RE/CONFIGURING NATIONAL INTERESTS IN THE GLOBAL FIELD OF HIGHER EDUCATION

International student recruitment policies and practices in Finland and China

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ABSTRACT

In this dissertation, internationalisation policy changes in Finland and China are studied, with a particular focus on international student recruitment. The main objective is to understand how policy change is constructed in policy texts and how recruitment policies are communicated to prospective international students. Internationalisation policy documents and websites targeted at international students serve as the primary data sources analysed through content, rhetorical and Bacchi's 'what's the problem presented to be' analyses.

Once a rather marginalized activity, internationalisation policies in higher education have turned into a key policy field. For both Finland and China, internationalisation policies have played a significant national role by supporting wider societal opportunities and developing a higher education system. Since the end of the 1980s, Finland has become more open to the West, sending students abroad for international short-term study experiences. As part of the opening up policy introduced by Deng Xiaoping, China also developed a strategy to send their students abroad for degree studies. Later, these export strategies are accompanied with internationalising home campuses that included recruiting international students. Within a global context, these two countries can be considered non-traditional destinations for studying abroad.

As a comparative approach, I follow the contrasting contexts approach to interpret and understand the phenomenon in their contexts rather than striving for generalisation. The higher education systems in Finland and China demonstrate significant differences. Finland is a Nordic welfare state with no tuition fees (with the exception of students outside the EU and EEA countries) and a small-scale low-hierarchical higher education system. China portrays itself as a socialist market economy that has a hierarchical, large-scale higher education system with tuition fees for both Chinese and international students. Both countries contribute to funding higher education and employ policy instruments to steer their policy objectives.

This dissertation consists of four articles and a summary. This study shows that the internationalisation policy in higher education is built on a strong national interest that is reconfigured with time (from 1980s to 2010s). Developed jointly with broader socio-economic openings, both countries have developed their internationalisation policies to resemble the characteristics of their higher education

systems. Moreover, Finland has transitioned to reorient its internationalisation policies, which is in contrast with some of the underlining principles in which the system is embedded.

In the Finnish case, internationalisation policy is comprehensively and rather openly conducted to target all its higher education institutions through national steering mechanisms including laws, policies, funding, and evaluations. The rationalisation for international student recruitment is a combination of reasons that relate to and support each other. These include skilled immigration, commercial interest, status, and internationalisation at home. The introduction of tuition fees for international students and the commercialisation discourse used in policy documents shows that international education and students are detached in higher education policy. In Finnish policy documents, rhetorical choices used to support the changes in policy have shifted from the crisis rhetoric to emphasising opportunities connected to inward international student mobility. This study identified three phases in the development of international degree programmes in Finland: 1) inauguration of international programmes (late 1980s to late 1990s), 2) structural reform and legislative steering (from the early 2000s to the early 2010s) and 3) towards commercialization and privatization (late 2000s–). These phases denote incremental change from marginal activity of the international programmes to the focus of commercial interest that is embedded in its historical contexts.

In China, the internationalisation policy terrain is more sensitive and less open to the global audience. National rationales for recruiting international students relate to soft power policies and the development of world-class universities, which are supported with scholarship programmes.

In this study, the embeddedness of international student recruitment strategies in practice was analysed with websites targeting prospective students for both Finnish and Chinese campuses. The analysis shows that national strategies in Finland are communicated to applicants by referring to working opportunities after graduation or with commercial orientation showcasing fee structures and scholarships. Chinese websites rely on culturally constructed representations. In addition, websites construct holistic study choices that reinforce nationally embedded choice. To support decision making, websites (particularly private ones) employ devices to highlight distinctions and affirmations between different choices.

In this study, I argue that nationally crafted internationalisation policies are embedded in national interests. Both policies and websites in this study reproduce representations that serve the national rationalisations. The nationally defined internationalisation policy objectives have repercussions for the fabric of the university, international students and education alike.

KEYWORDS: Internationalisation, higher education, recruitment, policy, website, Finland, China

TURUN YLIOPISTO
Kasvatustieteiden tiedekunta
Kasvatustieteiden laitos
Kasvatustiede
SUVI JOKILA: Kansallisen intressin uudelleen määrittyminen globaalilla
koreakoulukentällä: Kansainvälisten opiskelijoiden rekrytointipolitiikka ja
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TIIVISTELMÄ

Tässä väitöskirjassa tutkitaan kansainvälistymispolitiikan muutosta Suomessa ja
Kiinassa keskittyen erityisesti kansainvälisten opiskelijoiden rekrytointiin. Pää-
tavoitteena on ymmärtää, miten muutosta rakennetaan politiikkateksteissä ja miten
rekrytointipolitiikasta kommunikoidaan mahdollisille tuleville kansainvälisille opis-
kelijoille. Tutkimusaineiston muodostavat kansainvälistymiseen keskittyvät poli-
tiikkatekstit ja tuleville opiskelijoille suunnatut internetsivut. Aineisto analysoidaan
sisällönanalyysillä, retoriikka-analyysillä ja Bacchin 'what's the problem presented
to be' –analyysillä.

Korkeakoulujen kansainvälistymispolitiikka on siirtynyt marginaalisesta ase-
masta poliittiseen keskiöön. Sekä Suomelle että Kiinalle kansainvälistymis-
politiikalla on ollut merkittävä kansallinen rooli tukien laajempaa yhteiskunnallista
ja korkeakoulutuksen kehitystä. 1980-luvun lopusta lähtien Suomi avautui länteen
lähettäen opiskelijoita lyhytkestoiseen kansainväliseen vaihtoon. Kiina on sitten
Deng Xiaopingin avoimien ovien politiikan myötä osallistunut tutkinto-opiskeli-
joiden lähettämiseen ulkomaille. Myöhemmin opiskelijoiden lähettämisstrategia on
täydentynyt kotikampusten kansainvälistämiseen mukaan lukien aktiivisen
opiskelijarekrytoinnin. Globaalissa kontekstissa voidaan sanoa, että nämä maat
edustavat epätyypillisiä opiskelijaliikkuvuusmaita.

Tutkimuksen vertailevana lähestymistapana käytetään kontekstien vertailua,
jolla pyritään yleistämisen sijaan ymmärtämään tutkittavia tapauksia. Suomen ja
Kiinan korkeakoulujärjestelmät eroavat merkittävästi toisistaan. Suomi on
Pohjoismainen hyvinvointivaltio, joka ei kerää lukukausimaksuja opiskelijoiltaan
(lukuun ottamatta EU ja ETA maiden ulkopuolelta tulleita opiskelijoita kansain-
välisissä ohjelmissa) ja jonka korkeakoulujärjestelmä on pieni ja verrattain ei-
hierarkkinen. Kiina esittäytyy sosialistisena markkinataloutena, jolla on laaja
hierarkkinen korkeakoulujärjestelmä ja lukukausimaksut opiskelijoille. Molempien
maiden korkeakoulujärjestelmää tuetaan taloudellisesti ja politiikkaa ohjataan eri-
näisin politiikkainstrumentein.

Tämä väitöskirja koostuu neljästä artikkelista ja yhteenveto-osasta. Tutkimus
osoittaa, että korkeakoulujen kansainvälistymispolitiikkaa rakennetaan vahvalle
kansalliselle intressille, joka on muuttunut tutkittuna ajanjaksona 1980-luvulta 2010-

luvulle. Laajemman yhteiskunnallisen ja taloudellisen avautumisen myötä korkeakoulujen kansainvälistyminen on kehittynyt muistuttamaan korkeakoulujärjestelmän piirteitä. Suomi on osiltaan uudelleen orientoinut kansainvälistymispolitiikkaa, joka ei vastaa kaikkia koulutusjärjestelmään liitettyjä erityispiirteitä.

Suomen tapauksessa kansainvälistymispolitiikkaa on tehty kokonaisvaltaisesti ja melko avoimesti kohdistaen politiikan kaikkiin suomalaisiin yliopistoihin kansallisilla ohjausinstrumenteilla, joita ovat lait, politiikkatavoitteet, rahoitus ja arvioinnit. Kansainvälistä opiskelijarekrytointia perustellaan monilla erilaisilla ja toisiaan tukevilla tekijöillä. Näitä ovat koulutetun työvoiman saaminen, kaupallinen intressi, maineeseen liittyvät tekijät sekä kotikansainvälistyminen. Merkittävä joskin vähitellen politiikkateksteissä tuotettu muutos liittyy lukukausimaksujen käyttöönottoon osalle opiskelijoista. Lukukausimaksujen käyttöönottoa vain osalle opiskelijoista voidaan pitää opiskelijaryhmiä erottelevana tekijänä. Suomalaisissa politiikkateksteissä kansainvälisten opiskelijoiden rekrytoinnissa muutosta tukevat retoriset valinnat ovat siirtyneet kriisin painottamisesta mahdollisuuksien korostamiseen. Tutkimuksessa tunnistettiin lisäksi kolme ajanjaksoa, jolloin kehitettiin opiskelijarekrytointia tukevia kansainvälisiä ohjelmia: 1) kansainvälisten ohjelmien perustaminen (1980-luvun lopulta 1990-luvun lopulle), 2) rakenteellinen uudistus ja lakiperusteinen ohjaus ja 3) kohti kaupallistumista ja yksityistämistä. Näissä vaiheissa rakentuu muutos kansainvälisten ohjelmien perustamisesta kaupallistumiseen, jota on tarkasteltu sen historiallisessa kontekstissa.

Kiinassa kansainvälinen politiikkaympäristö on sensitiivisempi eikä kovin avoin globaalille yleisölle. Kansalliset perustelut kansainvälisten opiskelijoiden rekrytoinnille kytkeytyvät pehmeään vallankäyttöön ja maailmanluokan yliopistojen rakentamiseen. Näitä tuetaan muiden muassa laajalla stipendijärjestelmällä.

Tässä tutkimuksessa analysoitiin kansainvälisten opiskelijoiden rekrytointistrategioiden siirtymistä kansainvälisille opiskelijoille suunnatuille internetsivuille. Analyysi osoittaa, että suomalaisilla sivuilla työmahdollisuudet ja kaupallinen ulottuvuus lukukausimaksuineen kommunikoidaan mahdollisille tuleville opiskelijoille. Kiinalaiset sivustot rakentuvat erityisesti kulttuuristen representaatioiden kautta. Sivustot rakentavat holistisen koulutusvalinnan, joka tukee kansallisesti tuotettua koulutusvalintaa. Tutkitut sivustot tukevat päätöksentekoa (erityisesti yksityiset) viittaamalla erilaisiin välineisiin (kuten ranking-listat) erotellakseen ja vahvistaakseen valintoja.

Tutkimuksessa esitetään, että kansallisesti tuotettu kansainvälistymispolitiikka rakentuu kansalliselle intressille. Sekä politiikka että internetsivut tuottavat kuvauksia, jotka tukevat kansallisia tavoitteita. Kansallisesti määritellyt kansainvälistymistavoitteet vaikuttavat yliopiston, kansainvälisten opiskelijoiden ja koulutuksen määrittelyyn.

ASIASANAT: Kansainvälistyminen, korkeakoulutus, rekrytointi, politiikka, internetsivusto, Suomi, Kiina

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With gratitude,
Suvi Jokila
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List of Original Publications

This dissertation is based on the following original publications, which are referred to in the text by their Roman numerals:

I   Jokila, S. (2015). The internationalization of higher education with Chinese characteristics: Appadurai's ideas explored. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education, 35*(1), 125-139.

II   Jokila, S., Kallo, J. & Mikkilä-Erdmann, M. (2019). From crisis to opportunities: Justifying and persuading national policy for international student recruitment. *European Journal of Higher Education, 9*(4), 393-411.
        Jokila contributed to the study design, data collection, analysis, interpretation and writing of the manuscript. Kallo contributed to the study design, data interpretation, writing of the manuscript and revision of the manuscript. Mikkilä-Erdmann contributed to the study design, interpretation and revision of the manuscript.

III   Jokila, S. (2020). From inauguration to commercialisation: Incremental yet contested transitions redefining the national interest of international degree programmes (IDPs) in Finland. *Nordic Journal of Studies in Education Policy, 6*(2), 143-156.

IV   Jokila, S. (2019). International student recruitment strategies in Finland and China: An analysis of website content. *Nordic Journal of Comparative and International Education, 3*(4), 1-17.

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1   Introduction

With a comparative approach, this study analyses internationalisation and international student recruitment policies in Finland and China from the 1980s to 2018. The main guiding questions initiating my interest in this study are as follows: what are the socially constructed meanings given to internationalisation and recruitment policies over time, and how are they presented in two different policy contexts. This dissertation (with its articles) examines these questions through policy document data and websites targeted at prospective students. The study focuses on national level internationalisation policies, which are to some extent detached from other educational policies. From these, I provide insights on how the ideas of education, university, and students are perceived and reconfigured differently (or similarly) within and between national contexts. This is dependent on what rationalises the policies and who is the target, for instance through a binary of local students and international students. The lens of this study reaches from the end of the 1980s to 2018, during which time there were tremendous socio-political changes in both national and global contexts.

Although universities conduct and actualise the internationalisation policies and recruitment practices, national framing and the policy atmosphere are core enablers or disablers of international activities, such as through defining visa regulations and funding for universities (Mosneaga & Agergaard, 2012; Sá & Sabzalieva, 2018; Stensaker et al., 2008; Trilokekar & El Masri, 2017). Universities also operate in the global educational field (Marginson, 2008), which is a segregated hierarchical space for universities with their national (and sometimes global) missions. By possessing resources and reputation to varying degree, countries and their universities strategize their future imaginaries often in the form of internationalisation plan or strategy. For analysing internationalisation policies, national level internationalisation plans and strategies provide a key source for tracing policy ideas and change (Kallo, 2012; Trilokekar & El Masri, 2017).

Nationally crafted internationalisation strategies have both global similarities and local variations, which highlights the need for understanding policy contexts and changes in different localities: '[e]ducational phenomena in one country case must thus be understood in *ongoing* relation to other such cases' (Carney, 2009, p. 63,

emphasis in the original). In addition to this level of transference in internationalisation policies, research has focused on major host countries and only recently has policy analysis turned to atypical study destinations (Hauptman & Komotar, 2019a; Nokkala, 2009; Riaño et al., 2018; Tamtik & Kirss, 2016; Urbanovič et al., 2016).

The dissertation focuses on internationalisation policies created from the end of the 1980s to the 2010s in Finland and China. During this time, both countries experienced significant societal and economic changes, which resulted in the countries (and their higher education systems) opening up to international cooperation and competition. Reflecting on wider societal changes, internationalisation policies in both countries are actively crafted to meet the constantly changing national expectations underlining their political relevance. (Heiskala, 2006; Huang, 2003; Mohrman, 2008; Nokkala, 2007; Välimaa, 2004.) Contrasting these two cases provides insights into interpretations of the meanings provided for a global trend of internationalisation and international student recruitment, while understanding the local contexts.

Higher education systems are targets of national policy objectives in these countries and have significant divergences. Finland is a small Nordic country with a population of over 5 million. It has a geographically scattered higher education system with a dual structure: universities and universities of applied sciences. The university system has low institutional hierarchy with equality-centred policies, a high level of government funding, centralised governance, emphasis on the role of higher education in social and regional policy, and no tuition fees for Finnish, EU, and EEA students nor students in programmes taught in domestic languages (Antikainen, 2016; Rinne, 2010; Välimaa, 2018a). Finnish internationalisation policy in higher education is characterised by its comprehensiveness. It incorporates all higher education institutions, has increasing significance and extension as a policy of interest, has facilitated a surge in international student numbers, and has promoted a reorientation of the meaning and objectives provided for internationalisation.

With a population of 1.4 billion, China has a hierarchically structured large-scale higher education system. Some consider that the Chinese model of university education inherits its founding principles from the Confucian tradition (Zha et al., 2016). Chinese higher education governance has experienced a major transformation—from centralised governing structures to decentralised. Representing a rather unique power constellation, Chinese universities are controlled through a dual-governing structure, where the university presidencies are under the Party Committee. Since the 1990s, Chinese higher education funding has gradually shifted from a heavy national funding scheme to inviting private investment. This has resulted in more private universities and the introduction of tuition fees for all

students. (Han & Xu, 2019; Mok, 2002.) Chinese internationalisation policy reflects the construction of its higher education system by allocating internationalisation options hierarchically with a world-class university initiative, requiring tuition-fees for all students, and aiming at soft power or cultural diplomacy in its internationalisation activities.

Despite tremendous socio-political and historical differences, Finland and China share strong national steering through policies, funding, and laws. In addition, both countries have followed a global neoliberal framed governance of their higher education systems (Han & Xu, 2019; Rinne, 2010; Välimaa, 2004).

These national policy paths take place within a global context of international student mobility increasing from 1.1 million in 1980 to 5.1 million in 2018 (OECD, 2017; UIS, 2019). Behind this number is a complex set of regional, national, and institutional policies and practices in addition to individual aspirations that shape and hinder the flows of students. The increased number of mobile students reflects the massification of higher education, the increase of income level in many countries, and policies focused (for example) on knowledge-based accumulated economic competitiveness (Altbach & de Wit, 2015; Ziguras & McBurnie, 2015). From this macro-perspective, Simon Marginson (2008) defines this global education space as a field where universities occupy positions in hierarchical order as a result of complex socio-political and economic processes.

Within this context, there are three objectives of this study:

– to analyse policy change in the internationalisation policies with a particular focus on international student recruitment and international degree programmes

– to understand how international student recruitment strategies are communicated to prospective international students through websites

– to understand how the two analysed cases differ from each other

This study was conducted over a period of time; thus, the idea for the study has evolved. Composed of four articles, the focus divided on either the case context or a contrast between the two cases. First article focuses on the national interest on internationalising higher education in China, while the second and third present an analysis of the Finnish case with a focus on the policy changes in international student recruitment and international degree programmes. The fourth article focuses on how the international student recruitment policy is communicated to prospective students in websites targeted at international students.

Overall, this summary provides a discussion of the internationalisation and international student recruitment policies around the world and analyses of the two case contexts. Chapter 2 introduces to the conceptual, temporal, and spatial contexts of this study. Chapter 3 presents a conceptualisation of international student mobility

and recruitment trends globally. Chapter 4 contextualises the two countries featured in this dissertation, while Chapter 5 focuses on conceptualising internationalisation as the subject of this study. Chapter 6 provides an overview of the findings of this study and Chapter 7 presents a discussion on the findings, limitations, and future research areas.

2 Internationalisation Policies in Higher Education: Conceptually, Temporally, and Spatially Situated

Chapter 2 presents an introduction to the field by discussing the conceptual evolvement of the internationalisation of higher education and its related concepts. The field itself has developed significantly since the 1990s, when more systematic analyses started to emerge. Further, the desire to internationalise higher education has penetrated in every-day discussions, policy texts, and public speeches. Some argue that universities have always been international institutions (such as in terms of how knowledge is created), while all agree on the expansion of modes, extensity, and volume of policies, practices, and actors involved (Scott, 1998; Ziguras & McBurnie, 2015). This increase of political and institutional attention rose in the late 1980s and became more prevalent from the 1990s (Altbach & de Wit, 2015; Knight, 2008; Teichler, 1999) accompanied by scholarly interest. Despite the frequent use of the term internationalisation in the literature and in political contexts for decades, the meaning remains somewhat vague.

Jane Knight is one of the pioneers of defining the internationalisation of higher education and its related concepts. Knight (2003) defined internationalisation as 'the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of postsecondary education' (p. 2). This definition highlights how internationalisation is perceived as a rather neutral concept and as an external dimension implemented in higher education. In 2015, de Wit and Hunter (2015) updated Knight's definition to encompass all actors and processes, positioning them within the societal context:

> the intentional process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions and delivery of post-secondary education, in order to enhance the quality of education and research for all students and staff, and to make a meaningful contribution to society (de Wit and Hunter, 2015, p. 3).

This definition illuminates the rather normative positionalities many scholars adopt for internationalisation.

Hudzik (2011) employs comprehensive internationalisation, illuminating the overarching nature of internationalisation with institutional orientation:

> [c]ommitment confirmed through action to infuse international and comparative perspectives throughout the teaching, research and service missions of higher education. It shapes institutional ethos and values and touches the entire higher education enterprise (---) It is an institutional imperative not just a desirable possibility (---) [It] not only impacts all of campus life but the institution's external frames of reference, partnerships and relations (Hudzik 2011, p. 6).

Hudzik (2015) finds that internationalisation is a global concept that has many dimensions, each addressing a different sphere of higher education activities and ideas. Similarly, it is evident in the definitions that internationalisation literature has predominantly strived to construct an applicable concept that is disembodied from contexts and hence reconceptualised within a new context. This is attractive given the level of convergence in internationalisation policies and practices.

Internationalisation of higher education encompasses policies and practices in both education and research. With the focus of this study being education, international education broadly distinguishes location-specific activities: studying abroad and internationalisation at home (Knight, 2008). This streams the policy activities of sending students abroad and hosting international students either in the country/city where the university is located or to a branch campus or program.

According to de Wit (2002), drivers for the internationalisation of higher education can be categorised into economic, social/cultural, political, and academic rationales. These overlap and are connected (Knight, 2008) to varying degrees among different actors and representative bodies as well as over time. In general terms, it can be argued that the value base of internationalisation has evolved from politically-toned humanistic values of mutual understanding and peace building since the Cold War period to commercially-oriented interpretations of internationalisation with new political and ideological tensions emerging (Altbach & de Wit, 2015; Knight, 2008; Stier, 2004; Ziguras & McBurnie, 2015).

Internationalisation of higher education can be seen as what Miettinen (2002, as cited in Jessop, 2008) refers to as a 'trans-discursive' term having interpretative flexibility in spaces by enabling the applicability of the concept in different countries and institutions and in times as the meanings of internationalisation are constantly redefined. At the same time, emerging concepts illustrate the expansive and transformative nature of the field (see Table 1). In addition, perhaps the overly flexible nature of the internationalisation concept has triggered the invention of new

concepts describing some aspects of the internationalisation process. Recent concepts in the field comprehend transnational education focusing on provider and programme mobility; for example, including franchise programmes and branch campuses that blur national borders with cooperative ties (Knight & McNamara, 2017; Mazzarol et al., 2003). Cross-border education also includes student and scholar mobility, while borderless education (once denoted as distance and online education) is now extended to all kinds of mobility activities. Offshore education is less used in practice due to the problems associated with geographical localities (Knight & McNamara, 2017).

Table 1. Conceptual evolvement of internationalisation of higher education

	TRADITIONAL TERMS (1960S-)	EXISTING TERMS	NEW TERMS (SINCE 1990S)
Generic terms	International education International development cooperation Comparative education Correspondence education	Internationalisation Multicultural education Intercultural education Global education Distance education Offshore/ overseas education	Globalization Borderless education Cross-border education Transnational education Virtual education Internationalisation "abroad" Internationalisation "at home"
Specific terms	Foreign students Student exchange Development projects Cultural agreements Language study	International students Study abroad Institution agreements Partnership projects Area studies Double/joint degrees	Education providers Corporate universities Liberalisation of educational services Networks Virtual universities Branch campuses Twinning and franchise programs Global Education Index

Source: adopted from Knight (2008) (originally in Knight, 2005)

Internationalisation policy discourse often holds a reforming agenda with the aim of change (Nokkala, 2007), which at times is rather vague in terms of the actual objective of the policy. This transformative nature of the concept incorporates the assumption that higher education is a national entity. Hence, this requires transformation to become international revealing of even ontological assumptions of the higher education system (Enders, 2004). Even though global character is embedded in many university operations, Enders (2004) points out that many universities have played their part in nation building and are dependent on the nation state. According to Teichler (1999), universities are international in terms of their global drive for knowledge, yet remain national in terms of funding and regulative frameworks.

Much of the internationalisation studies theoretically develop dichotomous notions of globalisation and internationalisation (Cantwell & Maldonado-Maldonado, 2009; Scott, 2000). Cantwell and Maldonado-Maldonado (2009) criticised internationalisation conceptualisations for the binary they create: 'globalisation is something that happens to universities and internationalisation is how universities respond' (p. 290). This highlights the binary notion that universities act automatically and that universities themselves do not respond with full autonomy to globalisation (Cantwell & Maldonado-Maldonado, 2009). Globalisation is presented as a complex and abstract global phenomenon (a space), while internationalisation refers to the local response to processes of globalisation (a place) (Cantwell & Maldonado-Maldonado, 2009). Developing this thought further to national level policy-making, governments cannot be seen merely as reactive actors but rather as proactively crafting their position within the global higher education field.

This kind of theorisation and debate on the relations of the global and the national have been evident in the broader globalisation discourse. A level of agreement lies in the understanding that globalisation refers to a process that changes the socio-political space of human actions (Held et. al., 1999). This change is characterised by increased intensity, extensity, and velocity of interactions and interconnectivity of people from different geographical localities. Disagreement takes place in conceptualising the relation of flow, structure, and agency. Held et. al. (1999) distinguished three heuristic perceptions of globalisation. Hyperglobalists state that the role of the nation state is declining, where the global overpowers as a dominating structure. By contrast, sceptics believe globalisation is an ideological construction rather than the end of nation states. Transformationalists are somewhat in between these two approaches, believing that globalisation is 'a long-term historical process which is inscribed with contradictions and which is significantly shaped by conjunctival factors' (Held et. al., 1999, p. 7). They find that globalisation transforms and shapes the positionalities and actions of the state, creating a new architecture for the world order. There is general agreement that the transformative role of globalisation in higher education processes redefines sites for national policy making with globally interconnected economies and labour markets (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010).

Internationalisation policy is often demarcated as depoliticised and de-historised as neutral territory whilst having political, social, and economic repercussions for all actors involved (Brooks & Waters, 2011; Buckner & Stein, 2020; Stein & Andreotti, 2016; Waters, 2018). Brooks and Waters (2011) note: 'internationalisation is a notoriously uneven process, representing a plural landscape of opportunity for some (individuals, institutions and countries), and disadvantage for others' (p. 114). The discourses of internationalisation have been particularly situated in and normalised

to the major English-speaking host countries (Gümüş et al., 2019). This is evident in the biographical study by Gümüş et al. (2019) where the geographical focus of scholars was in the United States, the UK, and Australia. A growing body of literature has extended the understanding of internationalisation processes with case analyses of smaller (to some extent atypical) destination countries for mobility (Hauptman Komotar, 2019a; Nokkala, 2009; Riaño et al., 2018; Tamtik & Kirss, 2016; Urbanovič et al., 2016) alongside rising destination countries or education hubs, such as Singapore and China (Mok, 2008; Wu, 2019).

A characteristic of internationalisation studies is normative orientation. The normative approach is embedded in the assumption that internationalisation is good *per se* and creates a 'democratic, fair and equal world' (Stier, 2004, p. 88). In this approach, internationalisation is ultimately perceived as a positive transformation of mutual understanding and cooperation worldwide (Altbach & de Wit, 2015). A growing body of research takes a critical stance with post-structural and postcolonial approaches to deconstruct methodological, epistemological, and ontological underpinnings. This can also be referred to as critical internationalisation studies (Stein, 2019). Some scholars call for reflexivity in the reframing of rationales for a more equitable internationalisation (Haapakoski & Pashby, 2017). Despite being derived from different perspectives, both normative and critical approaches in internationalisation studies share the assumption that universities should be international; thus, they can be seen as interventionists. Overall, in the approaches to internationalisation processes, the actual phenomenon is often not questioned. Only recently, within the discussion on environmental sustainability and climate change, physical student mobility has been problematised (eg. Shields, 2019).

Conceptualising and defining the international student[1] is a problematic and political question. Since 2015, the OECD, EUROSTAT, and the European Union's Statistical Office (Global Immigration Data Portal, 2019) have accepted the following definition of international (or internationally mobile) students: 'an individual who has physically crossed an international border between two countries with the objective to participate in educational activities in a destination country, where the destination country is different from his or her country of origin' (UNESCO, 2015). The complexity and political issues related to defining an international student are evident in the OECD's (2018) *Education at a Glance* publication, which lists the criteria used as a source for national definitions: prior education, citizenship, residence, upper secondary diploma, and student visa. Hence, the definition is embedded in national immigration legislation. According to the

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[1]   The conceptualisation of the international student has developed through the course of this study. In Article I, a foreign student is used and in Article II, a student from abroad is used to refer to the same (an international student) (Jokila et al., 2019).

OECD (2017), another concept that was commonly used in the past (foreign student) was defined as 'not citizens of the country in which they are pursuing education, but have not moved to the country with the sole intention of pursuing education; they may have arrived as the result of other movements, such as immigration' (p. 34). Accordingly, both the choice of concept and the criteria used to define students have an effect on immigration statistics.

The conceptualisation employed to refer to a person relocating for study has relevance for statisticians calculating the flows of students, for national governments, and for the students involved. The definition may either support or prohibit them when entering and living in a country. In general, people who relocate are referred to as migrants, a term that incorporates a broader section of society rather than just mobile students. According to a glossary provided by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) (2019), an international migrant can be described as

> Any person who is outside a State of which he or she is a citizen or national, or, in the case of a stateless person, his or her State of birth or habitual residence. The term includes migrants who intend to move permanently or temporarily, and those who move in a regular or documented manner as well as migrants in irregular situations. (p. 110)

Compared to forced migration, international student mobility is often described as voluntary migration (Kirkegaard & Nat-George, 2016). Further, compared to other forms of immigration, student immigration is often perceived as a separate, 'neutral', form of immigration that has drawn relatively uncontroversial political attention (Findley et. al., 2017; Waters, 2018).

The term 'international student' is a confusing and contested concept. It can also refer to students that are currently staying in their country of citizenship yet have been internationally mobile. Moreover, the concept has a homogenising tendency to refer to the 'international' student body as one, despite actually being heterogeneous in terms of ethnicity or background, for example. International students are often discussed as a separate student body from local students, which at times has meant segregational practices, such as in terms of equality of opportunity (Tannock, 2018). This conceptual categorisation is also a political decision, as universities are often measured by their share of international students compared to the overall student body.

3   International Student Mobility and Recruitment in a Global Higher Education Field

The aim of this chapter is to examine the major trends in international student mobility that have shaped, enabled, and disabled global student flow, and to introduce the international student recruitment policies and practices.

Simon Marginson (2008) defined the global higher education field as a relational and segregated space constantly shaped by economic, political, and social processes (Marginson, 2008; also Välimaa, 2004). Within this field, regions, countries, and universities are networked (Larsen, 2016) in a complex and unequal arrangement of positional competition fabricating 'a worldwide university hierarchy' (Marginson, 2008). Moreover, changes in these societal, political, and economic processes have shaped the field for internationalisation activities in higher education (Altbach & de Wit, 2015), resulting in an imbalanced hierarchical system of regions, countries, institutions, and mobile students (Brooks & Waters, 2011; Marginson, 2008). Marginson (2008) specifically employs 'field' as a concept from Bourdieu, which he finds illustrates the global education space better than 'the neo-liberal imaginary of a universal market' (p. 305). He differentiates the institutions into nine categories, based on their position: elite and non-elite institutions (nationally and globally), research–teaching institutions, and for-profit and non-profit missioned institutions (nationally–globally). The most prestigious institutions, referred to as the global super league, are situated in North America and the UK (such as Harvard and Cambridge). These top the system, followed by national elite research universities with cross-border activities. The most prestigious institutions co-operate with international research and provide doctoral level cross-border activities. Both national and cross-border teaching-oriented institutions are positioned lower in the global hierarchy. In the global higher education field, the opposite poles of elite and mass education are operated according to different underpinning logic: elite education relies on prestige, while mass education has to work harder on status and expansion with limited resources. In general, international students do not add value for prestigious institutes in the same way as for institutes lower in the hierarchy. A large number of institutions offering international education are located in the middle band of the hierarchy, focusing on the commercialisation of international education.

Within this global education field, one of the major trends during the past 40 years has been the considerable increase in internationally mobile students. From approximately 2 million mobile students by the end of 1990s, this number increased to over 5 million by 2017 (UIS, 2019) (Figure 1). While migration for the purpose of studying is not a new phenomenon, the extensity, intensity, and velocity of these student flows has been unforeseen. This increase in the number of students is a result of several factors, including a lack of adequate educational opportunities in the sending countries, the global expansion of the middle classes, governments driving for skilled immigration, and commercial interests (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Ziguras & McBurnie, 2015).
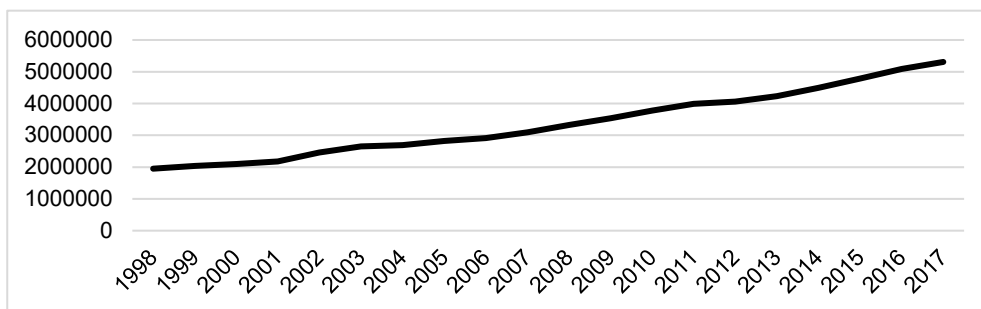
Figure 1. Number of international students globally from 1998 to 2017. Source: UIS, 2019.

The structures of the global education field are apparent when observing the 'spatially differentiated' (Brooks & Waters 2011, p. 115) international student flows. Despite widening accessibility enabled by factors such as technological advancement and increased living standards (e.g. Rizvi, 2011; Ziguras & McBurnie, 2015), studying abroad continues to be embedded in multi-layered unequal structures of countries, regions, institutions, families, and students (Brooks & Waters, 2011; Marginson, 2008). In 2017, approximately 2.7 million students were attracted to study in North America and Western Europe, while East Asia and the Pacific received 1 million students (Figure 2). Top host countries include the United States (over 970,000), the UK (over 430,000), and Australia (over 330,000). The next category of host countries with around 200,000 students include France (over 245,000), Germany (over 240,000), Russia (over 240,000), and Canada (over 189,000). Some Asian countries are also included as host countries attracting over 100,000 students: Japan (over 143,000), China (over 137,000), and Malaysia (over 124,000). This demonstrates that Western (particularly English-speaking) countries dominate as hosts of international students. The statistics on areas sending students abroad show that East Asia and the Pacific send the largest share of students with almost 1.4 million abroad, with North America and Western Europe both close to 700,000 (Figure 2).
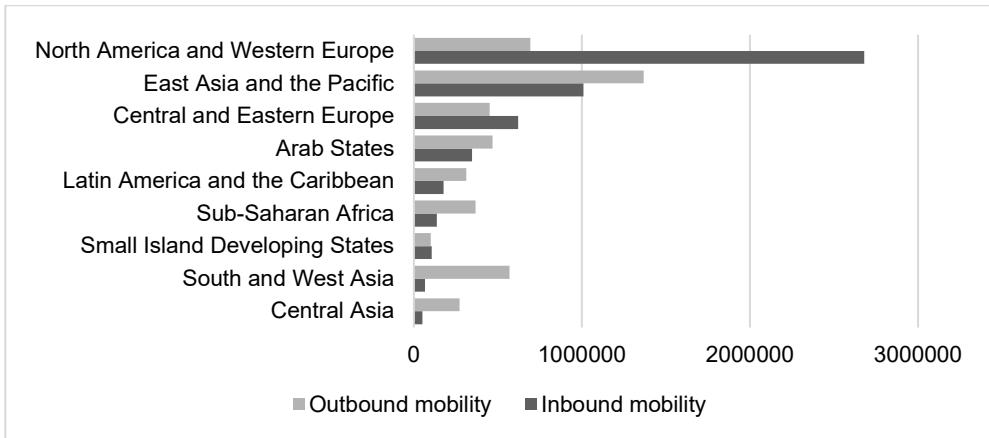
Figure 2. Inbound and outbound mobility from the UIS regions 2012–2017. Source: UIS, 2019.

In general, international student flows tend to be from lower income countries to higher ones. Based on the World Bank's income categories, over half of international students study in high income countries, while almost all students study in countries in the top three income categories (high, upper middle, or middle), as shown in Figure 3 (UIS, 2019). Middle-income countries are the dominant financial supporters of international education while wealthier countries benefit from these flows.
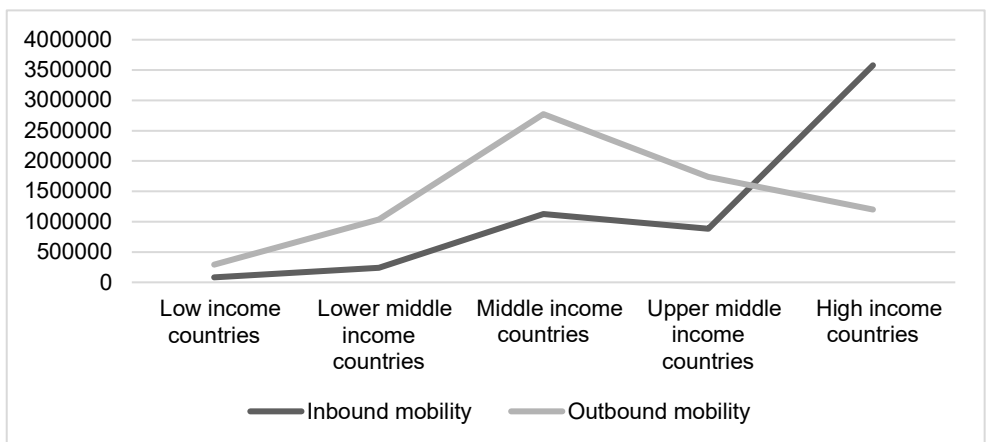
Figure 3. Inbound and outbound mobility according The World Bank's income categories[2] in 2017. Source: UIS, 2019.

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[2]   For measuring income, gross national income (GNI) per capita is used (World Bank, 2019).

International student mobility is vertical and unbalanced from south to north, which has raised questions regarding a 'brain drain' from countries in need of an educated workforce to return to their home country. This kind of hierarchical structure has spurred debate on cultural imperialism and neo-colonialism in international education (Stein & Andreotti, 2016; Ziguras & McBurnie, 2015). The migration of the international student body can be seen as a form of elite migration, where a select group of students can obtain the financial and other resources required to pursue a degree abroad. Within this group of mobile students the elite is relational: the level of perceived quality of education varies.

Despite this tremendous increase in the number of mobile students, the share of international students mostly remains a minor proportion compared to local students. For instance, within the European OECD countries, the average share of international students from the tertiary students is below 10% (see Figure 4). Furthermore, within the two-country context of this thesis, the proportion of international students is modest, being 8.2% in Finland and 0.4% in China (OECD, 2020). China's low number can be explained by their extensive local student body, and despite the significant increase in international student numbers, the share remains low.

Previous studies have theorised international student mobility flows by using the push–pull model (Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002), identifying factors that have an effect on the study-abroad decision-making process to either push or pull students to study abroad. Analysis of transition to study abroad in short-term studies (Hauschildt et al., 2015; Netz, 2015) and in degree studies (Ahmad & Buchanan, 2017; Cebolla-Boado et al., 2018; Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002) shows for instance future prospects in the country, university prestige, awareness of the destination country in the student's host country, recommendations received from the applicant's personal networks, cost of living in the destination, geographic proximity, social links, and hopes of attaining permanent residence status in the country (Brooks & Waters, 2011; Cebolla-Boado et al., 2018; Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002).

Global, regional, and local political and societal turmoil have shaped the direction and extent of student flows. For example in recent years, the 9/11 terrorist attack, the global recession of 2008, a decline in Chinese economy, the UK referendum, and Trump's presidency have all had some effect on flows. However, these events acknowledged in research illustrate the research focus being on major host and sender countries (Choudaha, 2017). At the same time, rising neo-nationalism and neo-racism have raised concerns over the safety of international students (Lee, 2016; 2017; Lee et al., 2017). In early 2020, international student mobility was globally disrupted by the spread of COVID-19. This eventually developed into a pandemic, resulting in closed borders and in some cases international students having to return to their home countries. Many universities transferred their teaching online, which enabled studies to continue (University World News, 2020.)
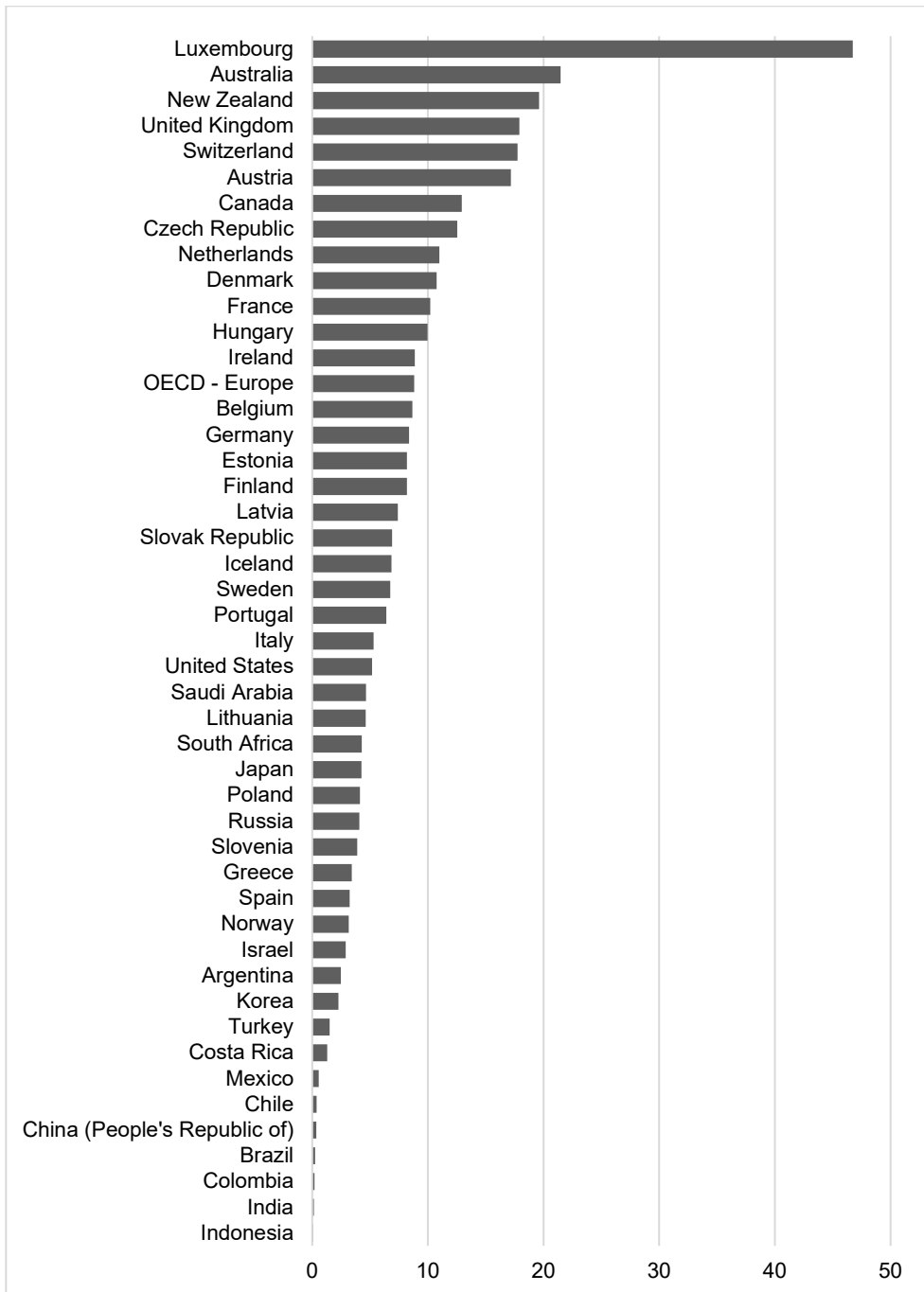
Figure 4. Number of international tertiary students enrolled as a proportion of the total tertiary student body enrolled in the destination (host) country in 2017 or latest available. (OECD, 2020).

Brooks and Waters (2011) conceptualised the global higher education field from a spatial perspective, arguing that despite the increasing significance of international actors in driving and framing international student mobility, national policy-makers are focal actors. International student flows are also steered by national governments through structural, legal, and financial policy instruments. University working conditions provide framing for their activities, often in situations where governments have strong national interest and steering power, such as through funding (Mosneaga & Agergaard, 2012; Sá & Sabzalieva, 2018; Stensaker et al., 2008; Trilokekar & El Masri, 2017; Urbanovič et al., 2016). Some level of steering is evident in all cases. For example, fee-paying programmes are often regulated more strongly while countries with more direct steering mechanisms (such as funding) do not have such heavily regulated systems (Ziguras & McBurnie, 2015). In most practical aspects, national visa procedures may support or hinder the recruitment of international students (Sá & Sabzalieva, 2018). As noted by Mosneaga and Agergaard (2012) in their Danish study, 'the ability of Danish universities to strategise is conditioned by both their internal structural characteristics and the external developments of the policy context in which they are embedded' (p. 534).

Partly in co-operation, international organisations have developed global educational governing structures (Brooks & Waters, 2011). Facilitating and transforming the ideas and modes of cooperation, regional initiatives and international organizations (such as the EU) have affected mobility with their pro-mobility policies, harmonization of education structures, and regulative framings. While bilateral relations in particular shaped student mobility in the past (such as with additional funding), international organisations now play a greater role. For example, the European Commission with its intergovernmental Bologna Process enhances the mobility of students (and ultimately workers) through means such as structural harmonisation (Bologna Secretariat, European Commission, 1999) and extensively funded mobility programmes, the most well-known example being Erasmus (Dvir & Yemini, 2017; Teichler, 1999). Although the development of international programmes was ongoing in many countries before the Bologna Process, it has had significant repercussions on restructuring degree structures in higher education. This has also aided the development of separate master's programmes (Huisman et al., 2012). The European Commission has pushed for comprehensive internationalisation strategies within the member states and has enhanced the integration of incoming students in its latest initiatives (European Commission, 2013).

The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has been active in developing a framework for global qualification recognition, initiating its formal processes in 2011 (UNESCO, 2019). In 2019, they organised a Global Convention, which is the first United Nations treaty on higher

education with a global scope within the Education 2030 Agenda including Sustainable Development Goal 4. This Global Convention had the following objective to target equitable access to higher education: 'create a framework for fair, transparent, and non-discriminatory recognition of higher education qualifications' (UNESCO, 2019). By developing qualification recognition, UNESCO aims to prevent brain drain and facilitate migrant access to higher education (UNESCO, 2019).

The OECD[3] and CERI have published widely on quality in cross-border mobility (OECD, 2015) with the aim of regulation. In 2005, the OECD in cooperation with UNESCO compiled *Guidelines for Quality Provision in Cross-border Higher Education* to provide 'an international framework to protect students and other stakeholders from low-quality provision and disreputable providers. They will sustain the development of quality cross-border higher education that meets human, social, economic and cultural needs' (OECD, 2005, p. 3).

China's regional strategy for cooperation is through the Belt and Road Initiative (B&R), which is a new form of regional cooperation not located within the mandate of international organisation. This is profoundly attached to foreign and economic policy, with the target of strengthening ties with countries along the trading routes through Eurasia. Since 2013, this 'New Silk Road' initiative has increased cooperation between selected countries in Asia, Europe, and Africa. International education is one key aspect of the cooperation, which is elaborated in measures such as increased student exchanges and targeted scholarships (Kirby & van der Wende, 2019).

3.1 Developing International Degree Programmes in Non-English Speaking Countries

In non-English-speaking countries, international education has required the establishment of specific programmes that target international students. For instance, Urbanovič et al. (2016) describe the development of international programmes in a small country context. Marketing and infrastructure are needed to accommodate the international student body whilst the educational content is developed—often provided in a non-native language—that has pedagogical implications. Even though research interest in internationalisation literature has been particularly evident in the major English-speaking countries (George Mwangi et al., 2018), the positionalities developed within global student markets are not permanent. Instead, new education providers are entering the field with specific difficulties that have been addressed in

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[3]   From the two case countries in this study, Finland is an OECD member country while China is a non-member with working relations.

previous studies (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014; Urbanovič et al., 2016; Tamtik & Kirss, 2016). The arrival of these new providers has garnered the introduction of international degree programmes (IDPs) to higher education systems, which have become a global phenomenon. For instance, the Studyportals website informs the applicant that they can search from an astonishing 71,000 master's programmes globally (Studyportals, 2020). This is a result of several interlinked factors including increased demand for higher education, global competition over talent, and lucrative market perspectives.

Illustrating the convergence in international education, English has become the dominating language of choice for instruction. English has reached the position of being a lingua franca, particularly within science and international education (Rostan, 2015). This has had the repercussion of English-speaking countries such as the United States, the UK, and Australia (UIS, 2019) dominating the field. Examining websites targeted at international students shows that a majority of programmes (including website content) are offered in English. Hence, many non-English speaking countries have adjusted their language policies in higher education and opted to provide educational programmes in English (Saarinen & Nikula, 2013; Wächter & Maiworm, 2014).

3.2 Conceptualising International Student Recruitment

Universities, governments, and international organisations formulate their strategic international student recruitment schemes. Literature analysing the recruitment of international students has emerged, particularly in the US context, since the 1980s (e.g. Fiske, 1981; Ubadigbo, 1997). With the global increase in the number of internationally mobile students, along with the increasing significance of international education, publications analysing international student recruitment have increased since the 2000s. Despite this increase, international student recruitment has not been widely conceptualised in previous studies. According to the Cambridge Dictionary, recruitment is defined as 'the process of finding people to work for a company or become a new member of an organisation' (Cambridge Dictionary, 2020). This definition illustrates the deliberate nature of the recruitment process for attracting a person to a predetermined position to fulfil a predetermined task. In addition, as evident in the dictionary usage, the concept of recruitment has particular prevalence in a business context, where it is used for finding employers. The recruitment concept is embedded in a competitive field, where the recruiter aims to attract the most suitable candidates.

For Bolsmann and Miller (2008), '[t]he recruitment of international students can be seen as internationalisation that engages with the processes of globalisation that

are primarily economic and competitive but also as worthwhile and valuable in its own right' (Bolsmann & Miller, 2008, p. 77). This conceptualisation brings together many underlining assumptions embedded in international student recruitment that connect recruitment to internationalisation, whilst being shaped by globalisation and particularly economic rationalisations with competitive features. International student recruitment is understood here as a process that targets prospective university applicants with varying marketing measures. Recruitment is perceived from the perspective of the recruiter as a subject while the recruited is an object of the action or policy. Hence, international student recruitment is defined in this study as *a deliberate marketing effort to attract international students to a given locality with predefined rationalisations.* Recruitment (or attracting) as concepts used in policy texts highlight the host's perspective and their interests potentially serve many rationalisations of the host country.

Governments are often perceived as the recruiters of international students, when actually the higher education institutions have the mandate to recruit and decide on who they select (Ziguras & McBurnie, 2015). Even though governments do not admit students, they still participate in recruitment practices, such as by providing national websites for international students. This can be explained by strong national policy interests being governed by different policy instruments such as funding. Besides governments and higher education institutions crafting policies and practising international student recruitment, national agencies, international organisations, recruitment agents, commercial and charity-based sponsors, and funders (Beech, 2018; Findlay et al., 2017) are also involved in the field.

Operating at the interface between higher education institutions and national governments, third party private recruitment agents have become mediators and enablers of encounters between universities and prospective international students (Hulme et al., 2014; Komljenovic, 2017; Nikula & Kivistö, 2018, 2020). Previous studies on recruitment agents have focused on the agency–principal relations that highlight the relationship between agents and universities buying the services. This has raised ethical questions because universities cannot control the activities and accuracy of the information of third parties and the changing subjectivity of the university as purchaser of recruitment services (Huang et al., 2016; Komljenovic & Robertson 2016; Robinson-Pant & Magyar, 2018). According to Komljenovic (2017), different business methods are employed in the recruitment initiatives targeted at different regions and market segments. This is evident in recruitment campaigns to countries that are expected to have potential students with a large market field (such as China).

For many countries and universities, recruiting international students has required an expansion of administrative and service structures. Rizvi (2011) referred to the construction of international education provision and related infrastructure as

technologies of recruitment. These include the development of international offices, recruitment practices, and administrative structures, all of which have led to the professionalisation of recruitment practices. Administrative personnel have been employed for recruitment tasks along with more strategic and business-oriented customer-centred methods. Ziguras and McBurnie (2015) connect commercial rationalisations to expansionary policies that consist of permitting institutions to set tuition fees and to develop their programmes along with decisions about the language of instruction (in most cases English). This takes place in a context where visas are issued promptly and education is guaranteed with quality assurance procedures provided by host institutions.

Within the field of international education, the provision of information to prospective students differs from the transition taking place within the national context. Technological development has altered the way that information is disseminated and used in student recruitment practices. Expanding from traditional means (such as brochures, education fairs, and personal contacts) that have a highly temporally and spatially embedded nature to a more transparent and open distribution of information through websites and social media sites can be identified (Jokila, 2019; Komljenovic, 2017). Websites are the particular interest of this study and are provided by national governments (e.g. Study in Finland), regional cooperation (e.g. Study in Europe), universities, and private actors (Komljenovic, 2017). These are targeting international students globally with information on educational opportunities, fees, cultural and societal knowledge, and practical information before and during study and after graduation.

Next, I will turn to the rationalisations that power the recruitment of international students. These rationales have repercussions for the ideas of education, international student subjectivity, and the university (see also Lomer, 2018).

3.2.1 International Education for Academic Interests, Status, and Internationalisation at Home

Academic rationale powering international exchange and mobility is one of the oldest rationalisations for internationalisation (Bolsmann & Miller, 2008). Even in the Middle Ages, single voyagers travelled abroad to receive education. However, many current universities are established within the nation state context, serving national interests and providing a framework for academic and scholarly exchange (Scott, 1998). Since the beginning of the 21st century, academic interest in terms of the mobility of students, teachers, and others has been a prevalent feature (Knight, 2008).

The policy focus in many countries has shifted from short-term international exchange to recruiting degree students with the hope of welcoming the best students

(as stated in the policy rhetoric). Connecting the interest to research, international student recruitment is perceived as a channel for further studies or academic labour markets. The academic significance of international student recruitment varies among countries and institutions. For many of the OECD countries, the focus is on higher, master's, and doctoral degrees (OECD, 2016).

An international outlook and international students play vital roles in the rhetoric for developing world-class universities. If an institution attracts international students, it is perceived as high quality. Moreover, for universities striving for an internationally networked world-class position, international student recruitment is both an indicator of status and a recruitment channel for further studies. Perceived as a proxy for quality and status, the number of international students is promoted by governments and universities to obtain a world-class university position, which is visualised and compared in the global university rankings (Hauptman Komotar, 2019b). In the QS World University Rankings, the proportion of international students is measured and calculated for the ranking position. Most of the top 10 universities score over 80 (out of 100) in the international student ratio, which is 5% of the overall score (QS World University Rankings, 2020). The status of the international students hold for the higher education institution is illustrated in the QS World University Ranking's rationalisation to include the ratio of international students into their ranking:

> A highly international university acquires and confers a number of advantages. It demonstrates an ability to attract faculty and students from across the world, which in turn suggests that it possesses a strong international brand. It implies a highly global outlook: essentially for institutions operating in an internationalised higher education sector. It also provides both students and staff alike with a multinational environment, facilitating exchange of best practices and beliefs. In doing so, it provides students with international sympathies and global awareness: soft skills increasingly valuable to employers. Both of these metrics are worth 5% of the overall total (QS World University Rankings, 2020).

International students are also recruited as internationalisers of home campuses enabling local students and staff to gain international experience without crossing borders. International students are expected to provide internationalisation opportunities for students in their home institutions to provide opportunities for those unable to be mobile or to facilitate future mobility (Beelen & Jones, 2015).

3.2.2 Education Aid, Soft Power Policies, and Mutual Understanding

International education has served as a bridge in mutual understanding, education aid, and soft power policies. Particularly prior to the 1980s, international education was considered to mediate mutual understanding and cooperation after politically turbulent times. The politicisation of international education after WW1 and WW2 (Altbach & de Wit, 2015), the colonial period (Rizvi, 2019), and the post-Cold War period shaped prevailing international relations and transformed internationalisation processes in higher education. After these unstable times, the academic community was perceived as fostering mutual understanding by gradually initiating exchange programmes such as the ERASMUS programme (Altbach & de Wit, 2015, p. 6). Acting as proponent of mutual understanding, sustainable development, and peace through educational cooperation, UNESCO has invited actors within higher education to contribute to global discussions on the future of higher education by highlighting mutual dialogue while emphasising respect for local circumstances (UNESCO, 2019). That said, concerns over the brain drain from countries (such as the Global South) have been ongoing. Further, as stated by Adnett (2010), policies to aid lower-income countries through funding international students has resulted in a brain drain from the Global South to a brain gain in wealthier countries.

Aligning with the objectives of mutual understanding, international education as aid has facilitated a process of nation-building in the Global South (Rizvi, 2019). Good examples of scholarship programmes still operating are the Fulbright Program in the United States and the Colombo Plan in Australia (Ziguras & McBurnie, 2015). Some countries such as France and Germany both subsidise education targeted for international students by not charging tuition fees (Ziguras & McBurnie 2015). Another example is China's educational aid policies to African countries as a strategy for strengthening ties and mutual cooperation (Haugen, 2013; Wang, 2013), which is conducted in conjunction with trade policies. Articulated specifically through scholarship programmes, the politically and spatially diversified relations define the direction of mobility flows. For instance, Britain has benefitted from Commonwealth cooperation by welcoming students from New Zealand, Australia, Canada, India, and African countries (Gibbons, 1998) while China welcomes students and offers scholarships for countries friendly with them at the time (Jokila, 2015).

Aiding countries through extensive scholarship programmes can also be perceived as a soft power policy or cultural diplomacy. In fact, there is a fine line between aid donation and soft power or public diplomacy policies. According to Nye (1990), soft power refers to '[an] aspect of power - which occurs when one country gets other countries to want what it wants - might be called co-optive or soft power in contrast with the hard or command power of ordering others to do what it wants'

(Nye, 1990, p. 166). Scholarship programmes provided by governments, agencies, and institutions cover some or all of the costs involved in studying abroad. They can be perceived as facilitators of these soft power policies; thus, they are not neutral or free from other political objectives but are powered by them (Mawer, 2017, Rizvi, 2011). International education is perceived as a facilitator of positive sentiments after international students return to their home country—an argument that can be questioned (Haugen, 2013; Lomer, 2017).

3.2.3 Knowledge Economy, Economic Competitiveness, and Skilled Immigration

Economic rationality to international student recruitment is widely articulated as one of the factors transforming and redefining international education. This economic rationalisation needs to be understood in the context of interconnected global economies and knowledge production that value humans as a resource for growth. The economic approach to international student recruitment has two main themes from the perspective of the host country: skilled immigration and commercial interests (Ziguras & Law, 2006; Ziguras & McBurnie, 2015). The origin of transitioning from industrial competitiveness to knowledge-based economy positions knowledge (and thus education) at the forefront of gaining a competitive advantage (Jessop, 2008). This transition has shifted attention to how universities produce the skills needed in knowledge intensive industries for future employment (Jessop, 2008). Developing a knowledge economy, particularly in Western countries (Ziguras & Law, 2006), relies on the idea of having a large pool of students graduating to work in knowledge intensive fields rather than in manufacturing (Wright, 2008).

Serving economic purposes (Ziguras & McBurnie, 2015), skilled immigration as a rationale for international student recruitment has become a core policy objective in countries opting to develop their future success on the basis of knowledge (Brown & Tannock, 2009). This strategy is embedded (to a large extent) in four objectives that vary in significance within contexts: increase the number of highly trained workers, address the problems of low birth rates and ageing populations, attend to the issue of foreign graduates educated in the country having a higher probability of being employed in their receiving country, and use possible future migration as a marketing advantage (Ziguras & Law, 2006).

The European Commission connects student mobility and economic competitiveness in its policies by outlining '[s]tudents and researchers from outside Europe can contribute to the growth and competitiveness of the EU economy with knowledge and skills developed in Europe' (European Commission, 2020). This type of pragmatic approach (Dvir & Yemini, 2017) to attracting international students

underlines different objectives (viewed from the recruiters' perspective) compared to objectives set for local students.

Competition discourse over recruiting the best students for the needs of the knowledge economy has become evident among national discourses and policy agendas (e.g. Nokkala, 2009; Ziguras & McBurnie 2015). These are often the wealthiest countries with ageing population trends such as Australia (Ziquras & Law, 2006). Students having experience living in the country are considered more likely to settle after graduation. Further, this type of segregation of the immigrant body in recruiting an educated workforce has been criticised. This discursive production of markets produces an imaginary of global student markets; referred to by Rizvi & Lingard (2010) as a neoliberal global imaginary. Bamberger et al. (2019) and Haapakoski and Pashby (2017) find that recruitment of international students is framed by neoliberal rationality.

This skilled immigration rationality connects international education to internal and immigration policies. Regulative structures envisage a country's rationalisation to international education; public policies are not necessarily in line with visa procedures. Based on previous studies (Levatino et al., 2018; O'Connor, 2018; Riaño et al., 2018; Sá, & Sabzalieva, 2018), even if a country opts to recruit international students as a workforce after graduation, other policy fields might not be commensurable with the retention of international students. This could be explained by the political turmoil leading to the uprising of nationalistic right-wing politicians that has caused discrepancies between immigration policies and the recruitment of international students. Further, policy that identifies universities as channels for skilled labour may steer activities toward emphasising student employment and employability, which is a trend identified with local students (Williams, 2013).

3.2.4 Commercialisation and Privatisation of International Student Mobility and Practices

One major transition that perhaps most evidently embodies international education has been the commercialisation of education, underlining competitive positionalities of institutions and business-oriented approaches to policy-making and university operation (Furedi, 2011; Williams, 2013). According to Williams (2013), commercialisation refers to the 'money-making, business face of the university' (p. 13). As competition has always played a role in academia, it is the commercial potential that causes 'the attempt to recast the relationship between academics and students along the model of a service provider and customer' (Furedi, 2011, p. 2). Economically, international students are a major source of income for the exporting countries. According to the National Association of Foreign Student Advisers (NAFSA) in 2020, the US economy benefitted by $41 billion from international

student flow, in addition to supporting almost 460,000 jobs in the academic year 2018–2019. This economic benefit has doubled in 10 years (NAFSA, 2020).

To temporally situate the phenomenon, in the 1980s the UK (and some years later Australia and New Zealand) shifted from aid to trade, resulting in an increased number of international student in the 1990s and 2000s (Ziguras & McBurnie, 2015). This transition was facilitated by a reduction of public funding since the 1980s together with decreasing local student numbers (Bolsmann & Miller, 2008; Fiske, 1981; Hudson, 2016; Rizvi, 2011). Subsequently, this rationale was followed by countries from different regions. Moreover, countries that originally had heavily publicly funded education systems (such as some Nordic countries) followed by introducing fees to international students. Market (or market-like) behaviour, which refers to competition between universities for money (such as through student tuition fees), is termed academic capitalism by Slaughter and Lesley (2001). As universities are expected to act in the global higher education market, they adopt the position of an entrepreneurial university (Slaughter & Rhoades, 1997).

International organisations including the World Trade Organisation (WTO), and UNESCO have initiated discussions revolving around the commercial aspects of international education (OECD and IBRD/World Bank, 2007; Robertson, 2003; Tilak, 2011; Verger, 2009). One of the initiatives that caused a great deal of discussion was the WTO and GATS targeting to define and regulate international education as a tradable service (Robertson, 2003; Verger, 2009). Despite the increasing commercial interpretation of student mobility, countries have not been eager to take part in the GATS agreement (Tilak, 2011).

When the commercialisation of international education is discussed, the focus is on the primary income generated through tuition fees. Generally, countries have three different approaches to funding international education: 1) publicly supported, 2) equally applied tuition fee policy for local and international students, and 3) a segregated tuition fee policy. Countries such as France and Germany provide publicly supported higher education for all students. Some countries have an equal tuition fee policy, which sets fees for both local and international students alike, such as China. According to OECD (2018) statistics, approximately half the countries in their data have segregated tuition fee policies collecting higher fees from international students. Countries with a segregated tuition fee policy collect higher fees from international students, or as in the case of Finland only collect fees from international students. Particularly in the English-speaking countries of the United States, the UK, and Australia, international education has become a significant input to the economy. Segregated tuition fee policies position international students as non-nationals excluded from equality policy effects that benefit local students (Tannock, 2013; 2018).

Commercialisation is not only limited to the revenues gained from tuition fees and the payer of education but also denotes how students, universities, and the education system are presented (Williams, 2013). Naidoo, Shankar and Veer (2011) and Williams (2013) have referred to students as consumers in higher education. Discourses on the commercialisation and increasingly private nature of international education also have repercussions in terms of ideas about the definition of international students, presenting them as consumers of education (Williams, 2013). This consumer orientation and the commercial or marketised presentation of education may operate even where no fees are collected.

To understand the nature of education—in this case international education or even more specifically international degree programmes—I refer to Simon Marginson's (2018) conceptualisation of the benefits of higher education. He approaches the benefits of higher education by dividing them into private, collective, and national goods, arguing for a non-zero-sum game in the field. Public goods have an economic and political definition. The economic definition includes its non-excludable nature; that is, the benefits of such goods are beyond the individual and the non-rivalrous nature referring to the persisting value of a good. According to the political definition, public good is either controlled or produced by the state. Private goods can be produced by markets and are excludable and in competition. Defining international education as public or private means the nature of international education and its relation to state should be considered: the responsibility of a nation (public as national) to the global (public as global) stretches the payer beyond the borders of the nation state. For families who have to pay tuition fees, a degree is a private, individualised good.

Following Marginson's (2018) thought, it would be too simplistic to note that international education obtained in a fee-based degree programme is merely a private good and the valuation would be a zero-sum game. From the students' perspective, education is 'consumed' individually but the effects of international education extend to the university and more broadly to society. With international experience, students have greater potential to provide positive sentiments for the host country.

4   Contrasting Cases: Spatio-temporal Contextualisation

In this chapter, the two country cases of this study (Finland and China) and the adopted comparative approach are discussed. All articles in this study are individual studies and the purpose of this summary is to discuss their findings together. Two of the articles only focus on Finland (Jokila et al., 2019; Jokila, 2020), one focuses on China (Jokila, 2015), and one contrasts the two countries (Jokila, 2019). The decision about why the countries were selected needs further elaboration, not least because Finland and China are not an obvious pair for comparison.

This is a qualitative comparative small-N study that develops a comparison of the historical layeredness (Välimaa, 2018b) of the studied phenomenon in the given contexts. There are several options for conducting a comparative study in higher education (see Kosmützky et al., 2020) and for defining the *tertium comparationis* that are the criteria for comparison (Steiner-Khamsi, 2009). I focus on contrasting the internationalisation policies of two very different countries. For both of these countries, the internationalisation of higher education has denoted significant yet changing meanings in policy since the 1980s. Contrasting two very different countries provides a heuristic tool for reflecting on aspects of these policies and the policy-making process.

My focus is on meso-level national case contexts, and I aim to not only trace policy changes but also problematise policy change itself, and hence analyse how change is produced in policy texts (Saarinen & Ursin, 2012). The analysis in this study targets national policymaking. Nation-based comparative studies have been criticised for their tendency to normalise the nation-state as a unit of analysis, a tendency referred to as 'methodological nationalism' (Dale & Robertson, 2009; Robertson & Dale, 2017). This term was originally defined by Wimmer and Glick Schiller (2002) as 'the assumption that the nation/state/society is the natural social and political form of the modern world' (p. 301). The decision to select the nation-state as a unit of analysis in this study is nevertheless justifiable due to the relevance of national policy-making in defining and formulating internationalisation policies and providing the changing conditions within which universities operate (Brooks & Waters, 2011; Marginson, 2008; Sá & Sabzalieva, 2018). The critique of

methodological nationalism originates in the view of the world as increasingly interconnected (Appadurai, 1996) and of policy-making as connected and mediated through complex arrangements of international organisations, where national representative bodies interact. I understand national governments as constructing their policies within a complex space, and hence, I do not argue for nations as single terrains separate from global space.

My comparison in this study draws on contrasting contexts (Piattoeva, 2010; Skocpol & Somers, 1980) and aims not to generalise the phenomena but rather to interpret them (Crossley, 2009) in terms of their wider historical contingencies. Context is understood here as encompassing the wider societal, economic and political processes that take place and reshape the research phenomenon. My approach relies on a constructivist epistemology that aims to understand and interpret how policy changes are produced, rather than on a critical realist approach that aims to develop explanatory research settings (see Kosmützky et al., 2020). The cases examined in this study are contextualised in both the individual case studies and, to a larger extent, in this summary. The contextualisations in comparing policies are highly relevant in this study as Yang (2007) points out "the way policy is made is highly contextualised and its implementation even more context-dependent; and on the other hand, policy travels globally and has profound impact in locations far removed from its origins" (p. 241).

As problematised in studies on the internationalisation of higher education, 'context' in comparative studies is not unproblematic and cannot be 'emptied' into a chapter in a summary; nor is it detached from the overall research process, which reshapes the context continuously (Sobe & Kowalczyk, 2012). As Sobe and Kowalczyk (2012) note, contexts are nuanced and require sensitivity throughout a study. As presented earlier, internationalisation policies, despite often being written in separate policy texts, are not separate from broader societal contexts. These policies cannot be detached and decontextualised from their origins but must be understood as historically layered phenomena. This study aims to problematise conceptualisations of the internationalisation of higher education, recruitment policies and international students as representing unified phenomena and taken-for-granted entities, and instead argues for historically and contextually layered conceptualizations.

By referring to 'educationism', Robertson and Dale (2017) problematise the concept of 'education' as taken for granted. They explain:

[T]his enables the avoidance of the fact that education is always about the acquisition of particular knowledges, by particular groups of individuals, under different circumstances, with the result that how far and in what ways it may or

may not empower an individual or group, will depend upon a range of features of their social location. (p. 863)

Similarly, in this study, I aim to problematise conceptualisations concerning the internationalisation of higher education and argue for contextually specific meanings and objectives that also construct the actors involved and the international education itself. Studying the most different cases in terms of their educational systems, political contexts and economic and historical trajectories enables an understanding of how internationalisation policies within such different contexts are entangled and are produced nationally. As internationalisation policies are not merely national crafts I follow Carney (2009) who argues that '[e]ducational phenomena in one country case must thus be understood in *ongoing* relation to other such cases' (p. 63, emphasis in the original).

The internal criteria for selecting these two country cases for comparison relies on the familiarity of the two cases. The decision to study Finland was obvious due to familiarity with the system—being educated within the Finnish higher education system enabled me to understand it more profoundly than would have been possible with other systems. Further, speaking Finnish allowed access to information would otherwise have been impossible. Alongside studying Chinese language and society, the interest in studying Chinese education draws from the three periods spent there: 4 months in 2007 as an exchange student in Hong Kong, approximately 4 months in 2009 as an English teacher in a local lower and upper secondary school in Tianjin, and 6 months in 2011–2012 as a visiting doctoral student in the Nordic Centre in Fudan University, Shanghai.

To analyse internationalisation and international student recruitment policies in two countries while living in one of the countries the majority of my life and visiting the other country for the three periods during my university studies has repercussions for the study and my positionality, which could be considered unbalanced in this sense. Despite reading numerous texts, visiting China, and learning Chinese, I am an outsider in the context of Chinese higher education. Moreover, I do not possess first-hand experience of national policy making in either of these two localities (the other locality being practically inaccessible). This could have highlighted issues that were not addressed by mainly focusing on policy texts as the source of evidence.

Despite these identified hindrances, conducting a contrasting case study in two different countries provided me with an opportunity to understand and reflect on the special characteristics of each system. Throughout the research process, I have maintained a reflexive orientation (Carnoy, 2006; Hamdan, 2009; Marginson & Mollis, 2001; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Yang, 2011) to the research subject and my position as an observer of the relevant policies. Some argue that the insider's perspective is preferable when conducting such a study, while others find that the

outsider can observe the research phenomenon with a fresh viewpoint (Yang, 2011): '[o]utsiders do not necessarily see less. Indeed, they could see more by avoiding the familiar scenario that when people are extremely close to something they tend not to perceive its actual features' (Yang, 2011, p. 340).

To understand the two country cases in greater detail, I will now turn to the contextual environment that shapes internationalisation policy realities in both cases. The comparative higher education field has addressed similarities and differences in university and higher education systems defining university models that are contextualised within their wider societal, economic, political, and demographic contexts. At the same time, global higher education policy convergence and similar trends (including the massification of higher education, spread of neoliberal policies, and globalisation of higher education) have harmonised higher education structures (Côté & Furlong, 2016; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). The higher education systems of the selected countries in this study differ significantly (Table 2), which supports the choice of using the most different systems approach (Przeworski & Teune, 1970). Table 2 presents the main features of the two systems.

Table 2. Contrasting Finnish and Chinese systems

FINLAND	CHINA
Democratic welfare state	Socialist market economy
Nordic university model	Chinese/Confucian university model
Small scale system	Large scale system
Tuition free for Finnish and EU- and EEA-students	Tuition fees for all students
Low institutional hierarchy	Hierarchical
Binary system of universities and university of applied sciences	Diversified institutional missions
Three cycle degree system	Three cycle degree system

Sources: Antikainen, 2016; Kivinen et al., 1993; Marginson, 2011; Rinne, 2010; Välimaa, 2018a; Zha & Hayhoe, 2014; Zha et al., 2016

Finnish universities have always been national institutions that serve national objectives, and have transitioned from constructing a national identity to working for a national innovation strategy (MoE, 2003a; Välimaa, 2001; 2004). In addition, the education export initiative has recently been developed (MEC, 2017). Prior to the 1960s, Finnish academia held an elite position, training upper class students to serve the state. Soon after the baby boom generation entered universities, there was a need to expand the numbers of entries and institutions (Kivinen, Rinne & Ketonen, 1993; Välimaa, 2004). Consequently, the majority of Finnish universities were established

in the 20th century. Due to a strong regional policy emphasizing the wide geographical coverage of institutions, all the largest cities in Finland have a university and some smaller ones have a side campus (Välimaa, 2004). Since restructuring the higher education system in the 1990s, Finland now has a binary system of universities and universities of applied sciences (Nevala, 1999; Välimaa, 2004). As a result of recent policies emphasising institutional mergers and profiling, the system now consists of 13 universities and 25 universities of applied sciences (MEC, 2019).

Finnish universities are grouped with other Nordic universities that have been developed on the basis of the Nordic welfare state. This is characterised as a small scale and restricted system having centralised governance, low institutional hierarchy, a policy of no tuition fees[4], a strong policy to foster social equality in access to higher education, and higher education policy as a key to social and regional policies (Antikainen, 2016; Kivinen et al., 1993; Rinne, 2010; Välimaa & Muhonen, 2018). Recent policy reforms question the existence of this Nordic university model and suggest that Finland is leaning towards the Anglo-Saxon universities (Antikainen, 2016; Rinne, 2010), which are characterised by market-orientation and neoliberal management tools. Since the 1990s, governance of the Finnish universities has shifted toward managing by results and competition, where private actors (through funding and other means) have more control and redefine them as entrepreneurial universities (Kankaanpää, 2013; Kivinen et al, 1993). In the 21st century, the New Public Management (NPM) principles were introduced supporting competition within and between universities, together with other marketisation elements such as decreasing public funding and increasing reliance on external funding (Rinne, 2010; Välimaa, 2004). Välimaa (2004, p. 41) refers to 'procedural autonomy' to describe the relationship between universities and governing bodies, which to a large extent operates in performance negotiations that take place between universities and the Ministry of Education and Culture.

While researchers have aimed to distinguish the characteristics and policy changes in higher education, the Finnish government also employs and reproduces the idea of a Finnish education system in its marketing strategies, which are supported by previous success in PISA rankings (Country Brand Report, 2010; Schatz, et al., 2017).

Chinese society and its education system has experienced several massive changes in recent decades. Since the end of 1970s, China has implemented several structural reforms shifting from a 'centrally planned economy to a market-oriented

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[4] In 2017, higher education students outside the EU and EEA countries that are admitted to degree programmes with teaching other than Finnish or Swedish pay tuition fees (Kauko, & Medvedeva, 2016; MEC, 2018).

one' (Cai & Yan, 2017, p. 169). China has simultaneously shifted from elite to mass education and strived to build world-class universities (Huang, 2003; Mohrman, 2008). China's tertiary enrolment ratio increased from 19% in 2005 to 51% in 2018 (UIS, 2020), and its immense higher education system comprises institutions under central ministries and agencies, and under local authorities. The degree structure is similar to the three-cycle European higher education system including undergraduate, graduate, and doctoral levels.

The Chinese higher education system is hierarchical in terms of institutional tasks and funding. While some universities have the objective of fulfilling the national need to educate Chinese citizens, others are provided with resources to establish themselves as world-class (Mohrman, 2008). A common understanding of a four-level vertical higher education system exists in China (see Cai & Yan, 2015). At the top are research universities with additional funding from Project 985 (this includes 39 institutions[5]). Second layer HEIs include the Project 211 institutions with a mission to provide both research and teaching (73 institutions). Within these projects, nearly all of the universities aim to become world-class through international co-operation and excellence (Gong & Li, 2010, p. 499). The third layer includes teaching institutions with some having a minor research task (consisting of approximately 600 institutions). The fourth category consists of vocationally oriented and applied institutes (over 1000 in total). Besides public institutes, there are also private ones that are mainly at the bottom of the HEI hierarchy (see Cai & Yan, 2015).

Scholars in the field of Chinese higher education have debated on whether Chinese universities have their own character. Arguments for and against originate in the historical trajectories that Chinese higher education has experienced. According to Zha et al. (2016), proponents of the Chinese university model develop their argument either on historical cultural traditions or the current socio-economic perspective. The argument for cultural tradition relies on profound ontological and epistemological differences that have historical roots in Confucianism. In the Confucian tradition, a distinction between theory and practice does not take place in the same way as in other university traditions. Marginson (2011) argued that the Chinese university model is based on Confucian universities, which have parallels in Japan, Korea, China, Hong Kong (China), Taiwan, and Singapore. These comprise the following characteristics: a strong nation-state steering higher education policy through funding, universal tertiary participation with growing levels of household funding (tuition), competitive 'one chance' national examinations, public investment in research, and world-class initiatives.

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[5] To put this in perspective, similar differentiations between elite and mass institutions through funding and other instruments are the Russell Group universities in the UK and the Ivy League in the US (Pickard, 2016).

The second argument for the Chinese university model relies on a socio-economic perspective (Zha et al., 2016). This approach takes recent developments as the basis of an analysis by extending the lens to China's current socio-economic development (referred to as 'Beijing Consensus'). The Beijing Consensus interrelates with China's economic development model and subsequent success from the late 1970s (Zha et al, 2016). This model contrasts with the 'Washington Consensus', which encompassed a strong emphasis on market-based model origins in the ideals of neoliberal policies. For Williamson (2012), the Beijing Consensus includes incremental reform, innovation and experimentation, export-led growth, state capitalism, and authoritarianism. Due to the universities having an increasing role in supporting the knowledge-based economy through human capital and technological advancement (particularly evident in world-class university initiatives), the connectivity of the Chinese economic model and higher education is perceived as relational (Zha & Hayhoe, 2014). Zha and Hayhoe (2014) highlight Chinese strong state interference and a special kind of social embeddedness (through networks) are also characteristically present in understanding higher education in China.

Over the course of history, the political atmosphere is specifically connected to the ruling party leader, who has shaped higher education with practice-based reasoning highlighting utilitarianism and pragmatism. A short historical overview reveals the co-existence of ideologies in China. Mao Zedong thoughts were articulated on class struggle, followed by Deng Xiaoping's famous economic construction, Jiang Zemin's reconstruction with social elites (including business actors), and Hu Jintao's harmonious society accompanied by scientific development (Zha & Hayhoe, 2014). More recently, Xi Jinping has called for socialism with Chinese characteristics. To illustrate the connectivity of the broader state policy and education policy, the latest *China Education Modernization 2035* makes an intertextual reference to Xi Jinping's policy: 'China Education Modernization 2035 puts forward the guiding ideology of promoting education modernization guided by Xi Jinping's thought of socialism with Chinese characteristics' (《中国教育现代化 2035》提出推进教育现代化的指导思想是：以习近平新时代中国特色社会主义思想为指导)(MoEC, 2019a).

Besides researchers aiming to capture the unique elements of Chinese higher education, the Chinese government employs China's exceptionalism in their policy rhetoric by emphasising their national characteristics (中国特色), such as in education policy rhetoric. This historically and culturally bounded exceptionalist rhetoric emanates from Chinese foreign policy (Zhang, 2013). It is embodied in the imperial and revolutionary time evolving recently to great power reformism, benevolent pacifism, and harmonious inclusionism. This great power reformism targets Chinese national identity creation and constructs China's worldview. In rhetoric, China's peacefulness stems from its imperial roots and Chinese culture.

Harmonious inclusionism refers to a critique of one-country domination and the acceptance of multiple actors in the international system (a form of 'harmony with difference') (Zhang, 2013).

In times of educational reform, China has sought foreign knowledge and references to develop their system (Gong & Li, 2010). Hence, the Chinese model has been influenced by American, European, and Soviet models augmented by the Chinese Confucian and Shuyuan[6] models (Hayhoe, 1989a). The Soviet model was introduced into China in the 1950s, followed by the turn to the West in the 1970s through an open door policy and economic reforms (Huang, 2003). As a result of this interaction with foreign universities, the epistemological stance and the perception of what a university is have altered over time (Hayhoe, 1989a).

Recently, Zha et al. (2016) indicated that the globalisation processes challenges the ideas of the university; thus, the Chinese model should also be analysed through similarities in the system. One of the major higher education policy initiatives has been to develop world-class universities in China. This aim of mimicking the world's best with Chinese characteristics has urged some selected institutions to catch up with the leading European and North American universities by reforming their curriculum, finances, and governing structures (Deem, et al. 2008; Mohrman, 2008).

China shifted from direct state control to a decentralised higher education governing structure from the mid-1980s, allowing regional and local bodies to manage their own domains (Mohrman, 2008). This has also changed the status of the universities as legal persons (Zha & Hayhoe, 2014; National People's Congress, 1999). Alongside this decentralisation, the financial sector has also experienced reforms, changing from a solely publicly funded system to welcoming private money and introducing tuition fees for all students (Han & Xu, 2019; Mohrman, 2008).

Next, I introduce and contextualise internationalisation policies and international student mobility in the two countries.

4.1 Internationalisation of Higher Education and International Student Recruitment Policies in Finland

The Finnish conception of internationalisation has changed over time and reflects the given socio-political context. Developed alongside the opening up of the Finnish economy and society (Heiskala, 2006) and broader higher education reforms (MoE, 2009), internationalisation of higher education has developed into a priority for Finnish policy-making, incorporating internationalisation activities in both

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[6]   Educational institutes in pre-modern China that were mainly private, run by individual scholars and connected to Buddhist tradition (Hayhoe, 1989b).

education and research (MEC, 2017). The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the economic recession, and the subsequent opening up towards the West and joining the EU in 1995 (Heiskala, 2006) have all paved the way for international policy in Finland. Since the end of 1980s, international cooperation has expanded from their Nordic neighbours to European countries and a subsequent focus on emerging economies. Before joining the EU in 1995, the European context was a significant facilitator in the development of the internationalization of higher education in terms of funding instruments and structural harmonization, particularly within the Bologna process (Lehikoinen, 2006; MoE, 2001). Similar to other EU countries, Finland devoted support to international student and teacher programmes and networking in Europe and beyond in the 1990s (Lehikoinen, 2006). For a small Nordic country with a heavy economic reliance on exports, the internationalisation of higher education has been a focus of interest that serves the broader societal role (Nokkala, 2007). Characterising the atmosphere within internationalisation policies, Finnish internationalisation discourse also employs a 'small country' narrative that is founded on Finnish survival history (Nokkala, 2009).

National policies for the internationalisation of higher education are determined within general higher education policy documents and more specifically in the internationalisation plans (MoE, 1987) and strategies (MEC, 2017; MoE, 2001; 2009). Given the momentum for developing internationalisation policy objectives and structures, and with the emergence of actors, the Ministry of Education and Culture compiled its first (unpublished) internationalisation plan in the 1990s, with the focus on increasing mobility of students and teachers (MoE, 1987). Finland has approached internationalization comprehensively, including all higher education institutions and activities. Since the beginning of the 1980s, the extent of international activities has expanded considerably and become more defined. The expansion of regional targets is exemplified by the publishing of area-specific internationalisation policies highlighting selected areas and countries, such as Russia and China (MoE, 2003b; MoE, 2006; MoE, 2007). Internationalisation policy is of national interest; thus, the government has steered policies through a set of policy instruments including strategies, funding, legislation, and evaluations (Jokila, 2020). The Center for International Mobility and Exchange Programmes (CIMO)[7] was founded in 1991 and has served the purpose of marketing Finnish education abroad and internationalisation opportunities for Finnish students (MoE, 2001).

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[7] CIMO is merged to become the National Agency for Education.

The number of international students in Finnish universities increased significantly after 2009 (Vipunen, 2019a), indicating that policies targeted at increasing the student body have been successful, as shown in Figure 5.
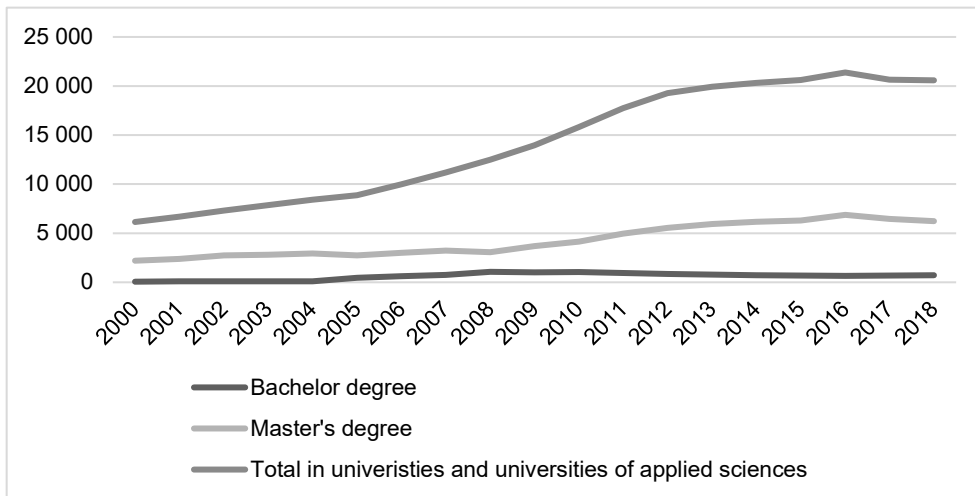
Figure 5. Number of international bachelor and master's degree students in Finnish universities and the overall number of international students in higher education institutions in 2000–2018. Source: Vipunen (2020).

The distribution of fields of study over the past 20 years has changed. In 2000, humanities was the largest field of study, whereas now engineering and technology and information and communication technology are by far the most expansive fields (Vipunen, 2019b) as shown in Figure 6. In general, these new major fields of study have commercial potential (Rizvi, 2019) and transferability in terms of degrees offered globally.
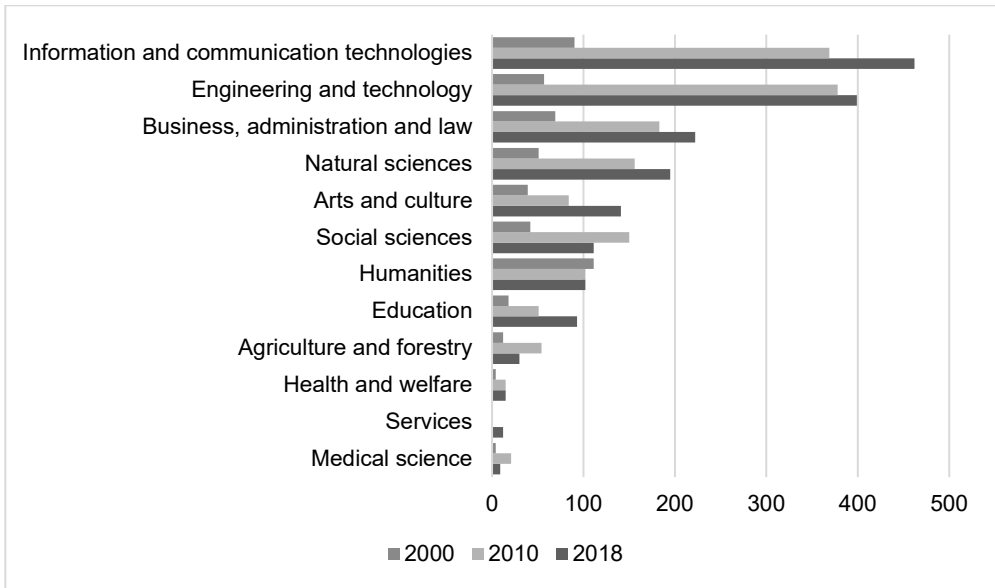
Figure 6. New international students, fields of study for 2000, 2010, and 2018. Source: Vipunen (2019b).

The international student body in Finland is located in the largest universities in the three biggest cities in Helsinki (Aalto University and University of Helsinki), Tampere (University of Tampere) and Turku (University of Turku and Åbo Akademi University) (Vipunen, 2020) as shown in Figure 7.
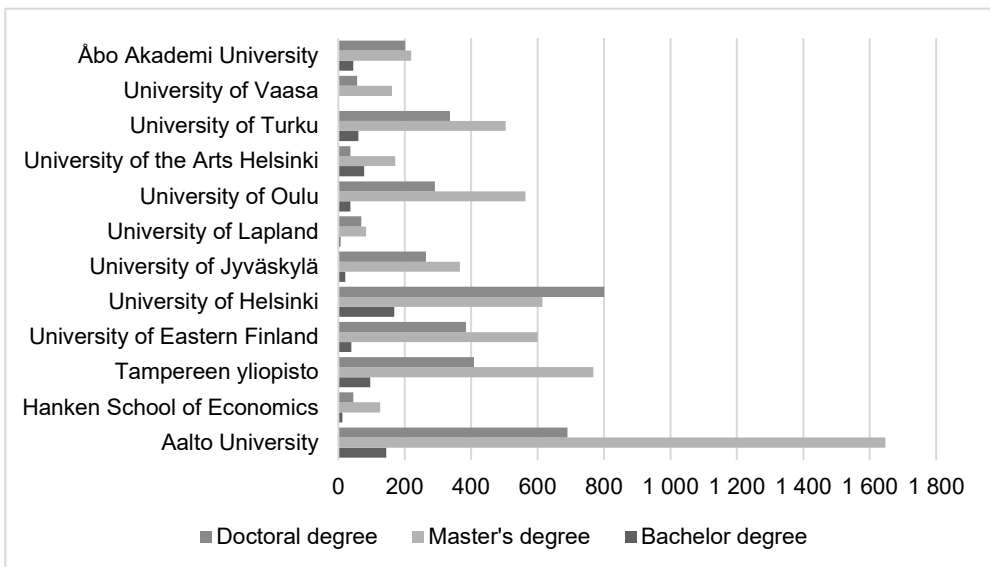
Figure 7. International students within Finnish universities. Source: Vipunen (2020).

4.2 Internationalisation of Higher Education and International Student Recruitment Policies in China

Chinese policies on internationalisation of higher education are connected to broader political and economic transitions (such as the modernisation and expansion of the higher education system) that have taken place in tandem with China's opening up policy since 1978 (Hayhoe, 1989a; Huang, 2003). Internationalisation policy has been devoted to serving socioeconomic development of the country to advance the four areas of modernisation: industry, agriculture, defence, and science and technology (Huang, 2003). China's internationalisation policy has shifted from the 1980s recognition of educational issues requiring quality improvement to a 'going global' strategy (Wang, 2013). China's state-driven politically powered policies are attached to soft power policies and upgrading of the higher education system (Pan, 2013; Wu, 2019). From 1978, China initiated policies that sent Chinese students and scholars abroad to receive education while inviting Western scholars to China, signifying the importance of the Western influence over that of the Soviets (Huang, 2003).

China continues to send the largest number of international students, to the extent that in some international programmes the student body is predominantly Chinese. Moreover, China has made great efforts to attract their students back home (Huang, 2003). Since 1993, foreign institutions have been encouraged to enter China, initiating transnational education. Of similar significance, a speech by the contemporary Minister of Education in 2002 encouraged attracting more international students and increasing the influence of China abroad (see Huang, 2003). One of the major forms of Chinese influence abroad is derived from Confucius Institutes, with their mission of teaching Chinese language and culture based in universities abroad (Huang, 2003).

The main departments involved in guiding the internationalisation of higher education in the Ministry of Education in China are the Department of Higher Education (which manages higher education at the macro-level) and the Department of International Cooperation and Exchanges (which formulates policies related to studying abroad and international students in China) (OECD, 2016). State guidelines define basic principles for international student recruitment, admissions, and studies. The Chinese language is compulsory for international students, with the first option being to teach international students. However, selected 'qualified' institutions are allowed to teach in foreign languages. Guidelines also stress that international students are required to follow the rules and laws of the Chinese government (MoEC, 2017). Government bodies dealing with issues on international student recruitment include the Ministry of Education, and the Foreign affairs and Public Security Committees (MoEC, 2017). Macro policies concerning international students are

determined by education administrators under the State Council (MoEC, 2017). Higher education institutions are responsible for international student recruitment, admissions, and training, while also making decisions on enrolment plans and the majors offered for international students (MoEC, 2017).

To promote the flow of international students to China, the Chinese government has awarded scholarships for international students pursuing degrees in some of their universities (Dong & Chapman, 2008). A characteristic of the overall aim of internationalisation has been that internationalisation activities have been selective (Huang, 2003; Jokila, 2015). From 2010, the number of students and institutions enrolling international students in China has increased dramatically. In 2018, there were over 490,000 international students in higher education, among which there were almost 260,000 degree students and over 230,000 non-degree students (MoEC 2019b). There were 1,004 higher education institutions in 2018 admitting international students (compared to total of 2,631 regular HEIs in China in 2017) in 31 provinces/autonomous regions/provincial-level municipalities (MoEC, 2019c). As shown in Figure 8, Asian countries are the major source of international students in China (60%), followed by African countries (17%) and European countries (15%) (MoEC, 2019c). More specifically, South Korea is the largest source, followed by Thailand, Pakistan, and India. This highlights the Asia-centred flow, as shown in Figure 9 (MoEC, 2019c).
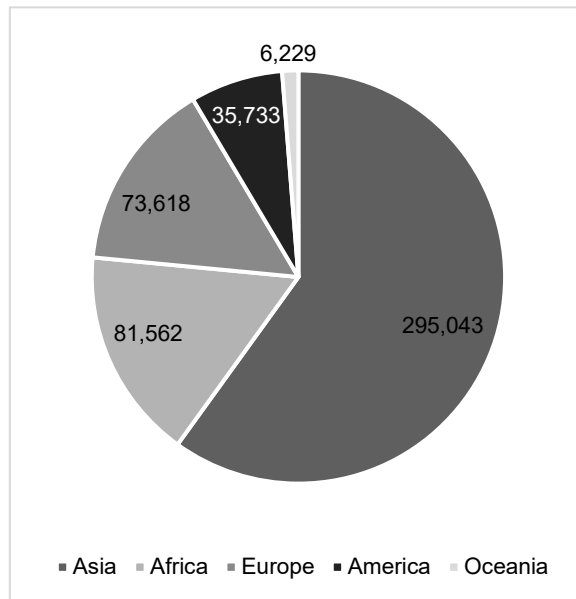
Figure 8. The distribution of international students by continent in 2019. Source: MoEC, 2019c.
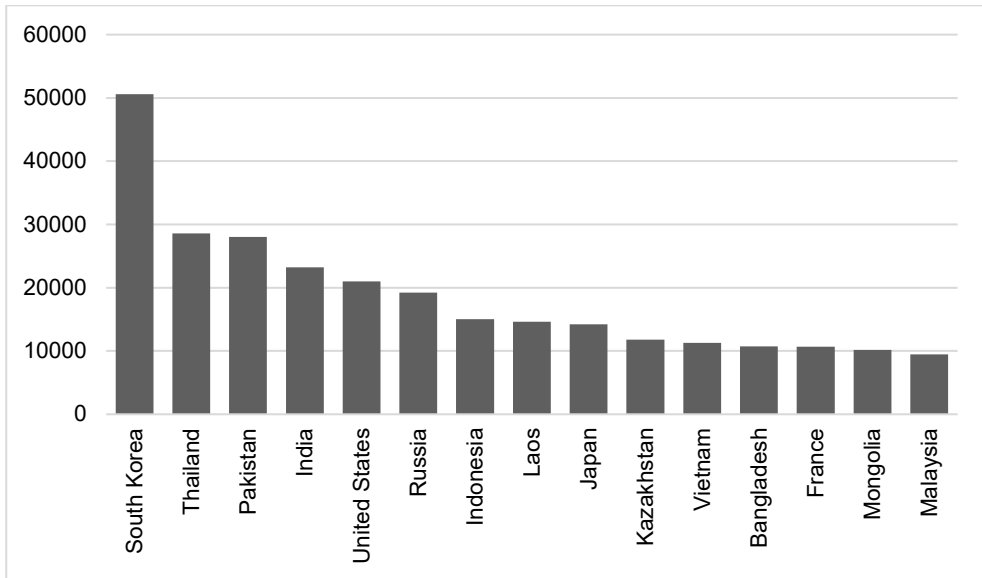
Figure 9. International students' country of origin, top 15 countries in 2018. Source: MoEC, 2019c.

In general, government funding for higher education in China has decreased while more funding is allocated to the universities under the world-class university initiative (Hong, 2018). This illustrates the hierarchical structure of the Chinese higher education system and the emphasis on competing globally. While tracking the expenditure on international education in China is difficult, it can be said that international students make a minimal financial contribution to higher education funding through tuition fees (Hong, 2018). It should be noted that the secondary contribution of the international students (such as through travel and local consumption) is not calculated. The majority of the international students in China pay tuition fees: 87% were self-funded and 13% received Chinese government scholarships (MoEC, 2019c). In 1998, the Ministry of Education in China noted that the higher education institutions could not manage the costs of international students. Therefore, the fees set for self-funded students were increased based on costs relative to geographical locality, level of teaching, and equipment needs (MoEC, 1998). While each institution can decide on their own fees, permission is required from the authorities (MoEC, 1998). The tuition fees paid by international students at least compensate for their expenses.

University rankings measuring the internationality of a university through the share of international students are a core governing instrument that facilitates institutional interest in recruiting international students. This aim of excelling in rankings has been a result of lowered admission requirements for international students, which has caused concerns over the quality and equity in admissions compared to local students (Song, 2018).

5 Internationalisation Policy as the Subject of This Study

In this chapter, I first present the research questions and then go on to introduce the policy texts and conceptualise policy change. Next, I discuss website data and conceptualise websites as producers of educational representations. Finally, I introduce the data analysis process.

5.1 Research Questions

The main research questions for this study focus on how internationalisation policies with a particular focus on international student recruitment and international degree programmes have changed over time, and how the international student recruitment strategies are communicated to prospective international students through websites. Further, this study considers how these two cases differ from each other. Using defined data sets, the research questions addressed in the individual studies and the employed data are summarised in Table 3. A more detailed table describing the data is presented in the Appendix.

Table 3. Research questions, data, analysis method and scope of the articles summarised

	RESEARCH QUESTION	DATA	ANALYSIS METHOD	SCOPE
Article I	How is the idea of internationalisation of higher education connected to Chinese national interests?	Previous research and policy documents	Content analysis	China
Article II	What kind of justifications and persuasion strategies are used to support international student recruitment?	Policy texts	Content and rhetorical analysis	Finland
Article III	How have international degree programmes (IDPs) been developed in Finland from marginal activity to commercial interest?	Policy texts	Content analysis and what's the problem presented to be -approach	Finland
Article IV	How is the international student recruitment strategy communicated to prospective students? What kind of choice is constructed in websites? What kind of devices are used to affirm the choice?	Policy texts and textual material from four websites	Content analysis	Finland and China

5.2   Policy Texts and Conceptualising Policy Change

Researchers interested in internationalisation policies in higher education have many options in terms of empirical evidence for their research. Much of the research interest has concentrated on universities, which is understandable as universities are the core actors 'doing' internationalisation in higher education (Bolsmann & Miller, 2008). At the same time, studies recognise the national context as vital framing for shaping the nature and space of international activities and interactions (Brooks & Waters, 2011; Mosneaga & Agergaard, 2012; Sá & Sabzalieva, 2018). To analyse national policy on internationalisation activities, much research attention is focused on the analysis of policy documents that shape the meanings and ideas for internationalisation studies. This has also been the objective and point of departure for this study.

The two analysed countries differ in what kind of policy texts define their internationalisation strategies. To select key documents, effective equivalence was followed[8] (Välimaa & Nokkala, 2014). This is defined as searching for documents that serve the same purpose within the two systems. Here, the focus is on higher education policies; thus, we can find broad structural and contextual equivalence in the two higher education systems while acknowledging their differences. Despite the aim for effective equivalence, the study is not fully balanced by placing more emphasis on the analysis of the Finnish case.

To select the data, Finnish policy documents were collected from the publicly available national database and based on intertextual references in the documents for 1987–2018. Selection of policy documents focused on educational policy documents that discuss issues pertaining to international degree students and international degree programmes. The main Finnish source for evidence in this study was drawn from internationalisation strategies that set the policy objectives and imaginaries for international education. Finland has one unpublished plan (MoE, 1987) and three published strategies (MEC, 2017, MoE, 2001, 2009) for internationalisation that targets higher education. While these strategies all state the main objectives of internationalisation initiatives, they also display significant differences. The first two documents followed a more traditional structure by providing framing for policy reform through policy rationalisation followed by the objectives. The latter two documents are perhaps more marketing-oriented in their presentation. All the Finnish strategies contain an English translation, while the latest one is also translated and condensed into shorter leaflets in other languages (Swedish, Spanish, and Chinese) that can be seen as a proxy for showcasing the objectives beyond a national audience.

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[8]   The data primarily focused on the Finnish case.

To understand the development of international degree programmes, strategy data was supplemented with publicly available documents including evaluations provided by the Finnish Higher Education Evaluation Council (FINHEEC), legislative documents, and ministerial documents. These documents also served as a form of policy instrument for evaluating and guiding the policy implementation process.

To select data for the Chinese context, the number of documents was more limited and focused on the latest plans in internationalisation for higher education (MoEC, 2010). These plans were offered in Chinese while some semi-official translations circulate online. In addition, previous research and statistics were employed as sources of evidence for the first article.

The degree of transparency in the policy preparation process differ greatly. The Finnish policy texts introduce the policy preparation process in the policy documents. It has become progressively more open and engages with a wider range of stakeholders beyond universities. This preparation process also includes technical tools for sharing ideas on websites in addition to some open events that invite discussion (eg. MoE, 2009). The Chinese policy preparation process is less open and not articulated within the policy documents.

Choosing to analyse policy documents as data possesses several advantages. Document data is produced by public authorities; hence, the researcher has not interfered in the process of compiling the data. Further, documents produced for governmental purposes are publicly available, meaning data collection is less time consuming for the researcher. Document data also allows the tracking of changes. Analysing documents also entails some limitations. For example, they are not produced for the purpose of research and may lack some information needed for the analysis. Despite the researcher's 'neutrality' in acquiring the data, they are responsible for collecting and analysing the data, which can cause them to develop subjectivity in the research project (Bowen, 2009).

Internationalisation policies are similar to other policies; they problematise the current situation and provide policy solutions illustrated in the policy texts as a result of a deliberate process (Bacchi, 2009, Ozga, 2019). Texts provide rationalisations for the policy as a framing, often positioned at the beginning of the text. This framing includes presuppositions (Saarinen, 2008) and selected contextualisations that define the framing. In addition to crafting some historical trajectories and the current state, policy texts also imagine the future trajectory of actions (Auld & Morris, 2016). The shared objective in all of these texts is policy reform: more specifically, to transform higher education into an international concept. Internationalisation strategy is not only a symbolic policy with little reference to implementation or material reality (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010), it is connected to policy implementation (a type of normative tool). According to Ball (1993), policies are 'textual interventions into practice' (p. 12).

As policies in higher education are often defined in policy texts (Saarinen & Ursin, 2012), also research on internationalisation policies has focused on analysing internationalisation plans and strategies that have become a global policy format defining and positioning governmental, institutional, and supranational internationalisation objectives. Widely employed as evidence of internationalisation processes, national and institutional strategy texts have become the centre of policy analysis in the field (eg. Nokkala, 2009; Tossavainen, 2009; Trilokekar & El Masri, 2017; Warwick & Moogan, 2013) and are perceived as evidence to trace policy change (Kallo, 2012).

A widely employed format for internationalisation policy texts in different policy spheres is *strategy*. Strategy as a form of text originated in military and business contexts (see Jokila, et al., 2019). The spread of competitive discourse and vocabulary in public policy (Kantola, 2006) can be coupled to the use of strategies in education policy-making. The practise of using strategy texts in international education could be the result of intersections of the field with international relations and business aligned with competitiveness discourse.

Internationalisation policy-making is relational and is produced and produces social relations (Marginson, 2008; Välimaa, 2004). Saarinen (2008) notes that a constructivist approach is required for understanding policy text as: 'language does not describe social processes and structures but creates and supports them' (p. 719). Internationalisation plans and strategies define dual positionalities, co-operators, and competitors (Luijten-Lub et. al., 2005)—a deliberate endeavour to position actors and actions in the global higher education field. It is not possible to act internationally alone: flows, mobility policies, and practices connect actors globally (Brooks & Waters, 2011). Within this kind of networked field (Larsen, 2016), national policy texts set future cooperative partners while creating competitive positionalities (even naming rivals). Strategy can be seen as a written illustration, or using Lefebvre's (1992) conceptualisation, a representation of space of the global higher education field as perceived and defined by the compiler of the strategy. For Bourdieu (1993), field (structured by power relations) is a space for gaming where 'to be able to occupy the dominant positions within their respective fields confront each other using strategies aimed at preserving or transforming these relations of power' (p. 264–265). The competitive macro, meso, and micro fields are numerous and interconnected within HEIs and between countries (Deem, 2009).

Internationalisation policy is understood as both object and subject of the study (Lefebvre, 1992), which is actively produced in policy text (Lefebvre, 1992; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Saarinen, 2008). Here, the distinction is made that national governments 'do' internationalisation not simply passively react to some external circumstances (Mosneaga & Agergaard, 2012). This means that actors in the field imagine possible future trajectories and do not only react to the external environment

(although this can be used as policy rhetoric). This imagining (or one collectively accepted form if it) is often explicit in policy documents such as in internationalisation plans and strategies. According to Arjun Appadurai (1996), imagination is a social practice:

> the imagination has become an organised field of social practices, a form of work (in the sense of both labour and culturally organised practice,) a form of work (in the sense of both labour and culturally organised practice,) and a form of negotiation between sites of agency (individuals) and globally defined field of possibility (p. 31).

Governments also practice imagination when formulating internationalisation policy objectives in their policy texts. For Rizvi (2006),

> imagination is not a matter of creative genius, within the aesthetic realm, but is a 'collective, social fact' that is at 'work' in a variety of ways with which people define themselves and construct their relations to others, and build a world in and through modernity (p. 194).

Hence, crafting internationalisation policy can be seen as a deeply relational process that engages in deliberate imagination that assumes the actions of others. Throughout this study, I argue that in their strategic internationalisation planning, national governments exercise a social imaginary that goes beyond national borders while also preserving relevance to their borders. This imagination requires positioning in terms of various factors including who to cooperate with and what kind of activities are perceived possible (and where). Marginson (2008) defines this as a 'creative imagination of governments' that enables the extension of an imaginary notion in a policy context.

It could be argued that in studies on policy change in the internationalisation of higher education, limited conceptualisation of the change concept takes place. Previously, both Choudaha (2017) and Sá and Sabzalieva (2018) have taken key events as definers of change. Choudaha (2017) in his macro-level analysis refers to waves that he defines as key events and trends. Sá and Sabzalieva (2018) defined key events through a review of literature and treated the events as a context within a chronical continuum. In this study, policy *change* is understood to be a spatio-temporal construction developed on one hand by policy makers in the data to produce change, and on the other hand by me as a researcher in the analysis. Change itself is a core concept in policy analysis, as policy precisely targets change (Bacchi, 2009; Saarinen & Välimaa, 2012). Change is a temporally and spatially embedded concept that has been problematised and conceptualised in the social sciences (see Hay, 2002), in higher education studies (Saarinen & Välimaa, 2012; Saarinen & Ursin, 2012) and in comparative education (eg. Cowen, 2002; Kallo, 2012; Novoa & Yariv-Mashal, 2003).

Saarinen and Ursin (2012) have analysed approaches to policy change in higher education (Table 4). They distinguish three dominant approaches and two emerging ones. Structural approach perceives change in level, such as local, national and global. These structures are perceived as the space within which actors can act. In actor approach, the focus shifts towards actors that are individual or institutional. They push for change in a certain structure. Agency approach analyses change in the actor and structure relation with a focus on the interactivity of the relations. The two emerging approaches move from structure-agency dichotomy to analyse change in Actor-network relations where both human and non-human actors form heterogenous relations and analyse change discursively in how policy change is produced in policy texts. These approaches are not fully separate from each other. In my study, I perceive policy change as structural in a sense that the policy change is a result of a complex interactions of actors (or heuristically 'levels') that are positioned and interlinked to each other. However, these varying levels are complexly interacted and thus we cannot conclude for a mere top-down or bottom-up policy. At the same time, I distinguish national policy crafters as actors that represent varying bodies not only national governing figures in open policy-making of the Finnish case (Välimaa, 2018b). I distinguish that there are more actors involved in shaping the policy field (besides the ones noted in the policy documents) but I focus on the national policy documents. This decision can be problematized of naturalizing a kind of national level.

Table 4.   Policy change in higher education studies.

	APPROACH	**DESCRIPTION AND FOCUS**
Dominant approaches	Structural	Distinguishes the different levels (such as macro, meso and micro 'levelling') where policy change takes place. Descriptive rather than theory-laden.
	Actor	Locates policy change into the structures where actors 'do' reinforce the change
	Agency	Emphasis on interaction in structure-agency relation
Emerging approaches	Actor-network	Focus on heterogeneous networks of human and non-human actors
	Discursive	Understands policy texts as avenues for both describing and producing policies

Source: Developed from Saarinen and Ursin (2012)

I perceive policy change as discursively produced in the text (Saarinen & Ursin, 2012). Saarinen and Välimaa (2012) propose that change in higher education is conceptualised as discursively produced where change is a 'discursive power play'

(Saarinen & Välimaa, 2012). This policy change has temporal and spatial elements that are now discussed.

To begin, the analysis of policy change includes the conceptualisation of time. In the most simple sense, time is perceived as linear and continuous (Hay, 2002), and not really problematised (Saarinen & Välimaa, 2012). This type of conceptualisation of change could lead to either synchronic or diachronic analysis. Synchronic analysis takes different 'snapshots' in time for comparison while removing the temporal context. The object is analysed much like a photograph without actually trying to understand the processes behind the transformations of different 'photographs' in time. Diachronic analysis focuses on empirically crafting change: 'whether continuous or discontinuous, incremental or punctuating, evolutionary or revolutionary' (Hay 2002, p. 149). I find it useful to think of policy change as empirically crafted, although I also understand change as actively produced and a mere description of change simplifies the phenomenon. In other words, similar to Saarinen and Välimaa (2012), I find that change is not linear and unproblematic but discursively crafted in policy texts.

Internationalisation policies in higher education can be perceived as continuous rather than revolutionary. The changes are rather modest and continuous, which may be explained by institutional stability that higher education institutions have maintained over time (Saarinen & Välimaa, 2012; Välimaa, 2018b). Välimaa (2018b) has highlighted the tensions of continuity and discontinuity in historical studies of universities. He finds that the surface (current reality) rests upon historical layers. While policy ideas in higher education may change, practices within institutions may remain the same (Välimaa, 2018b). In this study, the focus is on policy texts that strive for change even though the change may be rather gradual in contrast to revolutionary change (which refers to change that is disruptive and rapid) (Hay, 2002). An example of an external and disruptive change in internationalisation policies can be found in the global COVID-19 pandemic 2019-2020, which has disrupted international student mobility in an unforeseen manner. This kind of non-human actor (Latour, 2005), a global pandemic, rather rapidly affected the entire policy space. It remains to be seen how this disruption will affect internationalisation policies over time.

Besides conceptualising time in policy change, space also requires conceptualisation as it is often used to produce policy change and explain changes (Saarinen & Välimaa, 2012). In crafting change in policy studies, the internal and external spaces that are perceived to shape internationalisation policies are often defined as micro, meso, and macro scales or as institutional, national, and international levels. The aim of using these types of heuristic devices is to illuminate what triggers change and how policies may have converging tendencies. However, studies indicate that despite the converging tendencies in internationalisation

policies, they are nevertheless developed in internal contexts that are shaped by historical legacies and developed in social, economic, and political traditions and situated contexts (eg. Levatino et al., 2018).

In this study, policy change is understood as being produced in policy contexts and in texts. To produce change in policy text, policies define the spatial and temporal contexts, which is ultimately a political process and an exercise of what Papanastasiou (2019) terms *scalecraft*: employing scales for the purposes of justifying action. These scales are used to interpret and understand change and are productive in nature. In research, they structure the policy context in a somewhat hierarchical direction, even though on many occasions countries actively take part in shaping policies within international organisations. Scales also have a political nature, as they are used by government bodies for political purposes (Papanastasiou, 2019). For example, globalisation as a kind of grand narrative is employed to rationalise the need for change. Similarly, the research field reproduces this narrative in its contextualisation. In studies on internationalisation and international students, some researchers conceptualise change as externally initiated with the concept of globalisation and perceive internationalisation as an internal response to these wider processes (eg. Bolsmann & Miller, 2008).

In this study, periodisation was specifically employed in Article III as a heuristic device to illuminate change. Phillips (2002) posited that a period can be understood as a 'span of time, with a more or less determined beginning and end, during which phenomena may be identified that form some kind of coherent whole, showing "prevalent features or conditions"' (p. 366). While periodisation may appear to be an attractive method of sorting and understanding data, Phillips (2002) highlighted concerns regarding drawing attention to the researcher's subjectivity when analysing past events. In Article III, periodisation was loosely applied but enabled the acknowledgement of more hegemonic ideas and constructions from less focal ones while acknowledging the subjective decision attached to this process. Further, the temporal proximity to the analysed phenomenon changes the lens of the study. The closer the analysed events, the more difficult it is to analyse the significance of each event or an idea in the broader picture.

5.3 Websites and Conceptualising Educational Experiences Abroad

To understand how international student recruitment strategies are communicated to prospective students who are considering studying either in Finland or China, data was collected from four selected websites targeting prospective students. Technological development has enabled new means for accessing information, such as marketing material that is open and publicly available to everyone. Websites are

quite novel as a source of data and the methodological understanding is developing (Lažetić, 2020). For research, this is a valuable source of information pertaining to how education, universities, and students are presented in practice. Similar to policy documents (Bowen, 2009), content for the websites is also developed without researcher intervention and for purposes other than research.

Website data was collected from autumn 2018 until the spring of 2019 from the Study in Finland, Finland University, Study in China, and CUCAS websites in the form of print screens to retain the material. Study in Finland and Study in China were selected because of their national relations, while Finland University and CUCAS are private information providers. In collecting the data, care was taken to retain all the relatively stable content that was needed, as the websites have many sub-pages and interactive content. The collected data only included textual material, with sources such as video clips not included. These websites are perceived as deliberate representations of educational opportunities in these two countries.

Websites targeting prospective international students develop expectations and ideas of education and the future experiences, and are purposeful constructions of educational opportunities in their given contexts. International education (or more specifically the targeted degree abroad) can be perceived as a *singularity* (Jokila, 2019; Karpik, 2010). Singularity refers to a product or service that has a highly personal meaning, such as a doctor or a movie. While singularities are multidimensional, educational providers need to select some aspects of the educational experience offered for marketing purposes. International education (or a degree) is also strategically uncertain, because information on education always remains imperfect for international applicants opting to study abroad and in terms of quality. This is because the value of studying abroad cannot be measured beforehand. Studying abroad for a degree can be defined as an incommensurable experience that cannot be compared, although rankings can be seen as an attempt to rectify this situation. However, there are several initiatives (such as global rankings) that produce and measure different qualities of education and develop hierarchical orders. Although the task of 'matching' the country/institution to the student is a complex issue in many respects, I focus on the representations produced in the websites and the means used to support the provided image.

Websites targeting international students can be seen as mediators in encounters between host countries/universities and prospective students (Cochoy 2007; Cochoy & Dubuisson-Quellier, 2013; Cochoy et al., 2016) and acting as devices transmitting interactions between the provider and prospective student. These websites are produced to draw attention to study opportunities in the given context. Thus, websites aim to what Cochoy (2007) refers to as *captation* the attention of the prospective students: 'the ensemble of the operations which try to exert a hold over, or attract to oneself, or retain those one has attracted' (p. 204).

In their efforts to persuade prospective students, websites also state their position within the global higher education field. In singularity theory, their marketing efforts may take different approaches, including originality and personalisation (Karpik, 2010). The originality model emphasises the special characteristics of the product or service, which is particularly true in artistic work. In education, originality may emphasise some special characteristic of the system, such as the distinctive character of the education system and society. The personalisation model refers to service relations between the service provider and the consumer, which in websites can mean references to students as consumers (Williams, 2013). Websites create expectations that I referred to as capitals from Bourdieu (see also Lomer et al., 2018). Promised relational capitals are meaningful in the field, where prospective students make their decisions about studying that are actualised later in life. Next, I move on to the data analysis processes.

5.4   Data Analysis in Practice

In this study, I have approached policy texts and websites methodologically as places in which meanings in national contexts are produced. These meanings are analysed in line with the guiding questions of what is written, how it is written, and how the message is used to persuade. In this study, I have employed content and rhetorical analysis together with analysing problematisations using Bacchi's (2009) What's the problem represented to be? –approach.

As the core data of this study includes internationalisation strategies, I carefully read these documents in terms of their content, structure, and overall presentation. I used a traditional paper-and-pencil technique for the data analysis and summarised the documents to provide an initial idea of the content and to enable preliminary temporal comparison of the documents.

To analyse rationales for recruiting international students in Article II, the analysis was based on inductive content analysis (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2009). The following citation illuminates how international students in Finland are connected to the reputation of the country:

> The reputation and respect enjoyed by an institution of higher education is difficult to determine and prestige increases solely through international recognition. Our reputation is not enhanced when publications with an international circulation classify Finland as a country with a relatively closed system of higher education merely because of our small number of foreign students (MoE 2001, p. 22).

This citation also demonstrates the complexity attached to international students and their position in the Finnish higher education system. It emphasises the instrumental and national value placed upon international students. The analysed documents are not neat and clear in all their purposes and ideas; hence, it was necessary to scan the data several times and summarise the content from different perspectives. Beside analysing the content of the policy documents, it was apparent when conducting the analysis for Article II that the appearance had changed and the audience for the policy documents had expanded. Hence, I also examined and described the presentation of the policy documents and how they changed from being plain documents to more vivid in presentation with speech bubbles, as well as there being more market-oriented versions in foreign languages.

To understand how internationalisation policy is argued, I used rhetorical analysis (Auld & Morris, 2016; Kakkuri-Knuuttila, 2013). According to Edwards and Nicoll (2001), rhetorical analysis 'involves the study of the ways in which we attempt to persuade or influence in our discursive and textual practices' (p. 105). Rhetorical analysis in policy studies operates in a deliberative genre, which is both future oriented and speculative (Edwards & Nicoll, 2001) aiming to persuade according to given objectives (Nokkala, 2015). Saarinen (2008) defines persuasion as 'intentional language use to present a favourable representation of the world' (p. 344). Here, rhetorical analysis included analysis of rhetorical space where strategies where conducted and rhetorical strategies to appeal to the audience. For example, analysis of the rhetoric space in internationalisation strategies published in 2001 included extensive framing of the carefully crafted historical trajectories that preceded the compilation of the strategy and the present situation. Analysis focused on persuasion strategies. This analysis was again inductive, and a difficulty arose in defining strategies that were practiced in various ways. For instance, on one hand the policy texts employed crisis rhetoric as a textual method to persuade the audience, while on the other hand, documents also employed comparison to reference countries as a more instrumental method. Together with the co-authors we discussed the analysis process.

For the third article, document analysis began by focusing on the selection of data for the study. This was a rather difficult stage in terms of how to detect relevant documents. I used government provided databases and websites and intertextual references used in the documents to detect the documents. The main documents in this article also focused on internationalisation strategies. After this initial inductive stage I continued with deductive analysis of the documents guided by the following themes: the main objectives of IDPs, characteristics and rationales for developing IDPs, means of steering IDPs, and problems associated with IDPs. These themes were selected on the basis of the initial readings. Analysis of policy steering instruments enabled an understanding of the IDPs as the target of conscious policy

formation. Several policy steering instruments were employed to steer the development of the IDPs in Finland. Legislative steering provided a backbone and important information of the kind of position IDPs have had during the period under analysis.

To integrate the analysis further within the problematisation of policy change of the IDPs, Bacchi's (2009) approach was employed to understand how the policy problem is crafted, to develop the need for change, and to determine what kind of repercussions these policies may have for the definitions of students, universities, and education. Employing this kind of problematisation of policy formation enabled me to approach the data through a more critical lens.

To understand the representations and ways to influence prospective international students, websites targeting prospective candidates were analysed with inductive and deductive content analysis. Employing digital material in the form of websites or social media channels is a new but expanding field (Lažetić, 2019). The problems in analysing websites include the somewhat continuous alteration and modification of website content as well as the decisions about what to include in the analysis. The latter point is connected to the infrastructure of the websites: what is actually the *core* content of these websites is what should be analysed, and where continuously modified content (such as news feeds) are included in the analysis, how it should be temporally restricted was also a consideration. My analysis focused on the core content excluding links to other pages and social media sites. To manage continuous modifications, I took print screen images for the analysis and excluded the aforementioned links to other websites.

To analyse the promise of 'capital' in the websites, I drew upon the Bourdieusian notion of capital and applied deductive content analysis. As there were no predefined frameworks for the dispositifs (that is, means to persuade the audience), inductive content analysis was used. Difficulties with website analysis included how to identify a connection between national strategies and website content. For example, nationally embedded cultural representations may serve varying purposes from commercially oriented country branding to interests in soft power policies. Hence, the analysis required more contextualised understanding of the representations and country contexts.

6 Overview of the Articles and Findings

In this chapter, I summarise the findings from the sub-studies of this dissertation. This study is based on four published articles, all of which address separate yet thematically linked analysis on the internationalisation of higher education and international student recruitment.

6.1 National Interests and Chinese Characteristics in the Internationalisation of Chinese Higher Education (Article I)

At the beginning of the 21st century, there were heightened discussions in comparative education on how to understand and analyse educational phenomenon in a globalised world. Inspired by these discussions, this paper took the ideas of Arjun Appadurai on global flows and scapes as a starting point for analysing educational phenomenon (such as the internationalization of higher education) to overcome the heuristic restrictions that limited many other theorisations. In his theorisation, ideas of globalisation rely on mass mediation and migration to form a basis for the connectivity and transformations in the field. According to Appadurai (1996, 2001), the significance of the nation state has decreased its foregrounding of power in the world. Critique for Appadurai's theorisation particularly relies on understanding the continuing significance of the nation state, which is deeply embedded in internationalisation policy. Hence, the focus of this study is China's national interest in internationalisation policy making.

Drawing from previous studies and statistical data, ideas from Appadurai's theorisation are discussed with a focus on one of the scapes—ideoscape. The ideoscape incorporates all the historical, political, and linguistic spaces of actors and activities. To begin, internationalisation in the Chinese context is not unproblematic. Rather, it is actually a contested and sensitive concept that has deep national meanings and ideas relating to the transformative nature of internationalisation and the given historical phase. In this paper, the ideoscape of internationalisation of higher education in China is discussed through four examples, all of which address

the national significance of the particular internationalisation policy. The first example addresses the selective nature of internationalisation in the hierarchical Chinese higher education system. International activities are entitled to access Chinese universities provided they reach a sufficiently high quality criteria. The country has an ambiguous initiative to develop world-class universities funded through Projects 985 and 211 that weight the importance of internationalisation and provide additional funding for the selected universities to develop. The second example contextualises Chinese policy to send their students abroad for further studies to support national development. Over the years, the number of Chinese students has increased and the country faces a brain drain of students. For national development, the policy to send students abroad has been of central interest. The third example is the policy to attract international students to China. Through a historical lens, this has reflected the development of Chinese higher education. The significance of international students to China has increased and been transformed from non-degree to degree students and from language studies to other subjects. In the fourth example, the Confucius Institutes that China has opened in universities abroad are discussed. The aim of these institutes is to exercise a soft power policy by providing language and cultural teaching.

This paper argues that even though the internationalisation of higher education has been particularly affected by globalisation, the nation state remains a focal definer of international activities and framings in the Chinese context, underlining the tight connections between internationalisation policy and internal policy interests. In retrospect, Appadurai's theory served as an inspirational perspective for thinking about national significance of a policy in an increasingly interconnected world.

6.2 Justifications and Persuasion Strategies in International Student Recruitment Policy (Article II)

From an interest in understanding how internationalisation policy texts rationalise and persuade their audience to recruit international students, the second article examines three key internationalisation strategies published in Finland in 2001, 2009, and 2017 using content and rhetorical analyses. All the analysed strategies can be seen as representative of their time and their future policy imaginaries. This paper shows the hybridity of rationalisations attached to international student recruitment policy and the rhetoric strategies employed to support the policy objectives. Besides having changing objectives for international student recruitment, the three analysed strategies also differ in policy text formatting and their target audience.

Analytically, this paper perceives internationalisation strategies as persuasive policy texts that construct ideas of internationalisation and international student recruitment. The decision to use strategy as a format of policy text can be attached to the broader adoption of business vocabulary into public policy discourse, which is also evident in the Finnish context. Strategies as policy texts incorporate a deliberate approach to define the current state of affairs and future objectives while acknowledging the audience with different rhetorical strategies.

Findings suggest that international student recruitment policy in Finland is justified by a hybrid set of rationales including labour force availability, economics, internationalization at home, and the quality and status expected to ensue from recruitment. Finland constructs similar reasoning to many other countries in its policy rationalisation, opting to develop a people-reliant knowledge economy and turning international education into commercial reasoning.

This study also shows that internationalisation strategies employ rhetorical strategies to persuade universities to adopt the recruitment policy. At the beginning of the analysed time period, internationalisation strategies employed neoliberally toned crisis rhetoric to persuade their audience (universities in particular) of the urgency for change. This type of rhetorical strategy turned into emphasising opportunities attached to international education. Such a positive turn emerged in conjunction with an increasing emphasis on commercial opportunities attached to internationalisation, and the emergence of a market-oriented strategy format that extended the audience with new language provisions and rankings that were not present in the Finnish version. Simultaneously, the internationalisation strategy was developed as marketing material for Finnish higher education. This could imply a commercialised approach to internationalisation policy-making.

6.3 Constructing International Degree Programmes from Margins to Commercial Interest in Finland (Article III)

The second article focused specifically on the rationalisation for international student recruitment and how the change was rhetorically constructed in the policy texts. In contrast, the development of international degree programmes in Finland from the marginal activity at the end of the 1980s towards commercial interest in 2018 is described and analysed in Article III. The core data consisted of the four internationalisation plans and strategies accompanied by selected governmental policy documents, laws and regulations, and international programme evaluations. These were examined with inductive and deductive content analyses accompanied by Bacchi's (2009) approach. Article III shows how international degree programmes have developed from a peripheral position to the core of attention in

internationalisation policy with repercussions for understanding the concepts of education, students, and universities.

This study draws on the analysis of policy change aiming to empirically craft change as presented in the policy documents (Hay, 2002) accompanied by periodisation to illustrate these changes (Phillips, 2002). Challenges arose from defining what is significant in a given time frame and called for reflexivity with regard to subjectivity in the interpretation of what is focal in change.

The analysis shows how internationalisation programmes are developed and constructed from a marginal activity to the commercial focus of internationalisation policy through incremental change. However, this change has been contested particularly in terms of the commercial interpretation of international degree programmes. Three periods were identified in the analysis: 1) inauguration of international programmes (from the late 1980s to the late 1990s), 2) structural reform and tight legislative steering (from the early 2000s to the early 2010s), 3) towards commercialisation and privatisation (from the late 2000s onwards). During these phases, international programmes have been proactively steered by the Finnish government to an institutionalised part of the higher education system. The gradual shift that was constructed in internationalisation strategies was accompanied by a set of policy instruments such as other policy documents, legislation, funding, and evaluation. This reoriented international degree programmes as economic and specifically commercial definitions. Persisting challenges noted during the analysed period included marketing and international student integration. Along the way, the constructs of international students, universities, and even the idea of education have been redefined. International students were positioned from being marginal to VIP status, which emphasised service orientation. This kind of discourse also reorients universities as service providers.

6.4 International Student Recruitment Strategies and the Construction of Choice in Finland and China (Article IV)

The final article combines the two country cases and presents an analysis of how international student recruitment strategies are communicated and what kind of study choice is constructed for prospective students.

The recruitment of international students has become a global phenomenon with related information provision for prospective students. This allows applicants to navigate through various sources of information. With technological development, the Internet has enabled new means and faster ways to transmit information related to opportunities for studying abroad, including nationally and institutionally maintained websites. Despite this seemingly open access to excessive amounts of

information, it does not hold equal value or provide equal access to all. Previous work by Lažetić (2019) and Williams (2013) found that information provided for prospective students delivers an overview of education in the given locality. Thus, in this study, the embeddedness (Ozga & Jones, 2006) of the policy in the new locality is assumed. Furthermore, these websites construct expectations for prospective students in the form of choice, potentially developing a type of consumer attitude (Williams, 2013). To understand websites as a mediator in the encounter between host countries/universities and prospective students, Article IV draws from economic sociology (Karpik 2010; Cochoy 2007; Cochoy & Dubuisson-Quellier, 2013; Cochoy et al., 2016).

The aim of this study was to analyse how nationally defined international student recruitment strategies are embedded in the websites, what kind of choice they construct, and how they persuade students to make choices. Data in this article consisted of website content from four providers. Two Finnish websites (Study in Finland and Finland University) and two Chinese websites (Study in China (campuschina.org) and CUCAS) were used. Data were collected as print screens from autumn 2018 until the spring of 2019. These websites were selected based on their connection to the national agencies (Study in Finland and Study in China) or as a private website (Finland University and CUCAS). The data were analysed with content analysis.

The embeddedness (Ozga & Jones, 2006) of the international student recruitment strategy was analysed by comparing the latest national policy documents to the website content. To understand the construct of study choice, the Bourdieusian concept of capital assisted in understanding the expectations created within a context other than that in which it was currently deployed. Relationality was attached to the degree and value perceived from the experience of studying abroad. To highlight the relationality and the expectations constructed in the websites, this study employed capital and specifically four predefined capitals: educational, cultural, economic, and social (Jokila, 2019). Educational capital refers to the extent of and specific references to education. Educational capital is distinguished from cultural capital for heuristic purposes, with the aim of highlighting their different roles given on the websites. Cultural capital refers to ideas and experiences that are culturally embedded. Economic capital is related to work and prosperity, while social capital refers to social relations within the host country. Bourdieu (1993) distinguishes capitals that are inherited and those that are received from other sources. In this study, capital received from other sources is the focus, with the expectations created though constructing choice on websites that target prospective students. To understand how websites captivate (Cochoy, 2007) through distinction or affirmation of their study choice, I identified devices (such as rankings) that were employed on the websites.

The findings suggest that national recruitment strategies are embedded in the websites with some variation between nationally connected and private websites. Finnish websites provide practical information on working in Finland to support skilled immigration objectives. They have a commercial orientation in the way they present the tuition fee structure and institutional scholarships for the best students and from the overall presentation of the websites. Chinese websites draw from soft power policies. For instance, the nationally connected website extensively discusses aspects related to national history and culture along with national scholarship programmes. Private websites are commercially oriented in their presentation of educational offerings. These websites construct a comprehensive study abroad experience, which highlights the nationally embedded cultural experience in the given countries. Private websites also employ dispositifs such as rankings to affirm and differentiate study choices.

7   Discussion

The previous chapter presented and summarised the four articles on which this dissertation is based. In this chapter, I will gather the findings together with a discussion that moves beyond the individual studies and their findings. The content of this study can participate in discussions on the national-international nexus in internationalisation studies by arguing that national interests guide the crafting of internationalisation policy-making. This confirms an argument that was previously developed by Brooks and Waters (2011).

Interest in understanding what motivates countries and universities to recruit international students has been prevalent for some time (eg. Bolsmann & Miller, 2008; Lomer, 2017; Urbanovič et al., 2016). By focusing on internationalisation policies, this study identified the reconfiguration involved in defining national interests to internationalisation and determined that international student recruitment policies were shaped by (and produced with) the help of changing global and national conditions. While internationalisation policy imaginary mostly preserves relevance to national conditions and development, it also extends ideas to beyond national borders and supports Cantwell and Maldonado-Maldonado's (2009) suggestion to understand internationalisation beyond universities response to globalisation. Based on the analysis, internationalisation policy is a deliberate field where countries conduct active policy-making and position themselves within the global higher education field. This imagining is also evident in international student recruitment policies. Thus, the field is a complex arrangement of national interests combined with interest of other actors. During the analysed time period, both analysed countries applied careful policy objectification to develop from rather peripheral positions (initiating international education) to become active position-takers in global education markets. However, they both still lag behind the largest exporting countries of international students (Brooks & Waters, 2011; Marginson, 2008).

Internationalisation policies have always had political significance, either closing or opening possibilities for international interaction (Waters, 2018; Ziguras & McBurnie, 2015). This is evident in all the articles in this dissertation. For example, in the first article I discussed the complexity and ambivalence in the conceptualisation of internationalisation in the Chinese context, pointing out the

extent to which the concept of internationalisation is connoted and how it relates to foreign relations and national self-determination. For China, education has a strong national position that the internationalisation policy closely follows by attaching internationalisation policies to serve the national interest, such as through soft power objectives.

Throughout this study, I aimed to show that internationalisation policies are not detached from wider social, political, and economic histories. Within the past 40 years, both of the analysed countries have developed their internationalisation policies related to international student recruitment from marginal to being core. This transition has occurred jointly with broader societal openings and economic development (Heiskala, 2006; Huang, 2003). The prevailing context has influenced and formulated rationalisations and the position given to international education. Both countries have repositioned themselves from a 'catching up' mentality that focused on internationalising their higher education system with increasing student numbers, to upgrading the system by looking outward and defining their own active positionality within the global higher education field (Marginson, 2008).

In Finland, internationalisation policy has mainly developed and constructed through national rationalisations and development needs that can be contextualised by major societal changes and opening up (such as joining the European Union). This has restructured the higher education system and supported mobility through pro-mobility policies. The inflow (and subsequent active recruitment) of international students has developed from development goals and internationalisers of campuses to emphasise future labour needs and commercial interest. With a deliberate effort of gradual policy experimentation and following closely the policy trajectories in selected countries, Finland positioned itself toward a commercialised interpretation of international education by introducing tuition fees for students outside the EU and EEA countries in programmes taught in foreign languages in 2017. While the policy content was reconfigured, the way policy objectives were presented also changed. For example, policy formatting moved to employ a business vocabulary. In addition, in earlier policy texts, crisis rhetoric was employed to emphasise the urgency of change (Auld & Morris, 2016; Nordin, 2014). Meanwhile, the latest policy emphasises opportunities with a more positively oriented approach. The latest Finnish internationalisation strategy is more market-orientated, especially as the strategy was provided in the form of a short leaflet that included favourable ranking results. This transformation could be a result of the commercial and marketised turn that internationalisation policy has taken.

The analysis of policy changes in IDPs produced in the text and steered through policy instruments exemplifies the characteristics in wider higher education policies. Internationalisation policy that rationalises its objectives through wider societal interests (e.g. labour availability) reflects a pattern that was first identified in the

1990s economic recession. Välimaa (2018b) referred to this as a globalisation shock that connects the higher education system to the interests of society. Universities have now gained more autonomy from the government, which is visible in the transition from steering with legislation and objectives to funding-based instruments (Välimaa, 2018b). In internationalisation policies, having greater autonomy has highlighted universities' responsibility in marketing their educational offerings and the financial input from international activities, such as fees (Jokila, 2020). As Välimaa (2018b) summarised, policy change in Finland can be characterised as continuing and predictable due to a policy preparation process that has resulted in a kind of compromise. In internationalisation policies, including the different stakeholders in the policy crafting processes has allowed different voices in the field to be heard. The policy changes in higher education in general and in internationalisation policy more specifically have been conducted through piloting, which produces knowledge and provides time for adjustment.

International students are recruited for many reasons. Within this hybridity of rationalisations, some prevail more than others at a given time (Rizvi, 2011). When analysing rationales for recruiting international students at a national level, they can be seen as political representations (Waters, 2018) of ideas about the nature of international education and students. International student recruitment rationales and future imaginaries reflect the idea and development of the higher education system and the geo-political positioning of the country. Changes in the way international education is interpreted also imply changes in the type of subjects involved. Analysis of the Finnish data indicates that the perception of international students changed in parallel with increasing commercial interests in international education. While students were in a rather marginal position in the earliest policy documents, international student subjectivity was subsequently reinterpreted through consumerist vocabulary (Williams, 2013) emphasising service orientation, student experience, and satisfaction. Furthermore, the significance of international programmes first developed for the purpose of student exchange was subsequently institutionalised as a focal part of the Finnish higher education system.

As noted previously, the analysed higher education systems differ significantly on many levels. In both countries, the principles embedded in higher education systems are mainly reflected in their internationalisation policies. However, in Finland, internationalisation policies have resulted in greater detachment from the main principles of this equality-centred Nordic country. Moving the internationalisation policy terrain towards commercial and marketised interpretation shifts the actors (including international students and universities) into new positionalities. While this transition of universities becoming entrepreneurial (Slaughter & Leslie, 2001; Slaughter & Rhoades, 1997) has already been widely discussed in previous studies, the detachment of student bodies based on their

geographical and citizenship status is significant (Tannock, 2018). The introduction of tuition fees for students outside the EU and EEA countries created separate student bodies: while some have free education, others pay fees or receive scholarships. Hence, international programmes have transitioned from being a public to a private good (Marginson, 2018) in terms of tuition fee expenses. Meanwhile, the rationalisations for recruiting international students still have public features such as the internationalisation of the higher education system and a future labour force. Furthermore, it needs to be pointed out that international education as such is not a zero-sum game but a more complex arrangement of rationales and gains.

By focusing on policy texts as data, discursive power for producing policy change is of focal interest. I suggest that when internationalisation of higher education is analysed through policy change, the change itself should be problematised. Further, by defining national policy-makers as actors that discursively produce change in policies (Saarinen & Välimaa, 2012) within a deliberately crafted spatio-temporal context, it is possible to perceive internationalisation policy-making as a productive practice that creates and participates in globalisation processes rather than merely being a passive response.

To understand how these international student recruitment policy ideas transition to practice, this study also analysed websites that target prospective international students. The analysis showed how both of the countries communicated and embedded their national recruitment strategies in their websites (Ozga & Jones, 2006). In the Finnish websites, work related opportunities, which can be perceived as an attractive advantage when applying to study, were communicated to the prospective students. In addition, commercial aspects were present in how they presented the fee structures and scholarships and through vocabulary choices. Chinese websites emphasised their national characteristics and the China experience, which can be connected to the aim of creating positive sentiments towards the country. Private Chinese website also displayed a commercial tone in how they presented study choices.

For some time there has been interest in how international study choices are made and based on what information (eg. Lažetić, 2019, 2020; Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002). Making the decision to study abroad is characterised by uncertainty in selecting and knowing about future studies, wondering what the overall experience will be like, and the highly subjective meaning that programmes have for applicants. Hence, international programmes can be defined by what Karpik (2010) refers to as singularities. The education provider creates the education service and provides devices to support the choice for their service. Websites targeting international students communicate international education provision abroad; hence, they can be considered devices for study choice construction. The promises made by websites were analysed as forms of capital (educational, cultural, economic, and social).

Overall, websites showcased a holistic study-abroad experience that emphasised educational and cultural experiences. This reinforces the interpretation that a nationally bounded experience is reproduced. According to Marginson (2008), universities (and countries) that do not possess an established and widely known position in the global education field need to work on their status and position. Despite Finland and China both becoming known more widely for their educational opportunities, their higher education institutions generally do not hold elite positions (such as Harvard and some other universities in the US and the UK). One effort to increase the visibility of countries has been national education branding campaigns, which was also evident in Finland (Country Brand Report, 2010; Schatz, et al., 2017). In particular, private websites employed comparative descriptions, rankings, and student testimonials within their showcasing to identify and affirm study choices.

The limitations of this study relate to the imbalance of sub-studies in the comparative approach, the focus on policy documents and selected websites, and the position of the researcher. As sub-studies in this dissertation have developed over time, and with the emphasis being in Finland, the comparative approach is inevitably unbalanced. Yet, the comparative approach has guided my thinking and made me question some features that otherwise I could have taken for granted. Another limitation of this study relates to data selection. Although the textual documents of this study provide a valuable source of information for analysing policy change in the internationalisation of higher education in Finland and China, they only provide one perspective of the phenomenon and disregard perspectives that could have been gained through other means. In addition, my position as a researcher in a nationally based comparative study is unbalanced. Despite the personal experience of living and studying in China on several occasions and acquiring linguistic capabilities to read documents in Chinese, cultural and societal bias remain a possibility.

For future studies in the field, avenues for new approaches are wide and varied. While this study focused on national representations and ideas constructed in the policy field, it would be an interesting focus to analyse how these national policies are negotiated in the everyday practices of universities. As Välimaa (2018b) points out, despite the changing discursive orientations that were also presented in this study, the universities and all the complex power constellations within the institution may exercise continuity in their practices.

The constantly changing political, economic, and societal contexts, highlight the need to continue analysing internationalisation policies in their wider context. In 2020, internationalisation policies and practices experienced a new situation when the global COVID-19 pandemic disrupted international student mobility. Such a non-human actor (Latour, 2005) has required new national policy responses to adjust to the situation. This has been particularly difficult for those countries and

universities that rely on international students for financial input. This year has also challenged thinking about internationalisation and international student mobility through means other than physical mobility. Prior to the pandemic, pressure on reformulating some aspects of internationalisation policies (particularly related to physical mobility) was already emerging. These non-human actors (Latour, 2005) can direct policy studies into new avenues in the future.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Data.

Year	Author	Title	Format	Articles 1	2	3	4
1987	MoE	*The development of international activities in higher education*	Plan/strategy/guidelines			x	
1990	MoE	*Foreign student working group memo (in Finnish)*	Memorandum			x	
1999	FINHEEC	*Teaching Through a Foreign Language: From Tool to Empowering Mediator*	Evaluation			x	
2001	MoE	*An international strategy for higher education*	Plan/strategy/guidelines		x	x	
2002	MoE	*Report of the committee for the development of university degree structure (in Finnish)*	Memorandum			x	
2003	MoE	*Finland, Russia and international cooperation. Ministry of Education's action plan for 2003-2007 (in Finnish)*	Memorandum			x	
2005	FINHEEC	*A follow-up assessment on foreign language teaching in higher education institutes (in Finnish)*	Evaluation			x	
2005	MoE	*Memorandum on fees for higher education institutes' foreign degree students (in Finnish)*	Memorandum			x	
2005	MoE	*The Ministry of Education's decree on master's degree programmes (in Finnish)*	Decree			x	

Year	Author	Title	Format	Articles			
				1	2	3	4
2006	MoE	*Finland, Asia and international cooperation (in Finnish)*	Memorandum			x	
2007	MoE	*Destination: Asia. Towards goal-oriented educational, research and cultural cooperation with Asian countries*	Memorandum			x	
2009	MoE	*Strategy for the Internationalisation of Higher Education Institutes in Finland 2009–2015*	Plan/strategy/ guidelines		x	x	
2009	MoE	*Universities' Act 558/2009*	Law			x	
2010	MoEC	*National Outline for Medium and Long - Term Education Reform and Development (2010–2020)*	Memorandum				x
2010	MEC	*The Ministry of Education and Culture's decree on temporary fee-based educational programmes*	Decree			x	
2010	MEC[9]	*Publications in foreign languages (in Finnish)*	Memorandum			x	
2010	CBD	*Mission for Finland: How Finland will demonstrate its strengths by solving the world's most wicked problems*	Memorandum			x	
2011	MEC	*Student and researcher housing services in Finnish higher education institutes (in Finnish)*	Memorandum			x	
2012	FINHEEC	*Evaluation of the Bologna Process implementation in Finland*	Evaluation			x	
2012	MoEC	*Plan for Study in China*	Plan				x
2013	FINHEEC	*An evaluation of international degree programmes in Finland*	Evaluation			x	

[9] The Ministry of Education changed its name to Ministry of Education and Culture in 2010 (MEC 2010b).

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				1	2	3	4
2013	MEC	*Finland to the international education markets. Memorandum: Action plan to improve the conditions for education export (in Finnish)*	Memorandum			x	
2013	MEC	*The Ministry of Education and Culture's decree on abolishing the decree on master's degree programmes in universities (in Finnish)*	Decree			x	
2014	MEC	*Follow-up and assessment of higher education institutes' tuition fee experiment*	Memorandum			x	
2016	MEC	*Roadmap for education export 2016–2019*	Plan/strategy/ guidelines			x	
2017	MEC	*Working together for the world's best. Policies on promoting internationality in higher education and research 2017–2025 (in Finnish)*	Plan/strategy/ guidelines		x	x	x
2017	MEC	*Action plan report for global education brand Finland*	Report			x	
2018	MEC	*Experiences of the tuition fees in 2017–2018—interim report by the working group of monitoring and assessment*	Report			x	
2018-2019		Study in Finland	Print screen material from the website				x
2018-2019		Finland University	Print screen material from the website				x
2018-2019		Study in China	Print screen material from the website				x
2018-2019		CUCAS	Print screen material from the website				x

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