

Paula Mattila

UNDER A BRIGHT STAR

Conceptualisation of Polytechnic Internationalisation, a Case study



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**Under a Bright Star
Conceptualisation of
Polytechnic
Internationalisation,
a Case Study**

Paula Mattila

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PREFACE

The subject of the present research deals with one of the key trends in education over the last decade or so: internationalisation. The boom in the internationalisation of education started somewhere at the beginning of the 1990s and seems to have no end.

In the process of this study I have tried to shed light on what was understood by higher education internationalisation when the phenomenon still had an air of a novelty in the 1990s. My sphere of research is that of the Finnish polytechnics, which were also a novelty introduced into the Finnish education system simultaneously with the mass internationalisation of higher education. The word "internationalisation" was used in a huge variety of contexts varying from an institution's advertisements to curriculum design to national educational strategies. My pre-understanding at the outset of this study was that the actors of higher education internationalisation did a lot of their work without an in-depth analysis of the driving forces or motivations of what they were actually promoting. The implications of different political, social, historical etc. phenomena were not studied but rather taken for granted as the driving forces of internationalisation.

The roots of the internationalisation of higher education institutions lie back in history: a well-known fact is that Finns sought higher learning at the universities in Central Europe in the Middle Ages. Research has "always" been international. Those who worked in higher education in the 1990s, however, witnessed the real boom of internationalisation. This is undoubtedly tied to some global trends beyond education, one of which has been the transformation of work and corporate activity: work is more knowledge intensive than ever before and companies are more bound to stakeholder value than national interests.

Parallel with the transformation of work, has been a political break-through of depatriotism or neopatriotism which in Finland is epitomised by the membership of the European Union since 1995, reflected in reactions where Finland is greeted as the best pupil in the EU classroom.

A third trend or change which is shaping education and internationalisation has been the surge of information technology which has rendered communication as extremely swift and painless while it is making cultures meet and blur in ways that are obviously not only beneficial. While information and communication technologies (ICT) are making our work smoother than ever, we are threatened by landslides of information, which are hard to tackle.

As I will demonstrate later, internationalisation was one of the big issues of the polytechnic system from the outset. The author of this study took in a small way part in establishing one of these institutions, Laurea Polytechnic, originally launched as Vantaa Temporary Polytechnic (VAMK) in the City of Vantaa in 1991, expanded through mergers into Espoo-Vantaa Polytechnic at several locations in the Province of Uusimaa in 1996, and eventually licensed as Laurea Polytechnic in 2000. My particular experience in polytechnic internationalisation began in VAMK where I was appointed as full-time coordinator of international affairs in 1995. As the polytechnic grew, my position was changed into project manager and eventually director of international affairs. I resigned from Laurea at the end of the year 2001 to take up a position with the Finnish National Board of Education.

As I had no predecessors in my job at VAMK/Laurea and as there was no clear-cut common action policy for internationalising a polytechnic either, I felt I needed to examine the concept of internationalisation in depth. Such an opportunity offered itself as I was invited to join the group of the polytechnic's staff who were studying for post-graduate degrees starting in 1995-96. An insight based on research would obviously form an essential tool in my work and perhaps even for Finnish education internationalisation in general. To begin with, I realised there had been extremely little research done on education internationalisation in Finland.

One of the reasons why the phenomenon of internationalisation was hard to tackle for educators was the obvious fact that it basically came from outside the sphere of education, thus requiring an understanding of several disciplines, including business, history and the political sciences to name the most pertinent ones. The concept was particularly unwieldy also in the sense that it seemed to be growing and shifting from month to month as things progressed in politics and economy in Finland and abroad. One of my early ideas (which came from a Finnish-Estonian seminar on national defence cooperation I happened to attend in 1999) was to look for points where Finnish security politics might be involved in the process of the educational internationalisation. This is why I have included a chapter on aspects of Finnish foreign policy in the study.

For a while I followed the prolific information reported in the media about Finnish internationalisation in general. This put me on the track of a phenomenon parallel to internationalisation, that of globalisation. I have written a chapter on this in an attempt to show where and how we started to relate internationalisation to this, obviously more elusive concept.

Time passed and my research was not finished as planned. The development of internationalisation at my polytechnic and in higher education went on, without my scholarly findings on the subject. At VAMK/Evamk/Laurea we tied the development of internationalisation to the overall development of the polytechnic, making progress, to some extent at least, by learning by doing, in a very practical way.

The data I had collected for the present study – a number of interviews with VAMK international actors - was fascinating in itself, worth publishing as individual statements on the topics of my research. I recorded some emergent findings while going through that data for the first times, getting curious about conceptions of early polytechnic internationalisation. With the support of a new post-graduate study group with my present employer, I have been able to continue my work.

Presently there are some scientific monographs already available on the subject of internationalisation of higher education in Finland. Also, as numerous quotations below will show, the European and global (sic!) discussion concerning higher education internationalisation is active. Looking today at what is said in the media and on the Internet on higher education internationalisation, one could perhaps contend that it is still perhaps searching for its ways and limits. For one thing, the rationales or the underlying motivations are still often absent in the official discourse just as they were in the mid 1990s. You can still observe seriously put notions like, we have to internationalise as life around us is getting so internationalised or, the market is expecting us to do so. Who are us, i.e. what roles do the actors of internationalisation assume at institutional, national and wider levels? And who are the “market” and the other powers that are pushing us to internationalise? This study is an attempt to give some answers through a case study..

Helsinki, 2006

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1 A MAINLY SOCIOLOGICALLY ORIENTED UNDERSTANDING ABOUT INTERNATIONALISATION IN EDUCATION

1.1 Looking for a scientific-philosophical framework for this study

As regards internationalisation in education, it has been not been possible for me to find a comprehensive ontology or a description of the 'nature of existence' (as my Oxford English Dictionary paraphrases this philosophical term) of this phenomenon. Such a description should include assumptions about man and society i.e. how and what do we know about such entities as man and society and their ways of constructing meanings which, in this case, can be described as education and internationalisation. There is a recorded conceptual unclarity about higher education internationalisation (Söderqvist 2002, 31) as well as a lack of an ontology related discussion (ibid., 59).

Yet internationalisation is and has been a loaded term in both Finnish education and in education world-wide since the beginning of the 1990s (cf. Knight 1999, Ollikainen 1999, Söderqvist 2002). It has been possible to address the educational audiences about the importance of internationalisation with energetic actions resulting in student exchanges, cooperation projects, internationalised curricula. But what has actually happened in the educational arena as well as in the minds of Finnish educators and their colleagues elsewhere, when schools, teachers have readily reacted to the signal of internationalisation? We do not all react similarly to globalisation.

Was there something that made internationalisation feel good and globalisation bad from the outset? In the ensuing chapters I will make references to articles in the Finnish media in the 1990s that were highlighting the internationalisation of higher education with this positive undertone; simultaneously the media started to reflect the globalisation process of the Finnish industries with more dubious notes. I have not seen an excerpt yet that would say Finnish higher education is going global; and I think there is a research gap in where there is a lack of analysis about whether and in which ways Finnish higher education was servicing the globalisation of Finnish and other industries through the internationalisation fervor.

Having been a small-scale but central actor in the VAMK/Evamk/Laurea internationalisation play, I was in a strategic position to find out – even as if post-festum – what the central messages were in the process of making one polytechnic international, what authorities were sending the messages and by whom and how they were received.

This study will mainly be an analysis of the conceptions of VAMK internationalisation actors, managers, teachers, students, about what took place when VAMK was being internationalised. My main tool will be the genuine verdicts, including metaphors, as recorded in the interviews I held at VAMK in 1997.

There is a recorded lack of discussion on who defines what internationalisation in education should be (see e.g. Numminen 1990, 66, Adatia-Sandström, 1998, for the situation in Sweden, Bond & Lemasson, 1999, for Canada). To my knowledge, there are two Finnish doctoral studies that come close to the research domain I am presenting in this study: Ollikainen (1999) and Söderqvist (2002). Internationalisation more widely has not received much study either: Söderqvist's doctoral dissertation pertains to the sphere of business focussing on higher education management of internationalisation. According to Söderqvist, the first studies on international business were published in the early 1950s (Söderqvist, 55). Ollikainen used the methods of educational sociology in his doctoral study on the Europeanisation of Finnish education policy showing how argumentation devised on the European level soon became incorporated in national policy texts. Ollikainen concentrates on the policy level texts in his study.

Adatia-Sandström's dissertation comes close to the present study in time but it concentrates on studying curricula of one particular field of study, nursing science in Sweden. Koskinen's dissertation (2003) sets its sphere within Finnish liberal adult education at a time which is more recent than in the present study, but some of the focus is interestingly similar: that of the internationalisation experienced by the teachers and students of the institutions in question. Her study is culturally oriented.

Thinking of the present research, the first question would be: why has it been carried out within the framework of educational sciences? Related, and perhaps more apt sciences would have been provided by business, history, politics, sociology, even philosophy. The pragmatic answer is, education is the profession of the present author and the research concerns the conceptions of other education professionals as well as students, upon a phenomenon within a particular level of education and even within one particular educational institution.

Sociology in education requires both empirical analysis and a theoretical discussion that goes beyond the empirical; and research done in this sphere is always a direct or indirect contribution to a political or pedagogical discussion (Antikainen 1992, 16). Internationalisation in education would certainly deserve more study as to what exactly was happening within this area of the society over the past ten years or so. The present study is perhaps closest to educational sociology as I am hoping to have a say in the political and, perhaps also the pedagogical discussion concerning internationalisation in education. By this I mean to encourage those involved in educational internationalisation to ask questions, openly and analytically, of why and for whom they conduct their activity. Thus I am taking an emancipatory approach in my study (cf. Mahlamäki-Kultanen 1998, 15).

The role of education has varied greatly at different times and in different countries due to changing cultural and political situations (e.g. Antikainen 1992, Niiniluoto 1994). Education is guided by the values, norms and actions that are inherent to a particular culture. A change in a society is followed by a change in the goals and problems concerning education. On the other hand, education can be seen as a mechanism for organising society. (Antikainen quoting Mayer, *ibid.*)

Italian sociologist Antonio Gramsci has postulated that schools and education do not merely teach us facts about the world, but also attitudes towards these facts. The ruling powers, Gramsci's ideological hegemonies, seek to legitimate their position through the creation and perpetuation of a belief system. One's relationship to an ideological hegemony is of necessity also a pedagogical relationship. (Burrell & Morgan 1987, 289, Antikainen 1992, 47.)

Erving Goffman has presented a theory of social life as theatre: we do not do useful things because they are useful; we do them in order to make them look useful (Goffman 1971). French existentialist Jean-Paul Sartre examined the relationship of consciousness and reality i.e. basically, the confrontation of man's subjectivism vs. objectivism. Sartre invites us into a café to see how the waiter dances through the choreography of the role of a waiter with the eagerness of his movement and expressions revealing the show he is putting on for us, the customers. This might reflect something of the situation Finnish polytechnic educators were in when working on the internationalisation of their schools: *"there is the dance of the grocer, of the tailor, of the auctioneer, by which they endeavour to persuade their clientele that they are nothing but a grocer, an auctioneer, a tailor"*. (Burrell & Morgan 1987, 303-305.)

More recently, the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu has been investigating what he calls symbolic violence; the legitimating process of symbols and meanings run by the societal elites. Symbolic violence is taking place when the socio-economical elite gives verdicts that are ultimately found acceptable even by those outside the elite. The following globalisation-related example that is directly referring to Bourdieu's notion, comes from a Finnish Parliament publication discussing social capital (the author's translation from Finnish): "*The nation-state must adapt to globalisation as, according to the elite, 'there is no other choice'.*" (Eduskunta 2002.)

Who were the clients, who were the patrons or "elite" as regarded the polytechnic educators that had taken on the role to make the polytechnic international? What forms did their "waiter's dance" take? How aware were we Vamkians and our colleagues elsewhere of the roles of each player and of the various expectations that moulded those roles? Were the roles assumed deliberately or un-awares? These are some of the key questions of this study.

The rapid changes in the societies of the latter half of the 20th century, and with regard to this study, those of internationalisation and globalisation, make educators ask the question: what is the real implication of these two phenomena to education; what ways are there to interpret these conceptions and what does it matter whether we give them one meaning instead of another? Why do we internationalise: what are the goals, what is the environment this all is taking place in, with regard to societies on one hand, and the individual on the other, and what are the controls and what are we doing this all for anyway, i.e. what are the underlying values. As this study is placed somewhat precariously within educational sciences, the basic values may be different from the values that are taken for granted for education, like 'the good of man', 'human growth' or maintaining what is good and valuable in a society.

A further question that will arise as regards the ontology of internationalisation, is that of determinism vs. indeterminism - do we internationalise or are we internationalised? And, in the case of Finnish educators, and more specifically, the polytechnics, who are 'we', i.e. who are the subjects and objects of internationalisation? Söderqvist quotes Burrell & Morgan and others as she explicates the problems of setting the ontological framework in such research as is related to the sphere of the present one. She speaks of a reality that is either 'out there' or something produced by one's mind (Söderqvist, 58-59). As the present study draws mainly on empirical data, interviews, a recorded discourse, it is not significant to study the truthfulness of the information people in a discourse produce,

but instead, rely on the truth people produce while relating it (Launis 1994, 30, Mahlamäki-Kultanen 1998, 14).

Antikainen (1992, 22) refers to Weber's interpretative approach in sociology where the understanding of history even at its micro-level is crucial in interpreting and assigning meaning to phenomena. Like Weber, Antikainen sees man more as subject than object and the events adhering to a phenomenon, more like a process than a structure. Certainly polytechnic internationalisation was more like a process – of learning by doing, perhaps – than a structure, as there was no real given structure, as I will contend further on.

Is internationalisation the dog that wags the tail, i.e. schools and institutions, or teachers and students, and makes them do tricks that are called international, or is it the other way round? Do the individuals have a part to play – further on will I try to show they have, in a minor way at least. How conscious are the players of the internationalisation process(es) about the driving forces behind it? Probably one should not forget to ask what all this accumulating action is taking place for; or who is it for? How much internationalisation took place, for instance, in the Finnish polytechnics in the 1990s because of the fact that it was one of the criteria decreed in the temporary Polytechnic Act for the assessment of polytechnics for the so-called permanent licence? Whose will was it then, ultimately?

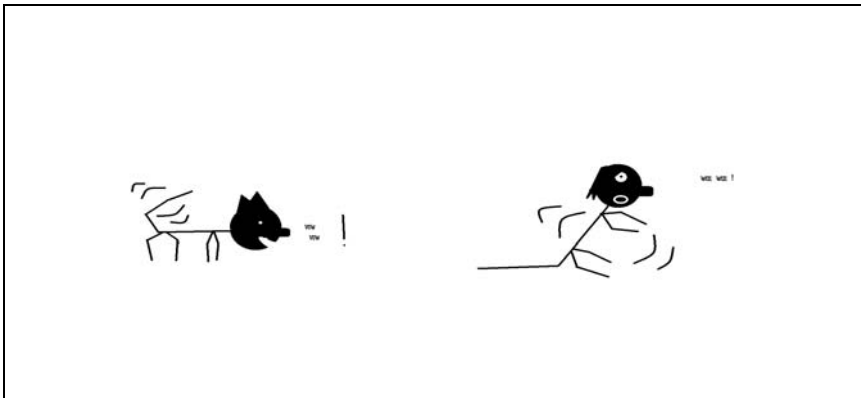


Figure 1. (Courtesy of Ilpo Palosara). The philosophic dilemma of 'who's wagging what'?

I would like to emphasise the sociological approach in this study, as my pre-understanding is that education does not have a leading role in the over-all in-

ternationalisation of societies. The situation has changed from the previous decades when there was plenty of debate for World Studies or Internationalisation Education with foundations e.g. in the UN Declaration of Human Rights with third countries and solidarity issues playing a major part (Hicks & Townley 1982, 7, Johansson 1997, 31).

In the 1990s education seemed to become a minor character in a big drama called Globalisation. Education has very few lines in its own language in this play as the scanty research shows. It is not difficult to find policy papers, guidelines and best-practice compendia on internationalisation, Europeanisation, and even global education, but the analysis of why these trends should be promoted in education is evasive.

1.2 Internationalisation as a post-modern play

Paraphrasing Zygmunt Bauman, sociologist and professor emeritus of Leeds University in a radio broadcast in February 1999, there is a lot of movement in the world but we do not know where we are going. We want us a lot of freedom; and are paying for it with a lot of uncertainty. Our ethical norms have remained as old as Adam where as we have access to technology and information that are progressing at immense pace. About thirty years earlier sociologists believed in universalism, which was like, what we want to do and should do. Now we are driven by globalisation, which is something that is mystically happening to us. Along with globalisation, the meaning of the nation state is deteriorating. From subjects, it seems, we are turning into objects, outsiders. (Vaarakallio, 1999.)

Niiniluoto (1994, 173) and Wuorio (1995) discuss Goethe's play *Dr. Faust*, arguing that a Faustic society had been developing in Europe, especially towards the turn of the millennium. Europe has harnessed technology, science, education and even religion as the engines for economic growth. By pursuing this eternal growth, it is claimed that man's happiness, freedom and wellbeing can be forever enhanced. This development is questioned by environmental problems and the accelerating segregation in our society between those who have and those who have not. Whose is the will driving the modern Faust?

If the effects of globalisation on economics, politics or communications are obvious, not much attention has been paid to education, however. The willpower driving economical development and integration does not recognise national responsibilities pertaining to the sphere of culture and education, but as a constraint (Bond & Lemasson 1999).

For the nation states, the reasons for the 'play' would be issues tied to security (external and internal); production, i.e. enhancing lucrative industries in the country; and welfare and culture (Allardt 1987, 204).

From the discussion in the ensuing chapters, I think two sets of values can be discerned in the policies of internationalisation. One is "hard", representing business, economical competitiveness, security issues and 'Faustic' matters, but also making a livelihood in general. The other set of values stands for "soft" humanistic objectives in internationalisation, such as those suggested by Bauman's universalism above and related movements. This softer trend can be found, for example, in many UN programmes aiming at an international, or rather, global understanding of man and his cultures, personal enrichment, equal opportunities and a promotion of peace and sustainable development.

This double values setting would seem to be reflected in two different approaches concerning the internationalisation of education. A rough characterisation of such values would be saying that one is a set of measures promoting the production of an internationally qualified and thus lucrative work force. The other would then be the "traditional" world studies or internationalisation education promoting world peace and the good of man. (Cf. Söderqvist 2002, of a higher education internationalisation discourse she calls "Towards a Multicultural and more Equal World, pp. 110-115, see also Johansson's licentiate thesis, Johansson 1997.)

Here we already have some answers to the question about what internationalisation is supposed to be like, by whom and where it is defined. At a high international level it is certainly the large multi- or transnational enterprises and political, political-commercial, humanitarian etc. organisations, like Coca Cola, Microsoft, Nokia on one hand, the European Union, the European Communities, or the United Nations, WTO/GATS, G 8, on the other, as well as global NGOs like At-tac. The next levels involve the nation states as well as the industries at national level. Coming closer to the level of institutions, there are regional, local and individual players who can set the rationales for educational internationalisation.

2 PURPOSE, SPHERE AND STRUCTURE OF THIS RESEARCH

The basis of this research, as suggested in the preface, is the fact that internationalisation was one of the trendiest concepts in education in Finland and in Europe in the 1990s, often brought close to nonsense through much repetition in educational discourse. My main aim has been to explore the various 1990s concepts of this word in the context of the creation of a polytechnic sector as a new form of education.

Secondly, and this is where the concrete aspects of my research have been derived, I have explored a practical case, i.e. the concept of internationalisation at Vantaa Temporary Polytechnic or VAMK, in the mid 1990s. I have tried to see how what has been experienced there fits in the conceptual, theoretical framework I have established based on existing theory and some personal judgements, and how such a practical case could be helpful in expanding existing theory. It will be a discourse with theory making practice comprehensible and vice versa.

As suggested above, the focus on the present study is in a way the search for those values and willpowers that were driving educational internationalisation. The research approach has not been based solely on a discursive analytical approach, where the relationship between the data and the supposed reality are following a single chosen, strict course of analysis. The interviews that are the key data in this research have been interpreted as a medium to both describe and construct reality (cf. Launis 1994, 30). One has to appreciate the constructive nature of memory; a person who observes a phenomenon, a thing that passes, fills in gaps based on previously gained or other available information (Gröhn & Jussila 1992, 10-11). It is obvious that the informants create a new reality out of what has been taking place – and so does the researcher who has eight years more experience than her informants! The methods of the research and the role of the researcher will be examined in detail in the empirical part of this study.

The literature on the concept of internationalisation in education is scarce as described above. My ambitious objective is to add a new monograph to that literature, and the research domain being so ultimately international, I have chosen to write the monograph in English from the beginning.

Research Problems

The research problems include,

- What kind of definitions were there for internationalisation and globalisation in the 1990s, especially from the point of view of tertiary level and polytechnic education?
- What is the wider societal background of the Finnish polytechnic education internationalisation as seen from the points of view of history, economics and politics, the latter mainly from the point of view of security politics?
- What are the driving forces or rationales of higher education internationalisation and how do they relate to the above background theory?
- What kind of concepts can be detected and described in the case of one particular polytechnic going international; how do they relate to the theoretical framework attained through answering the first three questions, and do they reveal some new theory?

What the Research Covers

The research has been targeted at the field of polytechnic education in Finland. Of necessity, with the empirical data being from the latter part of the 1990s, this has set the most concrete time frame for the research domain. The entire 1990s development process of tertiary education internationalisation will be examined to some extent however with some glimpses into the new millennium.

In the general theory part I have looked at definitions of internationalisation more generally. In looking for theory for internationalisation in a polytechnic, I have explored some theory and experience of higher education institutions abroad, as theory concerning the internationalisation of Finnish polytechnics is limited. In trying to set a historical-political framework for the research domain, I have made a brief overview of Finland's internationalisation in general.

Except for what is made known through the study of the empirical data, the research does not go into the actual contents or methods of internationalisation in education. For example, no suggestions of what should be taught or what experiences should students be given to make internationalisation effective have been given.

Research structure

The structure of this research is rather an exact reflection of the research process. To begin with, I had to decide which science the study should be accommodated in and found the answer close to educational sociology (Chapter 2). I

also studied definitions of the word 'internationalisation' and related terms, such as globalisation (Chapter 4). The research problem was at first, as described in the Preface, a rather diffuse understanding about VAMK and many other higher education institutions going international in the mid 1990s as there was a general wish or demand "in the air" to get internationalised. One could surmise in Finland that "the wish" had to do with our country's EU integration process – which again obviously was a complex process tied to national and transnational economics as well as security politics (as I try to show in Chapter 5).

Concentrating on higher education internationalisation, I studied definitions about that phenomenon and being driven by a wish to understand the driving forces behind it, next focussed on the rationales of higher education internationalisation (Chapter 6). I then explained what the situation with Finnish polytechnic internationalisation was at the focal time of this study showing, at national level mainly, what expectations, support and funding were available (Chapter 7). Having obtained a tool in the rationales analysis to examine my research data, I first described what the data was like and what my research approach was (Chapter 8) and then set out to see what conceptions could be detected in the VAMK international actors' verdicts forming the data (Chapter 9). In Findings and Discussion (Chapter 10), I present issues of interest found in the data and suggest areas for further study.

3 DEFINING KEY CONCEPTS

3.1 International – Internationalism - Internationalisation

The interviews forming the empirical data of the present study regularly included a question about how the interviewees would define the word 'kansainvälisyys', which can be translated either as internationalism or internationalisation. Often the interviewer had to prompt the respondent somehow, as a definition of the term would not readily come to the mind of the interviewee. Basically the interviewees were free to use any words and phrases that first came to their mind. But as several of them said, it is by no means very easy to define internationalisation:

"...this internationalisation, you can deal with it in so many ways. So it isn't any superficial stamp that you can put on something, saying, now we go into internationalisation, but instead, it should be something of your daily routines."

(Teacher 3 in the research interviews)

Looking for the conceptions of internationalisation more generally, a few paraphrases found from a variety of sources. The word as such - or the related adjective - is surprisingly hard to find either in Finnish or in English dictionaries or encyclopaedias, which readily offer the word as an adjective linked with concepts such as law or politics or trade and economics, and sometimes sport or theatre. They also often mention international education (cf. world studies, global education; this is however not the focus of this study) but internationalisation in the sense of mobility between educational establishments, for example, was missing.

The reading I did for the theoretical or background part of this study largely took place after the interviews. The notion of globalisation comes up a few times in my empirical data, but it was still not part of "my repertoire" in the year of the interviews, 1997. It was not part of the EU jargon either, focussing on European dimension the more emphatically. I would certainly have included questions or made references to globalisation had I been more familiar with the phenomenon at the time of the interviews. In 1999 when I was first doing my readings to examine the data, it had become common in the media. Out of this more recent interest I have also looked for explanations for the words 'global' and 'globalisation' in dictionaries and encyclopaedias.

Some of my quotations below are already from a few decades back as I think it is useful to include them to show the process of adopting internationalisation and globalisation into our 'official' conceptual world so to speak.

Finnish Nykysuomen sanakirja (Dictionary of Present-day Finnish 1978) states for the Finnish word for "international" "kansainvälinen" which literally translates as "between-nations": "Between different nations or states, having to do with them, referring to, binding, obliging or common to them". This edition does not have the Finnish words for global or globalisation "globaali", "globalisaatio".

My home dictionary, the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English* (Oxford 1985) has served me faithfully for about twenty years. It gives the following paraphrase for 'internationalism': "The doctrine that the common interests of nations are greater and more important than their differences." The dictionary does not have a paraphrase for 'internationalisation', but it gives one for the verb 'to internationalize': "bring under the combined control or protection of all or many nations".

A very different paraphrase is given by Hyperdictionary, which is an Internet-based computer dictionary and for me even more essential and apt as an aid with English words, than the *Oxford*. It defines 'internationalisation' similarly as the *Oxford* defined the verb 'internationalize': "the act of bringing something under international control".

The German *Duden - Deutsches Universalwörterbuch* (1983) does not have "internationalism" but gives the following explanation for "international": "1. zwischen mehreren Staaten bestehend; zwischenstaatlich. 2. über den Rahmen des Staates hinausgehend, nicht national begrenzt, mehrere Staaten betreffend, überstaatlich, weltweit". Basically these translate as do the paraphrases in the Dictionary of Present-day Finnish. However, through "überstaatlich" "beyond national" and "weltweit" "worldwide", it has connotations that are close to those of the word global. For "global" the Duden gives the following paraphrases: 1. "auf die ganze Erde bezüglich, weltumspannend" i.e. "belonging to the whole world", "world-covering"; and 2.a "umfassend", 2.b "allgemein", i.e. "comprehensive, universal".

The Swedish *Svensk ordbok* (1988) paraphrases "internationell" - it does not have words for internationalism or internationalisation - as "som berör flera länder" i.e., which has to do with several countries. The *Ordbok* has - quite rarely for dictionaries - the verb "internationalisera" to internationalise which means "sträva att ha kontakter och samarbete över nationsgränser". The *Ordbok* also covers "global" (item in Swedish): "som gäller hela jordklotet, världsomfattande"

which, as can be seen above, is basically the same as what the Duden offers as the first range of meanings.

The Finnish encyclopaedias had a high season in the 60s and 70s when the wider spheres of the population could already afford costly and showy sets of books. The 1990s and the emerging era of the Internet have slowly made this genre of books obsolete. The encyclopaedias I have looked into are from the late 1970s to the early 1990s, which is a period obviously before the boom of internationalisation. Thus there is very little to read about the meaning of the adjective "international" or the noun "internationalisation" per se (cf. van der Wende (1997)). Instead, different coinages such as "international law", "international politics" etc. abound. The term "international education" also appears. The word "global" I detected in one book, the *Facta 2001* (1981) where it was paraphrased as "covering the entire globe, worldwide" like in the German and Swedish dictionaries.

One article on internationalism was to be found, however, with both accurate historical information on the word as well as an entirely new connotation from the ones given in the dictionaries. I translate from Suomalainen tietosanakirja (i.e. *Finnish Encyclopaedia*, 1990):

"Kansainvälisyys" i.e. "Internationalism: Emphasising the relationships common to several states, or the features between or across them. Internationalisation is originally a spin-off of the development of the system of national states and their relationships. The concept 'kansainvälinen' (Engl. international) was presumably first used - even if in a relatively narrow legal sense - by the English philosopher Jeremy Bentham in 1789. During the 19th century, it became more generally used in a wider sense, referring to all kind of relationships between national states, gradually replacing the older usage 'cosmopolitan' which mainly referred to individuals assimilating with the world community, world-citizenship. Internationalism is often regarded as a process (my underlining), internationalisation, which is a state of individuals, companies or states directing their activity increasingly across national borders. This implies also a decrease in nationally orientated attitudes. In its most common and uncontroversial form, the concept of internationalism emphasises common values and benefits. Sometimes it may contain a programme of change and juxtapositions with regard to the state, see for example the > Internationalism of labour movement and radical pacifism."

The key findings in this Finnish Encyclopaedia article could be,

- seeing internationalisation in a historical perspective
- describing it as a process

- giving it a scale, i.e. seeing the phenomenon not only at macro level like nations, but also at the level of companies or organisations and, what is more striking (ly missing from other renderings) individuals as well.

At the individual level it provides a valuable reminder of the existence of people throughout the ages who see the world as their home, the world citizens, the cosmopolitans. There can perhaps be detected a genuine function in higher education to bring forth a world citizen, who can "think globally while acting locally" (Wächter 1999A, 255).

Internationalisation has seemingly a very brief history should you just look into dictionaries or listen to most of those interviewed for this study. Also, it is a history of internationalism, a state of affairs, not internationalisation, which is a process and which this study is basically concerned with. Several interviewees in my empirical data point to Finland's 1995 accession to the EU thus giving internationalisation or should we say, the accelerated internationalisation, a time span starting sometime in the early 1990s when Finland commenced the preparations for the accession. The data also records Teacher6 as the only one to recall the medieval roots of academic internationalisation and the fact that Finland has reached the level of internationalism it once had, a hundred years ago.

Another reference point, along with the time span reflected in this brief survey of the concept of internationalism, could be provided by space. How far internationalism and internationalisation took VAMK will be discussed in the empirical part of this study.

3.2 Globalisation

Defining globalisation

It may be appropriate to introduce the discussion on globalisation by a quotation coming from an article about Helmut O. Maucher, former President of Nestlé, world's largest food technology company. On his visit to Finland in 1997 he paraphrased globalisation as businesses expanding all over the world. He said also, (author's translation from Finnish):

"Globalisation is the best that can happen to companies. Global markets bring about more prosperity, freedom and liberty. At the same time there will always be someone who suffers, but welfare will gradually spread along with the globalisation".

(Karismo in Helsingin Sanomat, 7.10.1997.)

An inevitable question for an internationalisation researcher would concern globalisation. **When** did we start using ‘globalisation’ parallel to or swapping it for the word ‘internationalisation’, in terms and as a concept? (A personal note in order to help give the concept a timeframe: I heard of the phenomenon in a presentation given by Dr William Copeland of FUSEEC at a seminar organised by the Association of Teachers of English in Finland, sometime towards the end of the 1980s. He spoke about the Global Village which was then such a strikingly new image that it has remained in my memory ever since. I did not know of McLuhan’s 1962 image of how: *‘The new electronic interdependence recreates the world in the image of a global village’*. Globalisation thinking certainly is not brand new (cf. e.g. McLuhan 2006, at <http://www.utoronto.ca/mcluhan>).

A Contemporary Finnish Dictionary for Learned Terms (= Uusi sivistyssanakirja) of 1982 does not recognize the word “globalisaatio” i.e. “globalisation”, neither does my *Oxford* dictionary of 1985. Globalisation was not really on the agenda for polytechnics before I left for my new job in 2001-2002. The Government Development Plan for Education and Research 1999-2004 (Valtioneuvosto, 1998) does not have the word except once in the introductory chapters where it mentions the growing demands globalisation is placing on curriculum development. A more recent document, the Internationalisation Strategy for Higher Education of 2001 (Opetusministeriö, 2001), also mentions globalisation once, in discussing the pressure on Finnish education set by the globalising education market; the document is rather clearly against this phenomenon.

Mäkinen and Poropudas (2001, 6) open their analysis of the Finnish 1990s educational politics by contending that even if it would give an academic ring to their text should they discuss the post-modern, *globalisation* (my italics), society-at-risk, the end of the great narratives etc., they instead, derive their outset from the kind of anarchy or chaos that is seen in that period. So in looking back towards that decade – the decade of the present study too, one could say that globalisation was there but as a part of a blurred picture.

Where did globalisation start? The aforementioned monograph on Finland’s educational politics has a specific section on ‘International cooperation in educational politics’ where the authors refer to globalisation once, in discussing OECD’s educational functions. In a subchapter called ‘the Challenge of Internationalisation’ they contend that globalisation is one of the great trends effecting economy widely and across sectors. They also see there is a need for an active internationalisation policy (sic: not a globalisation policy) where globalisation is seen as a challenge but where there is also an active approach to safeguard national interests concerning identity and competitiveness of know-how (Lauk-

kanen & Ollikainen in Mäkinen & Poropudas 2001). One could perhaps conclude that globalisation was “born” in discussions within and on agendas of international organisations like the OECD and it first referred to issues within the sphere of economics.

I would like to make a twofold suggestion here: globalisation is a trend within internationalisation and/or subsequent to it and, globalisation is something that requires defensive actions.

Söderqvist (2002) partly confirms, partly confronts my notion in discussing internationalisation vs. globalisation in a brief chapter in her dissertation. She concludes that the two phenomena within higher education are interlinked in many ways, with globalisation the more external, macro-socio-economic process felt as **menacing** by many, and internationalisation a more intentional process and often taking forms of a response to globalisation.

Parker (1998) discusses the good vs. bad globalisation underpinning the fact that it is too complex a phenomenon to be simply one way or the other. She also reminds of the fact that a good deal of globalisation comes “from-below”, i.e. the social forces working toward a human, sustainable community; as opposed to “globalisation-from-above”, i.e. a community driven by consumption. The Nestlé quotation opening this chapter provides a neat controversy of the good and bad in globalisation, too. It is evident that people should (be pushed by education for example to) be aware and critical about globalisation, bringing us back to the juxtaposition of soft vs. hard values in internationalisation. The two phenomena can be seen as dialectical says Söderqvist (*ibid.*, 164). The debate goes hectic in the more recent years lead by authorities such as Gibbons; perhaps the reader would like to run a Google search for the words internationalisation and globalisation to see what comes up.

To define the term, globalisation, Parker (1998, 6-7) quotes Jan Pieterse who has said there are almost as many definitions of the word as there are disciplines in the social sciences. Clearly, it is a question of borderlessness, or boundarylessness (or barrierlessness, like time barriers, my addition) and, according to the author it has to do with an ability to cross traditional borders of, not only politics and economics, but time, space, scope, geography, functions, thought, cultural assumptions, and understanding of the self in relation to others. The crossing is taking place both horizontally and vertically, like permeating traditional hierarchical structures, and its environments are interactive and interdependent by nature. Amorphous might be the one adjective to describe globalisa-

tion; and rising complexity, a high rate of change, and uncertainty. It also has to do with integration (= the global village).

In her introduction Parker (ibid.) argues that the world with fewer boundaries calls for organisations able to transcend boundaries and create hybrids that are responsible to local, regional, international and global communities of interest. Her monograph is, of necessity, multi-disciplinary, thus also reinforcing the global nature of the text. Parker frequently uses nouns such as interdependence (which is increasing) and borders, boundaries, barriers (these are blurring, getting fuzzy).

The various arenas of globalisation are next listed in an order suggested by Parker (ibid, 12-13) but with observations from other authors. Parker, who speaks of sources instead of arenas, also gives a suggested priority to the globalisation sources with the most prominent factor presented first. Her priority order has been retained, but the term 'source' has been exchanged for the term 'arenas' as education reflects reactions to globalisation as much as initiatives leading to the said phenomenon.

The Arenas of Globalisation

Technology

From among a huge variety of technologies, telecommunications, and more specifically the ones that are called information and communication technologies, or ICT, are the ones that are normally referred to as major sources of globalisation. Within education this is singularly obvious – I remember how at VAMK in the mid 1990s we dreamt of emails that would be linking us to any part of the world, or even telephone lines that in the impoverished City of Vantaa would have been open to those of us involved in internationalisation, instead of having to rely on the "Hot Lines", i.e. one or two telephones that could be used to make direct foreign calls. Most of us on the staff also already understood there was a facility called the Internet, but did not know how to use it. The students seemed to be familiar with that tool, however.

In 1994, the then EU Commissioner Martin Bangemann gave the Council of Europe his group's famous report on the Global Information Society where he foresaw a revolution of the emerging IC technologies to rock the civilisation as drastically as the 19th century industrial revolution had done; the report urged the EU to put its faith (sic!) in market forces to carry 'us' into the Information Age. (Bangemann 1994.)

Parker goes on to quote John Naisbitt who in his *Global Paradox* of 1994 contended that telecommunications will be the driving force of economic globalisation. Parker says, slightly outdated or out-technologised in less than ten years, that little more than a computer, a modem, a telephone line, and fax capability, is now needed to establish a business worldwide. One should like to add that certain competences should go with the package; these will be exemplified later on in this chapter. Parker even argues like many others that globalisation is a product of a technological revolution. (Parker 1998.)

Economics

The roots of globalisation can also be traced back to economic events. Parker points out the phenomena of the Asian economic expansion, notable for both its pace and volume, and the economic boom in South America. Foreign direct investments or FDI have taken a turn towards and even between developing economies, while previously such activity took place mainly between the industrialised countries. Parker makes a reference also to the grey zone of economy with international crime taking over an ever-increasing portion of world business. (Parker 1998.)

Reich quotes (1995, 153) US president Thomas Jefferson: "*Merchants give allegiance to no flag save their own*". Parker refers to Reich who in 1991 has said globalisation will cause business leaders to act as inextricably linked to one another in global industries and economies; which more than other factors are driving world development.

Reich (*ibid.*, 127-131) pictures enterprises as no longer the traditional pyramids, but cobwebs (present author's note: the idea or metaphor of a net is crucial in many ways in education internationalisation, too) where the key employees are problem finders, problems solvers and strategic mediators. These world-wide cobwebs often assume the nationality that is most lucrative to them. A shift from manufacturing to value-added production is taking place, where services are produced rather than products, and the borderline between a product and a service is getting more and more obsolete. Currently, any product will contain a services component of at least 80%. Temporary, part-time and at-home jobs are simultaneously becoming more common. An enterprise's major (if not the most permanent) form of capital is in the competences of its employees, and it will only accumulate between the employees' ears.

Raivola (1995, 441) sees the integration process of the global economy as a unification of the competency requirements set on professions, irrespective of the geographical whereabouts of the work that needs to be done. Production will be

scattered into networked economies where different nationalities participate from within their own countries. In the EU, education has clearly been harnessed to serve the industries.

The market powers emerge in the discourse about what makes the world go around. Late Prime Minister Sorsa (1992, 131-132) reveals for Finland who the market powers are: the Directors of Finance of some of the largest companies and banks, about twenty people (like in the popular leftist song about the 'Twenty families' in the 1960s Finland). They do not get paid for serving the nation and its economy, but theirs are the most lucrative possible investments of their companies.

A glimpse at what was happening in Finland at the time of the interviews of the present study were made: Helsingin Sanomat in January 1999 featured an article entitled "*Vesa Vainio is gnawed by accusations of treason*". The president of Merita-Nordbanken, a hybrid of Finnish and Swedish banking, was accused of having "*sold the fortress of blue-and-white capital*" to the Swedes, i.e. for selling a major block of the Bank's Finn-owned shares to Skandia, a Swedish company. According to Mr Vainio the public debate does not at all understand the realities of the Finnish economy (author's translation from Finnish):

"This is not a question of defending foreign ownership but for example, appreciating the fact that Finland is now an EU member state. We have committed ourselves to the free movement of capital. Finnish companies have already bought with no regrets [what is the thing that should be regretted?] foreign companies and invested in foreign shares. If you look at it from the angle of companies, we cannot maintain economic growth and efficiency if we limit ourselves to Finland."

(Nieminen, Helsingin Sanomat 17.1.1999.)

Politics

There are several good reasons why recent political events could be said to have had key implications on globalisation. Mechanisms, as Parker (1998) points out, have been established during the last decade to make trade barriers obsolete. This includes the foundation of WTO or World Trade Organisation (successor of GATT) in 1995 with 126 member nations in 1998. Also, the retreats from communist style rule in Eastern Europe, and in China, Vietnam and Cuba, have led to increasing privatisation, which for that matter, is spreading in the western world too. The greatest volume of privatisation, interestingly enough, as Parker points out, was in telecommunications in 1994. Being a US writer, she does not mention the European integration process, which by 2005 seemed to

be stagnating with a rejected constitution as well as by prospects of further enlargement, problematised by the candidacy of Islamic Turkey.

Reich (1995, 20) reminds us of the ties between business economics and politics contending that the basic question is not what is happening to the national economies, but to the societies, and the majorities of people who will lose in the global competition; thus the responsibilities lie with all countries who are losing the economic boundaries.

Government roles are also increasingly taken over by citizen groups or non-governmental organisations (NGOs) which can be referred to as a 'global associational revolution'. Parker names Greenpeace, Amnesty International and Unicef, among others. These groups assume governmental roles not only within social services but increasingly in business sector too. (Parker 1998.)

Culture

The world today hosts a teenager market of about a quarter of the entire global population, who tend to adopt global ways of dressing, entertaining, eating and drinking, and even thinking; environmental values for example. English is becoming a real lingua franca through business, the Internet (85% of websites in 1998), tourism, entertainment, and, as Parker (1998) also points out, study abroad (or studies that have been internationalised as my European higher education colleagues might like to stress; cf. below she does not record internationalised curricula as a source of globalisation). Finland's late Prime Minister was more outspoken (Sorsa 1992, 84-97) in admitting that one probably has to accept the notion of a shared and unlimited sense of culture – cultures as such are intrinsically borrowed anyway - and not to raise walls against "trash". Trash as a kind of public art aims at presenting features of the world that are interesting, understandable and acceptable to as many as possible. The communicative skills (cf. education globalisation below), while they increase, expand our consciousness and perceptiveness of other cultures.

Environment

Parker (1998) takes examples of the natural environment as a fifth source for globalisation. The reason for this is, in a nutshell, that the threats and solutions for sustainable development are found in global approaches.

These few lines on the role of the environment in globalisation and internationalisation are to suffice for the present study as, irrespective of how vital the state of environment is for the subsistence of the mankind, it does not seem to play a significant part in the educational discussion of the 1990s; the attention to envi-

ronment is of similar scope with Parker too. My empirical data does not say anything about the environmental issues even if an international responsibility is surfacing in it in several ways. The situation could be different today with a more acute awareness concerning sustainable development in education as well as any sphere of society.

Education

The following quotation might serve as an artful image of the blurring boundaries between business and education, if not an interesting international benchmark for Finnish industries. It comes from Louis V. Gerstner, Jr., Chairman and CEO of IBM, which according to Parker (1998) was the 13th largest company in the world in 1997. In 1994 Gerstner wrote 'Reinventing Education', a fervent book to launch debate against the low achievement reports of US public education. "The techniques and disciplines of business have much to offer in the field of education... the strategies that businesses have developed to deal with change, and to manage large and small organizations, have a direct bearing on schools... Simple organizational ideas like listening to customers, decentralized decision-making, measuring performance, and continuous improvement are notable by their absence in public schools. ..It is time for results in education." (Gerstner 1994, 15.) The results are needed in order to stop American business and industry from losing the battle for the global marketplace through an entrepreneurial workforce skilled for the high-tech era. Gerstner argues strongly against what he sees as the basic obstacle in bringing US public education back into good health, i.e. the "history of regulation [which] is re-regulation, an endless cycle of reforming the preceding reform" (ibid., 19). Instead, schools should be deregulated to become responsive to market forces. This means meeting customer requirements with rewards for success and penalties for failure like any high-performance organisation. Accountability is a key concept.

To focus on tertiary education, van der Wende (1997, 27-28) sees higher education as part of the globalisation process where,

- 1) academic and professional requirements for graduates reflect the demands of the societies, economy and labour market in transformation (cf. Heikkinen, 1995A, Raivola, 1995)
- 2) research and development are of a size and nature that they cannot be made in isolation (the smaller the country the more impossible this kind of isolation would be)
- 3) the recruitment of students from abroad is enhanced (which is normally for financial reasons for the provider of education but deliberately not in the

case of Finland where education is free of cost to the student as part of the state welfare system)

4) The use of new information and communication technologies plays an ever-increasing part in all aspects of higher education functions.

van der Wende (1997) quoting de Vijlder points out how the importance of national educational policy as an aspect of social policy is decreasing as a result of global interdependencies between labour, income, demographic and ecological issues. The cultural aspect is somewhat surprisingly missing from the list. Learning processes are becoming more and more individual; whereas the learning environment is becoming global and inter-disciplinary.

In Finland it was the Ministry of Finance that declared the programme for "Finland Towards Knowledge Society" in 1995 (Niiniluoto & Löppönen, 1996, 53). Mäkinen & Poropudas (2001, 21) discuss this phenomenon under the title 'Education into the service of the industries' suggesting that in the 1990s the Finnish political and industrial elites came to share a vision of the country's success being founded in the overall high level of education of the citizens with particular emphasis on technological know-how. The models were drawn from abroad. In 2005 we already knew better: in the Finnish polytechnics the intake in the IT field proved to be too large leading to demonstrations from both the students and the traditional universities of technology (cf. Liiten in Helsingin Sanomat 17.8.2005).

The Finnish enthusiasm towards the knowledge society had been observed by OECD (1995, 208) which note the industries posing demands on education and changing the array of fields of study, encouraging breadth, entrepreneurship, and flexibility in the content of study programmes. The OECD even warned against setting the focus on economic instrumentality: "Finland is right to insist that its higher education must help rebuild its economy... But a balance has to be struck between that and other higher education objectives" (ibid., 157).

If ICT and business and the changes they impose on the labour market are saturated by the effects of globalisation, a further step towards the re-organisation of education is reflected in the predominant 1990s changes where;

Education should be able rather to anticipate than reflect the constantly changing demands of the internationalised world of work by providing skills that are more knowledge than practice-oriented and can be constantly developed through a cycle of life-long learning. Capabilities that prepare workers for the competitive and international labour market include language skills, team working skills, entrepreneurship and ICT. Similar lists have been prepared for teachers who have turned from omniscient deliverers of knowledge into consul-

tants; and curriculum design where an intimate relationship between the worlds of learning and work has been called for over the past decade. It is not only the teacher but everything in the learning environments that should be regarded from a new angle: fertile learning environments can be found where-ever. Education and learning have been revolutionised by the Internet in many ways. Place and time are losing significance and 'all knowledge' is now available on-line. (See Parker 1998 and, for example, Kohonen & Leppilampi 1994, White Paper 1995, Sahlberg 1997, Ruohotie 1998, Varis 1998.) Raivola (1995, 442) suspects it is also a common value-base that is required to serve the new economies. Do we see the post-modern Faustic man here?

Niiniluoto (1994, 150) sees the tendency in the knowledge society where a power shift is taking place from the authorities legitimised by knowledge, into the hands of those representing skill, i.e. to those who own and control production. He sees the growing presence of the industries in the top hierarchies of the society as something that should be questioned, and he is putting his hopes on democratic technology politics that should allow other approaches as well. Voicing my earlier suspicions, I think we should ask whether the internationalisation boom in higher education is one expression of the strong grip of the globalising industries over education and, whether it is beneficial or not.

I come across a critical note about this post-modern, neo-liberal learner who will find a lucrative job anywhere on planet earth in Mäkinen and Poropudas (2001, 12): the stress in the 1990s was on an individual investment in the future of Me Ltd (Minä Oy). It is interesting in this connection to notice Parker (1998, 26-27) reminding of the shifting and dissolving boundaries in between human activity. She does not refer to persons as companies but to hybrid businesses, which through combined experience and learning can enter the global marketplace as well as give way to new interpretations of jobs. This calls for novel education too; she gives examples of new disciplines such as bioethics. An example I would add is ecotourism, which I had just learned about in 1997 in my visit to some universities in Australia.

The polytechnics would have served as good examples for Parker with totally new study programmes such as Front Office Services (a combination of social work, public administration and business) and Security Management (combining not only security issues but IT, business and facility management) to bring up a couple of examples of full study programmes that were developed at VAMK in the mid 1990s. In all of the Finnish polytechnics there have been dozens of such new programmes justified by the 'need of the world of work' - Faustic perhaps? This hybrid development was stopped in the late 1990s by the Ministry of Educa-

tion who made the fields of study clean up their Augean stables and radically cut down the number of study programmes offered.

Parker (ibid.) discusses Education Abroad as a facet of the globalisation of culture; her short survey concentrates on education business, which Australia was already famous for in 1997. When I was visiting Australia, I was told some 8% of the country's service exports were education-based. Parker only mentions a growing interest of US and European students to spend some time studying abroad in order to learn the language and other cultural skills.

In conclusion for globalisation

The present author's pre-understanding after having once again gone through the internationalisation vs. globalisation evidence: Finnish polytechnics and their international actors were actually working to help Finland globalise, not internationalise. International we were already; see next chapter for this. Internationalisation as a term might have been found outdated in the late 1990s had not the whole bunch of internationalisation as concepts and actions been such a novelty to us as we were working our ways through learning by doing – cf. the chapter on Findings and Discussion. Perhaps the industries should have been instrumental in helping schools recruit internationalisation experts from businesses instead of letting educators handle the job?

The boom in education internationalisation, based on the above discussion, could be concluded to reflect the phenomenon globalisation which has seized the discussions regarding international activities of any sort by storm since the latter half of the 1990s. Is education reactive as it is introducing the term 'globalisation' only with delay? I know from my present work place the National Board of Education that only in 2005, has there been an attempt to draw up a national strategy for Global Education as a joint product of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Education, the NBE, and several NGOs (Opetusministeriö 2006). Global Education does still not have a translation in Finnish that would bear the direct connotation of global; it is – as of old – called 'kansainvälisyyskasvatus' or, International Education. Getting the Global Education strategy will not at all be the same as a Finnish educational strategy to deal with globalisation, but still, it is a sign of the movement towards the new understanding of what is happening around us, globally, and what role educators could play in the process.

Perhaps polytechnic internationalisation was just the means and globalisation was the end? The soft agenda was certainly not on top as my policy readings

show, it was the agenda of the Finnish industries who wished to accelerate the labour market in meeting the new requirements of the emerging globalisation.

The Finnish polytechnics in the 1990s were new, amorphous, humble and competing against other higher education establishments in their urge to gain status and thus, perhaps, a fertile ground for globalisation work.

4 ARE FOREIGN POLICY AND SECURITY POLICY SHARING AN AGENDA WITH EDUCATION?

First I should like to look at the question of determinism and indeterminism and who/what can be a subject vs. object in an internationalising or rather, globalising world. Can a small country be a subject in internationalisation? Is it not so that in our thinking we Finns tend to be defensive, considering our country and us Finns as objects? If a country perceives itself as an object, how can an educational institution assume anything but the role of an object? In this chapter I set out to show whether higher education, including the Finnish polytechnics, were serving the Finnish foreign and security policies some dozen years ago when Finland was in the process of joining the EU. The result for higher education has been similar to the *disconnection* discussed in chapter 6.3 on rationales, in that higher education policies on internationalisation are not congruent with other policies driving change at a given time.

Finland – always international

In a study concerning Finnish internationalisation it is relevant to be reminded of the fact that Finland was always international in its particular scope and ways.

For one thing, higher education was always international. From the 14th century until the establishment of the first university in Finnish soil in 1640, some 300 students from the remote, sparsely populated Swedish province Finland found their way to the universities of Paris, Prague, Leipzig and Rostock (Nuorteva 1997). A couple of decades back it was possible to contend that internationalisation was more common in the Swedish universities during the 17th and 18th centuries than it was at that time (Frängsmyr 1982). Nuorteva (ibid.) confirms for the Swedish province Finland what Frängsmyr says of the Swedish aristocracy: what was called *noble peregrinations* was a popular way of qualifying in learned ways for the young noblemen. A *grand tour* was the ultimate goal for many of them, to travel through Germany, Holland, England, France, or Italy. The decline of Sweden as a leading power in the 18th century Europe ended the peregrinations. Also a different era was dawning, the industrial revolution making the role of the nobility obsolete in society.

The Swedes lost Finland to the Russians in 1809. The Royal Academy of Turku, established in 1640, was transferred into the Imperial University of Helsinki with

more independence and international links than what had been available for the old Academy in a Swedish periphery.

From academia to demographics – all through Finland's earlier years, the number of Finns was small. A fascinating aspect of Finnish internationalisation can be found with St Petersburg, the only metropolis close at hand. Even if there were few Finns, there were enough of them to make St. Petersburg a major Finnish city. In the late 19th century it was the home of some 25 000 Finns, which was about 13% of the city's population and more than one per cent of the population of Finland. St Petersburg was the second largest "Finnish" city at the time. The Finns there were mostly craftspeople or servants or they worked in transportation. The *tshuhonetsh* or Finnish buttermongers were particularly numerous and renowned. (Ahola, 104, Salminen, 142.) One would like to suggest that the *tshuhonetsh* or the new buttermongers are now selling Nokia phones all over the globe...

Looking at internationalisation within Finnish borders, the fragmented populations of Finnish Roma, Sámi and Tatar populations suggest that there has always been a multicultural presence within the country, in among the homogeneous majority of the population. There were the Swedes and Russians, the former oppressors, substantial minorities in Finland but a vast majority in their respective countries right beyond the Finnish borders (or territories before there were borders). The real epitome of Finnish multi-ethnicity is the city of Vyborg of the past centuries. In 1812, this town which long held a particular position as an Eastern outpost for Finland, had a population comprising 44% Finns, 30% Russians, 14% Swedes and 12,5% Germans. The Jewish population within the townspeople was remarkably high too. It is said that Vyborg a hundred years ago was a genuinely international, open and pluralistic town. (Salminen, 33.) This town which was lost in the turmoil of World War II should be kept in mind when Finland is facing a surge of racism on one hand, and a fervent internationalisation of business, education, and culture, on the other. Nothing is new under the northern sun.

"We cannot change geography."

"*We cannot change geography*" is what General Secretary Stalin said to the Finnish peace delegation just before the break of the Winter War in 1939. Finland's geopolitical position is prominently featured by a demarcation line between the East and the West. (Stalin-quotation comes in this case from Ahola, 100). Susiluoto would like to contradict Stalin's view – which was taken for granted by the Finnish delegation in 1939 – as he contends that even geography can be

overbridged, if the political situation is favourable, by building freeways, harbours and airports (Ahola 1994, 114).

The geopolitical peculiarity in the Finnish-Russian relationships was again underpinned when Finland joined the EU in 1995. For nine years, till the enlargement of 2004, Finland's 800 miles long eastern border was the border between the EU and Russia.

Gustav Hägglund, the Commander in Chief of the Defence Forces of Finland in the 1990s (Ulkoasiainministeriö 1998, 292) has his tongue slightly in his cheek when he further defines Finland's geopolitical situation throughout the ages: 'Finland is located between east and west but somewhat further to the north'. So it is not only that the geopolitical situation has been rather delicate, but it sometimes gets very cold up where the Finns dwell. This may have saved us from some trouble and added something to the Finnish mentality, too. According to Hägglund (ibid., 294-295) this is reflected in that the Finnish people trust their Defence Forces more than any other institution and consider love of country and the willingness to defend it the highest social virtue (Hägglund refers to an opinion poll of 1996).

President Ahtisaari may hold a different opinion in a speech recorded the same year as Hägglund's notion: *"Our independence today is that we can make our decisions with others - others will not decide for us. Geography has been a permanent factor moulding our international position; however it is no longer a dominant factor mainly thanks to the European integration"*. (Ulkoasiainministeriö 1998, 313-314.)

It was a matter of Finland's political and military security

The words are quoted from President Mauno Koivisto who saw security politics as the major reason for intensively advocating Finland's membership of the EU (in Paul 1997, 82). How to guarantee security in Finland and how to save the new generations from the calamities of warfare are questions that have long prevailed in the Finnish mind. Finland's military history includes the Swedish regime, when Finns were recruited to function as spearheads for the Swedish armies, the totalitarian oppression of the final years of the otherwise peaceful Russian Era, the mortifying civil war of the Independence year 1917, and the two debilitating wars Finland was involved in during World War II, again fighting for independence.

Jan-Peter Paul who chaired a major civic movement promoting Finland's EU membership in 1992-94, argued that national security issues were kept in reserve and would only have been used if the arguments based on social and employment aspects had been insufficient to mould the majority's opinion for the membership. If this had not been the case, the security argument would have been used as the ultimate weapon (Paul, 12). This probably shows how powerful a weapon the fear of political insecurity is – or was thought to be a dozen years ago - for Finns.

Lambert (1994) suspects it is mainly the Finns who see security as a central issue in their relations to Europe. However, this may not be the case when Finland is being considered from the viewpoint of other EU countries. The European Union is not an organisation based on Them and Us. Once Finland had attained its membership, Finnish MPs and Commission members were in a position to promote the good of the whole of Europe. Lambert suggests - rather Kafka-like – that one of Finland's roles in the EU should be to function as the Union's ears and eyes in this part of the world telling, not only what is taking place up here, but making suggestions of what kind of policies ought to be followed (Lambert 1994, 48-53). How significant Finland's role in the European Union as a mediator between West and East, the EU and Russia has been, must be judged by history. However, judging from the meagre success of Finland's great European initiative, the European Northern Dimension has been rather less than many had hoped.

The outpost in a semi-periphery

Finns think they stand as sentinel for the rest of Europe - and a fear of being left alone in a periphery sits deep in the Finnish mind. Professor Raimo Väyrynen, a prominent foreign political thinker in Finland, voiced his fear for Finland rushing into the European periphery if it entered the EU too hastily (his commentary is in Kekäle 1993).

The periphery theory according to Väyrynen (1988) explains the tendency of small nations with limited resources to be pushed towards the edge: products, capital, innovations are centred in countries that by nature are more powerful. Through export and production relocations the internationalisation of economical structures can gradually spread from centres towards the peripheries. Countries lying at the periphery normally harness their economies by government activities in order to protect their industries from international competition. Finland has been categorised by Väyrynen as a semi-periphery having features of central and peripheral. (Väyrynen 1988, 76-78.)

One might ask here about the role of education in this protectionism. According to Ollikainen, even in the sphere of education the threat of being pushed into the European periphery was used to motivate popular opinion concerning EU integration (Ollikainen 1999, 243) .

The late prime minister and statesman Kalevi Sorsa is recorded as contending that *Eurovaara* is not the greatest danger for Finland, it is *Impivaara* (Sorsa 1992, 209). This difficult-to-translate pun is a cunning metaphor about where the Finns stood for more than ten years ago, and the position they might still hold. Much of the Finns' national imagery comes from the celebrated 19th century novel 'Seitsemän veljestä' or 'The Seven Brothers' by Aleksis Kivi. Impivaara is a central image or metaphor, the secluded place in the forests where the uncouth brethren hid for years before they decided to take the step towards civilization. 'Vaara', curiously enough, means both 'hill' and 'danger', thus Sorsa is able to play with the words Impivaara and Eurovaara. Before the EU, Finns had to choose between a backward movement to Finnish isolation or a brave step towards development through exposure in a European framework. Sorsa (ibid.) preaches repeatedly against fear or rather, the variety of fears that different groupings in Finland have against joining what was then the EC.

Heikkinen asked (1995B, 495) whether the exceptional zest of Finns in turning their educational system into *Euro-shape* ('euro-kuntoon') could be interpreted as an exceptionally strong fear of being rejected, should they not meet with the expectations that they suspected Mother EU might have had.

In the security politics after the cold war (cf. Ahola 1994, Reich 1995, Paul 1997) - the civilian aspects were emphasised. These are perhaps more often than not reflected in economical activities, such as promoting the economical cooperation between countries that used to stand on two sides of a certain border or dividing line. I suggest you listen – if you are a Finn - whether you hear the Seven Brothers and the youngest of them, the clever Eero in particular, fight their way through ABC school, with the media repeatedly referring to Finland as the best pupil in the EU classroom. This was perhaps most frequent when the European Monetary Union EMU was introduced with Finland filling all the requirements and more.

Being the good pupil is not new for Finland. It was not unlike the metamorphosis from a poor and often neglected Swedish province into a Russian grand duchy that Finland experienced in 1809, after Sweden had lost Finland to Russia. For decades Finland enjoyed a time of singular national development especially in the cultural arena as the Russian tsars felt favourably about Finland leaving it

with considerable autonomy. It was of major importance that the only university on Finnish ground, the then Imperial University of Helsinki, was favoured and much subsidized by both Tsars Alexander I and Nikolay I in the early years of Finland's grand duchy, Alexander thus entwining a political strategy with a genuine interest in education (Salminen 1994, 49, 56). On the other hand there were grants, provided by the tsarist Army and other Russian institutions, for students coming from annexed states like Finland. This could be seen as a strategy to amalgamate potential talent into the Russian regime (Salminen 1994, 83). Reminiscences of the golden years of the Russian autonomy can perhaps be discerned while EU is exercising its policies and Finland is readily learning how to benefit from them?

Education is missing in security political discourse

Can education play a part in serious, 'hard' internationalisation or globalisation? van der Wende (1997, 26) contends that higher education internationalisation is rather peripheral (sic!) as regards mainstream policy making. Wächter (1999B, 19) suggests, however, that after periods of tension in the relations between states, education may be a low-key first step to restart a dialogue that has been broken.

The quotations in this chapter come all from men's books or speeches (except for the Halonen quotation below), it is a male discourse that is exercised over security. This could explain why it is so hard to find anything related to security issues in health and social sectors, not to mention education, concerning for example Russia. Health promotion could obviously have an even greater part to play in the search for a sustainable globalisation, were this aspect more familiar to economists and security experts. It will be interesting to see if Microsoft's Bill Gates will be able to start a new trend as he has started donating substantial funds to help African countries fight their enormous problems.

In Paul (1997, 17), there is a mention of the development opportunities that are offered in public health care in Russia, along the side of political-economical opportunities, such as the need for new technology, new skills and knowledge, and a modernisation of the infrastructure. Paul concludes by briefly noting that also education should be developed.

Education can be used as a marketing ploy as did President Ahtisaari at the Sino-Finnish Symposium in Beijing in 1996 on his tour promoting the Northern European Market Place: *"Knowledge has become the major success factor for every country in today's world...we have made long-term commitments to high standards of education..."* (Ulkoasiainministeriö 1998, 221). In India the same

year Ahtisaari said: *“Against the growing external challenges India can pose its strengths and competitive factors; one of the key trumps in India is perhaps the excellent education system producing enormous numbers of scientific and technical experts. India has already an excellent reputation in software in the world market”*. It is with a biased feeling one looks at an article excerpt from Helsingin Sanomat two years later (author’s translation from Finnish): *“Softa brought them into the middle of a blizzard. Recruitment on-line through the Internet both in Punjab and Ostrobothnia.”* Helsingin Sanomat of 17.01.1999 was interviewing Nokia’s new recruits, reporting that Finnish Nokia had some 700 foreign experts in 1999 while two years earlier it had some 200. *“It is natural for a multinational enterprise to circulate employees from one unit to another, even to Finland. On the other hand, there is increasing need for international recruitment as Finns are not graduating from higher education fast enough.”* (Juurus 1999.) The last notion is singularly biased if we remember the article excerpt in the Chapter on Globalisation/Education about the excess of (polytechnic) engineering graduates in Finland.

I would like to go back to how Paul and also President Ahtisaari characterise education as part of Finland’s foreign policies: education is covered with a brief remark suggesting that it too should be linked to globalisation and international security, but they hardly say anything concrete to support such notions. Paul, however, discusses in brief the EU education programmes Phare and Tempus which have been operative since 1989 in the Eastern and Central European countries (Phare) and 1990 in the former Soviet states (Tacis). The programmes are aimed at paving the way for the integration of the respective states into a wider European economy and trade and are outspokenly political in their aims. A good part of the programme funding has been directed to human resource development and R&D through education and training (Paul 1997, 107-111).

A related statement comes from an address by the then Foreign Minister Ms Tarja Halonen in St Petersburg at The Nordic Forum for Security Policy in 1996: she discussed various forms of cooperation being implemented at a bilateral level between Finland and Russia with business training being one of them. She said that contacts and cooperation not only between governments and other authorities but among individuals, NGOs, businesses and municipalities were an integral part of a comprehensive security policy forming an enduring safety net (Ulkoasiainministeriö 1998, 260). This is a Nordic forum – see below the discussion on the specific ‘soft’ character of Nordic cooperation.

A third excerpt in a similar vein but finally something to support this author’s idea of education servicing its nation’s foreign policies came from Väyrynen. He con-

tends that the human and institutional resources comprising, among others, the level of *education and motivation* of a country's labour force, as well as the *quality of its officials* and institutions, are vital in promoting a society's goals. A country's material resources include production systems, technology, and natural resources. Small nations have limited means to regenerate and develop their resources, whether material or immaterial, on their own. This is why international cooperation is singularly important to small nations. (Väyrynen 1988, 36-37.)

Issues on a soft agenda? Development cooperation and Nordic cooperation

The level of development cooperation is one of the criteria for a civilised state. This is emphasized by Minister Heikki Haavisto in 1996, who then possessed the respective portfolio (Ulkoasiainministeriö 1998, 331). Against the male dominant discourse above, one could ask whether development cooperation is the excuse to discuss values in international policies between nations? But there is not much of such discussion or discourse or is there?

In the year of the above quotations, 1996, the duties pertaining to development cooperation were added to the portfolio of the Minister of the Environment which suggests perhaps something about the niche that has been reserved for the more humanistic values in the Finnish regime. Since 2003 it is, however, the Minister for Foreign Trade and Development that – as the title says, holds the portfolio so maybe there is somewhat more preponderance. Also, since 2000 Finland has been one of the 200 signatories of the UN Millennium Development Goals, which aim at sustainable development through education as one key tool (see for example www.global.finland.fi).

The Nordic aspect seems to bring the softer values to the foreign and defence political arena. Mr Ole Norrback, Minister for European Affairs and Nordic Cooperation says in 1996, at the 25th Anniversary of the Nordic Council of Ministers: The Nordic cooperation 1) builds primarily on a shared values [my notion here: if the values in internationalisation are shared, there is no major need to elaborate on them... Norrback does not say which values these are by the way] and a genuine togetherness 2) is pragmatic, being based on 3) broad and deep cooperation of the civil society (Ulkoasiainministeriö 1998, 153). Norrback says you need a magnifying glass to find differences between Sweden and Finland in their attitudes towards safety political solutions (ibid., 164). Perhaps internationalisation when taking place close to the mental home ground and at the grassroots level is safe and harmless.

Prime Minister Lipponen the same year reflected on the central role of Nordic cooperation in enhancing our mutual benefits in research and education, which is where the focus of the cooperation lies. About half of the budget of the Nordic Council of Ministers is allocated to culture, education and research. Lipponen elaborates the issue of shared values further, contending that the Nordics share the concept of man and the basic ethical values.

Malm (in Wächter 1999A, 76) refers to the specific place in the Finnish higher education internationalisation that is taken by our neighbouring countries, the Nordic countries, and also the Baltic States, and Russia. The term Northern Dimension as a specific agenda of the Nordic member states of the EU was launched by Prime Minister Lipponen in mid 1990s.

Where global values rule, there is a different tone in the Nordic "cooperation": On 31 August 2005, we heard (again) on the YLE news that the Nordic telecommunications conglomerate Telia-Sonera – Sonera being originally part of Finnish State Mail - plans to cut the number of Finnish staff quite heavily over the next few months. It is the CEO Igel, a Swede based in Stockholm, who says this step is necessary in order to improve competitiveness.

In conclusion

Finland was always international; it even experienced something of a boom in positive internationalisation in the 19th century – under Russian regime. Finland's position in between more powerful nations and at the outpost of Western Europe, have moulded the national self-esteem so we may be over-apprehensive with regard to foreign authorities. (Katajamäki 1998.) Education is not at the centre of Finland's international politics. The boom of higher education internationalisation of the 1990s is not recognised by other authorities but educators themselves as an element in Finland's integration with Europe in the 1990s. It might be motivated to ask, whether the fact that there are so few women working on a nation's security political agenda and so many on the educational one, make up for the obvious disconnectedness of the two policies.

5 LEVELS, PROCESSES AND RATIONALES OF HIGHER EDUCATION INTERNATIONALISATION; A PRE-UNDERSTANDING

5.1 Defining higher education internationalisation

Levels or arenas of higher education internationalisation

When working on my research design, I have been repeatedly pondering on a question or a confusion of what we really aim at when we internationalise a higher education establishment. I am suggesting the following frame to keep apart the several concrete levels or arenas of educational internationalisation:

- A) An educational institution's processes and procedures when it is undergoing internationalisation.
- B) The processes and procedures, which form the international learning experiences of the students of a higher education institution.
- C) A third process is obviously where the educational establishment(s) as well as the internationalised graduates are instrumental in providing their nation or more widely, for example the EU, the kind of international capacity as is sought through national and wider educational policies.
- D) After the discussion on globalisation and the rationales of educational internationalisation above, I would like to add a fourth, a tentative category which would be like, educational internationalisation servicing globalisation.

I understand A and B and even C and D should coincide in a number of points, but A is about taking the necessary arrangements for B to take place. Implementing A would even necessarily help establish C, and probably D too. So B is like the result of A, and so are C and the tentative D. One could postulate that D would not be possible without some C, too. The other levels are more or less knowingly intentional, D is obviously not.

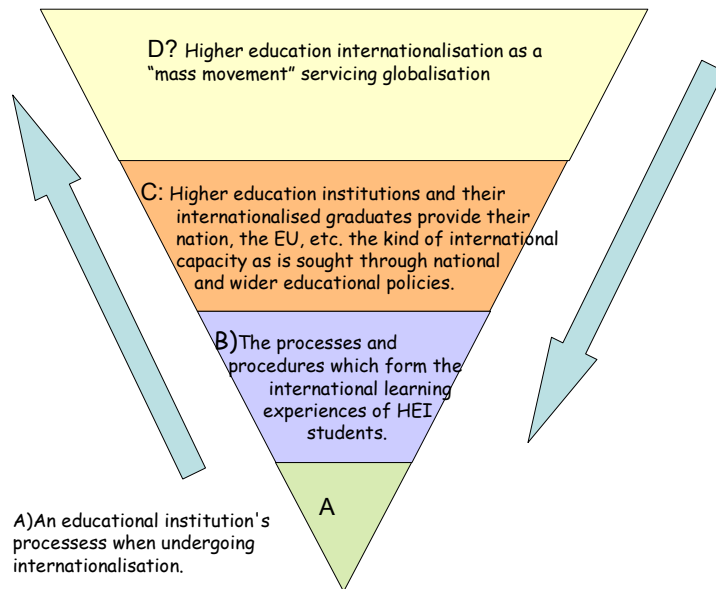


Figure 2. The Authors pre-understanding of the levels of educational internationalisation.

A great deal of A or what happens at an institution's level is administrative and other behind-the-scenes kind of activity that will not meet the eye or ear of the learner, the student during his or her years at the polytechnic, for example. Of course the "administrators" of internationalisation will also learn while the process goes on (cf. Wächter 1999B, 53), and eventually become more and more efficient in arranging the settings so as to produce optimum internationalisation as regards the learning outcomes of the students, but this is a secondary objective. For the author of this study the early pre-understanding was that the main level would, obviously, be that of B, the student-learners becoming international(ly qualified experts).

I added C or the national level of education internationalisation only later, after my first theoretical study in 1999, finding that an attempt to describe it would be essential for the process of the present study, to draw up a comprehensive picture of higher education internationalisation and its rationales. Ollikainen's dissertation (1999) covers this level of political actions and effects as does much of

the work of Wächter (1999A, 1999B). Also van der Wende (1997) concentrates on this level.

My proposal for the ultimate level, educational internationalisation servicing various issues on the agenda of globalisation, dates from the final phases of the present study. As suggested in the preface, globalisation was not an observed guiding policy in the mid 1990s when the activities pertaining to this study were taking place. Presently, the fact that so much of the existing research contains attempts to analyses of the relationship between educational internationalisation and globalisation, suggests that there is a topic of interest for further study.

Process of higher education internationalisation

Knight (1999, 14-15) while working towards a viable definition of higher education internationalisation suggests several generic approaches to describe institutional-level internationalisation, while implementing an institution-wide internationalisation strategy. Her suggestion - which she does not claim to be exclusive - makes up the following typology:

Table 1. Knight's description of institutional level internationalisation (Knight, 1999):

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Activity• Competency• Ethos• Process | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Categories or types of activities used to describe internationalisation; such as curriculum, student/faculty exchanges, technical assistance, international students.• Development of new skills, knowledge, attitudes and values in students, faculty and staff. As the emphasis on outcomes of education grows there is increasing interest in identifying and defining global/international competencies.• Emphasis is on creating a new culture or climate on campus, which promotes and supports international/ intercultural initiatives.• Integration or infusion of an international or intercultural dimension into teaching, research and service through a combination of a wide range of activities, policies and procedures. |
|---|--|

Knight does not suggest any causal or ranking orders for her stages. She says the first one, "Activity approach" is typical of a period when one described the international dimension in education in terms of activities or programmes. This pe-

riod she identifies more or less as the time when the so-called international education was more in fashion like the 70s and the early 80s.

The “competency approach”, according to Knight lays emphasis, instead of activities, on the human element of the academic community, i.e. *such change or learning that is taking place in the minds of the various players* (I give my interpretation of Knight’s theory in italics) of the said community, its students and staff, in order to achieve internationally and/or interculturally relevant competencies.

Knight’s categories Activities and Competencies would seem to match with my pre-understanding above of the first two levels of internationalisation or, level A leading to level B. But there is more to internationalisation in a higher education institution than just two levels, as Knight shows in her typology: Her third category is the “Ethos approach”, which is more related to organisational development theories. She does not explain this reference but obviously enough, her two first levels have more to do with what is happening at the level of individual players at an institution, where as the ethos approach refers to a change within an entire institution. She might refer to organisational learning and thus imply a more permanent or more in-depth impact on the organisation than the two first approaches could establish.

The last but not least in Knight’s typology is the “process approach”, which addresses the sustainability of the international dimension and thus lays emphasis on organisational processes such as policies and procedures. See also van der Wende’s definition below.

Knight has as early as in 1993 defined higher education ***“internationalisation as the process of integrating an international dimension into the research, teaching and services functions of higher education”***. This definition has been much borrowed in related articles and research (see for example Wächter 1999B, 12, Söderqvist, 26). As van der Wende (1997, 18) has pointed out, Knight’s process approach seems to be right but she is not really touching on the motivations of the phenomenon.

Söderqvist (2002, 39-41) has further developed the process approach of describing higher education internationalisation by dividing it into five stages which are presented here in brief (I have slightly shortened some of her formulations):

Table 2. Stages of higher education internationalisation according to Söderqvist (2002):

0. A zero stage characterised by some free movers and status bound staff mobility

1. First stage of an awareness of a need to internationalise; creation of some kind of an international office to assist student mobility; internationalisation taken as an end in itself

2. Second stage where the focus is in making the curriculum international with an organised teacher mobility

3. Third stage where the institution is made international so there is a specific strategy for internationalisation with a quality assurance aspect; multi-culturalism becomes central

4. Fourth stage where internationalisation is commercialised with education services that are exported and strategic alliances are established to ensure profits.

One could both confirm and argue with some of the aspects Söderqvist has included – and excluded – in her typography; one of these is the place of multi-culturalism. Based on the empirical findings of the present study one can contend that - in social and health care disciplines obviously more often than in Söderqvist's business – this is one of the first elements that are recognised and appreciated in an institution's way towards internationalisation. Söderqvist's own institution is a business one and there the aspects that bring multi-culturalism into the focus of international interest, may differ greatly from those of the 'caring' disciplines. Söderqvist places multi-culturalism towards the peak of the internationalisation process as she sees it as a challenge to full-fledged mobility that necessarily brings along movers from a variety of cultures.

Söderqvist's stages emphasise the process nature of internationalisation. I see them as useful and perhaps more practical than Knight's, in assessing the stage an institution or even a nation's education is in its internationalisation.

Both Knight's typology and Söderqvist's stages could perhaps be expanded by trying to place them in a matrix drawn up by Wächter (1999B, 56), which depicts the levels of institutional internationalisation in the following way: One parameter is used to express the amount or level of centrality vs. marginality of international activity at a specific higher education institution; the other parameter is for an ad hoc, sporadic vs. systematic approach in the implementation of internationalisation. If we try to match these two typologies, we get,

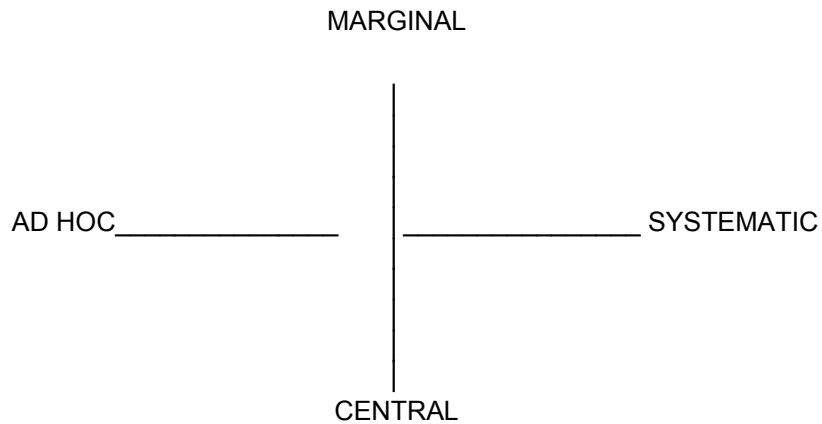


Figure 3. Centrality vs. marginality and Systematic vs. ad hoc approach to higher education internationalisation (Wächter 1999B).

In Knight's typology, the Ethos and Process approaches clearly cannot be put into practice, unless internationalisation has reached a central position in the organisation. Also, one could expect that to permeate an institution's values or its core processes, the activities have to be driven in a highly systematic way. The activity and competency approaches allow for a more marginal and sporadic existence of the international activities of an institution. Going back to Söderqvist's stages, her Stage 0 should obviously be placed in the upper left hand corner and Stage 4 in lower right hand corner respectively.

One could conclude that a high rate of systematic and central activity (as regards the overall management of the institutions in question) is where higher education internationalisation should aim. I will present my suggestion for the status of VAMK's internationalisation as seen against the Wächter matrix in the chapter on Findings and Discussion.

If we think of the levels I opened this chapter with, concerning internationalisation processes within an institution and contributing to those of a nation and wider international communities, I think we could also find the parameters or matrixes presented in this chapter as useful points of reference. In the past ten years or so, and in Europe especially with the help of EU education pro-

grammes, a great deal of systemacy and centrality has been achieved. But the answer to where we are with globalisation, my level D, remains to be studied.

Based on theoretical insights and the particular empirical data in this study, I would like to suggest one or two further matrixes for the assessment of the state of affairs of internationalisation. First I would like to develop the discussion on the underlying values of higher education internationalisation that I have been searching for from the introductory chapters onwards.

The soft values in higher education internationalisation, as already suggested, stand for motivations of activity, such as philanthropy, caring, protection of nature, preserving a culture, maintaining world peace. Tentatively one could also contend that these values are more pertinent to women as international actors than to men –see for instance my notion in the foreign political chapter.

The hard values would refer to spheres of profit making (market liberalism), competition in globalised markets, edu business, security issues.

The soft vs. hard values of higher education internationalisation would make one axis of a new parameter. Human action, as regards choice of objectives, is based on generic and permanent values (Allardt 1987, 51).

The other axis would display the scope of internationalisation activities from the level of the individual actors of a higher education institution, to the levels of the country and the continent where the institution operates, and beyond. All human action begins and ends with the person or persons who are the subjects of the action. Starting with the individual experiences at one end, we could have global dimensions at the other end of international activity.

The idea with the suggested parameter is a pre-understanding, a working hypothesis. As I proceed to the empirical parts of this research, it is possible to test whether a matrix showing the values of internationalisation as one dimension and their scope as the other will help depict anything of interest in the phenomenon under study.

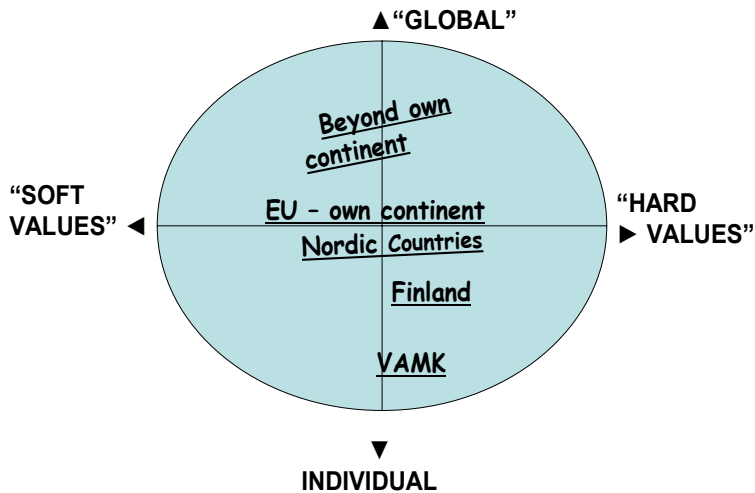


Figure 4. The Author's tentative parameter showing *nature* of value base of rationale as well as geographical **scope** of (Finnish) higher education internationalisation. Movement along the two axes is thought to take place in both directions. The parameter could provide a starting point in assessing an educational institution's values against actions taken or the institution's general international mindset. See also Findings and Discussion.

A further postulation concerning the axis of "scope" could be that there is a tendency within higher education internationalisation to extend the activities wider and wider. It might be interesting to think of milestones as a continuum from mobility with neighbouring countries at one end towards globalised activities at the other; including, for example, staff and student mobility linked with the needs of partner MNEs, curriculum design with globalising elements, net services developed to engage the institution in global edu business.

Comparing definitions of internationalisation

To focus the discussion on the research question concerning the driving forces of higher education internationalisation, I will examine definitions of internationalisation further:

As has been pointed out, Knight's definition above not saying anything about the reasons or motivations of internationalisation.

Trying to further develop Knight's definition, van der Wende suggested the following: Higher education internationalisation is, **"any systematic, sustained effort aimed at making higher education (more) responsive to the requirements and challenges related to the globalisation of societies, economy and labour markets"** (van der Wende 1997, 19).

The definition is regarding the 'why' of internationalisation by bringing in the wider and diffuse picture of globalisation. Internationalisation is a response, a reaction to a phenomenon that is demanding and problematic ('challenge' being a popular euphemism for 'problem'), embedded or disguised in globalisation. So the phenomenon 'internationalisation' is a response to another, more complex phenomenon, which is not really explaining much. van der Wende however characterises internationalisation in a way that allows us to regard both institutional and national levels of action.

I would like to point out a certain optimism with van der Wende's definition: internationalisation efforts are not necessarily systematic at all times, to say the least. For this the Wächter matrix above gives a concrete evaluation tool. Interestingly enough, there is a definition by Knight, and de Wit, which admits the role that the accidental may have in the process. According to this definition, higher education internationalisation comprises,

"the complex processes whose combined effect, whether planned or not, is to enhance the international dimension of the experience of higher education institutions". (Knight & de Wit 1995.)

"Söderqvist takes Knight's earlier definition as her point of departure to develop it further at institutional level naming it as, "a change process from a national higher education institution into an international higher education institution leading to the inclusion of an international dimension in all aspects of its holistic management in order to enhance the quality of teaching and research and to achieve the desired competencies". (Söderqvist 2002, 29.)

Söderqvist who studied internationalisation from the point of business and quality management is more or less giving a formula of what she sees as quality internationalisation. Notice also that the globalisation aspect is missing in Söderqvist's definition.

This author's pre-understanding of a more apt, realistic, contemporary description or definition of higher education internationalisation, applicable both to national and institutional levels, would definitely accommodate three relatively diffuse aspects. As we live in the blurred or fuzzy times of post-modernism, allowing some fuzziness in internationalisation would be more or less accepting what is normal in life. This brings us to my second postulation; we need to accommodate globalisation into such a definition. Like van der Wende, I would like to emphasise that - presently - higher education is reactive to that phenomenon. Third, going back to internationalisation as an act or as social theatre, accepting the varying roles of the individual players would necessarily lead to a process that is unsystematic, unsustained at least at times; one cannot put on a standard performance at all times and definitely the various players of internationalisation will not be putting on the same performance.

The author's 1st suggestion for a definition of higher education internationalisation.

As a response to the overall globalisation of societies, higher education internationalisation is a set of processes where different actions, presumed by nature or result to be international, are taken in order to create an impression of a higher education (institution) that can meet the needs of internationalisation and even globalisation.

I will come back to this suggestion for a definition in the Discussion.

5.2 Rationales of higher education internationalisation

Looking for rationales

As suggested by the discussions above, it is possible to see a variety of rationales, or fundamental reasons, or "requirements and challenges" to quote van der Wende, that are looming behind the internationalisation processes of higher education. This chapter is rather lengthy as the rationales are instrumental in answering the questions set in the first chapters of the present study, namely, by whom and for what reasons did so much internationalisation take place in higher education in 1990s.

Some of the key observations here come from van der Wende (1997), Knight (1999), Wächter (1999A, 1999B), all suggesting of the complexity and interrelatedness of the reasons that different actors provide as explanations for higher education internationalisation. These and more approaches from theoretical findings are explored here; comments based on the empirical findings will be presented further in this study. As a first observation I suggest that the arenas of globalisation presented earlier, seem also to reflect the driving forces of higher education internationalisation.

Knight (1999, 17) names four motivations to the internationalisation of higher education: political (or state-driven), economic, academic (pertaining to education) and social/cultural.

Söderqvist (2002, 30) enumerates globalisation, commercialisation, legislation and funding as key dimensions or rationales. Her rationales are partly overlapping as, for example, commercialisation is so obviously a part of globalisation (cf. Söderqvist on neo-liberalisation of markets) and funding comes in most cases in Finland at least from within the sphere of legislation through regulations stipulated by the state authority.

To illustrate further the somewhat obscure and controversial situation, I cite the deputy head of the Division of Education, Culture and Sport of the Council of Europe. He was one of the keynote speakers of the EDUCA Fair of 1989, i.e. the year the polytechnic reform was launched in Finland. . This major Finnish educational fair bore the apt theme "Internationalisation of Education" in that year (author's translation from Finnish):

"...education systems - in particular schools and teachers - are being pressed to respond to far-reaching political, economic, technological, demographic and cultural developments whose roots lie outside the education system. By themselves, schools cannot solve such problems..." (Stobart 1990, 21.)

This is an interesting quotation because it names five dimensions or categories for the internationalisation of education i.e. those of (international) politics, economy, technology, demographics and culture. Stobart paraphrases them as pressures, responses and problems. It is obvious that these phenomena are met with "responses" of different type and scope in the processes and procedures at the various levels of educational internationalisation. The short notion refers both to the macro or national level of education as well as the micro-level, teachers and schools.

The following is an attempt to provide a comprehensive typology of higher education internationalisation rationales with some exemplifications regarding the Finnish polytechnics. The order is tentative, showing in so much as it is feasible, a move from mainstream notions towards unofficial ones. My ordinary idea was also to show there is a move from hard values as driving forces towards softer ones, but as such discussion is not present in the theory available, I will look at the values at the empirical part.

The political rationale

The Finnish political atmosphere as related to higher education has been in some detail explained earlier. To sum up, the official political rationale for the Finnish polytechnics to internationalise, was closely linked with the integration with the European Union, the promotion of a Northern Dimension focussing on cooperation with Finland's neighbouring countries, as well as a promotion of the general well-being and cultural understanding of man globally. Globalisation as such was not an issue of concern in the mid 1990s. National security issues or defence policies could also be regarded as a rationale, cf. de Wit (2002, 86-87).

The economic rationale

For Knight (1999, 19) and Wächter (1999B, 17) the economical rationale makes up for an aspect where the cuts in education budgets in a number of countries had driven the higher education institutions to export their education. See also Parker above on edu business as an element of globalisation. Export of education has not been valid for Finland, as explained earlier.

Instead, there is an economy and state interplay sometimes clearly spelled out, as for example in the Government Development Plan for Education and Research for 1999-2004: "*The international cooperation of education is instrumental in supporting the internationalisation of Finnish industries as well as making Finnish know-how and culture better known*" (Valtioneuvosto 1998). The economic motivation as regards meeting the interests of the globalising industries can be seen in higher education developments such as, the harmonisation of the competences that are taught as well as their underlying value-base, as suggested in the chapter on globalisation.

The world of work as rationale

For the Finnish polytechnics the *raison-d'etre* is to educate high-level professionals. So the polytechnics have their basic motivation in the world of work, the livelihoods, the success of businesses, organisations, services. To this end, the polytechnics according to the current Law were to "*provide the necessary*

knowledge and skills qualifying the student for specialist professional duties based on the requirements of working life and its development needs" (L 255/1995, Section 2). This also concerned the working life internationally as one of the general aims of studies leading to a polytechnic degree was to provide the student with an ability to participate in international activities within the field concerned. Furthermore, the functions of full-time teachers included the legal obligation "to develop teaching in their field and follow developments in the sector of working life relevant to their field", i.e. the teachers are by law obliged to actively observe what is topical in the professional arena they teach in. It probably goes without saying that international developments are included - the interview data below corroborates this. (A 256/1995, Sections 2, 28.)

The academic rationale

The Finnish polytechnics were formed out of vocational institutions, representing the so-called college level vocational education with 2-3 year qualifications, in some cases 4 years. The degrees that were developed were, to begin with, said to be parallel to the academic bachelor level internationally, with their 3-4 year span. Finland needed an international point of comparison as the academic bachelor level had been abolished in the 1980s. The present decade has brought along more academic elements as the polytechnic second-cycle degrees (parallel to master's degrees) are being developed and even gaining legal status.

Among the Ministry of Education's motivations for promoting the polytechnic experiment were the achievement of international higher education standards as well as an international compatibility and recognition of studies; whether these are rationales that relate more to the development of the Finnish economy or, to the development of the educational system per se, is not quite clear (cf. Wächter 1999A, 80).

The academic motivation, which according to Knight (1999, 19) is directly linked with the history and development of universities, includes mobility of scholars and the international dimensions of research. Research is less characteristic of polytechnics, as research was only gradually and modestly entering the polytechnics in Finland in mid- and late 1990s in the form of applied sciences. Basic science is by nature international: talking about Japanese or Chilean theoretical mathematics is nonsense according to Wächter (1999B, 12) who suggest that applied science instead could be more tied to a certain place where certain kind of knowledge is accumulated (obviously like the Silicon Valley in California or in Finland, Oulu Region).

If international mobility has been typical of the traditional universities since the middle ages, international mobility instantly became typical of the polytechnics in Finland, too. The empirical data show how mobility was necessary in finding models of an education that did not exist in Finland. How successful at least in numbers the polytechnic international movers were, is reflected in the debate related in the chapter on Internationalisation of the Finnish Polytechnics.

A proof of the existence of an academic rationale in internationalisation would be the academic drift, i.e. the prestige-bound appeal of universities that causes related institutions try to adopt university-like features. Quite early on there were warnings against such drift saying that polytechnics would jeopardise their *raison d'être* if they imitated the universities (Opetusministeriö 1992, 6).

To compare with Germany, we see how the Fachhochschulen over the past few years have relabelled themselves from polytechnics into universities of applied sciences (the English wording was officially approved in 1998, Wächter 1999A, 88). The same has taken place in the Netherlands with the Hogescholen which have agreed to use the title University of Professional Education (*ibid.*, 117).

A notion from the present author from her visit to New Zealand in 1997: she went there to visit polytechnics with a history of some 30 years behind them, and found herself in recently renamed universities in Wellington and in Auckland.

Finland is also giving in to the academic drift with polytechnics generally changing their international names into universities of applied sciences (cf. Liiten in Helsingin Sanomat 11.1.06).

I first toyed with the use of the word 'polytechnic' in this study in order to refer to rationale issues that are parallel to those we think of when using the word 'academic', but clearly pertaining to the world of the polytechnics. But in finishing this subchapter and having witnessed the disappearance of 'polytechnic', that down-to-earth English name for these institutions, I think it is better to stick to the more generic coinage 'Academic rationale'.

Promotion of peace and global responsibility as rationale

Wächter (1999B, 20-24) contends that promotion of peace and global responsibility as well as regional integration and development construct a further category of rationale behind international higher education cooperation. The authors point out that this kind of internationalisation is rather marginal in the development. Ollikainen & Pajala (2000, 7) also mention global problems as a motivation for internationalisation, and Ollikainen (1997, 75) refers to promotion of peace and combatting racism as a key rationale for Finnish academic interna-

tionalisation. Knight suggests a category called the social and cultural rationale, which refers to a respect of cultural diversity and a fight against the homogenising effect of globalisation (Knight 1999, 21).

For me this present rationale would seem to be a category where somehow the responsibility for a global wellbeing is concerned and the actors deal with issues that emphasise moral and ethical stances. This would even include work towards prevention of crime and contagious diseases, for example and, sustainable environmental issues. Looking at the theoretical discussion and my empirical data, it is not in the focus of polytechnic internationalisation, though, but surges time and again in the discourse of the informants, especially when discussing multi-culturalism.

Demographics as rationale

Demographics is, curiously enough, not discussed as an internationalisation rationale in my main readings – yet as Stobart above suggests, it progresses affect the development of education. Higher education institutions may, for example, consider recruiting from abroad. For Finland and several European countries with diminishing study-aged cohorts, this would not only be a measure to ensure that the country has ample highly educated labour force even in the future, but also to safeguard institutions' own *raison-d'être*, too.

Another aspect in demographics that affects higher education internationalisation is the ever-increasing migration between nations. This poses the institutions with the challenges of providing immigrants equal access to – and success in – higher education including questions about the recognition of foreign qualifications.

Questions that will remain unanswered in this study are, why demographics has not been 'discovered' as a higher education internationalisation rationale and, should multi-culturalism be discussed as a rationale of its own right. My empirical data contain notions towards such an end. I will come back to the questions in the discussion.

The unofficial rationales (individual, accidental)

There are two other rationales for higher education internationalisation, which ought to be considered at this stage. These could tentatively be called the 'Accidental rationale' and 'Individual rationale'. For example in Wächter (1999A, 68) a Danish informant says *"As much as we know that many contacts still have their background in a 'professor-to-professor' relationship which could be characterised as accidental (scientific meetings, conferences etc.), no doubt only*

those contacts would be developed which are in accordance with the policy of the institution". One could ask, what does the word 'still' hide or reveal in this quotation? For a good while, perhaps, international contacts in that institution were developed on an accidental basis. A Belgian rapporteur openly refers to an ad hoc approach at a time in internationalising his polytechnic (ibid., 38). The oversized role of individual contacts in launching internationalisation has been recorded in other Finnish polytechnics like Tampere and Turku (Kantola & Panhelainen 1998, 41, 55).

For VAMK the role of the individuals in setting the goals of internationalisation has been highlighted in the survey that was carried out a few months prior to the interviews used in this study, as well as in the interviews themselves. These findings are explained below.

Internationalisation rationales in a VAMK survey

Some driving forces in VAMK internationalisation came out of the findings of a questionnaire-based survey carried out by Dean Maarit Fränti and the author of this study a few months prior to my research interviews in 1997. Rationale related issues of internationalisation were examined in this survey, which was directed to the students and staff of the four VAMK fields of study, namely Catering, Tourism and Home Economics, Culture, Health Care and Social Work. One of the questions (nr 2 in the survey) was formulated as follows:

QUESTION: Which are the factors A) directing the internationalisation and B) its choice of focus in your degree programme?

As to the part A of the question, according to this survey, internationalisation was directed by three major factors in every four degree programmes that were surveyed. The most important factor was that the field of study represented professions that were international by nature. Many of the staff and the students found the demands set by the internationalised working life also important. The third important factor was the increasing multi-culturalism of our society. The opinions of the staff and the students were very similar and even the four fields of study reflected a similar understanding in this question.

As for the B part of the question, the most important factor concerning the choice of focus or the direction of internationalisation, seemed to be the will, abilities and contacts of the individual teachers.

However, here there were differences between the opinions of the staff and the students, and there were also major differences between the fields of study. In the departments of Social Work and Health Care, the main directing factors were

the existing international cooperation, the possibility of getting extra funding for specified areas and activities, as well as the influence of individual teachers. In the department of Culture, the most important factor was the influence of individual teachers, but the respondents also found the will of the management important. The Catering department found the will of students most important followed by the possibility of getting extra funding for specified areas and activities.

The biggest difference between the results from the staff and the students concerned the importance of the will of the students. The students found their influence significant in the choice of international activities, whereas the staff did not.

In the above discussion, a few findings are rather conspicuous. First, the VAMK staff and student respondents found the world of work especially as related to their respective fields of study as a strongly internationalising factor. Second, they found multi-culturalism as an internationalising factor. Third, they found the role of individuals dominant in directing the internationalisation at VAMK at the time of the collection of data. (Fränti & Mattila 1997.)

5.3 Towards a comprehensive picture of the rationales

As a point of departure, I would like to mention van der Wende's study of a typology developed by Burton Clark in determining what kind of controls there exist for higher education. The controls are depicted as a triangle with **state authority**, **market** and **academic oligarchy** as the three angles. The controlling forces interact to determine the way in which higher education is directed and coordinated. Each angle of the triangle represents the extreme of one form of coordination and a minimum of the other two. According to van der Wende, Clark does not touch on internationalisation as an issue in educational policy making. (van der Wende 1997, 13.)

Van der Wende goes on to ask why, as signs of internationalisation as a significant player in higher education were quite heavily in the air towards the end of the past decade, it was treated in rather obsolete ways in higher education policies (see also Wächter 1999B, 52). One explanation they found was that internationalisation was often equated with academic mobility and cooperation (van der Wende 1997, 14-16) meaning that internationalisation was more easily recognised as, or through, its means rather than its actual agenda. They quote Knight's definition of internationalisation that was presented earlier in this study. The authors see in the definition a hint of the obviously common understanding of internationalisation as a goal per se. This is a notion leading to circular reasoning. Again a remark from the author's present working settings: the National

Board of Education is fixing its new strategy for the next ten years or so, and everyone is rather unanimous about the strategy having to have an element of internationalisation in all the functions that the new strategy will comprise. But there are few practical answers to the one who asks, what does that mean?

Van der Wende presents what she calls the wrong paradigm of education internationalisation. She contends that the general education research in 1980s and 1990s emphasised the governance and management issues in education drawing on disciplines such as law, political science, economics and public and business administration, whereas research on internationalisation was, until the 1990s, based on such disciplines as sociology, psychology and anthropology, focusing in particular on issues arising from staff and student mobility. So the research paradigms have not been appropriate for studying internationalisation more widely. More over, there is a certain disconnectedness of internationalisation policies and overall higher education policies, because the policy instruments of governments have not been matched with the development of higher education internationalisation. (van der Wende 1997, 22-23.)

The wrong paradigm might support the present researcher's notion of globalisation dictating the hidden agenda of education internationalisation. In Finland, the efforts of higher education internationalisation have been mainly geared towards adopting internationalisation policies and programmes brought about by the EU membership overlooking the understanding of the wider international issues of a globalising setting that would have called for attention years ago – had there been an ample research-based understanding concerning the phenomenon.

Van der Wende wishes to work on the Clark triangle mentioned above by putting it into an explicitly international framework, in order to bridge the gap between what they call the real world situation and the higher education policy making:

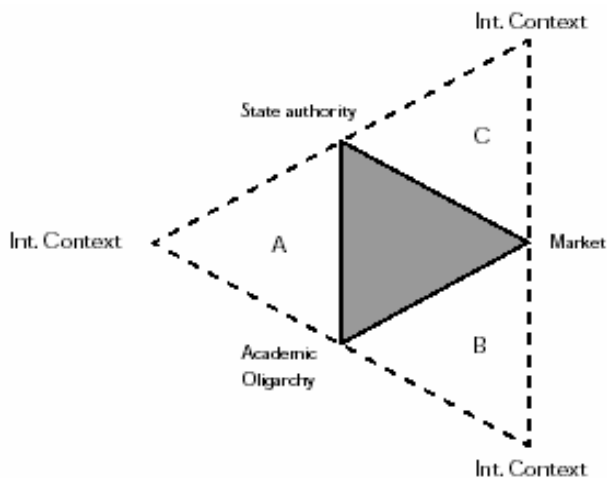


Figure 5. Coordination of higher education in an international context (van der Wende 1997, 27).

With the figure above, one should perhaps go back to the chapter on Globalisation to consider for example, how State and Academia have been revamped in their relationships in Europe with EU education programmes, the Bologna Process and the European Higher Education Area – a tool in Europe’s venture to become the leading global economy. Despite the fact that the EU has no directives to harmonise education, no European state would consider regulating its higher education without taking note of what is said about that particular issue at European level. A more hidden side to this facet, State vs. Academia could be international security issues. One could also consider the hidden and public agendas organising Academia and Market or, rather, consider how Market is organising Academia in controlling curriculum design, financing R&D, opening up or closing down units in certain areas etc. With the interplay of State and Market, the rationales and the outcomes are perhaps the most subtle ones. I would like to point out how Finland’s actions in introducing the polytechnic system, as shown earlier, were to a degree driven by economical motivations. What feels somehow necessary based on the discussions above and van der Wende’s notions on globalisation in defining higher education internationalisation, is that we consider changing the Triangle’s International Context into Global Context. This would be to illustrate the complexity of the influences that come from ‘outside’ and that have an effect on the control and steering of higher education internationalisation.

As opposed to van der Wende's worries about the disconnectedness of policies for education and internationalisation, Wächter has pointed out that, at the end of the past decade, a) the economical control was felt more clearly whether it is in order to obtain revenue generating measures or, the more long-term building of a high-quality human resource through higher education; b) internationalisation policies were becoming more comprehensive and coherent. They seem to have a two-way aspect nowadays in the sense that they contain a bearing on the national general education policy instead of just indicating bearings of national policy on internationalisation. As a rule, they also seem to contain a more or less global aspect as opposed to the earlier politically / geographically centred approaches; c) The education policies in general and, along that line also the internationalisation policies, are less controlled from a central state authority. This implies that the external actors, the economy (or market) and social partners as well as the institutions themselves have parts to play in policy formulation. (Wächter 1999B, 52-53.)

Söderqvist carried out an applied content analysis of the Finnish higher education European Policy Statement (EPS) documents of 1996 and 2000; these were 1-4 page documents to be annexed to the Socrates IC funding application. The documents provide an insight into the international thinking of most Finnish higher education institutions. Söderqvist discusses the results in her dissertation (2002, 45-50) showing that the management of the internationalisation process is neither systematic nor holistic in the institutions, a further proof of the suggested disconnectedness (van der Wende above) between the rationales of internationalisation. It could not be otherwise – if the national level lacks systematicity, there is little hope of finding it at the institutional levels.

My personal notion here would be, as I was the person responsible for establishing the Evamk/Laurea EPSs from the time such were first required, what I did, was to translate into English some key elements of the current overall strategies of the polytechnic, and as there was relatively little about the European aspect there, added appropriate lines from our evolving international strategy which was not too European, that one either, so I tried to make it sound more 'EU'. The texts were checked by our international team and the management team with, if I remember correctly, little alteration. That fact is, I am afraid, that none of us found drawing up an EPS really of much significance.

The triangle of rationales revamped

Based on the above discussion, it should now be possible to develop the Clark/van der Wende triangle further and try to motivate my pre-understanding that it should have more than just three points. There is the agenda of 'Peace and Global Responsibility' suggested earlier; there is the World of Work crucial for the polytechnics; there is the 'forgotten' rationale demographic. Also, when discussing internationalisation at institutional level, that of the Individual and Accidental, i.e. the issues that are rather marginal or, as I will suggest in the empirical part of the study, reflecting, instead of a rationale, the ir-rationales of internationalisation.

The rationale types could now tentatively be arranged according to the authority types underlying the rationale choices. My theoretical informants do not really discuss this so I am on thin ice but my suggestion is as follows. The driving forces are partly external to higher education, like politics, economy, demographics, partly internal like some of the unofficial rationales. Some of them fall in an area in between external and internal like the academic rationale. My "philosophical" question earlier was, do we internationalise or are we internationalised in a higher education establishment. To get a fuller picture of that situation I suggest in the table 3.

Table 3. Author's Suggestion for Choice of Rationale by Authority type with Dichotomy External – Internal (HEI = higher education institution).

Rationale Type

Economic Political Demographic	World of Work Academic Promotion of peace and global responsibility	The Individuals	The Accidental
Determining Authority -> from external to internal (unofficial)			
External as regards the HEI not (personally) known to the HEI international actors Normally national and or global; sometimes local	Partly external, partly inter- nal as regards the HEI Can (rarely) be known by the of international actors Can be national, global or local (world of work)	Internal as re- gards the HEI Normally known by the inter-national actors Often from within the HEI	Authority not known; there is no authority

The findings above will inevitably require a transformation of the triangle presented by van der Wende into something more complex. The triangular shape and two-dimensional approach do not really reflect the complex dynamics of the various rationales. The shape of a star below has been chosen on purpose, as it relates the question of the choice of rationales with the title and theme of this study. The suggested shape may work as a tool to assist both a national and institutional level rationales analysis. This is a tentative approach to analysing the rationales; I will come back to it in the discussion.

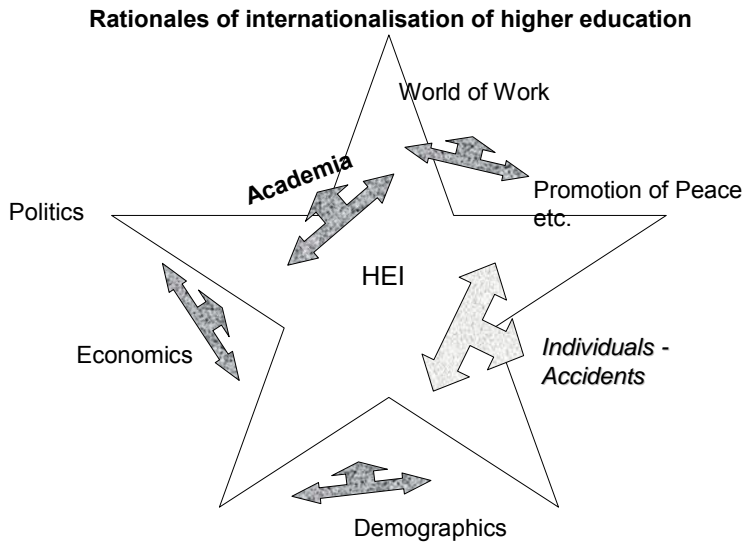


Figure 6. The author's suggestion for depicting the dynamics of the rationales of internationalisation at national / institutional levels. The placement of the arrows shows whether the rationale is considered external – internal to(the) higher education (institution).

Concluding on the definitions, rationales and processes of higher education internationalisation

This chapter was looking for answers to the research question, what kind of definitions there are for internationalisation and globalisation, especially from the point of view of tertiary level and polytechnic education. Some of the answers suggest how,

- internationalisation takes place in various stages and at several levels; it is a process.
- the process can be measured by its degree of systematicity and centrality in the organisation.
- there can be several dimensions in the process concerning, for example, the value base of the actions, or their geographical distance.

The basic question attained here for the study of the empirical data is

- How does internationalisation take place?

The research question, *what are the driving forces or rationales of higher education internationalisation*, was also examined. The term '**rationale**' in this study refers to the fundamental reasons, the requirements and challenges that are the driving forces of higher education internationalisation. The chapter discussed these reasons and motivations, suggesting:

- a number of rationales derived from previous study suggesting there are further rationales that can be called unofficial or marginal
- rationale types are not 'pure', rather they tend to mix with each other (political – economical for example)
- rationales can be displayed as a continuum from external to internal as regards the role of higher education.

The basic question attained here for the study of the empirical data is

- Why is there internationalisation?

6 INTERNATIONALISATION OF FINNISH POLYTECHNICS

6.1 International from the outset

As part of her national strategy for success in the European and world markets, Finland launched and carried out a reform aimed at giving university level education of high quality up to 65 % of the population. The solution was the polytechnic experiment, not dissimilar as known by models in Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, but tailored to the unique Finnish setting as part of the overall government strategy in developing a knowledge-based economy. The challenging context was set by the changing geo-political, societal and economic circumstances that culminated in the severe economic decline in the early 1990s. (See for example, L 391/1991; Valtioneuvosto 1993; Virtanen 1997; Rask 2002; Antikainen 2005.)

The reform was carried out under the supervision of the Ministry of Education, by building up a non-university sector of higher education consisting of institutions which internationally can be referred to as polytechnics or universities of applied sciences. The Finnish polytechnics were formed by upgrading vocational institutions which previously offered college or post-secondary level education. A parallel challenge to that of upgrading the level of education, were the mergers of dozens of vocational school units and colleges into large-scale multidisciplinary institutions.

The reform was implemented through a gradual process of experimentation and development. In the first phase, several temporary polytechnics were launched in 1991-92, Vantaa Temporary Polytechnic, which was later expanded into Espoo-Vantaa Polytechnic, and finally licensed as Laurea Polytechnic, was one of the 22 first experimental temporary institutions. The permanent status or licence was first granted to six polytechnics in 1996 as they were seen to have fulfilled the criteria for licensing, set out in the Polytechnic Act. By the year 2000, the polytechnic system was fully developed with a total of 29 polytechnics.

The Government Proposal for the Polytechnic Act included several objectives for the polytechnic system that reflect pressures from outside Finland or, internationalisation rationales. Three of these were explicitly referring to internationalisation:

- internationalisation of education through exchanges and foreign language training provision
- Improvement of the international compatibility of vocational education
- Meeting the changing needs of expertise and skills set by, among others, internationalisation and economic harmonisation. (HE 1995.)

The first objective could be said to reflect an agenda of internationalisation being a means to an end (there should be internationalisation by introducing tools for internationalisation); the second objective reflects both an academic rationale and the interests of the economical or market forces that called for 'harmonised' work force; the third one refers rather outspokenly to the rationales of the Market/Economy and The world of work.

It was perhaps of crucial importance to the speedy developments of the polytechnic internationalisation, that "international cooperation" was listed among the dozen criteria required from polytechnics that competed for the permanent licence, already in the first Polytechnic Act of 1991. What forms this cooperation should take, was not explicit in the legal texts, but they were a strong impetus to action (Kantola & Panhelainen 1998, 3; cf. also observations in the empirical part of the study).

6.2 Ministry of Education defining polytechnic internationalisation

The Finnish Ministry of Education distributed a policy paper about the internationalisation of the polytechnics as early as in May 1992. This happened at the moment when the first experimental polytechnics were about to start their education provision in August 1992. The policy paper makes one thing clear from the outset (author's translation from Finnish):

"There is no reason why the polytechnics should be satisfied with inferior objectives in their internationalisation to those of the traditional universities". (Opetusministeriö 1992.)

It is remarkable how well this message reached its goal. Claims were made to the effect that polytechnic internationalisation was even surpassing that of the universities in the mid 1990s (Ollikainen 1999, 177, Partanen in Helsingin Sanomat 20.5.1997). What helped in starting active internationalisation was the fact that the EU education programme Erasmus was already well established in universities, and it had been opened for the vocational post-secondary education since the late 1980s. This trend was then reinforced by the fact that Finland

joined the EU in 1995 and thus became fully eligible for all the EU education programmes.

The EU has also been part of the focus of the Ministry of Education and the National Board of Education internationalisation policies since 1992, with an early objective that each polytechnic should take part in at least one EU education programme. This goal had practically been reached in 1995, when only one polytechnic was not participating in any EU programmes (Opetushallitus 1996, 22).

The Finnish polytechnic system was developed in Finland at the same time as there were severe cuts in the country's economy, due to the recession of the early 1990s. As implied above, the Ministry of Education strategy for creating a binary higher education system was so that the polytechnics were part of a solution to help make Finland's economy more competitive. This is one of the reasons why the polytechnics received considerable government funding for their internationalisation from 1992 and all through the years of severe recession (Häkkiälä 1997, Opetushallitus 1996, 2004). The uninterrupted funding is the more astonishing as the total funding for education was cut by some 0,8 billion EUR from 1991 to 1995 and was not considerably raised during the next few years (Numminen 2000).

Within the budget and policy framework given by the Ministry of Education, the National Board of Education guided the internationalisation processes of the polytechnics until 1996 when, along with the first licensed polytechnics and the new Polytechnic Act, the polytechnics were moved under the Ministry of Education Department of Higher Education. The NBE, which was responsible for allocating internationalisation money to the temporary polytechnics, required from 1995 onwards, an internationalisation strategy from the institutions whose internationalisation it financed and, in its instructions, set priority-ranked guidelines for eligible internationalisation activities (Häkkiälä 1997, Opetushallitus 1998). The NBE has provided a positive incentive for the earlier polytechnic internationalisation, as the extra money was neither scanty nor bureaucratic to obtain and to report.

This conclusion is based on the present author's own experiences of which I would like to give an example: Due to loads of applications and a constant lack of manpower, the NBE was often late in informing the applicants of whether they were getting funds for their internationalisation in a specific year. I remember several occasions when I was chairing a VAMK international team meeting and needed to give an answer to the team about when the decisions would come; it

was just one phone call to the NBE and the answer was there, like “Yes your application is in the process, please don’t worry even if you sent it in late, you will get something in due time.”

The move to the Ministry of Education meant a loss of the personal touch between the polytechnics and the state authority on internationalisation issues. These became part of the Negotiations on Objectives and Results with no great cuts, however, in the sums obtained for internationalisation.

The Ministry and the NBE have set internationalisation goals and trends largely in collaboration, which has included the introduction of Asia and Russia pilot projects (Opetushallitus, 1996, Häkkinen, 1997; see also the empirical data). Looking at some policy papers (Opetushallitus 1996, 1998, Valtioneuvosto 1993, 1998) and the actual proceedings with the NBE financing, it could be said that the NBE drove a softer line in internationalisation than the Ministry. Whether there was less State control with the NBE I would not contend; rather the distance that was in place between the international actors of the institutions and the Ministry may have worked vice versa.

As suggested in the discussion about Finland’s foreign policy, the wider framework for the polytechnic internationalisation was derived from what was topical in the political arena. Since World War II Finland had placed political emphasis on neutrality and on economic and cultural cooperation with its neighbouring countries. Finland’s transformation into an EU member country – even the ‘best pupil’ among its peer states - has been an interesting process also from the point of view of polytechnics in so much as they may have had a role assigned for them in Finland’s overall political internationalisation.

The introduction of the EU education policies and programmes into Finnish education has set one of the most visible and demanding frameworks for the internationalisation of polytechnics. Erasmus/Socrates, Leonardo, the Tempus programmes, the ESF are today part and parcel of the educational play in Finland.

The introduction of the EU into the Finnish reality has reduced the role of the Nordic neighbours. The Nordic Council of Ministers has been a minor player with its more modest set of incentives for educational internationalisation. The rehabilitation of these Finland’s more traditional international partners, envisaged by many, is still in waiting and the flair for the EU programmes is for ever strong, even if they are sometimes laboursome to work with (Ollikainen 1999, 236).

6.3 Putting internationalisation into practice

What actual arrangements have been considered, at official level, in making the Finnish polytechnics international? The Ministry of Education Policy Paper of 1992 was aimed at helping practitioners conceptualise internationalisation by dividing the concept into the following activities and prerequisites:

Suggested activities:

- international contacts and partners
- international mobility
- cooperation in teaching, research and development
 - supplementary measures:
 - increased teaching in foreign languages
 - teaching of Finnish language and culture for foreign students

Prerequisites of internationalisation:

- exchange of information
- administration
- financing
- monitoring and assessment.

(Opetusministeriö 1992.)

If we compare this list with Knight's (1999) and Söderqvist's (2002) stages of internationalisation above, one gets the impression the Ministry is picturing polytechnic internationalisation at its early stages. One could also contend that the list is suggestive of circular thinking where internationalisation is taking place, as there should be internationalisation. But the list is exhausting if you think that the polytechnics had just been formed from vocational institutes and colleges with fairly little experience of internationalisation.

A suggestion for measuring the quality of internationalisation was also drawn up early on in a handbook on educational collaboration of higher education institutions (Snellman 1995). It was targeted outspokenly to the traditional higher education institutions, but was found to be of much interest among the polytechnics too. It was published by the Finnish Centre for International Mobility, CIMO, whose role in Finnish education internationalisation would deserve a chapter of its own.

The handbook has an introductory note contending that the emphasis had so far been on quantitative goals, neglecting the qualitative ones. Looking back at the situation in mid 1990s, this is understandable as internationalisation was in its early stages both with the traditional as well as new higher education establishments. The 'Snellman' was a welcome tool to add depth to the efforts. Curiously enough, there were no new Finnish higher education internationalisation guidelines available by the time I left Laurea in 2002. The Finnish international coordinators "all" went to CIMO seminars and EAIE congresses to see what the cutting edge of their profession was.

In pursuit of a quality assurance approach, the Snellman booklet included a memo list on self-evaluation of internationalisation with six main points which can obviously be regarded as an agenda for a university establishing a full-fledged internationalisation aspect into its functions. It is interesting to compare this rather advanced list to the definitions of higher education internationalisation presented earlier in this study; perhaps one could relate the list with Knight's 'Ethos' and Söderqvist's third stages.

1. Strategy and action plan
2. Administration and structures
3. External relationships of the institution
4. International activity of teaching and research personnel
5. Students
6. Teaching and degrees

(Snellman 1995, Appendix 3.)

As for polytechnic education, there were and there are no national curricula. So the Ministry of Education does not stipulate the international content or teaching methods of the polytechnic education. Curricula for the various degree programmes are a product of each organising institution, controlled or at least influenced by the Ministry, the national and relevant international legislation like the EU directives, the Council for the Evaluation of Higher Education, the professions in question and, increasingly, by international collaboration.

Looking at programme documents of the years covered by the present study, the EU Socrates programme for 1997-98 seems to set the general trend for increased length and scope of exchanges and joint international curriculum development. In the Finnish Ministry of Education Aims for polytechnic internationalisation in 1997, the Ministry set a goal for one third of higher education students

spending at least three months abroad during their studies (in 1992 one fifth, cf. Valtioneuvosto 1998).

A contemporary Ministry of Education Report states that the polytechnics had on an average 27 bilateral collaboration agreements with foreign institutions in 1994-95. The next academic year, the average number had increased to 40. The figures for partnerships in international education networks were 15 in 1994-95 and 18 in 1995-96. The Ministry made a qualitative comment in saying that the great number of agreements has not led to much practical activity. (Opetusministeriö 1997.)

The report (Opetusministeriö, *ibid.*) quotes polytechnic presidents who believe there has been an overall internationalisation of the Finnish polytechnic institutions, an improvement of language skills and an increased versatility of communication skills. Students believe their language skills and self-confidence have increased through study periods abroad. However, no mention was made about enhanced professional skills as such, or graduate employability. These aspects will be discussed in the analysis of the interviews of VAMK staff and students in the next chapters.

7 THE EMPIRICAL STUDY

7.1 The target institution: a short overview

- 1989 Polytechnic planning launched in 1989 on the initiative of the Finnish Ministry of Education
- 1991 Ministry of Education permit obtained to launch polytechnic level education among the first twenty polytechnic consortia in Finland
- 1992 The Vantaa Temporary Polytechnic (VAMK) established through the merger of polytechnic level education of:
the Vantaa Institute of Health Care
the Vantaa Institute of Social Work
the Catering Department of Tikkurila Vocational School
the Vantaa Institute of Art and Design the Mercuria Business School
- 1995 First graduates complete their studies
- 1996 The Espoo-Vantaa Polytechnic Joint Stock Company (**Evamk**) is established in anticipation of expansion.
- 1997 First expansion through the merger of polytechnic level education of:
Espoo Institute of Business
Espoo Institute of Health Care and Social Welfare
Espoo Institute of Hotel, Catering and Cleaning Services
Hyvinkää Institute of Business
Järvenpää College of Teachers of Home Economics
Järvenpää Training Centre of the Association of the
Kerava Institute of Business
Lohja Institute of Business

1998	Second expansion through merger of polytechnic level education of: Hyvinkää College of Nursing Lohja College of Nursing Porvoo College of Nursing Tuusula College of Social Services Uusimaa College of Rural Development
1998	The Vantaa Institute of Art and Design and the Mercuria Business School are merged into the Espoo-Vantaa Institute of Technology
2000	The Government grants Evamk the permanent licence and the name Laurea Polytechnic is introduced
2001	Full scope in the number of students (6000) is reached.

7.2 Obtaining the empirical data: the interviews

The empirical data have been based on interviews with several VAMK informants carried out between May 1997 – October 1997. One of the reasons to collect the data in the form of several interviews was to capture a realistic and multi-faceted picture of VAMK internationalisation as a process.

Interview themes

The interview themes were selected on the basis of those questions that had become prominent through the process of planning this research design in 1995-96. Those themes were turned into questions and further developed in carrying out the questionnaire-based survey on VAMK internationalisation as explained in chapter 6.2.

The interview questions are given in ANNEX.

Running the interviews

The key idea in designing the interview themes was to allow interviewees to deal in depth with the background issues of Finnish polytechnic internationalisation as well as to examine the conceptions they had about carrying out their polytechnic's internationalisation in practice. Interviewees were also encouraged to

make an assessment of the significance of internationalisation as a whole in the making of the polytechnic, such as they understood it.

The themes were not discussed according to a fixed order, but a warm-up question was mostly presented in the form of "*What do you understand by the word or the concept of internationalisation?*" The interviews always concluded by asking the interviewees' personal experiences about "an international success". There was always space to deal with issues outside the listed themes, if they were found important or to be of interest to the interviewee or the interviewer.

On an average, the interviews lasted a little over an hour. There was one interview with a student that took slightly more than 30 minutes.

The period of time to be discussed was not defined by any strict dates. When the agreements for the interviews were made it was made clear that we would be discussing the internationalisation process from the beginning of the polytechnic system, or earlier, if the person had been active in polytechnic planning or teaching from an earlier date. If the interviewee had joined the polytechnic later, as either a student or as a staff member, the period from that time on to the date of the interview was discussed.

All interviews were recorded on tape and then carefully, verbatim typed for the analyses by the interviewer/author of the present study. The transcription of the recorded material produced about 280 pages of text. The transcription was done a few months after the interviews, with the interviews still fresh in the mind of the interviewer/author.

The interviews were inspiring, not only to the interviewer, but also, I believe, to the interviewees. This can be judged from the fact, for example, that the interviewer had to be careful to keep an eye on the clock and the agreed scope of time not to exceed it. Over the course of the interviews, there seemed to be an infinite number of interesting new angles to any of the themes.

The interviewees

The original idea was to interview representatives of all five institutions that had formed the Vantaa Temporary Polytechnic, VAMK. This would have given a comprehensive picture of how internationalisation as a concept and as a process had been shaping in the polytechnic. Four of the institutions, representing culture, catering, tourism and home economics, health care as well as social work studies, had been directly owned by the City of Vantaa.

The fifth, Mercuria Business School or MBS, was owned by a foundation and had always been quite independent administratively, providing a different strate-

gic culture into the way internationalisation was launched. It was obvious that there would be abundant data to handle from the four City of Vantaa departments, and as they had become an organisational entity of their own within the Espoo-Vantaa Polytechnic organisation since 1996, business administration studies were left out of the study.

Altogether 20 interviews were held. The interviewees were selected in order to get as diverse a picture of as possible, representing both teachers, administration and students, novices and experts, pros and cons of VAMK internationalisation.

The deans (3)

Undoubtedly these are the persons who had the best overview of the development of their institutions within the new polytechnic entity. It can be assumed that they had the best information on background influences as well, such as Ministry and local authority policies, and the policies, controversies and decisions taken within the polytechnic and their motivations and implications. By bringing out and analysing their experiences with regard to the internationalisation processes in the degree programmes they represented, it was also possible to obtain an overview of how the internationalisation process was launched and managed.

The three deans that were interviewed had all been quite active in internationalising their degree programmes and had participated in the planning and implementation process from the very beginning (1989, 1990; the researcher worked with them as a planning officer of the City of Vantaa Education Department 1990-1995). Two of the deans had at the time of the interviews been positioned for some time as Regional Principals of their Evamk Regional Unit, one for about half a year in 1996; the other permanently since 1996. Thus they had also experience as members of the Evamk Board of Directors, allowing them a more extensive managerial outlook on the Polytechnic.

The students (5)

The students are the key internal "customers" of polytechnic internationalisation. They had both heard and experienced the policies put into practice or, alternatively, left undone, as empty promises, both at school, and in several cases on student exchanges abroad.

In all, five students representing each of the four fields of study were interviewed; there were two students from within social sciences but representing dif-

ferent degree programmes. The students had been selected in agreement with the deans or international coordinators of the respective degree programmes.

Three of the students were male, two female. Two were studying at an adult education study line, three full-time. Female students were always a large majority at VAMK as were full-time students, so the chosen gender selection or the divide with regard to study time did not reflect the norm. One student was of foreign nationality.

All students could be described as internationally oriented by how they had arranged their studies: all had either studied abroad and/or undertaken international studies at home. Two of the students were well known by the interviewee, the rest were more or less pointed out to the researcher by the international coordinators of their degree programmes.

The teachers (8)

Two types of teachers were deliberately selected from each of the four fields of study: four teachers were what could be called "implementors", those who had been part of the process of making internationalisation happen at VAMK and even earlier in their careers. Three of the "experts" had also been acting as the international coordinators of the field of study they represented.

The other four were teachers who had had relatively little to do with internationalisation in their degree programmes and thus were expected to bring an "outside" or "layman" view on how the internationalisation process at VAMK was shaping up.

All teachers were well known to the researcher before the interviews took place.

One out of the eight teachers was male, representing the proportion of males in the polytechnic teaching staff in general. One teacher was of foreign nationality.

The CEOs (2)

In the autumn of 1997, as the two last interviews in my schedule, I interviewed two CEOs in order to have a more comprehensive, strategic and political, if you wish, perspective into the research themes. One was my immediate superior, the Chief Executive Officer or President of the Espoo-Vantaa Polytechnic, who had been nominated into the position a year earlier. The other CEO was also a former immediate superior to me, City of Vantaa Deputy Mayor of Education and Culture (earlier Chief Education Officer, hence the abbreviation CEO for him too). He was also Member and at the time of the interview, Chairman of the Espoo-Vantaa Polytechnic Board of Directors.

These interviews brought up issues that had a different angle to the themes compared with previous interviews. Then something happened. I did not feel comfortable with the CEO material and did not even type the texts out entirely. I never took the material up again until the spring 2005, then finding the texts invaluable as some internationalisation aspects of great interest were available only in these. What had happened, why did I not dare look at them but after so many years? Maybe their position as close superiors had been somewhat disturbing? The distance to my former tasks is now long enough.

Language

The language of the interviews was predominantly Finnish as that was the native tongue of, not only the interviewer, but all the interviewees except for the two non-Finns. The non-Finnish teacher was fluent in English, which was used in the interview with him. The non-Finnish student's perfect Finnish helped choosing Finnish as the medium of the interview.

As the language of this study was English from the beginning, the challenge of rendering the necessary quotations from the interviews into English – all except the one that was originally made in English – presented itself early. It is probable that some valuable observations have been lost on the way between the original language and the translation. The translations as such should be in good English, as they have been checked by a native English speaker, a higher education expert who knows the target institution and even some of the informants.

Age and sex

The interviewed staff members were between mid-thirties and mid-fifties; the majority of them were 45 or more. As the interviewer was also already past 40, it could be assumed that something of recent trends with regard to the internationalisation of communications and culture may have been overlooked.

Two of the students were in their early twenties, three in their early thirties.

All deans that were interviewed were women. There were no male deans at VAMK. Seven of the eight interviewed teachers were female, one male, which roughly represents the overall proportion of teaching staff at VAMK. Three of the students were male, two female; the great majority of VAMK students were, however, female. The CEOs were both male.

The interviewer as an interpreter of VAMK internationalisation

The interviews as explained above, were carried out by the author of this research, who at the time was in charge of managing the international activities of

VAMK, reporting directly to the president of the polytechnic. An issue that should be remembered all through the study is that internationalisation is examined within the scope of understanding and experiences of a middle-aged Finnish female person. My somewhat biased role as the implementor and researcher of VAMK internationalisation will be discussed as concerns the validity of the research below.

The quotations from the interviews

Quotations from the different interviewees will have a central role in displaying the core issues of this study, the concepts behind strategies and actions. When concluding the interviews, I asked every informant whether they would accept the utilisation of their texts in the ensuing study and even possible publications, with receiving confirmation from all.

In using excerpts from the interviews, I wish to let the information speak instead of a recognisable person and thus I will mark the deans as D1-3, students as S1-5, teachers as T1-8, and CEOs as C1-2. In brackets will be added the page of the typed interview where the quotation can be retraced. In most cases I have skipped a repeated colloquial word (of the type "like", Finnish "niinku"). When someone (rarely) has named a fellow-Vamkian, I have replaced the name with a parallel expression. Otherwise I have endeavoured to convey the quotations as exact translations from Finnish.

7.3 Towards the analysis of the empirical data

Research approach

According to Alasuutari (1993) and others, the research problem and its objectives define the method that is to be used therein. In the evaluation of educational programmes, he prefers the use of qualitative methods, as they adapt relatively well to the evaluation of the context and the processes. As the present study has first and foremost to do with the context and processes of internationalisation in a polytechnic, a qualitative approach is appropriate.

A naturalistic research approach avoids generalisations as it sees social reality always as being tied to a certain context inconsistent with generalisation. The research design is emergent: it will be defined, changed and made precise by the interaction between research object(s) and the researcher. In checking on the reliability and validity of the study, great stress is placed upon the skill of the researcher to be open, explicit and reflective on the emergence of the various phases and results of the research process. (Alasuutari 1993.)

As explained in Chapter 2, my research pertains to educational sciences. It is about internationalisation as it is conveyed as part of and through an educational process. I have assumed an entirely qualitative research approach. Quantitative methods are based on measurement (Erätuuli & Al. 1994, 10) and the information or data should be observable, attributable to reality, testable and transferable (Leino J. 1995), and the researcher should assume a role where the data have "a voice" independent of the person dealing with it. This is not the case with the present study. In qualitative research an observation is not taken as such but its significance will be interpreted: the unit of observation is a significant entity of an interview, a text etc. The interpreter or the researcher will be part of the research process creating data or information through his or her own thinking, through him- or herself (Ahonen 1995).

The qualitative research approach that I have employed is perhaps best described as ethnographic. This is a methodology that has been developed through anthropology and its origin is often linked with the Great Explorations of the 15th-16th centuries. The explorers of that era sailed to numerous earlier "undiscovered" parts of the world and they gave detailed and inspired descriptions about the scenes and experiences that they came across (Alasuutari 1993, 61). A narrative dimension is typical of the research approach with an attempt to make the experiences of the target group visible and audible as well as to form 'narratives', discourses that make sense somehow. Ethnographic research accepts a variety of scientific and philosophical backgrounds as well as an interdisciplinary approach (Hammersley & Atkinson 1997). The Great Explorations comparison will be underpinned rather concretely through the empirical findings of the present study.

I have dealt with my research data from a hermeneutic point of view, which implies an interpretative approach: collecting and interpreting information, texts, which I have obtained from existing sources (policy papers, reports, studies on internationalisation) on one hand, and a number of extensive interviews that I have carried out on the other. *"Hermeneutics is concerned with interpreting and understanding the products of the human mind which characterise the social and cultural world... Verstehen (Dilthey's term) is the means to comprehend the meaning of a historical or social situation...; hermeneutics involves scientists adopting the style of literacy analysts rather than natural scientists"* (Burrell & Morgan 1987, 235-237). I have tried to assume the situations of the authors of the texts, and at the same time remain critical, observant, seeing things as a whole. This approach I have assumed through the theoretical framework built on

previous research literature and by making judgements of my own on the research data thus producing grounded theory (Ahonen 1995).

As the present research is examining a past pioneering process, which did not employ any strict methods or guidelines, I am also looking for what elements of grounded theory could be revealed behind the activity. Glaser & Strauss (1967, 11) contend that it does not take a genius to generate useful grounded theory. Grounded theory should in all cases be apt to the disposal of - and this should be proven by its easy yielding and practical value to interpretation - to laymen, especially people working in the area of the research. It must be applicable and function even in other situations than the one under study. It should not just be an elaboration of the researcher's pet ideals for example. It is important for the researcher to be in critical dialogue with other experts, public opinion etc. (Ibid., preface, 237-238.)

My research interest has been emancipatory as explained in Chapter 2. My understanding of the nature of knowledge is constructivistic: I have explored information of varying kind on internationalisation, in a long process of living and learning in order to construct a meaningful picture of the phenomenon under study.

The use of metaphors as a research tool will be explained in chapter 9.2.

How to formulate the research questions

Formulating the right research questions for the present study was a process that lasted all through the processes of examining existing theory, working with the interviews, elaborating the full text of the study. It is possible to pin down the phenomenon to be studied if it is possible to formulate it as a question; a research is a means of answering a question or a research problem (Erätuuli & Al. 1994, 11). It is customary to start with a general problem – in the present case, questions like, 'What is internationalisation?' 'What is globalisation?' - that will cover the whole research area. From the general questions and answers it is possible to continue towards an analysis of related sub questions. – 'What is higher education internationalisation?' 'What are the driving forces or rationales of internationalisation?' 'What does the research data reveal as regards these questions?'

While formulating the questions, one has to consider methodological relevance on one hand, i.e. whether the research problem can be approached through the method chosen; and theoretical relevance on the other i.e. whether the questions will engender new and generalisable information (Erätuuli & Al. 1994, 34).

Glaser & Strauss (1967, 254) talk pragmatically of the role insights may take in working towards a theory: these cannot be of use to the theorist unless they are turned from anecdotes into elements of theory, that is, relevant categories, properties, and hypotheses. Also, the theorist's work is never finished, but the process of elaborating and amending the theory will go on, as more knowledge upon the theme will accumulate. This is very much like a description I could give especially of my experiences in writing the chapter 6 as well as the final chapter on Findings and Discussion, where I have tried to produce new theory by comparing my anecdotal impressions of internationalisation against existing theory and the information raising from the research data.

I find my research process could be explained by also a notion coming from Dixon & Al. (1988, 46) who contend, that all research is not necessarily guided by a hypothesis, or a pre-understanding - it is simply done by finding out what is going on - but as the research process evolves, hypotheses will also emerge, instead of sticking to mere descriptions of a situation. I have tried to make notes in various chapters of this study where pre-understandings have arisen through study-in-process.

In chapter 3 I have presented the research problems as they at this ultimate stage of the research process can be described.

How to deal with the empirical data

The problem with the analysis of qualitative data upon case studies is, that it tends to be the least developed and worst documented element in such studies (Miles & Huberman 1984). In the present study, the discourses about polytechnic internationalisation, the interviews might make some good reading as such. It is by focusing on and defining the procedures of analysis, that the quality and reliability of the cases can only be enhanced.

Miles & Huberman (ibid.) suggest a three-step procedure for the analysis of qualitative data; the steps are partly overlapping and often iterative.

- (1) Data reduction - the process of selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting and transforming the raw data.
- (2) Data display - an organised assembly of information that allows the making of conclusions and further action.
- (3) Drawing and verifying conclusions: defining the meaning of things, bringing out regularities, patterns, explanations, causal flows and propositions.

From early on, in 1999 when I did the first reading of the interviews in order to find something, just anything that would make sense on top of being a nice reading, regularities, patterns, explanations, causal flows and propositions as Miles & Huberman suggest above, there were some features that started to repeat or accumulate while I came back to the texts. The first tentative categories were provided by the thematic questions of the interviews.

Further reading rounds of the data were made with the help of the analytical tools I had been able to attain through theoretical study. This helped establish categories and find patterns in the texts. A decisive finding was the rationales of higher education internationalisation, first suggested to me by van der Wende's analysis (1997). Finally, when I was advised to look for metaphors that appeared in the informants' discourse, I obtained a triangulative tool to look at the categories established earlier as answers to the thematic questions which I had further developed or matched as possible rationales of VAMK internationalisation.

A key to the 'treasures' of the interviews was thus actually found in the slow process of formulating the research questions, i.e. understanding what I was actually looking for: it was the conceptions of the VAMK staff and students, the implementors of internationalisation, on what was happening when VAMK was going international. Two aspects are to be discerned here even if in practice, like in the interviews, they are often blurred: what were the guiding factors, the rationales of VAMK internationalisation, and, how it was done, what was the process like.

The process of studying the theory was iterative, slow but also cumulative, with repeated ponderings of texts of old gurus and delightful encounters with new ones, especially as suddenly there was the wealth of internationalisation and globalisation related information available on the Internet. In 1999, when I got my first study leave to work on this study, I did not have access to the Net. In 2005, when I took to seriously continuing my research work, I worked with the Internet as a most precious tool. In the long process I from time to time took up my interviews and theoretical writings and, for example, I always kept on eye on what was seriously said about the nature of education internationalisation, never giving up the process entirely. Thus my theoretical understanding evolved to be an essential tool in helping me to analyse the empirical data: this is the internationalisation rationales in particular. Also it soon proved that the existing rationales theory was not ample to cover what I was seeing in the interviews material.

7.4 On the relevance and validity of this research

A qualitative research is valid when it reflects the reality of the research setting - in my case, conceptions regarding the internationalisation motivations and processes in a polytechnic. A theory cannot be considered scientific with the help of direct observation as the connection between a theory and a generalisation is conceptual, not empirical. The relevance of my would-be theory is to be proved by triangulations and discussions with internationalisation experts. This has also to do with the reliability of the research, as the results obtained by different methods should produce answers that are in congruence with one another. (Grönfors 1982).

Triangulation is a way to look at a research problem from several viewpoints and preferably by using different research methods and hearing to the views of other researchers in order to verify the results (see e.g. Alasuutari 1993, Patton 1990). My first triangulative step was the little internationalisation survey at VAMK and its analyses in 1997 as explained in Chapter 6. A more important triangulative approach to find valid answers to the research questions was the reading and reflections on the concept of internationalisation through related study as well as other spheres of internationalisation study, such as history and politics, which have been explained in some detail in the previous chapters. As internationalisation is a phenomenon and a research object that clearly pertains to several spheres of academic study and real life than just education, I have found no other way than the rather tedious and slightly perilous way of exploring the phenomenon from outside my own area of expertise. The metaphorical study was the final triangulative approach to obtain diversified answers to the research questions.

The validity of the research can be seen as problematic as the researcher, on one hand, may assimilate too closely with the discourse and ways of thinking of the informants, as I knew most of them very well and as I knew so much about the international activities at VAMK. Also, it is possible that due to the fact that the interviewer was well known to the interviewees and that she was the head of international activities, some of the answers and their interpretations have not been rendered without bias. It is essential that the researcher strives to objective observations while constantly examining what roles her personality, experience and background may play in attaining the observations (cf. Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2001, 23). Functioning as the researcher in one's own cause (like I was more or less researching my own work) should not be considered a problem as such (Hammersley 2000, Introduction).

Being a trained supervisor, i.e. almost a professional interviewer, may have helped in obtaining truthful notions, as explained elsewhere. The fact that so much time has passed since the interviews, may be both a positive and a negative factor, as time probably has soothed off some of the poignant feelings that could bring about biased analyses. It most certainly has also wiped off some of valuable understandings of what there has been behind certain comments by the interviewees.

The fact that semi-structured interviews were used in order to obtain the research data can be seen as enhancing the reliability of the interpretations I have made on VAMK internationalisation. This is as both the interviewer and the interviewees were able to check on the discourse, i.e. both parties were able to make additional questions or remarks in order to understand what was meant by the information given. A thematic interview has also been said to be a good tool in examining issues that are only weakly or partially recognised - like the internationalisation of VAMK that was only shaping up at the time of the interviews. (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2001.)

The relevance of a scientific work can be measured against how useful its findings may be. I would again like to point out how little research there is still available on the phenomenon higher education internationalisation - or education internationalisation in general; not to mention the relationship of internationalisation and globalisation. A few weeks prior to submitting this monograph to inspection, I received an EAIE bulletin fresh from print with well-known researchers in "my field" asking more or less the same questions as I did already ten years ago in first drawing up my research design. The editors of the bulletin state that "globalisation has meant that internationalisation itself has become more complex" and, "the work of international offices has become more complex and acquired a more strategic nature"; furthermore, about intercultural sensitivity: "there is still a lot of work to be done in this respect" (Kehm & de Wit 2006). My findings may not answer any questions but they may help asking them more to the point.

8 CLASSIFYING INTERNATIONALISATION CONCEPTS IN THE EMPIRICAL DATA

8.1 Internationalisation rationales in the empirical data

I went through the empirical data in several phases (cf. Glaser & Strauss 1967, 82) first intuitively and by trying to find meaningful categorisations for the phenomena brought up in the interviewees' discourses and later, by purposefully fitting them into the rationale parameters found in the theoretical part of the study. It was obvious from the intuitive phase that different categories would abound and they would be more numerous than recorded in the theory readings I had done.

Looking at the van der Wende Triangle of the rationales in higher education internationalisation as well as the present author's alternative figure in Chapter 6.4, the first challenge towards presenting the empirical findings is to decide on which pattern to follow. As I have suggested, I see the mainstream rationales analysis is not reflecting a full picture of the motivations of a higher education going international. My suggestion for a figure depicting the complexity of the rationales is more extensive or, at least, admitting more nuances, but it needs further development.

As suggested earlier, an ethnographic study should allow the research process to establish a narrative that would help make sense of the gap between theory and empirical data; and to let the persons who have provided the data to have a voice of their own. After my theoretical ponderings, I had come to the conclusion that it is the rationales that should be examined in order to obtain the most meaningful information available in the research data. Going back to the interviews— after having previously been approaching them without a clear idea of what should be looked for – the mass of text started to organise itself with remarkable ease and with a feeling that the interviews dating back to 1997 had yielded a common voice.

As Michael Patton has suggested (1990, 390-392), the researcher had established what Patton calls "sensitizing concepts" based on her pre-understanding; these were thematic prompts in the interviews which I also tried to use in order to derive meaningful categories from the data. But the data clearly also had several of Patton's "indigenous concepts" that helped analyse and further categorise

the data findings and the internationalisation rationales in general as part of the inductive analysis of the data.

The following presentation of the rationales of VAMK internationalisation is based on the inductive analysis of the interviews with major deductive support being drawn from the preceding theoretical study.

The presentation below follows a suggested order of rationale types in the continuum from “central” or “mainstream” authority-based rationales towards the unofficial or marginal rationales (cf. Table 3).

The academic rationale

All informants had plenty to say about reasons behind the polytechnic internationalisation that had to do with academic or, more specifically, polytechnic teaching and learning agendas, or agendas that were in other ways typical of the brand-new Finnish polytechnic system of the mid 1990s.

Dean 2;3 “I did not take [internationalisation] as if we were forced into it but rather that it was a vital element of this form of educational institution or this form of higher education. So we started working on it.”

Learning of students in focus

The students are in the forefront in the minds of the polytechnic staff that were interviewed. *Dean2;14 says, “The reason why we start this [internationalisation] is to serve students’ learning needs”.*

Teacher 7;15 reminds us of a quality approach where the student is the key customer: *“...if we have a quality polytech with good opportunities to study both at home and abroad so the student will benefit and that is what I wish all our activities aim at, meaning that the student is the engine of the activity or the reason for all our efforts, what ever they are.”*

Teacher 5;7 says she tries to think *“in practice what the students really need to make it and to develop... No nonsense, fancy, but it is the real needs.”*

The central tool in facilitating the learning of students is the curriculum.

To begin with, internationalisation was not an entirely new phenomenon to those Vamkians who had taught already at college level. *Dean2;5 says: “...Knowledge of different cultures and religions was always part of the educational programme. So it was no novelty really, even if we have increased that element a lot, but yes it has always been a part”.*

However, to most interviewees, internationalisation means working on the curriculum: Dean1;9 “it is like enriching the entire curriculum”

Teacher4;4 remembers the first visit abroad from her field of study as representing the polytechnic was made to Holland: “So well, I think what we did was to go and get some instructions as regarded this polytech curriculum... so [the Dutch] curriculum was a kind of point of reference, as we had no polytechs in Finland when we were running those first experiments.”

Teacher8;2-3 agrees: “For example in Holland and in Germany, the polytechnic tradition is so much older that even with the [returning exchange] students you get like, hey, they have it like this... And then the student asks us, why don't we have it like they do. For sure, it makes you think like... maybe we should alter our system...”

In Dean3;2's case the whole curriculum had to be imported: We launched a field of study that did not exist in Finland... Well, obviously the polytechnic curriculum was built entirely on foreign models, i.e. it was based on curricula from schools in London, Paris and Copenhagen... and as [a staff member] modestly commented, it was slightly improved on the way.”

The efforts were sometimes less successful: Teacher7;14: Finding these partners at a higher level is no simple task... this practical emphasis that we have included in the polytechnic studies, it may not be present [in the partner school's curriculum] as it is like very theoretical or marketing oriented which of course partly matches with our studies... but a system that would quite match ours is no easy thing to find.”

The students had practical suggestions as to internationalisation in curriculum design: Student3;7 “the thing that you don't know much about some cultures, so it should be added into the studies with one or two compulsory courses for everyone” and Student1;9: “It is exactly this multi-culturalism that should be present in every [-] curriculum and the same with the two languages Swedish and English, and I would actually be ready to add a third in among the compulsory subjects, that could be like two study weeks.”

Student1;3 motivates the language studies in the polytechnic curriculum: “You should be able to communicate with people, and then there is the other thing which is that you should be able to study research material in foreign languages. Because, abroad they've undertaken more research than here in Finland.”

Teacher1;15 confirms Student1's notion: “In principle you can have an international approach to any subject by dealing with research material in different lan-

guages.” With her comment, Teacher1 touches on the issue of Internationalisation at Home.

Internationalisation at home

Like Teacher1 above, Student4 below makes an early reference to Internationalisation at Home, IaH, which only became well known as an internationalisation approach in Finland a couple of years later, after it had been introduced at an EAIE conference in Maastricht in 1999. Student4;7 contends that “if you have an extremely important course you can arrange it so that you include internationalisation in it... well what comes to my mind first is study materials, and you could have lectures in a foreign language, and you could go and get acquainted with some companies... the culture of an international company, right in Finland.” He goes on suggesting that the learning experiences in internationalisation could also be attained by visiting and choosing studies from other VAMK departments (Student4;7): “I think they are also cultures in their own right as these are different departments... it could bring along a lot of new ideas when a person from another institute could say that this is how we do this thing.”

If curriculum development as the central academic or polytechnic tool was the key to the motivation for VAMK internationalisation, that development clearly culminated in accommodating a practical experience or internship as an option within the curriculum.

The exchanges: Getting the larger-than-life learning experiences

It was pointed out earlier in this study that student exchanges are considered to be the first step into higher education internationalisation. This notion is reinforced by VAMK comments, but they also develop the issue further. See also Findings and Discussion.

Teacher4;1, “What I understand with internationalisation, when we are talking about schools, is student exchanges, both coming and going.” Student1;1: “Internationalisation, as we now are in the world of education, what it brings to my mind are student exchanges, and teacher exchanges. Both.”

The teacher and student quoted above did not have personal experiences of exchanges. The interviewees who had been involved in international mobility give a more nuanced picture of the activity:

Student5;13 “theoretically of course, [my internship in South America] was of no use at all. But the idea with a practical placement is that you get plenty of hands-on experience, because here [at school] we have enough theory...”

In confirming the views of his colleague, Student4;11 says the content of the exchanges could be of any nature: “ I say there is no such placement that you’d turn down, not if it is a development project like building a school someplace, or a top job in New York where you get an internship, they are all helpful in all ways... so you could say it is such a diversified or multi-disciplinary international system, not only the school sector, student exchange, nor an internship, it could also include some NGOs, enterprises, international enterprises...”

CEO2;12 remembers vividly the returning students who had already a few years earlier experienced something that “as a life experience was quite significant and as these people had obviously had to organise their lives there quite independently so you could really hear how this probably was the most significant experience during their studies.”

Teacher2;22 recalls the story of a painfully shy student who only spoke Finnish when he first joined his partially English-language polytechnic department and eventually went on an internship abroad: “First of all, he was exposed to an international environment for the first time. The teachers, the books, the way of thinking. And he just loved it. He realised he had to learn English otherwise he would never survive in this field. He did a fantastic thesis. He is now going to present a paper [at an international seminar], on his final project. He keeps contacts to people abroad, he's got a job already, a permanent job, that's a success story. If he would have stayed [at the vocational school he started studying in the first place], he'd still be the same type of person he was there. So I think that's... and it's happened to many of our students.”

Getting partners and establishing cooperation abroad

Getting partners abroad was often a first step into internationalisation even if these former vocational institutes had a good number of international partners already:

Dean1;5: “And then [when first launching polytechnic education] we already had a long tradition with Africa and also Canada and the United States...”

Others did not have partners, like the department of Teacher7;12: “well, my impression is a bit dim already, but we mapped out European countries looking for institutions that would support the studies in our field...”

Student1;4-5 was a member of the polytechnic’s student body in 1997 and had recently attended a national-level polytechnic seminar, a so-called ARENE conference where a speaker had declared, “that the polytechnics have much better

and more wide-spread relationships abroad than the traditional higher education establishments.”

The flipside of the coin is shown by Teacher6;4: “Permanent relationships still wait to be established, to a great deal. So it has been more important to have contacts than to maintain them.” This is where we come to the kind of internationalisation that could be said to be a means to an end. It was important for some players that VAMK had a great number of international partner institutions, as it was considered a bonus in the national evaluations for the permanent polytechnic licence.

A further step in international academic/polytechnic cooperation that is not much present in the interviews, neither of the staff nor the students, is finding entirely new study programmes, either jointly with foreign partners or in order to tempt foreign students. This was, however, typical of the times, as pointed out in the chapter on globalisation.

Dean1;7 related how some three years earlier she had, “drawn up a sketch for a triple degree and, well, the idea was that there would be eight Dutch and eight Zambian [students] and then eight Finns, and their first year was to take place in [their respective] countries so that the students would first come to know their own social security [systems] and then [the tuition] would be organised in turn by Holland and Zambia and Finland and then, eventually, [the students] would be brought together to prepare their final theses”. As she says, the triple programme was aimed to bring maximum international learning and institutional synergy benefits, but perhaps typical of such ventures, first Holland backed out and then Zambia’s national security became too precarious to send students there.

There is also a notion from CEO1;8 suggesting that the international cooperation should have aimed at much more than the typical finding of new viewpoints to old work: “I don’t know of any genuine, in-depth, reciprocal cooperation which has so far been established within internationalisation... one could develop entirely new concepts, new study programmes meeting entirely new demands...” As exemplified later, his idea was that the polytechnic education should have been more at the service of the enterprises of the region.

A verdict from the author of this present study: We travelled far, promoting study programmes that were “entirely new”, such as a trip in 1996 to South-East Asia to promote Aviation, Front-office Services and Security Management, which were then VAMK innovations and had never been really tested against the experience of the world of work. Only Security survived. No genuine interest in

them was shown on such sales promotion “road shows” that we did, for example in 1996-97 to Asia and Australia, and there was no demand that I know of even afterwards. Is this a sign of the Finnish hard-headedness? Is it easier to promote what you have come across yourself than to try and find, in cooperation with providers abroad, something that would be of foreign origin but suited to you with some modifications?

Another novelty suggested by just a few informants (Teachers 1, 8) as a goal for academically oriented international cooperation is research. Again, this was something that had not been invented at home at VAMK or suggested by the polytechnic legislation and evaluations for the permanent licence. Teacher2;22 however says: “And then develop research. You have to come to it at one point, you can't avoid that.” Applied research or R&D (research and development) came only later to the polytechnics' agenda. Presently they form one of the “three tasks” of the polytechnics, along with teaching–learning and regional development (L 351/2003). The present author's real life anecdote is from Australia where a VAMK team - the author, Teacher2, Dean3 as well as the dean of Catering Department visited in 1997 - a few months prior to this interview. Several of Australia's universities have a polytechnic like background. A Melbourne dean of business studies was interviewed by the Catering Dean and the author. We were given exactly the same advice as suggested above by Teacher2 – with the same allusion to the obvious fact that in the world of higher education, research is the commodity that is best traded when of adequate quality and innovativeness. Back at VAMK we reported, “promote research”, in our ensuing mission report to the polytechnic management but we were gently turned down being somewhat precocious with such a message. The polytechnics were still focusing on upgrading their teaching-learning processes to the demanded higher level.

In conclusion for the academic rationale at VAMK

Based on the number and variety of notions in the interviews, I think it is possible to contend that the upgrading process of VAMK education - this is, the academic rationale, was the key driving force in the VAMK internationalisation. Within this rationale, the students were in the focus more than anything else, which is seen in the ways they were also aided in learning through the international elements in the study options of the polytechnic.

With the student- and learning-centred development of VAMK's education provision, one could also suggest that there is a humane value-base present in much

of the ensuing internationalisation activities, as reflected in these verdicts from the interviews.

Rationales in empirical data: World of work

As suggested earlier, the Finnish polytechnic system was created in order to service the internationalising labour market and hence, to find answers to the challenge of ever-changing demands in professional qualifications. This approach is reflected in the empirical data of the present study in the ways it bears notions connected with the theme of the world of work.

First of all, let us see how these basic duties of servicing the job market are kept in mind by the VAMK staff:

Dean2;8-9: "Well the way I see it is that the most important task of our polytechnic is to educate experts, professionals of this field. And as long as this work [internationalisation] serves this, it is exactly what we should do."

The students are mainly educated to service Finland but the internationalising labour market is present too. Dean2;5: "I don't see us educating [professionals] to the world but ...for the Finnish needs, but well, we must have such an education that they can work where ever and attend to the needs of who ever here."

The employer should attain value added, as Teacher1;17 contends of students that have experience from international exchanges: "This should benefit the employer in the way that such an employee would be useful in more ways, with language skills and, through them, more extensive knowledge, so as with this international dimension."

Again, as I tried to demonstrate in the chapter on the academic rationale, the main clients are the students who should be able to enter the labour market with adequate qualifications. Teacher5;1: "[VAMK's international obligations] mainly have to do with the world of work... as this learning through work and processes is crucial, so what I think is of interest to the students, ultimately, are the jobs that they can possibly obtain and then also, to help them see and expand their horizons already while still studying. This I think is our obligation."

The Finnish labour market is in a cycle of constant complex change. More and more of the work is done in international environments as Dean1;11 suggests: "Finns go abroad so it is natural that the way they work there is in international teams". Dean2;3-4 develops the theme further: "If we think that people are mobile in their working lives they can also learn to know these different cultural areas more in-depth while they are still studying."

Student3;1 puts it in more concrete terms, first the general setting: "It is that we should be able to take notice if somebody comes from another country, a patient..." And further in to the details (student3;12-13): "And then of course, these differences, it is good to compare them. Yea well, like injections, so for me it is no difference which is better, which is worse, but in Sweden they had a slightly different system in controlling..."

One of the reasons to introduce the internationalising world of work into the study programmes is immigration bringing in a new kind of clientele as Student2;15 suggests: "Five years ago we did not have this situation of re-immigration from Ingermanland [in Russia]... so only now are we facing a situation where they [social service providers] have been forced to change that [related services] and there is more need for people to work among the immigrants, so also in this regard Finland has been internationalised."

Employees in Finland might also come from foreign backgrounds, unlike a few decades earlier, as Teacher7;12, 14 describes: "Well it is that these foreign employees have come along taking up different duties, especially in cleaning services, and as for the future I'd see that the lot are quite quite, well, multi-cultural and thus they set the demand that, if we think that it is the duty of the polytechnic to train people to these managerial positions, so then working with subordinates like this also demands that we have like international know-how and provide studies in such areas, at the polytechnic. So it is the tasks in these professions that put the pressure on us, through such demands." And she develops the theme further towards the academic agenda: "the transformation of [Finnish monocultural] working communities into very international ones has certainly had implications on the way we plan study programmes."

I think it is worth observing here how Finland and the Finnish language are so recently experiencing multi-ethnicity and multi-culturalism that even educated people do not use such words as ethnic and multi-ethnic but instead, international is often used as a generic term referring to a multitude of ethnic-related phenomena.

The development and change within a profession abroad can also have implications on the activities of the Polytechnic that provides studies related to the field. As Student1;3 says, "I think [internationalisation] is crucial as [these field-specific] functions are making progress in Central Europe and in Sweden - and one could almost say that they are lagging behind Finland so they ask for a lot of references from us."

The developments elsewhere are also reflected in a greater array of working skills of returning exchange students as Teacher8;2-3, 7-8 explains: "It is so that a student, well what she does all the time is compare: okay, this thing is like this and these methods are like that with us, as seen against what they are somewhere else...". She goes on: "Well, for example, one of my students spent half a year in Edinburgh and brought along a method that had to do with prevention of school bullying... and she experimented with it [in a school in Finland]... so she set up a project like this and did her final thesis about it with another student, and they are publishing a book about it and this is leading to more projects and probably also jobs for the students... so it is a wide span of things here."

Parallel examples could be given from Teachers2 and 7. The examples bring us close to what can be the key learning experience or the gist of what added value there is in sending students on practical exchange periods abroad. In 1997 Finland, just recovered from its all-time worst mass unemployment in early-mid 1990s, the ultimate benefit could be getting a job as suggested by Teacher8 above. Students3;3, 5;14-15, Teacher5, CEO2 have similar notions. They are also looking beyond the Finnish borders like Student3;3, with her brief internship in Sweden, who says, "Well, naturally if it happens that one doesn't get a job in Finland so maybe then, one has to see how the situation is in Sweden."

But the ultimate added value for the job market would rather be as Teacher7;4 explains: "Well, the things you get from international practice are, even if they are not necessarily as comprehensive as practice in Finland, so the experience can be, like for the other things you get, of such good use in the labour market so the things that the student does not learn in practice, they can be learnt some other time... or based on the experience that the student has gained in self-reliance and courage in handling a variety of challenges..." Similar notions came from Students3, 4, 5 and Ceo2. The gist of these notions could be perhaps referred to as a meta level learning experience and a meta level competence which exactly have to do with self-reliance and courage that can be used in problem solving in a variety of challenges in one's working life. This is obviously one of the core skills that employers have been demanding since the structural change in the labour market began towards the end of the 20th century, implying a constant change even in the qualifications that are demanded of any employee responsible for more complex tasks.

CEO1;1-2, in reflecting on what qualifications the modern labour market requires both in Finland and from Finns considering jobs abroad, enumerates more qualifications: ability to put up with uncertainty as well as varying work and living con-

ditions, tolerance, team skills and, coming perhaps close to Teacher7's self-reliance and courage, an overall confidence for life.

The EU White Paper on Education and Training (White Paper 1995, 14) discusses under Skills Required [of the then future European labour force] what it calls social aptitudes and refers to a large extent to competencies as the VAMK informants did in their interviews, in thinking of the crucial role of a work experience abroad.

There is a further reflection of the changing labour market in the empirical data concerning the world of work. It could be called the Generation Gap. We have what could almost be called hubris from the young students who consider themselves or their peers as job seekers. Says Student1;3: "I think [internationalisation] is a case in point as we could here speak of a generation gap in the sense that if someone is ten years older so they are normally asked in a job interview whether they can speak certain languages. When we then take the people who are ten years younger, so they are NOT asked this question as it is taken for granted that they are fluent in languages and also know how to use computers. I should say, they are no longer up to par with those who know these things." Student2; 15 pictures herself in competing successfully for a job with someone "who graduated twenty years ago from some university".

In conclusion for the rationale of world of work at VAMK

As a concluding remark for the subchapter of the world of work rationale would perhaps best service Student4's;14 notion: "The culture where students, people today grow up is in a way international. Compared maybe to where teachers, depends of course on the teacher, but you could imagine that in some cases the students are more competent to handle things. Once again we have to remember that teachers of course concentrate on their own work...". Teacher6;11 reflects the same view in explaining how the internationalisation within the companies in her field, "the real life outside school" is being "mirrored" into the curricula. Understanding the dynamics of the world of work including its internationalisation is crucial for the development of the polytechnic studies. Yet it is not the teachers, several of whom have a limited experience of working outside education, who could best understand those dynamics, at least when trying to draw a fuller picture of the world of work for a multi-disciplinary polytechnic in a globalising world. This notion may have changed a lot in the years that have passed since the interviews, as recruitments of teachers from companies have been strongly promoted.

Going through the quotations above, it is possible to contend that not only do they reflect the importance of the world of work as a crucial source of educational reform but also the objective or the end user of that reform. Polytechnic education is being constantly revised in order to serve the world of work by providing the students such learning experiences as are supposed to make them succeed in that 'world' – which is a different world from that of education, academia. Otherwise this chapter could be included in the previous one about the academic rationales.

The value-base again centres on the student and the teaching-learning and perhaps also the notion that mankind as such is valuable. This is no surprise as several of the interviewees have backgrounds in health care and social work. The supposedly hard values and benefits of businesses and industries might have been brought in had the array of informants included representatives of business studies. This might be an interesting subject for further study: how is the world of work experienced at the polytechnic in the present decade? Have the policies encouraging staff recruitment from the industries and the task to service the industries in the polytechnic's region that were introduced at the turn of the decade diminished the gap between the world of academia/polytechnic and the world of work?

Rationales in empirical data: It's a market!

Chapter 6 presented the market or economic environment as a key rationale for education internationalisation. To establish and consolidate polytechnic education in Finland, the state authority included in its list of motivations one that has to do with the said rationale. This is the one that refers to meeting the changing needs for expertise and skills set by, among others, internationalisation and economical harmonisation.

The EU White Paper on Education and Training of 1995 is rather an outspoken document promoting the enhancement of education in order to support the EU "in the current context of technological and economic change" (White Paper 1995, 4).

It is clear that the national and EU agendas ascribe education a supporting role in the national and EU market places. This is a more or less concrete image. There is another, more metaphorical market place, where education came to stand in the 1990s. This could be described as the societies of the information age heading towards one single market place of ideas, data and communication (de Wit 2002, quoting Muller, 142).

For the case study institution VAMK, the economic rationale is not a prominent one – except for the two CEOs who through their positions have had a say in both regional and national level discussions on which ways to target education in the next few years or decades to help Finland attain economic success. This is reflected in the fact that a globalised world economy is mentioned by both of them but no one else among the empirical data. An economy-related dialogue is nevertheless present in the discourse of most of the informants and through such discourse I would like to contend that the market economy rationale surfaces in much of the thinking concerning VAMK internationalisation in the mid 1990s.

As the VAMK discourse is more suggestive of, than openly referring to the rationale of market or economy, it is perhaps not correct to use the name given to it by earlier studies. A notion coming from Student5;19 who exclaims “It’s a Market!” would be more lenient and more metaphorical as a heading – like de Wit’s quotation a few lines earlier. Student5’s exclamation is explained at some length below. Most of the notions in the empirical data that have to do with this rationale, to my understanding, are more impressionistic than analytically based on clear-cut ponderings concerning the market economy’s effects on education. But first let us look at the more precise references to the market economy, coming from the two CEOs who represent two different viewpoints:

As CEO1;1 says, “This country is no vacuum. We have to live our lives on the terms that the international market sets.” “It has to do with the development, internationalisation, or more generally, globalisation. It is a fact that we have international enterprises here... and then, on the other hand, it is a fact that education today cannot really be organised unless you pay attention to the international viewpoints.” For CEO1 who first and foremost is servicing the City of Vantaa, it is the industries and the organisations in the region that would seem to come first in setting the international trend in education. His concrete vision is that “one could think that the international contacts should be tied to a part of the regular contact network of enterprises so that the international contacts of educational establishments could be available to the enterprises. This would be one of the challenges we should envisage” (CEO1;10).

For CEO2;2 as the head of the Polytechnic, it is the student who is in the forefront in explaining internationalisation in education: “One element is that students would learn to act in what we call a globalised world economy; and another one is that they get the kind of competencies that help them in finding their way to the job market, abroad...”

Teacher1;10 has similar ponderings without using the exact terms as she says: “Every country has a system of its own and yet they are not standing alone. And then, more and more, there are these financial plans, budgets, so it is not like one country is cutting back [while others are not] but that to a great deal they are like international functions so a number of countries are doing the same things simultaneously, so we are not living in a vacuum...” (cf. CEO1’s “vacuum” just above). She is explaining how she is introducing the international viewpoint into her teaching subject, public health.

When did education become a commodity in the globalised markets (cf. Knight 2006 suggesting this happened in the whereabouts of 1980-90s)? When I visited Australia on a staff exchange in 1997, my host unit the international office of the receiving university in Melbourne, existed primarily to facilitate the export of the University’s education abroad and to receive paying students from abroad, mainly Asia. The kind of exchanges that I was trying to promote, exchanges to expand students’ and teachers’ learning, were then of marginal interest to their international office.

Finland had some experience of trying to export education but it simply lacked the reputation to make it appealing in that market place. In particular this was true for the polytechnics who were still taking their first steps as educational establishments. I think only as of 2005, with plans to pass a law accepting fees from foreign degree students, Finland is really stepping into the world of education business.

The structural changes in Finnish and global economies as of the 1990s have had a toll on government support to education. A need to finance education with other than government funds, through paid services for example, has been increasing in Finland since the recession of early to mid-1990s (see for example Mäkinen & Poropudas 2001, 12). This is I think the time when sales promotion jargon was introduced into the discourse in education.

Education and internationalisation as commodities of “international trade”

Finnish education and the linked cultural and work-life based know-how are considered by many VAMK interviewees to be commodities for a barter like trade. Teacher4;2 reflects on the kind of value-added that exchanges could give to education: “We take what is good, what suits us, and well, if we can also give what is good, that would be the right thing to do.”

Dean1;9 gives an example: “If I am thinking of the social and health care sector, so we’d really have a lot to give to the rest of the world because the Finnish social security system is regarded as being at the top of the world, and so is the

health care system. So we could deliver this knowledge that we have and through that, we'd get new knowledge that would help us develop our own."

Dean2;8 is suspicious of the equal barter approach: "While we are developing these [student and staff] exchanges, it is obvious that what other countries wish from us is help in developing social and health care education and practice. So really it is not exactly an equal reciprocation ...we get back something different from what we give. So there is a difference, depending on the [1997] situation where we are obviously concentrating on Russia and Asia and their education within social and health care is different and perhaps at a slightly lower level than this ours." Dean2;9 develops her line of thought further, and here we see a glimpse of how the market economy has a part to play in how internationalisation was directed in her degree programme: "...different kinds of commerce as well as migration will increase between Finland and Russia in the future, so if we can be helpful in developing the practice and education within this sector, so naturally it will also be beneficial to us. Asia, which is in any case a growing trade partner and it will be quite significant and I somehow feel that it will even push Europe aside in this respect."

Except for the glimpse of the market economy rationale we can also discern a security political stance here: improving health care in Russia has long been part of Finland's neighbouring area strategy with Russia (www.formin.fi ->Policies ->Regional strategies).

The barter trade in knowledge and know-how seems to be rather typical of the social and health care educators. Teacher7;13 gives an example of how within her field, Catering, Tourism and Home Economics, it was not possible to join the cooperation network of a Dutch polytechnic as the Dutch "saw that taking along a small unit like ours [intake 20 students per year] would be difficult on our own, suggesting that we first expand through cooperation in Finland and in that way, gain more substance..." In the previous chapter an example was given of how the same VAMK field of study was having some trouble finding high-level counterparts elsewhere in Europe.

Dean3;9 exclaims:" Basically we know the areas where we are getting and do get some benefits, and where we can perhaps give something in return."

Taking the students' point of view, we have Teacher5;8 wishing to give her students "visions of their own on what opportunities they have there, in the international marketplace". So her interest is more or less in helping students trade the competencies acquired at the international VAMK to foreign employers.

Student5;19 draws the picture of the competence barter market at an international congress: “Conservators are an extremely international lot and they gather in groups quite willingly and then, this is how we do, we sit at some bar at night and some forty-fifty people show up and they sit in circles and talk and this is how knowledge is exchanged and addresses are swapped and... it’s like a market!” Student4;4-5, thinking of participating in international fairs of his trade makes similar observations.

Teacher2;8, 18, the only interviewee who has run a business of his own, says of his department, “the idea to make this department international, when you go to these congresses, you meet these people, you have to try and sell this school, that’s what it’s all about.” He comes back to the theme: “First of all, you have to have something to sell. Meaning that you know what you are selling, and why. And that means, you have to believe in your department... through our teacher exchange and student exchange and letters and so on, and congresses, people know us.” He then gives examples of what they offer when “selling”, which is final thesis work in English, conference publications in English, a small but rapidly developing library with lots of international items. During the interview Teacher2 and the present author remember a recent VAMK brochure, which the author helped compile with bits of information from the existing and would-be study programmes. Teacher2; 21 says, “The content is too small because if you want a serious contact you want to have serious content.”

Selling Finland, VAMK and its degree programmes is important for other interviewees too: for one thing, the students were considering the international offerings of polytechnics when applying, like Student2;9, “Yea well it was one thing I was thinking of because it is something one would be interested in, like it is one of the merits polytechnics are now competing with, this thing that they are so international.” Student3;6 and Student1;2 are also aware of polytechnics promoting themselves with international study options. CEO2;10 says, “Well it certainly plays a part, you can see it in the numbers of people who apply for a place with us so these foreign language programmes have notably more applicants than the others... I mean if you are referring to our reputation as an international institution in Finland?”

The competition between polytechnics has been quite tough all through their existence, including competition in international services. This has occurred for at least two reasons: each student brings along the state subsidy as a contribution to the polytechnic’s core budget. The other reason lies in the history of applying for the polytechnic licence, which was explained earlier. Teacher4;9 refers to this history as being ready to put an end to the competition between the polytech-

tics, suggesting, “I think they all have the same need and desire, so it would not have to be such a terrible competition they have here. I think they all would benefit from [cooperation within internationalisation] and we could really generate some PR at least.”

Teacher4;10-11 is sorry about the few hours the polytechnic can give to training students in general subjects that would accumulate as cultural capital and be helpful in building a positive image of Finland abroad. Teacher7;10 thinks of lost PR opportunities too, being worried about what the students really know when going abroad: “students should become aware, when going abroad, of how the exchange period connects with their studies and what messages they are like responsible to take to their receiving places of practice or study...This should be seen also as a marketing channel. It provides a huge possibility when they move and talk, I mean to take this message on...”.

To help harness the unmanaged international activities in a purposeful way, Teacher7;7 has a vision of a multi-service centre, which she shares with her Student4;18 who suggests a R&D centre. In a few years this was reality even if in the flat-administration-loving VAMK/Laurea, they were not established as separate units. International activities were amalgamated into the student services as well as into the R&D services.

In conclusion for the market rationale at VAMK

There was no major economic or profit making agenda in VAMK’s internationalisation. It was more like the way people are, and have always been, they develop things by bartering ideas and through observing and spying on experts working elsewhere. Student4;9 even mentions “industrial espionage” abroad, when he talks about how his professional field is developed.

The major economic driving forces, the globalised market economies as part of the picture in internationalising VAMK, are mentioned only by the two CEOs.

As could be seen in a great number of the above quotations, the value-base of the Vamkians would be somehow close to the humane values again. This is, perhaps somewhat controversially, linked to an understanding that a good VAMK teacher or student is supposed to promote Finland and its education because, as it seems, the informants see Finnish education and society as positive things and often better than what is available in a number of countries.

State and EU authority as rationales

As suggested in earlier chapters, there has been a lot of regulation and top-down administration in Finland, including higher education management. The

state control within education has been gradually deregulated since the early 1990s, but simultaneously it has been enhanced by the regulations introduced along with Finland's membership in the EU. The City of Vantaa, home of VAMK, experienced the decreasing state regulation as a relief; this is my impression as I worked in the City of Vantaa Education Department from 1990 to 1995. The problem with the new freedoms was that, simultaneously, Vantaa was severely hit by the economic recession that was causing pain to Finland and most of Europe in those years. So there was quite a bit of freedom but little money to test the new fuzzier limits of action. As the economic situation was singularly severe in Vantaa, the cuts in what the City could invest in education were considerable. A repercussion of this was seen in the fact that a joint-stock company was established to maintain the polytechnic functions since 1996. Up to that year, Vantaa had been the provider of the education of the vocational institutes that formed VAMK (with the exception of Mercuria Business School, which is outside this study).

Like the City of Vantaa, VAMK also experienced the deregulation and re-regulation of the 1990s. I believe this is reflected in the empirical data where the discourses carry connotations of the interviewees' relationships and conceptions of such authorities they are subordinate to.

The data have a reflection of the Ministry of Education somehow giving the broad outlines for the Polytechnic internationalisation but, as Student2;13 says, and her observation is the most precise one concerning the students' understanding of who decides on the overall policies behind the internationalisation, "I really haven't given it a thought. It must come from somewhere like the Ministry of Education... they hardly make those decisions here in the School because it is these educational policy matters...". Student4;6 reflects on the role of the EU saying "I believe that, what made these student exchanges possible, mobility, was the fact that Finland joined the EU..."

The staff are more aware of the Ministry of Education having a part to play but they do not refer to any documents or exact regulations. Dean2;3-4: "The Finnish polytechnic system was in a way obliged to internationalise and we were aware of the fact that Finland would at some stage apply for the membership of the EU... So [internationalisation] has been part of this EU, it must somehow be linked with it as they timewise are so closely linked, so in Europe they like look for this joint mobility of the population and these joint borders..." She is much more explicit when discussing the directives that regulate the nursing profession, her field of study.

Teacher1;11 has the same notion: “At least the Ministry of Education has sustained an approach which sets focus on internationalisation and it is also one of the criteria in evaluating the polytechnics and granting them the permanent licence.” The influence of EU membership on directing VAMK internationalisation is mentioned also by Teacher4;6 as well as Teacher7;12.

Teacher8;9 is aware of an attempt towards a steering influence by the Ministry of Education: “Well, in that sense [the Ministry] has an influence that, if they give out a paper saying that this or that is a focal area so then we may think that hey, we have such and such opportunities there, let’s take these on board as they are the focal areas [of the Ministry]. But maybe in some other case we would not take them. Yes, they do have an impact but – and I’ve said this before – we should now do some quality control and say NO to new projects. At least our field of study has such an enormous amount [of projects].” Her critique is clearly directed both to the Ministry and the VAMK management regarding too much or uncontrolled initiatives to new international projects. Teacher6;13 echoes the same attitude: “Well I don’t think much about roles [of authorities] here but it’s a fact that we have to fill in both this and that form as the Ministry of Education is asking for it.”

Teacher2;16 is taking distance of the Ministry of Education much in the same vein as his colleagues but seeing the positive thing in funding: “All they do is provide money. I mean, the Ministry can’t make VAMK international. All the Ministry can do is give us money to make it international. It’s the people who have the ideas. You can’t expect the Ministry to take responsibility... why should they want to make VAMK international? VAMK do it themselves.”

Teacher3;8-9 feels irritated about the central role of the EU in polytechnic and overall Finnish internationalisation: “...I was once sitting annoyed in one of these NBE and MINED international [seminars]. And the only thing I think [I got out of the seminar] was the sight of EU flags waving in those charts, transparencies, and I think internationalisation is no way only us moving on to the EU market...” Earlier in her interview she has already reminded the listener of the fact that “this status of the refugees and immigrants is no way in our country, yea it does not have such a good status, we like lack an official refugee policy in the country...” (Teacher3;2-3).

The two CEOs again stand out by making a couple of exact references to key internationalisation documents. CEO1;5 says he is quoting the EU White Paper on Education (White Paper, p. 47 refers to the three languages) when he says: “necessarily people should master two-three European languages, and they

should be capable of an active role in, well all Europe is now a common job market... so as we educate here so that should give qualifications to function in Portugal or Greece or Paris or London... or Stockholm.”

CEO1;7 comes with the only open criticism towards the first polytechnic Act of 1991 where the criteria for the permanent licence were recorded: “well, this polytechnic development has a slight problem with the fact that these quality criteria have been cemented in the law and they are not really compatible with the overall polytechnic field. They have probably been targeted more at the technical field, they can be past their prime already being rather mechanical input-output types of criteria, which hampers this development of a dynamic strategy... I would set my hope on our polytechnic in the situation where we now have persons in the Board who are very much interested in strategic work and futures work... yet it is dependent on very few people.”

CEO2;2 gives a brief foreign political overview: “Finland clearly opened up to the world. This was at the turn of the 80s-90s along with the upheaval of the Soviet Union... Then of course, this European Union emerged and that heavily increased the contacts to the EU countries, and these far-away countries came into the picture, but the way I see it, it was to a great deal an outcome of this change in Finland’s foreign political status, I mean this change on the side of the vocational institutes.” He continues with mainly ethical ponderings: “This entire [political-societal] thinking is changing from a nation-state centred [approach]... so even there we have a strategic decision that should be taken in Finland, I mean the decision between mobility within a European framework and a global one... But then again, if we just concentrate on a European dimension we in a way promote divergence globally...” (CEO2; 3-4).

One of the main objectives for polytechnic internationalisation, at national level, was the improvement of the international compatibility of vocational education. Echoes of this mission are heard in quotations from Dean1;6, CEO1;1, and quite at length, CEO 2;6-7; ”And then within the EU they are developing some kind of a system for the comparison of studies and qualifications and this is like a set of criteria that I think should always be kept in mind, the thing that we like fulfil these criteria and recommendations that the EU has set, and this is like the most important thing next to the national competences [that the polytechnics are to enhance]”.

Later on CEO2;8 returns to the question reminding the listener of the Finnish polytechnics’ role in “promoting the mobility of labour. I think few are familiar with

this system of comparability of studies and yet, it is an area that somebody should find out much more about". Confession: at that very interview CEO2 even lent me a recent Finnish academic study on the subject with the obvious wish that I would be the one to find more about the system. I never did; the message did not reach me until years later when I had already left my polytechnic and was working at the National Board of Education where the Finnish national reference point for the Recognition and Comparability of Qualifications has been active for years. But even that year of the interview, I had become instrumental in compiling the ECTS Guides for our polytechnic, ECTS and the respective student guides being basic tools in promoting the comparability as well as recognition of higher education studies in Europe. I just did not realise CEO2 and I were working on the same theme. A confusion in our mutual discourse perhaps.

CEO2 makes the only reference in the interviews to a crucial Ministry of Education document and procedure, the general guidelines that the Ministry gave out annually for and through the Negotiations on Objectives and Results. The interviewer had asked about the controlling role of national education policies and their international elements; says CEO2;8: "Well of course they control us quite heavily which is due for example to the thing that this agreement on the Objectives and Results is such a strong instrument of control. There for example we have this Russia and South East Asia [cooperation objective] and the financial resources are also targeted along with these objectives..." Also Dean2;12-13 refers to the Ministry, which she sees is "controlling us the way the coordinates are drawn like this Russia and Asia, so they are prioritised both by the Ministry and our Polytechnic." It was a small "elite" that took part in the said negotiations, the Rector, the development manager, the regional principals and the president of the polytechnic board, so it was perhaps not surprising the deans do not mention it. The head of international activities was never invited to join the negotiation team.

CEO2 mentioning the financial resources allocated by the Ministry of Education for Russian and Asian cooperation brings us back to the money matters that Teacher2 already referred to above. The availability of finance for internationalisation comes up in one way or the other in all the interviews: this is obvious as it was always included as a prompt. The overall situation regarding funding for polytechnic internationalisation was good; this is reflected in the interviews. There was, if not too much of it, adequately nevertheless. Dean1;3-4, Teacher1;11 regard the availability of financing, coming first from the National Board of Education and then from the EU too, as a crucial motivation for VAMK internationalisation. There are only a few mildly critical notions such as

Teacher4;14 who “as an outsider can say, there is always too little money. Well, we could give more to the students, for the exchanges. And then for the purpose of tempting students to us from elsewhere, so that we could have an apartment, something like that, close to us...” Student1;13 is also worried of the sending institutions “as our partners are more or less from the public sector so their finances are pretty tight at the moment, and when we are talking about Vantaa, so Vantaa’s finances are even tighter.”

Teacher8;9-10 is looking at the future EU finances with an interesting premonition which luckily proved to be a false one: “...after all we’ve got money quite nicely so far. But this is an interesting situation with these Socrates [IC] agreements... how will we make it with more stress on accountability, accounting etc. at the local level and we don’t have a coordinator who’d handle them...?” Socrates IC was an EU education programme that provided financing for international activities. The same autumn as the interview took place, the author of this present study was appointed to function as the polytechnic’s Socrates IC coordinator. My personal opinion is that the IC provided ample and flexible support to the internationalisation activities but this was not known at the time of the interviews (cf. chapter 9.3/ Erasmus circles as rings).

Two more issues should be pointed out in the data that reflect the presence of the distant State and EU authorities in VAMK internationalisation. One is the agreement-centredness of the early functions; a lot of the interviews make references to how important it was to establish an agreement with a foreign partner. Dean1;4 says, “we had an idea that the principal and the teacher of the field in question... should set out to get acquainted with the place and to make these agreements... Similar notions come from Dean2, Teachers4, 6, 7 and Student2. As suggested earlier, the evaluation of the polytechnics for the permanent licence, decreed by law – which for VAMK/Evamk meant repeated exercises - kept focussing on agreements when examining the international functions of the polytechnics. Establishing agreements was partly an end in its own right, legitimised by the licensing procedure.

Another characteristic phenomenon of the early VAMK internationalisation came from the EU, the Erasmus circles. These are explained in detail in chapter 9.3.

In conclusion for the state and EU authority rationales at VAMK

The Vamkians are aware of the fact that there are authorities such as the Ministry of Education, the National Board of Education, and farther away, in Brussels, the EU, that are having an impact on their actions in the polytechnic, including internationalisation. They do not, however, pay much attention to those regula-

tions and “focal areas”, as Teacher8 above would phrase it. Pragmatically, they are well aware of the funding made available by the authorities, though. The regulations coming from the provider of education, first the City of Vantaa and from 1996 on, the Espoo-Vantaa Polytechnic Joint Stock Company, are not present in the discourses, except for the awareness of the limited resources coming from the City. There is also a fairly narrow awareness of the national and EU authorities. What are these people like? Are they rebellious or hard-headed like the Seven Brothers on their way to Impivaara? I think they are law-abiding and ambitious in fulfilling the overall expectations of the authorities but they are more concentrated on the opportunities than on the threats and constraints of the polytechnic education. The value-base here would be that of man as a maker of his own fortune, and like the Seven Brothers, they see their fortune in the long run is fuller when obeying the rules of the society.

The human values rationale: the soft agenda

As explained earlier, several experts have addressed such themes as Social and Cultural Motivations or Peace and Global Understanding under a specific category of higher education internationalisation. Taking a different approach, a teaching agenda so to speak, the rationale type has been called International Education or Global education.

What is only passingly referred to in the general discussion on the rationales is a value-based approach to the theme. With the present rationale type now seen against the light of the empirical data of the present study, it is relatively clear that we are here facing a value-oriented approach to understanding why there should be internationalisation in a higher education establishment, such as VAMK. Also we are now talking about the soft set of values as opposed to those that are economic and/or authority related. The sphere of the world of work that was presented earlier does not emphasise “soft” motivations or benefits even if they are present there.

Looking at the empirical data from this angle yields a great number of ideas from the interviewees. Already the sheer number of notions or the ease in which the informants seem to produce these would signal a possible fact that VAMK emphasised humane values in its internationalisation in mid 1990s.

By the soft or humane values I am referring to internationalisation motivations that imply an attempt to look for wider and more sustainable benefits than those that would entitle “me” or “my polytechnic’s success” or “my country or region” as the beneficiaries.

To begin with, some attempts to definition through the data. Student2;18 finds “the thing of how to define internationalisation, it is not easy... but we should perhaps accept the two-way approach instead of one-way only, like we’re getting international and just picking things from other cultures that we find interesting.”

CEO1;3-4, a prominent administrator in a major Finnish City, speaks of multi-culturalism as a viewpoint: “Well I understand it mainly as a societal viewpoint where it is [officially] accepted that people can think a bit differently of things, paying respect to where they come from, and then again, I see it as a potential richness and a source of innovation... which could be putting the knowledge and skills into good use that people have thanks to their different cultural traditions.”

Teacher6;7-8 speaks of “developing and expanding oneself, understanding that not everyone thinks the same way. I think this will happen easier there [on a foreign exchange] than here where you can choose your own company or in some information network where you, in a virtual world, you can exclude all those who are different”. As the polytechnic students represent a larger higher education clientele than traditional universities, she says she sees “the polytechs have a pioneer task in internationalisation...in supporting the foreign exchanges of that part of the nation who are not used to having a positive attitude to what is international, not even if they sometimes travel to these beaches...”

To several of the interviewees internationalisation is a matter of expanded understanding which also refers to the aspect of several directions: Dean1;9 contends: [Internationalisation] is like seeing things globally, understanding different cultures, being able to move smoothly from one culture to another.” Much like Teacher6 above she thinks, “internationalisation cannot be learnt here at school listening to a Finnish teacher lecture on internationalisation and multi-culturalism but you learn it best by spending a certain time in that country whose culture you are studying and by being active with these multi-cultural groups [in Finland].” (Dean1;6.9)

Should the future VAMK graduates attain international qualities, the benefits would be, according to Dean1;10, 13, “promotion of wellbeing and equality, health, like globally.” She motivates further:” I think as Finland is a welfare state, it is our ethical responsibility, as we are stronger than some development state, to see that development is launched there, on their own terms. So we cannot just stay aside but we have our share in everything and this means we have this responsibility...of the stronger over the weaker ones.” She also reminds the listener of the fact that,” these problems are global”. Teacher6;20 agrees: “Countries should help each other, the problems are the same in any country.”

Teacher7;4-5 paraphrases internationalisation as “a thing that can also take place in the home country, by being in interaction with people coming from different cultures and understanding the cultural background of these other persons and by paying respect”. She comes back to the theme, “What is important is to increase understanding and knowingly pay attention to others and pay respect to them, or their dignity what ever culture they may come from...” (Teacher7,14)

You can observe a contradictory discourse in the interviews as some say Finland is international and multi-cultural like Teacher7 and Dean1 above and also Student2;3, 15, Student3;6, Student4;7. Moreover, Teacher6;9 and Teacher 4;2 see Finland as having historical “layers” of different cultures. Teacher3;2,7-8 is openly critical suggesting that VAMK is not accepting the multi-culturalism of the surrounding society, “you cannot see it here though”. Slightly opposite views come for Dean3;6-7 and Teacher5;4 who refer to the very small numbers of immigrant population in Finland.

Be it abroad or at home, CEO2;2 says, “in developing education we like follow these international trends. And that is, really, part of a wider phenomenon called multi-culturalism, so the viewpoint here is not only national, it is global... and it is, more or less, a thing of an intrinsic value.”

Teacher1;17 can perhaps give a wider frame to the above when discussing the ultimate benefits as expressed by some students on returning from foreign placements: “In general I think we refer to the image of man, the concept of man in the sense that any human being as such is valuable... and what I understood also is that our students have been forced to reflect on these values, on what the basic values are in choosing a certain kind of action in that foreign culture as well as in the culture of one’s own. And this is where they came to the thought of seeing life itself as valuable... I haven’t really had any in-depth talks with the students but I think this is what can be perceived in what they have reported.”

But what were Vamkians thinking when they came up with notions of intrinsic values concerning man? They are having notions of recognising and taking moral responsibility and seeking justice. So the rationales of making the polytechnic international are ultimately touching on questions of responsibility and deeds that should promote moral justice - globally.

Dean3;5 lists the qualities an internationalised student should have: “Well, first there is of course fluency in languages, good manners, empathy, maybe also sympathy, an open mind with respect for others... The key thing is to have

respect to the others no matter what their system is. That should take you pretty far.”

I think I could finish here with a gentle critical note from Teacher4;2,8. In the midst of projects that are launched by VAMK, “the tiniest bit of a school”, in order to amend social and health care systems of Russia and Asia, she “gets this feeling of being with the Red Cross, at least I do”.

The closing observation here is emotionally loaded. Emotions are not normally mentioned when monographs and programmes on higher education internationalisation are published. This may serve as an introduction to the next chapter which is mainly of the kind of internationalisation rationales that are not officially discussed.

The unofficial rationales

Looking for hidden rationales

Having examined a number of policy papers and studies about the rationales of higher education internationalisation, I had a strong pre-understanding about the existence of a different set of rationales than the “mainstream” ones (which are, academic, state-authority, economic, social-cultural motivations). Having gone through quite a bit of reading and information searching I have not found discussions about unofficial agendas or driving forces within higher education internationalisation. However, as de Wit contends, it is not uncommon that the rationales are implicit rather than explicit (de Wit 2002, 101). So what can be known about such implicit motivations?

Interestingly enough, Teacher1; 11 has a notion of VAMK international strategy that underpins de Wit’s implicit-explicit dichotomy above: “Well, I’d see that we’ve had one, in an implicit way, but now, let’s say last spring, they put it on paper and so they start to shape these tasks and it will be more goal-oriented and made available to all, in a concrete form. So I’d believe that it will become more explicit then.”

Söderqvist’s doctoral study centres round management of higher education internationalisation; she contends that the management of internationalisation is often unsystematic and ineffective and this is one of the reasons why she chose her research theme (Söderqvist 2002, 19). However, she does not discuss, for example, what role the individual managers’ qualities and emotions may play in the internationalisation processes.

Wächter suggest there is a taboo which is a mixture of almost religious belief by some in the good that internationalisation will generate in education and hidden

fears against it by others. Both approaches work as blocks against analytical discussions on, why and how there should be internationalisation in the first place (Wächter 1999B, 15).

I did some information search in October 2005 on the Internet to check my pre-understanding above. The coinage 'unofficial internationalisation' in Google led to references of unofficial translations or representations mostly. 'Otherness in internationalisation' gave a lot of debate about how to create genuine multicultural approaches in the classroom or within the curriculum.

My next Google search 'hidden agenda internationalisation' was derived from pedagogic where there is a tradition of study concerning the hidden curriculum. It is something that is not recorded in the official published curricula but is still part and parcel of the praxis in the classrooms, like certain gender or ethnicity related issues. In Google it was possible to trace down at least globalisation being on the hidden agenda of higher education going international. Next in my information search I realised a hidden agenda – a metaphor – can be explained by another metaphor as undercurrent. My data abounds in undercurrent like impressions about internationalisation.

Next, as there is both a negative connotation in the hidden curriculum thinking, as well as negative rationales found in the empirical data of the present study, I googled for 'negative agenda internationalisation'. Thousands of matches but none obviously on the coinage but negative somewhere else in the text and referring to something else but the agenda.

Earlier I presented the Wächter (1999B) matrix describing the systematic – central vs. ad hoc – marginal parameters of higher education internationalisation. The figure is helpful in taking the pulse of a polytechnic or a university and seeing, which stage or which way it is going, in its internationalisation efforts. Wächter (*ibid.*, 57) also contends that at the early stages the internationalisation activities tend to be driven by individuals following their own agendas.

A look behind the scenes gives proof of the existence of unwished, improper rationales: Wächter (1999B, 57) contends that the Socrates IC contracts with the European Policy Statements in 1996-97 were a venture launched by the EU in order to achieve some coherence in the wild flora of attempts to internationalisation among European higher education institutions. This venture did not change the rationales perhaps but it may have diminished the influence of the individual players.

The empirical data of the present study would seem to yield a variety of rationales that do not easily come under any of the more official ones given in the Rationales chapter. The following will highlight my key findings.

The Individual

As suggested by the internationalisation survey undertaken at VAMK in 1997, there was an awareness of the major role certain individuals played in deciding on the polytechnic's international agenda. This suggestion is strongly underpinned by the verdicts that were found in the empirical data of the present study. The individuals as international actors can fairly easily be divided into subcategories of teachers or staff, students and deans.

Teachers, staff

Student2;10 has a say on the role of the teachers in internationalisation: "Here in my school, the way it has been is, that it has been very much dependent on the individual teacher [to define] what internationalisation is. Ask anybody here and they'll say in our school it has been going to Africa, and that's because one of the teachers has been bringing it up so much and also managed it so well for years..."

Student5;16: "I don't know about something steering [the internationalisation] but immediately when you get somebody [teachers] from outside the country so they bring along the internationalisation with contacts and networks of their own." This impression is underpinned by named examples from Teachers1;6, 3;14, 4;16, Student3;4 all concerning the key role of a visiting UK lecturer in promoting VAMK internationalisation. She was the first exchange teacher to stay at VAMK for a longer period at a time and return annually to lecture on multi-culturalism and management for several departments. As a pioneer she had a big part to play in moulding VAMK internationalisation.

Teacher4;3, 5-6 remembers how internationalisation began in her school: "well, then we had Head of Department NN, and it all really centred round her..." She deepens the theme a bit remembering who formed the first international team: "I think it was very much those who were really enthusiastic... And they were more often than not the ones who already had some experience of having been abroad. Language skills was certainly one [qualification]..."

Teacher3;3,10 had a very similar impression of how her school, at that time a different institute, launched internationalisation. She tells this and then goes into a further verdict: "Yes I remember how in [this school] we had a stage when, maybe we lived through strong personalities..." She recalls a rather fierce debate

between teachers representing African versus European internationalisation, “But it was just a passing stage, I think it is more in balance now... But I must say we are so veery international in some issues and then again what we see is people focus on [their personal interests], which is not at all good for the students either.” Teacher8;8 of the same department has a similar story to tell but she is not sure there is a balance as yet, at the time of the interview.

CEO1;3’s impression of VAMK’s early internationalisation is that” it was modest... it depended on ad hoc contacts and so it was like ad hoc. And it was based on personal contacts.”

The staff can also have a part to play in promoting internationalisation in a negative way: Teacher6;4 says, “in practice we’ve had troubles with the fact that people won’t stay. The whole “heritage” goes wasted...” She continues giving an example of how information is kept to one or two persons only with the result that visits can be paid to what is regarded as a new potential partner school. Upon arrival the visitors learn their international coordinator has already been to this place. Student2;10 has a say also on “negative” international actors: “The little I’ve attended the school’s international team, you can see that the teachers who have been asked to join because they have to have a certain number of hours... so if they don’t have the personal interest for internationalisation, so they won’t do much good for them either.”

Students

Student2;4 did her polytechnic final thesis on the experiences of VAMK exchange students. Based on her findings, she says, “Well in general, there’s a hypothesis that the ones who go abroad, are more active anyway and they have what you’d call a halo of internationalisation around their heads, when they go. If somebody was awfully hostile against other cultures, so no way would such a person go.” The students who pioneered in international activities in a way “shone out” which obviously helped pave the way for others, more hesitant peers.

The students, however, can hardly pave the way for an entire educational institute to internationalise but they can have a big part in finding the opportunities in the first stages of a school’s internationalisation process. Student4;4,6, the epitome of an independent constructivist learner, says, “The way I see it, it is the students themselves who have the responsibility to look for the international route, about going on exchanges, whether it’s for study or for a practical placement, whether you take courses from within the school [‘s other departments] which are offering courses in languages for example...” He says that the interest

in international activities is, “you’ll notice it, very much a personality issue.” His Teacher7;3, shows the flipside of the coin: “...students have been quite active and they have even sought other continents” for their practical placements. I seize the opportunity to confirm this: Elsewhere I have mentioned the visit I paid to Australia in February 1997 with a small group of deans and teachers to find contacts and quality models for VAMK. We first landed in Sydney where I had a cousin who was running a Nordic style restaurant there. She invited me to dinner with my team. The astonishment, on both sides, was enormous when the Dean from VAMK’s tiny catering department met two of her students who had got practical placements at my cousin’s restaurant. The students had not made an issue of where they were going.

The Deans

All three deans in my interviews had notions of their crucial individual role as door openers for the internationalisation of their schools. I quote just one: Dean2;3 says, “Well, it goes without saying that it is a matter of the will of those who are responsible for these fields of study and study programmes and on the other hand, of the money invested [in internationalisation].”

Teacher1;10 says she has been “lucky to have such, let’s say principals, who have seen this international activity as something very important”.

Teacher2;22, admiringly, describes the dean of the business school which then was part of VAMK: “Look at her, she’s out, selling her school. And she’s got double degrees all over Europe, eh. And that’s what she’s doing.” He had also examples of opposite leadership, which to his mind, gave a negative picture of the polytechnic to potential foreign partners.

Women as international actors – the classic otherness?

I can find only three notions on the fact that a lot of the VAMK – and of higher education institutions in general – international actors have been women. Söderqvist (2002) in the suggestions for further study in her dissertation makes a mild reference to this end but her focus is in management. Notice that all my extremely few findings on womanhood in internationalisation come from people in leading positions. “Ordinary people” do not perhaps come to think of these differences or they do not exist for them to any remarkable extent.

The most specific reference to the otherness of women comes from Dean2;12 showing an obviously significant angle to the role of the individual in internationalisation: “Well, my starting point is the fact that we all have our lives to live, family, children’s ages and often the husbands’ jobs and in our case it sometimes

depends even on women's jobs, so in a way this has an effect on where and for how long people can go, so if you are the mother of two small children and a single parent, where do you go? Especially as our field is so female-dominated, so the life situations do matter."

Dean3;13 has a notion that is otherness-oriented in two ways: travelling in a foreign land and as a woman; I think her impression is derived from her visits to South-East Asia, Muslim countries where I once travelled with her. I remember we discussed our gender in relation to the fact that practically all deans and international managers we had negotiations with were men: "And you have to be on your alert all the time, so I find these so-called business trips quite rough as what you have is an entirely foreign culture and when you are a woman on top of that... it is not rough but it is different from ordinary life."

CEO1's notion on women is in the subchapter Finnishness as Otherness below.

Finnishness as otherness

CEO1;2, in discussing the qualifications of internationally competent people reflects on how an education producing such qualifications" would demand a somewhat different approach as what we've had so far. And it may include a dismissal of this notorious [low] Finnish self-esteem and this kind of dismay. [Interviewer: Which dismay?] Well, Finns at airports, this is an old joke but of Finns you can see a hundred metres away that they are dismayed. Finnish women in particular."

Says Student1;8 of Finns as international actors: "It is also a matter of personality pretty much, but I believe we are learning more and more as Finns. You see it is important while we are as we are here at the outer brink of the EU, that we have to make ourselves known somehow so they won't forget us." Estonian-origin Student5;20 believed also in learning but so far: "I know that, both here and with us, we have huge problems in how, somehow everyone tries to be on their own and keep the information in their own cupboards".

But what can you do if the experience is as with Teacher6;3? "Well nobody tells me what they want from a [foreign] visit, nobody pays any attention, no matter how much I speak about it, with froth in my mouth I tell we are going and what would you like to have..."

CEO1;11 confirms with a US comparison: "There is a total difference in the way of thinking in the USA, in the way to think and to act... it is this self-reliance which here instead is like people waiting for things to be done for them."

Teacher4;6,7 agrees with Student1 about Finns having to break their isolation and even has hope: “We have this strong opening up of the Finnish culture – yet little by little...”.

Teacher2;5 sees the positive development in his students; for the first time he told them “we can find you places abroad, and then some students became very nationalistic and they said, we want to be in Finland, because we have to work in Finland, and that was not a problem. But other students went abroad. Then the students came back after internships, and met. And they started comparing notes. And, the first internship we had, we had about forty per cent going abroad, the second internship we had about 85 per cent going abroad.”

Teacher1;14 shows how Finland is often seen from abroad: “Well, I’ve understood, from the Dutch school, that their students prefer to go to the Caribbean rather than come to the freezing North.” Teacher2;10 says the opposite: “Finland attracts people. ...It’s still exotic.” Teacher1;8 has also a positive example of the Finnish otherness: “[Russians] for the first, they’ve turned to Finns because they feel that Finland, culturally, is the country closest to them and whose literature and ideas they can use.”

CEO2;14 sees also there is a positive otherness with the Finns: “I suppose Finns do have a good reputation, at least I have experienced it in various connections ...as long as it is not ruined... so we do our business more or less exactly and not just half-way or less.” He then puts his finger on where it perhaps most often hurts:

A major component in the Finnishness as otherness rationale could be related to the fact that Finns sometimes find their native tongue Finnish a problem in international communication. There will be an in-depth discussion on this in the chapter on metaphors below. I will just quote CEO2;15: “Well, if there are things that stop Finns from acting internationally, well I think a lack of language skills is one of them.”

Accidentally internationalised; Experimenting internationalisation

To the interviewer’s question “What directs the internationalisation of your degree programme”, Teacher5;4 answers, laughingly, “Accidents!”. Here I have to confess that the interviewer failed to follow an obviously interesting track, as she did not ask for further clarifications for what actually would then be ‘accidentally internationalised’. Teacher5 spoke about how students were not guided in their attempts to find practical placements abroad.

Dean2 gives a full picture of how the accidental can quite officially and successfully play a part, be a motivation in polytechnic internationalisation. It is the special case of Hungary, which however is not unique; there are others resembling it but perhaps not with such a follow-up of full-fledged internationalisation services developed for both students and staff in both countries. Resembling but smaller-scale stories of the accidentally internationalised are the arrival of the all-time favourite guest lecturer in 1996 mentioned earlier; a South-East Asia tour with a multi-disciplinary team in 1996; the internship of Student5 in Ecuador; the story of the shy student related by Teacher2 earlier.

The visit that Dean2 relates here took place in 1994 or 1995. Following this first visit, there was in 1996 a large group of Dean2's staff on a tour in Hungary which culminated in a professional congress. Vamkians were guests of honour and gave presentations there too. On that tour, more contacts were established so the internationalisation exchange network grew rapidly.

Dean2;12-13: "But then, the thing that [a country such as] Hungary came along, so it was purely accidental. It was so that we wanted to have a European country we know nothing of and that nobody knows anything about and where none of us who then went there, so no one has been there before, so it was like taking a jump into the fully unknown, so that is pretty interesting... And this has become a very good and compact and varied cooperation, this Hungary. And, so you can see there's a lot here that is like accidental. When we go. But then again, one should not forget that they are part of the holistic planning of our polytechnic too."

Internationalisation as travel (by the 'other' = women)

Internationalisation was originally movement, was it not? It was migration, trade, warfare, discovery travel and much later, tourism. Tourism in the sense that it opened up to the great majority of people does not date farther back in history than the 1960s, as technological development increased civil aviation on one hand and time and disposable income for leisurely pastimes on the other (see e.g. Jokinen & Veijola 1990).

Early higher education involved travel too. Like tourism, higher education became a mass commodity towards the end of the 20th century and along with globalisation, it soon involved mass travel through internationalisation (cf. Söderqvist 2002, 30-31).

"Tell me what you think about your neighbour's foreign travel, and I will tell you who you are."

This quotation (author's translation from Finnish) comes from writer and researcher Tyyni Tuulio who in 1927 published a series of articles on her travels in Europe; her themes included the enthusiasm and envy that travel abroad evoked in fellow Finns at the time. Hapuli, from whom I get the quotation, has studied the writings about foreign travel by Finnish women from the time between the World Wars. She contends that travel is a culturally bound act as well as a form of inter-cultural activity. Travel means opportunity to test cultural limitations and liberties. Writings about travel reflect the discourses of their time, historical knowledge and generic conceptions about the target countries. (Hapuli 2003, 10-11.)

I can also refer to discussions in the research seminars I have attended for my licentiate studies. Encouraged by my supervisor, Dr Seija Mahlamäki-Kultanen, the tutorial group discussed the obvious fact that a majority of the Finnish higher education international actors have been women. This is, of course, due to that most Finnish educators, as their colleagues often elsewhere, are women. It probably implies also a different approach to travel and to "conquering" the world. The epitome of travel who opened up new worlds was Homer's Odyssey. As Hapuli suggests, travel and related writings present a stark contrast in the sense that traditionally women are seen as representing home, garden and Penelope and men, the road, wilderness and Ulysses (Odysseus). Woman is the regular starting point of a journey, she is the one who stays behind. Literature and tradition know numerous women who travel and evoke negative feelings by doing so. (Hapuli 2003, 17). In higher education internationalisation, we have the women-in-travel who call forth controversial feelings both at home and afar by showing new role models – in a situation where there were no clear-cut models, as I have tried to show in this study.

To my knowledge there are no travel books written by the higher education internationalising women so far. Perhaps there should be. Of course there are the mission reports that the travelling officials and teachers are normally obliged to write after their visits but these are probably not made more widely known. So the discourse that should reflect the realities of the travels is, as Dean2;11 explains:

"There is maybe something like envy when you embark on a journey. It could be because we then [afterwards] discuss these nice and comical...and tell stories of what has happened on the way, and maybe we skip the rough parts of it, the thing that it is really quite exhausting, this negotiating. When it becomes more of a routine, it will all be different".

Women's role in VAMK internationalisation, as explained earlier in this chapter, is not a central theme in the empirical data of the study. There are few allusions as suggested above, regarding women's Otherness in internationalisation / travel. A more substantial feeling of Otherness or an aversion related to internationalisation is pertaining to the image of the regular Finns like VAMK people were, about their country and themselves in Europe and globally. Finns were never a travelling nation, were they? There were the mass migrations due to structural changes, first to North America in the early 20th century, and then to Sweden in the 1960s-70s. But these are not part of the national folklore in a positive sense at least. The massive unemployment of the earlier 1990s did not lead to migration from Finland as the country could then already offer a solid social security network (CEO2; 14).

There are abundant observations about internationalisation as travel in the data. Student2;3 tells first about her childhood abroad and says, "It must come from there, this yearn for the distant places, the thing that one is always trying to get to see other countries..." Like Student2, I would like to say that no matter how matter-of-fact we speak about travel in education internationalisation, an element of positive adventure is often present. It is fun when you hear you will have to go to this country, this city you have never visited before. One tends to collect experiences. The reality is often the airport, hotel, and place of negotiation, maybe a tour in a school and related organisation, taxis, back to the airport. You do your shopping at the airports. You may not taste any of gourmet cuisine of the new country but it is coffee and sandwiches and, of course, the meals on board. But still: I remember autumn 1996, sitting in Heathrow with a few VAMK colleagues, all women of course, waiting for the BA flight to Kuala Lumpur. I said, is it not much more fun to wait for the Kuala Lumpur flight than the Amsterdam or Stockholm one? Yes, in deed, replied my colleagues. And once in South East Asia, it was heat, busy schedules, exhausting negotiations, unexpected presentations to give unprepared and – a lot of fun to remember. Travel can have a value of distinction: the more unusual the goal and nature of a journey are, the more cultural capital one can substantiate on it (Jokinen & Veijola 1990, 103).

But as Dean2 above suggested, the ones at home may have felt differently; Dean3;11: "The ones who come later do not know that it is a matter of real hard work, after all, it's not that we just travel around and have fun abroad, it's quite a serious thing."

Teacher8;7, who is active in internationalisation says: "I've really been quite astonished by these snappy comments during this past spring that are coming

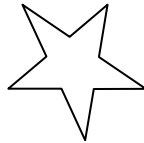
from the teachers... where you like hear that these meetings abroad, or these Erasmus circle negotiations, are regarded as tourism and pleasure. And like some kind of rewards... I think we are in danger here with this activity losing its active nature and turning into some kind of fun.”

Teacher6;19 sees also travel as important even if mixed with the tourism aspect: “the first thing for me is that the teachers are somehow made to see the world... so that they get an idea of how it is a life similar to ours with accommodation and money and water and food and... this fooling around of youngsters... so in this [initial] phase it is understandable that the teachers on their first visits they... well it has probably been more like tourism...” She speaks of how in a pioneer phase it is necessary that “somebody goes and opens up the road... so the road is a bit easier for the ones who follow.”

Teacher2;17 shows that there has been a discussion about the travelling teachers in his department too: “So the important thing for me is, when you do these things, trips, that there are results. That one does not just go to a visit and then you go home. There has to be something concrete. Otherwise it's a waste of money.”

The students share the worry about purposeless travel: Student1;5-6 compares the situation at VAMK to other polytechnics: “Well, the way I see it, with us, it is lucky we don't have this tourism that the other polytechnics often have as it has been cut away with us. International tourism, well it is when you go on exchanges just to have exchanges, and these short, like four-week trips, that's what I see as tourism.” He continues explaining how in four weeks you have time just to get and recover from your culture shock. Student2;11 discusses the same issue, which she has also studied in her final thesis; she is worried of teachers' lack of time to prepare the exchangees: *“It takes so much of a student who leaves for an international practical exchange, it is no use sending a student unprepared to the other side of the globe.”* Student4;12 has a different view: *“...in the newspapers I read about a social or health care school who visited China and they had a couple of student midwives on a project and studying there... so I think it must be interesting, and now I don't know if they learn anything new there but they learn how to meet with a culture, a new one. So this kind of experiential tour...[stops in the middle of the word] ... an experience as a part of the studies, it brings about something, I cannot say that it would give you any study points but... now I am talking about fun and practice, it can also serve as a break in the studies, this heavy routine...”*

And to finish off, internationalisation is not only experienced as travel for fun but (seemingly) purposeless wandering about: Teacher7;16 gives the central metaphor of this study and that which perhaps most acutely describes the early poly-technic internationalisation:



*“Well, how should I say this? What could help here is getting a vision of the internationalisation activity, so as to say what use there is of it... this phase is like starting the activity and it will take this, like establishing contacts and even, what I’d call wandering about, and yet, somehow it is, after all, **under a bright star** so we know we are going somewhere.”*

Also CEO2;2 draws up an image of the early phase which is close to the travel imagery: *“Well I think there has been and still perhaps is, a phase of finding the coordinates, as there is clearly a pressure coming from outside to show this internationalisation and this can also lead to what I’d call unconsidered actions.”*

Not exactly speaking of travel, Teacher1;12 says of launching internationalisation: *“We didn’t really know what form would be best so we did it through experimenting, and surely we are still going through experimenting for the best possible model.”*

To close the circle of internationalisation as Travel, one could quote CEO1;5’s suggestion: *“What is essential is to find one’s homeland within oneself. And then go and do the job elsewhere.”*

Internationalisation within the ir-rationale

Teacher3;4 suggests a tool in measuring what is unwanted internationalisation: *“And again when you think of how this or that relates to the world of learning of the students, so what I always call for is that no relationship should be loose but link with the learning...”*

CEO2;6: *“Well, this market (=internationalisation, sic!) is not without what I’d call seekers of commercial benefits. This is not necessarily controlled by public authorities in other countries, and then there is a problem. Because then there is*

the chance that somebody starts cooperation with what I'd call peddlars who then won't have the prestige that we'd need."

It is not only that the internationalisation rationales may be detached from what is considered the core task of the polytechnic, but that there is an ir-rationale driving the activities. For the first, the ir-rationale can be a constraint factor as with Teacher5;7: Well, what effects me [as a constraint] is that if it is something difficult, you already know in advance it's a bog where you sink up to your waist so you are not really interested. You can bury it if it's so difficult because, this ordinary life is enough to cope with so – I don't want to start tramping on such a bog." Ollikainen (1999; 236) has described the feelings of Finnish higher education international officials in a similar way when considering the motivations of launching on an EU project.

The negative factors of too much – and much unseen and unsalaried work in internationalisation – is referred to by Students1;11, 3;12, Dean3;12, Teacher6;11 whose small department "is placing internationalisation in File Zed often" as there are too many of the practical things to attend to.

Dean3;9 makes references to areas in the Far East where she would not extend internationalisation for security reasons.

The fear of the ir-rationale as a driving force can surface in the middle of a positive remark: Student2;8-9: Well, I think this is quite diverse: we have European countries, Scandinavia, then USA, countries from Africa... Nearly all the world!" She goes on: "In practice, our student flows are enormous. But what we are getting in return, how the experiences of the students are looked after, this I think we have not paid enough attention to".

Dean1;12 speaks of an invasion in internationalisation reflecting a conqueror's agenda: "In ...this present Evamk we have gone even further than in VAMK so that you can now say we have like world-wide [internationalisation]: we have the Baltics and Russia... and the Nordic countries, we have Europe, and had Africa earlier, and the USA and Canada, but now [there is] this new invasion into Asia, which is just fabulous".

Teacher6;13 is again thinking of the role of the individual: "At the moment I don't know how much it depends on [that]. I find it hard to give an assessment on that...". Then she remembers a presentation at a recent staff meeting with some suggestions of how to proceed: "It was unattended and uncontrolled and shows that there is no strategy, and it can't be a means to an end that we have a thousand and one [partners]."

Student1;5 speaks of the “negative thing of this palette which is so large and so wild that it is hard to control, so I’d see some concentration...”

Teacher4; 7, 12-13 has several notions about the state of affairs in internationalisation that show she does not only see a lack of control but an aggressive expansion taking place: “Well, I think we have plenty, and I don’t know what they are planning for more, but I think we have of them, well, we have Asia, we have this Russia, and then we have these old countries, and then we have Africa and...they are such enormous areas, so I think we can’t have more. Let’s give these some depth.” And again: “We can’t go to all places... If we think that we will like conquer a continent then I think we cannot deepen that enough, the co-operation. It’s not in us... And I think there is nothing that will force us to conquering all the world.”

Why is there so much of the feeling of ir-rationale in internationalisation? Teacher1;17-18 has pondered much on the issue and has perhaps found an explanation: “It is, I’d call it an impulse which is very delicate and it is in the heart of the polytechnic and I don’t know whether it’s a reagent but at least it gathers a lot of external stimuli, so somehow, through this internationalisation, what they do is work on other issues as well, which may be painful at times. But I also think it would be important that some things can be sorted out, when they surface [even if it’s] through this internationalisation, I mean we have to solve some things right as they collide with internationalisation. I think internationalisation is concrete enough and diffuse enough, and then it could be that in the Finnish society we’ve always had this love and hate relationship” [towards internationalisation. See Finnishness as Otherness, subchapter above].

CEO2 was quoted earlier on the external pressures that are felt in internationalisation. Teacher1;18 discusses also the internal pressure that can lead to accepting the ir-rationale motivations in internationalisation: “maybe one thing that is important still... it is that maybe once we get our activities on to a clearer basis [the pressures against internationalisation diminish but], before we can have that so there is this feeling of insecurity and people don’t know where they stand in relation to [internationalisation, that’s] if we are not dealing with anything concrete here...”

Concluding for the unofficial rationales at VAMK

As I have tried to show, it is possible to detect a great number of “ir-regular” motivations for the internationalisation of a single polytechnic – looking at more higher education organisations, the variety could even grow. What I have named in this study as unofficial rationales, could be typical of a young organisation and

of a situation where the phenomenon itself, internationalisation, was fresh and just taking shape. They can also reflect something that pertains to the nature of man as such, like notions about travel, or even more obviously, of gender and the peculiarities of a nation. It is rather clear also that such issues like strong personalities deciding on having internationalisation their way or letting accident decide, are not presentable in official speeches or documents. Still, they are worthwhile enough for awareness and further analysis.

Concluding for VAMK Rationales

I will present my findings and conclusions of the VAMK internationalisation rationales later. As a brief summary of what could be detected about the motivations and apprehensions of Vamkians based on the empirical data and set against the general theory presented earlier, I have developed further my table of higher education rationales. The number of rationales is different from what is presented in other studies and theories with an attempt to show there is a continuum from generally accepted, mainstream motivations towards individual and, in some cases, negative rationales. The movement is, I would like to contend, in between central and marginal as Wächter (1999B) has suggested, but also in between acceptable i.e. mainstream and unofficial. My earlier table already has the suggestion of a continuum from external towards internal or unknown authorities behind the choice of rationale type.

In the table below I make also an attempt to show something of the value-base of each rationale type by explaining what kind of values I was able to discern in the interviewees' verdicts.

Table 4. The Author's classification of rationales of VAMK internationalisation showing the dichotomy Central –Marginal (Mainstream – Unofficial)

Rationale Type -> from central to marginal			
<i>Mainstream Rationales</i>		<i>Unofficial Rationales</i>	
Academic (polytechnic)	Human Values (Multiculturalism)	The Individuals (Women as international actors)	The Accidental
World of Work			Travel, Tourism
It's a Market!		Finnishness as Otherness	The Irrational
State and EU Authorities			
<i>Determining Authority or Driving Forces-> from external to internal to unknown authority</i>			
Development of a tertiary level institution, with related teaching-learning services	Promotion of peace and wellbeing in society; Immigrants in focus? with: Value-base "soft", ethical reasoning, moral responsibility play part	Motivations are raised from within individual players of the polytech.	Authority not known; there is no authority.
World of Work mainly as external authority		Self in focus? with: Value-base tied to individual interests and understanding of self	Curiosity, fun?
Development can be obtained by "bartering"			Creed; Faustic motivations
National and or EU (global authorities are recognised but not central)			Focus lost?
Student in focus with:			
Value-base mainly "soft" i.e. the good of the individual is central			

8.2 On Metaphors in VAMK Internationalisation

While we were discussing the role of women in the polytechnic internationalisation in the licentiate seminar, Dr Mahlamäki-Kultanen suggested I should see if there are metaphors in the research data. She has used metaphors as a key inquiry approach in some of her research.

Before I started examining metaphors in my study, I considered examining the role of intuition; as suggested also by my supervisor, intuition has a crucial role in where we phrase a thought as a metaphor. Perhaps intuition had a major part to play in at least early higher education internationalisation? 'Intuition' is 'instinctive knowing (without the use of rational processes)' or, 'an impression that something might be the case' (Hyperdictionary). Taking two examples from the previous chapter, Teacher7's notion of a bright star leading the VAMK international actors on their way, and Dean2's Hungarian experiment are signs of 'instinctive knowing'. In other words, the informants have described internationalising situations where there has been no known rational thought process involved.

Studying tacit knowledge (Polanyi 1996, Koivunen 1997), I was confirmed in my pre-understanding that there was plenty that was not written, encoded, even spoken and yet was tacitly known, and thus taking the VAMK international actors towards a goal or at least keeping them on a road forward. An apprehension of the role of a tacit knowledge that is intuitively right, will help us orientate i.e. select right from wrong, in the knowledge society with its flood of information (Numminen 2000). It is the women who are more intimate with the tacit knowledge (Koivunen, *ibid.*) and education and even polytechnics are artefacts constructed or at least maintained mainly by women in Finnish society.

Having been asked about metaphors - seven or eight years after I had made the interviews that make up the empirical data of the present study - I immediately knew there would be plenty of them in the data even if I had not been looking for any while planning and running the interviews. But can metaphors help explain phenomena of internationalisation even if we focus on the experiences of a polytechnic in a small country? If the research done on higher education internationalisation in general is scanty, there is practically no research done on the topic through metaphorical enquiry.

The previous chapter was an attempt to study the empirical data of VAMK internationalisation as starting from some generic theory on internationalisation rationales. The present chapter will delve into the reality of Finnish polytechnic internationalisation as reflected in metaphors produced by people who actually made it happen. Basically it is a legitimate hop into the intuitive side of research. Using intuition is a natural way for me to give meanings to phenomena anyway. I have been trying to be restrained in the previous chapters so I am grateful to my supervisor and the plentiful serious research there has been done on metaphors as now I can let my thoughts run more freely.

I will first, however, briefly look at the concept of metaphor. I will then proceed into gathering and analysing some metaphors and clusters of metaphors on internationalisation in my VAMK interview material.

Metaphors – a brief overview

Metaphors have been moving from the fringes in arts, especially literature, and humanities towards the forefront in research in general (Leino & Drakenberg 1993) to help in mind's endless attempt to make sense of reality. The growing importance of the metaphoric enquiry coincides with paradigm shift from positivistic research towards more phenomenological ones.

Language is a complex system that serves a variety of functions; it is essential in regulating our lives having to do with knowledge, emotions, social status and much more. Where there is a need to generate new categories of meaning and angles of thought, metaphors are a handy tool. Through analogy, by explaining and interpreting one thing through another, the metaphor is used to give meanings to the circumstances we experience. The metaphor can thus be used to explain a thing unknown by assimilating it with something already known or, to alter our understanding of a known phenomenon. It is a way to accommodate us with the new. Bringing up the elements that are similar or can be likened between the new and the old makes the world more comprehensible, saving time and trouble of much explaining but the metaphor can also be used to blur the full picture of a phenomenon. (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Lehtonen 1996; Leino & Drakenberg 1993.)

Using a metaphor is an act of substitution: the 'proper' word is replaced, substituted by an 'improper' one: when Teacher8 or CEO2 tell how internationalisation flooded or landslid into education in the mid 1990s, there was naturally no water or soil coming in but we get an understanding of the strength of the phenomenon. The 'proper' expression might have been actually a sentence like, 'there was much speech and activity related to internationalisation'; but the im-

pression one gets is more vivid with the metaphors. What metaphors typically do is to make analogies by leaving out some of the components of the phenomena they are used to describe (Leino & Drakenberg 1993, 30). – thus the listener/reader has to guess for the rest that is left out – which will be successful if he or she shares some of the conceptual thinking with the informant. Lakoff is famous for criticising the US conservative presidents Bush Sr and Jr for manipulating their audiences with metaphors. When George W. Bush speaks of ‘rogue states’ we are supposed to think the USA is the absolute opposite. Just one example from the research data: CEO2 speaks of “*peddlars*” of internationalisation without really explaining what such peddling might involve; he clearly makes a warning against false pretensions of possible partners.

Making the listener try to grasp for a hidden meaning shows that the informant who uses metaphors wishes to bring about tensions in his communication. Another source of tension comes through the status of metaphors as there are said to be both live and dead metaphors (Leino & Drakenberg 1993, 26-27, Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 55). The dead ones do not really give much meaning to the message any more (of type ‘foot of a mountain’, ‘grasp’ a meaning). Live metaphors have an element of novelty when heard or read or at least establish some kind of tension in our minds in the sense that we are tempted to think of more than just the most obvious meaning of an expression that is used metaphorically. Lakoff’s famous example is ‘time is money’ which according to him, makes us ‘live by’, i.e. manage our lives accordingly, thinking for example, that time, this issue that does not exist as such but purely depends on agreements between people, is actually a commodity that can be traded. From my research data I will later present one seemingly ‘dead’ internationalisation metaphor, the ring-connotation in Erasmus-rengas Engl. Erasmus circle. An example of a more live internationalisation metaphor meant to summon the listener’s emotion and critique is ‘tourism’ as suggested above.

One of the fascinating features with metaphors is the concept of root metaphor, by which researchers refer to deeply embedded conceptions in language and in our general thinking. Root metaphors shape our understanding of a certain situation. They are different to the previous types of metaphor in that they are not used explicitly in language. Instead, they influence our comprehension like ‘growth’ as a root metaphor of education and through this, generate surface metaphors. (Leino & Drakenberg 1993, 27, Grant & Oswick 1996, 6, Lehtonen 1996, 42.)

‘Movement’ could be suggested as one of the root metaphors of higher education internationalisation; so much of the kind of imagery it seems to generate in

the research data of this study even if the informants would not be naming their experiences with the explicit phrasings of internationalisation as 'flow', 'mobility', 'travel'. We VAMK international actors used to worry about this one-sided image of internationalisation, but actually it is just as natural as to think that an educator helps a person grow. In a similar line of thought, an international actor helps people move; if not literally then, as in the case of Internationalisation at Home, in their minds. There is no way of thinking of the internationalisation root metaphor being 'stagnation', 'shelter' or 'quiet'.

Another root metaphor I try to pin down about internationalisation is perhaps surfacing in Dean3's and Teacher4's notions of internationalisation as a 'horrid thing'. I will discuss how and why Finns seem to experience internationalisation deep down in their minds as a 'horrid thing'.

Lakoff & Johnson (1980, 14) contend that metaphors have a spatial dimension, which seems to pertain to physical and cultural facts behind the expression (Lakoff and Johnson give such examples as 'good is up', 'bad is down'). In my data for example, internationalisation was "*in the air*", i.e. up, above or all around the speaker. Lakoff and Johnson speak also of container metaphors – even where there are no natural physical boundaries we impose them; marking off territory so that a concept has an inside and a surface, physical or abstract. There are few human instincts more basic than territoriality say Lakoff & Johnson (ibid., 29). This would explain notions in the research data like Teacher3;2 observing "*now we go into internationalisation*" as well as comments from Dean2 and Dean3, where they explain what it is like to be "inside" in internationalisation, such as negotiations for partnerships, as opposed to the impressions of internationalisation of those who never attended such negotiations.

As is perhaps obvious from the above, it can be argued that metaphors are constructivist in nature, in that they shape and enhance our understanding of the social reality we live in and they help us to learn about new phenomena, which is their particular value. Hence, they can be used as an investigative tool (Grant & Oswick 1996, 3-4, Leino & Drakenberg 1993, 37).

Grant & Oswick also come with critique (ibid., 5 -6) as metaphors cannot easily be measured in any positivistic way, like to measure the effect of one metaphor against that of another for example, as well as for the reason that the individual interpretations play such a big part in interpreting them. Thus, what works in a metaphor with one individual, may not do so with another.

Mahlamäki-Kultanen considers the suitability of metaphor for scientific inquiry in her doctoral research, in order to study the interaction between vocational prin-

cipals and teachers. She motivates the choice by the deep even if obviously narrow insights the approach gives as regards the research topic. She asked her informants to write metaphors freely on given signals, words and phrases. Through the metaphors produced by the informants it was possible to construct a full picture - she speaks of making the mirror image full or whole - of the conceptions about the given themes. Mahlamäki-Kultanen also points out that there are people who cannot produce metaphors. She also reminds of the fact as so many others that a metaphor may conceal more aspects of a phenomenon than it reveals – so for a fuller picture you need more approaches. (Mahlamäki-Kultanen 1998, 70-72, 142-144.)

Using metaphors in the present study

The metaphors the VAMK interviewees provide on internationalisation in the research data help understand how they have conceived internationalisation as part of their professional or students' realities. As stated above, metaphors even help identify research problems as well as development objects in, for example, higher education internationalisation – the latter a wish recorded in my original research design. Of course this will be slightly *ex post facto* as the data is from 1997 but understanding the past should be helpful in constructing more sustainable approaches in the future.

The researcher's previous training as a supervisor ('*työnohjaaja*' in Finnish) proved to be helpful in detecting the metaphoric undercurrents of the interviews, as was the supervisory interview technique that was a key element in that training. We were always told to step aside for what our supervisees would have to say, and to look for the loaded expressions in what they had to relate to us. We were told, not to put words into the supervisee's mouth but to encourage him or her to look try and shed light on what ever the problem in question may have been.

This technique could perhaps be seen in how the researcher as the interviewer, in hearing a remark like by Student1; 1-2 saying "*Getting exchange teachers here would help [VAMK] kill more birds with one stone*", makes the interviewer ask: "*What kind of birds?*" to hear the interviewee explain, "*Student birds, meaning, we should be able to organise lectures [by foreign experts at VAMK] for as big audiences as possible.*" The Finnish expression actually speaks of 'hitting two flies with one stroke', which is less drastic than the killing in the English idiom. The crucial image that I have brought up already in the rationales chapters, that of VAMK internationalisation being "*under a bright star*" was obtained from Teacher7;15 as the interviewer asked, "*How is it with the staff, do they benefit*

[from internationalisation] and in which ways?" Teacher7: "Well this is a bitter question." (Laughing). Interviewer: "What's bitter in it?" And Teacher7 in a way squeezes out of herself the star-lit picture of VAMK internationalisation. The interviewer is not always successful in her search for a deeper explanation, as has been explained in the case of CEO1 and *the 'Finnish dismay'*.

As suggested in the previous lines, metaphors are singularly tricky when being conveyed from one language to another. A metaphor may not even be translatable into another language like they cannot be understood literally (Mahlamäki-Kultanen 1998, 75). However, there is plenty of research that shows that metaphors of a certain quality or theme tend to be similar between one country and another (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 14). I have had much help from my English language "supervisor" (cf. Chapter 8.2).

Texts will only be understood as they are received or perceived by someone. The one who receives, in the process of understanding, brings along the context in which the receiving takes place as he or she brings along his or her previous experiences, readings, and subconscious. Metaphors challenge the receiver's sphere of knowledge and subconscious as sources of narrative, metaphor etc. (Lehtonen 1996, 148, 167, 180.)

There cannot be two identical interpretations of a metaphor by any two persons, obviously not even by any one person as our realities are ever changing. In order to bring about interpretations that are truthful, the researcher should strive at self-awareness and an analysis that is stripped of prejudices or bias. The context where the metaphor has been produced should be known in detail; in the present study it helps, as the interviews are lengthy providing much support to reconstruct the course of thought of the informant in the time of the interviews. (Mahlamäki-Kultanen 1998, 75-77.)

The understanding of metaphors is a process that goes in three (four) stages: recognition, de- and reconstruction and interpretation (Mahlamäki-Kultanen 1998, Schmitt 1997). Schmitt contends that the way to systematic metaphor analysis is only beginning. Both researchers stress the importance of multiple triangulations before bringing forth findings based on metaphor study.

I know well the situation where the metaphors have been created, having worked with most of my informants for years. In interpreting the metaphors, I deliberately pulled in a lot of material from cultural, historical, geographical, political realities of educational actors in Finland in the mid-to late 1990s, following my free associations which I tried to harness by considering what was within the limits of common knowledge and shared experience. Like Mahlamäki-Kultanen, I

did not try to force the data into clear-cut categories in order to let the data speak for themselves (1998, 78).

I searched for metaphoric expressions through my research data. I left out the ones that were obvious dead cases (like 'pohtia', 'grudge'; the Finnish word originally meant: 'thresh' or, 'hirveän', 'horribly' which is a common adverb in the interviews and is used synonymically to 'particularly'). I then placed the metaphors of each interview in the order they came up in the text into a table where I first presented the metaphor with the sentence or sometimes wider context in the text; then the 'deconstruction' where I tried to show how the metaphor had been coined, i.e. what phenomenon in reality or say, literature, history, it originated in; then a description of what I thought was its context as a phenomenon in the polytechnic's reality; next, my interpretation of what the informant would actually be referring to, and finally, partly for fun, an afterthought by the 'wiser me' who knew what became of the phenomenon in the years that followed.

Table 5. The author's sample table for metaphor analysis.

Teacher (female, early middle aged)	Metaphor (quotation from an interview)	Equivalent in reality or where the metaphor is derived from	Context of metaphor in the interview	Interpretations	In looking back
Page 1c	"...oppia näkemään ja laajentamaan niitä reviierejä jo opiskeluaikana, et se on must tuntuu se meidän tehtävä." [="help students see and expand those territories already while studying, I think this is our task]	territory is an area that an animal or a person regards as belonging to itself, safe or well-known	continues the above thought (which was about helping students construct networks mainly to find jobs)	Finnish academic and work life as territories? Cf. the 'Finland as vacuum thinking of several other interviewees?	I don't know about the territory thinking but this was what much of VAMK internationalisation was aimed for, to construct networks abroad for students. NB: Student's benefits are in focus

Soon clusters of repeated or resembling metaphors started to form. Also, some rare but striking metaphors began to 'shine out'. With the metaphors I was not really looking for the rationales like with my earlier study of the interview texts, instead I was trying to find the ways the interviewees, the different VAMK actors at a deeper, metaphorical level, experienced the phenomenon internationalisation.

With the metaphor clusters that had been obtained, the next step towards the data analysis was to go back to the interview texts in order to look at the notions behind and around the metaphors. The idea here was that the metaphors were just part of the phenomenon the informants had wished to describe, the tip of the iceberg. In this way, wider notions on internationalisation were formed, where possible.

Where a metaphor cluster that would seem to make sense still, after the iteration between the clusters and actual interview texts, the next step of analysis was to try and find a root metaphor underlying the cluster formation.

Metaphors in the Research Data

Internationalisation is water

There are plenty of metaphors in the interviews that seem to link the interviewees' thoughts with water on the move:

CEO2;2 says "*in education development you are like within these international currents*"; Teacher8;1 exclaims how internationalisation "*floods in, from TV, radio, the press, everywhere*". Teacher3; 8;12 sees internationalisation as "*people flowing*" and she thinks of VAMK internationalisation "*that there is such a positive undercurrent*".

Student 4;4, already employed by a major international company, speaks of being "*on the crest of the wave*" of any business to wishes to do well referring to an acute understanding about the trends abroad.

Multi-culturalism is obviously one of the undercurrents: Teachers3, 8, Student2, CEO2 speak a lot of it and Student1; 6 says about the multiculturalism that it "*begins to raise its head*" perhaps echoing old tales of those who have seen a monster at sea...

One could ask whether education internationalisation is more like 'floating along with the trend', or a seriously planned educational strategy to help change and improve organisational culture as Koskinen has asked in her recent doctoral study on internationalisation with Finnish liberal adult education (Koskinen, 40). Anyway, there may have been a very strong element of something afloat in education a few years ago.

The water metaphors could reflect a root metaphor of internationalisation being associated with the sea, sea voyages, even the Great Explorations. I have discussed this question below among the three key metaphors.

Teacher5;3-4 has a beautiful metaphor cluster saying, "*I think it is like continuing experimentation, looking for bases to land in these continents and maybe we listen and see what we'd experience like important. And which would then be of direct use to us, which would serve us best.*"

Teacher5 makes me think how, deep down in the Finnish consciousness, there may be verses and images of Kalevala, the national epic. The informants may

have reflected something from that imagery, e.g. of how land was created out of water:

*In primeval times, a maiden,
Beauteous Daughter of the Ether,
Passed for ages her existence
In the great expanse of heaven,
O'er the prairies yet enfolded.
Wearisome the maiden growing,
Her existence sad and hopeless,
Thus alone to live for ages
In the infinite expanses
Of the air above the sea-foam,
In the far outstretching spaces,
In a solitude of ether,
She descended to the ocean,
Waves her coach, and waves her pillow.
Thereupon the rising storm-wind
Flying from the East in fierceness,
Whips the ocean into surges,
Strikes the stars with sprays of ocean
Till the waves are white with fervor.*

(Kalevala Rune 1.)

There is an element of movement

CEO2;1, Dean1;5 refer to internationalisation as something that has been coming in like “a landslide”.

Student4;6 speaks of trends “*spreading like a forest fire*” in exemplifying how internationalisation takes place in his field.

On the other hand, internationalisation is “*very much in the air*” (Dean1;6) so its not under but above and around? And Dean2;16 speaks of education internationalisation just as movement, “*Yes I think it will come, it will get going...*”

Student2;18 suggests that “*we may have to accept the two-way movement in this, and not only the one-way view where we in getting international just pick the interesting stuff from other cultures...*” Teachers3, 6 have similar notions. For Teacher4;1, internationalisation is a movement in-depth, as it is “*mainly giving depth to this education, and knowing more about cultures through it*”.

The movement can be hampered by a *threshold* (Teacher5; 1, for example) or made easy by a *lowered threshold* (Student4;6).

Looking at the plentiful and partly violent water and land imagery, one could suggest that one of the root metaphors of internationalisation is water and land,

in a movement, with great strength, irresistible, sometimes with an element of danger; no turning back.

One could ask whether internationalisation – as seen through the metaphors in the research data – is a phenomenon that is perceived as being bigger than it is in the light of figures for example? There were not so many exchanges per year, and the figures that have been set by the Ministry of Education for academic mobility have not been reached to-date in education. Still internationalisation came in like a flood, like a landslide as suggested above.

The water and landslide type of metaphors shows that the one who uses the image, feels he/she is an object, not a subject in what is taking place. The object may even be helpless and terrified like when a landslide comes. The threat element, related to national identity for example, has been recorded by other researchers of internationalisation too (Ollikainen, 243, Söderqvist, 164-165, Mäkinen & Poropudas, 41).

Internationalisation is a space, a vacuum or an island

As opposed to the movement but closely connected to the threat element of internationalisation, there were repeated metaphors in the interviews concerning Finland as an isolated and closed place. This imagery was suggested earlier while I was discussing Finland in a historical and foreign policy perspective.

CEO2;1 refers directly to foreign policy as he sees “*Finland opening up*” for the world as Soviet Union broke down.

Teacher4;6,7 uses the metaphor twice of “*Finland opening up*” in describing where VAMK internationalisation had its origins. She also sees “*Finland as so isolated where we are, this geographical location*”, unless there was internationalisation.

“*This country is no vacuum*”, says CEO1;1, and typically of a metaphor, what he leaves out is the rest of his sentence which would go something like, “*but sadly enough, there a plenty of people who would like to have it as a vacuum*”.

For Teacher8;2 Finnish “*reality cannot be lived in a tube*”, instead, in a polytechnic, international networking is necessary.

As for the perspective of the individuals, Teachers3;17, 7;17, Student4;5 refer to international study experiences with notions of “*opening up*” the minds of the persons who travel on such exchanges. Student2;4 sees internationalisation gained on African exchanges as exponentially increasing “*flexibility*”.

CEO2;2 speaks of “a pressure” that is felt in the polytechnics “towards showing this internationalisation” which obviously is felt in the Finland-vacuum and caused by the membership in the EU.

Teacher2;1 gives an example of a Finnish school that is “monastic” – a spiritual or sexual vacuum.

Dean3;6 speaks of ‘*lintukoto*’ (Isle of Bliss): “Now if you think of Finland which is like an isle of bliss here, far up in the north”, referring to the country’s monocultural society.

Koivunen quotes Aleksis Kivi’s poem *Lintukoto*, conveying images of a distant island of peace. Its dwellers seek no answers, nor find any, in a painless state of eternal longing. Koivunen contends that Kivi’s *Lintukoto* shows clearly the source of pains of a Faustic person; in *Lintukoto* there is no need to give meanings to anything, the only purpose is to follow the eternal cycle of day and night. This idyll is lost for Finns and still too closely felt so it is a target for longing and a source of pain. (Koivunen 1997, 140.)

Aleksis Kivi’s *Impivaara* was such an Isle of Bliss for the famous Seven Brothers. They had to leave it in terror as they in a fight came to set fire on their house, in the middle of winter. More irreversibly, the times had changed not allowing for separation from society any longer for people who wished to marry and live a satisfactory life. But the cost of societal life is that one has to be more or less subservient to its rules – a serf. Bog here, marsh there as one could translate the Finnish proverb. This metaphoric dilemma is very much present in the data of this study; the theoretical part and the empirical. It is in the irrationales of VAMK internationalisation derived from the interviews as well as in the metaphors. The polytechnic international actors’ choice cannot be an Isle of Bliss where they could ‘seek no answers nor find any’. Instead, they have to find answers to endless questions in launching and consolidating a new form of education, upgrading their old skills and competencies and what is more acute, in meeting the need of internationalisation, they have to seek and find answers in foreign cultures and in foreign tongues.

Curiously enough perhaps and to the present author’s surprise, the Isle of Bliss seems to be a very Finnish image; Google search gives mainly references to Finnish contemporary composers who have written symphonic music inspired by and named after Kivi’s poem.

With the vacuum impressions and the image of the Isle of Bliss, and gathering from what was presented for the Vamkians’ apprehension of Finland’s otherness, it is obvious that we may here have another root metaphor of Finnish in-

ternationalisation, that of isolation – which is clearly coming to an end. As the quotation from the late Prime Minister Sorsa earlier, the fear of Eurovaara may sometimes surpass that of the fear of isolation in Impivaara, the Isle of Bliss.

The spatiality & territoriality in metaphors was mentioned earlier, contending that these are generic approaches to define the world in human thinking. The data of this study clearly underpin this notion.

The epitome of this is Teacher3;2's concrete: "*now we go into internationalisation*", an expression she actually uses to mock the lip service of internationalisation that is paid, in her mind, by a lot of educators in 1990s' Finland. What she sees happening is a false impression sustained by many of internationalisation being a state of affairs, if not exactly a place, away from the Finnish Isle of Bliss. Student4;3,6 has a less drastic expression showing the spatiality of internationalisation explaining how networking abroad is important as "*you'll find it much easier to go and join that culture [if you know people there]*"; later on he speaks of the student's responsibility in choosing "*the international route*".

To conclude, internationalisation as space provides a central metaphor cluster for the Vamkians in so much as internationalisation is a space beyond the homeland-Finland. There are pressures connected with the movement that is necessary to take the Vamkians and Finland to that space. The pressures and the movement are even painful for the Vamk international actors. Not the least so as the homeland-Finland is expected to be very different from what would be out there, in internationalisation. The homeland is the Isle of Bliss, where nothing ever changes, no air moves as it is a vacuum.

Faustic world conquest

With the closed Isle of Bliss at one end, in the research data we come a long way towards the absolute opposite end where a smallish very new very Finnish organisation, VAMK, is conquering the world. The effort is as fierce as it is ludicrous if you do not know its true dimensions – a bunch of women out in putting into practice what has been set as a target by the Ministry of Education and by a less recognisable authority, globalisation, the evil perhaps itself, like in Goethe's Faust?

While describing how internationalisation was motivated as travel and tourism, I have given examples from Students1;2, Teacher4, CEO2 and from Dean1;12-13 who envisages VAMK's global presence and recent foray into Asia, "*just fabulous*". I have tried to render in some detail how the interviewees deal with internationalisation turning into tourism turning into a Faustic world conquest. Thus I will not repeat the quotations here; just brief remarks from Teacher4;7, "*And I*

think there is nothing that will force us to conquering the entire world”, and Student2;8 who saw that “nearly the entire world” is available for students to choose as their exchange targets... The VAMK conquest was observed in the major Finnish newspaper Helsingin Sanomat (Välkevirta 1996).

The mere fact that both students and teachers have expressed thoughts such as the above, I believe is proof of the real pressure that had led to a miniature conquest of the world. Dean2;9 can be quoted having a feeling of an outside power or authority behind the actions: *“When we think about the development of the field of study, so what we do is on the terms of this internationalisation (NB: internationalisation is setting terms like a strong-willed person). The root metaphor might be, internationalisation is like a Faustic person, or like Attila the Hun, and it can replace a person’s will by its own, which is an insatiable one. Here obviously we come closer to the phenomenon of globalisation. Mäkinen & Poropudas are not studying metaphors but instead, practical contexts of 1990s education policy in Finland as they start exploring ‘the anarchy or chaos’ that are to them the topmost features of the said time; they contend that it is possible to find the underlying logics and directions by looking at who the makers of the policy were and what the international models of the time were. They refer to politicians, to the employers’ organisations, to leading Ministry of Education officials (Mäkinen & Poropudas 2001, 6, 14-16). Who were the demons of VAMK? The interviews do not tell that, I think.*

Internationalisation as a game, a competition

Game metaphors are common in a variety of text types and it is no surprise to find a number of them in the research data on internationalisation. The root metaphor of course would be, internationalisation is a game, a play, a race. For example the fact that polytechnics had to compete for permanent licences, makes it obvious that the interviews would contain metaphorical references to internationalisation as part of the game where the reward would be the permanent licence. Game metaphors are not particularly abundant in the research data but they form a cluster of their own.

Dean1;4 speaks of *“a hard competition that was fought”* in order to get into the partnership of an Erasmus circle; Teachers1;13, 8;13 speak in poker terms when they describe international negotiations on cooperation.

Dean3;3 describes her school’s start into internationalisation as *“full force play”* (“ajolähtö”) like the compelling situation in Finnish baseball.

Student4; 8, 10 has several competition metaphors: the self-directed student he is, he thinks all students would benefit from being *“one move ahead of others”* in

planning their studies. He emphasises the “*right to pitch*” (“*etulyöntiasema*”) in the job market of such students who have gone on foreign exchanges. When thinking of the present state of internationalisation at VAMK he sees both teachers and students “*on the same starting line*” as in a running game.

Teacher2;22 uses motor racing terms in relating a case of student who “*went from zero to a hundred*” as a learner with the help of internationalisation.

Teacher3;10 sees the debates on where the focus in internationalisation - mainly within her department - as “*arm twisting*”.

Internationalisation as daily life (so far - a dream)

Internationalisation was a novelty in a system that was novel in Finland at the time of the interviews. The interviewees speak of a need to bring internationalisation onto a level that would be ordinary, normal, instead of as, Teacher3;2 says, “*That it is no such superficial stamp you print on things that, hey, now we go into internationalisation when you speak of something but that it should be in there in the practicalities of the daily life...*”

Teacher6;8, 10 reminds of the fact that the multi-cultural presence in Finnish work life is daily life. Teacher1;17 says of VAMK internationalisation: “*...the ones whose work is linked with it see its importance and would like to have it as an integrated thought and, in particular, that it would be part of the daily life in this [polytechnic] activity.*”

Close to “daily life” comes perhaps the “grass-roots level” which is mentioned as a reference to teachers’ work. Dean1;5, 11 who talks of “*me as the principal*” as opposed to the “grassroots” i.e. teachers whom she empowers to internationalisation.

Teacher8;11 sees internationalisation, “*rather like a grass-roots level activity, and a long process*”, meaning, internationalisation “*does not happen overnight*”, i.e. it can become part of teaching only gradually. Student4;7, 11 speaks of both “*daily life*” and “*grass-roots*” in reference of “*the future*” of polytechnic internationalisation, where there will be regular international interaction through exchange. Later on he is comparing his tiny unit with the largest unit of what then was VAMK where, in that large one, the exchanges already run on a regular basis, where as the small unit are doing like “*grass-roots level pioneering*” in trying to establish the very first contacts.

Student4’s Teacher6;3 in a way confirms his view in speaking of how the “*normal life*” in their unit does not have space for internationalisation, which is overruled by the more pressing things.

Dean3;13 says of international activities “... it is not tough but I mean it is different from your ordinary life”.

Teacher8; 4 remembers how internationalisation to begin with was too “loose” to be “normal action”.

Teacher7;16, 18 is clearly worried of how international activities “are not brought into the daily life” and how “it doesn’t have to be anything fanciful, but rather like these small steps... these international activities, how they should serve the average student”...

CEO2;9 sees that, “...regarding attitudes, there is also quite big an educational task as the Finns may not be terribly observant when you look at things from the point of view of what one would call an ordinary citizen”...

Student2;18 refers to *grass-roots level* in reflecting on what she had learnt from her exchange period in Zambia; referring to what she obviously sees as the most valuable internationalisation, the activity of NGOs in development aid.

What is the root (sic!) metaphor that can be obtained through the imagery here? What are all these root images conveying about the apprehensions of the ordinary, clinging-to-the-grass-root kind of Finns or rather, of the Vamkians who are clearly on alert with regard to something that in 1997, the early days of the polytechnic was going the wrong way? Could the root metaphor be that internationalisation is fanciful, not right in the format it was offered to the student, or even to the average teachers, Dean1;5’s “wider front”? Does the root metaphor tell that internationalisation, at least in its early forms, perhaps Söderqvist’s 0 or 1 stage internationalisation (2002, 39), was somehow wrong, negative, suspicious, even sinister? Let us look at another set of obviously related metaphors.

Internationalisation on the loose (as opposed to daily life)

There is a cluster of metaphors in the interviews that relate internationalisation to a state of looseness. The word in Finnish is ‘irralaan’ or ‘irralinen’, adverb vs. adjective. The translation into English does not always work smoothly by using the words ‘loose’ or ‘loosely’ only but I have clung to that expression in order to reinforce the effect that I believe can be felt in the Finnish interview texts.

Teacher8;4 says of her school’s first international team which had been active a few years prior to the interviews: “*The international group was somehow on the loose as with regard to the rest of the unit’s activities... It was, well, it like takes a certain [time] before an activity becomes like part of the normal, normal activities.*”

Teachers3;3, 4 and 7;9 are worried of the role of internationalisation in the curricula as well as on exchanges, as things may have been “*left quite on the loose*” as with regard to what the students should understand and be able to relate to the “core learning” of their polytechnic studies.

Teacher1;19 sees the looseness the other way round: “*you can’t force anyone to take part in the internationalisation [at VAMK]... but then again, we can’t live our lives separately from internationalisation as it is part of our concrete daily lives...*” We come back to the daily life theme, now seen from the opposite angle almost to the previous chapter: internationalisation is daily life whether you wanted it or not; and this may be seen as a negative thing by some.

CEO2;18 brings up a bit of an analysis about the looseness in the educational dialogue of the time as regards internationalisation terminology, phrasings such as ‘European dimension’, contending that “*...people are prone to speak about internationalisation a bit unclearly, whereas they should somehow be more concrete as to what it means in education... otherwise this terminology gives easily way to an impression of looseness which then can have an impact on the images the staff has...*”

Again I am looking for a root metaphor. The underlying notions about ‘looseness’ could perhaps open up the riddle with the ‘grass-roots’, ‘daily-life’ notions about internationalisation too. The informants feel internationalisation is not really a part of their ordinary working lives, even if it is already surrounding them. The activities are somehow extraordinary even in the sense that they can be wrapped up in obscure words – like strangers speaking in a foreign tongue. If we compare with the Lakoffian metaphor example ‘time is money’, i.e. a commodity; internationalisation is perhaps metaphorically like a foreign tongue that one does not speak, and thus rendered meaningless, irrelevant, irritating... The irrationales of VAMK internationalisation that were partly related to language problems are perhaps present here too

The senses are involved

You can *smell* your way in internationalisation, like Students2;5 and 4;6,7 as well as Teacher5;6 do, i.e. you do not see your target yet, not clearly anyway, but can already smell it.

Seeing is, however, a strong element in internationalisation: for Dean1;9 internationalisation is *seeing* things globally. For Teacher3;2 and CEO2;2 it is an angle, a viewpoint; Dean1;10 has it also as a *viewpoint* that is recorded in curriculum;. Teacher8;2 speaks of the omnipresent *viewpoint*, which is to her is a metaphor of globalisation.

Dean1;10 introduces the image of internationalisation as a chosen *profile*, which also entails use of the visual sense or the sense of feeling, as a profile is something that can be sensed through the eyes or by touching.

Close to senses comes Student2;4 (and Student4, CEO2, Teacher6) who sees internationalisation as strong “*experience of learning*”.

The root metaphor here could be, *it is all in our heads*. Interestingly, CEO1; 5 speaks of “*finding the homeland within oneself*” as a step towards internationalisation. I suppose he is referring to the head too, or perhaps the heart. Human instincts, in so much as they are tied to our senses, play a big part obviously in how internationalisation is experienced. When discussing senses and internationalisation, I often remember the Hungarian word for German, which is *német*, meaning ‘mute’. When such a name was given to the Germans by the Hungarians, the senses had conveyed a speech that because of its foreignness was meaningless, like the murmurings of a mute person. The name remained as an ancient token of how the senses are used in internationalisation. You give an instinctive meaning to things you are not capable to explain.

I was deliberately looking for xenophobic metaphors in the research data too, like clear notions of people’s colour, or more hidden terms of describing ‘aliens’ as harmful, but I did not really find any. On the contrary, it was as explained above, Finland’s potential isolation was seen as a real threat. Perhaps my informants were so used to travel and encountering foreign cultures already, or perhaps the great respect for the human being that is suggested as a basic value for VAMK, that give an impression of a pluralistic, non-xenophobic organisation.

Beyond looseness and senses – cultural encounters as successes or failures

With the examples below, I try to show two contradictory features in internationalisation; one could be presenting learning, or meta learning as the root metaphor, and the other one, a deep-rooted signal of warning. I have considered them in one subchapter as they both have to do with an approach to internationalisation that is somehow beyond what is conveyed to us by our knowing sensed apprehensions, yet as “an experiential basis at the back” as Student4 says below. It is also of some interest that it is this one student who has come across both, opposite but interlinked understandings of internationalisation.

Student4;12-13 and the interviewer come to discuss the potential intrinsic value of internationalisation experiences in education. Student4: “*So everything [...]that you learn at the polytech, if you actively make use of it in your working life, you can make use of it. In a way you have a background model there, the feeling*

that, I've dealt with this before. If I in this situation [in my studies encounter] a foreign culture, so yes I can handle this [working life] situation later on. So yes, it is of use, no doubt." Interviewer: "So, could we maybe conclude that internationalisation, no matter which way it happens, always generates something that helps build this... student learning?" Student: "Yes, yea. So maybe one often thinks that you take these international studies, too, to get a certain..." Interviewer [clumsily!]: "...number of study weeks?" Student: "Number of study weeks. In a way, on top of that, it will bring you a merit in your studies. But then too, you should see the entity of things, the reason why you are studying, it is, with internationalisation, so when you enter the job market, you will have to handle international relations, so I believe, people who graduate from polytechs, they will come across these later on [cultural encounters in their working careers]. So then, I'd see that as you have been meeting with cultures, say three weeks somewhere, say in practical training, so even if you are doing some minor task, so you always get the bonus of, no matter if it gives you any great results [or not], at that moment, the way you see it, at least it will work as an experiential basis at the back. And then I believe it will meet with the needs of the job market because people are needed who can quickly react to situations."

Student4 sees international experiences as part of studies as a way to establish a background model, which can be useful and encouraging in dealing with new things. We obviously come close to pedagogy here and more than probably, Student4 had been discussing modern, constructivist approaches to learning in his VAMK department with his tutors. The background model is reminiscent of Yrjö Engeström's orientation basis and expansive learning, which were much referred to in Finnish pedagogy in the 1980s-1990s (see for example, Engeström 1987, 189-191). The orientation basis, in brief, is a (pedagogical if you like) model for thinking and action, through which a person can form conceptions on a phenomenon, handle and evaluate it, as well as solve problems related to it. VAMK was pedagogically looking for new, student centred approaches to teaching learning; we were for example not speaking of teaching but of learning-teaching processes (nb. learning first). Student4's personality together with his prior learning and work experiences was perhaps what it took to make an ideal student for the new type, level and orientation of higher education in Finland. The present author would not have "found" him as a student interviewee had he not been known as a presenter in some VAMK events like orientation weeks for new students.

Early in his interview, Student4;3 speaks about the panic that can be caused to a Finn in his or her job by a person speaking or a text written in a foreign lan-

guage. He goes on explaining how such panic, if observed by a customer, can make the customer relationship collapse – using a computer term. When prompted to remember some successful events related to internationalisation in his studies, he again comes close to the cultural encounters theme. A Catering, Tourism and Home Economics student, he was a VAMK pioneer in selecting part of his studies from other fields of study. From Business and Administration he chose a course in marketing, which was given in Swedish. Student4;19: *“Yea. It was both studying the language but at the same time, studying that subject, in a foreign language... And then this readiness to speak, the thing about expressing yourself, so it is not my experience that I would be so terribly afraid of using a language and afraid of mistakes. This is what I think is important. ...Well, I've always been kind of keen on languages, and to study languages, and it is my experience that I also wish to speak in those languages then. So it is no big threshold for me to start communicating, to take contact with people in a foreign language. Let it be that you end up in the bushes a bit, as long as you keep talking. It is like a success is it not.”*

These are rather long quotations from Student4 and one should perhaps ask, could or should he be compared to others as for some he might be too ideal as a polytechnic learner and international actor? I think his dialogue, some of which I have tried to render in English, speaks for itself. But so do the other informants, representing different approaches to learning, work and internationalisation. Let us hear what the background models for some others would be like.

As explained a few lines earlier, Student4 is aware of situations where Finns have panicked when encountering a situation involving a foreign language element.

Teacher3;3,15 remembers how teachers were intimidated by the “*image of terror*” provoked by the potential use of English as the language of teaching, referring to the new study programs that were planned but never started in the mid 1990s. She is probably not referring to herself though, as she reveals later that she has signed up for a course of English as, “*one could think that one would go on an exchange at some point*”. Teacher8;6 who early on organised so-called European modules in English with some foreign partner institutions, remembers how her social studies students “*were a bit afraid of the language, surprise, surprise*”.

Teacher4;5 remembers who the pioneer international actors in her field of study were: “*...there were certainly also persons who already had an experience of having spent times abroad, language skills was certainly the one, the one [quali-*

fiction that was required] in the sense that they were not afraid. Teacher4;15 also explains how the contacts abroad have become more relaxed giving an example of telephone contacts in internationalisation, nb. VAMK had access to emails only within the city of Vantaa in 1997 and due to economical reasons, there was normally only a maximum of two (2) telephone lines in a school that were open to country-to-country calls: “... you see we have that line there... *the Hot Line, that’s where the teachers phone... taking these personal contacts [abroad]... And this is just it. So it is no longer like, a horrid thing. Yes.*” An interesting connotation might be the fact that the Hot Line was notoriously in existence between Washington and Moscow in order to sustain peace at the most catastrophic circumstances...

Going back to Student4’s background model, what is the model that Teachers3, 4, 8 have in mind? It has clearly to do with speaking in a foreign language, close to Student4’s success story but with opposite results. If you use a foreign language so that you can be overheard, some horrid thing may happen to you. We could get a confirmation to the root metaphor of internationalisation that was already suggested at the end of the previous subchapter. Internationalisation means using foreign languages. Using foreign languages can be dangerous and end up in shame. The “horrid” internationalisation could perhaps be akin to a strong feeling of shame. This feeling of shame has to do with the generation of educators who run the polytechnic in the 1990s, people who did not attend the supportive, diversified language education of the Finnish basic school.

The people who went to the Finnish high schools before the comprehensive school times, i.e. until the late 1960s-early 1970s, were generally punished and even shamed (or this is how we felt, the purpose was obviously just to help us learn better) by every 9-point mistake they made in their foreign language tests. All mistakes were graded from 1 to 9 and marked with a red pen in the exams. To give an example of English as a foreign language, a 9-point mistake was marked for forgetting the 3rd person ‘s’ in expressions like, *John is a boy. He plays football*, or for using the wrong gender with the pronoun like, *John is a boy. She plays football*. No mercy by the fact that the Finnish language has no resembling verbal ending or that its 3rd person singular pronoun is not gender specific. Emphasis was on grammar, not on communication. How right I may have been in this little observation is sustained by a discussion I had in February 2006 with a colleague from my present job. Without any references to my study, he started remembering how petrified he had been before going on to the US as an exchange student. His examples of the abhorred 9-point mistakes were parallel to mine, namely 3rd person singular, pronouns and the s-ending in verbs.

As internationalisation in the Finnish polytechnics was even regulated by law, as a prerequisite regarding the permanent licence, there was no escaping from it. What was the way out then? To go through it, come what may.

When Dean2;11 describes how the process of negotiating with foreign counterparts for cooperation proceeds and gradually becomes smoother and somehow more equal, *“and we don’t have to begin everything with the letter A any longer”* she says, I get the impression of Vamkians going through literacy training like Kivi’s Seven Brothers who went through the reading school in shame and in pain. Is some of the plentiful negative feeling about internationalisation related to the humiliation those grown-up men felt when reduced to ignorant children knowing no rules or lessons before they gained enough routine with the school and the ABC? Does that scare us off from internationalisation? Cf. Varila 1999 (below) on where negative emotions in adult learning may arise?

Teacher6;16, by using the metaphor *“saunasuomalainen”* i.e. ‘sauna Finn’, reminds the interviewer of the obvious fact that not all Finns wish to or even can give up their attitudes which are against foreign influences. The foreign reader is perhaps aware of the fact the Finns regard sauna a Finnish innovation, the ancient word ‘sauna’ being probably the only Finnish-origin word that is in global usage (with the exception of nokia). But the sauna Finns will obviously soon be an obsolete minority as, like the Seven Brothers, the more equal opportunities provided by a literate life are not really an option but a must brought about by the changing times. Teacher7;7 has already reminded the interviewer of the specific educational duty that the polytechnics have brought along i.e. educating the *“wider part of the population... the other end who are not used to taking a positive outlook on the international”*.

CEO1;8 sees Finnish internationalisation hampered by *“the generation now at work, its [lack of] international experience, and with bad language skills too, to be frank about it. Even at the highest ranks, as I have noticed in this country, even among the National Board of Education, they don’t know proper English, and this of course is an awful handicap, because if there is no common language, then of course it is quite tough....”* What he pictures here is an excess of “sauna Finns”, is it not?

CEO 2;14, too, observes a *“major gap”* between the young and older generations of the 1990s Finns: *“I think this competency to act in the international field, so today even the basic school graduates know some English for everyday purposes, they are used to thinking differently too...”* In 1997, the oldest basic school graduates were approaching their thirties. Student1;3, probably a basic

school graduate, has already been quoted on a generation gap regarding Finns' foreign language skills and computer literacy.

Dean3;10 reminds us of the theme of internationalisation as 'daily life' by looking not across one generation but just a few years ahead: *"And think about the lot we are now bringing up at the polytech, and also the universities are keenly following this trend, so when they end up in the job market, they have obtained international practical training, studies abroad, language skills and also contacts, so then what we have is internationalisation as daily life. Now it is what some like to gape at and even abhor..."*

Teacher2;13 has been internationalising a few student cohorts already and *"if any teacher would dare to say to them, we don't get involved in foreign exchanges, the students would laugh at them"*. So the tables were turning in mid 1990s and what for the previous generations of Finns was a thing to abhor was for the young Finns becoming 'business as usual'.

To conclude, in the mid 1990s' understandings about polytechnic internationalisation, there was much that was connected with the potential dismay and shame suggested by cultural encounters, especially related to linguistic competence. Even when trying to look for xenophobic notions, one does not come across many. The social sciences and health care informants have supportive reactions towards the multi-culturalisation of their work fields, sometimes angry about the majority Finns' negative attitudes towards multi-culturalism, or speaking for the promotion of multi-cultural studies in the polytechnic curricula. The Tourism, Catering and Home Economics informants speak for the obvious fact that much of their sector in Finland even in 1997 could only be kept going by an increasing number of immigrants of varying ethnic backgrounds. In their reactions to the multi-culturalism prompt the Cultural Studies staff see it as parallel to *"European integration"*; Teacher5;5, Dean3;7.

CEO1;3 sees multi-culturalism *"as a possible enrichment and a source of innovation... benefiting from the know-how that people have due to their cultural traditions"*.

Like Teacher7 a few lines earlier on 'sauna Finns', CEO2;9 sees *"we face a major challenge as regards attitudes, as Finns are not very receptive if you take the viewpoint of the ordinary citizen, [multi-culturalism] is seen more like a threat to the state of this society"*. He then gives as an example the growing number of Russian-origin immigrants and their needs and rights regarding Russian-language education in Finland. This brings us back to the language issue, as an internationalisation related threat felt by Vamkians.

CEO2 was referring to Finns' attitudes. CEO1's joke about the "Finnish dismay" was presented earlier. All the interviews seem to have observed a problem with the Finnish internationalisation, but one is focusing on languages, the other on the generation gap, a third on attitudes. Perhaps the common denominator for the problem is not external at all, even if, could there be a more external phenomenon than internationalisation? There is a notion coming from Dean2;15 addressing constraints of internationalisation: *"Well I think what is most important are people's attitudes [at VAMK]. Even if I have this feeling that people have a very positive attitude, we are somehow relatively timid, and then maybe not sure enough of our own [roles, values]... we are a small country with quite a short history and, we lack this, this, in a deep voice [pronounced principle or belief] that 'we are outstandingly good'. Yes, this is what we could have a bit more."*

Student2;4 makes another interesting observation in this vein in saying, *"even if upon leaving [on a student exchange in Africa] you complained about Finland being this and that, when you come back you are really able appreciate your own culture too. ...It is exactly the same as understanding who you are, at least in social work where you have to work with quite unpleasant things..."* This could imply that the Finnish self-esteem is low due to limited knowledge and understanding of the situations beyond your own country AND within yourself. Enhance the Finns' self-esteem and they will be on top of the world! Now this would call for a longitudinal study with the focus more acutely set on attitudinal issues than what the present researcher can even dream of but the finding may be quite correct. There is nothing of a surprise here either, unless it is the obvious fact that all informants seem to agree on this Finnish low-self-esteem.

Internationalisation is an activity that is in many ways tied to emotions, as I may have been able to show through displaying the interview data. Even if internationalisation at VAMK was a goal-oriented activity, regulated by law, EU programs and available resources, emotions were by no means excluded from the activity. According to Varila (1999, 86-87), emotion and cognition are just two angles to the same activity; with one root in the present situation, one in the future; a third in austere planning, a fourth in a compelling experience and a fifth in the past. Emotions cannot be selected freely but rather they are compelling and binding as regards the individual's actions.

Varila (1999, 92-93) examines the learning process of a novice growing into an expert: the process can be full of emotional pressures at the beginning if the learning environment does not provide ample support. The Vamkians were novices in many respects and the pressures were hard from a variety of angles: how to upgrade the education; how to upgrade the staff; how to meet the criteria set

by the state authority in getting the permanent licence. How to deal with the old providers of education, the municipalities and meet their various expectations regarding the allocated resources, the sudden and forced divide between old secondary and new tertiary level of education; the new competition within and outside the polytechnic. Internationalisation was part of each and every one of these expectations with the added pressure coming from a necessity to act with foreign cultures through foreign languages. The fact that 'a horrid thing', the 'evil goblins', a 'sauna Finnish' 'dismay' could be observed, was no wonder. A minor wonder is, the internationalisation process was under a bright star, all along.

But to return to Student4 and the background model I opened this subchapter with: like Dean2 a few lines earlier, I think the Finns should be taught a background model for their communication reflecting the notion "*we are outstandingly good*" and that notion would include the obvious fact that Finns also tend to act respectfully towards other human beings.

8.3 Three key metaphors

Under a bright star

There were three images in the interviews of the present study that had a strong appeal to the author from very early on: one was the notion by Teacher7 that the international activities of VAMK were, even if haphazard in many ways, somehow "*under a bright star*".

The other central image was "*the horrid thing*" that teacher4 had sensed in the internationalisation activities of her department at their earliest phase. The horrid thing I have tried to explain in the previous chapter by relating it to the dismay Finns – of a certain generation at least – are prone to sense, when encountering foreign cultures, especially if languages are involved. I will discuss the "horrid thing" once more in the next chapter that will be on higher education internationalisation as an Age of Minor Explorations.

A third central image is the Erasmus Circle or the story of the Ring in VAMK internationalisation, which I endeavour to relate in the next subchapter.

All three images have singular metaphorical value in explaining the early stages of the international ventures of VAMK. The Erasmus Circles were made obsolete by the introduction of the Socrates IC as will be explained in the subchapter. The 'horrid thing' is being made less horrid by the basic school education and its new and successful pedagogic, including plentiful communicative language education. The bright star is probably no longer needed as the international activities

have become a well organised, well established part of the strategies and activities of Laurea Polytechnic, formerly VAMK, among other higher education institutions.

The bright star is according to my understanding the centrepiece of the metaphors in the research data. The metaphor immediately called for the interviewer's attention in the sense that, in attempts to give clever titles to the interviews by quoting some key phrasing in them, I not only titled Teacher7's interview as 'Under a bright star' but also used it to name a draft article on polytechnic internationalisation that was ordered from me a few years ago. This was before I started looking for metaphors in the texts on purpose.

The bright star metaphor with some of its context in the actual interview has been given earlier. My interpretations of the metaphor are threefold: first of all, what we have here is obviously a version of the biblical story connected to the birth of Jesus: it is the same Star of Bethlehem that once led the wise men of the East to the new-born baby Jesus. The King James Version of Matthew 2:9: *"When they had heard the king, they departed; and, lo, the star, which they saw in the east, went before them, till it came and stood over where the young child was."* So it is that in VAMK internationalisation, at some point, but definitely not at the moment of the interview, a light will lead those who seek, to the thing that is most precious.

The second interpretation will take us back to the story of Jesus' birth. The bright star could refer to a fairytale by the famous 19th century Finnish storyteller Zacharias Topelius, well known certainly by several Vamkians who had been children a few decades back. In Topelius' "Koivu ja tähti" (The Birch and the Star) a sister and a brother set out to seek their long-lost home by looking for the only sign they remember: a bright star shining through the branches of a large birch tree. When the sister is losing her hopes of ever finding home, the brother provides consolation (the author's translation) *"Then you shall know that bigger wonders have taken place. When the shepherds at night wandered to Bethlehem, a star went before them. It will go before us too, if only we believe in it."*

Also, the bright star could be referred to as the Polar Star or, why not, the Southern Cross. Like those major stars or constellations for ancient mariners, there would be a supreme light taking the early navigators of internationalisation to their destinations, at a time there were no proper maps or, proper ships for that matter.

I believe the bright star metaphor needs no further explaining in this study but to repeat: internationalisation is a matter of travel, even in areas for which there are no maps, it is about testing one's faith, seeking and ultimately finding home.

The horrid thing or the age of minor or higher education Explorations

The Horrid Thing has been explained at some length in the previous chapter. The bright star metaphor takes us to asking, was there not present an element of exotic travel in higher education internationalisation, at least in the earlier years in the 1990s. Internationalisation as travel and tourism has been discussed in the chapter on the Unofficial Rationales.

At a very early phase of my analysis I had observed the metaphor of “the horrid thing” that Teacher4 and also Dean3 had mentioned in relation to how people experienced the internationalisation ventures at VAMK. The horrid thing with some other images soon started to bring into my mind pictures from the history books of my school years. These were illustrations of ancient maps with sea monsters, huge octopi, and serpents depicting seas that on pancake earth could end in a fall into nowhere.

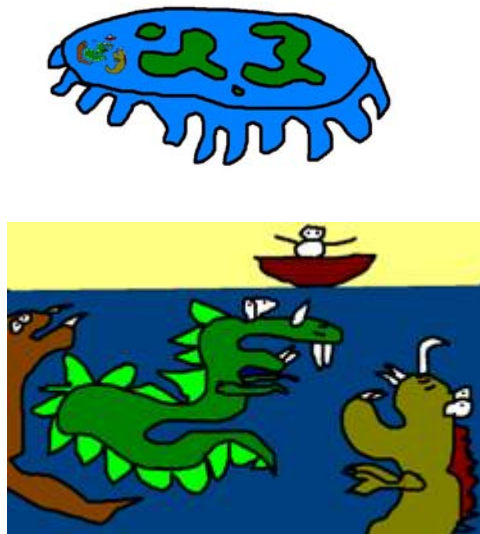


Figure 7 (courtesy of Ilpo Palosara). Travelling before we knew what was beyond the sea.

Did not sailors of Columbus's day think they would sail off the edge of the earth, if they went too far? They were also apprehensive of what they would find in their travels. Mistakes about marine life have ranged from wild assumptions about the behaviour of known species to fanciful depictions of animals that might exist. Teacher1;1 speaks of the need of "mapping out" what was out there i.e. potential partner countries. As an active promoter of internationalism she had also been warned:"Finnishness should be enough, we need not go fishing beyond the sea" (Teacher1;18).

The numerous deprecations of VAMK internationalisation as 'adventure tourism' recorded in the empirical data were certainly also words of warning. People wished to warn the travellers against dismay (CEO1) and even horror that would be met on such journeys. The dismay and horror have been partly recognised, against the verdict of the interviews, as an anticipation of shame and major uncertainty regarding cultural and foreign language encounters by the sauna Finns or the Finns of the Isle of Bliss. It could also be that the fears have to do with the fact that a lot of the travellers were women, more vulnerable than men. One should perhaps be reminded here again by CEO2;6 against the peddlars of internationalisation.

As suggested by some remarks in the interviews, the horrid thing can also be a reversed issue, a threat of invasion come true - as it yet never was true during the Finnish wars of the past century. These are the threats personified by the increasing numbers of immigrants to Finland and, even if much lesser in numbers, by the incoming exchange students and teachers. Even these fears have to do with speaking and not being able to communicate properly.

Could it also be that globalisation is the monster that is anticipated by some alert Vamkians in 1997?

Partly for fun I have chosen to call the higher education internationalisation of the 1990s the 'Minor Explorations' as opposed to those that took place in the 15th and 16th century - when some still believed the earth was shaped like a pancake. To get a full comparison would take much study, not the least in order to see how the education internationalisation boom reflected a singular time, a fracture between post-industrial, post-modern and something new – like the Great Explorations reflected a time between the Middle Ages and the Industrial Era. A few tokens of a major change in times taking place through higher education internationalisation were the central role of women, ICT invasion and the shift from internationalisation into globalisation.

Erasmus circles as rings

The earlier years of higher education internationalisation in Europe were accelerated, if not dominated by a European Union programme called Erasmus, launched in 1987 with student mobility grants and the establishment of so-called Interuniversity Cooperation Programmes. The ICPs were open to the so-called ETA countries as well, and even to college level institutions in vocational education. The ICPs were mainly cooperation networks between departments of given fields between European higher education; growing in numbers from about 400 in the first year to over 2600 in 1996. By entering the sphere of tertiary education through the polytechnic experiment, Finnish colleges could seriously vie for places in the ICPs. In 1995 a new, overarching programme called Socrates IC or Institutional Contract was established with the first Contracts compiled in 1996. In the new programme the cooperation was more top-down aiming at covering and steering most EU cooperation of a polytechnic or a university that wished to attain such funds that were provided by Socrates IC. The new programme made ICPs obsolete in the sense that they were no longer financed as separate entities from Brussels, but only with what funds and prestige they were allocated by their separate member institutions, through their Socrates IC contracts. (Ollikainen, 73-78.)

The 'second generation' EU programme or Socrates IC is only reflected in teacher's commentaries explained in the subchapter on State and EU Authority as Rationales. For several of the interviewees the ICPs are still a reality, even if it is only the one native English-speaking teacher and one of the Deans who use the term "ICP". Instead, there is plenty of talk about "Erasmus-renkaat" or circles or, as I would like to suggest, metaphorically of 'rings'.

The present author wishes to be frank about her own expertise in this area: she had not been involved in any of the makings of the Erasmus circles VAMK was a member of; she had been a mere observer in three or four ICP meetings, staying virtually an outsider. For her the Socrates IC was much more familiar as she was in office in the summer of 1996 when the first Socrates IC for VAMK was compiled, and as the polytechnic evolved in 1997-2001 answered for the IC Contract for Evamk and Laurea respectively. Perhaps this leaves the Erasmus Circles with a ring (sic) of the mythical for me.

I do not know how much the acclaim linked to the novels and recent cinema trilogy called Lord of the Rings has to do with the centrality of this metaphor in relation to the present study. Perhaps it is not without an effect, but I have never

read Tolkien's books, and I have only seen the first, disturbing movie. The title is captivating, though.

Words like "circle" or "ring" are metaphorically loaded. Circles and rings are among the most ancient and most common of human symbols reflecting unity, cosmos etc.. I use the symbology of rings to express some thoughts that may help understand the nature of the international activity at VAMK during 1990s. The English word "circle" is a loanword of old French cercle, Latin circulus, "small ring". The Finnish word "rengas", "circle", has been borrowed directly from Old Germanic *khrengaz which is also the origin of the English word "ring"(see for example Online Etymology Dictionary). I would like to contend that whether the interviewees of the present study discuss "Erasmus-rengas" or "ICP circles" they are at a metaphorical level referring to related ideas of internationalisation. The expressions have connotations of closed circles, about the rules and consequences of entering such circles. Moreover, like in the traditional Christian wedding ceremony, they refer to a rite where "with this ring I thee wed" into the membership of a circle. The Finnish language ceremony refers to the ring as the token of a matrimony.

Dean1;3-4 explains how, along with the EU financing opportunities becoming known quite early "in the 1990s, we had already attained these contacts with the [major German] polytechnic and [it] was at that time part of an Erasmus Circle **and we applied for a partnership and got it and through that immediately gained contacts with six European polytechnics... and it meant that we were among the first ones to get into this Erasmus ... and we got the financing and immediately made plans for student exchange and teacher exchange and these Erasmus meetings. And it was quite fabulous really... And immediately we felt that we got, what you'd call a new angle to our own curricula through these discussions and the planning we had...**" Later on she summarises what she sees as really successful in the polytechnic internationalisation: "...yes I think it is this fact that we have established these Erasmus... ICP agreements in such huge amounts. I think it shows that we have done a lot of work and our teaching is at a high level so **we have been accepted into these circles, and these partners are willing to take us**, and the thing that we have been courageous and started off in an unprejudicious way." (Dean1;14)

My interpretation of Dean1's verdict would be, with the membership of this circle, with the token of this ICP ring, VAMK for the part of this specific department at least, became a full member of the European higher education family.

Teacher8;1 says she “has been active in [a British] Erasmus circle” and other circles as well. She comes back to the theme all through her interview shedding light on the major role the “circle” had in the construction of the early internationalisation: I think her notions are full of such implications that marriage would bring along too, initiation with the realities of a married person, the new knowledge on old conceptions; new chores or division of labour; new circles through the spouse; threats of changes in the established relationship.

- Teacher8;2: *“my participation in one of these Erasmus circles, it really opened up a concept for me”*
- and 8;3: *“when the Erasmus circle activities started [division of labour became more clear at home]”*
- 8;4: explaining how the German “circles” came along with a certain teacher
- 8;7: relates her worry about colleagues labelling the *“Erasmus Circle negotiations as partly travel for fun”*
- 8; 12: in her most recent Erasmus “meeting, foreign colleagues had suggested Brussels would be setting demands on cooperation”, implying the arrival of the new Socrates programme; this change is explained here a few lines earlier.

Teacher7;13 remembers the possibility of an Erasmus cooperation with the Netherlands where her department was found too small to be appealing as a partner as explained earlier.

Teacher1;3,4 explains how one department helped the other in opening up international cooperation with Germany, having contacts through two [ICP] circles there; later on she remembers how another early cooperation was established through what she calls *“Porvoo ring”* or an ICP circle coordinated by a college in the near-by town Porvoo who accepted the Vantaa school into their “circles”.

Teacher2;14-15 begins by speaking, not of Erasmus, but of the parallel Nordic Council of Ministers programme called Nordplus, explaining how one gets into the ‘circles’. This is also like a story about how to get into a trade or find a spouse in the old times, is this not: *“First of all you have to know someone. In the Nordplus circle. - - - Personally. You have to find out who the coordinator is. You have to start by writing to that person first, you don't phone. You write. First. And you express the situation, explain the situation. You go to, you have to go to meetings and meet these people. And then you slowly get into these circles, you don't just hop in. ...And if this doesn't work, you start your own circle.”* Interviewer: *“Which you did, actually.”* Teacher2: *“Yes, that's the ICP. That's the way*

you have to think... Network is very important. And a network is based, very much, on personal contacts.”

Dean3;7 relates in detail how that ICP was launched – this could also be used to exemplify the ‘accidentally internationalised’ rationale: “...if you think for example of this Erasmus circle that was established by our Department, the way it quite simply took place was that yours truly was looking at this very thick register which was in English, and no way was I able to find our field of study there so I thought my English is even worse than I had thought, and started to look for [teacher2]. Well he could not find it either. Then we started to wonder could it be that it simply did not exist [as an ICP circle], which we thought would be impossible. Then I asked [Teacher2] to phone the Erasmus centre in Brussels. And there they did not believe it either, but they went through the whole register, too, after which we jointly came to the conclusion that it did not exist. And then we got a message from them, by phone, upon which we took to action. If you are willing to establish one of these [they said], they are ready to finance the founding meeting. ...In half a year we had, that was in February [1996] the meeting and then the Erasmus circle was registered, the same spring.”

There are no observations on Erasmus, ICP, Socrates or Nordplus by the interviewed students. What does this tell as they, however, are enthusiastic about exchange studies and practical placements abroad having, most of them been on exchanges quite recently? For the students the formalities of internationalisation can be irrelevant, as bureaucratic tokens, no matter what their symbolic value would be.

9 FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The research questions, as proposed in chapter 3, were:

- What kind of definitions are there for internationalisation and globalisation, especially from the point of view of tertiary level and polytechnic education?
- What is the wider societal background of the Finnish polytechnic education internationalisation as seen from the points of view of history, economy, politics, the latter mainly from the point of view of security politics?
- What are the driving forces or rationales of higher education internationalisation and how do they relate to the above background theory?
- What kind of concepts can be detected and described in the case of one particular polytechnic going international; how do they relate to the theoretical framework and do they help reveal some new theory?

By starting from some general definitions of internationalisation, by examining some of the societal and political phenomena of the mid-1990s Finland and then at some depth exploring the definitions of higher education internationalisation and its rationales as explained in theory, it has been possible to obtain the tools of examining the case study of the present research, the internationalisation of Vantaa Polytechnic. The empirical data from VAMK has been critical in shedding some light on to the theory and in reinforcing it.

I will first briefly summarise the key findings concerning definitions of internationalisation and globalisation as well as the study of the wider societal background of internationalisation in Finland. I will then present the summaries of the findings concerning the empirical data and finally make an attempt to a synthesis of the phenomenon of polytechnic internationalisation as seen in the VAMK case study.

By examining definitions of internationalisation and globalisation in dictionaries and encyclopaedias, I was able to suggest that 'internationalisation' should be seen in a historical perspective; as a process as well as within a scale or scales, such as the different levels of action: nations, organisations and individuals.

As concerned definitions of globalisation, the word was only to be found in more recent dictionaries or encyclopaedias; not until the 1990s. My brief overview of globalisation showed it had several key arenas including education. The way education is shaping up in a globalising world could be indicative of higher education internationalisation servicing globalisation.

As for definitions of the phenomenon higher education internationalisation, theory showed that it should be regarded as a process with indications of growing systematicity and centrality in an organisation as the process evolves. The theory I have been studying does not discuss the above-mentioned “scale” of different levels of internationalisation. I made my own suggestion to depict such levels in figure 2. This study concentrates at the level of an educational establishment.

Besides the systematicity – centrality matrix I obtained from Wächter (1999B) I suggested another matrix that might be helpful in describing the process of higher education internationalisation, based on the value-base of the activities on one hand, and geographical scope on the other.

To obtain answers to the third research question about the driving forces or rationales of higher education internationalisation for my case study, I made of short summary of Finland’s internationalisation process. The geopolitical situation (the experience of a periphery) of the country and its recent EU membership are significant issues also in higher education internationalisation.

My study of the rationales revealed a set of motivations or driving forces of higher education internationalisation, which, besides the mainstream ones (economical, political, academic), could be called unofficial (individual, accidental).

9.1 Findings on rationales

The structure of Chapter 9.1 is an attempt to display that there is a continuum from an official agenda or set of rationales of internationalisation towards what is not official at all. I have tried to make this a step-by-step approach where the unofficial rationales (Individual, Finnishness and Accidental) turn into dubious (Tourism) and the potentially harmful (Ir-rationales).

I contend that there is a lack of a genuinely open discussion within the circles of higher education internationalisation about the unofficial rationales, even presently. Such a discussion could be crucial in drawing up sustainable internationalisation strategies for organisations. The Wächter matrix presented in Chapter 6.2 might be helpful in facilitating such discussions by providing a tool for analysis. I think it would be worthwhile for any organisation to analyse which rationales are driving their international activities and then place them in the matrix. Wächter (1999B, 57) suggests that higher education institutions in their initial phases of internationalisation would be often and for quite some time accommodated in the Ad hoc – Marginal quadrant. I present below my suggestion for an

analysis of VAMK's internationalisation as regards the rationales or driving forces found in the empirical data of 1997.

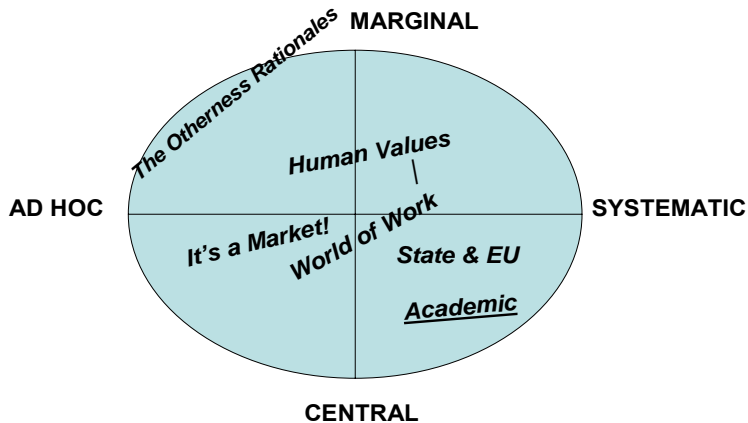


Figure 8. Suggestion of placement of VAMK internationalisation rationales into the Wächter matrix on Centrality vs. marginality.

The VAMK internationalisation rationales could be said to represent all of the rationale types presented in theoretical literature, and more. The central-systematic approach is strong with the academic rationales focussing around the facilitation of student learning. Partners are sought in order to improve curricula and learning methods.

There is also a strong awareness of the necessities that the developing world of work is imposing on the internationalisation of the polytechnic, but the reactions are not systematic, as proved by, for example, the notions about students being left on their own in finding placements abroad.

There is an obviously pragmatic approach to rationales set by State and EU authorities, especially as providers of finance. This is as most of the interviewees are students or teachers who are, as some of them even call themselves, small or grass-root level actors. So the relationship to authority is not the one's who is in power but then again, there is a feeling of realism and an understanding of what opportunities there are for these small players to use the power they have in arranging, for example, international teaching-learning environments or, in obtaining resources for internationalisation.

The economical rationale is more suggestive than systematic as indicated in the quotation *It's a Market!*, which I have chosen to use as the title of this rationale type at VAMK. The Market is there for bartering knowledge and skill and to promote overall wellbeing on earth, like the health care and social studies people wishing to make a positive difference in the ways people are provided care in the East. The fact that there were no informants from the business studies sector may have affected the feeling of non-systemacy here. Perhaps its informants would have reflected a different approach. Dean Sinikka Sartonen (1999) in her licentiate thesis on the said department's internationalisation however reflects rather a humane approach, similar to the other Vamkians in the sense that her school also puts students' learning in focus in its internationalisation.

An awareness of such rationales as Promotion of Peace and Global Understanding or, the Human Values rationale as I have named it, are present especially in the verdicts from the social studies informants but most others too. Yet there is no coherent or concrete agenda here, it is more an abstract "Red Cross feeling".

The rationales State and EU Authority and world of work are obviously a bit distant to the Vamkians. They are not subservient and thus do not seek regulations and limitations to avoid new challenges, but are quite ready to take initiative and test given boundaries, where feasible. But in their readiness they are sometimes unsystematic, running after ad hoc signals from, for example, strong individuals.

As important as the world of work rationale seems to be to Vamkians, it is a bit discouraging to realise that they are to an extent looking at it from outside: the real world is the world of work which is something beyond the polytechnic. For the students it is more of a reality, half of them have working careers already, and all students are looking forward to a future where they will find meaningful work. This is encouraging, as Finland had just about recovered from the dismay of mass unemployment earlier in the 1990s. The teachers are somehow aware of an otherness here: they prepare students for the world of work but, no matter

how hard they work themselves, it is not quite a work in a real world, it is a kind of pre-world where you know you are needed in a process of acquiring new qualified labour force but you are not part of the “force”. I am sure the world of work does not know exactly either how to manage what we call reality, otherwise Finland would never have fallen into the trap of the mass unemployment in the 1990s, for example.

In internationalising a polytechnic we pioneers crossed frontiers that were singularly hard to cross as we were not only trying to serve the end user world of work that was not too familiar to us. Moreover, we were doing it within the ‘international world’ that was new to our organisation and not too well known to us who serviced VAMK in internationalisation.

All informants had verifications concerning unofficial rationales, the non-systematic, ad hoc or at least, non-central, in internationalising VAMK. The fact that these rationales are so numerous and can be further divided into several categories could reflect the situation where internationalisation was very young, without clear-cut rules to follow. It can also reflect something that is innate in internationalisation. All nations have ancient beliefs, fears and taboos that influence the lives of individuals and institutions.

The individuals certainly played a major part in launching and shaping VAMK’s internationalisation. It is simply not possible to do anything humane without having the individual people play major parts, otherwise we would speak of a totalitarian approach. Wächter’s notions about the taboos of internationalisation earlier reveal that there is awareness of such an interplay in between what is said to represent official decision making and overtly set goals and, what is actually left in the hands of capable or just passionate individuals.

The dynamics of VAMK internationalisation rationales are shown in the author’s figure below (cf. Chapter 6.4).

VAMK INTERNATIONALISATION RATIONALES – Servicing Students

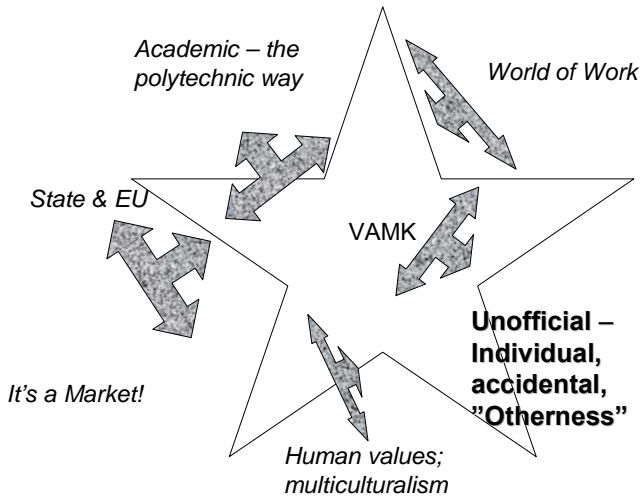


Figure 9. Author's suggestion to depict the rationales organising VAMK internationalisation as could be exemplified in the empirical data. Students' learning was found central. The unofficial rationales were rather strong.

The original research design already had questions of a double set of values motivating internationalisation. The suggested values were 'hard', profit-making and 'soft', emphasising the good of man. Both sets of motivations are present in the interviews but the Vamkians are obviously more motivated by the soft ones. The Academic and even the Human values rationales abound in the data reflecting the actors' belief in the centrality of the students and their learning as the polytechnic's *raison d'être*. The market, State and EU authority as well as World of work rationales reflect the interviewees' interests in serving, either the student-client or the labour market – with skilled, thinking and feeling experts of the brand-new polytechnic type.

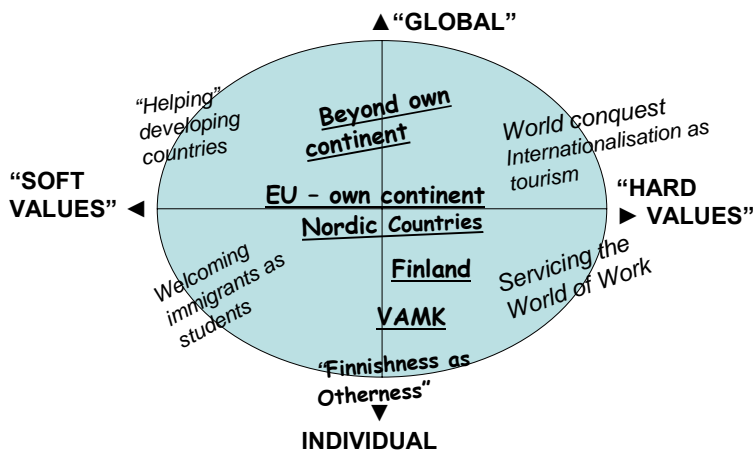


Figure 10. Author's parameter depicting *nature of rationale as regards the value-base* as well as *geographic scope* of VAMK internationalisation as suggested in the empirical data. Words in italics make for examples of how different VAMK international activities could be placed in the parameter. Notice that movement along the two axes of the parameter is thought to take place in both directions. The parameter could be developed in order to test an educational institution's values against actions taken or the institution's general international mindset.

At this point I would like to remind readers of two questions that I set in the first chapter, i.e. are the players of a higher education institution really internationalising something or are they actually just part of a bigger process of getting a country or countries internationalised or even globalised. I have been asking which was first, internationalisation or globalisation. Whose play were the Vamkians playing in making the polytechnic international? Who wrote the play of making Finland more successful by constructing a new component in its tertiary education called polytechnics? What is the role of globalisation here; was even the partly unsystematic internationalising of VAMK part of a bigger system, that of globalisation?

This study does not answer these questions. The interviewees themselves do not ponder on such issues except perhaps for the two CEOs. Globalisation was only being introduced into the discussions about internationalisation, as suggested earlier – the interviewee herself was by no means aware of any possible juxtaposition between internationalisation and globalisation while making her interviews in 1997.

A finding of some value in the present study is the abundance of internationalisation rationales that can be called **unofficial or marginal**. It is worth some wonder why there has been so little open discussion about the unofficial side of running major reforms like higher education internationalisation – or perhaps the whole process of establishing the polytechnic system in Finland. Is it the Emperor's new clothes, nobody wishes to be the one who tells the authorities about their nakedness, point at the taboos that make them allow a lot of trial and error. I should like to contend that there was and perhaps still is a lack of a genuinely open discussion or adequate understanding of how the internationalisation of higher education for example should to be carried out? Maybe it would be intolerable if the unofficial rationales were made visible. Maybe no reforms could be carried out in democracies within deregulated systems unless there were these accepted but less presentable trial-and-error periods before a consolidation of the reform can take place.

Another finding of the present study is the obvious fact that **the soft humanistic values** would seem to be underlying most of the internationalisation rationales at VAMK. The explanation for this could be that the learning of the students was very much in focus in the interviews. A contemporary student thesis reflects the efforts to place the support to students' professional growth in focus in VAMK/Evamk internationalisation (Metsälä, 1998). A recent dissertation by (VAMK's) Laurea's former Director of Development Activities, Eeva-Liisa Antikainen (2005), shows how the polytechnic staff have experienced their work as highly motivating, including the relationship to students and the teaching learning process. This could be a reflection of the metaphoric bright star under which the VAMK international actors were heading their way. The bright star could be the good of the learner, the good of man as a key rationale of VAMK development.

9.2 Findings on metaphors

Looking at VAMK internationalisation through the metaphors produced by the interviewees, one could conclude that the **unofficial rationales** play a big part. This would reinforce similar findings in the rationales part of this study. The

metaphors revealed that Vamkians saw Finland's potential isolation as a threat – but they saw the opposite was taking place too, as they were warning against the disproportionate “conquest of the world”. VAMK was facing a stark dichotomy in the late 1997, where pressures - that had the strength of a landslide or a flood - were felt to make the polytechnic as international as possible in a situation, where international strategies were either not really in place or they were incoherent. Voices of warning were heard of such looseness leading to no good.

Another set of conclusions could be as follows: **internationalisation is a process that involves the whole person**, the senses too. The entire personality of the international actor has parts to play in how the internationalisation is shaping up. The less clear-cut the strategies for an organisation's internationalisation are, the more scope there is for the personalities to bring in their varying qualities, talents, constraints, traits to develop or withdraw. If the person does not have positive internalised models of coping with challenging situations, there will be failures in meeting with the international situations, starting with language skills.

As shown earlier, it was the strong individuals who were in many ways pioneering in VAMK's and the Finnish polytechnics' internationalisation. These individuals brought in their entire personalities with varying qualifications to encounter the challenges. Obviously the best fit for the challenges were the ones who were not worried of the “9-point-mistakes” in what they said and did.

The pressures to internationalise and the ensuing actions were perceived as uncontrollable like floods, and the conquests were found disproportionate and dangerous. The rationales to internationalise the polytechnic had not been made explicit except for the State Authority ones (like the Polytechnic Act, Ministry and EU funding), nor had they been brought into a real debate. What was exactly meant by the internationalisation demands of the world of work for example, began to have shape only towards the end of my period at VAMK/Laurea with the redesigning of the curricula so as to fit in the international ingredients. Yet the perilous journey towards internationalisation was found to be under a bright star, intuitively going the right way. The right way was leading towards improved learning and the good of the VAMK student.

Movement is a natural finding for an underlying root metaphor describing internationalisation. In the Vamkians' verdicts the movement is often somehow forced. They refer to a landslide or a flood, however, without feelings of helplessness but more of a pressure to act. The fact that the first polytechnic law ex-

pected the institutions to internationalise – without saying really how – was probably reflected in a forced movement in the metaphors.

Movement as root metaphor is recognised also through numerous paraphrases of internationalisation as travel. These can be related to the actions that VAMK promoters of internationalism offered as first solutions, which often involved travel. International mobility as tourism and adventure was a crucial criticism in the interviews. A cluster of metaphors suggests also a feeling of looseness from daily life, from what is appropriate. Travel as tourism, especially as it was mainly women who travelled, could raise suspicions of purposeless folly.

In the empirical part on Rationales it was possible to detect a rationale type that I named '**Finnishness as otherness**'. By examining the metaphors it is, likewise, possible to draw up a clear picture of a felt Finnish negative otherness. A key phenomenon here is the isolation that is perceived as a threat; a notion shared by Finnish historians and politicians as shown earlier. The Finnish isolation as seen through metaphors is, like in the Rationales of otherness, a negative thing, something that should be dispelled. Finland is a vacuum that should urgently be 'opened up' to join the rest of the world, the European Union mainly but one should also revitalise the 'old' ties to the Nordic Countries. The forced movement mentioned above can be related to the opening up of the vacuum too.

The Finnish otherness is just a step away from encountering the **horrid thing**. This metaphor cluster can be seen as a reflection of the interviewees' unpleasant experiences on cultural crossings; often the unpleasantness has to do with linguistic handicaps. The horridness is also an atavistic fear of the foreign, made concrete by the plentiful foreign travel that the internationalising of the polytechnic brought about. I could perhaps use here a famous Wittgenstein quotation, asserting that "the limits of my language are the limits of my world". The horrid has also to do, as Bauman suggests, with the threat of the chaos caused by what is alien, the gray zone that we cannot classify by our known criteria. For meeting with the alien, special categories of people are needed, like salesmen, diplomats and anthropologists (Bauman 1996, 47-84).

I suppose we could add the international actors of education in Bauman's list of specialists to meet with the alien – especially in an early phase of such activity.

The Finnish 'dismay' is tangibly present in the interviews; the dismay could reflect a particular fear of the alien, perhaps. I think it is rather interesting today, after Finland's repeated top positions as the best educator of OECD countries in the PISA surveys, as well as the most competitive country, and the least corrupt

country, that we still lack that belief in being outstandingly good. In many ways, we are simply the best but we hate to say it aloud. Perhaps there is deep wisdom in the “Finnish dismay”?

A final outcome of the metaphor study is similar to that of the Rationales part: After criticism and even fear there was redemption under the bright star – the **value base** of VAMK internationalism was seen as straight and acceptable by the interviewees. The ultimate beneficiary was the common cause, VAMK, as well as her students who were to get the kind of experiences they needed in their way towards sustainable adulthood and professionalism.

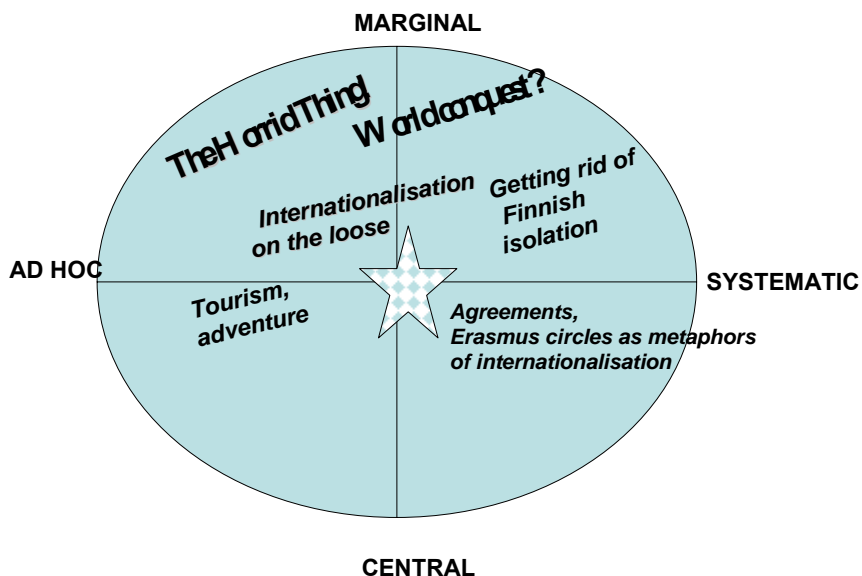


Figure 11. Author’s suggestion to describe VAMK internationalisation as seen through the metaphors and placed in the Wächter matrix on Centrality vs. marginality.

I also tested my figures 4 and 10 above of the value base and geographical scope of internationalisation, in order to describe the situation in VAMK as seen

through the metaphor findings. To me, this trial did not give a meaningful picture. The geographical scope is present starting from the Finnish isolation or vacuum that should be dispelled, extending – through adventure tourism if you like - to the conquest of the world. But the value base is not somehow present in the metaphors the way it is in the interviewees' verdicts on the rationales. There were several metaphors concerning the “looseness” of the international activities as opposed to what could be regarded as normal, as “daily life”. Internationalisation as “tourism” is a metaphor in similar line of thought. This could reflect a real bewilderment concerning the motivations of the VAMK key international actors and their values. It may have been us, it may have been I – the Fausts of this play.

9.3 Defining internationalisation once more

There is no one clear-cut definition for internationalisation as such, nor is there one even for the much more limited sphere of higher education internationalisation. The challenge of defining the phenomenon is the more complex as, since mid 1990s it has been understood to intermingle with that of globalisation. It is clear that the definition of internationalisation cannot be stable, given for ever for any one country or organisation. There is plenty of movement within the Finnish society, for example, and the shifting horizons of Finland in its relations to the European framework and more widely, have an effect on how authorities, organisations and individuals regard internationalisation and globalisation. What is obvious is that even for such authorities as the state, the definitions and reactions are never unambiguous.

The definitions and reactions are clearly dependent on the driving forces or rationales of higher education internationalisation – answers to my third research question. These rationales are much determined by the factors that I tried to map out as answers to my second research question, ‘What is the wider societal background of the Finnish polytechnic education internationalisation as seen from the points of view of history, economy, politics, the latter mainly from the point of view of security politics?’ It is no surprise that Finland preparing for the accession of and eventually joining the European Union in 1995, provides a key factor also in gearing the education and tertiary education in particular, towards international arenas. This ‘outward route’ was chosen for the country by the state authority, much accelerated by economical and security political motivations. In those motivations the sphere of education was in no big part but rather

remembered as a tool to help enhance an understanding between nations, i.e. peace, and a mobility of labour, i.e. financial opportunities.

In looking at the discussions preceding Finland's EU membership, a threatening picture of Finland being lost in Impivaara-like isolation and backward development, sometimes surfaces. A different word of warning is heard against the Faustic urge of modern man, modern Finn, to conquer all knowledge and expand his spheres without restraint.

The answers I have suggested to the research question about the rationales are an attempt to give a fuller picture of the situation than is obviously usual. I have introduced a set of marginal, unofficial rationales, some of which I have chosen, due to their very off-the-record nature, to call "ir-rationales". The glimpse of the Impivaara threat above is a signal of such motivations existing even at official state level – the hinted fear or shame of being left out of something important. While talking about fear and shame we come close to the rationales of Finnishness, the self-images of the Finns, often shadowed by suggested incapability to communicate with foreigners. This is a generation question partly, but obviously valid more widely than just as regards the polytechnics.

In an arena where fears of shame and incapability to communicate are present, it is no surprise that strong – fearless? – personalities rule. There is obviously the more space for the strong individuals in shaping the internationalisation of a higher education institution, the less clear-cut the international strategies of the institution are. As the 1990s was a decade of state authority deregulation there was space for individual solutions where there were no binding or detailed norms issued by the higher authority. Thus the internationalisation of the polytechnics in the earlier 1990s Finland is characterised by goals and actions defined by the individuals.

The array of rationales for institutions such as the Finnish polytechnics is more varied than what is perhaps the mainstream picture of the situation in higher education in general. The picture has a part that links the motivations with the world of work as well as the students' learning as high objectives. This can be explained at least partly by the fact that the Finnish polytechnics were mainly practically oriented secondary level institutions from their outset. Unlike with the traditional universities, their clients were more often than not young students that were to be taken towards a sustainable adulthood with permanent employment. This brings us to the other set of key clients, i.e. the companies that these institutions were educating their students to enter. Furthermore, these are rationales that lead to reactions shaping the internationalisation of a polytechnic in ways

that are perhaps not customarily present in the motivations of the traditional academia.

In the present world globalisation is affecting all walks of life. Higher education internationalisation is one reaction to this 'master process'. Within that phenomenon, it is possible to point out several rationales that are in their turn, directly linked with globalisation, like those connected with state authority or the world of work. On the other hand, there are motivations that are not – at least obviously - globalisation-driven, like the will of strong individuals or certain characteristics of a nation (geo-politics, language).

The entity of a higher education institution's internationalisation motivations can vary by number and origin as well as quality, such as intensity, transparency, authenticity. Hence, the actions assumed to carry out internationalisation, may vary greatly.

I return to the Sartrean image of the waiter acting out his profession and Goffman's metaphor (sic) of social encounters as theatre. I believe it is right to say that the internationalisation of a higher education institution is also a set of acts, like a play, performed in order to do what international actors are supposed to do. This is for example, to find partners to set up mobility and projects, to work on the curricula to make them meet the needs of the globalising world of work, to work on the institution's strategies in general to make them reflect the internationality of the whole organisation. Internationalisation is also a set of acts to be performed in front of the EU education programme administrators to be able to raise funds for further action.

Active international actors like those working with VAMK, wished to assure both our working community, potential partners abroad as well as financiers of our capabilities as serious professionals. The otherness discovered in the VAMK internationalisation rationales, the looseness as opposed to the daily life of the school, revealed in the metaphors study, can be seen as the dubious verdicts of those who somehow perceived there was an act, a performance of internationalisation going on, not quite of real life yet.

To explain my case further with a metaphor, it was like getting into the Erasmus circles, you had to act seriously to become a serious player. I have suggested that the Erasmus circles were metaphorical wooing ceremonies where the potential brides were coming from nowhere, from the brink of Europe from institutions that had not existed a few years earlier. With the Erasmus circles, with the token of the 'ring', it was possible to gain credibility.

Based on some theory and supported by my empirical study, I had suggested a definition of my own for higher education internationalisation in Chapter 6.2. I will work on it a bit further still by adding what I found in the empirical data, i.e. the value-orientation of the given higher education organisation:

The Author's definition of internationalisation, 2nd version:

As a response to the overall globalisation of societies, higher education internationalisation is a set of processes where different actions, presumed by nature or result to be international, are taken in order to create an impression of a higher education (institution or system) that can meet the needs of internationalisation and even globalisation. The value base of the institution as well as the social, political and cultural settings of the institution's country, are crucial in defining the focus and shape of the internationalisation activities.

While I am pondering over the value of what I have come to suggest as my key findings, my fondness of the key metaphor of the bright star grows. I come to look at the act of following the star as a process where not only the seekers were on a journey but also the supervisors and those who just looked on in wonder. The supervisors gave wise advice and the on-lookers shouted words of warning but the journey could not be done by them, it was the international actors who had to take every step and learn which way to go by doing so. As long as we are referring to a process, defining internationalisation at a higher education institution, perhaps in most organisations, should be seen as a process of **learning by doing**. In education this is obviously most natural as Dewey's old maxim has lost nothing of its acuteness no matter what new methods and approaches, including ICT, have been introduced over the past hundred years or so.

Close to the idea of learning by doing, is the **constructivist approach to knowledge** that I think is essential in education internationalisation. The process of compiling the present study has for me been crucial in constructing my understanding of internationalisation. Seeing research as a learning process is rather a natural approach to a qualitative researcher (Mahlamäki-Kultanen 1998, 178). I hope I have been able to reflect a personal constructivist approach to internationalisation, while I have related my research process from the ponderings of what can be known of internationalisation, about its motivations and underlying values, proceeding to the study of theory and to the data analysis and finally finishing off with the discussion of the findings and suggestions for further study.

Even if I have wished to underpin the role of the unofficial rationales in VAMK and further internationalisation, I believe internationalisation in education should always remain under a bright star. By this I refer to cooperation in between the different players of internationalisation, students, educators at institute and national levels, the world of work, who need each other to construct sustainable knowledge and understandings about which way to head their internationalisation.

9.4 About the generalisability of the findings

The generalisability of research results can be paraphrased as “the extent to which whatever relationships are uncovered in a particular situation can be expected to hold true in every situation” (Patton 1990, 279). It could also be paraphrased as whether the findings of a research can be transferred or applied to any given situation, which is more or less analogical to the original researched one. Patton, in quoting Cronbach, encourages researchers and their audiences to use their heads instead of making up generalisations or theory (*ibid.*, 280). Instead of making generalisations of the findings of a qualitative research, one should test their usefulness in so much as they can help understand the phenomenon in question or related phenomena, in new ways or better than previously (cf. Alasuutari 1993, 222).

I wish to be helpful in shedding light on internationalisation of education through this study, by inspiring a discussion on the findings presented above as well as on further questions that I have tried to raise. My list of subjects for further study is fairly lengthy to serve this purpose.

To some degree I have already tested what responses there are with my suggested unofficial array of rationales of internationalisation. This I have been able to do in my present job as an internationalisation promoter of general education in Finland. My particular wish is to call forth criticism – constructive if possible – towards the ways education internationalisation is motivated even today. I think there is still a lot of the circular the thinking of educators who say our schools and institutions have to internationalise, as our country and the world around us are so internationalised and globalised. I have also tested my ponderings about globalisation being the driving force behind education internationalisation and ended up in fascinating debates with other educators.

With this VAMK case study I have endeavoured to show how an entirely new higher education institution finds its way into the spheres of international cooperation and internationalised teaching-learning. As for example Hammersley

(2000) has contended, it may be more significant to capture and well describe a unique case, than obtain results of highly generalisable value.

9.5 Suggestions for further study

The study in order to define higher education internationalisation should continue; it should be part of the work of any higher education management not to speak of their international offices. The study of the internationalisation of primary and secondary levels of education should run parallel to and jointly with that of higher education.

The dilemmas tied to the philosophy of internationalisation, have been the focus of very little study so far. It would however always be worth while a try to investigate whose play the international actors are playing and why they assume such roles, motivations and actions as they do. The value base of internationalisation is an area that so far seems to have escaped the interest of researchers.

The same constant analysis should be made as regards the rationales – it is actually the flipside of the coin with a definition of internationalisation on the other side. Looking at such issues as the rationales may pave the way towards a sustainable international strategy.

As for the present study, a number of “new” rationales were detected, within the “Marginal” or “Unofficial” or even “Ir-rationales”. What I could not find, even if I set out to look for evidence of it, was security politics as a motivation to encourage and target higher education internationalisation. I am sure my pre-understanding is correct about the existence of such a rationale, deep embedded within the State Authority, Market Economy or the sphere of the Otherness motivations. This I invite colleagues to investigate in.

The ‘horrid thing’ should be examined, I think, not only as related to how accustomed the international actors would be of foreign travel and of cultural crossings in general, but perhaps also as regards the special character of the Finnish language. A crucial fact is that Finnish is not related to most European languages and it was never a major language geographically. Another fact is that the generation, who were in charge of the internationalisation of the Finnish polytechnics in the 1990s, were old enough not to have enjoyed the modern communicative foreign language pedagogic. So the foreignness was deep-rooted linguistically, and I am now referring to foreign language didactics more than to the innate features of the Finnish language. This may be slightly different today but

the Finnish bad self-esteem is obviously not diminishing. What could be said and done about these issues in taking internationalisation further?

Another related issue is the Impivaara Finnishness or the Sauna Finnishness as one of my interviewees pronounced it: how long will we have this deep-rooted impression as a nation of being simply not civilized enough to step forward and take the arena by our proven skills of learning, competitiveness and incorrupt, trustworthy manners? This could be a research area that comes close to psychology but it has to do with education, didactics, pedagogic, too.

Within education internationalisation, there is still a research gap concerning globalisation. Where does internationalisation end and globalisation begin; in which ways does globalisation take its toll?

The central and perhaps pioneering role of the women who opened up the world for the Finnish higher education institutions by way of strategies and actions involving much travel and cultural crossings waits to be examined; here the theme has only been touched on. In my present job as the official preparing internationalisation state grants for Finnish basic and general upper secondary schools I have a clientele of teachers who are to my surprise male more often than female. Women however form the great majority of teachers.

My present interest of study regards the following. Does an international period in a student's studies generate some kind of accelerated learning or does it somehow remarkably enhance the learning of so-called core skills or life skills? This was suggested by several findings in my empirical data and I hear it repeatedly from teachers and students in my present work. Should such a pre-understanding be correct, international ingredients should obviously be increased in all education and training.

Another learning issue worth further study is, where and how do we develop our knowledge on the internationalisation of education. This is an idea I have derived from a former Laurea Polytechnic colleague, Katariina Raij in her doctoral dissertation on the acquisition of knowledge from various perspectives; skills and abilities, experiments, moral and theory (Raij 2000). Her research concerned clinical nursing but a related study might help pave the way for teachers and students of global education as well as educational international officials.

EPILOGUE

The process of ten years is close to its finish. Long ago, before this study had any shape or core idea – I had given the process of VAMK and or the polytechnic internationalisation in general, the name “Under a bright star”. This to me most beautiful metaphor pronounced by one of my interviewees I had intuitively chosen as the underlying theme of the study.

A couple of months ago, I had just finished my chapter of the three central metaphors where I had tried to suggest Topelius’ fairy tale *The Birch and the Star* could be a hidden motif in VAMK internationalisation – or in Finnish polytechnic internationalisation. Just a few days later, reading the newspapers of the day, I found an article titled “The star of the old fairy tale is still shining bright” (Vanhan sadun tähti loistaa yhä, Hakulinen & Pulma, Helsingin Sanomat 13.1.2006). This was a tiny comment by two 12-year-olds who wished to salute Topelius’ fairy tales with *The Birch and the Star* as their example. “The story emphasises patriotism and Christianity, but that does not bother much.”

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ANNEX 1

- The themes of the semistructured interviews with VAMK staff and students in 1997
- What kind of conceptions do you have about internationalisation in general?
- How do you see the role of internationalisation with regard to the entity of our polytechnic?
- What facts or factors do you see behind the internationalisation of the polytechnic/your degree programme?
- What factors do you think have had a key impact in the choice of focus or direction in the internationalisation of the polytechnic/your degree programme?
- Which, in your mind, are the key benefits of internationalisation to the polytechnic/your degree programme?
- Which, in your mind, are the major drawbacks of internationalisation in the polytechnic/your degree programme?

Give one example of a successful internationalisation event or process - it can be either from within the polytechnic or elsewhere in your experience.

The boom in the internationalisation of education started somewhere at the beginning of the 1990s and seems to have no end. In the process of this study author has tried to shed light on what was understood by higher education internationalisation when the phenomenon still had an air of a novelty in the 1990s. The sphere of research are Finnish polytechnics, which were also a novelty introduced into the Finnish education system simultaneously with the mass internationalisation of higher education. The word “internationalisation” was used in a huge variety of contexts varying from an institution’s advertisements to curriculum design to national educational strategies.

The author of this study took part in establishing one of these new institutions, Laurea Polytechnic, originally launched as Vantaa Temporary Polytechnic (VAMK) in the City of Vantaa in 1991, expanded through mergers into Espoo-Vantaa Polytechnic at several locations in the Province of Uusimaa in 1996, and eventually licensed as Laurea Polytechnic in 2000.

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