is to say that Sub-study III documented a best-case scenario for a non-neoliberal institution in the abyssal construction of the Global North. Therefore, conclusions must be drawn within this context.

Given that this was a critical case, the presence of neoliberal pressure further underscores that neoliberalism is the pervasive guiding ideology at institutions of higher education in the Global North. Even within this case, the conflicting neoliberal definition of global responsibility was a threat to the liberal/critical definition.

Nonetheless, the presence of the liberal/critical definition of global responsibility demonstrates that alternatives to the neoliberal conception of internationalization are possible. In alignment with the purpose of counternarrative (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002), the documentation of this alternative serves to refute the universality of neoliberalism. For example, the critical/liberal definition of global responsibility identified in Sub-study III demonstrates alternative ways—ways that are not necessarily economically profitable—of understanding the obligation to international students, partner institutions, and the scholarly community. It is not simply the “natural order” (Olssen & Peters, 2005, p. 314) to put the profitability of the university or service to domestic students above global social justice.

The U.S. Community College. As noted, U.S. community colleges were selected as institutions of interest for this investigation because of their traditional mission of social mobility and service to the historically disadvantaged (Ayers, 2005). Higher education scholars have argued that the community college may be an ideal institution from which to serve those who have been economically disadvantaged from around the globe (Treat & Hagedorn, 2013). However, these sub-studies demonstrate that the historically narrow conception of community is a great ideological impediment to global social justice.

Far from being instruments of social justice, the community college’s relationship to internationalization is presently exploitative in nature. Sub-study I demonstrated that although there is a strong tradition of social advocacy for historically disadvantaged students within the nearby community, administrative actors have yet to conceptualize the way in which this mission could include non-domestic students. The findings demonstrated that administrative actors believed that international students should attend the community college, but only as a means of benefiting domestic student education. Sub-study II discussed the documented rationales for study abroad at the community college along the same lines: students should leave their communities to study abroad, but only as a means of benefiting the domestic student education. Internationalization is at the community college is therefore exploitative in nature, serving of domestic students without regard to the larger global community. In both studies, administrative actors were able to conceptualize the ways in which the world may be of service to their community, but not the way in

which their community could include service to those around the world. Thus, although physical borders are now quite permeable, ideological borders remain steadfast. Social justice is geographically bound. It is unlikely that administrative actors at these institutions could begin to mitigate their role in global social injustice without first expanding their understanding of community.

6.3 Broader Global Implications

All three studies documented ways in which institutions of higher education in the Global North have contributed to global social injustice. In Sub-Study I the data demonstrates that community college practitioners perpetuated global injustice by constructing policy and culture that encouraged the enrollment of only high-SES international students. Given the economic constraints, ARES were overlooked and access was limited. International students were seen as resources employed to enhance the goals of the institution, but the ways in which the institution contributed to the international community was not considered. Community college practitioners did not consider the ways in which the enrollment of international students influenced the world beyond their institution and their domestic student employment. Sub-Study III underscored this point by labeling this rhetoric as a neoliberal rationalization for internationalization. Sub-Study III further underscored the ways in which this neoliberal rationalization is detrimental beyond the enrollment of international students, expanded to study abroad. The neoliberal rationalization privileges revenue generation and competition over the pursuit of global social justice. Conversely, practitioners that operate from the critical humanist rationale may be better able to consider the ways in which their conception of internationalization influences global social justice. Rather than focusing on economic gains, those that operate from a critical humanist rationale focus on the ways in which they are influencing the world. New questions are brought to the forefront: "How do students come to understand problems of global social justice", "who is included in community", etc. By focusing on questions such as these practitioners may better be able to apply a counterweight to neoliberal hegemony that discourages access for ARES.

Nonetheless, shifting the ways in which practitioners view the role of higher education in addressing global social injustice may not be enough to actually influence policy. The extreme case in Finland, Sub-Study II, demonstrates that even in instances when ethical internationalization has been a historical priority, there are challenges to practice. Practitioners within the Finnish case study often recognized the institution's role in facilitating global justice. They took responsibility for educating students to participate in a global community; thought critically about the ways in which tuition, development cooperation,

open access research, etc. could facilitate or impede global social justice; and recognized the institution's responsibility to contribute to the world. However, despite these commonly cited ideals, many participants documented trouble putting these ideals into practice. Many administrative actors could not cite ways in which they worked to actively mitigate global social injustice and instead claimed to be limited by institutional constraints. As such, in alignment with Young's (2006) Social Connections Model, the administrative actors within this study continued to contribute to global social injustice by participating in a system that they knew to be unjust without actively intervening.

Challenges to Absolving Responsibility for Global Injustice. Given that we currently exist in a globally unjust world and institutions of higher education are perpetuating this injustice, what then is the role of well-meaning administrative actors? How can administrative actors mitigate injustice while continuing to participate in the unjust structure? These investigations aimed to explain the nuances of these roles. Following Young's (2006) Social Connections Model, I assert that each institutional actor must take responsibility for their specific role in social injustice, wielding their limited power to mitigate their role in injustice. In contrast to collective responsibility—where the responsibility rests on the institution and therefore no conscience is held responsible—Young's (2006, p. 122) principle of "Shared Responsibility" asserts that each actor participating in injustice is personally partially responsible for the outcome, and therefore shares responsibility. While in abstraction Young's (2006) Social Connections Model asserts that administrative actors need only yield their positional power to advance a globally socially just agenda while enlisting others in the pursuit, in practice the ways in which this is done will be endlessly varied based on the positionality of each actor. Perhaps the greatest challenge to enacting the Social Connections Model is that it requires that administrative actors recognize their involvement in injustice.

Ignorance of Global Responsibility. This research demonstrates that administrative actors were often ignorant of their global privilege and involvement in injustice. In Sub-study I, the U. S. decision makers across community colleges in three states were very much concerned about facilitating socially just initiatives for domestic students, but considered international students as a privileged group, without considering the presence or obligation to serve ARES. Administrative actors did not recognize the intersectional identities of international students. The investigation drew attention to the illusion of open access in which participants believed themselves to be open to all, when in actuality that access was heavily constrained by a socially agreed upon privileging that extended in varying degrees to select groups (Levin et al., 2017; Viggiano et al., 2018). Neoliberalism blinded the participants to the existence of economically disadvantaged international students. Practitioners in this study viewed the purpose of international students as a means of garnering competitive advantage for their domestic students via peer effects and revenue generation.

As such, findings suggest that so long as administrative actors conceptualize the reason for internationalization of the community college in terms of monetarism and nationalism, then they will reproduce global structural injustice via the International Access Paradox.

While the administrative actors in Sub-study III demonstrated some responsibility for global injustice, the concept of privilege was underdeveloped. Almost all the administrative actors in the sample recognized the existence of disadvantaged international students (ARES). Aligned with Stein et al.'s (2017) conception of the "Global Good Articulation" of internationalization, many administrative actors employed a benevolent intervention argument (Stein, 2016), recognizing that they were privileged to have so much and therefore felt an obligation to share their fortune with those less privileged. Beyond the Global Good Articulation (Stein, 2016), some administrative actors resisted the language of epistemic dominance and emphasized the mutual exchange of ideas. This was to be expected, as this case was selected specifically in the hopes of identifying a counternarrative to neoliberalism. Nonetheless, few administrative actors openly identified the ways in which their institution was perpetuating global injustice. Predominantly, administrative actors focused on equality over equity, employing arguments rooted in market driven humanism (Stein, 2016) to advocate for merit aid. Importantly, in both the U.S. and Finnish investigation, no institutional actor recognized the relationship between colonial exploitation and their current privilege. The idea that privilege is ahistorical and/or a result of historical hard work is a manifestation of the neoliberal metanarrative (Harvey, 2005). Administrative actors distanced themselves from responsibility by remaining ignorant of the country's and institutions' role in injustice. The "selective recognition of responsibility" (p. 3) ultimately hindered most administrative actors from pursuing "equity and access on a global scale" (Stein, 2016, p. 8).

In Sub-study II, the chapter identified ways in which administrative actors could begin to consider their positionality and power to mitigate global injustice. Specifically, the chapter discussed the ways in which the rationale for internationalization could be rooted in a global social justice agenda. Young (2006) encourages actors to leverage their own positionality and power, absolving themselves of responsibility for injustice only when they have encouraged others to contribute. As such, I suggested ways in which administrative actors could begin to absolve their responsibility for injustice by communicating a globally just rationale to others. Future research should explore the effectiveness of the model proposed in Sub-study II and other methods of training administrative actors on the relationship between their role and global privilege. Researchers should employ additional theoretical frames to question how administrative actors respond when confronted with their involvement in global injustice? How do administrative actors behave when their values conflict with institutional action? What are their coping strategies?

Barriers to Transitioning from Blame Shifting to Collective Action. The results of these investigations suggest that practitioners may not fully recognize their role in facilitating

global social injustice because their respective institutional missions did not address this issue or had changed over time to deemphasize the issue. In other instances, participants suggested that it was not within their job description. Administrative actors also assigned accountability for injustice to their superiors, the institutional mission, or historical precedent. In these cases—where administrative actors attempted to absolve their liability for injustice by identifying others who are at fault—administrative actors were engaging in what Young (2006, p. 124) identifies as “blame shifting or excusing discourse” that is asserted to be detrimental to global social justice. Though mission and policy do undoubtedly influence administrative actor’s ability to engage in social justice, not all administrative actors allowed these factors to completely impede their social justice agenda. In situations where administrative actors acknowledged their shared responsibility—for example, highlight the wrongdoings of the mission while simultaneously pushing for reform of said mission—administrative actors are meeting the principle of Discharge through Collective Action (Young, 2006) by working with others to accomplish change. The difference between those employing Blame Shifting and those employing Collective Action is that the former only identify the problem and succumb to constraints, the latter identify the problem and then acting for reform (Young, 2006). However, few participants in the investigations demonstrated the principle of Collective Action. Future research should identify the characteristics of those who are capable of collective action, how to attract and hire those with that skill, and how to nurture that skill among those who do not already poses it.

Sub-study II identified some of the ways in which administrative actors could begin to engage in Collective Action. For example, the conclusion of sub-study II suggests utilizing Androtti et al.’s (2016) cartography to discuss departmental goals and bring to light injustices. Importantly, the work asks administrative actors to consider that the critical voice is often the most silenced in policy conversations, and the neoliberal voice advantaged (Androtti et al, 2016). The Globally Critical Humanist Rationale (Viggiano, 2019) can point administrative actors towards the right questions that encourage a constructive conversation surrounding global social injustice. Future research should determine if these strategies result in individual and/or policy change.

The terms created here may also be useful for administrative actors attempting to garner the support necessary to absolve an administrative actor’s responsibility for global injustice. It is the role of critical scholars to name and identify injustice (Boris, 2005). Naming provides a platform from which to discuss and resist these mechanisms of global social injustice (Boris, 2005). Terms created through this research such as the “International Access Paradox” (Viggiano et al., 2018) and the “Globally Critical Humanist Rationale” (Viggiano, 2019) contribute to such a platform. Future research should continue to build the vocabulary to explain the relationships between institutions of higher education and global social injustice.

However, another take-away from these investigations is that naming alone is not enough. Positively connotated terms do not necessarily communicate a call for global justice behavior because it depends on the—often concealed—theoretical/philosophical frame of the speaker (Andreotti et al. 2016). Sub-study II demonstrated that the word humanism alone was not clearly defined enough to blanketly promote global social justice. Nationally bound, and neoliberal and liberal interpretations of humanism do not consider ARES or the global implications of their actions. The same was true in the case of the term global responsibility in Sub-study III. Similar to Harvey's (2005) interpretation of the word freedom, in the presence of neoliberalism 'global responsibility' becomes "just another word" (p. 5). Sub-study II demonstrated that a firm philosophical grounding sets clear parameters for the application of a word, holding the meaning more static and less susceptible to national and neoliberal skew. As a first step towards collective action, administrative actors should employ Andreotti et al.'s (2016) cartography—and other strategies identified in Sub-study II—to attempt to understand their own assumptions about the meaning of justice and the assumptions of those around them.

Neoliberal Constraint. As is well documented in the neoliberal literature (Ayers, 2005; Levin, 2001), administrative actors were constrained by policy, but more often constrained by resources controlled by the State. Participants who identified elements of global social injustice present within their institution consistently highlighted the ways in which State policy and resource constraints impeded their abilities to mitigate global injustice. Participants asserted that the lack of autonomy limited their power and scope at which they could address injustice. As previously referenced, a fundamental tenant of Young's (2006, p. 120) Social Connections Model is that it is non-isolating: "where there is structural injustice, finding some people guilty of perpetrating specific wrongful actions does not absolve others whose actions contribute to the outcomes from bearing responsibility". Wrongdoings at the ministerial/legislative level do not absolve administrative actors of their responsibility to mitigate injustice. Nonetheless, future research should continue to explain the roles that increasing State oversight have on administrative actors' abilities to facilitate global social justice. Moreover, research should inquire about ministerial/legislative members' perspectives on global social justice and privilege, and the ways in which ministry members enact their power to mitigate global social injustice.

The institution in Sub-study III is in many ways an example of a critical/liberal globally responsible institution, but the case also illustrates that—regardless of the guise of institutional autonomy—globally responsible ideals are best transposed into concrete action when the ideals are formally institutionalized and tied to national funding mechanisms. This is in accordance with the well documented literature on higher education and neoliberalism in other countries (e.g. Ayers, 2005; Levin, 2001; 2017; Ward, 2012). The interview data suggests, as could be predicted, a hybrid system in which some institutional mandates

are tied to funding and others are not led to a change in institutional focus. The findings of this study suggest that there has been a fundamental switch in the way in which even critical/liberal globally responsible internationalization administrative actors operate. Administrative actors transition from actively addressing social injustice to not actively engaging in social injustice. Thus, there is less inclination to engage in the Collective Action called for by Young's (2006) model. Simply pulling away from participation will not help to address global social injustice, absolve administrative actors' responsibility to facilitate global justice, or to accomplish SDG 4. Given the selective incorporation of neoliberal elements into Finnish higher education, future solutions may require neoliberal style intervention. Should the government aim to promote global responsibility, then the findings suggest that the government should consider formally institutionalizing global responsibility within the national strategy and tying global responsibility to funding mechanisms. Nonetheless, issues associated with the ethics of internationalization are more complicated than a single policy solution.

6.4 Theoretical and Philosophical Challenges for Future Research

Policy solutions often result in paradoxical outcomes in which a single policy simultaneously promotes global social justice and global social injustice (Stein, 2016;2017). For example, global access—associated with global social justice throughout this dissertation—could perpetuate a “colonial discursive landscape that suggests that global higher education is in a state of crisis that can be ordered and ‘saved’” by Western education (Shahjahan, 2013, p. 689). To suggest that the home countries of ARES are in need of saving, is perpetuating the colonial discourse tied to unidirectional development rhetoric, and this rhetoric implicitly suggests that the home countries of ARES cannot be knowledge producers or that the knowledge produced in these countries must conform to Western standards (Stein, Andreotti, & Suša, 2016). Thus, advocating for a seemingly globally socially just policy both addresses injustice and perpetuates injustice. How then can one promote global access to higher education without asserting the moral or intellectual superiority of the Global North? Paradoxes associated with the pursuit of globally just internationalization of higher education (Stein, 2016; 2017) can manifest as additional hurdles to promoting globally just policy such as disparity blind admissions.

While it is important to acknowledge these paradoxes, a failing of recent internationalization scholarship is that scholars have allowed themselves to become paralyzed by the paradoxes of ethical internationalization. The critical scholars that do try to see outside of methodological nationalism ask questions but offer no clear answers beyond the abolish-

ment of the global system, possibly for fear of suggesting solutions that “solve problems using solutions rooted in the same systems that caused those problems in the first place” (Stein et al., 2016, p. 3). The ways in which one could begin to abolish the system are also not discussed. This scholarly paralysis is no better a solution than the self-serving benevolence identified by scholars such as Altbach & De Wit (2016) and Stein (2016). I assert that publishing research without a path toward change can in itself be a form of benevolent intervention—assuaging the conscious of those involved in the publication rather than providing administrative actors with tools and suggestions necessary to begin to substantially intervene in the unjust system. In the absence of scholarly answers to global justice dilemmas that the critical scholars themselves pose, administrative actors will continue to abide by their cultural master narratives, such as neoliberalism and abyssal thinking, that we have worked so hard to discredit.

In the current global political climate, administrative actors are in need of critical international scholarship to inform their actions. Interestingly, the rising tide of nationalism brought on by accelerating globalization has also provided scholars with a political window to contribute to concrete change. In the case of Finland, once offering free tuition to all students, tuition is now mandated only for only non-citizen students. Institutions of higher education in Finland must now determine how to ethically distribute these scholarships. Critical internationalization scholarship should be employed to guide these conversations. In California, political tensions over the enrollment of students who were not born in the U. S. but lived in the U. S. much of their lives has led members of institutions of higher education and legal systems to rethink their nationalist missions. By pursuing research agendas that advocates for the Development Relief and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act, scholars and practitioners are beginning to address the inherent xenophobia in U. S. higher education (e.g. Chen & Rhoades, 2016; Huber, 2009; Rincón, 2010).

Grounding research within a moral philosophy, as this dissertation has done, may offer a way forward. Philosophical grounding requires researchers to clearly acknowledge their conception of justice. Philosophy empowers researchers to make scholarly value judgements by clearly defining the parameters of permissible and inadmissible. As such, concrete policy recommendations become more accessible. Though findings and recommendations will differ based on the philosophical perspective, philosophical grounding empowers researchers to discuss the multiplicity of solutions to global injustice from a clear and transparent scholarly foundation without becoming entirely paralyzed by paradox. In these studies, Rawls (1999) Theory of Justice and Young’s (2006) Social Connections Model were shown to be useful for research on the ethics of international higher education. Future research could continue to apply these frames, or new philosophical frames, to make more direct suggestions for administrative actors.

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Original papers

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The others: Equitable access, international students, and the community college

by

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Abstract

This qualitative investigation explains the ways in which community college decision makers justify the inclusion of international students at three community colleges in the United States. We identify and explain the ways in which decision makers rationalize institutional policy—particularly recruitment strategies and motivations—related to international students, and discuss whether these policies could be considered ethical in a globalized context. Importantly, we conclude that community college decision makers first crafted a class of privileged international students and then justified price discrimination on the basis of said privilege. This vicious circle, we call the international access paradox, prevented decision makers from recognizing or responding to the needs of low socioeconomic status (SES) international students and international students from disadvantaged countries.

Keywords

community college, international students, internationalization of higher education, strategic institutional management of internationalization, justice

Traditionally, community colleges in the United States are nonselective, relatively inexpensive postsecondary educational institutions, with a comprehensive undergraduate curriculum, a mission of open access, and a focus on underserved local populations (Meier, 2013). However, in the contemporary globalized world, U.S. community colleges have searched for ways to move beyond their communities via internationalization (Center for International and Global Engagement [CIGE], 2012). The overall number of international students in community colleges grew 19.72% from 1999/2000

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to 2013/2014 (Institute of International Education [IIE], 2014). As many as 40% of the approximately 1,000 community colleges in the United States have specific internationalization plans, including internationalizing the curriculum and the recruitment of international students (CIGE, 2012).

Practitioners and scholars note three salient reasons for international student recruitment at the community college (CC). First, exposure to international students provides benefits to domestic students (Brennan & Dellow, 2013; Manns, 2014). These benefits range from improved cognitive development (Mamiseishvili, 2012) to increased persistence rates (Brennan & Dellow, 2013). Second, CCs have begun to include or rationalize international students as a part of their open access mission: Their low tuition rate makes them the ideal institution to serve the growing middle class of developing nations (Raby & Valeau, 2007; Treat & Hagedorn, 2013). Third, and most often cited, international student enrollment is a source of revenue (Hagedorn & Zhang, 2013).

Although the rationales for recruitment of international students are not necessarily mutually exclusive, at times they may come into conflict with one another. For example, if CCs pursue only international students who can pay full price, generating revenue for the college, they do not extend access to international students from less affluent backgrounds (Adnett, 2010). Limits on access to specific groups of international students, based primarily on economic criteria, contradict the open access mission of the CC (Levin, 2001) and lessen the geographical and socioeconomic diversity among the international student population at institutions of higher education (Schofer & Meyer, 2005).

In general, decision makers have authority over the student recruitment process, and thus determine how to achieve these recruitment goals. Scholars, use the term *decision makers* (Brennan & Dellow, 2013) to refer to executive leadership. We extend the term to include those institutional members who may be paramount in forming a “shared vision” (Kouzes & Posner, 2007) at their respective institutions or who have a prominent role in the governance of their institution, such as senior administrators, deans, faculty chairs, and faculty who have served on curriculum, or similar, committees. These actors within CCs influence and shape organizational change (Opp & Gosetti, 2014). Moreover, given the committee system where faculty and mid-level administrators participate in decision making on matters such as curriculum and student admissions, these decision makers likely have a significant influence on a CC’s internationalization plans and strategies (Levin, 2001).

Yet little is known about whether or not CC members ensure that the pursuit of revenue generation is not detrimental to the other two rationales—exposure and access—for international student recruitment. There is insufficient research on the ways in which these two rationales influence or shape community members’ views of the purpose of international students. For example, Treat and Hagedorn (2013) argue that the CC could extend access to less affluent international students, yet the degree to which CC decision makers embrace or act on this belief is not evident in the scholarly literature.

Research Purpose

The purpose of this investigation is to explain the ways in which decision makers justify the recruitment, enrollment, and treatment of international students at three community colleges in the United States. We identify and explain the ways in which decision makers rationalize institutional policy—particularly recruitment strategies and motivations—related to international students, and whether these policies could be considered just in a globalized context.

Literature Review

Although the traditional internationalization of higher education focused upon international student recruitment in the hopes of forming global alliances and furthering scholarship (Gacel-Avila, 2005), in many Western countries, the ever-accelerating pressure to compete has made international student recruitment a profit driven activity (Altbach & Knight, 2007; Marginson, 2007). Despite the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO; 1998) World Declaration that higher education should be "equally accessible to all on the basis of merit" and that institutions should not discriminate on the basis of economic disparity, Western institutions of higher education commonly recruit international students in an effort to recuperate funds lost from state disinvestment (Adnett, 2010; Schofer & Meyer, 2005). Thus, primarily international students who are willing to pay full price are accepted (Altbach & Knight, 2007). Moreover, affluent countries that import these students—such as the United States, Canada, and Australia—accumulate tuition revenue and human capital at the expense of the less developed countries that export these students (Tremblay, 2005). In practice, the Global North profits from the exchange of international students to the detriment of the Global South (Jooste & Heleta, 2017). Consequently, the enrollment of these underrepresented international student groups may increase global inequality, in part, because of the high cost of international student tuition (Adnett, 2010; Schofer & Meyer, 2005).

At the campus level, scholarship often touts the benefits of the diverse perspectives that international students bring to a campus (Hagedorn & Zhang, 2013; Mamiseishvili, 2012; Opp & Gosetti, 2014; Soria & Troisi, 2014). International students' perspectives can introduce and inspire domestic students to learn about worldviews they would not have considered otherwise (Deardorff, 2006). The interaction between domestic and international students can improve cognitive ability for domestic students (Mamiseishvili, 2012) and, in a globally competitive economy, exposure to this diversity can prepare domestic students for the workforce by helping students to understand global perspectives that are different from their own (Manns, 2014; Treat & Hagedorn, 2013).

Yet, based on measures of country of origin or socioeconomic status (SES), there is not sizable diversity among international students in the West, particularly in the United States where 50% of international students come from China, India, or South Korea (IIE, 2014). International students from countries with a lower gross income

(e.g., Sub-Saharan and Caribbean countries) are significantly underrepresented in the United States (IIE, 2014). Scholars and administrators criticize institutions of higher education for educating only the young elite from foreign nations (Altbach & Knight, 2007; Schofer & Meyer, 2005). Consequently, this lack of geographical and socioeconomic diversity among international students limits the opportunity that domestic students have to gain understandings of diverse international populations.

In contrast to U.S. universities, U.S. community colleges have the potential to grant access to international students of lower SESs (Treat & Hagedorn, 2013), but, despite the CC's historical commitment to open access (Meier, 2013), state disinvestment has spurred these institutions to find new ways to subsidize their revenue streams (Levin, 2005). As CCs pursue these new revenue streams, they drift from their traditional open access mission toward a mission of economic development (Levin, 2000; 2005). Administrative perceptions on international students are influenced by students' expected economic return, and price discrimination is a clear motivator for international student recruitment in CCs (Levin, 2002). In the late 1980s and early 1990s, international student recruitment began to increase at CCs, and new assumptions spurred decision makers at to shift focus away from the social mission and toward economic outcomes (Levin, 2001).

Presently, many scholars do not include international students as part of the social mission of the CC. Rather than exploring the CCs' ability to serve low SES international students, researchers (Brennan & Dellow, 2013; Hagedorn & Zhang, 2013; Opp & Gosetti, 2014; Raby & Valeau, 2007) advocate for the presence of international students at the CC as a way to improve outcomes for low SES domestic students. Thus, the bulk of scholarship related to international education at U.S. community colleges assumes that international students are tools for domestic benefit rather than for global equity. The literature does not address the ways in which the economic focus on international students influences access of, and institutional policy related to, international students. Furthermore, it neglects to note the degree to which these policies may advantage or disadvantage specific student populations. Finally, while scholarly literature documents the presence of a pronounced focus on the economic benefit of international students, it overlooks, in part, the ways in which institutional members rationalize this economic focus.

Theoretical Orientation

This investigation is guided by both a criticalist perspective (Martinez-Aleman, Pusser, & Bensimon, 2015) and Rawls (1999) justice theory. Criticalist perspectives assume that power relations play an implicit role in the formation of social reality (Martinez-Aleman et al., 2015). Scholarly understandings of the ways in which educational systems perpetuate inequality can lead to explanations of societal inequalities and attendant values (Atwater, 1996). Moreover, an explanation of the ways in which powerful members of the institution construct knowledge can also point the ways in which social inequalities are reproduced in that particular setting (Atwater, 1996). Thus, this investigation analyzes the perceptions of decision makers to explain the ways in which economic inequalities for international students are justified and reproduced at the institutional level.

In the present stage of globalization, the world can be conceived as a “single place” in which national borders are blurred (Robertson, 1992). Thus, we apply Rawls’s (1999) theory of justice globally. Two principles underpin this theory. First, the liberty principle states that individuals have the right to freedoms and protection from undue harm (Rawls, 1999). Rawls’s second principle can be split into two subprinciples: the fair and equal opportunity principle (FEOP) and the difference principle. FEOP states that given equal talent, opportunity, motivation, and ability, anyone—regardless of their background, culture, or class in society—can obtain any career. The means of ensuring FEOP is equal access to education (Nussbaum, 2006). The difference principle postulates that there can be unequal groups in society—typically used in reference to economic disparity—as long as these inequalities do not disadvantage the least advantaged. Rawls’ overarching argument is that should a rational person not know which social and economic position they will be born into, they would accept these principles because they would not want to be placed in a group that is not afforded their rights of advantage.

Research Questions

This investigation answers the following three questions:

Research Question 1: How do community college decision makers understand the purpose of international students?

Research Question 2: What are community college decision makers’ motivations for the recruitment of international students?

Research Question 3: How do community college decision makers apply the open access mission in relation to international students?

Method

We utilized a qualitative approach (Mason, 2002) and an interpretative perspective (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). This twofold approach allowed us to understand the perspectives of professional members in-depth and explore a socially constructed reality in which the perceptions of others influence the physical world (Atwater, 1996). To explain these perceptions, we used semistructured interviews (Reybold, 2003). Based on scholarly tradition and our ontological perspective, we suggest that interviews with professional members provide insight into the workings of an institution of higher education (Levin, 2005; Mason, 2002). The qualitative analysis of semistructured interviews allowed us to explain the ways in which decision makers understood their institution’s practices related to international students.

Data Sources

This project was part of a larger investigation that sought to explain the structural changes related to neoliberal policies that occurred in seven CCs in the United States and Canada (during the first two decades of the 2000s). All of the colleges in this

sample were selected because of their interest in internationalization at the turn of the century (Levin, 2001). For the present investigation, we used purposeful and criterion sampling strategies (Patton, 2005) to narrow data to those that “fit” our questions for this investigation (Howe & Eisenhart, 1990). We selected three U.S. colleges within different states and referred to them by their pseudonyms, Suburban Valley Community College (SVCC), Pacific Suburban Community College (PSCC), and City South Community College (CSCC)—located in California, Hawai’i, and Washington, respectively. Each expressly articulated goals related to globalization and/or diversity in their mission statements: PSCC included the preparation of international students “for productive futures” in its mission statement, SVCC noted “global justice” as a core competency, and CSCC focused only on diversity with no specific reference to the global community.

We selected the interviews of institutional members who we considered decision makers, that is, individuals who have some official influence on institutional policy. This included chancellors, presidents, finance and student affairs administrators, deans, faculty chairs, faculty leaders (both present and former), and major committee members (e.g., curriculum). The data set for this investigation included interviews of 26 individuals at the three colleges. The questions included inquiries regarding the interviewees’ backgrounds, their roles in the institution, and the major changes in the institution since the 2000s. The robust number and length of the interviews (60-90 min) enabled deep and comprehensive analysis (Becker, 1996).

Analytical Methods

Guided by the research questions and the intention of identifying the shared cultural understandings in individual communications (Cameron, 2001), a group of three researchers—two Mexican international students and one domestic student—performed content analysis of data (Lichtman, 2013). We followed a coding and categorizing strategy divided in the three steps described by Richards (2009): descriptive coding, topical coding, and analytical coding.

First, we carried out descriptive coding to identify the attributes of the speaker (i.e., gender, age, institutional position, discipline, and college) in each interview. Subsequently, we used topical coding to classify data according to its subject (Richards, 2009). During topical coding, we extracted three substantive categories (Maxwell, 2005), driven by the findings of previous scholarship (i.e., revenue generation, open access, and academic benefits for domestic students), one category open to “unexpected data” (Bogdan & Bicklen, 2011) and one category in which we included sociodemographic descriptors used by interviewees to refer to international and/or domestic students (students’ characteristics). Topical coding enabled us to reduce data in accordance with the research questions and to organize data for subsequent analysis. In this phase of coding, the validity check category (Maxwell, 2005) “other” was disregarded: our data did not fit this category.

In our final phase of coding, we performed analytical coding (Richards, 2009) for interpretation of and reflection on data to capture and extract latent meaning

(Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). As tool for this analysis, we applied Van Leeuwen and Wodak's (1999) "macro-strategies" as categories for coding. These strategies included the following actions: construction, perpetuation and justification, transformation, and reconstruction. We used the constructive category to identify whether international students were seen by decision makers as members of the institution or not. The perpetuation and justification category enabled us to explore the ways in which decision makers justified the position international students had in their college. The transformation category referenced the ways in which decision makers used analogy to describe other international students. Last, the destructive category refers to the ways in which individuals discussed international students in contrast to the dominant discourse on international students (Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999). We compared this analysis with the two primary principles of Rawls (1999) theory of justice—Liberty Principle and FEOP—to determine whether and/or to what degree decision makers were in violation of these principals. These four strategies enabled us to explore whether CC decision makers were willing to reproduce or modify their college's current perceptions of international students.

Findings

Data analysis resulted in three main findings that answered our research questions and included shared characteristics among the three CCs. First, open access was defined in distinct ways at each institution. These differences were rooted in decision makers' perceptions of their college's target population. Second, international students were considered primarily as economic drivers and therefore not often considered to be a part of the CCs' target population. Finally, while decision makers considered international students to contribute to the achievement of the open access mission for domestic students, the mission was not applied the international students themselves.

The Open Access Mission and Community Colleges' Target Populations

A central theme among decision makers at the CCs within our sample was the intent to increase access to domestic students as a part of the open access mission. International students were not included in the CCs' commitment to open access. Rather, these CCs developed strategies to guarantee open access to students considered underrepresented by increasing the enrollment of targeted populations.

Each CC had a specific target population, which was determined by the sociodemographic characteristics of the population in the state and in the cities surrounding that particular college. These targeted populations corresponded as well to the priorities set by state policy in Hawai'i, Washington, and California (Levin, 2017). Race, ethnicity, and SES were the categories that decision makers used to describe the population they attempted to attract. At PSCC, in Hawai'i, the target population was Native Hawaiian and efforts were directed to increase the number of these students. "We had students doing it; we had outreach people doing it; we had the campus heads out there saying this is it. We had all our information saying, 'Hey! We want to be a model indigenous-serving

institution” (Vice President, PSCC). Thus, serving indigenous students was a part of the core goal of PSCC.

For SVCC, located in Northern California, underrepresented minority students were the focus of access-increasing strategies. “[T]he strategic plan identified by name, which was reasonably rare . . . the Latino, African American, and Filipino communities. It said, ‘[T]hese are the communities we’re going to go out and recruit’” (President, SVCC). Finally, at CSCC in Washington, recruitment efforts were directed not only at underrepresented minorities but also at nontraditional students. “[T]he amount of students coming out of high school is not our niche market” (Senior administrator, CSCC). “[There is] a Dream Act allowing Hispanic students to get state tuition . . . Those students are in our service area” (Administrator, CSCC).

The target populations at the three colleges, regardless of whether they were identified by their race, ethnicity, or SES, were perceived as underserved, disadvantaged, and marginalized populations (Levin, Viggiano, López Damián, Morales Vázquez, Wolf, 2017). CCs’ strategies endeavored to serve students with limited “cultural capacity or cultural competence” (President, SVCC) and limited academic skills, as well as those who had not been served “all that well” (Vice President, PSCC).

The description given at the SVCC illustrates the characterization of these populations at the three colleges. “[Recruitment strategies are developed to] engage the communities currently marginalized, not just from the school, but from higher ed . . . We’re looking for people whose families have struggled” (College President, SVCC). Decision makers at all three colleges perceived the mission of their CC to be related to serving the disadvantaged in society. Those who were defined as disadvantaged differed by college, but none of these definitions included international students.

Institutional members at all three colleges assumed that international students did not arrive at their college with academic or economic disadvantages. The assumption was that all international students were either middle class or higher, and likely received a scholarship from their home country. “[Their] government is heavily subsidizing [their] education” (President, PSCC). This assumption is arguably a result of the decision maker’s perceptions of international students as economic engines of the institution. Decision makers also considered international students to be well fitted for their college’s academic requirements. “[W]e had a lot of very bright, very skillful students who had good writing skills, good English skills—they’d learned all that in Iran I guess—and then they came over here to get their college or university degree” (Former Committee Member, CSCC).

Furthermore, international students’ academic abilities were associated with advantages to the colleges’ students. For example, in California, international students brought a “reputation of academic excellence” (President, SVCC) to the college, and in Hawaii, they served as “language tutors” (Vice Chancellor, PSCC) for domestic students. Institutional members’ characterizations of international students positioned them apart from underrepresented populations and, thus, not as a target population for whom the college should extend open access. Strategies of open access at these CCs were directed toward disadvantaged populations; nevertheless, the definitions of disadvantaged were limited by geographical privilege. That is, these colleges focused on

serving disadvantaged populations in the surrounding community and not across borders. Yet international students were targeted for another reason: economic revenue.

International Students: The Community College's Economic Engine

Our data suggest that at the three colleges, decision makers were interested in international students not because of the open access mission, but because international students brought much-needed financial resources: International students were seen as revenue generators.

Obviously we like the international students because A, they bring a bunch of diversity, you know, to us. B, we think our students can learn from them and also develop partnerships and relationships with institutions where those students are coming from. But you know, honestly, from my perspective, it's also because they pay rack rate. (Vice Chancellor, Administrative Services, PSCC)

Although decision makers were attracted to the benefits of multicultural diversity on campus, they made the economic benefits that international students provided to their respective colleges a priority. The recruitment of international students became an institutional strategy to resolve the economic problems that CCs faced due to state and federal budget cuts to and disinvestment in higher education. "There's been no new money at the state for years now . . . you've got international students" (Senior Administrator, CSCC).

Although international students were used as a resource to hold off the effects of the fiscal crises at all three institutions, at CSCC, international students' enrollment was also considered a strategy to prevent state disinvestment associated with low enrollment.

[Every college in the district is] down, so now we have to go to plan B. Plan B is to buy international FTEs and make them state FTEs. Yes, [we pay for the international students] . . . [I]n ensuring that we don't lose money from the state in the future. (Administrator, CSCC)

Because CSCC struggled to maintain enrollment, decision makers feared that the state would reduce the number of full-time student equivalencies (FTEs), and thus funding, that the institution received. If the state decreased these FTEs, then the institution would qualify for less state funding. International students were therefore used as fiscal placeholders so that the state did not revoke CSCC's right to future FTEs. The international students paid the institution, and the institution used this money to pay the state for the FTEs.

Whether the institution practiced price discrimination or used international students as fiscal placeholders, decision makers' views of international students as economic engines represent a clear divide between the meaning of an international student and the meaning of a domestic student at these three colleges. Decision makers were then

able to justify this economic “othering” by arguing that revenue from international students was what allowed the institution to function. “[International students] bring in 40, 42, 45 percent of the tuition dollars. And, so, without that this campus won’t be able to do some of things we want to do” (Chancellor, PSCC). Thus, decision makers asserted that international students were charged more to subsidize the needs of the entire college. A few decision makers justified price discrimination further with less logic. A former member of the academic senate argued that higher tuition created more motivated students.

International students are more motivated, at least in part, because they are paying more to take the courses. They’re a long way away from their family so in some cases it’s a big commitment by their families and somewhat of a hardship and that’s got to be some motivation. (Former Committee Member, SVCC)

Rather than recognize financially struggling international students as a population in need of assistance, decision makers perceived international students as a source of revenue and this encouraged them to view the hardships of international students to be a motivator for academic achievement. This logic enabled decision makers to justify the recruitment of international students as a cross-subsidization strategy and legitimated price discrimination.

The Illusion of Open Access

Finally, our data suggest that the idea of CCs as open access institutions was an illusion for the majority of international students. At all the three colleges, the recruitment of international students was primarily a response to economic arguments. Economically motivated recruitment strategies influenced the type of student to whom the CCs extended access.

Because international students were used for financial purposes, decision makers targeted those populations that are able to pay full tuition, which encompassed middle to high-income students from relatively developed countries. “I know [the President] is pushing very hard to get into China now that things are changing in China and there’s a middle class there” (Senior Administrator, PSCC). The targeting of these populations limited not only socioeconomic but also geographical diversity.

So, instead of individual students coming . . . from Japan, [for] the Koreans . . . colleges will send the students overseas, because the Korean government is heavily subsidizing international education. And so a number of colleges and universities are moving to add an international aspect to their operations, at least applying for and getting money from the government. (President, PSCC)

Thus, access for international students at these colleges depended primarily on the economic status and geographical location of the students. As a result, some ethnic and national groups were more prevalent than others in U.S. community colleges. At the three CCs in our investigation, the majority of international students came from Asian countries.

Of course we also have a lot of foreign students who are not immigrants . . . They're international students. We used to get a lot from Japan, but now we get a lot from China. (Former Committee Member, CSCC)

So most of it, you can see is still Japan and Korea. I think I've calculated: I think it's eighty percent . . . East Asian. (Committee Member, PSCC)

Primarily, only international students who were from wealthy families or from countries that offer funding were able to attend. Decision makers recognized that this reliance on international students encouraged volatility in international recruitment.

I think at one point it was almost 300 [Iranian students]. And the reason was that the Shah of Iran would give scholarships to students to go study in America, especially those that he thought might be troublesome . . . Well of course, as soon as the Shah was overthrown, that ended that. We had very, very few Iranians after that. (Former Committee Member, CSCC)

Thus, the reliance on foreign funding for international students jeopardized access for these international students.

Conclusion

Decision makers constructed student groupings based on geographical location, and this action created hierarchical systems which privileged specific students, the target populations, and disadvantages others, particularly international students. In the three colleges investigated, decision makers aimed to recruit primarily affluent international students. The presence of predominantly affluent international students encouraged decision makers to perceive international students as less financially needy, and, thus, not a group to whom the open access mission should be extended. In sum, CC decision makers first crafted a class of privileged international students and then justified price discrimination on the basis of said privilege. This vicious circle, we call the international access paradox, prevented decision makers from recognizing or responding to the needs of low SES international students and international students from disadvantaged countries. Thus, it may be one reason that there is not a significant degree of international student diversity at CCs.

At these three colleges, international students were given the illusion of open access: while theoretically any qualified person could attend the institution, decision makers construct policy that targets only those who can pay full price. Although decision makers promoted access to U.S. citizens based on socioeconomic disadvantage, the same logic was not extended to international student recruitment. Thus, policy and practice created significant barriers for socioeconomically disadvantaged international students. In this way, access was restricted on the basis of geographical location, and, therefore, birthright. Rather than promoting access to those international students with the least socioeconomic privilege, these CCs promoted access predominantly to those who were born to geographical and socioeconomic privilege. Based on the concept of

the world as a single place (Robertson, 1992), this was in violation of FEOP as defined by Rawls (1999). The international access paradox may prevent decision makers from recognizing the injustices of modern international recruitment strategies. As such, this work serves as a mirror for community college decision makers to begin to recognize their role in global injustice and inequity.

When international students could afford to attend the CCs, they were used as placeholders and subsidizers for the CCs' target populations. Decision makers at these colleges viewed international students as a means to improve domestic student education, without regard to the education of the international students themselves. Thus, rather than the unsubstantiated argument that international students take seats away from domestic students (Raby & Valeau, 2007), at CSCC international students were used to save seats for future domestic students. In addition, international students in the three colleges served as business liaisons, language tutors, and sources of cultural diversity for local students. That is, their inclusion helped these colleges achieve their missions. In this way, the presence of international students actually extended access and provided academic benefits to domestic students.

However, future research on the perceptions of international students at the community college is needed to ascertain whether these benefits are undermined by the othering of international students. Glass and Westmont (2014) link sense of belonging to cross-cultural interaction. Although our data cannot speak to the perceptions of international students themselves, it is likely that this othering environment would influence the students' sense of belonging and therefore their likelihood of engaging in these ambassadorial roles. Furthermore, Glass and Westmont (2014) also link sense of belonging to the average grade earned by international students. Research on the relationship between othering and international students' sense of belonging could provide ground to discuss the ways in which this relationship impedes international student equity once they are enrolled in the college.

There are further avenues in which practitioners can develop approaches for CCs to define international students as more than economic entities. For example, practitioners at CCs could seek other sources of revenue when state sources diminish. In this way, then, international students do not have to serve as revenue generators. In addition, CCs that participate in recruitment efforts could ensure that they are also recruiting and visiting low-income countries. However, it is clear that further empirical research should construct counternarratives to serve as examples of alternate systems in which international students are not othered or seen as economic entities.

Internationalization challenges the existing understandings of community at the community college. CCs must decide the ways in which their missions fit into an increasingly globalized world. Although they have a history of serving only their local communities, the increasing number of international students on community college campuses demonstrates an expanding conception of community. As such, this investigation has argued that for community colleges to adhere to their own principles of service to the underserved, and more recent claims of championing diversity (Levin, 2017), they must embrace international students as part of the communities they serve, and accord international students the same status as local students. To accomplish this

goal community colleges should consider seeking out students who fall under the category of underserved, which would include students from developing countries and low-income students from across the globe.

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II

Thinking globally about social justice

by

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Chapter 13

Thinking Globally About Social Justice

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ABSTRACT

Scholars have identified community colleges as ideal institutions to facilitate global justice through their involvement in internationalization activities such as study abroad. This chapter explores the meaning of humanism as it relates to study abroad at the community college. Using Andreotti, Stein, Pashby, and Nicolson's Paradigms of Discourse, the chapter describes the ways in which humanism can be defined in a variety of ways based on one's own goals. The chapter also grounds a rationale for study abroad at the community college within critical humanism by applying Young's Social Connections Model. Finally, the chapter applies the critical humanist rationale to begin to question the relationship between community college study abroad initiatives: Who is included in the community mission? Whose cultures come to be understood from involvement in study abroad? How are U. S. cultures represented by study abroad?

INTRODUCTION

Prior to this century, most understandings of justice were bound within the nation state: discussed in terms of citizens' rights within a nation, but not applied globally (Young, 2006). However, in the current millennium, noted philosopher Martha Nussbaum asserted that, "extending justice to all world citizens, showing theoretically how we might realize a world that is just as a whole, in which accidents of birth and national origin do not warp people's life chances pervasively and from the start" is one of the most urgent unsolved problems of social justice (2006, p. 1). To address this problem, Iris Marion Young (2006) moved away from the confines of the nation state to argue that "all agents who contribute by their actions to the structural processes that produce injustice have responsibilities to work to remedy these injustices" (pp. 102-103). Thus, any institution engaged in internationalization is socially responsible to work to mitigate global social injustice.

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Community colleges are a type of institution that transcend national borders, and therefore, through the lens of modern justice theory, community college actors have a responsibility to people outside of their local communities. Although data that tracks community college participation in internationalization activities is sparse (Copeland, McCrink, & Starratt, 2017), there is significant evidence that the community college has not operated solely within national boundaries for decades and continues to actively pursue an international agenda (American Council on Education [ACE], 2016; Levin, 2001; 2002; 2017). Community colleges transcend national borders through study abroad programs, branch campuses, and by providing services to non-domestic stakeholders (ACE, 2016). Raby (2012) points to changing student demographics in which many of the students are themselves international or have strong social and familial ties to international communities. In the 2014/15 academic year, over 7,000 community college students studied abroad, and U. S. community colleges hosted over 91,000 international students (IIE, 2016). Of the associates granting institutions that participated in the ACE (2016) survey, 41% indicated that increasing the number of students that study abroad was their primary internationalization goal and roughly 72% indicated that internationalization had accelerated at, at least a moderate rate between the years of 2011 to 2015. Importantly, the very presence of study abroad programs at the community college demonstrate that community colleges no longer operate solely within the perimeter of the nation state. Therefore, community colleges are in fact active international institutions. In alignment with Young's (2006) social connections model, community college stakeholders have an ethical responsibility to serve the interest of those outside of their immediate community and to think about the long term and global implications of their actions.

Scholars have identified community colleges as ideal institutions to facilitate global justice through their involvement in internationalization activities such as study abroad. Treat and Hagedorn (2013) find that characteristics associated with the community college such as open access, adaptability, and their student-centered mission make these institutions well placed to serve the expanding middle class of low and middle GDP countries. In addition, Copeland et al. (2017) suggest that community college rationales for internationalization may differ from the motivations of their four-year counterparts, suggesting that community college administrators may value internationalization because of their open-door mission rather than an explicit mission to internationalize for the purposes of revenue generation or prestige (Copeland et al., 2017). While narrow conceptions of community have caused practitioners and scholars to question the role of internationalization at the community college (Raby, 2012), Ayers and Palmadessa (2015) find evidence that community college actors may still support a global justice agenda.

While community college practitioners have a responsibility and inclination to pursue socially just study abroad initiatives, it can be difficult to articulate issues of global social justice and to justify the pursuit of such initiatives to those in power. As such, the purpose of this chapter is to build a sturdy foundation for rationalizing socially just study abroad at the community college—called for by Raby (2012)—by grounding a humanist rationale firmly in justice theory. From the discussion of humanism comes a new term, the critical humanist rationale: an argument that applies principles of global justice to the community college so as to highlight the global responsibility of community college study abroad programs have beyond the parameters of the community and the nation state. The theoretical frame will help scholars and practitioners begin to identify and question the ways in which their actions influence those outside of their community, and the responsibilities that accompany their international relationships. Practitioners can use this frame to articulate, justify, and shape their approach to globally just study abroad initiatives at the community college.

The critical humanist rationale is a theoretically grounded foundation from which to discuss and advocate for globally just study abroad programs at the community college. While the neoliberal and liberal rationales for study abroad at the community college are often cited, the critical humanist rationale aligns best with the pursuit of social justice. The critical humanist rationale is that institutional actors at community colleges have a responsibility to facilitate study abroad initiatives that mediate global injustice by recognizing global power differentials and the interconnected globalized world. This rationale includes all humans and holds social justice, rather than economics or history, as the most important policy guidepost.

The remainder of this chapter is divided into three sections. The first section explores the meaning of humanism as it relates to study abroad at the community college. Using Andreotti, Stein, Pashby, and Nicolson's (2016) *Paradigms of Discourse*, the chapter describes the ways in which humanism can be defined in a variety of ways based on one's own goals. The section breaks down the humanist roots of conflicting rationales for study abroad, thus demonstrating that humanism alone is not a firm enough foundation for a globally just rationale. The second section grounds a rationale for study abroad at the community college within critical humanism by applying Young's (2006) *Social Connections Model*. The third section applies the critical humanist rationale to begin to question the relationship between community college study abroad initiatives: Who is included in the community mission? Whose cultures come to be understood from involvement in study abroad? How are U. S. cultures represented by study abroad? This chapter concludes by discussing the ways in which community college practitioners can use this framework to determine if they are successful at meeting their responsibilities to global justice.

HUMANISM AND STUDY ABROAD AT THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE

Scholars use different concepts to describe the underlining motivations for the pursuit of internationalization at the community college for the purpose of promoting outcomes associated with global social justice such as cultural tolerance, empathy, and privilege (e.g. Raby & Valeau, 2007; Raby, 2012). Ayers and Palmadessa (2015) identify the presence of a global citizenship discourse tied to the concept of justice globalism first identified by Steger (2008). These concepts align with what other scholarship (e.g. Raby & Valeau, 2007; Raby, 2012) has labelled the humanist rationale.

In the broadest sense, humanism can be defined as a rationale that attaches prime importance to the human. But Foucault has commented on the vague nature of this word humanism, "...the humanistic thematic is in itself too supple, too diverse, too inconsistent to serve as an axis for reflection" (Foucault, 1984, p. 44). Raby and Valeau (2007) attempted to clarify this word as it applies to internationalization at the community college. They suggest that the humanist rationale is grounded within a discourse that promotes student understanding of a multicultural society whilst facilitating peaceful relationships between nations (Raby & Valeau, 2007). The authors separate the humanist rationale completely from economic, political, and academic rationales (Raby & Valeau, 2007).

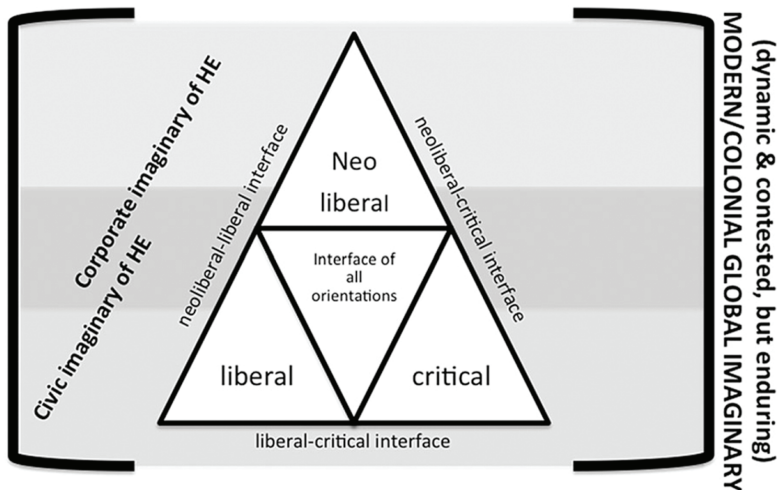
Within the humanist rationale there is sometimes a rationale of humanitarianism tied to ideals of global justice (Raby, 2012; Ayers & Palmadessa, 2015). Ayers & Palmadessa's (2015) analysis of 254 issues of the *Community College Journal* "...reveals a humanitarian discourse of responsibility to fellow human beings irrespective of national boundaries..." present amongst community college stakeholders (p. 886). Ayers and Palmadessa (2015) express hope for this discourse to serve as a counterhegemonic ideology to combat the well documented side effects of the prevalent neoliberal discourse at the community college

that has challenged the pursuit of social justice (see Ayers, 2005; Levin, 2007; Pashby & Andreotti, 2016). International development projects and the international development humanist perspective described by Cook (1996) may fall into the humanitarianism category, but seemingly humanitarian initiatives do not necessarily facilitate globally just behavior (Pashby & Andreotti, 2016). For example, Viggiano, López Damián, Morales Vázquez, and Levin (2018) found that community college practitioners in their study actively promoted student outcomes associated with humanism and social justice for domestic students but not necessarily international students.

One reason for inconsistent humanist rationales may be that the humanist rationale is not yet firmly grounded within justice theory. While institutional actors have employed the humanitarian rationale in relation to natural disasters and political events—such as tsunami relief aid in Indonesia in 2004 (Ayers & Palmadessa, 2015) and the Los Angeles Riots of the early 1990’s (Raby, 2012)—Raby (2012) warns against internationalization rationales that are linked to temporarily relevant world events. She argues that founding rationales for internationalization within a socio-political framework weakens practitioners’ abilities to advocate for internationalization activities. As such, she calls for a rationale for internationalization at the community college with a sturdier foundation than socio-political climate (Raby, 2012).

The following theoretical exploration of humanism as it applies to study abroad at the community college reveals that the humanist rationale alone is too nimble. Humanism is a vulnerable term that has historically been manipulated to suit the agenda of the time and come to mean nothing specific or coherent in many contexts (Foucault, 1984). Raby (2012) suggests that “...hidden and often conflicting messages that mask intent...” are contributing factors to the marginalization of internationalization at the community college (p. 89). In this section I argue that the humanist rationale is a part of those conflicting messages that mask intent and contribute to this marginalization. This is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Ethical internationalization in higher education social cartography (Andreotti et al. 2016: 91, re-published under Creative Commons Attribution License 4.0)



As a way of bringing to light taken for granted assumptions of internationalization, Andreotti et al. (2016) explore internationalization from three distinct and interconnected paradigms of discourse: the neoliberal, the liberal, and the critical. The neoliberal category is associated with discourses relating to economics, the liberal category with traditional values, and the critical with social reform. These terms are defined and applied in more detail in the sections below. Formatted as triangles within a triangle, there are points at which these ideologies intersect, but at times they are also fundamentally distinct. Figure 1 demonstrates this relationship. Pashby and Andreotti (2016) have utilized this triangle to explore the ethics of international education broadly.

The following section utilizes Andreotti et al.'s (2016) cartograph as a tool to discuss specifically the various forms of the humanist rationale as it relates to study abroad at the community college. In trying to plot humanism on the cardiograph, the relationship between humanism and each of these domains stimulates conversation about the purpose of study abroad at the community college whilst illuminating the multiple conceptions of the humanist rationale. Table 1 summarizes these differing humanist rationales.

The Neoliberal Domain

The neoliberal domain is associated with the privatization of education, the free market, a disinvestment in welfare programs (Ayers, 2005; Levin, 2007; 2017; Pashby & Andreotti, 2016) and the global colonial imaginary (Pashby & Andreotti, 2016). In many ways the neoliberal discourse is thought to represent the opposite of core community college values (Ayers, 2005). It is a belief that education is a private good, which individuals can leverage to personal advantage that will eventually lead to geographically bounded economic societal benefit; though in practice neoliberal policies do not benefit society, but instead the already economically and socially advantaged (Harvey, 2005; Viggiano, et al., 2018). Therefore, the broadly neoliberal perspective is associated with the argument that internationalization at the community college is useful for the purpose of revenue generation.

Within the neoliberal domain, the neoliberal humanist rationale is that study abroad at the community college is useful because it helps domestic students from less privileged backgrounds to become more marketable by providing skills necessary to compete in a global economy. From this perspective, it is the obligation of the community college to offer a global education to ensure that economically disad-

Table 1. Rationales for study abroad at the community college

Domain	Foundation	Objective	Humanist Rationale
Neoliberal	Money: revenue, competition, prestige, individual responsibility	Revenue generation for individual students that will contribute to U. S. GDP	Study abroad is a means of facilitating the development of skills associated with global competency for underserved domestic students so as to provide them the opportunity to generate greater economic return from their degrees in the globalized job market (e.g. Brennan & Dellow, 2013; Manns, 2014).
Liberal	History: mission of open access, civic engagement, community	Citizens prepared to participate in democratic society	Study abroad is a means for developing cultural competence amongst students in the local community, which is useful for democratic participation in the diverse U. S. society (e.g. Raby & Valeau, 2007; Green, 2007; Treat & Hagedorn, 2013).
Critical	Social Justice: service to the less powerful	Mitigate injustice	Study abroad is a means to mitigate global social injustice by promoting initiatives and positive outcomes, for all people involved. It is associated with the interconnected nature of the world and global power differentials (defined in this chapter).

Thinking Globally About Social Justice

vantaged students are not economically disadvantaged further (Brennan & Dellow, 2013; Manns, 2014). Skills associated with global competency learned from study abroad will give underserved students the potential of generating greater economic return from their degrees in the globalized job market (Brennan & Dellow, 2013; Manns, 2014). This is what Lilley, Barker, and Harris (2017) call a “neoliberal global citizen.” Rather than seeing study abroad initiatives at the community college as a means of revenue generation for the campus, those who employ a humanist rationale and operate from the neoliberal domain argue for study abroad as a means of future revenue generation for the students. The humanist rationale brings the focus from the institution toward the students, but still operates under the guiding principles of the neoliberal domain: revenue generation and competition. From this perspective, study abroad is only useful so long as it serves to economically advantage the student in the future.

The Liberal Domain

The liberal domain is associated with the traditional community college ideals of open access, civic engagement, social mobility, and community. The liberal domain highlights the role of education as a public good for society but bounds this good clearly within social precedent and geographic boundaries (Andreotti et al., 2016). Those in the liberal domain fear altering an institutional foundation that they perceive to be sturdy, but instead choose to focus on improving the already existing foundation (Andreotti et al., 2016). The problem with the liberal domain is that it reproduces historical injustice by rooting the solutions to social injustice within the same framework that created the social injustice (Stein, 2017).

Practitioners that operate from the foundation of the liberal humanist rationale try to fit study abroad within the existing mission of the community college. From this perspective discrimination and unjust policies are justified based on a historical responsibility to only a preselected privileged group of people, such as the local community or tax payer. Those that employ the liberal humanist rationale would argue that community colleges should pursue study abroad because it helps ‘their students’—U.S. nationals and community members—to develop cultural competence that is useful for participation in the U. S.’s or local community’s diverse society (e.g. Raby & Valeau, 2007; Green, 2007; Treat & Hagedorn, 2013). Many proponents of study abroad at the community college fall within this domain. Conflict and confusion arise when “their students” are no longer only U. S. nationals (Viggiano, et. al, 2018).

Although motivated by student centered goals, the liberal humanist rationale for study abroad at the community college is exclusionary. Because those within the liberal domain want only to work within the parameters of the current mission, expanding the structure to include new stakeholders becomes a conceptual challenge. Those in the liberal domain may find themselves stuck in a hegemonic and nationalist frame (Shahjahan & Kezar, 2015) that privileges traditional stakeholders—U. S. students and citizens—at the expense of new stakeholders—students and citizens of other countries. Thus, the liberal humanist rationale does not pay regard to the global impact of community colleges and neglects to question the reciprocity of a study abroad relationship across borders: How do students influence the world outside of the U. S.? What is it that the host country will receive in return?

The Critical Domain

The critical domain is associated with equity, diversity, and social justice (Andreotti et al., 2016), and therefore very aligned with the core values of the community college (Ayers, 2005), but it is not constrained by tradition. While the critical discourse is similar to the liberal discourse, the crucial differ-

ence is that the critical discourse prioritizes actions that are to the advantage of those that are the most disadvantaged by society (Andreotti et al., 2016). From the critical perspective, liberal arguments about historical missions of the community college and national boundaries are invalid, if they are utilized to perpetuate injustice. Where the liberal domain privileges a cohesive society founded in tradition, the critical domain privileges a socially just society, and recognizes that at times the two may be in conflict (Andreotti et al., 2016). The critical domain promotes alterations to the foundational assumptions of institutions so as to correct for historical social injustice and to accommodate for a more socially just future (Pashby & Andreotti, 2016). As such, the critical humanist rationale is that community colleges actors at institutions that are engaged in internationalization initiatives, such as study abroad, have an equal responsibility to facilitate socially just outcomes for all humans influenced by the activity regardless of national boundaries. From this perspective, social-justice is synonymous with global-justice at internationalized community colleges.

Scholars and practitioners who consider their work to be within the critical domain may still fail themselves to employ a globally critical rationale to study abroad at the community college. Even those who identify with the critical domain may struggle to see beyond national boundaries (Pashby & Andreotti, 2016). Shahjahan and Kezar's (2015) work on methodological nationalism demonstrates that many critical scholars often fail to apply critical principles beyond the nation state. Study abroad practitioners and scholars that fall within the critical humanist domain would be interested in promoting policies that consider the impact of study abroad on the host country, and students within the host country; they consider global power differentials and privilege; and they aim to recognize diversity between and within nations. While the critical voice is often employed to highlight the ways in which institutions are complicit in structural inequality (Martínez-Alemán, Pusser, & Bensimon, 2015; Stein, 2017), scholars have yet to highlight the way in which community college study abroad programs facilitate structural inequality. A globally critical humanist rationale for study abroad at the community college is absent from the scholarly literature.

This chapter introduces the critical humanist rationale for internationalization at the community college by grounding the humanist rationale within Young's (2006) justice theory. Because the definition and application of humanism changes based on one's domain of reference, as it currently stands, humanism alone can be seen as another inconsistent agenda that Raby (2012) finds pushes internationalization at the community college towards the periphery. Moreover, this section demonstrated that some applications of humanism, as it applies to study abroad at the community college, push some humans towards the periphery. Consistent with recent literature (Levin, Viggiano, López Damián, Morales Vázquez, & Wolf, 2017), as the foundation of rationales change, so too does the degree to which different humans are included in the mission. While rationales for study abroad at the community college fit snugly in the neoliberal and liberal domains, a critical rationale that includes non-domestic humans is absent from the scholarly literature. To address these issues, the following section clearly defines the parameters of a critical humanist rationale. To do so, these sections utilize Young's (2006) Social Connections Model to explain ways in which community colleges and their actors can begin to reexamine their roles in structural injustice.

GROUNDING THE CRITICAL HUMANIST RATIONALE

Global competence and citizenship are relatively agreed upon and expected outcomes of study abroad initiatives (Green, 2007; Lilley et al., 2017), so practitioners that facilitate such programs should also hold and utilize the skills associated with these outcomes. Green suggests that successful study abroad initiatives teach that "...the fates of individuals, nations, and the planet are inextricably linked" (Green, 2007, p. 15). Lilley et al.'s (2017) interview-based study of strategically selected higher education experts yielded a definition for global citizenship which included "shows openness, tolerance, respect, and responsibility for self, others, and the planet... has a global mind-set and makes interconnections about the impacts of globalization..." (p. 15). Thus, community college scholars and practitioners expect globally competent individuals to be able to easily identify global connections and responsibilities. These are anti-nationalist concepts aligned with the critical humanist domain. Young's (2006) Social Connections Model may help practitioners apply their own global competence to facilitate the globally just study abroad programs. This chapter suggests that institutional members of community colleges can utilize the principles of Young's (2006) model to help them to rationalize and facilitate globally just study abroad programs at the community college.

Young's (2006) Social Connections Model

Justice theory is often related to Rawls (1971) interpretation of a social contract. Given that people do not have a choice in which place in society that they will be born, then societies built on the foundation of a social contract should ensure that all people have a fair and equal opportunity to ascend the social hierarchy. Inequality is tolerable in society so long as it is to the greatest benefit of the most disadvantaged peoples.

While originally applied only to those that reside within the nation state (Rawls, 1971), scholars (e.g. Beitz, 1979; Pogge, 1989; Viggiano et al., 2018; Young, 2006) extend the notion of a social contract to a global system: a global contract. Proponents of a global contract assert that given strict immigration laws and the vastly unequal global wealth distribution, people do not have a choice in which society they will join (Young, 2006). The political borders of today were formed and continue to be maintained only by historically unequitable power relationships tied to colonialism (Pashby & Andreotti, 2016; Shahjahan & Kezar, 2015; Mignolo & Tlostanova, 2006; Stein, 2017; Young, 2006). Thus, arguments of discrimination and exclusion based on geographical borders are based on birth right and therefore unjust (Bietz, 1979; Nussbaum, 2006; Pashby & Andreotti, 2016; Pogge, 1989; Young, 2006). Young (2006) argues that global structural injustice continues to exist because international institutions and their actors facilitate this injustice: "[s]tructural injustice occurs as a consequence of many individuals and institutions acting in pursuit of their particular goals and interests, within given institutional rules and accepted norms" (p. 114). In alignment with this assertion, Viggiano et al. (2018) found that community college practitioners within their study of three highly internationalized community colleges were indeed in violation of Rawlsian (1971) justice theory from the perspective of a global social contract.

From Young's (2006) perspective, the rules of a global social contract apply as soon as an international relationship is formed. All institutions and institutional actors that facilitate international relationships have a responsibility to ensure fair and equitable treatment of all humans influenced—be it directly or indirectly—by the relationship. This responsibility is not dependent on geographic boundary. Individuals are responsible for the ways in which their actions, in the pursuit of these institutional goals, influence

people regardless of their national origin. As such, the central tenant of this model is that, “all agents who contribute by their actions to the structural processes that produce injustice have responsibilities to work to remedy these injustices” (p. 102-103).

Young’s (2006) Social Connection Model holds five basic tenants: 1) the responsibility of one party does not absolve the responsibility of other parties; 2) rather than taking a purely liberal approach that attempts to work within preestablished rules of the system, actors should call into question the foundation of the system; 3) rather than paying reparation for past misconducts, actors are encouraged to prevent future wrongdoings; 4) individuals are responsible for outcomes rather than ambiguous entities in which the institutional actors are left unaccountable; 5) individuals can discharge their responsibility only by acting within their own power, privilege, interest, and collective ability whilst encouraging others to do the same.

It is from the foundation of the global contract and Young’s (2006) Social Connections Model that the critical humanist rationale defines the responsibility of community colleges and their actors to the pursuit of justice. To facilitate just outcomes institutional actors must pursue equity-based policies that acknowledge the interconnected nature of the world as well as global power differentials. The following section applies the logic of the critical humanist rationale to begin to discuss globally just study abroad at the community college.

Incorporating the Critical Humanist Rationale Into Mission and Action

Asking the Right Questions

The critical humanist rationale sets a solid foundation from which to formulate questions about the nature and implementation of globally just study abroad programs at the community college. Given that space constraints prevent a comprehensive exploration of all possible questions, the following sections focus on questions relating to the ways in which community college practitioners and students come to conceptualize the social justice related problems of the world. The final subsection suggests additional questions that could be explored from the foundation of the critical humanist rationale.

Who Is Included in Community?

Practitioners and scholars have defined the boundary of community colleges by utilizing what Raby (2012, p. 84) calls a “narrow definition of community.” International comes into direct competition with a geographically bounded conception of community, breeding competition between the local and international and therefore promoting bounded citizenship (Raby, 2012).

In the context of higher education scholarship, methodological nationalists assume that institutions of higher education operate within national boundaries and should therefore serve a national agenda (Shahjahan & Kezar, 2015). Shahjahan and Kezar (2013) argue that viewing stakeholders from a nationalist frame contributes to “...unequal power relationships and reduced responsibility for human suffering tied to national boundaries” (p. 27). Decolonial scholarship such as Mignolo and Tlostanova (2006) argue that societies, institutions, and their actors utilize borders to promote a historical power structure of colonization by granting some groups of people greater privileges based solely on the location of their birth:

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Borders in this precise sense, are not a natural outcome of a natural or divine historical processes in human history, but were created in the very constitution of the modern/colonial world (i.e. in the imaginary of Western and Atlantic capitalist empires formed in the past five hundred years). (p. 208)

Education can be perceived as one such resource and the narrow conception of community can be seen as one such border.

Practitioners that employ a narrow definition of community are not recognizing international social connections and not honoring their responsibility to stakeholders outside of their immediate community. Those that apply the narrow definition of community neglect to consider the critical humanist rationale and therefore do not demonstrate mastery of global citizenship. Specifically, this narrow conception ignores, "...responsibility for... others, and the planet" (Lilley et al., 2017, p. 15).

How Do Students Come to Understand Problems of Global Social Justice?

Open Doors Data from the Institute for International Education ([IIE], 2017) demonstrates that students from associate granting institutions in the U. S. are not studying abroad in a diverse assortment of countries: most choose to study in one of a handful of high-GDP countries in the Global North. In the 2015/16 academic year 42% of U.S. associate granting students that studied abroad did so in just four countries—Italy, Spain, France, and the UK. Over half of all U.S. students, including community college students, are choosing to study abroad in European countries. Given that Europe is home to just over 11% of the world population and less than 10% of the world land mass, this distribution is disproportional.

From the critical humanist foundation, these data illuminate a potential problem. If students are disproportionately exposed to the communities of high-GDP countries in the Global North, then we offer students a warped view of the state of global problems. This is to say that students that study abroad in only privileged countries are not exposed to global problems such as extreme poverty, disease, differential effects of climate change in the same way as if they were to study abroad in a less privileged country. As such, it may be that students that study in these privileged countries will struggle to perceive the severity and scope of global problems. It may be more difficult for students that study in these privileged countries to conceptualize global social justice. Practitioners that suggest that students that study abroad will gain global competence, should consider that outcomes associated with global competence will likely differ based on the country of study. Future research should investigate this potential outcome disparity.

Increasing study abroad participation at the community college may marginally increase rates of study abroad to Latin America. Interestingly, community college students study abroad in Latin American more than their university counterparts. For example, in the 2014/15 academic year 24.5% of students from associate granting institutions studied abroad in Latin America versus 16%, of students across all institutional types (IIE, 2016). Costa Rica was the third most popular study abroad destination of associate students studying abroad: 8.5% in the 2015/16 year. This shows that community colleges have made some strides in the diversification of study abroad destinations that is not yet observed at four-year institutions.

How Does the U. S. Come to Be Understood?

When socio-economically and ethnically diverse students do not participate in study abroad, then students in other countries that U. S. students visit may develop a warped view of the state of society within the U. S. This is to say that students in countries where U. S. students go to study abroad may come to un-

derstand U. S. culture from the perspective of white affluence, without conceptualizing the multi-faceted and polymorphic identities of the larger U. S. population. This would misrepresent the multicultural perspectives and views of the U. S., potentially presenting a distorted view of the state of society within the U. S. For this reason, practitioners that apply the critical humanist rationale should recognize their responsibility to participate and promote the involvement of students from diverse backgrounds in study abroad initiatives. Future research should be conducted to assess this theoretical relationship.

Across all institutional types students that study abroad from the U.S. are disproportionately white and affluent (Luo & Jamieson-Drake, 2015; Salisbury, Paulsen, & Pascarella, 2011; Salisbury et al., 2009). In Salisbury et al.'s (2009) quantitative study on student motivations to engage in study abroad, the scholars analyzed survey responses from 2,772 students across various institutional types. They found that, despite the documented difference in actual participation rates, there was no difference between students of color and white students in their desire to study abroad (Salisbury et al., 2009). However, students receiving financial aid were 11 percentage points less likely to report that they planned to study abroad than their more affluent counterparts (Salisbury et al., 2009). In addition, the greatest predictor of a student's likelihood to express a desire to study abroad was parent's education level. Thus, community college practitioners looking to send students that represent the diversity of perspectives within the U. S. should actively attempt to engage low-SES and first-generation students in study abroad.

Given that the community college enrolls more low-SES, non-traditional, first generation, and minority students than its four-year counterparts (Cohen, Brawer, & Kisker, 2013), study abroad initiatives at the community college may engage more diverse students in study abroad activities (Salisbury et al., 2009). This is the case for students of color. In the 2015-16 academic year, more students of color studied abroad from the community college than from other institutional types: approximately 39% of the students that studied abroad at associates granting institutions were students that identified as a racial identity other than white, as opposed to 28% across all institutional types (IIE, 2017). Although students identifying as Black/African American participated in study abroad at the community college at a marginally higher rate than other institutional types, the major difference stemmed from students identifying as Hispanic/Latino: 23.2% of the study abroad participants at associates granting institutions identified as Hispanic/Latino contrasted with 9.7% across all institutional types (IIE, 2017). However, community college students in Salisbury et al.'s (2009) sample were 30 percentage points less likely to report that they plan to engage in study abroad activities than their liberal arts counterparts (Salisbury et al., 2009). Therefore, practitioners should work to actively promote the participation of community college students in study abroad initiatives.

Remaining Questions

These questions serve as examples of the application of the critical humanist perspective but are by no means exhaustive. Though again not a comprehensive list, additional questions might include: Whose cultures are marginalized by education abroad? Whose cultures come to be understood? How do students come to understand the multiple cultures within a culture? How does involvement in study abroad disadvantage the host country, institution, and peoples? Does the Social Connections Model apply to community colleges outside of the U. S.? In what ways? How can community college study abroad programs balance their responsibility without pursuing a development discourse tied to colonialism (Stein, Andreotti, & Suša, 2016)? In the future, practitioners and scholars can begin to explore these questions and more from within the framework of the critical humanist rationale.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The critical humanist rationale incorporates all humans and holds social justice, rather than monetary benefit or historical precedent, as the superior policy guidepost. This rationale argues that, given that community colleges have become globalized institutions (Levin, 2001; 2002; Levin, 2017), community colleges are equally responsible to stakeholders outside and inside of their geographical community. Through the lens of this rationale, the purpose of study abroad programs at the community college are to mitigate structural social injustice, which will require practitioners to recognize the interconnected nature of the world as well as global power differentials.

This foundation can serve as a compass for practitioners looking to facilitate globally - just study abroad programs. To pursue global social justice, community college practitioners must consider the ways in which study abroad initiatives influence both domestic and international stakeholders and must take personal responsibility for the effects that their institution's international involvement has on all humans. In accordance with Young's (2006) social justice theory, practitioners should reflect on their own positionality to determine the ways in which they can work to minimize their contribution to this structural injustice and guide their institution's actions accordingly. While not comprehensive, the questions discussed in this chapter were examples of the ways in which community college study abroad practitioners could begin to reimagine the ways in which their institutions conceptualize their influence outside of their local communities.

Guiding Conversations Towards Humanism and Critical Humanism

Practitioners can utilize Andreotti et al.'s (2016) cartograph to explore their rationales for study abroad at the community college. This exercise can help to construct concrete goals and reveal motivations and assumptions that were previously inaudible or unexplored (Andreotti et al., 2016). Departments might use this as a group exercise to stimulate conversation that clarifies, explains, and explores goals as they relate to study abroad. Ask questions like "which goals of our department fall into each domain?", "which domain does the department and institution actively pursue?", "which domain do you personally identify with most?", "how might you shift your focus from one domain to another?". Supporters of the critical humanist rationale can use the argument constructed in this chapter to discuss the importance of globally just initiatives—those that are non-nationalist, consider global power differentials, and acknowledge the interconnected nature of the world.

Consider that the neoliberal discourse is often associated with injustice and is much louder than that of the critical or liberal discourses (Andreotti et al., 2016; Pashby & Andreotti, 2016). Members of the community college are quick to use neoliberal logic of resource strain or competition to justify their position and silence other perspectives (Ayers & Palmadessa, 2015). Although the critical voice is often closely aligned with justice (Pashby & Andreotti, 2016), Andreotti et al. (2016) have found that the critical voice was the most silent of all. As such, those that pursue a broadly humanist study abroad program will need to take great care to purposefully and mindfully incorporate critical and liberal perspectives. Purposefully incorporating the critical humanist rationale into the departmental or institutional mission could help to accomplish this goal.

Steps to incorporate the critical humanist rationale:

1. Be aware of the global implications of your actions
 - a. Has your team considered the global implications of their global program? In what ways might your actions be facilitating injustice? How are you and your team actively working to advance the goals of global social justice?
 - b. Are students completing with realistic expectations of their “global competence”?
 - c. Do staff and students recognize their own privilege and involvement in global social injustice?
2. Purposefully rethink your mission with global justice in mind
 - a. Are you engaging and considering all dimensions of the triangle?
 - b. Is one piece of the triangle more dominant than another? How can you ensure that the neo-liberal discourse does not drown out the critical or liberal discourse?
3. Incorporate into practice
 - a. Are there differences in how you treat your partner institutions? If there are differences, are these differences to the greatest advantage of the least advantaged peoples involved? How might you begin or nurture partnerships with institutions that are less advantaged than your own institution?
 - b. Are students studying in a wide range of countries?
 - c. Are domestic students (from a variety of backgrounds) engaging with international students (from a variety of backgrounds)?
 - d. How are students conceptualizing and representing their understanding of global problems, the multiplicity of cultures, and their own roles in global social injustice?

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Global Responsibility in Finland: Egalitarian Foundations and Neoliberal Creep

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GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITY IN FINLAND: EGALITARIAN FOUNDATIONS AND NEOLIBERAL CREEP

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ABSTRACT

Aim/Purpose	This investigation examines 15 interviews at one critical case in Finland to explore the ways in which practitioners of higher education address the challenges associated with the pursuit of a global social good agenda. Employing the language of the participants, the purpose of this investigation is to explain the ways in which tertiary education practitioners conceptualize their “global responsibility” and how this concept aligns with the pursuit of a global social good agenda.
Background	In many nations, at the domestic level, the pursuit of social good is considered a fundamental component of the university mission, but the same logic is not always applied internationally. Finland employs the concept of global responsibility to, presumably, address this mission. When social good is considered internationally, there is little direction on what this means or how to promote this goal. The ways in which practitioners actually define and navigate global social good at institutions of higher education is not researched.
Methodology	This investigation is part of a larger research project funded by Fulbright Finland and the Lois Roth Endowment. Throughout the entirety of the investigation, I engaged in ten months of participant observation and collected interviews from actors within multiple Finnish institutions of higher education. Exploratory interviews of other institutions of higher education allowed me to confirm that I had indeed selected a critical case. This investigation draws on 15 strategically selected interviews with higher education practitioners at the selected institution.
Contribution	Unlike previous scholarship, this empirical work documents an example of an institution in which practitioners conceptualize internationalized higher education outside of the neoliberal hegemony. Although neoliberalism is certainly present, there is strong evidence of a critical/liberal foundation that enables resistance.
Findings	This investigation defines and operationalizes global responsibility and explains the duplicitous definitions of global responsibility—the critical/liberal and the neoliberal. In doing so, the investigation provides an example of an institution attempting to purposefully enact globally social good initiatives, and highlights the ways in which neoliberalism impedes a global social good agenda.

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Recommendations for Practitioners	This research provides an empirical foundation for a non-neoliberal approach to internationalization from which to build higher education policy. Practitioners should consider pursuing the critical/liberal goals of global responsibility from within their own cultural context. Specific elements of importance elucidated by practitioner interviews in the Finnish context include need-based aid for international student tuition, international partnerships with non-affluent institutions, and open access publication. The ways in which neoliberal funding mechanisms distinctivize these global social good initiatives should also be considered.
Recommendations for Researchers	Researchers should consider their own methodologically nationalist assumptions. Social good research that begins from the confines of the nation state selectively excludes most of the world's most disadvantaged student populations. Within the national container, researchers limit their conception of global responsibility to the neoliberal.
Impact on Society	This critical case demonstrates a disconcerting neoliberal creep that will likely lead to increasingly unjust internationalization. University internationalization efforts can and do contribute to global social inequality when policies are left unquestioned (Stein, 2016). Neoliberal global responsibility manifests many of the ethical perils of internationalization identified by neoliberal and critical internationalization scholars, such as assumptions of an equal playing field, win-win situations, nationalism, selective recognition of difference, and knowledge as universal (Harvey, 2007; Stein, 2016). The most salient examples documented here are the decision to charge international student tuition while offering only merit-based aid, as well as the decision to strategically partner with more economically advantaged institutions of higher education. In alignment with the theory of coloniality (Quijano, 2007), these decisions serve to reproduce global structural inequity by continuing to privilege those who have been historically privileged. Naming the action—neoliberal global responsibility—provides a platform from which to discuss, research, and resist this mechanism of global social injustice (Boris, 2005).
Future Research	Future research should employ this operationalized frame of global responsibility (adapted for their own cultural context) to assess contributions and impediments to global social good at new institutions of higher education.
Keywords	social good, internationalization, higher education, global responsibility, Finland, critical, neoliberalism, global, university, coloniality, social justice, practitioner

INTRODUCTION

PROBLEM: THE GLOBAL SOCIAL GOOD AND TERTIARY EDUCATION

A significant mission of institutions of higher education (IHEs) is to facilitate social justice within the confines of respective nation states (Marginson, 2018; 2019). To begin from the widely accepted discourse of the knowledge society (Välilä & Hoffman, 2008), education is the greatest predictor of social mobility and is therefore a powerful tool in the pursuit of social justice (World Bank, 2015). The basic premise is that by promoting access to education for the less advantaged in society, society as a whole will improve (Moses & Chang, 2006). Scholars go so far as to argue that it is only this pursuit of the social good that justifies public contribution to IHEs (Marginson, 2011). As such, a traditional goal of higher education has been to provide a pathway to social mobility in the pursuit of a socially just society (Goldrick-Rab & Kendall, 2014; Marginson, 2019). The ability to accomplish this goal rests on the capacity of IHEs to enact equitable policy (Marginson, 2018). Equity can be defined as the purposeful attempt to treat people in differing circumstances in different ways so as to maxim-

ize the achievement of basic goals (Baum, 2004; Espinoza, 2007). While nations and institutions have varying degrees of success, there is near global scholarly consensus that IHEs should pursue social justice by employing some equitable policy to advance the social good agenda domestically (Margison, 2018; 2019).

Though often neglected by scholarship (Shahjahan & Kezar, 2013), similar economic and social arguments can be employed to advocate for the social good agenda beyond domestic borders – discussed here as a global social good agenda. In a globalized world, society is not constrained by national boundaries. We exist in a fluid system of scapes that transcend socially constructed national borders (Appadurai, 1990). Global social justice scholars, such as Young (2006), assert that when institutions engage in international activities, institutional actors have an ethical responsibility to include non-domestic constituents within their social good missions. As such, critical internationalization scholars (e.g. Shahjahan & Kezar, 2013; Stein, 2017; Viggiano, 2019; Yao & Viggiano, 2019) call for the social good goals of higher education to extend beyond the national container. An equitable global social good agenda recognizes and acts to mitigate the severe economic and contextual differences of institutions' international constituents (Stein, Andreotti, Bruce, Suša, 2016). In recent years, international organizations such as UNESCO have made progress to promote “more socially-oriented global engagement” through the suggestion of higher education specific sustainable development goals (SDGs) (Vander Dussen Toukan, 2017, p. 62).

While no tertiary education system is doing particularly well at pursuing such a global social good agenda (Stein et al., 2016), data suggest that Finland may be more interested in such an agenda than countries such as the U.S. For example, about 8% of all international students and 10.5 % of new international students hailed from low-income countries (Finnish National Agency for Education, 2016). In the 2015-16 academic year, Finland served more international students per capita than the U. S.: 0.7 compared to 0.3, respectively (Finnish National Agency for Education, 2016; Institute of International Education, 2016). In alignment with SDG 4b, national policy mandates scholarships for at least some number of these international students (Cai et al., 2013).

In Finland, these initiatives that potentially align with a global social good agenda are associated with the term “global responsibility” (Cai & Kivistö, 2013). Global responsibility was one of the five strategic objectives of the 2009 internationalization plan for Finnish higher education (Cai & Kivistö, 2013). Räsänen (2010) asserts that this term was created to reference the ethical principles of internationalization that underscore the UNESCO SDGs. As such, the global responsibility mandate may empower Finnish practitioners to facilitate a global social good agenda.

However, this concept of global responsibility is largely ambiguous. Although previously mandated by the State, there was no official or coherent definition of global responsibility ascribed to the mandate (Cai & Kivistö, 2013). Moreover, although Lehtomäki, Moate, and Posti-Ahokas (2018) have explored the concept within the classroom, the ways in which administrative actors – those employed in a leadership role at the university for a purpose other than teaching – might conceptualize and facilitate global responsibility is unresearched. Beyond implicit assumptions, it is unclear in what ways a global responsibility agenda truly corresponds to an equitable global social good agenda.

PURPOSE

This investigation examines one critical case in Finland to explore the ways in which practitioners of higher education conceptualize and address the challenges associated with the pursuit of an equitable global social good agenda. Employing the language of the participants, the purpose of this investigation is to explain the ways in which tertiary education practitioners conceptualize their “global responsibility” and how this concept aligns with the pursuit of an equitable global social good agenda. Furthermore, the investigation documents impediments to enacting such an agenda.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

I sought to determine: 1) How do administrative actors within the sample define global responsibility? 2) What are their motivations for global responsibility? 3) How does global responsibility relate to the pursuit of an equitable global social good agenda? 4) What challenges do actors face in facilitating global responsibility as it relates to an equitable global social good agenda?

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

The concepts of the global social good and global equity applied in this paper were grounded within the theories of neoliberalism and coloniality, recognizing the world as systemically unequal. Neoliberalism emphasizes an unencumbered “free” market, but this “freedom” plays out as a series of safety nets designed to protect the interests of the current status quo (Harvey, 2007). At a global level, the global neoliberal system reinforces historical power imbalances between low socio-economic status countries and high socio-economic status countries (Mignolo, 2007). In these ways, neoliberal education perpetuates a value system that discourages consideration about the rights and needs of the less powerful in favor of personal advantage (Mignolo, 2007; Ward, 2012). However, it is not neoliberalism alone that fuels the exploitation of historically disadvantaged peoples. This exploitation existed long before the neoliberal era (Mignolo, 2007).

Coloniality refers to the deep-rooted history of exploitation, dating back to the 1400s, by European nations and the upper class in previously colonized countries – predominantly those located in Africa and South America (Quijano, 2007). This school of thought argues that, although there is now less direct colonial domination, the social structure of colonialization has survived (Quijano, 2007). Though elites and members of colonizing countries – and those that have indirectly benefited from colonization – may claim that they no longer benefit from colonization today, their modern strategic global advantage stems from the resources extracted and structures created historical involvement in colonization (Stein, 2016; Quijano, 2007).

Modern Western hegemonic thinking is “abyssal thinking” (de Sousa Santos, 2007, p. 45). This is to say that, within the Western frame, the world is divided into two parts, the Global North and Global South, and only the social reality defined from the perspectives of those in the hegemonic Global North are considered as valid constructions of reality (de Sousa Santos, 2007). This invisible division shapes global, national, regional, institutional, and individual action (de Sousa Santos, 2007). Societies use borders to grant privileges to those on one side of the abyssal line and justify the exclusion of those on the other side of the abyssal line (de Sousa Santos, 2007). Rather than extending equitable policy to correct for historical oppression, countries and individuals are privileged based on their close relationship to historical colonizers (Quijano, 2007). Therefore Finland – though never a colonized or colonizing country itself – has been able to reap the benefits of colonization through association with historical colonizers; for example, the inclusion of Finland in the EU. Conversely, the people of low and middle-GDP countries, and those less ideologically decedent of European thought, are othered (de Sousa Santos, 2007; Quijano, 2007). Implicitly, people who hail from these countries are perceived as less capable, less deserving, and less than equal (de Sousa Santos, 2007; Quijano, 2007).

In alignment with Bourdieu’s (1973) well-cited cultural and social reproduction theory, institutional actors at IHEs reflect and reproduce this world view, often without conscious awareness (Ayers, 2005; Quijano, 2007). The values of neoliberal education are then instilled on students and replicated into society (Ward, 2012). While the education has the potential to serve as a tool for global equity and a guide to ethical development for societal good, neoliberal education and the knowledge society of the new millennium discourages ethical development in favor of achieving individual goals and generating capital (Labaree, 1997; Levin, 2001; Shultz, 2007; Ward, 2012). Problematically, because much of the world is entrenched in what Olssen and Peters (2005, p. 314) call the “neoliberal dis-

course of Western nation states”, symptoms of neoliberalism and coloniality appear as a part of the “natural order” (Ayers, 2005; de Sousa Santos, 2007; Quijano, 2007).

Given the hegemonic dominance of neoliberal rhetoric (Olssen & Peters, 2005), the global knowledge society discourse has become a global meta-narrative that obscures the existence of other possible discourses (Stein et al., 2016; Metcalfe & Fenwick, 2009; Ozaga, 2007). In the presence of the dominant knowledge society discourse, counter-narratives that do exist are silenced and made to appear incoherent or unrealistic (Stein et al., 2016). By shining a light on taken for granted assumptions, social scientific research can be utilized to disembed the neoliberal assumptions of the knowledge society discourse that are detrimental to the pursuit of an equity agenda (Ayers, 2005). For example, Shults (2007) applied neoliberal theory to demonstrate that the pursuit of UNESCO goals is not in and of itself ethical because neoliberal practices enacted in the name of the global good can serve to reproduce global structural inequity.

LITERATURE REVIEW: FINLAND IN GLOBAL CONTEXT

Nordic countries are cited as models of egalitarian higher education (Marginson, 2016), and Eidhof, ten Dam, Dijkstra, and van de Werfhorst (2016) specifically identify Finland as a country that values equitable education for the purpose of democratic citizenship. Because of these egalitarian values, in many ways the Finnish higher education system has been an example of a system that walks the tightrope of globalization – carefully avoiding the pitfalls of neoliberalism typically associated with internationalization strategy – but this tight rope is becoming increasingly difficult to walk (Simola, Rinne, Varjo, & Kauko, 2013). IHEs are a reflection of the history and value system of the society in which they are embedded (Kivistö, & Tirronen, 2012; Välimaa & Nokkala, 2014).

The recent history of Finnish higher education can be seen as the pursuit of an egalitarian education system to complement the values of an aspiring egalitarian society (Välimaa, 2005). Prior to the Higher Education Development Act of the 1960s, IHEs resided only in the populous regions of the South; new institutions were built in an effort to expand access to education and equalize access to career opportunities across the region (Hölttä & Pulliainen, 1996). There was a decentralization of the higher education system, a push for increased institutional autonomy (Hölttä & Pulliainen, 1996), and an expansion of higher education via polytechnic institutions that were envisioned to facilitate domestic student equity (Kivinen, Ahola, & Hedman, 2001). Though these changes were not without critique; Kivinen et al. (2001) suggest that a defining struggle in the 1980s and 1990s was to get enrollment in IHEs to reflect the values of an egalitarian society.

BOLOGNA, THE EU, AND ACCELERATED GLOBALIZATION

The new millennium brought about an increased focus on the internationalization of tertiary education. Rinne (2000) argues that the 1995 integration of Finland into the EU led to the beginnings of a radical shift away from the egalitarian foundation of Finnish higher education towards a rhetoric of marketization and choice that was debilitating to the pursuit of domestic equity. Nokkala (2012) asserts that much of this marketization rhetoric stemmed from the EU’s pressure to compete with the U.S. for international students, a driving force of the 1999 Bologna Process.

The Bologna document details a degradation of national identity in favor of the competitive appeal of the market. For example, “The vitality and efficiency of any civilisation can be measured by the appeal that its culture has for other countries” (Bologna Declaration 1999, cited in Nokkala, 2012). This statement details a complete reversal of nationalism, suggesting that worth and value are defined by other nations rather than the nation itself. Paradoxically – along the lines of Enders (2004, cited in Nokkala) – Nokkala (2007) argues that the degradation of national boundaries creates a fragmented society, with actors both within and outside the state, in which governments perceive the free market as the only force capable of universal governance. In line with neoliberalism, the countries themselves use globalization as a justification to decrease their own social responsibility to both

domestic and international peoples (Nokkala, 2007). In the early 2000s, Välimaa (2004) noted that the term globalization itself was commonly linked to the Americanization.

As such, global competition – particularly with the U.S. – has challenged traditional Finnish egalitarianism. Finnish scholars connect global competition to many of the recent changes taking place at IHEs in the country. Nokkala and Bladh (2014) discuss the ways in which global competition contributed to increased financial autonomy for university administration, a managerial approach to administration, financial steering mechanisms issued by government, and a more rigid review process for accreditation and funding. Along these lines, Ylijoki and Ursin (2015) connect this global competition to increasing competition amongst academics, and an increase in non-permanent professorial positions. Kivistö and Tirronen (2012) demonstrate the ways in which the mergers of three IHEs in Helsinki led to a ‘new elitism’ that privileges prestigious institutions. These elements are associated with the rise of global neoliberalism (Levin, 2017). These neoliberal pressures stifle academic freedom and the ethical voice typically associated with Finnish IHEs (Nokkala & Bladh 2014).

Recent changes in Finnish internationalization strategies demonstrate the relationship between neoliberalism and the pursuit of globally equitable higher education policy. Although never a clearly defined term, “global responsibility” was one of the five strategic objectives of the 2009 internationalization plan for Finnish higher education (Cai & Kivistö, 2013):

Higher education institutions [should] utilise their research and expertise to solve global problems and to consolidate competence in developing countries... [t]he activities of higher education institutions [should be] ethically sustainable and support students’ prerequisites to function in a global environment as well as to understand the global effects of their activities. (Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture, 2009, pp. 11-21)

Räsänen (2010) asserts that this term references the ethical principles of internationalization that underscore the UNESCO SDGs, but Välimaa and Weimer (2014) demonstrate rhetoric of the Bologna process also infiltrated the rhetoric of the 2009 internationalization plan. They highlight the focus on competition and revenue generation (Välimaa & Weimer, 2014). When describing the reasons for internationalization, rather than focusing on a moral or ethical responsibility, the authors of the 2009 internationalization plan employed arguments of competition: “[IHEs] attract a highly educated labour force and foreign investments ... Finnish higher education institutions must compete increasingly harder to retain their position as producers, conveyors and utilisers of competence and new knowledge” (2009, pp. 15-17, cited in Välimaa & Weimer, 2014). The subsequent internationalization plan for 2017 to 2025 left out global responsibility entirely and focused on the economic benefits of international education (Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture, 2017).

Kivistö & Tirronen (2012) name this detachment from the social good in favor of the market, ‘the global corporate state’, which undermines the traditional welfare state. Weimer (2013) describes the way in which this argument applies to a specific policy like international student tuition. Still, some scholars adopt neoliberal rhetoric; for example, Cai, Hölttä, and Lindholm (2013, p. 144) use terms like “selling point” to suggest that international education could be a “new economy-boosting company” to replace revenue lost from the fall of Nokia.

Scholars such as Kivistö & Tirronen (2012) do see the growing trend of new elitism in Finland as a potential threat to the Finnish model of egalitarian higher education, but they nevertheless conclude that the state will continue to steer progress associated with the traditional goals of equity. In the view of Kivistö and Tirronen (2012), the Finnish model is not yet in jeopardy of falling prey to American style elitism.

METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

I identified a critical case (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Critical cases are cases that are selected for their strategic importance to the subject being studied. As opposed to representative cases, critical cases are excep-

tions to the norm and therefore provide rich data useful for in-depth qualitative analysis of said exception (Flyvbjerg, 2006). For critical favorable cases such as this one, limited generalizations can be made along the logic of “if it is not valid for this case, then it is not valid for any (or only few) cases” (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 230). Given Finland’s noted track record of navigating neoliberal pressure (Simola et al., 2013), theoretical and empirical scholarship suggested that Finland is a suitable place to search for examples of such a critical case (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

This investigation is part of a larger research project funded by Fulbright Finland and the Lois Roth Endowment. Throughout the entirety of the investigation, I engaged in ten months of participant observation and collected interviews from actors within multiple Finnish IHEs. Exploratory interviews of other IHEs allowed me to confirm that I had indeed selected a critical case.

Although explorative interviews suggested that more than one institution within Finland could have served as an example of a critical case, the specific institution selected was chosen because of its mission of global engagement and historical commitment to global responsibility. Specifically, it was one of only ten research universities within the country, it had high international student enrollment, an institutionalized history of addressing global responsibility on campus, and had partnered with international organizations such as UNESCO to host events related to global responsibility. This investigation draws on 15 forty- to seventy-minute interviews with Finnish higher education practitioners at the selected institution. I conducted these semi-structured interviews, asking questions about practitioners’ definitions of global responsibility until I reached saturation (Morse, 1995). My line of questioning was open-ended and theoretically guided (Anyon, 2008). Interviews were collected in English over a period of six months in 2017-18.

Participants were recruited based on two selection criteria. First, the investigation targeted administrators who held roles that facilitated internationalization activities on campus (e.g. internationalization coordinators, members of the internationalization office, and leaders of international research or service initiatives). Second, similar to Levin, Viggiano, López Damián, Morales Vázquez, and Wolf (2017), administrators in key roles of influence over institutional policy were targeted (i.e. rectors, department heads, and the like). Collectively, I call these participants internationalization actors. I strategically recruited participants based on information available on the university website. Interviews were solicited via email and conducted on campus. Formal consent documents were signed, and participants could withdraw consent at any time. Pseudonyms were assigned to maintain confidentiality. The study protocol met the ethical standards of the field and was approved and overseen by the institutional review board to which I held affiliation at the time of the research: the University of California, Riverside.

To analyze my data, I utilized content analysis (Lichtman, 2013), specifically categories identified by Andreotti, Stein, Pashby, and Nicolson’s (2016) social cartography of the discursive orientations in the corporate/civic imaginary of higher education. The liberal, neoliberal, critical division is commonly applied to discuss higher education policy (e.g. Shultz, 2007; Vander Dussen Toukan, 2017). Cartographies are useful for problematizing common-sense imaginaries so as to reveal implicit assumptions and contradictions (Andreotti et al., 2016). I operationalized the discursive categories of this cartography: Participants rationales for internationalization and global responsibility were divided into critical (e.g. references to colonialization, power, exploitation, resistance), liberal (e.g. references to public good, nation-building, and acculturation), and neoliberal categories (e.g. reference to competition, prestige, decreased social welfare, and commodification of knowledge or people) (Andreotti et al., 2016). Overlaps were noted.

POSITIONALITY

Although this is not a comparative study, my identity as a U.S. citizen and U.S.-trained scholar makes it comparative in nature. I view the research from both an emic perspective (as an international scholar of higher education studying the internationalization of higher education), but predominantly

from an etic perspective (studying the functioning of a higher education culturally different from my own). My conceptions of reality are formed by my own frame of reference (Kezar, 2002). No knowledge is value-free and elements of the identity of the researcher such as national origin will influence results (Choi, 2006). Rather than asserting omniscience (Choi, 2006), I therefore openly and explicitly reference my U.S. foundation of comparison throughout.

FINDINGS

BROAD DEFINITION OF GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITY

Broadly, internationalization actors defined global responsibility along the following lines: The university, and me as a representative of the university, would probably define it as such: Through education and through research, we aim at solving the ‘wicked problems’ of the world and contributing to society, with experts and high-level research that would help the society, whether it is local society or global society, to solve the wicked problems of the future and today (Emma).

“Wicked problems” predominantly encompassed two interrelated problems: the environment and global inequity. “Education is one important thing in global responsibility because in countries that are not, so well, doing so well I think once you get the education level, then things will be better” (Joni).

Internationalization actors asserted that solutions to these problems were rooted in not only global but also local action. For example, “If you look at the climate, what I do here influences, quite negatively, somewhere else...” (Nella). “It is not that you should go to the underdeveloped countries to help them, but we should think what we should do better about the use of the resources around the globe. That’s much more difficult because we have to change our own lifestyle” (Joni). As such, this definition aligns with an equitable global social good agenda, as actors identified ways in which the world was unequal and suggested that it fell within their personal responsibility to address this global inequality.

Internationalization actors applied the concept of global responsibility broadly to encompass research, student outcomes, and multinational education cooperation. While they may exist independently, these are synergistic categories. For example, the student union’s involvement in development cooperation projects directly influenced student outcomes associated with global responsibility, and the development cooperation project existed because of students’ ability to exercise globally responsible development outcomes.

Regarding research, there was a sentiment that all researchers across disciplines had the potential to be globally responsible. Viivi suggests that globally responsible research should be:

[B]ased on [the researchers] own strength contribute to these problems ... So not ‘let’s concentrate our research topics based on ... where we can get the most external funding to this university’ but, we have to – the university should and must – also engage in research that tries to find answers to the huge global challenges ...

Still, it was not assumed that all research agendas would actively address environmentalism and global inequity; rather, researchers contributed via globally responsible behavior with their research results. One specific example that was repeatedly discussed was open access publication:

The scientific community is universal ... If a researcher here makes a paper then when he or she publishes the paper in the scientific magazine one copy of the article is also put in our publication archive, which is also available for everyone in the world. That is the way that we are doing open science. There are a lot of developing countries where there is not so much money to buy commercial scientific journals, but they can find the copy of the article from our publication archive (Onni).

Thus, the participants identified some institutional capacity to pursue of the global social good.

Regarding student outcomes, internationalization actors suggested that students' intercultural competence – recognition of their privilege, world citizenship, and global responsibility – were outcomes of a globally responsible education across all disciplines: “Even if you don't study social sciences ... It is the universities, quite large, task to teach them to think globally” (Nella). Students were expected to contribute to the global social good agenda. Thinking globally meaning “... understanding of belonging to a wider community, as in ‘I'm not just Finnish’ or whatever, but my role as a world citizen” (Sofia) and “Awakening the thinking of our young people that everybody can carry part of the responsibility” (Viivi). This finding aligns with those of Lehtomäki et al. (2018).

While participants could largely agree upon this foundation, there was disagreement about the ways in which Finnish institutions should engage with other countries and the people from those countries (predominantly in the category of multinational educational cooperation). Definitions and conceptions of global responsibility start to diverge when participants discuss the multinational educational cooperation, the motivations for global responsibility, and what global responsibility looks like in practice. While the broad definition of global responsibility largely aligned with a global social good agenda, divergent definitions demonstrate impediments to facilitating such an agenda. This division is discussed in the following section.

DIVERGENCE: TWO DEFINITIONS AND MOTIVATIONS FOR GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITY

The theoretical lens of Andreotti et al.'s (2016) triangle reveals a fundamental divergence in internationalization actors' motivations for global responsibility that influences definition. There are at least two distinct sub-definitions of global responsibility: the critical/liberal and the neoliberal. In alignment with Andreotti et al.'s (2016) supposition that there are interfaces in which these categories interact, individual actors' definitions often traversed these categorical boundaries. In fact, most participants identified agreement with some of the elements in both of these categories. The majority of participants presented the neoliberal definition of global responsibility as a logic that was not their own, but one that they surmised that the ministry promoted and/or institutional leaders promoted. However, at times, even actors who personally identified with the critical/liberal definition began to employ neoliberal rhetoric or practice. I refer to this as neoliberal creep. The difference between the two types of global responsibility can be observed by examining the difference in responses to internationalization policy initiatives such as international student tuition, educational export, and multinational cooperation. The following subsections elaborate on the distinction between these two sub-definitions of global responsibility.

Critical/liberal global responsibility

Participants whose motivations fell within the critical/liberal conception of global responsibility asserted that the purpose of global responsibility at the IHE was to use their privileged positions to advantage those in less privileged positions around the world: “People are not set up with equal opportunities and just because we are lucky enough it doesn't mean that we should enjoy more and let others not have their equality” (Nella) and “Although we also have our economic struggles here at our university. At the same time it is also important to remember there are partners who have nothing ... I think it's about recognizing where you are” (Laura). As identified, this recognition of privilege and global socioeconomic inequality is necessary for the pursuit of an equitable global social good agenda (Stein et al., 2016). In this way, participants who articulated the critical/liberal form of global responsibility aligned with what Stein (2017) calls the radical or transformationalist conception of global citizenship.

Internationalization actors that applied the critical/liberal definition of global responsibility found international student tuition for non-EU residents to be in opposition to global responsibility:

Personally, I feel quite guilty. It is a completely different ball game to charge 8000 euros per year. Then again, we do have a scholarship system where we can give 50% of the students...scholarship. That is based on purely merit and, not for example, your circumstances. It is really such a big change in the whole ethos of higher education (Sofia).

These actors were concerned about issues of international student access and equity – “Concretely, those international students who could come here may not be able to come here anymore” (Nella) – and allocating funds in a way that best serves those in less privileged positions:

There have been some talks about that Finland could use their development funds for scholarships for students who come from non-EU countries. But that again is something that we don't really support because it is kind of Finland putting the money back in its own pocket (Nella).

Therefore, internationalization actors that applied the critical/liberal definition of global responsibility were thinking beyond the national container, which is aligned with the equitable global social good agenda.

Multinational educational cooperation from within the critical/liberal frame still emphasized the mutual benefit of both parties but did not equate this mutual benefit to a dollar amount or for the purpose of prestige. Instead, multinational education cooperation was seen as a means of development cooperation for the purposes of social good.

If we just say that the university just conducts partnership agreements with the best universities that leaves out some of our partner universities in the developing countries with which we cooperate mostly to enhance capacity building ... That is a natural way, I think, for a university to engage itself in development cooperation. That is our tool for doing that ... To help them does not mean that there is nothing for us to gain from those partnerships. We gain a lot of things, huge things as well (Viivi).

In this way, those who employed the critical/liberal interpretation of global responsibility recognize that prestige is an incomplete measurement. Viivi identifies an institutional responsibility and mechanism to mediate global injustice, which is necessary for an equitable global social good agenda.

Neoliberal global responsibility

In contrast, the neoliberal conception of global responsibility employs the term global responsibility as a tool to capture prestige and revenue. “If we have partnerships, funding projects, with very different kinds of countries and partner institutions, it can help to polish our public image as a globally responsible actor and all this...” (Laura). Actors that employ this definition are motivated by institutional gain.

The logic of the neoliberal conception of global responsibility promotes prestigious and economically mutually beneficial multinational relationships. Those that employ this definition privilege cooperation agreements “among universities that are ranked among the highest universities in the respective countries” (Viivi) and might question “Why couldn't collaboration with Japan include global responsibility?” (Laura). While actions motivated by neoliberal global responsibility still attempt to address wicked problems, they fail to account for global economic and prestige imbalances, thus impeding the pursuit of an equitable global social good agenda.

Neoliberal global responsibility also incorporates a nationalist element. In the most neoliberal definition of global responsibility, the term is completely replaced with national responsibility:

It is more of a national responsibility, if that kind of term even existed Some people feel that it is actually the responsibility of the universities to charge tuition fees from people who are not contributing to society and contributing to the universities through paying taxes (Emma).

In this case, the global social good agenda is lost entirely, reverting back to nationally contained social justice. International students are considered to be non-contributors to society, the supposition being that society stops outside the EU borders. The focus on the wicked problems of the world – environmental destruction and global inequity – is completely absent. The economic argument is utilized to devalue, or in this case erase, the social good argument. This neoliberal conception of global responsibility is aligned with Shultz (2007) conception of neoliberal global citizenship.

CHALLENGES OF FACILITATING GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITY

Most of the participants identified their personal views in alignment with the critical/liberal definition of global responsibility, but they perceived structural impediments to the pursuit of critical/liberal global responsibility at the institutional level: “Everybody agrees on it, but nobody does anything, because it is difficult to do. If you want to do anything big then it becomes a political issue. It is not easy ...” (Joni). Thus, while many members shared the same critical/liberal vision of global responsibility, they felt blocked from pursuing this agenda. The reference to “political issue” is both institutional and ministerial.

High-level internationalization actors suggest that the trouble with actualizing global responsibility stems from the financing from the Ministry:

If the ministry wanted to give \$50 million to apply to global responsibility, then everybody would apply for the money, but if you have to put your own money for something which competes with something else then it is much more difficult. Because if you only get benefit of sort of image, that *you* are a good university because you help those people, that doesn't really help when you, at least on today's scheme in Finland, when the money comes from the scientific and educational output. You have to balance it and you don't have very much resources to put into it (Joni).

The logic of this internationalization actor leans towards the neoliberal. In this case, the actor does tie his responsibility directly to competition and economic outcomes rather than societal good. The benefit is seen in terms of image rather than contribution to solving the wicked problems of the world.

In general, the ministerial financial steering mechanisms identified by Joni do align with neoliberal policy observed in Canada and the U.S., which has had documented negative effects on the pursuit of equitable and ethical tertiary education (e.g. Ayers, 2005; Levin, 2001, 2017). In this case, the presence of neoliberal financial steering for all goals except global responsibility challenges to the pursuit of critical/liberal global responsibility. As another participant succinctly stated: “... if there is no steering or funding basis for those activities, then it is just wishful thinking” (Emma). This is an example of neoliberal creep: in the presence of a neoliberal environment, participants came to request additional neoliberal financial steering as a way to protect their non-neoliberal mission.

Participants provided several examples of the way in which this the absence of global responsibility being tied to the funding structure impaired and disincentivized the pursuit of critical/liberal global responsibility. One recurring example was the ministry cut to the North, South, South program. Through this program, the ministry gave small grants to programs to fund cooperation in the Global South. When the Ministry ended the program, the university recognized its global responsibility to continue to support the partnerships formed by the program and responded by contributing university funding to support some of the cooperation started by North, South, South. However, participants recognize that, without financial support of the Ministry, the institution is severely limited in what it can accomplish.

We couldn't take all on board. We don't have the money, so we had to select a few...and those universities ... [that] didn't have any funds of their own for implementing mobilities of teachers researchers students those are now waiting (Viivi).

It is reasonable to assume that without contact, over time, these linkages that did not receive funding will start to deteriorate.

Actors also believe that even those linkages that were funded by the university are in jeopardy.

... now these agreements are expiring and I don't know what will happen with them because it is difficult to propose the renewal of such agreements and where we don't have external funding without the backbone of the renewed strategy (Viivi).

Thus, internationalization actors rely on the institutionalization of critical/liberal global responsibility to continue to pursue an equitable global social good agenda. Participants believe that properly incentivizing and clarifying the goals of global responsibility within the critical/liberal frame at an institutional and ministerial level is what would keep globally responsible initiatives in continuance.

Without institutionalized policy, then actors are constrained to “small things you can do on your own operation. You don't do anything that is against global responsibility, and that doesn't cost anything” (Joni). This is again an example of neoliberal creep: actors transitioned from actively addressing social injustice to simply not actively engaging in social injustice.

Internationalization actors characterize the ministry as interested primarily in the pursuit of neoliberal global responsibility: suggesting that the ministry is interested in promoting global responsibility for the purpose of marketization.

The ministry wanted the universities to become more international for sure, but not because of global responsibility but, at least in my view, it was because they wanted the universities to be more competitive with other universities around the globe (Joni).

Participants suggested that changes in the internationalization strategy have encouraged the partnerships that fall within the category of neoliberal global responsibility.

But maybe the most recent changes in our higher education policy have made the space more narrow in the sense that we are constantly requested to prioritize all these high ranked partnerships with high ranking universities and we are asked, ‘what we are going to gain with this?’, ‘is it going to cost us more money?’ (Laura).

Thus, in practice, the neoliberal interpretation of global responsibility is again ill aligned with the pursuit of an equitable global social good agenda. In this case, actors are asked what they can get for themselves and their own institutions by forming powerful alliances. This is considerably different than the original definition articulated by practitioners, that aimed to address the wicked problems of the world by recognizing their privilege and the ways in which they can mediate injustice.

DISCUSSION

The critical/liberal sub-definition of global responsibility aligns with a global social good agenda. For example, it is ideologically compatible with SDG 4.b – UNESCO's assignment for tertiary education – “substantially expand globally the number of scholarships available to developing countries, in particular least developed countries, small island developing States and African countries, for enrolment in higher education ...” (UNESCO, 2015, p.17). Whereas the neoliberal sub-definition of global responsibility is incompatible with this goal. Those that employ a critical/liberal frame challenge themselves to not only recognize their global privilege but also their responsibility to correct for global inequality and contribute to a better world. However, since this investigation did not disentangle the critical and liberal frames, it is unclear in what ways participants understood historic and systemic injustice on which the global university system is built (Stein, 2016; Stein et al., 2016). Future research should further disentangle the critical/liberal definitions.

The neoliberal conception of global responsibility at this critical case demonstrates disconcerting neoliberal creep that will likely lead to increasingly inequitable internationalization. If neoliberal creep

is influencing internationalization at this institution, then it is likely happening at most institutions (Flyvbjerg, 2006). University internationalization efforts can and do contribute to global social inequality when policies are left unquestioned (Stein, 2016). Neoliberal global responsibility manifests many of the ethical perils of internationalization identified by neoliberal and critical internationalization scholars, such as assumptions of an equal playing field, win-win situations, nationalism, selective recognition of difference, and knowledge as universal (e.g. Harvey, 2007; Stein, 2016). The most salient examples documented here is the decision to charge international student tuition while offering only merit-based aid, as well as the decision to strategically partner with more economically stable IHEs. In alignment with the theory of coloniality (Quijano, 2007), these decisions serve to reproduce global structural inequity by continuing to privilege those who have been historically privileged.

While most international actors fell predominantly within the critical/liberal frame, they employed neoliberal language to discuss the limitations of enacting practice related to their conception of global responsibility. Members noted that, unlike other ministry mandates, there is no funding attached to global responsibility. As such, international actors are steered towards economically advantageous partnerships. In the absence of a funding mechanism, the internationalization actors were free to define global responsibility as they wish. However, this also means that they cannot be awarded funding for accomplishing the mission. Other missions with direct funding were instead prioritized. This is to say that neoliberal State offered what appeared as freedom but, in practice, further constrained action (Harvey, 2007). Actors transitioned from actively addressing global inequity to passively considering global inequity. This eventuality is well supported by international literature (e.g. Ayers, 2005; Levin, 2001, 2017; Ward, 2012). The case illustrates that, regardless of the guise of institutional autonomy, globally responsible ideals are best transposed into concrete action when the ideals are formally institutionalized and tied to national funding mechanisms. As such, the decision to omit global responsibility entirely from 2017 to 2025, national internationalization strategy will likely exacerbate this problem (Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture, 2017). Policy makers interested in a global social good agenda should consider reintroducing the global responsibility mandate – with a clearly articulated critical/liberal definition – into the national strategy. This mandate should have a funding mechanism.

Finland has a history of resistance to neoliberalism (Simola et al., 2013), but it is unclear if they will continue to do so in the case of global responsibility. The conflicting discourses suggest that they must soon choose to maintain their national identity of an open, ethical, and egalitarian society (Eidhof et al., 2016) by aligning with a critical/liberal definition of global responsibility, or choose to allow neoliberalism to guide global responsibility initiatives, thus succumbing to the global pressure of neoliberal hegemony indirectly imported from the U.S. (Nokkala, 2012). This research can help practitioners, both within Finland and globally, openly identify that which they are resisting and that which they are promoting. Naming the action provides a platform from which to discuss and resist this mechanism of global social injustice (Boris, 2005).

This case should serve as a reminder, consistent with previous scholarship, that positively connotated terms and initiatives do not inherently promote a global social good agenda (Shults, 2007; Vander Dussen Toukan, 2017). Shults (2007) demonstrated that the pursuit of UNESCO goals is not in and of itself ethical, because neoliberal practices enacted in the name of the global good can serve to reproduce global structural inequity. Very much along these lines, when global responsibility is conflated with neoliberal motivations, it becomes another tool for prestige seeking instead of the advancement of a global social good agenda. Consistent with the literature (e.g. Shultz, 2007; Stein et al., 2016; Metcalfe & Fenwick, 2009; Ozaga, 2007; Vander Dussen Toukan, 2017), neoliberal ideology does not recognize power and privilege differentials internationally and therefore perpetuates global inequity (Harvey, 2007). Therefore, the ideological roots and motivations actors matters.

For those in economically powerful countries, consider what you can import of this form of global responsibility from Finland. The critical/liberal definition of global responsibility provided a tangible example for scholars and practitioners to peer outside the neoliberal hegemony and envision a means

of pursuing a globally socially good agenda. Internationalization actors should draw from this case to apply what can be translated to their own cultural contexts. Nonetheless, recognize that this case is limited in scope. This case and these participants were specifically chosen because they were hypothesized to be the most likely to exhibit non-neoliberal rhetoric in an economically powerful country. As such, the application of the critical/liberal definition of global responsibility in heavily neoliberal environments is likely to be even more challenging. Future research should explore the ways in which definitions of global responsibility differ in other contexts and nations.

CONCLUSION

Broadly, global responsibility is the universities' guiding ethical mission to address the global problems of the world – primarily environmentalism and global inequity – through internationalization activities. This manifests as three interrelated areas of student development, research, and multinational cooperation. Globally responsible student outcomes are those associated with global citizenship and intercultural competence (Jokikokko, 2005), and specifically, recognition of global privilege and responsibility to the world (Shultz, 2007). Globally responsible research focuses on these global problems and/or on the ethical dissemination of research findings and partnerships. However, these definitions – particularly the definition of globally responsible multinational cooperation – shift depending on the sub-type of global responsibility practiced by institutional member. Both the neoliberal and critical/liberal sub-definitions of global responsibility are in consensus on some issues relating to domestic affairs, in terms of research and the education of Finnish citizens. However, the conceptions begin to deviate when discussing people from other countries and multinational cooperation.

Those motivated by the critical/liberal conception of global responsibility viewed multinational cooperation as a means of recognizing global privilege and utilizing that privilege to address the wicked problems of the world. Encompassed in the mission of critical/liberal global responsibility is the service to those hailing from historically disadvantaged nations. Thus, this sub-definition of global responsibility was well aligned with the pursuit of a global social good agenda. Critical/liberal global responsibility serves as an example of practitioners resisting the naturalized assumptions of neoliberal internationalization.

Those motivated by the neoliberal conception of global responsibility viewed multinational cooperation as a means to achieve prestige and revenue. Internationalization was a tool for producing higher quality research by partnering with prestigious peers, thus producing superior research results. While those from the critical/liberal perspective recognized and took responsibility for their global privilege, those operating within the neoliberal frame largely ignored this privilege. Instead, those operating from the neoliberal sub-definition employed nationalist arguments to rebuke responsibility. Those who operated from this perspective did not fully recognize the world as an unequal playing field or did not feel that it was their responsibility to mediate global inequality. As such, this sub-definition did not lend itself to a global social good agenda.

Internationalization actors in Finland appear to be recognizing that they are pursuing a very anti-neoliberal agenda in an increasingly neoliberal State. Participants identify neoliberal steering via funding mechanisms to transition critical/liberal global responsibility to neoliberal global responsibility. From the perspective of these actors, their ability to conduct critical/liberal internationalization was increasingly limited by the ministry. Future research should study the ways in which members of the ministry conceptualize global responsibility.

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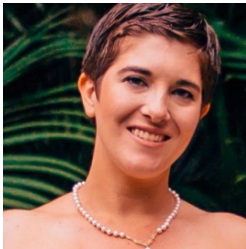
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BIOGRAPHY



Tiffany Viggiano is a doctoral candidate and practitioner. As a critical internationalization scholar, much of her work focuses on issues of equity and access as these concepts relate to internationalization. She is interested in the ways in which the perceptions of institutional actors influence global social justice. Often publishing on topics relating to the community college, she aims to tie empirical critical internationalization scholarship to the work that practitioners do in the field. She can be reached at tvigg001@ucr.edu.

THIS DISSERTATION, composed of three unique scholarly articles, explores some of the ways in which institutions of higher education facilitate and mitigate social injustice on a global scale. Specifically analyzing the behavior of administrative actors—defined as those that serve in a leadership role outside of the classroom—the purpose of the research was twofold. Firstly, I aimed to identify mechanisms by which administrative actors at U.S. and Finnish institutions of higher education legitimized and rationalized their involvement in globally unjust educational practices. Secondly, I sought to identify ways in which administrative actors in these economically privileged countries can or have mitigated their institutions' involvement in global structural injustice. The results of this research suggest that administrative actors can begin to mitigate their role in global social injustice by thinking critically, recognizing their agency in mediating injustice, and commissioning others to do the same.