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GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITY IN FINLAND: EGALITARIAN FOUNDATIONS AND NEOLIBERAL CREEP

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ABSTRACT

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

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

INTRODUCTION

PROBLEM: THE GLOBAL SOCIAL GOOD AND TERTIARY EDUCATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

PURPOSE

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

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

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

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

LITERATURE REVIEW: FINLAND IN GLOBAL CONTEXT

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

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

BOLOGNA, THE EU, AND ACCELERATED GLOBALIZATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

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

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

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

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

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

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

POSITIONALITY

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

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

FINDINGS

BROAD DEFINITION OF GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

DIVERGENCE: TWO DEFINITIONS AND MOTIVATIONS FOR GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITY

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

Critical/liberal global responsibility

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Neoliberal global responsibility

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

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

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

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

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

CHALLENGES OF FACILITATING GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

DISCUSSION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CONCLUSION

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

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

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

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

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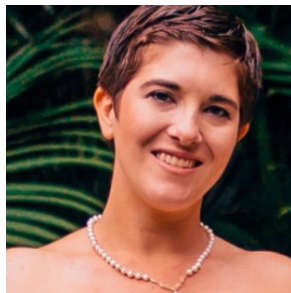
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BIOGRAPHY



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