UNIVERZA V LJUBLJANI

FAKULTETA ZA DRUŽBENE VEDE

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# Pogojna prijaznost – študija (post)kolonialnega diskurza in nacionalne identitete med študenti dveh finskih univerz

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Magistrsko delo

Ljubljana, 2016

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*In loving memory of:*

*Michele Nicolson*

*(1971 – 2015)*

*Who worked so hard on the things that are so hard to work on.*

**Pogojna prijaznost – študija (post)kolonialnega diskurza in nacionalne identitete med študenti dveh finskih univerz**

Glavni namen tega magistrskega dela je raziskovati, kakšne oblike oz. artikulacije izjemniškega diskurza je moč zaznati v odgovorih študentov dveh finskih univerz na vprašalnik o internacionalizaciji visokega šolstva. Pojem finskega izjemništva se v tej nalogi nanaša na kompleks samo-konstitutivnih diskurzivnih praks, politik in samo-percepcij, ki hkrati potrjujejo in konstruirajo podobo finske družbe in finskih nacionalnih subjektov kot etično, kulturno, in »moralno superiornih« (Rastas 2012, 100).

Kot glavno orodje analize in predstavitve rezultatov je bila izbrana Paulstonova (1994; 1996; 1999) družbena kartografija z namenom, da predstavljeni rezultati ne bi bili razumljeni v smislu predstavitve 'objektivne' podobe o finskih študentih, njihovih samo-percepcijah ter percepcijah o njihovih Drugih, temveč da bi ugotovitve te raziskave odprle prostor za širšo razpravo in globje raziskovanje izjemništva oziroma izjemniškega diskurza ter vplivov, ki jih izjemniški diskurz ima na vzdrževanje in reprodukcijo binarnih, hierarhičnih odnosov med 'nami' in 'njimi'.

Študija izjemništva v tej raziskavi je tako poskušala predvsem nasloviti nekatere od pomislekov in kritik avtorjev s področja tako antropoloških študij, kot tudi post-kolonialnih, post-strukturalističnih in psihonalitskh teorij, ki se nanašajo na vlogo, ki jo kultura igra kot nadomestek biološke rase v sodobnih družbah v smislu zagotavljanja nove kategorične podlage za nadaljevanje in vzdrževanje hierarhičnih, rasno motiviranih razlikovanj.

Za potrebe raziskave je bil razvit tristopenjski model analize razpoložljivih vprašalnikov, katerega namen je bil zagotoviti; i) predstavitev splošnega družbenega in osebnega oz. družinskega ozadja študentov; ii) razviti splošno kartografijo diskurzivnega polja, znotraj katerega se artikulirajo posamezne izjemniške diskurzivne prakse; iii) razviti bolj natančno kartografijo različnih artikulacij izjemništva, združenih pod akronimom S.I.L.E.N.C.E.

Na podlagi tako izsledkov analize vprašalnikov, kakor na podlagi del Balibarja (1991), Bonilla-Silve (2006), Goldberga (2002; 2009) in številnih drugih avtorjev, ki pišejo o novih, subtilnih oblikah rasizma, ta raziskava zagovarja tezo, da teh subtilnih oblik rasizma oz. rasno motiviranega diskurza ne gre jemati kot neke vrste odklonskosti ali pomanjkljivosti neustrezno izobraženih modernih subjektov (najsi bodo študentje ali ne), temveč prej kot 'normalne', celo konstitutivne elemente njihove/naše osebnosti, kot to utemeljujejo številni avtorji z različnih področij teoretske psihoanalize (Žižek 1985; Žižek 1991; Bhabha 1994; Kapoor 2014).

**Ključne besede:** diskurz, izjemništvo, Finska, moderni subjekt, subtilni rasizem.

**Conditional kindness – a study of (post)colonial discourse and national identity among students of two Finnish universities**

The purpose of this research was to explore what kind of articulations of exceptionalist discourse, i.e. narratives and perceptions about the self, the nation and the Other are observable in Finnish students' responses to the survey on internationalization of higher education that was carried out within the *Ethical Internationalisation in Higher Education* project. Finnish exceptionalism is in this research understood as a complex set of self-constitutive discursive practices, policies and self-perceptions that construct and re-affirm an image of the Finnish society and Finnish national subjects as ethically, culturally and "morally superior" (Rastas 2012, 102).

The research employs Roland Paulston's (1994; 1996; 1999) social cartography as the main tool for analysis and organisation/presentation of results, with the intention that the results would not be considered as portraying an objective or 'accurate' picture about Finnish students and their perceptions about themselves and their Other(s), but that the findings would open some space for further debate and deeper exploration of exceptionalist narratives and the kind of consequences their perpetuation has on the ongoing reproduction of binary hierarchies of worth in relations between 'us' and 'them'.

The study of exceptionalism in this research thus above all aims to address some of the shared concerns and critiques about the way culture has replaced biological race in terms of providing a new categorical orientation for continuous racialized, hierarchical differentiations that continue to be raised within anthropology and also by various scholars from post-colonial, post-structuralist and psychoanalytical theory.

Informed by their insights, a three-level analysis of available data was performed with the purpose of providing; i) a general context about the social and personal background of students; ii) a general mapping of the discursive field in which exceptionalist tendencies are being articulated; iii) a more precise mapping of different articulations of exceptionalism, brought together under the acronym S.I.L.E.N.C.E.

Drawing lessons from both the analysis of data and the works of that Balibar (1991), Bonilla-Silva (2006), Goldberg (2002; 2009) and many others that have written about the subject of new, subtle forms of racism, the research attempts to argue that these subtle forms of racism or racialized discourse should not be taken as aberrations or malfunctioning of mis-educated modern subjects (whether they be students or not), but rather as 'normal', even constitutive elements of their/our personality, as argued by scholars from various fields of theoretical psychonalysis (Žižek 1985; Žižek 1991; Bhabha 1994; Kapoor 2014).

**Key words:** discourse, exceptionalism, Finland, modern subject, subtle racism.

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# Introduction

This research would not have happened without me being given the opportunity to become part of the *Ethical Internationalization in Higher Education* (*EIHE*) research project, hosted by the '*Education, Ethics, Diversity and Globalization'* (EDGE) research group at the University of Oulu Finland. The project that ran between September 2012 and July 2016, was funded by the Finnish Academy of Science and led by prof. Vanessa Andreotti. The purpose of the project was to explore how epistemic difference, transnational literacies and notions of global citizenship and social responsibility are constructed in internationalization processes of higher education, especially in light of increasing drives for commodification and marketization under neoliberal imperatives for employability, mobility and increased competitiveness.

The project included 23 Universities from across the world, two of which were from Finland. I joined the project as an associate researcher in January 2015 and have remained part of the project team until the project's end. My responsibilities within the project were mostly related to the analysis of student surveys that represented merely one of the various modes of inquiry that were developed within the *EIHE* project.

Drawing on the scholarship of Biesta (2007), Khoo (2011) and Simons and Masschelein (2009), the rationale for the project was established against the backdrop of rising concerns about the diminishing role of university as a public space that intensified in the time of multiple crises and corresponding increasing pressure on the universities for internationalization, driven by market and/or profit-oriented interest. Although the project team featured a highly diverse group of scholars from various theoretical backgrounds the main theoretical framework of the project was grounded in postcolonial and decolonial theories (Said 1978; Bhabha 1994; Quijano 1999; Chakrabarty 2000; Spivak 2002; Mignolo 2002).

Though my interest in postcolonial and decolonial critiques predates the time of me joining the project, the project presented me with a rare opportunity to explore the value of some of that theory in research practice. In terms of developing the theoretical framework for this research I was highly influenced by Sousa Santos' (2007, 72) emphasis on the incompleteness and situatedness of all knowledge and above all by his metaphor of "abyssal thinking" that was also one of the central metaphors that guided the research team in the *EIHE* project. For Sousa Santos (2007):

> *Modern Western thinking is an abyssal thinking. It consists of a system of visible and invisible distinctions, the invisible ones being the foundation of the visible ones. The division is such that 'the other side of the line' vanishes as reality becomes nonexistent, and is indeed produced as non-existent. /…/ What most fundamentally characterizes abyssal thinking is thus the impossibility of the co-presence of the two sides of the line. To the extent that it prevails, this side of the line only prevails by exhausting the field of relevant reality. Beyond it, there is only nonexistence, invisibility, non−dialectical absence.* (Sousa Santos 2007, 45)

It was Sousa Santos' metaphor of abyssal thinking that got me interested in exploring how production of a certain kind of knowledge makes other kinds of knowledge(s) impossible. In terms of exploring various articulations of Finnish exceptionalism and the kind of perceptions Finnish students hold about themselves, their national identity and their Other(s) the idea of abyssal thinking was always at the back of my mind, encouraging me to explore not just what is being said, but above all how that which is (not) being said (or thought) makes a different kind of relationship with knowledge, the world and people around us impossible. Although I do not believe that this research could be seen as contributing significantly to development of epistemic pluralism or what Sousa Santos (2015, 201) refers to as an "ecology of knowledges", I do believe that is only by questioning our own epistemic assumptions that we might (or not) be able to see things that we usually consider as 'known' in a somewhat different light.

Considering recent developments in Europe, such as the general rise in nationalist tendencies, articulated through newer and newer form of racialized discourse, especially in places and countries that like to perceive themselves as strongholds of humanism, egalitarianism and innocence, the choice of topic for this research in a way seemed both self-evident and long overdue. And although this research focuses on articulations of exceptionalism in Finland, it should not be taken as attempt to vilify either Finnish students or the Finnish people in general. My intention above all was to encourage a debate on how exceptionalist discourses and constant re-affirmations of various of hierarchies of worth between 'us' and 'them' remain inextricably tied to our self-perceptions, our identity and to our desires for positive image crafting. Neither of which could be possibly considered as exceptionally Finnish.

# 1 An overview of key arguments and authors

The following paragraphs present briefly an overview of different chapters and the rationale behind them. This research begins with a presentation of the theoretical framework that is grounded in postcolonial, decolonial and poststructuralist critiques of what Balibar (1991, 22) refers to as "theories of cultural difference", among which he also counts (cultural) anthropology. The main argument of the group of scholars, presented in the first section is that insofar anthropology is unwilling to engage with the subject of (neo)colonial relations, in particular by turning its focus of attention and critical inquiry upon the role that countries and people of global North continue to play in the perpetuation of neo-colonial global imaginaries and relations, it remains complicit with the (neo)colonial project. In other words, authors gathered in this group could be understood as largely suggesting a need for anthropology to turn its gaze away from study of the 'Other' towards the study of what kind of hierarchical relations *towards* the Other have been historically established and how they continue to be reproduced today. Key authors in this section are Edward Said (1978, 1998) whose work inspired many changes in anthropological thought and method, and Etienne Balibar (1991) whose work on (neo)racism in Europe is of particular relevance for the subject of this study.

The second groups of authors, gathered under the section *Anthropology, psychoanalysis and the modern (neo)colonial subject* explores how modern subjects remain inextricably constituted and self-defined by the construction of their relationship to the Other. Key authors in this section are Homi Bhabha (1984; 1994), Slavoj Žižek (1998; 2000; 2002) and Fiona McAllan (2014) who explore from different viewpoints our (libidinal) investments and attachments to various structures of inequality and violence that sustain the binaries of superiority/inferiority between the modern subject and his/her Other. Both Bhabha and McAllan argue – from different standpoints that what terrifies the (neo)colonial modern subject the most is the potential equality of the Other. This equality needs to be negated for the relational construction of the self and Other to be in place. The central argument of this section is that it is the fear of equality that drives and necessities a continuous reproduction and insistence on *difference*.

The third section in the theoretical chapter introduces the works of several authors that work on exploring and demystifying exceptionalist narratives in the Nordic region. Key among these

is professor of anthropology Kristin Loftsdóttir (2008; 2012; 2015) whose work bridges anthropology and postcolonial theory. This section introduces the concept of exceptionalism to the research and explores what kind of exceptionalist narratives are being reproduced (and for what purpose) in the broader Nordic region, but also in particular in Finland.

Methodological chapter presents first the three different levels of analysis, undertaken in this research, before it introduces social cartography (Paulston 1994, 1999) as the main method of inquiry and organisation of data. Social cartography was chosen as the main method of analysis in attempt to address Said's (1998) and Tresch's (2001) critique of anthropological (and Western sciences' in general) insistence on representation (of the Other), thereby necessarily contributing to his/her ongoing exoticization and entrapment in discursive/epistemic silencing. The main argument of the methodological chapter is that social cartography could be potentially used as a *post-representational* tool, whose ambition is not to 'accurately' or 'objectively' represent the subject of its inquiry, but rather to make visible otherwise acknowledged and overlooked tendencies and articulations that contribute to reproduction of systemic/structural inequalities. The last section in this chapter explains the way social cartography is used in this research and presents two analytical matrices, according to which students responses were mapped and analysed.

The analytical chapter offers a multi-layered presentation of the data, beginning with some basic demographic traits and information about personal/social background of students. The purpose of the first level of analysis is to provide a general context of the social background of students and level of their (previous) encounter with (cultural/ethnic) diversity. The second level analysis presents the mapping of data onto the main *EIHE* social cartography with the purpose of charting the general discursive field in which exceptionalist narratives are being articulated. The third and final level of the analysis presents the mapping of data onto the S.I.L.E.N.C.E. cartography that was developed with the purpose of outlining and grouping together certain key characteristics of exceptionalist narratives that were observable in students' responses.

The concluding chapter offers a general overview of the findings and re-examines them in relation to the theoretical framework. The chapter also raises some questions for further debate and discusses the limitations of this research.

# 2 Theoretical framework

This chapter is dedicated to discussing the positionality of this work in the context of the general field of anthropology, outlining some historic heritage of anthropological interests and approaches that inspired this study as well as selected post-colonial critiques of anthropology as a discipline that has contributed significantly to the exoticization of the 'Other'. Further, this chapter discusses some recent trends in anthropology, such as the collaboration between anthropology and post-colonial studies that are of special value for research on exceptionalism in Nordic countries – and subsequently in Finland, as they illustrate the specific position the countries of the Nordic region held and still hold in the context of the colonial encounter.

In many ways this research could be seen as an attempt to both pay homage to the long history of collaboration between psychoanalysis and anthropology that could be traced to the works of Malinowski in the UK and the trio Sapir-Benedict-Mead that worked in the US in the first half of the 20th century (Godina 1998, 205–239 ) and as an attempt to learn from post-colonial and post-structuralist critiques (Said 1978; Said 1989; Balibar 1991; Bhabha 1994; Mignolo 2007) of various "theories of cultural difference" (Balibar 1991, 22), which are specifically relevant for anthropology in a globalized world, facing multiple crises, and consequently ever increasing (im)migration.

## 2.1 Anthropology, post-colonial critiques and the problem of representation

In his discussion of postcolonialism and anthropology Rea (2010, 182) suggests that the idea that the discourses of anthropology and postcolonialism should "sit together in a general readers is both essential and problematic," since "anthropology more than any other discipline, has been the target of criticism of postcolonial scholars." A review of the discipline's history leaves little doubt that the period of first classic works in anthropology was dominated by theories of cultural (Tylor in the UK) and social (Morgan in the US) evolutionism, social Darwinism, Marxist evolutionism and early functionalism (Godina 1998, 43–44). Although later approaches to anthropology emerged precisely out of critique of various evolutionisms,

according to Godina (ibid.) the assumption of cultural or social evolutionism remained until today the "dominant matrix of understanding of the relationship between 'us' and 'them' – at least in spontaneous anthropology," or what could be in psychoanalytic terms (Bhabha 1994) referred to as the spontaneous relationship between the Self and his/her Other. This matrix of understanding that presupposes a hierarchy of relations between 'us' and 'them' – based upon the discourse of development (Kapoor 2014), manifests itself in a form of widely spread, although contested global imaginary (Steger 2008; Andreotti 2015). This imaginary is articulated through a variety of constructed relational dichotomies between: developed and developing countries, North – South, First and Third World, West and the Rest, Old and New Europe and in recent times more and more often between: (national) citizens and immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers.

Although these categories have been recognized and (at least on a theoretical and partially also on a political level) problematized, their influence on spontaneous perceptions about the self and the Other have not diminished. Bhabha (1994), drawing on Lacanian psychoanalysis, suggests that the self of the modern (liberal) subject is founded precisely on the ambivalent relationship towards its Other, therefore these categories *cannot* be undone, without undoing the modern subject (as we know it) with them.

Similarly to Godina's (1998, 43–44) argument on "spontaneous anthropology", Balibar (1991: 19) considers both "spontaneous theorization of the masses" and what he refers to as "academic racism" as being driven by "will to know, a *violent desire* for immediate *knowledge* of social relations."[1] Both for Balibar and Bhabha it is the desire for knowing oneself (through knowing your Other) that fuels the need for differentiation and contributes to a continuous production of an exoticized or differentialized Other. In this regard Balibar could be seen as echoing Bhabha's (1994)[2] central thesis that the self and the Other are inextricably entwined in a mesh of mutual self-definition – being both defined by their relationship to each other, however, instead of focusing his attention on the relationality between the self and the Other (as Bhabha does), Balibar (1991, 19–25) explores how theories of cultural difference

[1] Italics in original.

[2] As Bhabha's work will discussed in more detail in the next section on anthropology and psychoanalysis it will not be discussed in more depth here, although his reflections hold significant value for the discussion of the relationship between anthropology and post–colonial theory.

contributed to the production of academic racism, where culture replaced (biological) race as an explanatory principle of the difference between 'us' and 'them'.

For Balibar (1991, 18) "racist theories are indispensable in the formation of the racist community. There is in fact no racism without theory (or theories)." Whether these theories emanate from the elites (as argued by Bonilla-Silva 2006) or from dominated classes – in forms of what Balibar (1991, 19) considers "spontaneous theorization", is for Balibar of lesser importance, instead he directs his attention to rationalizations of racism by intellectuals through practices of what he (Balibar 1991) calls "theory-building of academic racism (the prototype of which is the evolutionist anthropology of 'biological' races developed at the end of the nineteenth century) in the crystallization of the community which forms around the signifier, 'race'" (Balibar 1991, 19).

Balibar explores how theories of academic racism in different guises (from social Darwinism, anthropological theories of cultural difference, to various anti-discriminatory approaches of social psychology), regardless of their potentially benevolent intentions, remain trapped in mimicking "the way in which scientific discursivity relates 'visible facts' to 'hidden causes' and thus connect up with a spontaneous process of theorization inherent in the racism of the masses" (Balibar 1991, 19). The racist complex of both academic racism and 'spontaneous theorization of the masses' is for Balibar (ibid.) motivated and driven by two factors; first is a *misrecognition* of origins and agents of violence (usually attributed to those outside the racialized national body)[3], second is the "will to know, a *violent desire for* immediate *knowledge* of social relations"[4] (ibid.). For Balibar (ibid.) these two functions are mutually sustaining as they emerge from the "distressing enigma" of collective violence that "require/s/ an urgent explanation for it/self/." Balibar (1991) further claims that:

> *historically effective racist ideologues have always developed 'democratic' doctrines which are immediately intelligible to the masses and apparently suited from the outset to their supposed low level of intelligence, even when elaborating elitist themes. In other words, they have produced doctrines capable of providing immediate*

[3] Although Balibar (1991: 19) claims that without misrecognition "violence would not be tolerable to the very people engaging in it", psychoanalytical theorists such as Žižek (2002) and Kapoor (2012) would argue that knowledge of violence is hardly a safeguard against its enactment, since we often enjoy precisely in what is considered forbidden, transgressive or amoral.

[4] Italics in original.

> *interpretative keys not only to what individuals are experiencing but to what they are in the social world.* (Balibar 1991, 19)

Although Balibar acknowledges the contributions of anthropological culturalism (and other theories of cultural difference) that are oriented towards recognition of equality and diversity of all cultures towards various hegemonic, imperialist and outright ethnocidal policies, his main argument (Balibar 1991, 22) is that theories of cultural differentiation can be interpreted and used in a way that displaces nature and biology as sources of hierarchical stratification with culture that "*can also function like a nature"*[5] in the sense that it can "function as a way of locking individuals and groups into a genealogy, into a determination that is immutable and intangible in origin" (ibid.). This displacement for Balibar (ibid.) leads to a creation of assumptions that "insurmountable cultural difference is our 'natural milieu', the atmosphere indispensable to us if we are to breathe the air of history" and that "the abolition of that difference will necessary give rise to defensive reactions, 'interethnic' conflicts and a general rise in aggressiveness" (ibid.).

In *Culture,* a critical review of the way culture became the central concept in American (cultural) anthropology, Kuper (1999) explores many of the problematic aspects that the concept of culture continues to evoke in today's society, cultural anthropology, cultural studies and in various theoretical strands of multiculturalism. Substantiating Balibar's (1991, 19) claim about "historically effective racist ideologues", and drawing on his personal experience in apartheid-era South Africa and his research on the history of the relationship between anthropology and apartheid, Kuper (1999) argues that as early as in 1929, W.W.M. Eiselen, whom Kuper (1999, xiii) describes as the "intellectual architect" of apartheid, argued that "not race, but culture was the true basis of difference, the sign of destiny. And cultural differences were to be valued" (ibid.). According to Kuper (ibid.) In apartheid-era South Africa, cultural exchange was not considered as desirable, because it would threaten the integrity of cultural traditions, whose historical development was considered of value.

Although many attempts have been made since in cultural anthropology and other scientific disciplines to develop non-essentializing understandings of culture, or even to explain culture away as a mere construct, Kuper (1999, 232–247) argues that these attempts have ultimately

[5] Italics in original.

failed and that multiculturalist theories of today continue to insist on cultural difference and thus remain caught up in the politics of cultural identity, even amongst critical multicultural theorists. Kuper (1999, 238–239) suggests that although "critical multiculturalists /…/ shy away from the conclusion that identity is primordial, inherited, even biologically given /…/ they are committed to the value of difference, and cannot do without something like the ideas of culture and identity." Kuper (1999, 240) argues that it has become popular for culture "to serve as a politically correct euphemism for race," especially in the United States. Drawing on Michaels (1995), Kuper (1999, 241) suggests that "the modern concept of culture is not a critique of racism /but rather/ is a form of racism. And, in fact, as scepticism about the biology of race has increased, it has become – at least among intellectuals – the dominant form of racism" (Michaels, cited in Kuper 1999, 241). Kuper (1999, 242), much like Balibar (1991), specifically warns about "the cult of difference, which seems at times to be the one undisputed value" (Kuper 1999, 242). In this regard, Kuper (1999, 246–247) is particularly critical of various attempts at using culture as the single (undifferentiated) explanatory principle for social behaviour that invariably result in (essentializing) forms of cultural determinism. He concludes that there is "a moral objection to culture theory. It tends to draw attention away from what we have in common instead of encouraging us to communicate across national, ethnic and religious boundaries, and to venture between them" (Kuper 1999, 247).

However, in her book *Global idea of race* Denise da Silva (2007) argues that humanism behind statements of commonalities is already grounded in historical hierarchy of traits related to rationality and civilization, which are also cultural and racist, but made invisible due to the power of their normativity. In this sense the attempts to overcome racism have been traditionally locked in a circular discussion between prioritization of difference or of commonalities. While it is not my intention to propose a solution to this impasse, decolonial critiques of modern and liberal subjectivities (Abram 1997; Viveiros de Castro 1998; 2004a; 2004b; McAllan 2014) have also gestured towards other ontological non-anthropocentric horizons of entanglement (rather than separability) that decentre both humanism and identity politics, and where our relationships are not seen as mediated by identity, commonalities knowledge, understanding or deliberation.

Concerns about cultural determinism and differentialism, similar to Balibar's and Kuper's, have been raised ever since Said's (1978) *Orientalism* delivered such a fundamental critique

of epistemic hegemony to Western (social) science, in particular to disciplines such as international relations, literature and anthropology. However, for some of the authors (presented in this section) it remains questionable, whether these concerns *can* even be addressed or not.

In *Orientalism* Said (1978/2003, 2) writes of Orientalism as "a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident.'" For Said (ibid.) Orientalism was considered as typical framework for a mass of authors that developed "elaborate theories, epics, novels, social descriptions, and political accounts concerning the Orient, its people, customs, 'mind', destiny, and so on." However, more important than the specific focus on the subject of the Orient (of which Said had extensive knowledge from 'both Worlds'), was Said's capacity to demonstrate how Orientalism (and similar other notions) works as mechanism of differentiation that essentialized the peoples of Arab peninsula / Middle East and that provided a rationalization for European colonialism based on a self-serving history in which "the West" constructed "the East" as both inherently deficient and inferior, but above all *different*.

Much like his successors (Bhabha and Balibar), Said could also be read as one of the explorers of how Orientalist notions (or narratives about the Other) have been used (as early as in the 1850s) as self-defining references for modern subjects. Thus for instance, according to Said (1978/2003, 193) travel in the Orient was considered by writers of the colonial era as important to "moulding of your character—that is, your very identity, but in fact this turns out to be little more than solidifying 'your' anti-Semitism, xenophobia, and general all-purpose race prejudice." Perhaps the greatest contribution of Said's work was his capacity to demonstrate how various articulations of Orientalism evolved and changed over time, and above how they are not a matter of the past, but how their influence continues to be felt today, in different kinds of essentialized representations of people from Middle East and other parts of the world.

As a kind of an acknowledgment to Said that he touched upon some of the key problems in anthropology – that is its insistence on cultural differentiation, and perhaps more importantly on cultural *representation* (through anthropological texts), Clifford (1988) extended Said's notion of *Orientalism* to the problem of totalizing and essentializing representations of *any* culture, which lead him to question the validity of the very concept of culture as such. In his

*The predicament of culture* Clifford (1988, 274) went as far as to suggest that: “It may be true that the culture concept has served its time.” Clifford (1988, 273) also suggest that, if culture is to remain a relevant concept in anthropological research it should be understood not as “organically unified or traditionally continuous but rather as negotiated, present processes.” Clifford was certainly not first among anthropologists to suggest a different understanding of culture (in response to post-colonial critiques), although critics, such as Kuper (1999, 242) would later question the depth and sensibility of his project.

Geertz, whose work was regarded highly (at least initially) also by Said (1978/2003, 327) himself, in his *Interpretations of culture* (Geertz 1973) suggested a similar moving away from classical approaches in anthropology in favour of interpretative anthropology that “shuns formal structures in favour of the anthropologist’s self-reflexive voice” (Rea 2010, 192). In his conceptualization of ‘thick description’ (Geertz 1973, 310–323), that Geertz borrowed and developed from the work of Gilbert Ryle, Geertz argues for a concept of culture that is for him (Geertz 1973, 311) “essentially a semiotic one.” For Geertz (ibid.) anthropology should not adopt the analysis of “experimental science in search of a law, but an interpretative one in search of meaning.” Although Geertz (1973) referred to ethnography as the key anthropological method when developing his interpretative approach – while the approach used in this research is social cartography (Paulston 1994, 1999), which has little in common with ethnography, Geertz’s emphasis on making the interpretative voice of the researcher clearly visible, is considered as one of the guiding principles in this research as well. According to Rea (2010, 192) Geertz’s interpretative anthropology opened the door to “textualist anthropology” that was inspired by Said’s critique of orientalist discourse. The textual turn has “reinvigorated anthropological thinking about the status of the other, and about the way in which anthropological representation constructed views of the other” (Rea 2010, 194).

Treating anthropology as a text in itself was an important part of this textual turn and *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Etnography* (ed. Clifford and Marcus, 1986) was arguably one of the most influential books that exposed anthropology to a considerable dose of self-reflective critique. According to Rea (2010, 194) “*Writing culture* caused a great deal of anger within the discipline, especially within an anthropology wedded to the notion of sociological objectivity.” *Writing culture* had a considerable impact on opening up anthropology to various (postmodern and other) critiques, but above all had “brought back to the fore debates over

rationality and relativism which had played a background role throughout the history of anthropology" (Rea 2010, 194), which could be considered as going on to this very day. It is precisely this oscillation between tendencies for over-representation (of rationalistic determinism / essentialism) and under-representation (of deconstructivist relativism) that dictated my choice of what could be considered *post-representational* social cartography (Paulston 1994, 1999) as the method for this research. The chapter on methodology explicates this approach in more detail and presents also some arguments why social cartography (deployed in a post-representational sense) could be considered as an attempt that tries to honour both the methodological and theoretical rigour of structuralist and functionalist approaches to anthropology *and* the interpretative openings and de-essentializing efforts of post-structuralist (or post-colonial) approaches.

However, the-postcolonial critique and the ensuing post-colonial turning in anthropology have influenced more than just my choice of methodology, they also influenced considerably my choice of the subject of research. Again Said (1989) could be considered as one of the key scholars that were among the first to articulate a need for a re-focusing of anthropology away from the traditional anthropological 'Other' towards a place, much closer to 'home'. In his *Representing the Colonized: Anthropology's Interlocutors* Said (1989) argued for two main things. First was the already mentioned problem of representationalist tendencies in anthropology that according to Said still plagued a lot of anthropological scholarship that followed in Geertz's footsteps. Second was anthropology's insistence upon the Other as the subject of its study and the resulting refusal to critically explore the ongoing imperial project. Although originally supportive of Geertz's (early) work Said (1989) considered the textualist turn in anthropology as leading to a situation where:

> *It is irresistible to argue that the vogue for thick descriptions and blurred genres acts to shut and block out the clamor of voices on the outside asking for their claims about empire and domination to be considered. The native point of view, despite the way it has often been portrayed, is not an ethnographic fact only, is not a hermeneutical construct primarily or even principally; it is in large measure a continuing, protracted, and sustained adversarial resistance to the discipline and the praxis of anthropology (as representative of "outside" power) itself, anthropology not as textuality but as an often direct agent of political dominance.* (Said 1989, 219–220)

In this regard Said could be considered as critiquing textualist and interpretative anthropology for being responsible for a certain kind of an academic 'drowning out' of the possibility of the native (Other's) view to expressed through drawing too much attention to itself and its interpretative practice – in other words: to its own voice, rather than acknowledging and engaging with complex political realities of the ongoing imperial project, the complicity of anthropology in it and the still widespread absence of the Other's voice. Said (1989) was very clear that in his opinion the turn of anthropological interest towards work on discourse and textuality – as long as it remained mired in the ever more sophisticated representations of the Other, (in new ways) re-affirmed the old colonial/imperial distinction between the epistemic authority of the ethnographer and epistemic silence(ing) of the Other. For Said (1989, 213) anthropology that did not engage with ongoing power relations within the imperial project was condemned to participate in its perpetuation, if by no other means by the very act of not speaking about it. In Said's view new approaches in anthropology could lead to nowhere, but more dead ends, since "there is no discipline, no structure of knowledge, no institution or epistemology that can or has ever stood free of the various sociocultural, historical, and political formations that give epochs their peculiar individuality" (Said 1989, 211).

Being a Foucauldian, well aware of the problems of historicity of knowledge and science, Said (1989, 210) openly admitted that he has no new methodological approach to offer, no solutions that would lead to a disentanglement of hegemonic structures of knowledge production, rather he merely wished to "expresses only desperation at the possibility of ever dealing seriously with other cultures." For him even (at the time) new approaches, such as indigenous anthropology, remained ultimately tied to imperialism, replicating the same hierarchical structures, only this time through what from him (Said 1989, 213) seemed to be an "ominous trend" of "fetishization and relentless celebration of 'difference' and 'otherness'" (ibid.). This leads us to Said's second concern – the anthropology's insistence upon the Other as the subject of its study and the subsequent refusal to acknowledge the existence of and complicity in the imperial project. For Said it was of crucial importance for anthropology to realize that "to practice anthropology in the United States is therefore not just to be doing scholarly work investigating 'otherness' and 'difference' in a large country; it is to be discussing them in an enormously influential and powerful state whose global role is that of a superpower" (Said 1989, 213).

Without turning its research gaze upon the question of power relations within the broader imperial project, anthropology for Said continued to remain entangled with it – by (silently) constructing an image of academic innocence (which for Said was not considered possible or tenable). Although Said (ibid.) in this case referred specifically to anthropology in the US, he was equally critical of European anthropologists. Developments in recent years brought new challenges in terms of abandonment of Said's 'fetishization of difference'. Icelandic anthropologist Kristín Loftsdóttir (2015, 252), whose work is presented in more detail in section 2.3, argues that in order for the indigenous people to retain their rights, they have to "homogenize their cultural identities in coherence with /…/ historical Western stereotypes." Elsewhere Loftsdóttir (2008) argued that old stereotypes of indigenous people as fundamentally primitive and/or lacking of civilization, culture and intelligence have been replaced by newer (more positive) imaginary, but that even these new perceptions remain grounded in previous stereotypes, albeit in a much nicer camouflage.

To return to the discussion of the history of mutual engagement between anthropology and post-colonial scholarship, it would seem that in the 1990s, anthropology responded to post-colonial critiques with an attempt to re-evaluate the analysis of culture within a post-colonial state (Rea 2010, 196). Apter (1999) argues that development of analytical frameworks that made possible the study of colonial discourse within different (localized) domains of expressions of colonial power were key to these new orientations in anthropology. According to Apter (1999) anthropologists began to invest considerable effort into exploring how (discursive) fictions and inventions of colonial power translated into social facts with real consequences, but also what kind of resistance strategies were developed in local cultures against the structures of colonial power. Regarding the first group of what could be called anthropology of colonialism or anthropology of colonists, Smith (1994, 391) expresses some doubts about the purpose of these approaches. For her (ibid.) the early years of anthropology were marked by a failure to acknowledge (and discuss) the colonial situation. Later (while colonialism) was still an ongoing political reality some of the anthropologists turned to the study of colonialism, but rarely made colonialists as the subject of their study. In the post-colonial era, colonists suddenly emerged as legitimate research topic, since this work is now "primarily carried out safely in the past." Smith (ibid.) wonders if research on (neo)colonists

(at home, today) “isn’t consistently avoided out of some subconscious fear of recognition, of a realization of similarity.”

As for the second group of anthropologists that explore indigenous strategies of resistance against capitalist imperialism, Rea (2010, 196) refers to the works of Chakrabarty (1997), Ong (1999), Geschiere (1997) and the Comaroffs (1993) as examples of “multiple modernities” ethnography that is developing an understanding of cultural forms of produced within non-Western world as not merely repetitions of Western hegemonic structures, but as emerging from multiple (indigenous) traditions that develop their own rationalities and strategies of resistance against the capitalist world order. In many ways these attempts could be seen as resonating with Argentinian sociologist Walter Mignolo’s (2007) project of “delinking” with modernity. For Mignolo (2007, 455), a delinking presupposes “border thinking or border epistemology” that is cognizant of the idea that the Western foundation of both modernity and processes of (scientific) knowledge production is “on the one hand unavoidable and on the other highly limited and dangerous.”

For Mignolo (2007, 463) decolonization of processes of knowledge production should involve “a constant double movement of unveiling the geo-political location of theology, secular philosophy and scientific reason and simultaneously affirming the modes and principles of knowledge that have been denied by the rhetoric of Christianization, civilization, progress, development, market democracy”.

In a way the “multiple modernities” ethnography could be seen as an approach that attempts to respond to precisely such a call, however it is doubtful whether ethnography, anthropology or any other form of (social) science (including Mignolo’s own work) would be even considered admissible within the academic sphere, had this call been addressed in its entirety. Namely, if we take seriously Mignolo’s (2007, 463) suggestion to affirm and draw upon “the reason that has been denied as reason” by the project of Western modernity – in other words, if we were to draw upon systems of knowledge production that originate in non-Western (indigenous or other non-Enlightenment based) ontologies, it is very likely that such work would be considered unintelligible (and/or unreasonable) – in other words: *unscientific*, unless translated into concepts that are imaginable and meaningful with existing scientific paradigms, thus again falling into the (unavoidable) representational trap of epistemic hegemony. Tresch (2001), drawing on Kuhn, explored in detail the various theoretical

difficulties, paradoxes and conundrums, encountered by anthropologists that might attempt "going native." Among those he (Tresch 2001, 316) considers "disciplinary hostility /…/ against the researcher who has irretrievably crossed a line of 'objective detachment'" and "incommensurability between hermeneutical worlds" as the most important ones. Much like Said, Tresch (2001) argues that there is no escape (for anthropology) from the representational trap, although that should not discourage any attempts to overcome it.

Although I could not even remotely claim that this research was developed according to such ambitious propositions as Mignolo's project of de-linking or Tresch's and Kuhn's invitation of going "native" – which I take above all as an invitation towards questioning the assumptions of one's discipline and theoretical framework (rather than necessary adopting some arbitrary "native" view), a small, but significant part of the theoretical framework that guides this research, was developed around the concept of auto-immunity (McAllan 2014) that draws on relational ontologies of indigenous people of Australia.[6] Also my choice of social cartography – a generally under-utilized method in anthropology, as the main method of research, was influenced by these critiques.

In many ways this research aims to address some of the concerns that Said raised already decades ago, but that remain relevant today as much as ever before. French anthropologist Marc Augé (1998) suggests that if the end of exoticism is one of the (desired) characteristics of our time, and if classical anthropology based its study of alterity on this exotic distance from the other, what is require today is an approach to anthropology that focuses on negotiating the social meanings we and others use in making sense of the world, and on the processes of identification that create the difference between same and other.

In an attempt to be mindful of the ongoing structural violence(s) exercised on a global scale through the continuation of various forms of cultural, economic, political and epistemic hegemony, my ambition is turn the attention of this research precisely on the construction of the relationship between the modern (liberal) subject and its Other. The purpose here is not an attempt at getting to know either of them better, but to explore what kind of narratives are being reproduced about them in the context of higher education environment in one of

[6] Auto–immunity is presented in more detail in the next section.

the countries that are often considered as the most benevolent, peaceful and innocent agents in the global arena – Finland.

Further I am interested in how these narratives contribute to the perpetuation of racialized (neo)colonial relations, based precisely upon insistence on 'difference' and 'otherness'. At same time, I have to acknowledge that simply by using these very two concepts, this research likewise could be seen as unable to escape the epistemological entrapment of its own theoretical language, which both Said (1989), Tresch (2001) and Mignolo (2007) warn about, – since attitudes of Finnish students towards 'difference' and 'otherness' constitute its main focus. Moving away from post-colonial critiques, the next section presents an overview of the relationship between anthropology and psychoanalysis, which also significantly influenced the choice of the theoretical framework and the analysis of student's answers, used in this research.

## 2.2 Anthropology, psychoanalysis and the modern (neo)colonial subject

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the history of trans-disciplinary cooperation between anthropology and psychoanalysis is a long one. Malinowski's (1927) *Sex and Repression in Savage Society* is often considered as a "classic and basic reference" of studies of Oedipus complex (Godina 1998, 281), although several authors, such as Barnouw (1985, cited in Godina 1998, 281) considered Malinowski's work as "over-simplified". Malinowski's work was deeply embedded in his ambition to explain the "human nature" by exploring its various (presumably) universal determinants, among which biological determinants were considered as the most important ones. In the understanding of that time, the universality of Oedipus complex was considered as biologically grounded, which made Malinowski interested in psychoanalysis as a method of inquiry. Godina (1998, 282) also suggests that – contrary to popular belief, the influence of psychoanalysis on anthropology in the 20s of the 20$^{th}$ century was far larger than how it is considered today. Malinowski's integration of psychoanalysis into anthropology resulted in very polarized opinions about what he actually discovered – Malinowski himself believed that he had disproved the universality of Oedipus complex, while other authors (Godina 1998, 285–286) suggest that a more careful reading of Malinowski

suggests that, inversely he proved it. However, he was unaware of his own findings, due to a lack of understanding that the symbolic/social role of the Father as the instance of the Law is not necessarily attributed to the biological father, but came emerge in various other forms (ibid.). Ewing (1992, 251) argues that it was precisely Malinowski's work and Freud's own *Totem and Taboo* (1950) that spurred a general rejection in anthropology of the use of psychanalysis in anthropology that was led by cultural relativists that rejected any universalizing claims made by both authors. According to Ewing (ibid.) "many anthropologists cringe when they hear the word 'psychoanalysis'" and carefully delineate the subject of their study – culture, from anything they construe as belonging to the domain of psychology. Although this research could not be considered as continuing the tradition of early uses of psychology in term of looking for universalizing explanations of human nature (à la Malinowski), nor of subsequent development in the 'culture and personality' school and various studies of national character (cf. Barnouw 1985), it does adopt a psychanalytical reading of the data – not in the sense of attempting to construct and analyse the 'character of Finnish students', but through a textual reading that draws on some psychoanalytical insights about the nature of the relationship that modern subject (necessarily) develop in relation to their Other, most significantly on the work of Bhabha, presented below.

And although Malinowski remains remembered and influential today more because of his development of the method of participant observation, as arguably the key method of anthropological research, rather because of the content or interpretative quality of his work, the demise of his influence did not spell the end of the use of psychoanalysis (or psychology) in anthropological research. If Malinowski brought psychoanalysis into British (social) anthropology, then Edward Sapir was one the key figures in the United States that introduced a psychoanalytical approach to the study of culture, already rejecting the earlier, essentialized understandings of culture (Godina 1998, 211). Indeed, Sapir could be seen as one of the first anthropologists that explicitly reject culture as the key object of study, but instead considered the individual and culture as inextricably bound. For Sapir culture had no meaning, if it had no meaning in the psychology of (real) people, while the concept of personality was considered meaningful only within its cultural milieu (Godina 1998, 219). Sapir (1994, 11) developed a concept of as-if personality, which referred to "the patterns of culture /that/ conventionalize forms of behaviour deemed acceptable, within a community, for its particular range of social

occasions." For Sapir (1994, 179) there was never a simple "dichotomy between an individual personality and culture," rather he considered the individual to be an (individual) personality in relation to him or herself, but embedded in culture in his/her relations with others (Sapir 1994, 244). It was precisely this incapacity to differentiate between the psychology of individuals and the "as-if" psychology of culture that made Sapir very critical of other anthropologists of the 'culture and personality school' – most notably of Mead and Benedict (Godina 1998, 226).

In his book *Location of culture* Homi Bhabha (1994), who is a cultural theorist with insights that are important both for anthropology and psychonalysis, explores precisely this contact point between an individual as individual (self) and individual as part of culture – in relation to his/her Other. Bhabha (1984; 1994), drawing on theoretical psychoanalysis of Lacan and post-colonial critique of Fanon, adds a *politicized* dimension to Sapir's original insight. If Sapir was interested in exploring how culture functions internally – that is what kind of patterned and shared forms of behaviour members of a given culture develop between themselves, Bhabha (1984) is interested in how individual subjects in a colonial encounter (marked by relations of power) develop different strategies that attempt to imitate and take on the culture of the colonizers. Bhabha (1984, 129) refers to this process as "mimicry". For Bhabha:

> *Mimicry is like camouflage, not a harmonization or repression of difference, but a form of resemblance that differs/defends presence by displaying it in part, metonymically. Its threat, I would add, comes from the prodigious and strategic production of conflictual, fantastic, discriminatory "identity effects" in the play of a power that is elusive because it hides no essence, no "itself".* (Bhabha 1984, 131)

This (somewhat) cryptic statement from Bhabha could be interpreted as relating to permanent incapacity of the Other to authentically "camouflage" (ibid.) him/herself of to be perceived as such by the (colonial) subject due to the fact that he/she had already been *a priori* identified as the Other (and thus never possibly the same). What mimicry does achieve, is not a successful exercise in camouflage, a successful passing of the Other as the same, but rather a disturbance in the production of difference on which the (neo)colonial relationship depends. Mimicry is thus seen as a provocation against the normality of discourses of dominance and difference, through which the 'unsuccessfully camouflaged Other' emerges as an 'inappropriate' colonial subject that is refusing differentiation. For Bhabha (1984, 129) "the

repetition of partial presence, which is the basis of mimicry, articulates those disturbances of cultural, racial, and historical difference that menace the narcissistic demand of colonial authority."

In his later work (1994) Bhabha asserts that, in order for the subject to sustain its entitlement to and enjoyment of superiority, ambivalent narratives about the Other need to constantly repeated through a play of positive and negative stereotypes that places the other both as an innocent and helpless victim waiting to be saved (and to offer redemption), and as a constant threat. According to Bhabha, what terrifies the colonial subject the most is the potential equality of the Other. This equality needs to be negated for the relational construction of the self and Other to be in place.

In terms of relevance for this research, Bhabha (1994) implies that contrary to popular perception, the roots of racism are not related to ignorance or a negative or misguided perception of the Other, but to a sub-conscious attachment to a discriminatory/exceptionalist idea of the self that is grounded on ambivalent (both positive and negative) narratives about the Other. Thus, when anti-racist strategies based on the popular conception of racism as ignorance, attempt to address the problem of racism through (often essentialist) knowledge about the Other, what could be seen as happening – instead of a deconstruction of racist discourse, is rather a reinforcement of hierarchies of cultural differentiation that ultimately re-affirm exceptionalism and discrimination – this time grounded in narratives of benevolence, tolerance and inclusion.

According to Žižek (2000, 40) this relationship cannot be undone through a process of rational deconstruction, since *enjoyment* (in the sense of Lacanian *jouissance*) in the position of superiority precedes rational cognition. According to Žižek (2000, 39) Lacan successfully argued that the "Cartesian *cogito* is the subject of the Unconscious." According to Žižek (2000, 40) this means that the subject's *phenomenal* self-experience is *inaccessible*, however that does not preclude the Cartesian subject to behave as if it were self-transparent. The reason why this important is, because it means that fantasy, which is according to Žižek (ibid.) the domain of existence of the Cartesian subject, cannot be undone within what is ontologically accessible to the Cartesian subject. In this regard Žižek could be seen as providing some support for Ewing's and Tresch's contention that anthropology (like any other science) is essentially unable to break with its own epistemic/ontological assumptions, simply because it

is so difficult (or impossible) to bring them to light, and even when they are, it is questionable whether they could be deconstructed. In psychoanalytic terms, a declared recognition of a problem of one's own (epistemic) assumptions does not in itself mean that we have managed to sewer our unconscious attachment to them, or in other words: our *enjoyment* of them.

Žižek (2002) outlines a clear distinction between pleasure and enjoyment that hopefully clarifies the point made above. In his view, pleasure is derived from (the use of) things directly, while enjoyment can only be experienced indirectly, unintentionally and as by-product of some other action. In this regard, we don't exactly know, what it is that we are *enjoying in.* Drawing on Žižek, McGowan (2013, 5–6) suggests that enjoyment does not depend on the content of any given act, but rather on the *form* in which we experience it. McGowan (ibid.) avails himself of an example of watching pornography over the internet as an example through which he shows that is not the sexually explicit content that provides enjoyment (the explicit content can merely evoke pleasure), but that enjoyment is experienced rather in the *form* of the act: "hooked on to a computer, in isolation from the rest of the world" (McGowan 2013, 6). For McGowan (ibid.) what we enjoy is not the sexual stimulation, it is rather the feeling of isolation and self-containment that the situation provides.

Kapoor (2014, 1128) similarly argues that enjoyment is derived from "excessive satisfaction we get from doing something transgressive, irrational or even wrong." In terms of ongoing critiques about newer and ever more subtle forms of differentiality and exoticization, not just in the anthropological discipline, but even more in the "spontaneous anthropology" (Godina 1998, 44) of 'ordinary' people these insights could be seen as shedding some light on why such problematic and hierarchical representations keep being re-affirmed, in spite of their demonstrable harmfulness. In this regard Kapoor (2014, 1128) believes that the concept of enjoyment can be used to help us understand why we do certain things not "*despite* the fact that they are dangerous [or violent], but *because* they are" (ibid.).

The work of Australian critical sociologist Fiona McAllan on auto-immunity offers a somewhat different understanding of how structures of racialized hierarchies maintain their stability and continuity through practices of (unconscious) denial. McAllan developed her understanding of autoimmunity based upon Derrida's later work. Matthews (2013) argues that while autoimmunity is one of Derrida's most important it is also one of his most difficult to define term, especially since Derrida is often inconsistent in the way he refers to this concept. For

example, Derrida (in Borradori 2003, 94) describes autoimmunity "as that strange behaviour where a living being, in quasi-suicidal fashion, 'itself' works to destroy its own protection, to immunize itself against its 'own' immunity." Naturally, Derrida's conceptualization does not refer exclusively (or at all) to the merely biological understanding of autoimmunity. In *Rogues: Two essays on reason*, Derrida (2005) outlines a much more nuanced conceptualization of autoimmunity that refers the immunization of the self, the ego against itself, for the purpose of protecting (and thus at same jeopardizing) it's very existence and relevance:

> */autoimmunity/ consists not only in compromising oneself [sauto-entamer] but in compromising the self, the autos--and thus ipseity. It consists not only in committing suicide but in compromising sui– or self-referentiality, the self or sui– of suicide itself. Autoimmunity is more or less suicidal, but, more seriously still, it threatens always to rob suicide itself of its meaning and supposed integrity.* (Derrida 2005, 45)

In her discussion of colonial relations between the colonizer and the colonized, McAllan (2014, 168–169) draws upon Derrida to propose a concept of "self-colonisation" that "includes the affect upon the coloniser as a result of enacting the colonising relation upon the other" where "guilt and fear /…/ further the disconnection from the self, the land and the other." McAllan's self-colonisation could thus be considered as a kind of defence mechanism that the colonizing subject develops to protect himself/herself from acknowledging/recognizing the effects that his/her colonial attitude has upon the colonized[7]. Drawing on Australian Aboriginal ontologies, McAllan (2014, 169) argues that autoimmunity could be considered as the self-defence mechanism that makes possible a fundamental denial of the very possibility of existence of relational ontology or "interrelatedness of intersubjectivity." In other words, autoimmunity is for McAllan (2014, 170) more than just denial as such, it is rather "a repression of denial" itself.

In this regard autoimmunity could thus be considered as the self-defence response that helps maintain and re-affirm the idea of individual, sovereign subject, which is at heart of the project of Enlightenment-based modernity. From a perspective of relational (or non-Enlightenment-

[7] McAllan's work could be read also as another great example of how the binaries of the self and Other, this time as colonizer and the colonized – with all the imagery that they evoke (willingly or unwillingly), are invariably inscribed in the language of social sciences, albeit with the purpose that they unveil precisely their ongoing re–production. Indeed, one could argue that if were to try to describe the ongoing (neo)colonial relations without binary concepts such as the colonizer and the colonized, the description would likely be unintelligible, indeed might even be considered as politically or strategically unwise, since it could be considered as concealing the relational hierarchies.

based ontologies), autoimmunity is considered as harmful not merely for the colonized, but for the coloniser as well. From that perspective the harm to the colonizer (the colonial subject) manifests itself in increasing alienation, harm of the Other[8] and self-harm that are result from his lack of capacity for acknowledgment of relationality. McAllan further argues that that harm, caused by the subjects denial of relationality could be considered cumulative over time as the level of "unprocessed guilt and denial" increases every time the hierarchical relations, perceptions and behaviour are re-affirmed (McAllan 2014, 174). McAllan (2014, 181) lists the fear of loss of sovereignity and control and the fear or being re-embedded (or remembered of primordial embededness) in interentital emplacement as the main drive that encourages an auto-immunizing, self-cannibalising reaction, where "the cannibal is unable to recognize itself in its consumption of the other, and neither in the self-cannibalising that this colonising spirit ensures for itself." Rather than acknowledging his/her inter-entity emplacement the colonising subject, in order to preserve his/her positive and innocent self-image, instead resorts to projecting this threat to his/her sovereignity upon an externalised Other. In the case of this research the ambition is to explore how and in what ways is it (potentially) possible to observe how such narratives about the Other as 'threatening' and the (neo)colonial subject as 'innocent' and 'afraid' could be seen in the responses of Finnish students. The next section presents in more detail the concept of exceptionalism and how it relates to various form of (neo)colonial discourse in the Nordic region, and in particular in Finland.

## 2.3 Anthropology and exceptionalism in the Nordic region and Finland

The studies of exceptionalism in anthropology are a rather recent phenomenon, spurred (predominantly) by the works of Icelandic professor of anthropology Kristín Loftsdóttir (2008, 2012, 2015) and her colleagues. In her work Loftsdóttir explores how recent trends in globalization, such increased migration and the corresponding inflow of asylum-seekers, lead to a re-surfacing of old stereotypes about the difference between 'us' and 'them', based up new articulations of continuously present and ongoing colonial discourse.

[8] In relational ontologies any harm done to the Other is considered as harm done unto oneself, as all entities (human and non–human) are considered as constantly and irrevocably embedded in intersubjective or inter–entity relations. From the perspective of relational ontologies, these relations cannot be sewered, they cannot be undone, however they can be 'forgotten', repressed or denied.

The book *Whiteness and Postcolonialism in the Nordic Region*, edited by Loftsdóttir and Jensen (2012) is the only major work to date that engages with a critical understanding of exceptionalism in anthropology on a larger scale. Authors in this book expose and challenges the foundational myths of both individual nation states within the Nordic region and the region itself. In her contribution to Loftsdóttir and Jensen's book, that explores articulations of Finnish exceptionalism in the imaginations of encounters between Finns and Africans, Anna Rastas (2012) succinctly sums up how exceptionalism performs the self-constituting function for the nation, while at same silences and forecloses any possibilities of that self-image being challenged from outside the national body:

> *Finnish exceptionalism, the moral superiority that has enabled us to judge others and keep ourselves free of any ethical and moral judgements, is employed to keep control: to retain the power to stop others (especially 'them', immigrants) from saying what 'we' are like (or what we have been like), and from dictating what 'we' can and cannot say.* (Rastas 2012, 100)

Rastas' (2012) work is particularly relevant for this research, because she explores how articulations of Finnish exceptionalism are (among other texts) present in upper-secondary school history textbooks. In her analysis she paid particular attention not only to the content of the text, but also to discursive silences and absences, which led her to conclude (Rastas 2012, 96) that on the subject of colonialism "the involvement of Finns in colonial enterprises is never discussed" and that "racism is dealt with as if it merely happened elsewhere /…/ but not really in Finland." Rastas' work could thus be read as an example of an analysis that shows how exceptionalist articulations, that construct certain nations as morally or ethically superior, are operated (also) through "selective amnesias" (Rastas 2012, 98), "wilful ignorance" (Tuana 2006, 11) or "autoimmunity" (McAllan 2014, 169) and not necessarily only through (manifest) positive and affirmative (self-referential) discourse.

Rastas (2012, 90) also brings attention to some of potential misperceptions or misinterpretations that could result from the use of the term 'exceptionalism' in research: "Talking about Finnish exceptionalism does not mean that the ideas and national self-images, and the act of employing them as strategies for particular purposes, are exclusively Finnish." While Rastas (ibid.) suggests that similar discourses were identified in other Scandinavian and Nordic countries, thus showing that the underlying mechanisms of strategic deployment of

exceptionalist discourse are very similar between many countries, it seems also important to highlight that exceptionalist narratives, pertaining to certain nations, such as Finnish, are not being reproduced exclusively by members of these nations, but also by people outside of the national body.

The general argument of *Whiteness and Postcolonialism in the Nordic* Region is that Nordic self-perceptions construct the Nordic countries as "global good citizens, peace-loving, conflict-resolution orientated and rational" (Loftsdóttir and Jensen 2012, 2). Loftsdóttir and Jensen (ibid.) argue that Nordic exceptionalism refers to two distinctly different notions. On one hand it expresses an "an idea about the Nordic countries' peripheral status in relation to the broader European colonialism and to the more contemporary processes of globalization" (Loftsdóttir and Jensen 2012, 2). In other words, Nordic exceptionalism could be understood as referring to a construction of an image of the Nordic region (and its countries) as being largely exempt from the processes of both colonialism and globalization, as none of these countries is usually associated with expansionist politics, such as some other European nations. On the other hand Nordic exceptionalism, according to Loftsdóttir and Jensen (ibid.), can also refer to an idea that "Nordic self-perception is rooted intrinsically differently from the rest of Europe and that this self-perception generates different kinds of encounters from experiences elsewhere." In this regard exceptionalism could be considered as a self-explanatory principle that explains and validates an emergence of specific kinds of encounters. In their book, different authors examine both understandings from various critical perspectives, precisely with the purpose of challenging self-constitutive narratives.

According to Browning (2007, 27–28) Nordic exceptionalism could be seen as constituting a central component to the development of Nordic and national identities of the Nordic states that have evolved into a specific form of nation branding. Loftsdóttir (2015, 252) argues that nation branding should be understood in the context of "the reification of culture as one key characteristic of the neo-liberal economy" (ibid.), which for her means that various ideas related to ethnicity and/or culture are being "increasingly commercialized in a globalized neo-liberal world" (ibid.). She draws on Schwegler (2009) to underline the importance of understanding that within a neo-liberal context a particular type of rationality developed, where "market values are extended to involve all social action" (Loftsdóttir 2015, 252). For Loftsdóttir (ibid.) this means that whole cultures and whole national are being "reconfigured

as commodities in a global market-place, where the nation becomes a brand in a similar fashion to a company trademark." When analysing exceptionalist narratives, one should therefore be mindful of the consideration that the myths produced through exceptionalist discourse have real market value in on the global market. Loftsdóttir (ibid.) humorously remarks that "this has of course been widely recognized by indigenous people, who stage 'authenticity' and exotic traditions for tourist consumption."

Comaroff and Comaroff (2009, 252) who in their *Ethncity Inc.* explore precisely how various indigenous people develop new, commodified versions of their (sacred) practices, offer some remarkable insights into the process of commodification of ethnicity or ethnical branding. In their view, the commodification of ethnicity as a "fact-of-being-and-becoming" (ibid.) does not diminish the "aura" of "ethno-commodities" but instead "seems often to take palpable, credible, creative life in the very *process* of its commodification" (ibid.) – also for the 'native' population. The Comaroffs (ibid.) observe how commodified ethnic practices, designed for tourist consumption (such as Balinese dances) "so captured the imaginations of the 'natives' that they ended up replacing sacred, auratic originals previously performed only in temple." This and similar observations in other countries, have led the Comaroffs (2009, 254) to propose that under neo-liberal political orientations "cultural identity is reduced to an utility function" that paradoxically, rather than diffuses – enables production of new "ethno-commodities" however these are then produced under a different understanding of "ethnicity-as-strategy" rather than "ethnicity-as-existential-identity." For the Comaroffs (ibid.) these are "somewhat different phenomena, despite being conditions of each other's possibility."

Loftsdóttir (2015, 253–256) studied how such practices of nation-branding are being developed recently in Iceland, where the government of Iceland, the city of Reykjavik and various tourist agencies collaborated together to develop the campaign "Inspired by Iceland". She (ibid.) offers a compelling account that explicates how already essentialized and commodified perceptions of Iceland (supplied by tourist agencies) as place where tourists can experience something "different", were re-affirmed through narratives that portray Iceland as a place of secrets and mystique. The people of Iceland we referred to as "spiritual and unexpected people /…/ a little wild on the outside, but warm on the inside" (Loftsdóttir 2015, 254). Loftsdóttir (2015, 256) further explored the gendered nature of representations of

Iceland that revolves around “strong Viking men exceptionally beautiful women”, with women often portrayed as “sexual resource for tourist industry”. In regard to gendered role in Nordic countries Brunila and Edström (2013) have explored the relationship between gender and marketization of education in Finland and Sweden, challenging the mainstream exceptionalist perceptions of gender equality in these two Nordic countries. Unlike Loftsdóttir (2015) that explored how stereotypical and sexualized images of Nordic / Icelandic women are still being reproduced today, Brunila and Edström (2013) challenge the perceptions of exceptional gender equality in the two Nordic countries, arguing that under increased marketization, one of the sexes is clearly losing out in the competitiveness race on the labour market against the other.

If we consider such strategies of ethnic or national branding in the broader context of exceptionalist discourse and transpose the relevance of Comaroffs’ (2009) and Loftsdóttir’s (2015) studies onto the broader Nordic/Finnish context, it would be possible to suggest that under increasing neo-liberal drives of globalization processes, we could be witnessing a rise in the emergence of politics and discursive practices that would lead to development of new, commodified versions of ethnic/nation – building practices and narratives. It is highly likely that such practices and policies would be/are being developed not just for the purpose of strengthening the national identity in response to increasing (im)migration – in the sense of rising extreme right movements in several Nordic (and other European) countries, but also because it simply pays off to do so. One is left in fearful speculation as to what might emerge (or is emerging) when nationalist tendencies, built around “ethnicity-as-existential-identity” (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009, 254) coincide with neo-liberal drives that stimulate “ethnicity-as-/economic/-strategy”.

Potter (2008, 73) argues that when we are examining exceptionalist narratives, or more specifically narratives, related to nation branding, we should bear in mind that these narratives above all serve a very important purpose of developing “long term, positive relationship with external target audiences /…/ in support of national interests, be they political, commercial, or security-related.” Successful nation branding is for Potter (ibid.) an essential tool for success of all these ambitions. Similarly, Keith Dinnie (2015, 6) suggests that nations “are making increasingly conscious efforts to hone their country branding in recognition of the need to fulfil nationally important objectives in terms of trade investment

and tourism. A further objective for many nations is talent attraction, whereby countries compete to attract higher education students and skilled workers."

In a way Potter's (2008) and Dinnie's (2015) thoughts could be seen as delivering a serious warning to anyone interested in deconstructing exceptionalist tendencies or exceptionalist discourse, because their work explicates how *affirmation* of exceptionalism (through nation branding) is basically aligned with national self-interest, economically, politically and otherwise. Deconstructing exceptionalist narratives could thus be perceived not only as a threat to the national identity, but above all as a threat to the economic interests of any given country or nation. As any other threat it is thus hardly likely to receive a warm welcome in the country whose exceptionalist narratives are being questioned.

Regardless of any such concerns, attempts at deconstruction of exceptionalist narratives in education in Finland have been made before, perhaps most extensively by Johanna Sitomaniemi-San (2015), who, in her doctoral thesis on the Finnish model of research-based teacher education, explored various articulations and notions of Finnish exceptionalism in the discursive field surrounding Finnish (teacher) education. Although Finnish teacher education is often considered to be unique and "academically superior" (Sitomaniemi-San 2015, 144), Sitomaniemi-San (ibid.) argued that it may be "the very research-basedness of Finnish teacher education through which it regards itself as academically superior to other approaches to teacher education /that/ also makes possible its detachment from intellectual rigour." Since education in Finland is one of the country's most valuable export products, and above all one of the central objects of national pride, the work of Sitomaniemi-San could be seen as a poignant example of how critiques of exceptionalism (in higher education) are potentially intervening precisely in the space between corporate (economic interests) and public imaginaries (commitment to critical research) of higher education.

It is perhaps in the descriptions of the Finnish education system that exceptionalist narratives are most empathically and manifestly articulated. The myth of the exceptional nature and quality of Finnish education is not reproduced in Finland only though. In support of Rastas's (2012, 90) claim that narratives of Finnish exceptionalism are not being reproduced exclusively by Finnish people, I offer below an excerpt from the text of a well-known Slovenian educational expert that published her description of Finnish education in one the main

national newspapers. Although this is a longer citation, I believe its content merits its extensive inclusion.

> *Ethical orientation of Finnish educational system is built upon mutual respect, trust and offering help to anyone that may need it. All school subjects are equally important and their content is politically neutral. Finnish educational experts emphasize the importance of interpersonal cooperation, development of dialogue and problem-solving in a team. Respect of life and human rights, respect of different cultures, encouraging sustainable development, encouraging responsibility and strict respect for pupils' diversity are considered as the fundamental values of the educational system.*
>
> *Finnish educational system is comprehensive, explicitly non-selective and led by centrally developed goals that are complemented by local implementations and innovations. The ethos of Finnish educational system is based upon a culture of learning and high standards of instruction that are the same for all student, it encourages them and builds their self-confidence. This necessitates a high level of professionality among teachers, a quality system of their education and trust in their work.*
>
> *Every curricular reform led to an increase in autonomy and authority of schools and in professional authority of teachers. Finns are turning in to practice the awareness that only confident teachers that enjoy the trust of school authorities can educate confident pupils. Something that you yourself do not possess, you simply cannot pass upon others.*
>
> *Finnish national curriculum is inclusive, all-encompassing. It covers education for all pupils, but it also considers the balance between academic achievement and quality life of children.* (Naji 2012, n.p.)

From Naji's description it would be possible to assume that the Finnish education system (infallibly) educates pupils that are respectful (of cultural difference), responsible, trusting and helpful. They have highly developed skills of interpersonal cooperation and are well versed in teamwork and engagement in dialogue. Further, Finnish pupils are confident and autonomous individuals, because their teachers are likewise confident and autonomous at their work. Together with notions of more general ideological orientations, such as political neutrality and sustainable development, this description of Finnish pupils and Finnish educational system deserves to be kept in mind through the reading of the analysis of responses of Finnish

students in the section 4.3. Naji's description of Finnish educational system could considered as encompassing a sizeable part of descriptive signifiers that are usually associated with exceptionalist narratives about Finland. Naji articulated respect for diversity, responsibility, social inclusion and social justice, respect of human rights, sustainable development, neutrality, professionalism, trust and trustworthiness, (self)confidence, helpfulness, orientation towards dialogue and cooperation. While this list could probably be expanded with certain other notions, such modesty, quietness, peacefulness, innocence, tolerance, protestant work ethic and others, the purpose here is not so much to build a Tylorian list of cultural traits, but rather to argue that exceptionalist narratives about Finland construct an image of an inherently benevolent, harmless, law-abiding and generally admirable nation that is virtually free of any kind of negative characteristics.

Such constructions of unquestionably benevolent national identities (that can be found also among many other nations), when read through Goldberg's (2006, 2009) exploration of European history of denial of racism, appear highly problematic. Goldberg (2009) argues that, far from being a thing of the past, racism in Europe became so omni-present, widespread and diffused that it is no longer recognized as such:

> *For Europeans, generally, then, race is not, or really is no longer. European racial denial concerns wanting race in the wake of World War II categorically to implode, to erase itself. This is a wishful evaporation never quite enacted, never satisfied. A desire simultaneously frustrated and displaced. As diffuse as they are, racist implications linger, silenced but assumed, always already returned and haunting. Buried, but alive. Odourless traces but suffocating in the wake of their nevertheless denied diffusion.* (Goldberg 2009, 151)

Goldberg (2006, 2009), similarly to Balibar (1991) explored the impact of demise of race as a biological category on perceptions and discourse about racism. Goldberg argues that a disavowal of race as a significant category for social differentiation, does not translate itself into a disavowal, deconstruction or demise of racism, but becomes instrumentalized as a tool for denial of racism as a social fact. Likewise for Balibar (1991, 17) racism is a "true total social phenomenon" that not only inscribes itself in practices, discourses and representations, but also organizes and segregates groups or social bodies around the stigmata of otherness or difference. In this regard racism is considered indispensable for the creation of racialized

communities (nations) as it provides appropriate explanatory required for social cohesion of the 'selected nation' against its externalized Other. It would be possible to argue that for both Goldberg (2006) and Balibar (1991) racism is indispensable for the creation of (narratives about) national identity and that what we are witnessing today (in Europe) is not a demise of racism (because racialized discourse no longer employs biological race as its main category of differentiation), but rather an emergence of "neo-racism" or "racism with races" (Balibar 1991, 20–21) where the category of *immigration* increasingly serves as a "substitute for race and a solvent of 'class consciousness'". Since insurmountable cultural differences replaced biological heredity as the source and rationale of (neo)racist articulations and perceptions, Balibar (ibid.) refers to these new forms of racism also as "*differential racism"*[9]*.* Goldberg argues that instead of witnessing a demise of racism – or what Balibar (1991, 20) refers to as "racism without races", "racelessness" implies "not the end of racial consciousness, but its ultimate elevation to the /status of/ the given" (Goldberg 2002, 236).

Through a case study of a series of incidents, directed against people of non-Finnish origin that happened in Finland in recent years, Nicolson, Andreotti and Mafi (2015) have examined these notions by exploring various strategies of denial that were deployed for the purpose of concealing (with mixed success) the racialized nature of these incidents. Nicolson et al. (2015, 7) argue that since Finland was the last of the Nordic countries to "open its borders to immigration in the mid-1990s for economic and humanitarian purposes", and since the impact of the economic crisis accelerated neoliberal-restructuring of Finland's strong welfare state, "ideas of insularity and independence have been captured by populist groups whose campaigns portray immigrants, multiculturalism and internationalization as the root causes of social-economic scarcity and vulnerability" (Nicolson et. al 2015, 7). Under such conditions, where also liberal values such a freedom of expression are seen as being compromised by the inflow of immigrants and/or 'political correctness' of multiculturalism, the perceived loss of national autonomy and economic security "mobilizes historical sentiments of opposition to past colonial rule, resulting in a populist discourse of traditional Finnish resistance to foreign oppression and subjugation" (Nicolson et al. 2015, 7). Appadurai (2006) in his *Fear of small numbers,* explores how racialized nationalism, under conditions of economic and social austerity, framed by neo-liberal drives for structural reforms that undermine state

[9] Italics in original.

sovereignity, becomes mobilized through narratives of majoritization and minoritization in what is often considered democratic, inclusive and liberal nation-states. Nicolson et al. (2015) argue that Finland is recently undergoing just such a scenario, where minorities and above all immigrants are being perceived as responsible for the weakening of the Finnish welfare state. Drawing on the works of Sara Ahmed (2012), they explore the policies and practices of "stranger making" in Finland that according to Ahmed (in Nicolson et al. 2015, 2) explore "how some and not others become strangers, how emotions of fear and hatred stick to certain bodies, how certain bodies become understood as the rightful occupants of certain spaces". They explore how immigrants and migration are being ambivalently represented in Finland "to reify a division of humanity based on established cultural hierarchies that create a racism that paradoxically denies race" (Nicolson et al. 2015, 13).

In many ways this research could be seen as exploring a very similar topic of how difference (and what kind of difference) is being produced through discursive practices of Finnish students and what kind of self-perceptions and narratives about the Other (international students, immigrants and others) are observable in their responses. Further I am interested in how divergent narratives about the self, the Nation and the Other reproduce and/or contest binary hierarchies of ethnic/cultural worth. How the research attempts to approach these questions is discussed in the following chapter on methodology.

# 3 Methodological framework

This chapter begins with a presentation of the main research questions and the research questionnaire, followed by a presentation of the three different levels, on which analysis was performed. This section also features a presentation of social cartography (Paulston 1993; 1994; 1996; 1999) as the main chosen method of inquiry and its potential use as a *post-representational* tool for not just analysis, but perhaps more importantly, presentation of the results. Before proceeding to the introduction of the main questions and the presentation of corresponding methodology, I would like to clarify some key issues, related to terminology used in this research, specifically in relation to the terms 'discourse', 'discursive orientation' and 'narrative' or 'articulation'. In this research discourse is understood in Weedon's (1987) interpretation of (Foucauldian) discourse as:

> *ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such knowledges and relations between them. Discourses are more than ways of thinking and producing meaning. They constitute the 'nature' of the body, unconscious and conscious mind and emotional life of the subjects they seek to govern.* (Weedon 1987, 108)

In relation to this general understanding of discourse as more than just systems of thought, but as 'ways of constituting knowledge' whose influence extends also to the unconscious mind and to the emotional life of subjects, discursive orientations are understood as *specific* kinds or types of discourse that we can observe. This research draws upon the mapping of different discursive orientations that were identified within the *EIHE* project. *EIHE* project (Andreotti et al. 2016) identified three main such orientations (liberal, neoliberal, critical) and their interstices within the broader discourse on internationalization and higher education.

If discursive orientations (and their interstices) are thus understood as different/specific kinds of discourse, then narratives are understood as *concrete* examples or articulations of a certain kind of discourse (or discursive orientation). In terms of analysing exceptionalist discourse in this research, concrete students' responses (their text) are considered as examples or indications of exceptionalist narratives or as observable articulations of exceptionalist traits, where these articulations could be either manifest or merely implied. The terms 'narrative' and 'articulation' are often used interchangeably in this text.

In relation to these understandings of 'discourse', 'discursive orientations' and 'narratives/articulations' the main questions that this research aims to explore, are thus:

1. What kind of articulations of Finnish exceptionalism, understood as self-constitutive narratives about the national self, the nation and the Other, are observable in the responses of students of two Finnish universities?

2. How are these articulations articulated *differently* in liberal, neoliberal, critical discursive orientations and their interstices?

As the data available for analysis – that is the responses of students to the survey on internationalisation of higher education, was collected within the framework of *Ethical Internationalisation in Higher Education* (*EIHE*) project, funded by the Finnish Academy of Science, certain conditions apply to the use of data for analysis. Key among those is the obligation to ensure anonymity of both students and institutions that participated in the project, which was duly respected. Research in both institutions that participated in the project was also given ethical clearance from their respective ethical committees.

The questionnaire of the survey was already formed at the time when I joined the project team as a researcher, therefore I had no control over the content of the survey and was unable to adapt or modify it to fit the specific needs of this research. Although this could be considered as a limiting factor in the sense of collecting more 'fitting' data, I consider it a benefit, since in this case it was the data (the responses) of students that dictated the choice of appropriate methodology and development of the interpretative framework, rather than the other way around. Hopefully in this way, some of the challenges of trying to make the data 'fit into' the researchers' pre-established categories were averted, especially through the development of the S.I.L.E.N.C.E. cartography, of which more will be said later.

The questionnaire itself contained three distinguished sets of questions and answers. The first set contained a large number of quantitative (multiple-choice answers) about students' views on the social role of higher education and the internationalization of higher education. Although very extensive and valuable in itself, this part of the questionnaire is not being analysed in this research, as it would have little to contribute to exploring the main research questions. The second part featured several questions related to demographic characteristics and students personal background, which included some basic information about the social

environment in which students were growing up. This part of the questionnaire is analysed in section 4.1 of the next chapter. The third and last part of the questionnaire featured the following four open-ended questions:

Q1: How does internationalization affect society in general?

Q2: How do you imagine global citizens should think, relate and/or act in the world?

Q3: Apart from possible language difficulties, do international students or students with diverse backgrounds face challenges in your institution? Please explain your answer.

Q4: Can diversity enrich your experience? Please explain your answer.

Although, as already mentioned the questionnaire was developed specifically (or at all) with the purpose of analysing exceptionalist articulations, these four open-ended questions provided ample examples of relevant data to draw on, especially since 402 students participated in the survey. The analysis of answers to these two questions represents the majority of the analytical chapter and is discussed in sections 4.2 and 4.3. To the best of my possibilities I attempted to discuss and interpret the data with the authors, already presented in the previous theoretical chapter. However, in certain cases (section 4.2.3) I had to resort to introducing some of the educational scholars, in particular Gert Biesta (2013), whose work does not relate specifically to the subject of exceptionalism and discourses of differentiation, but did nevertheless help contextualize and interpret students' responses better. Below I present in more detail the three levels of analysis and the rationale for their choice.

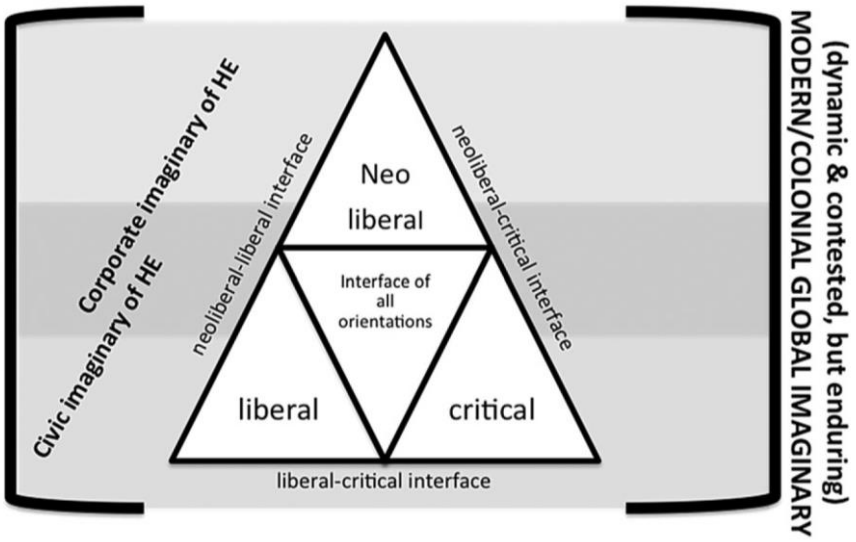
## 3.1 Three levels analysis

As indicated above the analysis of data was performed on three different levels, with each of them being presented in a dedicated section. *First level* analysis (section 4.1) offers a general analysis of demographic data, which includes a selection of variables, related to gender, age, personal background and minority affiliation of students. This analysis was performed using standard statistical tools for analysis and serves predominantly the purpose of introducing a general context about students' background, the origins of their families and previous experiences with cultural, social and economic diversity. Some of this data is analysed also in

comparison with other countries that participated in the *EIHE* project, with the purpose of putting the general personal background of Finnish students in relative perspective with other countries.

*Second level* analysis includes the mapping of students' responses onto the main *EIHE* social cartography that comprises of three main discursive orientations (liberal, neoliberal, critical) and their interstices. A visualisation of the main orientations is presented below.

Figure 3.1: *EIHE* social cartography




Source: Andreotti et al. (2016, 6).

The mapping was performed, following a development of an analytical matrix that outlines some general characteristics that were observable in the students' response. This level of analysis, together with the third level (presented below), was built upon Paulston's (Paulston and Liebman 1994; Paulston 1999) concept of social cartography that is presented in more detail in the next section.

*Third level* of analysis comprises the mapping of students' response onto S.I.L.E.N.C.E. social cartography that was developed after multiple readings of data as an attempt to meaningfully synthesize and make visible some of the main tendencies in students' responses, as related to the subject of exceptionalism. This part of analysis explores in more depth the various articulations of exceptionalism or perceptions of Finnish students about themselves and their Other(s). The analysis on this level dedicates an equal measure of attention to both what is present and what is absent from students' responses, being specifically interested in

discursive silences, euphemisms and re-articulations. The rationale and background of this approach to analysis is also presented in the following section.

## 3.2 Social cartography

Social cartography is an analytical and (post)representational approach to poststructuralist discursive analysis, whose development is usually associated with the works of Roland Paulston (1993; 1994; 1996; 1999). Paulston sought to integrate Foucauldian poststructuralist comparative analysis into a textual mapping practice that could be used in comparative research, specifically in education. Paulston's (Paulston and Liebman 1994, 215) ambition for developing social cartography emerged out of a concern for developing a (visual) tool that might help researchers "enhance the presentation of their findings, particularly when their findings focus on the postmodern diffusion of heterogeneous orientations." Paulston suggested that the maps produced using social cartography could be understood as "mental constructs" (Paulston and Liebman 1994, 225) that:

> portray the mapper's perceptions of the social world, locating in it multiple and diverse intellectual communities, leaving to the reader not a truth but a cognitive art, the artist's scholarship resulting in a cultural portrait. (Paulston and Liebman 1994, 225)

Paulston drew on Baudrillard's (1990) work to propose that maps are constructs or unique objects that are initially part of their creator's knowledge and her/his understanding of the social system, but that maps having a characteristic of both "art and life" (of their own), could also be seen as in possession of a form of their own intrinsic agency that transcends, but is not entirely independent of the intention of the creator (the author) and the reader.

Paulston (ibid.) suggested that the *performative* function of maps is not entirely subjected to the intention of the cartographer and the cartographer cannot determine how the map will be interpreted by the reader, in the same way as it is impossible for an artist to determine the response of the audience to her/his work. While Paulston in his theorization of social cartography intended to open up maps to multiple interpretive possibilities, to explore what maps tend to (mis)represent, what they make (im)possible, or what they render (in)visible, he referred to his methodological approach to textual analysis in a very comprehensive and linear

5-steps “cookbook” approach (Paulston 1999, 453), much to “the horror of /his/ postmodernist colleagues” (ibid.):

> (1) Choose the issue or debate to be mapped. (2) Select the widest possible range of texts that construct this debate and, with close reading, translate their defining rhetorical characteristics, ideas, and worldviews. (3) Identify the range of positions in the intertextual mix. /…/ (4) Identify the textual communities that share a way of seeing and communicating reality. /…/ (5) Field test the map with the individuals or knowledge communities involved. Share the conflicting interpretations and remap as desired. (Paulston 1999, 453–454)

Although social cartography is not necessarily a method one would usually associate with anthropology, visual anthropologists, such as Sarah Pink (2003; 2006) have argued in favour of employing visualising tools, among which we can count social cartography, as forms of social intervention. Pink (2006, 81) argues that anthropology might through creating social interventions “improve other people’s conditions of existence /or/ bring ‘hidden’ issues into public view.” In her opinion (Pink 2006, 82) “the visual has unique potential as a form of social intervention and anthropological perspectives can usefully inform this.” Further, “applied visual anthropological engagements can contribute to theory in both visual and mainstream anthropology” (ibid.).

Although visual material has a long history of use in anthropology, particularly in ethnography, questions about what kind of views are being portrayed through the use of visuals have accompanied visual anthropology since its beginning (Mead 1985, 7). While Mead (ibid.) for instance argued that the imposition of “one’s own view of the culture and people /…/ cannot ever be entirely prevented”, the ambition in this research for the use of social cartography is not so much to be concerned with accurate or objective representation of the discursive space (in which exceptionalist narratives are being articulated) – which is from a poststructuralist perspective a futile endeavour, but rather to use social cartography precisely as a tool for intervention in that discursive space, to make visible certain patterns of enunciation that would have otherwise remained neglected or hidden.

In *Epistemologies of the South: Justice Against Epistemicide* Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2015, 201) argues in favour of an ecology of knowledges, where “knowledge-as-intervention-in-reality is the measure of realism, not knowledge-as-a-representation-of-reality”. Sousa

Santos (ibid.) suggests that credibility of cognitive construction (i.e. knowledge production) "is measured by the type of intervention in the world that it affords or prevents". This should not be taken however, as invitation to a Machiavellian 'the end justifies the means' approach to knowledge production. Sousa Santos (ibid.) makes very clear the distinction between "analytic objectivity" and "political neutrality", and while I can only hope to strive (successfully) for the first by making my interpretative rationales as clearly explicated as possible, I do not believe that attempting to achieve "political neutrality", especially when analysing what could be considered as racialized of differentialising discursive practices, is either desirable or possible. Indeed, I believe that is precisely the very ideas of (possibility) of neutrality, detachment and innocence that deserve to be seriously questioned and deconstructed, as they can be found at the very heart of many forms of both "spontaneous" and "academic racism" (Balibar 1991, 19).

## 3.3 The use of social cartography in this research

The approach to social cartography, used in this research, was very much inspired by Paulston's 'recipe' outlined in the previous sections, although in terms of mapping data onto *EIHE* social cartography, some of the work had already been done within the *EIHE* project team prior to my joining the project. Since the main cartography was already developed, this could be taken that (in Paulston's terms) the steps from 1–3 had already be done. This research began with an attempt to identify "textual communities" (step 4), which means cluster together the answers that could be categorized under each category (discursive orientation), followed by step 5 in which the categorization of responses was discussed together with research colleagues. For the purpose of step 4, the following analytical matrix was developed that helped organized certain answers into their respective categories. The analysis went through several stages. First an initial reading was performed, looking for main discursive similarities, after which the matrix was developed. Following the development of the matrix, answers were mapped on the matrix. The mapping was then discussed with colleagues and adapted according to feedback. In the final stage the results were quantified and compared.

Table 3.1: *EIHE* cartography analytical matrix

| | |
|---|---|
| Liberal | Emphasis on tolerance, acceptance, understanding, mutual benefit, cherishing cultural diversity, rationality, neutrality. No recognition of any structural forms of racism, discrimination or any other inequalities. |
| Neoliberal | Framing engagement with (or refusal of) internationalization and diversity for personal or national benefit, economic growth, professional opportunities, commodification of difference for economic benefit. No recognition of any structural forms of racism or discrimination or any other inequalities. |
| Critical | Articulations of systemic critique, recognition of power relations, structural hierarchies, structural forms of racism, complicity, hegemony, imperialism, multiple forms of exploitation and inequalities. |
| Neoliberal – liberal | Answers that emphasize both personal benefit with benefit for the general society or national economy. Commodification of difference for personal and social benefit – in terms of reduced discrimination and prejudice, due to increased knowledge of the Other. |
| Liberal – critical | Recognition of cultural aspects of inequalities (racism, discrimination), no recognition of other socio-economic and/or political aspects. 'Malfunctioning' individuals not systemic inequalities seen as problematic. No systemic critique. |
| Neoliberal – critical | Other(s) seen as threatening the national identity, nation al economy or the welfare and privileges of the majority population, fear of loss of jobs, rootlessness. Other(s) seen as unproductive, unable to conform and causing conflict. Could be considered also as neoconservative. |
| Neoliberal – liberal – critical | Internally contested and conflictual answers that oscillate between adherence to liberal ideals of diversity, plurality and acceptance and neoliberal/neoconservative fear of loss of identity, stability, security. |

| | |
|---|---|
| Relational | Recognition of a need for both existential and political re-orientation. Emphasis on relationality and entanglement. Questioning anthropocentrism, separability and Enlightenment-based ontologies. |
| Relational – liberal | Recognition of a need for existential re-orientation, but lacking systemic critique or political analysis. Existential re-orientation interpreted as increased empathy and compassion. |

Although the process of mapping the students' responses could be considered as on one hand theoretically informed and tested, it should also be considered nevertheless as partial, provisional and situated. From a post-structuralist perspective such mappings can never be neutral, objective or unbiased because they are always already socially, culturally and historically situated (Luke 1995; 1997; Jorgensen and Philips 2002). However, with the purpose of achieving trustworthiness (Guba 1981; Krefting 1991; Shenton 2004) of the interpretation the mapping was discussed in feedback with project partners. Following the work of McAllan (2014) and others (Abram 1997; Viveiros de Castro 1998; 2004a; 2004b) on relational ontologies, two additional categories (relational and relational-liberal) were added as theoretical possibilities to the matrix. Although no answers were actually observed that could be seen as belonging to a relational orientation and only 4 that could potentially be considered as belonging to a relational-liberal interstice, these categories were kept in the analytical matrix with the purpose of making visible what kind of discursive orientations are completely absent from students' responses. In this regard the matrix in Table 3.1 is both a matrix of discursive presences and a matrix of discursive absences.

After the initial mapping on the *EIHE* cartography, a second cartography, that was developed specifically for this research and the purpose of organising and mapping answers in relation to exploring exceptionalist articulations, following the same protocol as outlined above, only this time all of Paulston's steps had to be taken. This included the initial choice of debate to be mapped (1) – exceptionalist discourse, selecting the widest possible range of debate (2) – all answers that were available for analysis, and identifying the range of positions (3) – developing the cartography. This cartography was named S.I.L.E.N.C.E. in acknowledgment of the many absent answers and discursive silences that were observable in the text. S.I.L.E.N.C.E. is an acronym that stands for Shyness, Indirect denigration, Loss of identity,

Euphemisation, Naturalization, Cultural differentialism and Exceptionalism. The analytical matrix for this cartography is reproduced below.

Table 3.2: S.I.L.E.N.C.E. cartography analytical matrix

| | |
|---|---|
| Shyness / self – depreciation | Shyness, introversion or lack social/language skills articulated as forms justification for refusal to engage in relations with international students or students from diverse backgrounds. |
| (In)direct denigration / vilification | Direct and indirect portrayals of Other(s) as less competent, criminal, conflictual and violent. |
| Loss of identity | Articulations of fear loss of (national) identity, rootlessness, resulting from processes of internationalization, globalization and/or immigration. |
| Euphemisation / sanitization of language | Answers that employ various euphemisms that replace signifiers that could potentially directly be indicative of discriminatory stances and behaviour. |
| Naturalization | Answers that present problematic or otherwise troubling, challenging experiences of international students as a 'natural' occurrence in adapting to a new environment. |
| Cultural differentialism / culture clash | Cultures perceived as (homogenous entities) that are inherently in a state of (irreconcilable) conflict. |
| Exceptionalism | Emphasis on benevolent nature of Finnish students, institutions and the Finnish State. Explicit denial of racism or any form of discrimination. |

In relation to the both cartographies presented above, I would wish to emphasize that a map should never be conflated with the terrain that it maps. In this regard both the *EIHE* cartography and the S.I.L.E.N.C.E. cartography should always be read as partial, provisional and incomplete, or in other words, post-representational. The ambition of this mapping is merely to emphasize some of the otherwise hidden and undiscussed, but (widely) shared characteristics in discursive practices of Finnish students.

# 4 Analysis

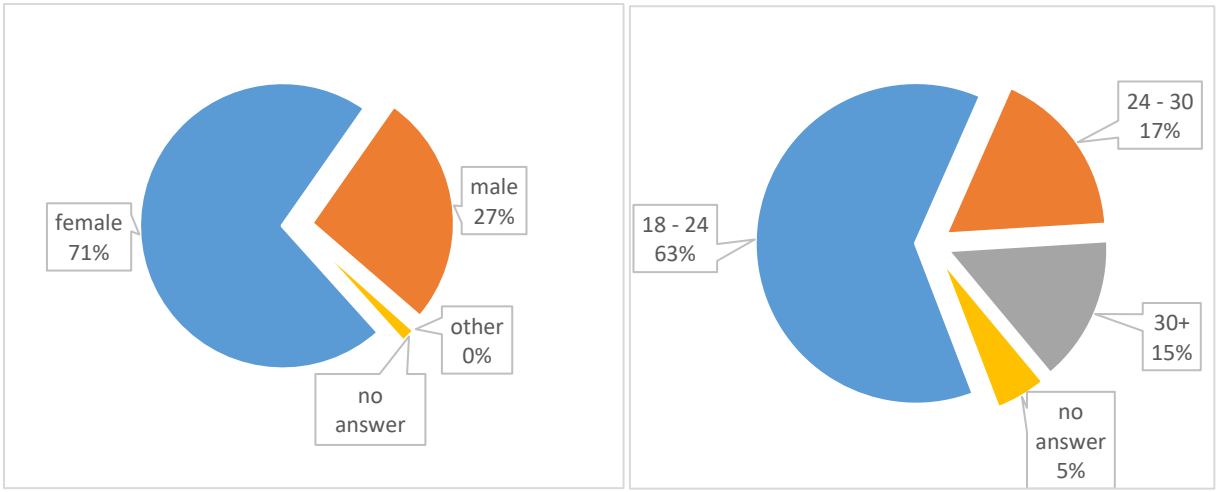
This chapter presents the results of all three levels of data analysis, indicated in the previous chapter. The responses of students from both participating Universities were aggregated in a single group, in order to ensure the necessary anonymity of both respondents and the respective institutions. 402 students participated in the survey. The total number includes responses from 100 students of education, 100 students of medicine, 101 student of behavioural sciences and 101 student of theology thus representing a fairly broad range of divergent educational disciplines. The data was gathered in years 2013 and 2014 and the questionnaires were distributed in Finnish language, with a subsequent translation of answers into English. The Finnish dataset is part of the larger *EIHE* project database that includes responses to survey questionnaires from 10 other countries. A comparison of selected demographic characteristics between the Finnish data and the data from other countries is also included in this chapter for the purpose of better contextualizing certain particularities of the Finnish dataset.

This Chapter is divided into three sections that correspond to the three different levels of analysis. The first section offers a general quantitative analysis of demographic data and contextualizes the Finnish dataset in relation to other countries, involved in the *EIHE* project. The second section analyses the representation patterns of 3 main discursive orientations (liberal, neoliberal, critical) and their interstices in the responses to 4 open ended questions about internationalization, global citizenship, international students and diversity. The third section presents the results of mapping students' responses onto S.I.L.E.N.C.E. social cartography and concludes this chapter.

## 4.1 Demographic data

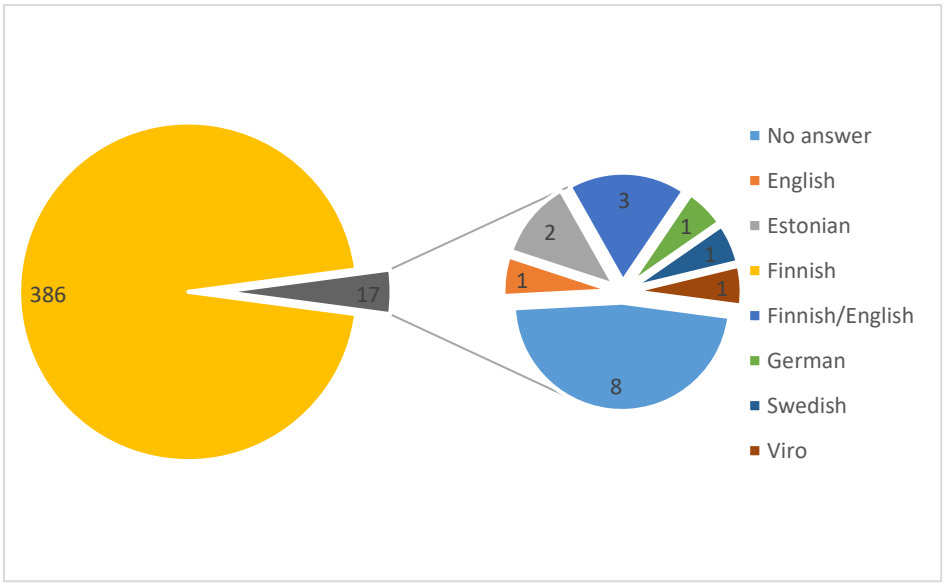
This section presents demographic data related to gender, age, first language, minority affiliation and family origins of students, participating in the survey. This section also includes a comparison of selected demographic characteristics between the Finnish dataset and other countries, included in the *EIHE* project.

Figure 4.1: Gender and age




In terms of basic demographic characteristics of students – gender and age, a considerable majority (71 %) of respondents identified themselves as female, 27 % as male and 2 % of respondents did not provide an answer. 1 student chose the response 'other'. Close to two thirds of interviewed students (63 %) were between 18 and 24 years of age, 17 % of students were between 24 and 30 years old and 15 % of students were older than 30 years. 5 % of respondents did not provide an answer to this question.

Figure 4.2: First language

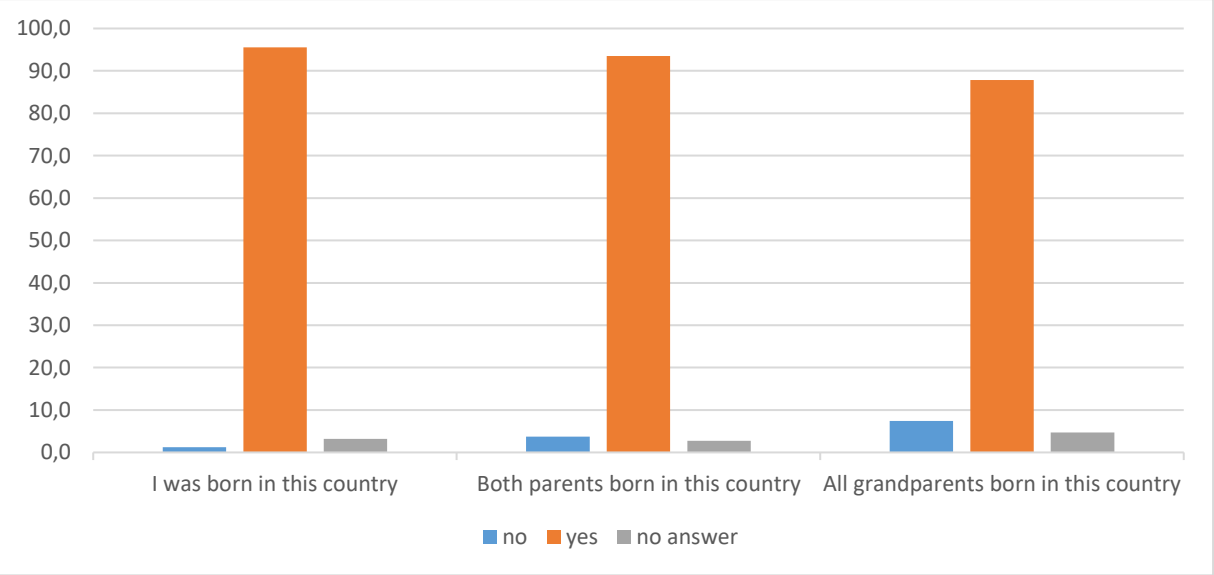



In response to the question about their first language an overwhelming majority (96 %) chose Finnish language as their first. Only 5 other languages were present, all of them with only one or two representatives, with English often reported together with Finnish. 8 students (2 %) did

not answer this question. Not a single non-European language was registered in the responses. Likewise, completely absent were languages from Eastern, Southern and Central Europe – with the exception of 2 respondents from Finland's neighbour, Estonia. Although Swedish is an official language in Finland and the second most spoken native language (Statistics Finland 2016), only 1 student reported Swedish as her first language. Similarly, no examples of Russian, which is the third most spoken first language in Finland (Statistics Finland 2016), were reported. Completely absent were also the Sami languages, which are official languages in certain regions of Finland.

The level of linguistic homogeneity among the Finnish students is the highest of all countries that participated in the *EIHE* survey. Although such a level of homogeneity may be considered high even in the context of countries with a similarly low level of ethnic diversity, it is even more remarkable when compared to some of the more ethnically or culturally diverse countries that participated in the project, such as Canada. For example; in the Canadian dataset 48 different languages were identified and 21 % of respondents reported languages, other than French or English (the official language in Canada) as their primary languages, a majority of which were not of European origin. Correspondingly, only 2 % of respondents reported languages other than Finnish in the Finnish dataset.

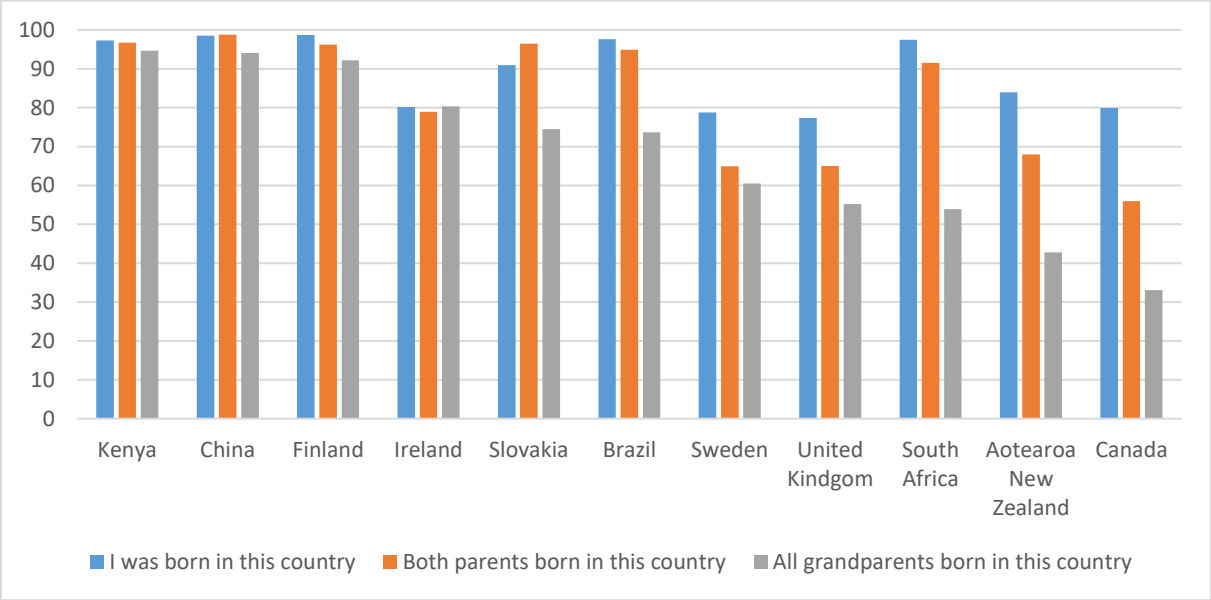
Figure 4.3: Students' family origins




Similarly to trends observable in the analysis of students' first language, the analysis of family origins shows very strong Finnish 'roots'. 95, 5 % of students were born in Finland, 3,2 % did

not answer and only 5 students (or 1,2 %) were born outside the country. Likewise, students' parents (93,5 %) and grandparents (87,8 %) were overwhelmingly of Finnish origin. Considering the very high level of language homogeneity, discussed above, a similar level of homogeneity of family origin may be considered as at least somewhat expected. However, the singularity of family origin, observable in the Finnish dataset, could be considered as remarkably high when considered within the context of the entire *EIHE* project, as suggested by a comparison between the participating countries in Figure 4 below.

Figure 4.4: Students' family origins in international comparison




The answers in Figure 4.4 are adjusted for missing answers to enable a better comparison between countries and organised in a descending order, according to the birth country of the students' grandparents. This was a deliberate choice to help better visualize the level of diversity not just among the university' attending student population, but also in the broader society. It seemed logical to assume that countries with longer histories of migration (and/or a colonial past) would have more diversity of origin visible also in previous generations (grandparents), not just in recent ones (students and their parents). In this regard we can observe that within the *EIHE* dataset the Finnish student population could be considered as part of the group of countries (together with Kenya and China) with the lowest levels of diversity of origin. Inversely, settler countries, such as Canada, Aoetearoa / New Zealand and South Africa could be seen as leading this chart with the world's largerst (former) colonial superpower, United Kingdom, following closely behind. Of course, the understanding of

diversity of origin is here related only to the context of teritoriality of the nation station and does not include internal (ethnic, cultural, linguistic) diversity within a particular country. More nuance in this regard is provided by Figure 4.5 below.

Figure 4.5: Minorities

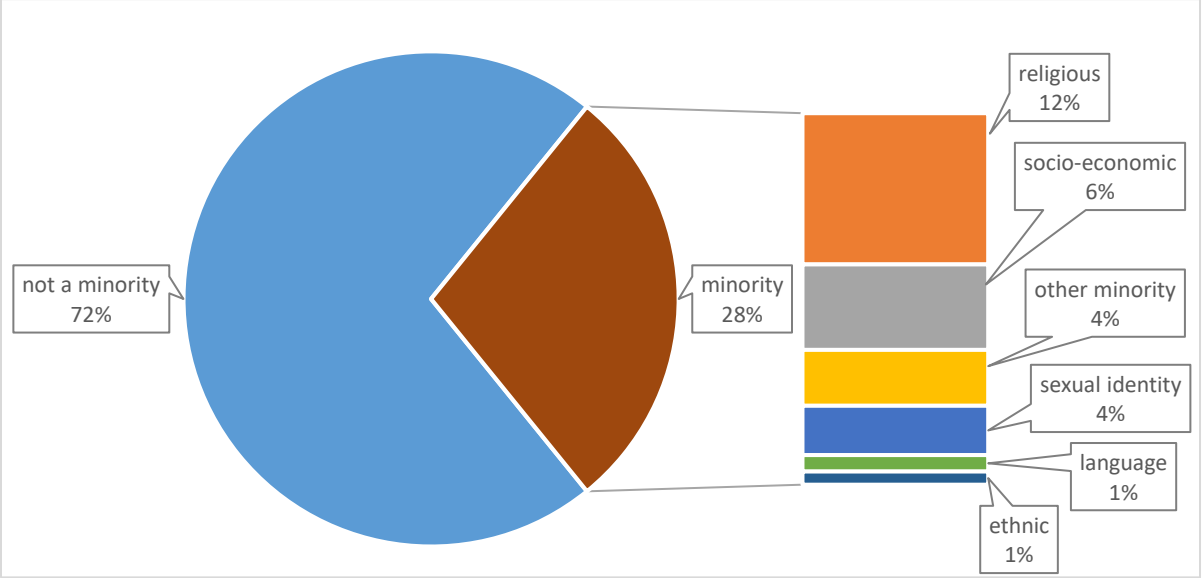



Figure 4.5 presents data on students' affiliation to different minorities, adjusted for missing answers (3 %) that were omitted from the chart. We can observe that the majority of students (72 %) did not identify themselves as belonging to any minority, while 28 % considered themselves as belonging to at least one. Although multiple choice of answers was possible, only 8 students (2 %) reported to belong to two (or more) different minorities. In the chart their answers are subsumed in the categories of the minorities they chose. Religion was chosen as the most often response among the students that saw themselves as belonging to a certain minority. However, it is somewhat doubtful how many of the answers in this category are 'justifiably' included in this category. Namely, in students' optional comments some students reported that they consider themselves as being either 'Christian' or 'atheist' and thus (in their opinion) belonging to a certain religious minority. According to Statistics Finland (2016) 73 % of the population belongs to the (Christian) Lutheran national church and other Lutheran churches, while 24,3 % of people could be either considered atheist or their religious affiliation is unknown. In either case it would be difficult to argue that being a Christian or an

atheist in Finland could be seen as belonging to a minority,[10] although that does not diminish the importance of the fact that some students do indeed feel that way.

Apart from religious minorities, 6 % of students considered themselves as belonging to a socio-economic minority, 4 % to other minorities, 4 % to minorities in terms of sexual identity and only 1 % as belonging to a language and/or ethnic minority. The fact that only 1 % of students considered themselves as belonging to an ethnic or language minority could be considered as indicative not just of a very high level of homogeneity of (national) origin, as discussed under Figures 4.3 and 4.4, but also of both a certain level of inequality in terms of access to university[11] education among migrant and/or non-ethnically Finnish population, and of a seemingly universally spread idea of belonging to a homogeneous (Finnish) nation – at least among the student population. While this could probably be considered as self-evident, especially in the Finnish context, where the number of people from other countries remains relatively low, it is nevertheless significant for the context of this research. The significance lies in the suggestion that, according to data available, students of Finnish universities have in their daily life little (or no) direct contact with students from other countries (since 95 % of them were born in Finland) and that consequently their higher education experience is shaped by a very ethnically, linguistically, culturally, socio-economically, religiously etc. homogenous environment, or that at the very least that this environment is reported by students as such.

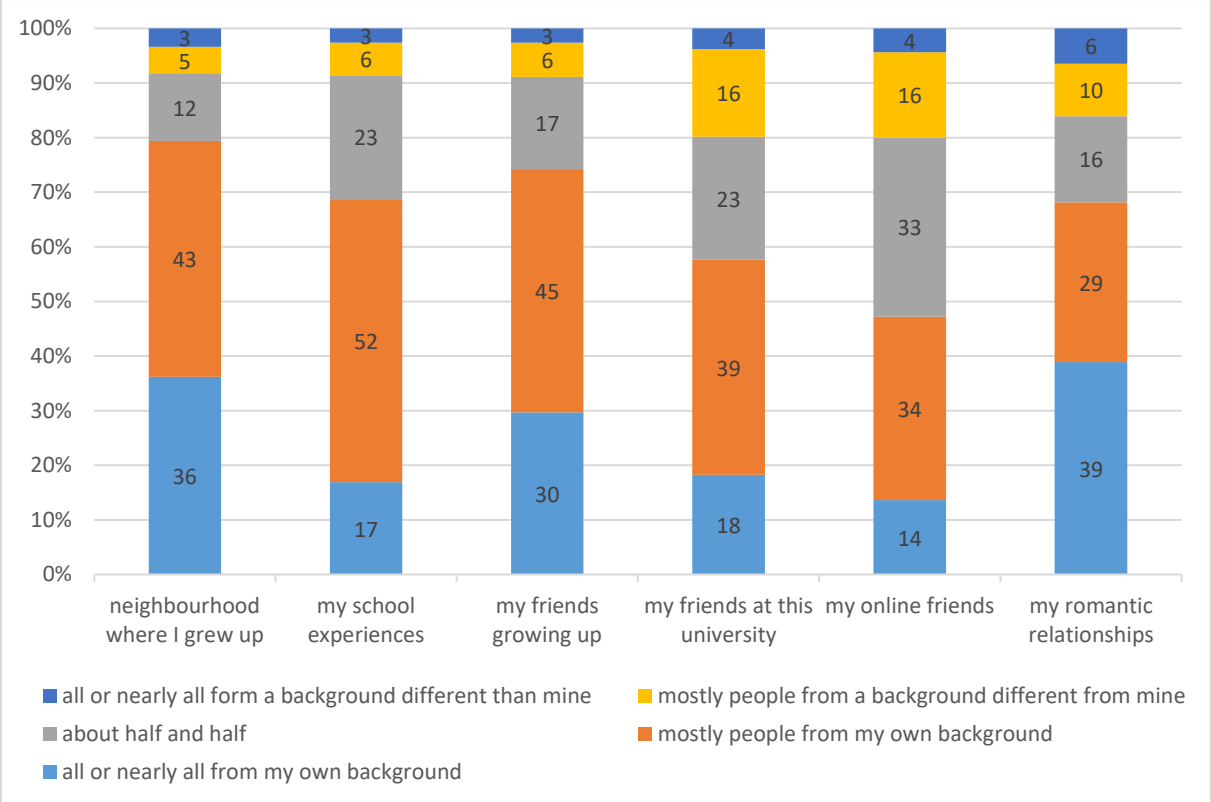
In this regard Finland considerably stands out among the countries that participated in the *EIHE* project. In comparison for instance to Finnish 1 % of ethnic minorities among the student population, 19,5 % of students in the neighbouring Sweden considered themselves as belonging to an ethnic minority, 8 % in Slovakia, 13 % in Ireland and 23 % in the UK – provided the comparison is limited only to other European countries that participated in the project. This seems to suggest that Finland is indeed 'exceptional' when it comes to the subject of

[10] Such expressions could however be considered as potentially indicative of what Appadurai (2006) refers to as "fear of small numbers" – that is situations of uncertainty and (perceived) scarcity, when a majority population begins to feel threatened by various minorities. However, as this part of the analysis deals (exclusively) with the presentation of demographic data, the subject will not be explored in more detail here, but will instead be discussed extensively in section 5.3.

[11] According to Statistics Finland (2016) 4,2 % of people living in Finland were registered as 'foreigners', while 10,7 % of the population spoke a language that was primarily not–Finnish. Both of these rates are significantly higher (especially language) than the ones reported in the survey, which leads to a conclusion that students of foreign origin or of other ethnic origin (language is here considered as indicative) are under–represented in the student population.

ethnic or national homogeneity. Whether this extremely high level of homogeneity (among student population) corresponds to actual realities within the country – given that, according to Statistics Finland (2016), almost 11 % percent of the population spoke primarily a non-Finnish language, or whether it is a result of various other factors, including policies and practices that lead to national 'homogenization' (among student population), is subject to further debate. The results of responses related to socialization parameters that were available for analysis within the survey, and that explore the issue of exposure to (cultural, social and economic) diversity in other stages and dimensions of students' life (such as the period of their growing up, or their friendships and romantic partnerships) are presented below in Figure 4.6.

Figure 4.6: Interactions of students with people from different cultural, social or economic backgrounds




According to data, presented in Figure 6, it is possible to observe that a considerable majority of students (79 %) grew up in an environment with people that were either mostly or predominantly from their own background, which could be interpreted as them having an experience of being considered as part of a majority population (not just in cultural, but also

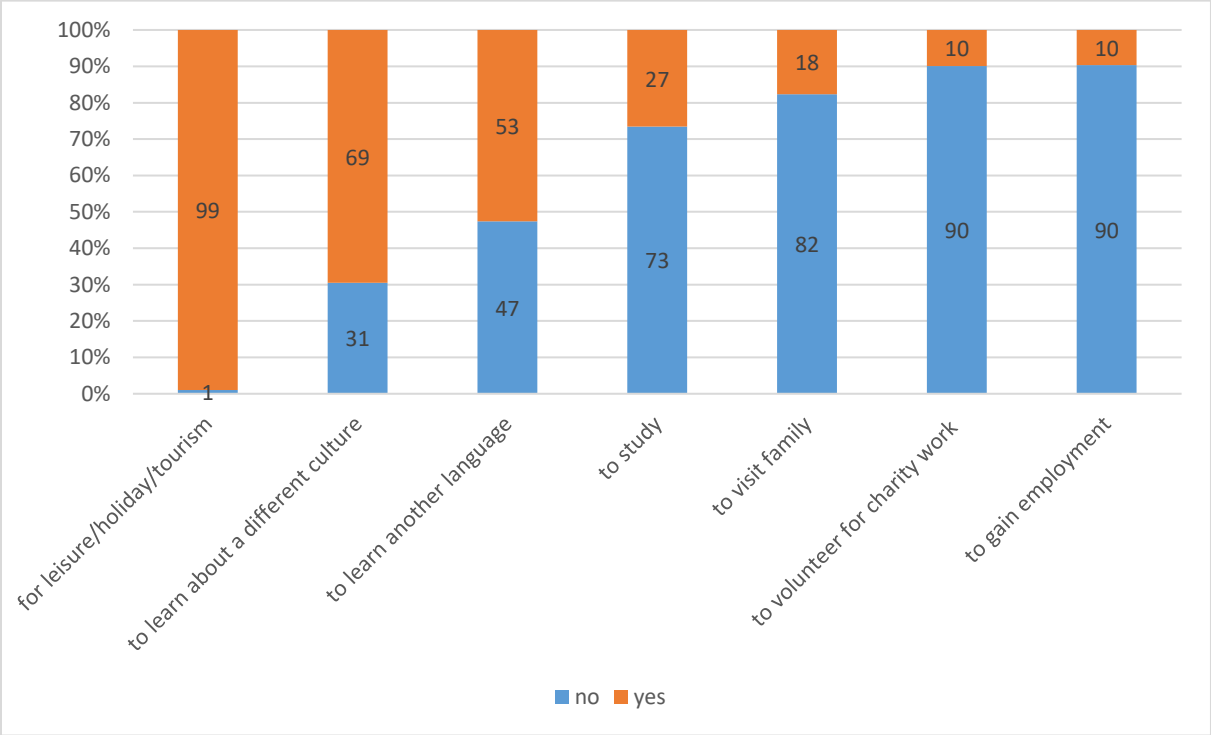
in social and economic terms) in the formative years of their life. Similar patterns could be traced in their school experiences where 69 % reported being surrounded by people from a background that was mostly or predominantly the same as their own and the students likewise claimed that their friends came largely (75 %) from a background similar to or the same to their own.

University experience could be considered as somewhat responsible for a larger diversity among students' friends, as they reported that more of their friends (20 %) come mostly or predominantly from a background that is different to their own, compared to the period of their growing up where only 9 % of students reported having such trends. Similar trends can be observed also in students' online friendships, where the share of students whose friends are mostly or predominantly from different backgrounds is the same (20 %) as in University friendships, however in this group a third of students (33 %) also reported having friends that are about 'half and half' from a background different to their own. The most intimate question about students' romantic relationships however suggests that when seeking romantic partnership, the largest share of students (39 %) chooses partners that are almost entirely or entirely from their own background. Indeed, this share is even higher than in the response to the question about the neighbourhood of their growing up. If we compare the answers to questions about romantic relationships, friends when growing up, university friends and online friends, we can observe that as the level of intimacy of relationships decreases (from romantic to online) so decreases also the share of students who reported having friends or partners mostly or predominantly from a background that is the same as their own. Inversely, the share of students with friends from different backgrounds increases.

This pattern seems to largely resonate with Bonilla-Silva's (2006, 28) observations about partner and friendship choices of white Americans and American students in particular. Bonilla-Silva argued that the idea of 'individual choice' of partners and friends of the same skin colour or from the same (ethnical) background could be considered as one of the manifestations of discursive practices of "naturalization" that employs specific phraseology that seeks to "normalize events or actions that could otherwise be interpreted as racially motivated /…/ or racist." However, when analysing this question, it should be noted that a 'different social, cultural or economic background' in Finland (which was the description used in the questionnaire) likely means something completely different than in the US. As it was

possible to observe in the demographic analysis above, Finnish (student) population could be considered as extremely homogenous (in comparable international terms) and thus differences in personal background as reported by the students' about their friends or their partners background are hardly to be considered in terms of ethnic, cultural or linguistic diversity, let alone to the differences in skin colour that Bonilla-Silva (2006) emphasizes. It seems more reasonable to assume that these differences should be considered as related to regional, socio-economic and perhaps religious background of the students.

Figure 4.7: Students travel experience




Another set of answers that was available for analysis in the *EIHE* survey and that can help illustrate better students experience with diversity and/or cultural contexts, different from their own, comes from the question related to travel experience of students. Virtually all students (99 %) reported to have had at least some experience with travel outside Finland, although for most students this travel was related to leisure or tourism. When analysing the answers in Figure 7 it deserves taking into account also the fact that only 21 % of students confirmed that they spent more than six months travelling or living outside their home country. For all other students (79 %) this experience was of shorter duration. As already mentioned, most students decided to travel for leisure or touristic reasons, however learning about a different culture came (somewhat unexpectedly) in second place, with 69 % of

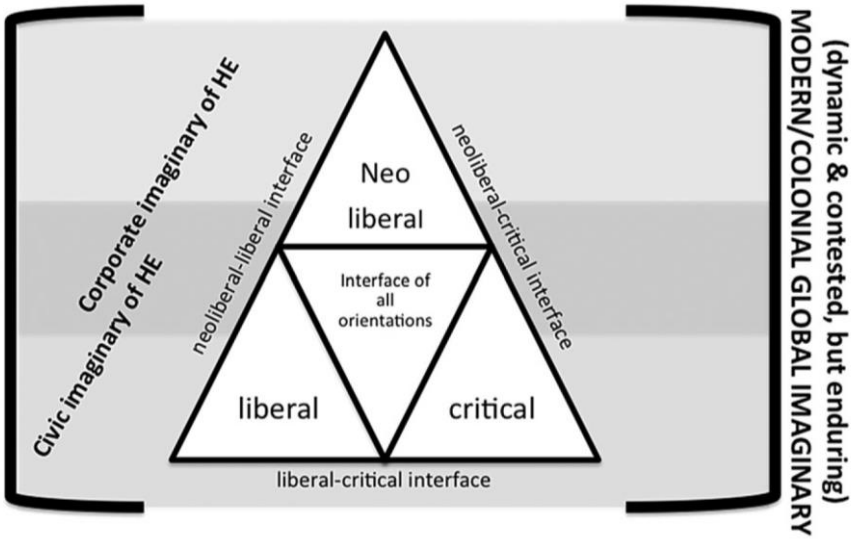
students suggesting that a desire to learn more about a different culture motivated them for travel. In this regard interest in other cultures seems to surpass learning a new language (53 %), studying abroad (27%), visiting family (18 %), volunteering and/or charity work (10 %) and seeking employment (10 %) as a motivational factor. Given the already presented homogeneity of the student population in terms of language, ethnicity and origin, as well as in terms of their friendship and partnership interests, the fact that 69 % of students considered learning about different cultures as an important motivational factor for travel is certainly worth exploring. However, as the purpose of this section was predominately to present the demographic context of students, the relationship of students towards difference and their perceptions of difference will be discussed in more detail in section 4.3. In section 4.3 students' open-ended responses will be presented and discussed in the context of demographic data and other quantitative data that was presented in this section. Before proceeding to that part, section 5.2 introduces a mapping of open-ended responses onto the main *EIHE* project social cartography with purpose of deeper contextualization.

## 4.2 Mapping students' responses onto main *EIHE* social cartography

This section presents the findings of the mapping of qualitative data onto the main *EIHE* social cartography and discusses some interpretative possibilities of the findings. The purpose of the mapping of discourses is to explore to what extent and in what ways are the 3 main discursive orientations (liberal, neoliberal, critical) and their interfaces represented in students' responses to 4 open-ended questions. This section features three sub-sections. The first sub-section (4.2.1) is dedicated to the presentation of examples of answers that correspond to different orientations and interstices. The analysis in this sub-section focuses on the qualitative components of these answers, while the next sub-section (4.2.2) focuses on quantification of qualitative data in order to make a comparison between levels of representation of different discursive orientations possible. The third sub-section (4.2.3) is dedicated to an interpretation of some key findings though various theoretical lenses. The initial mapping and quantification process are considered as tools of discursive contextualization for the analysis of articulations of Finnish exceptionalism and perceptions about difference and Other(ness) in students' responses, that are discussed in more detail in

section 4.3. As an introduction to the mapping and quantification process, a re-production of the main *EIHE* social cartography is made available below as a visual reminder of the different orientations and their interfaces, according to which the qualitative data was quantified.

Figure 4.8: *EIHE* social cartography




Source: Andreotti et al. (2016, 6).

The open-ended answers were analysed and classified according to the analytical matrix presented in the methodological chapter. The analysis with performed by omitting the missing answers and answers, considered unclassifiable, from the charts. The percentage rates of unclassifiable answers in different questions ranged from 1 % to 6 %. This category includes answers, such as 'I do not know', 'I do not have an opinion', 'I have no experience' and similarly undefinable answers. Much larger than the category of unclassifiable answers was the category of missing responses. Depending upon individual question 35 % to 55 % of students did not provide an answer to the open-ended questions. This is significantly higher than the response rate to the quantitative (multiple choice) answers, where on average between 1 and 2 % of students did not provide an answer. Although also in other countries that participated in the *EIHE* survey students were less inclined to answer qualitative (open-ended) than quantitative questions, Finnish response rates are (together with Slovakia and China) among the lowest in the entire *EIHE* survey. Indeed, it was the general absence of open-ended answers, where students could freely express their opinion – together with the content of

their answers, which inspired the development of the social cartography with the acronym S.I.L.E.N.C.E. that is used as an analytical tool in section 4.3.

### 4.2.1 Examples of answers in different discursive orientations and interstices

Although the answers presented in this section are considered as generally representative of other answers in their categories, they should not be taken as definitive – that is as solely defining the range of answers classified under each category. Examples are taken from all four open-ended questions that were available in the *EIHE* student survey:

i) How does internationalization affect society in general?

ii) How do you imagine global citizens should think, relate and/or act in the world?

iii) Apart from possible language difficulties, do international students or students with diverse backgrounds face challenges in your institution?

iv) Can diversity enrich your university experience?

As some orientations were more represented under certain questions or within certain (field of study) groups of students not all questions or all groups will be represented in equal measure under each category. Indeed, the lack of representation of some groups or some questions could be considered as somewhat indicative of the distribution of answers that is presented in more detail in the next sub-section (5.2.2). The responses presented here are coded using a coding system that is comprised of: i) a two letter code for field of study (ED – education, ME – medicine, BS – behavioural sciences, TO – theology); ii) a three letter number, indicating the consecutive order of response in the set; iii) a Latin number, indicating the question from where the answer is taken. For example, a response with a code 'ME057ii' refers to the 57$^{th}$ answer in the group of students of medicine, answering the second question. The answers chosen as examples of each category are considered as largely representative (but not defining) of answers in these categories. The presentation of examples begins with three main orientations, followed by their interstices.

Liberal orientation:

> *Internationalization helps to understand difficult questions from different perspectives. It promotes solidarity, prevents racism and increases experience on the ability to affect difficult global challenges together, such as climate change or differences in income. (BS066i)*
>
> *I don't feel that there is any racism or unequal treatment, contrarily I think that international students are taken good care of. (BS036iii)*
>
> *People who understand different cultures get along with each other better. (BS013i)*
>
> *A global citizen should acknowledge and appreciate their own cultural background, be adaptable and appreciate and respect all other nationalities and cultures as well. (BS078ii)*
>
> *A global citizen does not define themself according to a certain country or ethnicity, but instead sees the world as a whole and its inhabitants as fellow citizens. (TO043ii)*
>
> *Global citizen should be civilised and up to date with global issues. The most important things are openness, solidarity and tolerance. A global citizen's actions are surely virtuous based on these qualities. (TO080ii)*
>
> *Global citizens should live in harmony. It would be important to pay attention and to be aware of others and respect them. One should give everyone equal chances in life, without depriving anyone. Getting along is pretty simple if there is mutual respect, equality and a handful of solidarity. (ED073ii)*
>
> *Internationalization increases equality, helps to understand other cultures and enables many things. (ME011i)*
>
> *We have very few exchange students, but we take very care of them. (ME013iii)*
>
> *Internationalization –> knowledge about others –> prejudices disappear (TO083i)*

The answers in the liberal orientation usually emphasize tolerance, acceptance, respect, lack (or reduction) of prejudice and racism. There is mostly no acknowledgment of discrimination or racialized behaviour, quite inversely, their existence if often explicitly denied (ME013iii, BS036iii). The underlying logic of the liberal orientation seems to be best expressed by the last

cited answer (TO083i), where greater exposure to (cultural) diversity leads to an increase in knowledge about Other(ness) that in turn automatically translates into a reduction of discrimination. In this regards good global citizenship is usually understood as a personal exercise in tolerance, respect and solidarity (ED073ii, T0080ii, BS078ii), rather than critical engagement with structural causes of inequality, indeed there is no evidence to suggest that inequalities are considered as permanent (structural) rather than 'malfunctionings' that can be transcended[12]. Answers in the liberal orientation emphasize mutual benefit of internationalization, learning about and from others for mutual benefit (ED073ii, ME011i, BS013i, BS066i). Differences in knowledge, perspectives and positions are perceived as starting positions that might eventually lead to consensus and be synthesized for a greater good.

Neoliberal orientation:

> *Through internationalisation we can learn new better (and worse, unfunctioning) approaches and thinking models that can be applied to solve our own community's problems, and to improve our own thinking models. (ME070i)*
>
> *[Internationalization brings]: capable workforce from abroad, the gene pool grows. (ME054i)*
>
> *Trade abroad is a lifeline. Finland's role in the EU is a payer, but the EU is still a positive thing. (ME016i)*
>
> *Excellence is achieved through interaction and not through burying yourself in your own projects. The courses need foreign visitors so that the ability and culture would be more versatile. (ME005iv)*
>
> *Studying and job opportunities broaden. (ED099i)*
>
> *Diversely educated employees and the new ideas and approaches of the employees. (ED086i)*

[12] Žižek's (1997) discussion of 'necessary exceptions' as permanent *symptoms* of functioning multicultural capitalism, could be seen as precisely anti–thetical to the perceptions of students, grouped under liberal (and neoliberal) orientation category.

*Internationalisation is important for society to function. No state is so independent that it could cope with without relations, trading etc. with other states. (ED046i)*

*Flexibility, to get along with different kinds of people. Works well in a work-oriented community at least. (TO098ii)*

*I have worked at an international company, in a community with a lot of non-Finns. I think it was a good experience, and also an economic benefit to Finland. (TO098i)*

*Good that there is opportunity to study and work abroad. (BS101i)*

The answers in the neoliberal orientation emphasize direct benefits of internationalization or diversity either to the students, their home communities or their country (Finland). Answers in this category emphasize material or economic benefits, such as increase in trade (ED046i, NE016i), study and work opportunities (BS101i, TO098i, ED099i), and improvements in problem solving and capacity building (TO098ii, ED086i, ME005iv, ME070i) compared to a more culture-oriented emphasis of the liberal orientation. Similarly to liberal tradition, answers in this category express opinions that seem largely oblivious of any potential challenges, structural injustices or power relations. Answers in the neoliberal orientation differ from the liberal also in their emphasis on one-sided benefits (for the self or the nation), compared to mutual benefits, emphasized in the liberal orientation. Similarly to a liberal orientation, increasing internationalization and diversity is seen as an opportunity for increased knowledge (about others and their ideas), however this increased knowledge is seen as commodifiable for either personal, corporate or national benefit.

Critical orientation:

*Internationalization in itself is important, especially respecting, learning and developing, but from an educational perspective it creates challenges. At the moment international listings guide university education too much and school objectives are made based on them. International publications are given too much weight and the requirements of producing them is too high. This clearly affects the level of education and what our university education renews. Society in general should be critical about internationalisation and stop to think who's benefit is actually being favoured. (BS009i)*

*Solidarity, free mobility, renewing and maintaining culture are good things. The uncertain things are the reasons why it is wanted that people become more international. Financial interests, pursuing the maximum profit of enterprises or wasting resources + hunting for cheap labour are not real reasons. (BS011i)*

*Internationalization opens many doors, but not everyone wants them. If international experiences are taken for granted, it affect many people negatively. It also increases competition, which might commercialize industries that don't need to be. (BS067i)*

*I mainly just think about acting on things but I don't act. Even though I have a lot of international experiences, I think that they are the experiences of a privileged person. In reality I don't know much about the living conditions of most people. (BS082ii)*

*Well at least in the theology faculty you may run into problems with religion. (TO002iii)*

*Even though I mainly see problems in the economic sector (exploitation of resources and people) I generally think that internationalisation forces people to look at things more diversely. So it is a good thing. (TO081i)*

*I generally see internationalisation as a positive thing: it opens up opportunities to individuals to broaden their worldview and experience. However, it also has negative side effects (e.g. difficulties adopting for immigrants, international crime such as the "easier mobility" of human trafficking"). But maybe it also help to open our eyes to global crisis etc. (TO086i)*

*From the point of view of internationalization, the possibilities for people to move around, the spread of information and knowledge, it is positive, although not equal at the moment. Global market is negative from the point it is increasing social inequality, environmental issues etc. (ED009i)*

*On the one hand internationalisation brings a lot of positives but on the other hand in social conversations, I think arguments from elsewhere are brought up to eagerly: for example admiring other countries' ways of taking care of social problems. (ED036i)*

*My friends who have moved to Finland permanently have faced challenges with e.g. equivalence of degrees (even at university level). (ME053iii)*

The answers in the critical category generally emphasize (to various degree) the complexity of issues (TO086i BS009i, BS011i, ED036i), related to internationalization and diversity, recognizing systemic injustices and inequalities (ED009i, TO002iii, BS009i) and existing power relations (BS011i, BS009i, TO08i). This category would include also answers that emphasize a need for (or a recognition of) self-reflection, privilege and one's own positionality, however only one such example (BS082ii) was found in the entire survey. Similarly, it should be noted that other (potential answers) in this category would include answers that would discuss for instance systemic forms of racism or discrimination, where again only one potential answer was identified (ME053iii). And finally, this category would contain also answers related to personal and national complicity and participation in reproduction of systemic harm and enduring inequalities (through various policies and practices grounded in political and existential investments), however, no such answers were found.

Neoliberal-liberal interstice:

> *People's cultural diversities broaden learning experiences by bringing new perspectives and opinions. In addition teaches everyone to respect difference, which is a necessary skill in order to succeed in a globalised world. (ME092iv)*
>
> *I don't know. Depending on one's personality it may be difficult to "find your place". I believe though that people are generally received well at the university level. (ME064iii)*
>
> *Language difficulties may cause difficulties with learning. (ME005iii)*
>
> *At least I have not noticed any other problem than problems with Finnish language. Maybe that is because I am on an international programme and I am part of international operations. (ED072iii)*
>
> *The effects of internationalization are used to scare people a lot from different sources, but I believe that these fears are mostly pointless. An internationalising world is the world of the future, whether it was wanted or not. Rejecting it only makes life more difficult in all ways. (ED076i)*
>
> *[On challenges of international students] Dining, using the toilet. (ED049ii)*

*Adjusting to a local culture is always a challenge. (ED047iii)*

*They surely face the same challenges as other students. (ED008iii)*

*I can't say. The exchange students that I know have adjusted well. E.g. there hasn't been any racism. (TO070iii)*

*Yes it's surely difficult to get to know people. Depends a lot on your own initiative. Sometimes it seems that it is difficult to get to know others. (TO13iii)*

Answers gathered under the liberal-neoliberal interstice are characterised by perspectives on internationalization and diversity that combine self-interest (such as skills and knowledge acquisition) with general or other-oriented benefit (such as increased respect, tolerance or lowering of prejudice). Further a majority of answers in this category could be seen as portraying a 'normalized' understanding of potential difficulties, discrimination and inequalities, by either claiming that any challenges are simply natural or normal[13] (ED047iii, ED008ii), related to personal initiative or types of personality (TO13iii, ME064iii) or external issues, such as language or other 'normalized' reasons (ME005iii, ED072iii, ED049ii). The answers included in this category include also a large number of other 'normalizing' answers, such as 'All things have their positive and negative sides' and a group of answers that could be considered as avoiding answering, such as 'I don't know, because I have no personal experience' and similar. Although many of the answers in this category would probably not be considered as directly related to either liberal or neoliberal (political) orientations in the strict sense of the word, they do however share the tendency of emphasizing individualized perceptions and understandings (that are central to both these orientations) and exhibit a general lack of (observable) critical reflection, which is why they were included in this category.

[13] Again it would be possible to claim that some of these observations resonate with Bonila–Silva's (2006) conceptualization of 'naturalization' as one of the four frames of new kinds of racism.

Liberal-critical interstice:

> *For example in Finland many Finnish students may shy away from making contact with different people, even though they don't intend to discriminate against them. (BS048iii)*
>
> *Internationalization has a positive effect, but also creates problems. Conflicts between cultures in certain countries are examples of the problems. (BS063i)*
>
> *It could be that it is difficult to from relationships with Finns, seen as Finns stay in their own circles. More opportunities for confrontation? (TO049iii)*
>
> *I have an understanding that at least exchange students make friends more easily with each other - social prejudice and difficulties approaching exist, even though most of the students are for internationalism. Both university staff and students, just like other people, may have difficulties understanding minorities. I don't think that for example gender or religious diversity can be seen in the university community. (TO063iii)*
>
> *Adjusting to a new culture is almost always difficult. Also students from different backgrounds may face discrimination. (TO097iii)*
>
> *Difficult to approach Finnish groups. It is difficult to get into close Finnish groups of friends. (ED0003ii)*
>
> *The Finnish culture warms up slowly, and I believe exchange students have difficulty getting into the Finnish university community. (ED013iii)*
>
> *No experience, but they may face discrimination or differences. (ED068iii)*
>
> *Probably loneliness because the Finnish way of welcoming people is quite a slow process. Culture and climate shock. (ME005iii)*
>
> *It is sometimes difficult to start a conversation with a Finn. (ME052iii)*

Answers in liberal-critical interstice emphasize the cultural dimension of encounter with international students or with internationalisation as such. This category includes the rare examples of answers, where discrimination is recognized directly (ED068iii), but includes predominantly answers where lack of contact between international and Finnish students is recognized, however this segregation is (at least explicitly) largely not considered a sign of discrimination or a form of racism, but is rather explained in terms of 'shyness' and/or

'introvertedness' of Finnish students or Finnish culture. Words such as racism or discrimination are employed extremely rarely in students' answers. For instance, in response to question 3 about potential challenges that international students may face the word 'racism' is used only 4 times in the entire survey and two of these examples (BS037iii, TO070iii) explicitly deny any existence of racism. Similarly, the term 'discrimination' is mentioned only 7 times. One student expressed a belief that there is not a lot of discrimination present (TO056iii), while others considered that discrimination "may be present" or is "probable" (ED002iii, ED068iii, ED024iii, ME066iii, T097iii). Only one student (BS071iii) reported occurrence of discrimination without using some form of diminutive expression next to the term. Thus the answers in this category mostly encompass answers that speak about 'difficultness' (ED003iii, ME052iii, T049iii), lack of understanding (T0063iii), loneliness of international students (ME005iii), or 'challenges' fitting in, rather necessarily directly referring to what could be considered as discriminatory or segregationist behaviour. When discrimination, prejudice, segregation or racism are (potentially) recognized they are not perceived as systemic, but rather attributed to specific (individual) cases or explained away in terms of 'normalities' of Finnish culture.

Neoliberal-critical interstice:

> *Internationalism and e.g. the opportunities to work abroad are good. People who cross the borders illegally are negative. (BS076i)*
>
> *The positive are easy access (people, products) but the effects of the world economy on Finland for example can also be negative (e.g. the current recession). (ED022i)*
>
> *Sometimes globalisation dims Finnish traditions. Globalisation is not a bad thing as such, but it does have damaging side effects. (TO020i)*
>
> *The mixing of cultures mainly causes conflicts, a feeling of insecurity, rootlessness and unnecessary identity crises caused by individualism. Combined with a violent market capitalism, it corrupts and rots everything distinctive, small, local and valuable – thus who we are and where we come from. (TO066i)*

*[On internationalisation:] On one hand it brings workforce, on the other hand crime. (ME076i)*

*Global citizenship is set as an unclear but fundamental ideal, and a European in particular cannot publicly declare themselves to be devotedly proud of their culture/inherited values. An ideal global citizenship gushes with cultural self-loathing, self-denial and the collecting of "good person" points. (TO066ii)*

*You only see them [international students] eating, it is manageable. (TO085iii)*

*[Diversity] Brings new conflicts to teaching. (TO083iv)*

*It usually seems as though exchange students have their own groups and that they don't really interact with locals, but this is just an opinion (I don't know any exchange students). (ED022iii)*

*Cultural difference shocking, other countries often old-fashioned (religions, ideologies, traditions…). (ED080iii)*

The answers in the neoliberal-critical interstice could perhaps also be referred to as 'neo-conservative' in the sense that not only do they mostly express negative sentiments about internationalization and contact with (cultural) diversity, but that people from other cultures and/or from outside the Finnish (ethnic) national body are perceived in exclusively negative terms and as a threat to inherently benevolent/good Finnish people and state. Internationalization and immigrants (in particular) are considered as a threat to Finnish national identity and/or economy (T0020i, TO066i, BS076i, ED022i), bearers of 'old-fashioned ideas' (ED080iii), criminal (ME076i), causing conflict (TO066i), while international students are perceived as unapproachable (ED022ii), source of conflict (TO083iv) or as people that are better avoided (TO085iii). The positions articulated under the neoliberal-critical interstice are not necessarily coherent or mutually compatible as they often articulate opposing views – especially in terms of perceptions related to the economic impact of internationalization, which is one of the main focus points of answers in this category. Thus the impact of internationalisation and (resulting) contact between of different cultures could be articulated as either harming the economic interests of the nation (ED02ii), or as providing (required) workforce (ME076i) and opportunities for work abroad (BS076i). Answers in this category could be seen as articulating a stance where a clear line is drawn between desired migration

(that benefits the nation and the economy) and undesired (illegal) migration that is seen as a source of trouble, conflict and crime. Unlike the liberal-critical interstice that contains answers that are seemingly oblivious to political-economic dimensions of (increased) internationalization and emphasize the cultural aspects of internationalisation (from the perspective of international students and/or immigrants), the answers in the neoliberal-critical interstice acknowledge the political-economic dimensions of internationalization, but argue for the preservation of national identity and unity from the perspective of the mainstream population. Unlike critical orientation, neither of these two interstices features answers that could be seen as articulating understandings of structural inequalities, injustices, violence, exploitation, privilege and/or power relations, except when (in the case of neoliberal-critical interstice) Finland or Finnish people are seen as victims or greater global forces (TO066i, ED022i).

Liberal-neoliberal-critical interstice:

> *International understanding can further mutual understanding, but it can dim understanding of one's own culture. An excessive amount of cooperation and unifying is not good. (TO014i)*
>
> *A broader cultural knowledge can broaden perspective and knowledge about people with different backgrounds. Internationalisation also brings obligation to conform and for continuous developmental work that society can't always afford and government runs into debts e.g. development cooperation package of Greece's stimulus package. The aims and projects are in themselves good and ethical, they're just not realistic and thus there are practical concrete problems, usually concerning money/resources. (BS006i)*
>
> *God and bad sides. Varied e.g. crime, increases the spread of diseases etc. But generally a good thing, we get support from each other. (ME060i)*
>
> *On the one hand prejudice and racism decrease through internationalisation, but on the other hand the conflict between different cultures (and religions) produce uncertainty and a feeling of threat. (ED063i)*

*Internationalization increases awareness of different cultures and e.g. inequality, which creates a very important perspective. On the other hand, it also brings problems, which wouldn't necessarily exist without internationalization, for example, crime, terrorism etc. (ED012i)*

*Internationalization offers opportunities, such as eases access, but on the other hand creates new challenges. Access of illegal money from one country to another and criminal organisations are a clear social problem that should be addressed. (ED015i)*

*It brings good things, such as the spreading and appreciation of different cultures, but also bad things such as social problems and prejudice, it also brings good to the economy e.g. expanding the market. (ED011i)*

*Good to be aware of what other cultures are like. You don't need to kill off your own culture though because of minority. (TO087i)*

*– Social immigrants come to us without a job or study place. + We learn about other culture. – Clustering immigrants in the same area. (TO089i)*

*I appreciate internationalisation, but I don't like that Finnish culture is altered because of it. (BS038i)*

Unlike the answers in the neoliberal-critical interstice, that focus (almost) exclusively on negative aspects of internationalisation and cultural contact and where any positive aspects are considered exclusively in economic terms (opportunities for work), the answers in the liberal-neoliberal-critical interface constitute a group of responses that emphasizes (or at least acknowledges) certain culturally positive aspects of internationalization, such as: appreciation of different cultures (ED011i), learning about them (TO087i, TO089i, ED012i, BS006i, TO014i), and/or economic benefits (ED011i). However, these positive learning experiences are often accompanied by perceptions about threats to national culture and national identity (BS038i, TO087i, ED063i, TO014i), increased crime (ED015i, ED012i, ME060i) and other threats, such as ghettoization (TO089i), spread of diseases (ME060i), terrorism (ED012i) or economic disadvantages for the nation (TO089i, ED015i, BS060i). The answers, gathered in this category could thus be seen as predominantly indicative of an internally conflictual position where an investment in liberal ideals (of égaliberté) clashes with a desire to preserve natural identity, homogeneity and stability against a 'threatening' Other. In this regard (a limited) contact with

diversity is seen as valuable (for multiple purposes), however "an excessive amount of cooperation and unifying is not good" (TO014i), since it can "dim understanding of one's own culture" (TO014i), "alter it" (BS038i) or even "kill [it] off" (TO087i).

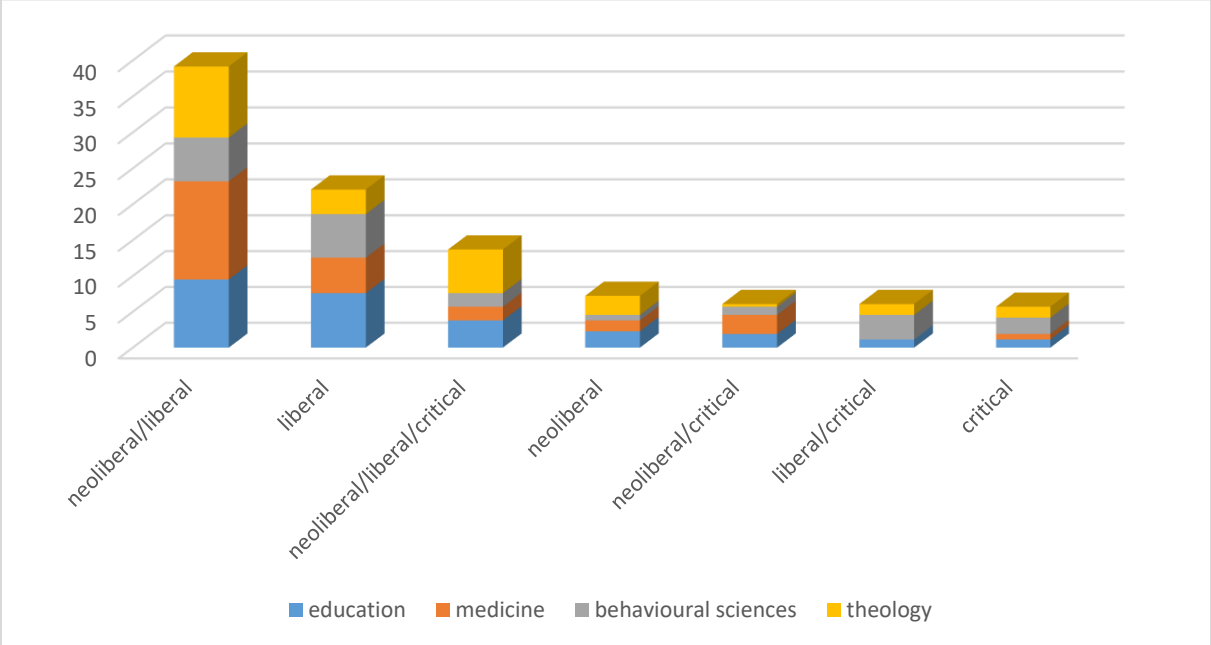
Although in the analytical matrix also relational and relational-liberal orientations were theorized as possible categories of enunciation, no responses that would acknowledge a need for existential (not merely political and socio-economic) re-orientation in terms of facing multiple global crises, were registered. Although 4 answers were observable that emphasized a need of drawing attention to relationality (mostly in terms of ethos of Christian love and care), these answers were included in the liberal category, as their number was too low to be able to constitute a specific category, and they did not seem to express any (manifest) acknowledgment of structural or systemic problems. In general, virtually no answers were registered that would explicitly suggest a need for *any kind* of change, be that on a relational, political, economic, social or any other personal or structural level – not even among answers in the critical category. Only one student (ED017ii) explicitly claimed that the "This globe is heading into such a state, that without a worldwide change of attitudes, awful things will happen," while 4 other students considered the capacity to adapt to (already happening) change as a positive trait of global citizens. In all other answers change is either not mentioned explicitly at all or is considered as something that is better avoided, which again could be interpreted as indicative of a desire for social stability, national homogeneity and (ontological) security that as considered as maintainable by *keeping things as they are*.

### 4.2.2 Representation rates of different discursive orientations and interstices

This section offers an analysis of representation rates of the main discursive orientations and their interstice for each of the four open-ended questions. The analysis presents the results of the quantification process, as outlined in chapter 3 on methodology. The purpose of this analysis is to explore which discursive orientations could be considered as dominant and/or marginal in responses of students to questions about the role of internationalization in society, global citizenship, challenges of international students and the value of diversity in education. Although considerable effort was undertaken to ensure coherence of classification

and the process was discussed with fellow colleagues and project partners, it would be impossible to claim that the results of quantification, presented in this section, should be considered as absolutely definitive and not subject to other possible interpretations. As the classification of discourses is always to at least some extent a subjective process, influenced by the personal background and theoretical framework of the research, I do not aim to claim to have achieved objectivity of results in a normative sense. I do however believe that the obtained results are (as much as possible) in coherence with the proposed analytical matrix (that could of course be conceptualized differently), that they were tested for interpretative difference and robustness with research partners, and that they can offer us a generally consistent and realistic overview of representations of different discursive orientations and interstices. Since examples of answers, gathered under individual categories, was presented in more detail in the previous section, this section is dedicated only to analysis of the results of the quantification process and their potential implications. The results are colour-coded, which makes possible also a certain level of visual comparison between groups of students relative to their field of study. The response rates to each of the four questions are presented individually rather than aggregately, as this enables a more nuanced analysis of the discursive field – related to each specific question.

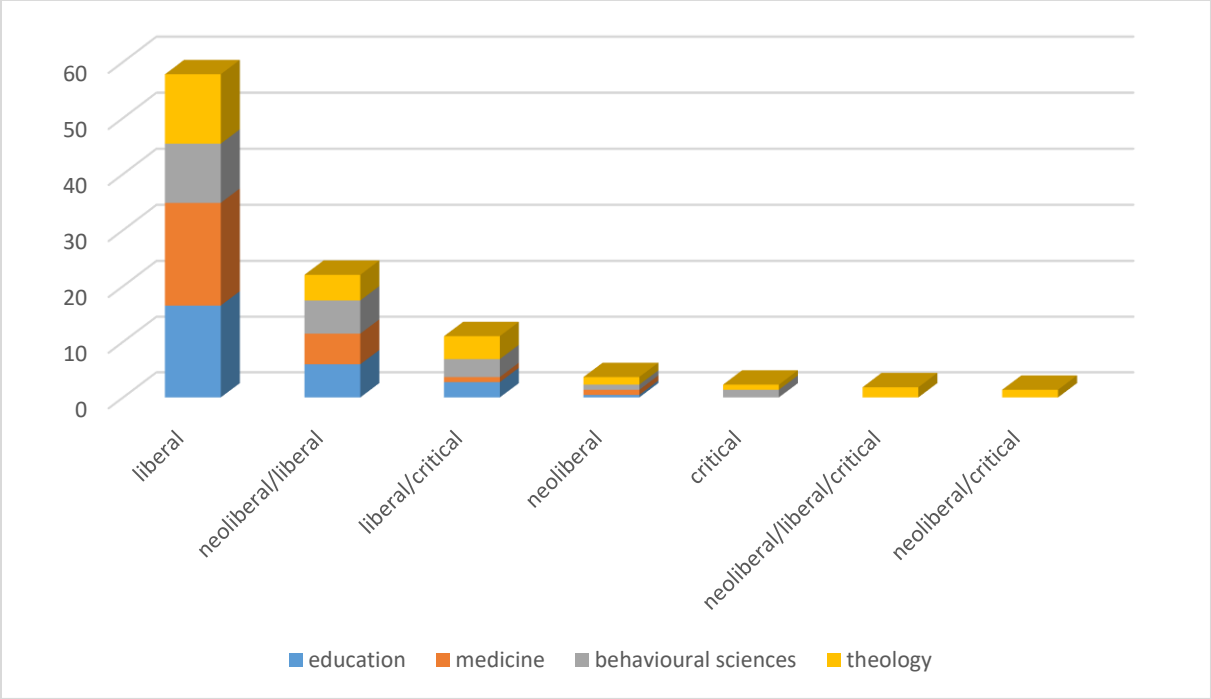
Figure 4.9: How does internationalization affect society in general?



From Figure 4.9 we can observe that 39 % of students provided answers that were classified at the interstice between liberal and neoliberal orientations, with another 22 % classified as liberal and 8 % as neoliberal. In total the liberal, neoliberal orientations and their interstice represent a considerable majority (69 %) of all answers. This means that among two thirds of students it was not possible to register any visible signs of critical reflection (as conceptualized in this study) upon the subject of internationalization, whether that critique would be self, nation, Other, or system-oriented. The most represented critical-related group is the neoliberal-liberal-critical interstice with 13 % of all answers, while the critical orientation itself is the least represented with 5 % of all answers. Although only 5 % of responses were classified as belonging to a critical discursive orientation, this share is actually the highest among all four questions.

The three critical interstices that are marked by a lack of recognition of systemic/structural forms of discrimination, inequalities and power relations represent in total 26 % of all answers. Since many of these responses fall under the neoliberal-liberal-critical interstice and the neoliberal-critical interstice, they represent responses that predominantly express negative perceptions on migration, foreigners and cultural difference. In terms of distribution of answers between students of various fields it would seem that students of behavioural sciences are among the most inclined for critical (and liberal) enunciations, while responses of students of medicine were categorized as belonging predominately to various neoliberal interstices, somewhat similarly to students of theology, whose responses are most represented in the neoliberal-liberal-critical interstice. The responses of students of education seem to be most evenly distributed among different orientations and interstices.

Figure 4.10: How do you imagine global citizens should think, relate and/or act in the world?

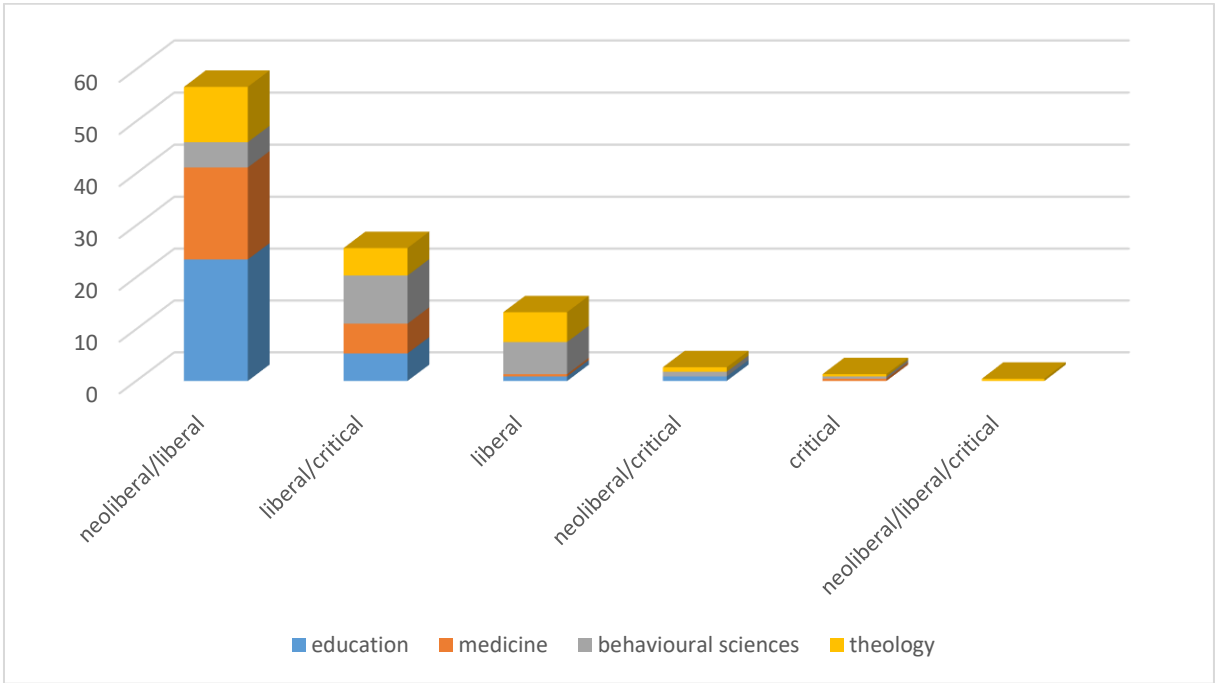



Responses to question 2 were classified as belonging primarily to a liberal orientation, which is not surprising, given the fact that mainstream ideas of global citizenship (in education) are usually associated with liberal concepts (and ideals) of intercultural skills and competences, human rights, gender equality, non-discrimination, critical thinking and active citizenship, with the purpose of contributing "to a more peaceful, tolerant, inclusive and secure world" (UNESCO 2016). In this regard we can observe that 58 % of responses were classified as belonging to a liberal orientation, meaning that students in these answers emphasized above all non-discriminatory behaviour, tolerance, acceptance, respect and learning about others as key characteristics of global citizens. The second largest group (22 %) is the group of the neoliberal/liberal interstice where expressions of liberal values are joined with self-interest, such as a desire to travel, seek education and employment opportunities beyond the national territory, respecting both other cultures, but also personal roots. Together with the liberal-critical interface (11 %) where students emphasized mostly a need for critical thinking, ethically responsible (consumer) behaviour and a capacity to challenge one's own views the liberal orientation and its two accompanying interstices represents 91 % of all answers. All other orientations and interstices were markedly less represented, suggesting that understandings of global citizenship are firmly rooted with a liberal discursive orientation. Again, markedly absent were responses in the critical orientation that would explore

structural and power related challenges of global citizenship or question the concept itself. Only 2 % of answers to this questions were classified as belonging to a critical orientation.

A distribution of answers among different fields of study appears to be fairly similar, with perhaps the medicine group standing out as more prominent in the liberal orientation, while students of theology are somewhat more represented in various critical-related interstices. In general it is possible to observe that a majority of answers in this category adopts a decidedly 'passive' stance towards global citizenship, where students mostly emphasize developing capacities for acceptance, tolerance, openness and respect, rather than suggesting patterns of behaviour, usually associated with ideas about active citizenship, such joining in various struggles against discrimination, considering the personal impact and involvement in various globalized processes, active political participation and/or personal involvement in civil society movements, volunteering and similar activities. Not even traveling or meeting and making friends with people from other parts of the world or other cultures (as somewhat indicative of 'active' involvement and/or personal interest) were considered as necessarily related to global citizenship, although few students did mention that. Again this could be interpreted as reflecting a general dis-interest in the change of the current state of affairs or as a lack of (personal) interest in issues beyond the horizon of the nation state.

Figure 4.11: Apart from possible language difficulties, do international students or students with diverse backgrounds face challenges in your institution?



More than a half of answers (56 %) to question 3 were classified as belonging to the neoliberal-liberal interstice, meaning that students, whose answers were gathered in this category, expressed opinions related to perceptions of a general absence of any evidence of discriminatory behaviour or resorted to 'normalizing' explanations for any potential challenges that international students or students with diverse backgrounds may face. These 'normal' challenges would include suggestions such as issues related to language, omni-present challenges of adapting to a new environment, culture shock, weather, eating habits, administrative systems, and most predominately – 'cultural differences'.

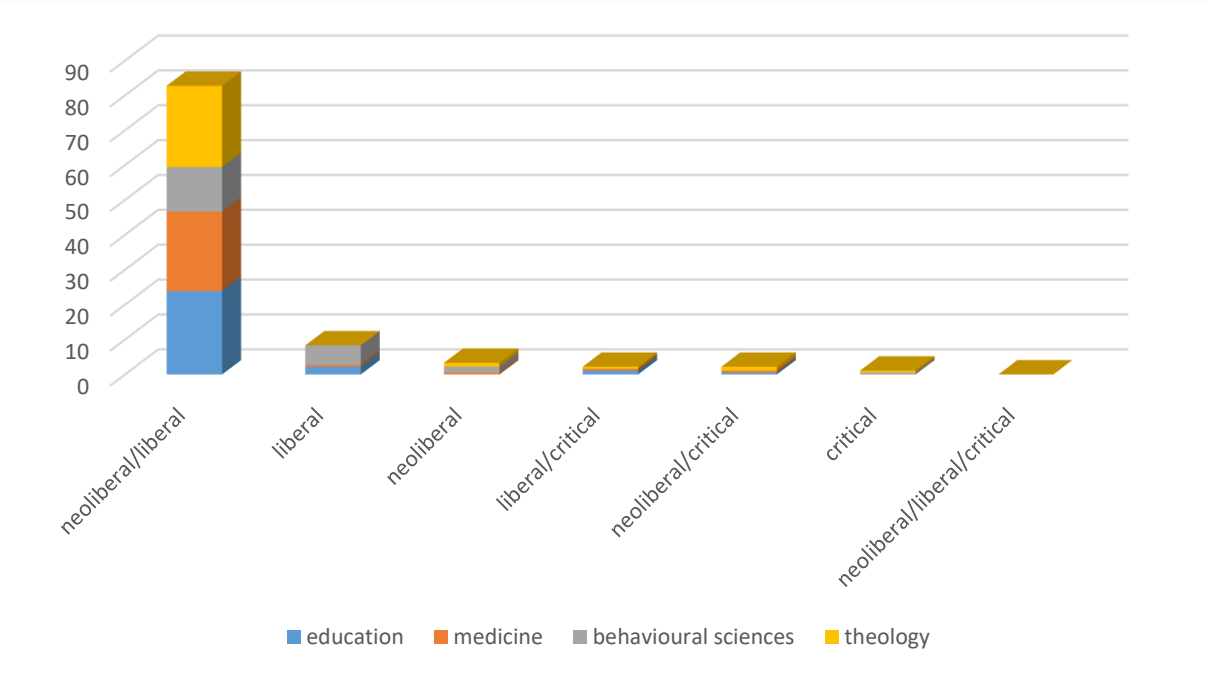
Answers, clustered in the liberal orientation group (13 %) expressed similar sentiments and opinions, but emphasized more the attention and care dedicated to international students or suggested that students may face personal challenges, such as making friends and forming social relationships. However, among answers in the liberal group no explanation is given as to why international students may face such challenges, while the answers, gathered in the liberal/critical interface, explain the reason for these challenges in terms of 'shy' Finnish culture, Finnish introvertedness, undeliberate discrimination, due to already established pre-existing circles of friends and perceptions of Finnish students as generally 'difficult to make friends with.' Indeed 'difficult' could be considered as the defining word in expressing the relationship between Finnish and international students as it appears in 25 % of all responses to this question[14] or 58 times. In comparison (as already mentioned) 'racism' appears 4 times – twice described as non-existing, and only 2 times as (potentially) present (less than 1% of all answers). Similarly, discrimination appears 7 times (3 % of all answers), usually considered as 'potentially' there. These and other versions of what could be considered 'euphemisation' and/or 'sanitization' of language, when it comes to describing (potentially) discriminatory behaviour, will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

Before concluding the analysis of answers related to this question, it should be mentioned that question 3 also featured a closed choice sub-answer, where students were able to choose only between 'yes' and 'no' as optional answers to the question of existence of any challenges for international students or students with diverse background at their institution. 30 % of students responded that international students do not face *any* challenges[15]. In terms of

[14] Missing answers excluded.
[15] Missing answers excluded.

articulations of exceptionalist narratives of benevolent nations, such responses could be seen as indicative of a perception or personal stance, where *any* challenges (in terms of various kinds of discrimination) are not simply absent, but perhaps more importantly *unimaginable.*

Figure 4.12: Can diversity enrich your university experience?




The answers to question 4 could be considered as by far the most homogenous group of all, with 82 % of answers categorized as belonging to the neoliberal-liberal interstice and another 8 % to the liberal orientation. All other categories are considerably less represented with response rates ranging from below 1% (neoliberal-liberal-critical interstice) to 3 % (neoliberal orientation). In relation to this question about diversity, most of the responses could be perhaps best described as slightly different versions of a single answer that could be summarized as 'diversity is (always) beneficial, because it brings new and/or different perspectives,' leading to increased knowledge and/or learning opportunities. Word 'always' appears in 10 % of all answers, 'perspectives' appear in 33 %, while 'learn' and/or 'knowledge' appear in 22 %. Further, it should be mentioned that (similarly to question 3), a closed-choice ('yes' and 'no') option was also part of this question, and only 4 students (1 %) considered diversity as 'not' enriching for their university experiences. This seemingly overwhelming enthusiasm about diversity (as educationally enriching) is interesting and somewhat surprising, especially if we consider responses to other questions, where diversity or cultural differences were perceived predominantly as sources of trouble, difficulties, conflict, threats

and in extreme cases even crime. Because it involves a seemingly paradoxical stance of both rejection and embrace, and since this kind of paradoxes or incongruences are from a psychoanalytical perspective (Britzman 1998; Britzman 2009; Todd 2012) usually considered as pointing towards important (yet unacknowledged) situations, more attention (compared to analysis of other questions) will be dedicated to analysing this relationship in a dedicated sub-section below.

### 4.2.3 Rejecting and valuing difference and diversity – some interpretative possibilities

It seems reasonable to suggest that the ambivalence of the students' attitude towards diversity could perhaps be explained by considering the power of control over (conditions of) encounter with diversity as the key delimitating factor between perceptions of diversity as a 'threat' and diversity as an 'opportunity'. In the cases of answers related to internationalization, students were predominately expressing their sentiments about immigrants, foreigners, refugees and people from different cultural background that (have) enter(ed) Finland in various ways (and/or ways, considered in student's words as illegal). As with any larger population their movement, ambitions, ideological orientations, personal beliefs, political and existential orientations (and other characteristics) are largely beyond the power of the state or the national subjects to regulate them (although that does not mean that certain policies are not enforced precisely with that purpose). This in turn could be seen as leading to encounters with people from diverse backgrounds in often unexpected, uncontrollable, unregulated and largely uncircumscribed ways.

When encounters under such terms do occur they could be perceived as threatening the (imagined and desired) stability, homogeneity and predictability of attitudes, perceptions and actions, ascribed to the otherwise 'homogenous' national body. In other words, they could be perceived as disturbing or incongruous with the existing order of things. Since change, especially one perceived as 'imposed from outside', was already seen (in other answers) as something that is in students' opinions often best averted, the lack of personal (or state imposed) control over the conditions of the encounter could be seen as translating into interpretations of such encounters as 'threatening', especially under conditions of erosion of

state power and already increased uncertainty and insecurity, related to the increased power of transnational capital, as suggested by Appadurai (2006) in his *Fear of small numbers.*

We could perhaps risk a suggestion that a certain kind of acknowledgment of these perceptions about Other(s) as 'threatening' could be traced also in the students' responses to question 3 about challenges of international students. Many students would claim that they either have had no personal encounter with international students, that they believe that international students would have 'difficulties' penetrating the already established circles of friends (among Finnish students), or that Finnish students 'shy away' from contact with international students. Again, in terms of maintaining power over conditions of encounter, seeking friendship could be considered as potentially even more threatening than encounters with random (unknown) people from different backgrounds in everyday life. Establishing friendship implies establishing a much more intimate relationship than that required by random encounters. It is thus potentially more threatening to the constructed self-image of the subject that is inextricably connected with a similar construction of the image of the Other as necessarily *unequal*, as Bhabha (1994) suggests.

In the analysis of demographic patterns, it was possible to observe that as the level of intimacy of relationship increased (from online friendships to romantic relationships) so did the level of diversity of background of people involved in the relationship (whether as friends or partners) *decrease.* Both the demographic data and students' responses to open ended questions could thus be seen as suggesting that the level of intimacy of relationship, which is probably a more reliable indicator of 'openness' and 'acceptance' than self-proclamations of such behaviour, among Finnish students is significantly influenced by similarity or sameness of background of the people in the relationship. Indeed, too large of difference seem to be perceived as debilitating the very possibility of establishing a relationship, whether in terms of friendship, partnership or something else. A gesture towards friendship (and/or partnership) could thus be perceived as more threatening than anonymous encounters also because anonymous encounters may present a challenge (or a threat) to our projected self-image, but intimate relationships threaten not just the stability and coherence of that image, but establish a risk of touching that, what is behind this externalized projection, behind the façade. From a perspective of relational ontology, such as the one argued for by McAllan

(2014)[16], this kind of behaviour that forecloses the establishment of relations/relationships, could be seen as damaging not just to the person excluded, but also to the person doing the exclusion, since it denies to acknowledge an ontological status to a connection that is *already* there.

If the arguments about uncontrollable encounters with diversity as sources of destabilization and existential 'threat' – as perceived by students are sensible, then it is necessary to examine also what makes encounters with diversity in the university so desired by the students. Inversely to situations of random encounters or encounters that aim to establish (intimate) relationality, an educational/university setting could be considered as the very anti-thesis of the situations described above. The conditions of the encounter are known upfront, it is possible to inform oneself about what kind of encounter this will be, what will be the topic of discussion, who will participate, for how long and with what purpose (especially if we consider the lecturer or professor as the 'bearer of diversity'). Further the subjects in the encounter have usually been appropriately 'certified' for admissibility by passing through the selection and qualification process of the educational system (either as students or as professors).

In this regard it should be mentioned that the practice of internationalization in Finland in higher education is often organised in a way where international students and domestic students often have different programmes and lectures (based upon different languages of instruction), meaning that the two groups very rarely come into contact with each other, although some institutions have practices of (selected) attendance of Finnish students in the international programme. In this regard Finnish students could thus be seen as largely protected from the 'unpredictability' of the encounter in their universities. Instead, they are largely met with situations where difference has already been managed, pre-examined and selected for a specific (useful) purpose of better/improved knowledge production. Under such circumstances it is thus not surprising that only 1 student mentioned that diversity in an educational setting could be perceived as a source of conflict, while all others saw diversity (under these controlled conditions) as unproblematic, unthreatening and generally beneficial.

The consequences of this capacity to control the conditions of the encounter with diversity by the students and the corresponding 'sanitization' or 'securitization' of educational space (by

[16] Discussed in more detail in section 2.2.

educational authorities, policies and practices) could be seen as leading to a creation of an educational environment where possibilities for disruptive encounters (and their potential for different and/or deeper educational experiences) are severely circumscribed. Drawing on the work of educational philosopher Gert Biesta (2010; 2013) I will try to outline in the following paragraphs how this capacity for control bears upon the educational process and the opportunities of students for "being taught," rather than merely "learn from" difference and diversity.

Drawing on the works of Climacus, Levinas and Todd (among others) Biesta (2013) suggests that under constructivist idea(l)s of Piaget, Vygotsky and Dewey, *learning* replaced *teaching* as the central focus of educational activity and that the "Instruction Paradigm" had been replaced by the "Learning Paradigm." This process of "learnification of education" (Biesta 2010), has for Biesta (2013, 451) "radically changed common perceptions of what teaching entails and what a teacher is." He claims (ibid.) that under constructivist paradigms we seemed to have "given up on the idea that teachers have something to teach and that students have something to learn from their teachers" (Biesta 2013, 451), which ultimately leads to a situation where "if we give up on the idea that teachers have something to teach and make them into facilitators of learning, we do, in a sense, give up on the very idea of education" (ibid). Biesta (2013, 456) argues that in order for education and teaching to still remain relevant or to "have a meaning", education has to come with a notion of "transcendence", which for Biesta means "something that comes from the *outside* and brings something *radically new*" (ibid.)[17]. For Biesta (ibid., 453) the bearer of the transcendent element – of that which is "more than I contain"(ibid.) is always the Other – understood as "a specific, embodied individual" (Todd, cited in Biesta 2013, 454)[18], not necessarily as a "marginalized or maligned Other" (Biesta 2013, 454), but always an Other that is "what I myself am not" (ibid.).

Biesta (2013, 456) draws a distinct line between two very different educational experiences – the experience of "learning from" (ibid.) and the experience of "being taught by"(ibid). In

[17] Italics in original.

[18] Although Biesta (2103: 454) questions Todd's (2003) concept of the Other as related necessarily to a *human* Other, and suggests that a Levinasian understanding of the Other could be potentially more radically open, the discussion in this text will remain limited to an understanding of Other as a human Other.

terms of education as an engagement with the Other (where that Other could be either a teacher, a friend, a sociological 'Other' or anyone else), Biesta (ibid., 456–457) suggests that:

> *When students learn from their teacher, we could say that they use their teachers as a resource, just like a book or like the internet. Moreover, when they learn from their teachers, they bring their teachers and what their teachers do or say within their own circle of understanding, within their own construction. This means that they are basically in control of what they learn from their teachers.* (Biesta 2013, 456–457)

The kind of control over the process of learning that Biesta writes about seems to be very similar to the kind of control (of Finnish students) over the process of encountering with difference / Other(ness) that was outlined above. For Biesta (ibid.) "*to learn from someone is a radically different experience from the experience of being taught by someone"*[19]*.* Biesta (ibid.) suggests that in experiences, where we are being taught something, these teachings are usually marked by "experiences where someone showed us something or made us realise something *that entered us from the outside".*[20] Again, this kind of 'entering' that Biesta writes about, could be seen as resonating with the discussion on the relationship between level of intimacy (in relation(ship)s) and similarity of personal background of Finnish students. In this regard both the experience of 'being taught' and experiences of intimacy could be seen as forms of a disrupting encounter with the Other, that penetrate through the (externalized) self-image towards our hidden, inner self – with this double self being understood in a psychoanalytical frame of the double nature of the modern (narcissist) subject (Žižek 1985; 1991). From a psychoanalytical point of view, these kind of encounters are often considered by the subject as existentially terrifying, because they run the risk of 'unmasking' him, which the subject one side deeply desires, but is, on the other hand, also mortally afraid of, because it would expose (his/her) "social game" (Žižek 1991, 102). For Biesta (2013) and Britzman (1998) this kind of (disruptive) teachings could be referred to as "difficult knowledge"(Biesta 2013, 457), where we are being taught something about ourselves and our ways of doing and being that we were either not aware of did not want to know about.

Various kinds of avoidance strategies against engaging with difficult knowledge or knowledge that destabilizes and/or challenges positions of privilege and (ontological) security, were

[19] Italics in original.
[20] Italics in original.

discussed in the theoretical chapter through McAllan's (2014) conceptualization of auto-immunity and to some extent through Golberg's (2006; 2009) and Balibar's (1991) work on denial, however Biesta's work can help us elucidate how these kind of strategies manifest themselves in educational environments. Ultimately for Biesta (2013, 458) the difference between 'learning from' and 'being taught by' refers to a difference not between 'subjective truth' and 'objective truth' (since any 'objectivity' can always be questioned), but to a difference between "what is true and *what matters*" (ibid.), between what is "*desired"* (ibid.) and what is "*desirable"* (ibid.)[21].

In situations where students remain in control over the process of learning and/or encounter with difference/Other(ness), such as in most university (and other educational) environments today[22], chance for discomforting, destabilizing, difficult, but potentially *deeper* and more equivocal learning are minimized, instead these kind of encounters often serve the purpose of affirming and expanding the *same kind* of knowledge and the same kind of self-perceptions (developed in a double bind with perceptions about the Other) that we already have. In Žižekian (1997; 1998) terms such situations they could be considered as prime examples of multicultural capitalism's capacity to disable "politicization" (Žižek 1998, 997) of the issues/challenges/discrimination of the Other(s) through the exercise of "cataloguing" (Žižek 1998, 1002) or disavowing the legitimacy of their claims by *including* them (and their demands, positions, desires) in already pre-determined and circumscribed ways. This managed, 'sanitized' and controllable forms of engagement with diversity and Other(ness), are (as student data suggests) overwhelmingly welcomed and *desired* (in Biesta's terms) by the students – because they can be beneficial (in comfortable ways) to them under *their terms*, rather than disrupting the stability of their pre-existing knowledge and perceptions about the Self, the Nation and the Other. In terms of nation-branding and Nordic exceptionalism, as discussed by Browning (2007), Loftsdóttir and Jensen (2012), and Loftsdóttir (2015), the capacity for successful managing and control over these encounters could be seen as contributing to a construction of an image of peaceful, tolerant, socially aware (Nordic) societies/nations, however this peacefulness and tolerance are conditioned upon a successful disabling or prevention of the politicizing potential of the Other.

[21] All italics are original.
[22] In many parts of the world, not just in Finland.

## 4.3. Mapping student responses onto the S.I.L.E.N.C.E. cartography

In this section the answers of students from the four open-ended questions are mapped onto the S.I.L.E.N.C.E. cartography. Building upon the previous analysis, the purpose of this section is discuss some of the more visible articulations of Finnish exceptionalism and/or characteristics or discursive strategies that frame the construction of the relationship of Finnish students towards students from different backgrounds or towards Other(ness) in general. As discussed in the methodological chapter, S.I.L.E.N.C.E. stands for:

S Shyness / self-depreciation (as avoidance strategy to refuse contact)

I (In)direct denigration / vilification (Other seen as less competent, conflictual and/or violent)

L Loss of identity (fear of and/or feeling of rootlessness)

E Euphemisation / sanitization of language (replacements for discrimination, racism etc.)

N Naturalization (there are always challenges, bad weather, etc.)

C Cultural differentialism / culture clash (different cultures are necessarily in conflict)

E Exceptionalism (emphasizing benevolent nature of Finnish students, Finnish institutions and the Finnish state)

Before proceeding to the actual mapping of answers onto the S.I.L.E.N.C.E. cartography, I would just wish to underline again that in this research social cartography is understood (as much as possible) as a *post-representational tool* that does not claim to accurately portray or represent reality (no mapping can do that), but seeks to amplify and make visible certain articulations and/or discursive practices/strategies that usually remain unacknowledged or taken simply at their face value. I would further wish to note that I consider the categories, used in this mapping as both non-exhaustive and non-exclusive, meaning that I do not believe that they capture all the nuances of exceptionalist articulations and/or narratives about the Other, nor that answers that were mapped under a certain heading could not be mapped also under some other. Indeed, many answers could be seen as fitting in multiple categories and their inclusion under a specific heading was based upon a (perceived) general coherence with other answers in the category.

Self – depreciation / shyness:

> *For example in Finland many Finnish students may shy away from making contact with different people, even though they don't intend to discriminate against them. (BS048iii)*
>
> *It is really sad that "we Finns" don't for example invite exchange students along enough on our own initiative. I think we are too afraid of the language barrier and let it strongly affect such situations. I at least want to get to know foreign exchange students as well as possible. (BS068iii)*
>
> *The Finnish culture warms up slowly, and I believe exchange students have a difficulty getting into the Finnish university community. (ED076iii)*
>
> *Finns are quite self-contained people. (MED007iii)*
>
> *Finnish culture is not necessarily as social as in their home country (ME034iii)*
>
> *No friends, as Finns are introverts. If you come up and talk to a stranger, you are perceived as weird. (ED092iii)*
>
> *Cultural differences, Finns are more withdrawn than many other nations, thus they may not make friends etc. (ME084iii)*
>
> *Especially in Finland it must be difficult to get to know Finns because of our culture. (BS046iii)*
>
> *Finns are bad at making contact with people from foreign cultures, so they may feel lonely. (BS063iii)*
>
> *Language problems and "shyness" are the greatest problems. (TO020iii)*
>
> *Finnish students should be more bold to face different groups of people. Stereotypes and underestimating one's own linguistic abilities needs to stop. (ED003iv)*
>
> *Finns are more withdrawn than many other nations, thus they may not make friends. (ME084iii)*

Answers, gathered under the heading of 'self–depreciation / shyness' share in common a perception about Finnish students and/or Finnish culture are generally shy, introvert, quiet, withdrawn, asocial and 'slow to warm up'. For answers, gathered under this heading, Finnish culture and a corresponding type of a national character are seen as self-explanatory

principles for the lack of contact between international students and Finnish students. This lack of contact is not framed in terms of discriminatory rejection, but is considered be a rather harmless, or unintentional consequence of the 'shy' culture – Finnish students "don't intend to discriminate" (BS048iii). Some of the answers specifically mention that Finnish students should be more bold (ED003iv, BS068iii) in engaging with international students, however none of the answers explains what is the thing that Finnish students are afraid of and why do they shy away from international students, except for a few cases where language proficiency is considered a valid explanation (TO020iii, ED003iv).

Fear of difference, or perceptions of Other as 'threatening' – such as suggested by the analysis in the previous section, and by many answers under headings '(In)direct denigration', 'Loss of identity', 'Culture clash / cultural differentiation' are not mentioned, neither are any other reasons that would not be culturally self-referential. In a certain sense the lack of (observable) deeper explanation could be seen as indicative of the meaningful silence that gave the name to the acronym of this cartography. In terms of exceptionalist narratives it would be possible to argue that answers under this heading affirm the perceptions about Finnish people as quiet and unobtrusive, benevolent individuals, as there seems to be little or no recognition of possibilities for this withdrawal as resulting from potential prejudice, stereotypical imaginary about Other(ness), and resulting fear of difference. The fear of Finnish students is rather understood as resulting from their inherent 'shyness'.

(In)direct denigration / vilification:

> *I would think that exchange students keep to themselves. (BS038iii)*
>
> *Differences between countries concerning the level of education. (BS063iii)*
>
> *[A global citizen] Tolerates their neighbour despite skin colour, religion and political stand. (TO029ii)*
>
> *You should take care of others as if they were your own children. (TO051ii)*
>
> *You can only see them eating, it is manageable. (TO085iii)*
>
> *Social immigrants come to us without a job or study place. (TO089i)*
>
> *Cultural challenges, e.g. timetables, work moral etc. (MED060iii)*

*Cultural difference shocking, other countries often old-fashioned (religion, ideologies, traditions…) (ED080iii)*

*Awareness of other nations' and group of people's situations is usually beneficial, but internationalisation also promotes the spreading of for example terrorists' and other harmful ideologies. (TO094i)*

*Internationalization increases awareness of different cultures and e.g. inequality, which creates a very important perspective. On the other hand it also brings problems, which wouldn't necessary exist without internationalisation, for example, crime, terrorism etc. (ED012i)*

*It usually seems as though exchange students have their own groups and that they don't really interact with locals, but this is just an opinion (I don't know any exchange students). (ED022iii)*

*There are both positive and negative things about internationalisation. As a negative side I would say that when a lot of immigrants come during a short period of time and if they are not integrated probably there will most likely be problems, not adjusting etc. Note Sweden! (ED041i)*

*Dining, using the toilet. (ED049iii)*

*More harm than benefits from internationalisation. Finland's economy is already in a bad shape and foreigners cause more expense and harm. Teaching more difficult when all the different cultures, religions and conflicts between them have to be on your mind all the time, irritating. (ED080v)*

*We get a large work force, but badly integrated immigrants/refugees also cause problems. Affecting the economy and safety. Also diseases come from abroad that wouldn't otherwise be here, like chronic hepatitis B. (ME006i)*

*Good and bad sides. Varied e.g. crime, increases the spread of disease etc. But generally a good thing, we get support from each other. (ME060i)*

*On hand it brings workforce, on the other hand crime. (ME076)*

Answers, gathered under the heading of '(In)direct denigration' could be considered as exemplifying the most manifest articulations of subtle and not-so-subtle racism, where especially immigrants and refugees (not so much international students) are portrayed as bearers of disease (ME006i, ME060i), having problems with (Finnish) toilet facilities (EDO49iii), responsible for a raise in crime (ED012i, ED041iii, ME050i, ME076), terrorism (TO094i, ED012i), conflict (ED041i, ED080v) or just generally causing problems (ME006i, ED041i, ED012i) of unidentified nature or simply causing harm to the national economy (ED080v, TO089i)). In other words, they are described in multiple, but exclusively negative terms. International students are described in much more benevolent, but still negative terms as 'keeping to themselves' (BS038iii) or being on a 'different level of education' (BS063iii), having 'challenges with work morals' (MED060iii), coming from 'old-fashioned countries' (ED080iii), but 'manageable' (TO051ii) as long as no real contact with them is required. Mostly however they are not spoken about at all.

In general, it was not possible to observe many descriptions of international students in any way (either positive or negative) in the survey. Although students spoke about challenges that international students may (or may not) face in their institution, in general they did not offer any descriptions or opinions about the international students themselves, apart from often acknowledging that they don't know them and that they have no contact with them. In this regard, silence was again the most prominent answer. In terms of articulations of exceptionalism we could attempt to reconstruct an image of Finnish people or Finnish nation through an inverse reading of perceptions about internationalization, immigrants and refugees. Since they are perceived as responsible for (an increase in) violence, criminal activities, harm to the economy, diseases and so on, we could suggest that these kind of perceptions imply a perception of Finnish people and Finland as law-abiding, hard-working, peaceful, clean and healthy.

Loss of identity:

*I appreciate internationalisation, but I don't like that Finnish culture is altered because of it. (BS038iii)*

*[on internationalisation] Positive sides: internationality, knowledge about other countries, the richness of culture. Negative sides: people are overshadowed by other cultures, positive discrimination. (BS025i)*

*It is good that there are interactions between different cultures, but internationalisation shouldn't crush our own traditions and customs. (TO008i)*

*Internationalisation can further mutual understanding, but it can dim understanding of one's own culture. An excessive amount of cooperation and unifying is not good. (TO014i)*

*Sometime globalisation dims Finnish traditions. Globalisation is not bad as such, but it does have negative side effects. (TO020i)*

*E.g. the spreading/mixing of cultures caused by internationalisation can on one hand be a good thing, but on the other hand a bad thing. Understanding of others grows versus own culture at risk of weakening. (TO035i)*

*I don't think being a global citizen in itself is of value, if it involves rootlessness. (TO039ii)*

*The mixing of cultures mainly causes conflicts, a feeling of insecurity, rootlessness and unnecessary identity crises caused by individualism. Combined with a violent market capitalism, it corrupts and rots everything distinctive, small, local and valuable – thus who we are and where we come from. (TO066i)*

*Global citizenship is set as an unclear but fundamental ideal, and a European in particular cannot publicly declare themselves to be devotedly proud of their culture/inherited values. An ideal global citizenship gushes with cultural self-loathing, self-denial and the collecting of "good person" points. (TO066ii)*

*Good to be aware of other cultures. You don't need to kill off your own culture though because of minority. (TO087i)*

*There are also negative sides to internationalisation concerning one's own cultural identity and one's country's well-being. (MED010i)*

The heading 'loss of identity' contains answers that could be in general considered as expressing a notion of national fragility, where the (valued) Finnish nation is being threatened by processes of internationalization / globalization that seek to alter its culture (BSO38iii), compromise understanding or knowledge about one's national identity (BS025i, TO014i, T035i, TO066i, TO066ii, MED010i) or destroy it altogether (TO008i, TO087i). What seems to be particularly interesting is that several answers under this heading seem to suggest a notion that knowledge about another culture or potentially its emergence within the (presumingly) homogenous national body (automatically) translates into forgetfulness of one's own origin or national identity (TO014i, TO035i, TO087i). In this regard knowledge about other cultures' and about one's own are seen as either potentially mutually exclusive or at the least incommensurable, once knowledge about another culture passes beyond a certain (undefined) threshold.

In Balibar's (1991, 86) terms what seems to be threatened here is not so much the nation, but the *illusion* of national homogeneity, resulting from a belief that "the generations which succeed one another over centuries on a reasonably stable territory, under a reasonably univocal designation, have handed down to each other an invariant substance" (ibid.) and that the current state of affairs is the culmination of that process, which "was the only one possible, that is, it represented a destiny" (ibid.). It could be argued that it is this project and its destiny that are perceived by students as being compromised by internationalization and resulting multiculturalism, especially since some of them (T0020i, TO008i) mention not just identity, but also tradition (which should be indicative of an understanding of these kind of longer, continuous processes) being threatened.

Although not presented here as examples, several answers to the question about ideals of global citizenships underscored the importance of knowing one's roots, origin or being aware of one's cultural/ national identity, while being at the same time respectful of others. It would be possible to consider those answers likewise indicative (but to a smaller degree) of the same kind of notion of defending one's national identity against a 'cultural drowning out' in the globalized world.

Euphemisation / sanitization of language:

*It may be difficult to network with Finns. (BS031iii)*

*Maybe [there are] challenges related to culture. (TO032iii)*

*It might be difficult to get to know people. Students don't necessarily seek the company of exchange students. Without organized events it might be difficult to make friends. (TO72iii)*

*Networking is slightly difficult, as there no arranged mutual events and this makes it difficult to get to know foreign students. (TO075iii)*

*Different backgrounds make it difficult to fit in, people who think and act similarly tend to stick together. (TO078iii)*

*Many international students can't / are afraid to join free-time activities. (TO082iii)*

*Integrating with local students is often difficult. (TO086iii)*

*It can be difficult to join the group. (TO091iii)*

*Probably sometimes there are feelings of being excluded from Finnish student groups and other such problems. (ED007iii)*

*Creating contact with Finnish students can be challenging (exchange students usually make friends with other exchange students). (ED014iii)*

*Adjusting to different cultures can be difficult. Problems with language are only a part of this, but being left alone can be cause by other reasons. (ED016iii)*

*It may be difficult to establish social networks for one's free time. (ED036iii)*

*It can be difficult to embrace the social habits of a foreign culture. (ED063iii)*

*Forming social relationships with Finnish students can be challenging. Often exchange students are with other exchange students who have come from other countries. (ED100iii)*

If there is one word could be used to summarize answers under the heading of 'Euphemisation / sanitization of language' it would be the word 'difficult'. Examples listed here represent only a small portion of answers that suggest (in various ways) that establishing contact with Finnish students or Finnish people in general is 'difficult', or that students face various 'difficulties'

when attempting to establish social links and networks. Although these 'difficulties' could be understood as leading to situations of social exclusion and isolation, these words are almost never used. In the entire survey it was possible to register one answer (ED007iii) that suggested that international students may be excluded, no answers that would employ words such as 'isolation' or 'segregation', and (as mentioned in section 5.2.2) only a handful examples of acknowledgment of 'discrimination' and/or 'racism'. In comparison the word 'difficult' was used 58 times, together with other euphemisms, such as 'challenging', or suggestions that international students may be 'feeling' (not being) excluded and lonely. While it would be difficult to argue that Finnish students are not aware of the existence of a relational gap between themselves and international students or students from diverse backgrounds, indeed the opposite seems to be the case for a considerable number of them, this acknowledgment of exclusionary behaviour is very rarely expressed in direct terms, instead it is being alluded to through deployment of various euphemisms.

In relation to notions of exceptionalism it would be possible here to risk a suggestion that these euphemisms are deployed precisely with the purpose of preserving a positive self-image, or a positive image of the nation as inherently benevolent, tolerant and non-conflictual. Exceptionalist notions could thus, in this case, be considered as operating as a kind of 'censor' of the discursive field, limiting possibilities of what can be said (directly), and what can be only hinted at. More radically, and again turning to Balibar (1991, 22), it would be possible to suggest that similarly to his critique of theories of cultural difference, these euphemisms, together with notions of Finnish culture as 'shy' and 'introvert', could be seen as (unconscious) attempts to naturalize "not racial belonging but /potentially/ racist conduct" (ibid.), or conduct that could also be interpreted as such. In order words, in the perceptions of Finnish students, they predominantly don't seem to consider themselves (of Finnish people in general) as (potentially) racist, but rather as merely 'shy' and 'difficult' to establish friendships with.

Naturalization:

> *Customs are sometimes very different. Language problems are still usually the biggest based on what I've discussed. (BS029iii)*
>
> *Everybody's challenges are personal. (BS039iii)*
>
> *Language difficulties can also make social interactions and forming new relationships more difficult. (BS087iii)*
>
> *I don't know any international students, but I think that is the problem: exchange students are international degree students find it easier to get along with each other. (BS082iii)*
>
> *It is always straining to be part of minority. (TO014iii)*
>
> *Of course it is different in different countries and people react differently to things. (TO036iii)*
>
> *Of course those with a completely different background may have difficulties integrating into a majority of similar people – like everywhere else. (TO035iii)*
>
> *It is difficult to get to know locals as circles of friends have already formed. The country's approaches to things and e.g. the functioning of universities are unfamiliar and require a lot of concentration. (TO037iii)*
>
> *Naturally, it may be difficult for them to adjust to different culture. (TO082iii)*
>
> *Finnish language is difficult. (TO095iii)*
>
> *In my university everyone faces challenges. (ED010iii)*
>
> *It can be difficult to adjust if previous experiences are completely different. (ED011iii)*
>
> *They surely face the same challenges as other students. (ED008iii)*
>
> *Adjusting to a local culture is always a challenge. (ED047iii)*
>
> *Only language presents small obstacles. (ED043iii)*
>
> *Everyone faces various problems. (ME062iii)*

Answers, belonging the heading of 'naturalization' seem to agree that whatever problems or challenges international students may face in their live in Finland and/or at their University,

these challenges and problems are nothing but 'normal' occurrences that 'of course' (TO036iii, TO035iii) either happen to everyone (ME062iii, ED008iii, ED010iii), everywhere (TO035iii), or a 'natural' (TO082iii) occurrence of coming to a different country/culture (TO036iii, TO35iii, TO082iii, ED047iii). Alternatively, they may result from issues related to language (BS029iii, BS087iii, TO097iii, ED043iii), are of personal nature (BS039iii), resulting from unfamiliarity with various procedures (TO037iii) or students simply decided for an 'easier way' of not meeting each other (BS082iii).

Bonilla-Silva (2006) observed similar discursive among students of American universities where these kind of challenges and lack of engagement between various groups are seen as simply 'natural.' Echoing Balibar's (1991) conceptualization of 'naturalization of racist conduct' outlined under the previous heading, I do not wish to claim that Finnish students, by using these strategies of naturalization and euphemisation, are any more (or less) racist that their colleagues in other countries or their fellow compatriots, rather I wish to (by drawing both on Bonilla-Silva and Balibar) suggest that racialized behaviour has become normalized in contemporary societies through various discursive practices that mask its existence. Indeed, as long as ideas of cultural differentiation (discussed below in their manifest form) remain as the predominant framework of our understanding (and embodiment) of the relationship between the (national) self and the Other, it may well be impossible *not to* replicate some kind of racist conduct, as subtle or invisible it may be at the first sight. In this regard the conduct of Finnish students should not be seen as *exceptionally* (or particularly) racist, but rather as indicative of notions of *exceptionalism* that assume that their behaviour could not be considered as (culturally) racist (because they belong to an inherently non-racist nation). As such this nation must not be perceived as racist by other people and nationals alike.

Culture clash / cultural differentialism:

> *Internationalisation mainly has a positive effect, but also creates problems. Conflicts between different cultures in certain countries are examples of this problem. (BS063i)*
>
> *When cultures meet it leads to conflict, if integrating into one's new home country doesn't succeed well. On the other hand when cultures meet it can open new doors and help to understand difference, which furthers well-being. (TO015i)*

*Internationalisation is useful, but on the other hand it equates other cultures. It is useful to understand people from different cultures. (TO021i)*

*Internationalisation opens more doors to going on exchange etc. But a continuous "enriching" of cultures leads to conflicts between different cultures. Compare to Malmi, Kilo, the centre of Espoo… (TO025i)*

*If it is handled politically correctly, there can be a lot of positive effects, but there is a possibility of bad consequences. (TO026i)*

*[Diversity] Brings new conflicts to teaching. (TO083iv)*

*Clashing of cultures and groups of people has caused negative conflicts. (ED004i)*

*Internationalization plays a significant role in university research and studying. I see it as a good thing as long as the possibilities of internationalization are used correctly. (EDOO8v)*

*On the one hand prejudice and racism decrease through internationalisation, but on the other hand the conflict between different cultures (and religions) produce uncertainty and a feeling of threat. (ED063i)*

*Multiculturalism is mainly a good thing, even though the collision of cultures causes problems. (MED095i)*

The heading 'culture clash / cultural differentiation' contains answers that in general express an understanding of cultures as inherently or necessarily in conflict. Several of these answers (MED095i, TO025i, BS063i, TO015i, TO026i, EDO008i) could be considered as supportive of 'managed' or 'controlled' inter-cultural contact (as discussed in section 5.2.3) that is under certain conditions (of control) seen as potentially beneficial, however if these measures are not in place (TO015i, ED008i, TO026i) then "bad consequences" (TO083iv) might occur. Further, the answers in this category seems to be reflective of an understanding of cultures are separate, homogenous units that stable and immutable over periods of time. Taguieff (2001) and Balibar (1991) would probably refer to such understandings as *differentialist racism*, which is for Balibar (1991, 22) "a kind of meta-racism" that replaces natural with culture as the grounds for racialized differentiation.

Together with answers, gathered under the heading of '(In)direct denigration', the answers in this heading seem to perceive other (non-Finnish) cultures as sources of conflict, and (uncontrolled) process of internationalization as leading to situations where "'enriching' of cultures leads to conflicts" (TO025i). In terms of exceptionalist notions we can again observe how conflictuality and violence is being externalized or contributed to a 'clash of cultures' (which is again a euphemism) rather than to more complex understandings that would explore structural reasons for differential discourse and conduct, where Finnish culture is constructed as benevolent and peaceful 'victim' of violence brought in to the national (peaceful) body by representatives of other (inherently conflictual) cultures.

Exceptionalism:

> *I don't feel that there is any racism or unequal treatment, contrarily I think that international students are taken good care of. (BS037iii)*
>
> *I can't say. The exchange students that I know have adjusted well. E.g. there hasn't been any racism. (TO070ii)*
>
> *I am under impression that they receive a lot of support and help e.g. different student exchange organisation. (TO053iii)*
>
> *[This] University is an international top university, even though the result of the quotas do not indicate it. (TO05iv)*
>
> *I can't say. Some may experience problems with adjusting to the culture, making friends etc., but I believe that Finnish students receive and support students from other countries. (ED019iii)*
>
> *At least I want to believe that they don't or that they don't face any remarkable challenges in relation to others. (BS047iii)*
>
> *Internationalisation is positive due to mobility and know-how of experts. However, Finland, as a small country, usually acts as an executor in the EU for example, concerning effective neo-liberal thinking among other things. Finland's voice is not hear loud enough. (TO058i)*

*Hopefully inequality would increase*[23] *through globalisation but a certain kind of spectrum of cultures would remain. Sustainable development and information, on, for, example working conditions in other countries have luckily increased in Finland, and a kind of more ethical way of thinking can be seen. (ED013i)*

*I can't say. Some may experience problems with adjusting to the culture, making friends etc. but I believe that Finnish students receive and support students from other countries. (ED019iii)*

*Internationalization increases prejudice (mainly because of the media) even if we try to work on tolerance. (ED024i)*

*I believe that my university tries as well as it can to face the needs of students from different countries and to avoid challenges being formed. Based on talking to my fellow students, I believe that language difficulties are the biggest challenge. (ED076iii)*

*I don't think they face any great challenges. (ED093iii)*

*I don't see myself as a global citizen, as my friends are Finnish. A global citizen should be tolerant, see and treat everyone as equals. So based on that I am a global citizen. (ED086ii)*

*[on internationalisation] Finland has to dispose of its Christian traditions. People are too interested in Muslims' opinions. In a Christian country a woman has human dignity, which they don't have in hardcore-islamic countries. I'm worried about the position of women in society. (ME002i)*

*We have very few exchange students, but we take good care of them. (ME013iii)*

Answers, under the heading 'exceptionalism' could be considered as the ones that either explicitly portray an image of Finnish students, Finnish universities, or Finland as benevolent (ED019ii, ED024i, ED076iii), caring (BS037iii, ME002i, ME013iii), helpful (TO053iii, ED019ii, ED019iii)), tolerant (ED024i, ED086ii) and progressive (TO05iv, TO058i, ED013i, ME002i) or explicitly deny existence of racism or any other kind of inequality (BS037iii, ED093iii, TO070ii, BS047iii). In other words, answers gathered under this heading portray an exclusively positive

[23] An unintentional (Freudian) slip perhaps?

image of Finnish students and Finnish Universities as institutions where any challenges that might emerge are being promptly and adequately addressed.

However, similarly to answers that described international students, notions of (manifest) Finnish exceptionalism could be in general considered as relatively rarely represented in students' responses. Rather, the various exceptionalist notions were more hinted at indirectly through many other statements, which required an exploration of underlying assumptions that manifested themselves through discursive silences and through representations of Other(ness) as inverse and ambivalent representations of the (national) Self.

# Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to explore what kind of articulations of exceptionalist discourse, i.e. narratives and perceptions about the self, the nation and the Other are observable in Finnish students' responses to the survey on internationalization of higher education that was carried out within the *EIHE* project. The research employed social cartography as the main tool for analysis and organisation/presentation of results, with the intention that the results would not be considered as portraying an objective or 'accurate' picture about Finnish students and their perceptions about themselves and their Other(s), but that the findings would open some space for further debate and deeper exploration of exceptionalist narratives and the kind of consequences their perpetuation has on the ongoing reproduction of binary hierarchies of worth in relations between 'us' and 'them'.

Although this research analysed responses of Finnish students and how their answers could be seen as contesting or affirming exceptionalist tendencies and discourse, Finnish exceptionalism was not understood as being exclusively a trait of Finnish people or Finnish students in particular, but rather as discourse that is shared by Finns and non-Finns alike. The example of the description of the Finnish education system by a Slovene educational expert should be taken as affirming that proposition. Neither should exceptionalism (of any kind) be considered as a specifically Finnish or Nordic 'thing', my belief is rather the opposite that exceptionalist discourse and specific exceptionalist narratives and articulations pertain to all nations, indeed they are part of the foundation myths that nations require for their existence. In this regard my ambition was not portray Finnish students as 'exceptionally' exceptionalist, but rather to discuss how narratives about the self, the nation and Other circumscribe our relations to each other and how they contribute (perhaps even constitute) the reproduction of hierarchical relations between different individuals and/or groups, based upon what is constructed as their 'inherent' and often 'immutable' characteristics.

The study of exceptionalism in this research thus above all sought to address some of the shared concerns and critiques about the way culture has replaced biological race in terms of providing a new categorical orientation for continuous racialized, hierarchical differentiations that continue to be raised within anthropology and also by various scholars from post-colonial, post-structuralist and psychoanalytical theory. Informed by their insights, a three-level

analysis of available data was performed with the purpose of providing; i) a general context about the social and personal background of students; ii) a general mapping of the discursive field in which exceptionalist tendencies are being articulated; iii) a more precise mapping of different articulations of exceptionalism, brought together under the acronym S.I.L.E.N.C.E.

What was possible to observe in the initial analysis of demographic data was a general lack of diversity of family origin, language and minority affiliation among students, especially if Finnish data is considered within a broader context of other countries that participated in the *EIHE* survey. Only 2 % of students reported a language other than Finnish as their first language and only 5 students (out of 402) said that they were not born in Finland. Adjusted for missing answers 96 % reported having both parents of Finnish origin and 92 % had all four grandparents of Finnish origin. Similarly, a majority of students did not see themselves as belonging to any minority (religious, socio-economic, ethnic etc.) and only 1% considered themselves as belonging to an ethnic minority – by far the lowest score in the entire *EIHE* project. It seems that this data could only be interpreted as being indicative of virtually completely monoethnic and monolingual origin of students that participated in the survey.

This in turn translated into an assumption that students of Finnish universities have in their daily life little (or no) direct contact with students from other countries (since almost all of them were born in Finland) and that consequently their higher education experience is shaped by a very ethnically, linguistically, culturally, socio-economically, religiously etc. homogenous environment, or that at the very least that this environment is reported by students as such.

The self-reported data on contact with people from diverse background further showed that a considerable majority of students (79 %) reported growing up in an environment with people that were either mostly or predominantly from their own background. In similar numbers they reported engaging in romantic relationships (78 %) and making friends while growing up (75%) with people that were mostly or predominantly from the same background. Apart from already mentioned absence of diversity in origin and background of students, the second most significant finding in the analysis of demographic data is related to the relationship between diversity and friendship or partnership choices of students. Namely, it was possible to observe that as the level of intimacy of relationship increased (from online friendships to romantic relationships) so did the level of diversity of background of people involved in the relationship (whether as friends or partners) *decrease,* meaning that students seem to prefer to have

partners and close friends from backgrounds, similar to their own. It should be noted that in this question the definition of what constitutes a similar or different background was left to the students, which means that it likely refers also to differences that extend beyond the national/ethnic dimension to regional/local provenience, socio-economic status or any other differences. Regardless of what kind of a *difference* was considered here, the general observation in this regard seems to be that Finnish students prefer *sameness* of background over diversity.

In the analysis of the three main discursive orientations (liberal, neoliberal, critical) and their interstices it was possible to observe that students answers were predominantly mapped as belonging to either a liberal orientation (48,2 % of all answers) or a neoliberal/liberal interstice (25,8 % of all answers). In 3 out of 4 open-ended questions the neoliberal/liberal interstice constituted a majority of answers with liberal as either the second or third largest group. In the remaining fourth question on global citizenship liberal idea(l)s were the most prevalent, with neoliberal/liberal interstice in the second place.

A general absence of answers that could be seen as belonging to a critical orientation is the second major observation, related to this level of analysis. Depending on the question the rates of answers that could be seen as belonging to a critical orientation varied between 1 % to 5 %, with a 2,8 % average. When critical reflections were observable they were mostly likely related to a liberal/critical interstice (11,5 % of all answers) or alternatively to neoliberal/liberal/critical (4,6 % of all answers) and neoliberal/critical (3,4 % of all answers) interstices. In relation to the 'purely' critical orientation all of these interstices are marked by an absence of analysis or acknowledgment of power relations, structural inequalities and/or systemic discrimination, recognition of privilege and complicity in harm. Additionally, the content of answers, grouped under the neoliberal/critical and liberal/neoliberal/critical interstices often represented a reversed image of hierarchical (power) relations, where the identity, safety and stability of the (Finnish) nation, culture and welfare state were seen as being under threat from the external Other. These responses could be seen as largely resonating with Appadurai's (2006) thesis that when state sovereignity and the (perceived) ethnic homogeneity of the nation are being threatened by globalized neoliberal erosion of (previous) instruments of (sovereign) political power of the state, minoritised individuals and

groups are being seen as responsible for this erosion of sovereignity and as a threat to homogeneity, safety and stability of the nation.

Apart from a general absence of structural/systemic critical reflection, it was also possible to observe a virtually complete absence of answers that would indicate *any kind* of a need for change, be that on a relational, political, economic, social or any other personal or structural level – not even among answers in the critical category. Only one student (ED017ii) explicitly claimed that the "This globe is heading into such a state, that without a worldwide change of attitudes, awful things will happen," while 4 other students considered the capacity to adapt to (already happening) change as a positive personal trait of global citizens. In all other answers change was either not mentioned explicitly at all or was considered as something that is better avoided, which again could be interpreted as indicative of a desire for social stability, national homogeneity and (ontological) security that are considered as maintainable by *keeping things as they are*. Further such a lack of (observable) interest in change could hardly be interpreted as indicating anything but a relatively high level of satisfaction with the way things *are* – or in the case of students that perceived globalization processes, immigration and the inflow of people from different backgrounds as threatening, at least as they *were* (in their opinion). Since there were almost no observable answers that would indicate a need for a change in the attitudes, perceptions and behaviour towards immigrants, people from other backgrounds and/or international students (apart from a few answers that suggested that Finnish students should be more bold in approaching international students), it is possible to assume that Finnish students seem to consider their (personal and general) disposition towards people from other cultural/ethnic background as largely unproblematic and appropriate, thus sustaining the general exceptionalist view of Finland and Finnish people as *already* "global good citizens, peace-loving, conflict-resolution orientated and rational" (Loftsdóttir and Jensen 2012, 2).

Further, in the answers that were describing the role and position of Finland in the international arena, Finland was predominantly portrayed as a country who is a victim both to processes of westernization brought about by globalization and/or undesirable inflow of people from other parts the world that threaten Finland's (welfare) state and national identity or, alternatively, as a benevolent and exemplary agent in the international field. Not a single answer was found in which Finland of Finnish people would be described as being at least

indirectly involved in the less salutary processes of internationalization/globalization, such as benefiting from exploitative practices of global capitalism, over-consumption, externalization of both environmental and human costs, involved in international and internal policies and practices that are discriminatory both towards certain countries or groups of people (based on their origin) or any other problematic or controversial form of agency. In the answers that did acknowledge existence of such and similar issues, Finland and Finnish people were never presented as complicit or benefiting from the reproduction of systemic violence(s), injustice(s) and exploitation, rather the responsibility was externalised on 'someone' else – be that various corporations, other Western countries or some unidentified actors. These absences of recognition of complicity, could be interpreted as both indicative of self-perceptions of benevolence and innocence (which are common for modern subjects), but also as indicative of a widespread exceptionalist discourse about the broader Nordic region as largely, if not completely, exempt from the flows of European (neo)colonial (globalized) relations (Loftsdóttir and Jensen 2012, 2).

A specific interest was raised by an observed discrepancy between general descriptions of Finnish culture and Finnish people as 'shy', 'closed-off' and 'difficult' to engage with, the overwhelmingly negative perceptions about people of non-Finnish origin (when they were described in any way) and almost univocal enthusiasm that the students expressed about the role of diversity in their educational experience, where only 4 students (1 %) considered diversity as 'not' enriching their university experiences. This paradox was analysed through the works of Bhabha (1994), Biesta (2010) and other authors in a way that considered the element of capacity from control over the conditions of encounter with Other(ness) as the key delimitating factor between perceptions of diversity as a 'threat' and diversity as an 'opportunity'. Through both the analysis of qualitative and quantitative data it was possible to construct an argument that suggests that Finnish students in encounters with people from diverse backgrounds that happen in unexpected, uncontrollable, unregulated and largely uncircumscribed ways could be seen as considering diversity as potentially both threatening to their national identity and to their externalised (positive) self-image. Regular, uncontrolled, everyday encounters should be considered as largely belonging to this category. Similarly, an increase in difference of social (and other) background could be seen foreclosing the opportunity for establishment of deeper, or more intimate relations.

Inversely, in the higher education environment, diversity could be seen as much less threatening, and indeed valuable, as the conditions of the encounter are known upfront, it is possible to inform oneself about what kind of encounter this will be, what will be the topic of discussion, who will participate, for how long and with what purpose. Diversity is thus made 'safe', because students (and universities) are in almost complete control of the conditions of the encounter. The consequences of this capacity to control the conditions of the encounter with diversity by the students and the corresponding 'sanitization' or 'securitization' of educational space (by educational authorities, policies and practices) could be seen as leading to a creation of an educational environment where possibilities for disruptive encounters (and their potential for different and/or deeper educational experiences) are severely circumscribed. As Biesta (2010) argues this could be seen as resonating with what he describes as the process of 'learnification of education' where possibilities for *meaningful* – that is deep, challenging, disturbing and consequently often uncomfortable encounters with the Other are rendered virtually impossible. For Biesta (2013, 452) this means that our insistence on control over the encounter severely reduces the opportunities for 'being taught' rather than merely 'learning from' the Other. Uncontrolled, that is 'unsafe', encounters with the Other are from a psychoanalytical point of view often considered by the subject as existentially terrifying, because the potential equality of the Other presents a threat to the narratives of self-constructed superiority (Bhabha 1994), as they always contain the risk of 'unmasking' him/her, and exposing (his/her) "social game" (Žižek 1991, 102).

In the third and final level of analysis, using S.I.L.E.N.C.E. social cartography, seven main exceptionalist characteristics of exceptionalist discursive strategies were identified and discussed. The acronym S.I.L.E.N.C.E. refers to ***S***elf-depreciation or shyness; (***I***n)direct denigration of the Other; ***L***oss of identity; ***E***uphemisation; ***N***aturalization, ***C***ultural differentialism or culture clash and ***E***xceptionalism. This part of analysis explored which main groups of perceptions and narratives about the self, the nation and the Other could be observed in students' responses. In many ways the S.I.L.E.N.C.E. cartography was used to explore how concrete articulations of exceptionalist discourse and tendencies can (hopefully) help us understand what kind of discursive strategies are being deployed to construct and re-affirm the reproduction of the binary hierarchies between the (national)subjects and their Other(s). Although the strategies, gathered under the S.I.L.E.N.C.E. acronym are meant to

conceal the racialized structure of this relationship, they are also (involuntarily) revealing of it, precisely by not referring to it as such. In certain ways, denial of existence of racism or discriminatory behaviour, trough for instance discursive practices of ***S***elf-depreciation, ***E***uphemisation, ***N***aturalization and manifest ***E***xceptionalism, or manifestly racialized enunciations, such as the ones, gathered under rubrics (***I***n)direct denigration of the Other and ***C***ultural differentialism / culture clash, could probably be seen as merely the first step in the subjects' game of positive image-crafting. Much more difficult to trace would be the likely next step, which would probably be *denial through recognition*. In order words, the subject has always also the chance to attempt to persist in self-denial by manifestly proclaiming that he/she is *aware* of his/her own racialized behaviour and/or his/her denial.

Although no such examples were observed in this survey, it would be possible to assume that they might have surfaced through other methods of inquiry, such as more extensive, semi-structured interviews. On the other hand, they might have not. Given the projected self's insistence on pretending in ever more intricate and elaborate ways to be self-transparent, honest and benevolent, it is highly questionable whether manifest acknowledgments and recognition of one's own racialized behaviour should always be taken at their face value, especially when they seem to be derived at without any great personal effort and deep disturbance. In other words, getting rid of one's own racialized attitude and behaviour seems to entail above all also getting rid of the self-image that we have created about ourselves, and that is bound to come with a heavy price.

In this regard probably the main point that this research attempted to make is that these (relatively) new, subtle forms of racism, that Balibar (1991), Bonilla-Silva (2006), Goldberg (2002; 2009) and many others have written about, should not be taken as some kind of aberrations or malfunctioning of mis-educated modern subjects (whether they be students or not), but rather as 'normal', even constitutive elements of their/our personality. However, although it seems to be nobody's particular fault that we are being socialized in such a way, this should not be taken as yet another (convenient) excuse for disavowal of the need to engage with this difficult and potentially controversial issue.

As mentioned in the theoretical chapter, the problem of persistence of hierarchical binary narratives about the self and the Other or, in other words, the problem of persistence of racialized differentiation based no longer on biological race, but instead on *culture* and/or

*ethnicity*, has been recognized by critical scholars decades ago (Said 1978; Kuper 1999; Balibar 1991; Goldberg 2002). It remains highly doubtful whether these problems have in the time that had since passed been adequately addressed or whether it is even possible that they would ever be addressed *at all*. Said (1998) expressed his deep doubts about the emergence of such a possibility, and various other authors – most notably the ones, related to various schools of psychonalysis (Žižek 1985; Žižek 1991; Bhabha 1994; Kapoor 2014), have argued that a disentanglement of ambivalent hierarchical binary representations and narratives about the self and the Other may not be possible due to our unacknowledged attachments and investments in them. Bringing these ambivalent hierarchical representations to light does not in itself guarantee their deconstruction, it merely represents the very first step on a very long and likely unending road towards their deconstruction.

The question that invariably remains after this research is – what is it *exactly* that prevents us from deconstructing these hierarchical binaries that keep fundamentally informing both our view of the world and our relations to each other? Bhabha (1994) and McAllan (2014) suggest that what we are facing is an existential fear against acknowledging our complicity in participation and reproduction of harmful relations. This fear is not the fear of the unknown, of which we can hear a lot in the public discourse on rising (im)migration and other questions related to challenges of an increasingly globalized society. Rather this fear seems to be the fear of what we already know (at some fundamental level), but *refuse* to know.

In this regard I would be very interested in learning what kind of responses would potentially emerge to this research. Would it be possible to map them according to a similar cartography or could they be somehow mobilized in a different direction, away from self-depreciation, self-victimization and self-protection? I strongly believe that we live in a time when this kind of responses will no longer remain tenable – not that they ever were, really. My purpose is by no means to ring the bells of doom (since they have been rung before, with marginal success) in light of multiple economic, political, social, environmental and human crises that we are facing on what is definitely a finite and the only available planet. I am however concerned about our individual and collective capacities for both sober reflection and above all *willingness* to engage with difficult and uncomfortable knowledge (Britzman 1998; 2009), including among other things questions of race, privilege and not to forget, gender.

While I have little or no idea, how we could move always from the numbness of our current predicament, I do believe that an *Enjoy your symptom!* disposition (to paraphrase Žižek) to these difficult questions is not going to take us very far. I believe that we have neither the luxury nor the right to keep indulging in structural/systemic violence and harm to the extent we (modern subjects) have over the course of the past few centuries.

From the perspective or relational ontologies, such as the one represented by McAllan (2014), what we have managed to achieve is merely to forget the fact that we are *already* inextricably entwined and connected/related to each other, although we adamantly refuse to acknowledge that. In this regard my open question for further debate would be – if we are engaged in structurally violent and harmful relations to each other and the world around us, what will it take to make us try something *different*?

## Summary in Slovene language / Povzetek v slovenskem jeziku

Glavni namen tega magistrskega dela je raziskovati, kakšne oblike oz. artikulacije izjemniškega diskurza (kot ene od možnih oblik (post)kolonialnega diskurza) je moč zaznati v odgovorih študentov dveh finskih univerz na vprašalnik o internacionalizaciji visokega šolstva. Pojem finskega izjemništva se v tej nalogi nanaša na kompleks samo-konstitutivnih diskurzivnih praks, politik in samo-percepcij, ki hkrati potrjujejo in konstruirajo podobo finske družbe in finskih nacionalnih subjektov kot etično, kulturno, in »moralno superiornih« (Rastas 2012, 100).

Vprašalnik, ki je bil v tej nalogi uporabljen kot glavni instrument pridobivanja podatkov, je bil razvit v okviru večje raziskave znotraj projekta *EIHE – Ethical Internationalisation in Higher Education*, ki je potekal med leti 2012–2016, in ki ga je financirala Finska Akademija Znanosti. Namen projekta *EIHE* je bil raziskovati kakšne predstave o različnih epistemologijah, nadnacionalnih pismenostih, globalnem državljanstvu in družbeni odgovornosti se oblikujejo v okviru internacionalizacije visokega šolstva, ki poteka pod vedno večjim neoliberalnim pritiskom k poblagovljenju izobraževanja (Andreotti et al. 2016). Čeprav je pričujoča raziskava potekala v okviru interesnega polja širšega projekta *EIHE*, so glavni predmet tega magistrskega dela predstave o sebi, (finskem) narodu in Drugemu, ki jih je moč razbrati v odgovorih finskih študentov.

Kljub temu, da so bili glavni predmet te raziskave odgovori finskih študentov, finsko izjemništvo v okviru te raziskave ni bilo razumljen kot diskurz, ki pripada izključno finskim študentom ali Fincem na splošno, temveč kot diskurz, ki ga o Finski delijo tako Finci kot ne-Finci. Opis finskega šolskega sistema priznane slovenske strokovnjakinje s področja izobraževanje je v tej nalogi uporabljen kot primer, ki ilustrira zgornjo trditev. Ta raziskava prav tako ne privzema mnenja, da bi lahko izjemništvo (kakršnekoli vrste) razumeli kot specifično finsko ali nordijsko 'stvar'. Prav nasprotno, zagovarja mnenje, da so izjemniški diskurzi in njihove različne artikulacije oz. pojavne oblike prisotni pri vseh narodih, saj so del temeljnih mitov, ki jih narodi potrebujejo za svojo samo-konstitucijo in obstajanje.

V tem oziru moja ambicija torej ni bila predstaviti finske študente kot 'izjemno' izjemniške, temveč raziskovati v kakšni meri zgodbe o samih sebi, narodu in Drugemu zamejujejo možnosti naših odnosov drug do drugega, ter kako prispevajo k reprodukciji hierarhičnih

odnosov (oz. jih morda celo vzpostavljajo) med različnimi posamezniki in/ali skupinami, glede na to, kar je v teh zgodbah konstruirano kot njihove 'inherentne' in 'nespremenljive' lastnosti.

Študija izjemništva v tej raziskavi je tako poskušala predvsem nasloviti nekatere od pomislekov in kritik avtorjev s področja tako antropoloških študij, kot tudi post-kolonialnih, post-strukturalističnih in psihonalitskh teorij, ki se nanašajo na vlogo, ki jo kultura igra kot nadomestek biološke rase v sodobnih družbah v smislu zagotavljanja nove kategorične podlage za nadaljevanje in vzdrževanje hierarhičnih, vrednostnih razlikovanj med 'nami' in 'njimi'.

Kot glavno orodje analize in predstavitve rezultatov je bila izbrana Paulstonova (1994; 1996; 1999) družbena kartografija z namenom, da predstavljeni rezultati ne bi bili razumljeni v smislu predstavitve ‘objektivne’ podobe o finskih študentih, njihovih samo-percepcijah ter percepcijah o njihovih Drugih, temveč da bi ugotovitve te raziskave odprle prostor za širšo razpravo in globje raziskovanje izjemništva oziroma izjemniškega diskurza ter vplivov, ki jih izjemniški diskurz ima na vzdrževanje in reprodukcijo binarnih, hierarhičnih odnosov. Družbena kartografija je v tem delu torej uporabljena kot analitsko in predstavitveno orodje v post-reprezentativnem smislu, kar pomeni, da namerno izpostavlja določene diskurzivne lastnosti in posebnosti, ki bi sicer morda ostale neopažene oz. veljale za povsem običajne in 'normalne'. V tem oziru se naloga naslanja na Goldbergovo (2002, 236) tezo, po katerih v sodobnih »brezrasnih družbah« oz. družbah, kjer se (biološka) rasa eksplicitno ne pojavlja več kot kriterij razločevalnosti, nismo doživeli »konca rasne zavesti (consciousness), temveč njeno ultimativno povzdignitev na nivo danega« (ibid.). V tem oziru naloga poskuša raziskovati, kako se v sodobnem, rasno 'steriliziranem' govoru, nove oblike rasizma (Balibar 1991) pojavljajo v mnogo bolj subtilnih in težko prepoznavnih diskurzivnih praksah.

Za potrebe raziskave je bil razvit tristopenjski model analize razpoložljivih vprašalnikov, katerega namen je bil zagotoviti; i) predstavitev splošnega družbenega in osebnega oz. družinskega ozadja študentov; ii) razviti splošno kartografijo diskurzivnega polja, znotraj katerega se artikulirajo posamezne izjemniške diskurzivne prakse; iii) razviti bolj natančno kartografijo različnih artikulacij izjemništva, združenih pod akronimom S.I.L.E.N.C.E.

Analiza demografskih podatkov je pokazala izjemno homogenost družinskega ozadja, materinega jezika in manjšinske pripadnosti študentov, sploh če podatke primerjamo z

drugimi državami, ki so sodelovale v projektu *EIHE.* Tako je na primer le pet študentov (od 402) izjavilo, da niso bili rojeni na Finskem, le 2 % študentov kot materni jezik ni izbralo finskega jezika ter le 1 % se jih je samo-opredelilo kot pripadnike etnične manjšine. Podrobnejše analiza je pokazala tudi, da se finski študentje v veliki večini družijo s prijatelji iz enakih ali podobnih družbenih ozadij, ter da raznolikost družbenih ozadij njihovih prijateljev oz. partnerjev upada s stopnjo naraščanja intimnosti odnosov.

Analiza treh glavnih diskurzivnih usmeritev (liberalne, neoliberalne, kritične) in njihovih presečišč je pokazala, da je bil največji delež odgovorov bilo možno uvrstiti v liberalno usmeritev (48,2 % vseh odgovorov), kateremu sledi neoliberalno-liberalno presečišče (25,8 % vseh odgovorov). Na splošno je bilo možno opazovati veliko odsotnost odgovorov, ki bi jih bilo mogoče uvrstiti v kritično glavno usmeritev, saj je bilo v povprečju je le 2,8 % odgovorov takšnih. Precej več odgovorov je bilo najti na liberalno-kritičnem presečišču (11,5 %), liberalno-neoliberalnem-kritičnem presečišču (4,6 %) ali na neoliberalno-kritičnem presečišču (3,4 %). Pri tem velja omeniti, da so bila v tej nalogi, za razliko od 'povsem' kritične usmeritve, omenjena presečišča opredeljena na podlagi odsotnosti vidnih izrazov prepoznavanja odnosov moči, strukturnih neenakosti, sistemske diskriminacije, prepoznavanja privilegijev in so-udeležbe v različnih oblikah strukturnega izkoriščanja.

V nasprotju z omenjenim, so številni od odgovorov, zbranih v skupinah neoliberalno-kritičnih in liberalno-neoliberalno-kritičnih presečišč, izražali mnenja, ki se predstavljala obratno podobo hierarhičnih odnosov moči, v katerih so bile identiteta, varnost in stabilnost finskega naroda, kulture in države blaginje razumljena kot ogrožena s strani zunanjega Drugega, zlasti migrantov in pripadnikov drugih kultur/etnij. Zdi se, da tovrstni odgovori v grobem sovpadajo z Appaduraijevo (2006) tezo, po kateri se v (kriznih) obdobjih spodkopavanja državne suverenosti in (domnevne) etnične homogenosti naroda zaradi vsesplošne erozije instrumentov (suverene) politične moči države pod pritiskom globaliziranega kapitala, manjšine ali posamezne pripadnike manjšin okrivlja za omenjeno erozijo suverenosti ter dojema kot grožnjo homogenosti, varnosti in stabilnosti nacije.

Hkrati s splošnim pomanjkanjem odgovorov, ki bi izražali kritično, strukturno oz. sistemsko refleksijo, je bilo prav tako zaznati skoraj popolno odsotnost odgovorov, ki bi izražali potrebo po spremembah *kakršnekoli* vrste, naj si bo ta na nivoju odnosov, politik ali drugih družbeno-ekonomskih-razmerij. Tudi med odgovori v skupini kritične diskurzivne usmeritve tovrstnih

izrazov ni bilo razbrati. Zgolj en študent (ED017ii) je eksplicitno omenil da »Ta svet drvi v takšno smer, da se bodo zgodile strašne stvari, v kolikor ne spremenimo svojih odnosov na globalni ravni.« Še štirje študentje so omenili, da je pripravljenost na spremembe pozitivna osebnostna lastnost globalnih državljanov, a razen omenjenih odgovorov, beseda 'sprememba' bodisi sploh ni bila omenjena bodisi je bila omenjena kot nekaj, čemur se je bolj izogniti. Tovrstne odgovore je možno interpretirati v smislu odražanja želja po družbeni stabilnosti, nacionalni homogenosti in (ontološki) stabilnosti, ki so razumljene kot uresničljive s tem, da se *stvari ohranijo, kakor so.* Prav tako je ta opaženi manko interesa in zanimanja za spremembe le težko razumeti drugače kot odraz relativno visoke stopnje zadovoljstva s tem, kako stvari *so* – oziroma, v primeru študentov, ki so procese globalizacije, migracije in naraščajoči pretok ljudi iz drugih držav dojemali kot grožnjo, s tem, kako so stvari *bile* (po njihovem mnenju).

Glede na to, da skorajda ni bilo možno zaznati odgovorov, ki bi narekovali zahtevo po spremembah odnosov, percepcij in obnašanja do (i)migrantov, ljudi iz drugih ozadij ter mednarodnih študentov (z izjemo odgovorov, ki so predlagali, da bi naj finski študentje bili bolj pogumni v približevanju mednarodnim študentom), je moč domnevati, da finski študentje dojemajo svojo (osebno in splošno) držo do ljudi iz drugih kulturnih/etničnih ozadij kot pretežno neproblematično in ustrezno, kar vzdržuje splošno razširjeno izjemniško predstavo o Finski in Fincih kot *a priori* »dobrih globalnih državljanih, miroljubnih, usmerjenih v razreševanje konfliktov ter racionalnih« (Loftsdóttir in Jensen 2012, 2).

V odgovorih, ki so opisovali vlogo in položaj Finske v mednarodnem okolju, je bila Finska večinoma predstavljena kot država, ki je žrtev tako procesov 'pozahodnjenja', ki jih prinaša globalizacija, kakor tudi nezaželenega toka ljudi iz drugih delov sveta, ki ogrožajo finsko državo blaginje in finsko nacionalno identiteto. V določenih odgovorih je bila Finska eksplicitno predstavljena kot benevolentna država, ki je lahko za zgled drugim v mednarodnemu okolju, medtem ko ni bilo mogoče najti niti enega odgovora, v katerem bi bila Finska oziroma njeni prebivalci predstavljeni kot vsaj posredno udeleženi v manj svetlih plateh procesov internacionalizacije/globalizacije, kot so okoriščanje z izkoriščevalskimi praksami globalnega kapitalizma, pretirano potrošništvo, eksternalizacija človeških in okoljskih stroškov gospodarskega in tehnološkega razvoja, vpletenost v mednarodne in notranje politike, ki so diskriminatorne bodisi napram določenimi državam ali skupinam ljudi (glede na njihov izvor), ali kakršnihkoli drugih problematičnih oziroma spornih oblikah delovanja. V odgovorih, ki so

prepoznavali obstoj tovrstnih in podobnih težav, Finska oziroma Finci niso bili nikoli predstavljeni kot so-udeleženi v teh procesih ali kot nekdo, ki ima tudi določene koristi od vzdrževanja sistemskih oblik nasilja, nepravičnosti in izkoriščanja. Prav nasprotno, odgovornost za te stvari je bila vedno preložena na 'nekoga drugega', najsi so bile to različne korporacije, druge Zahodne države ali pa neimenovani akterji. Odsotnost prepoznavanja soudeležbe v teh procesih je možno interpretirati kot odraz predstav o sebi kot benevolentnih in nedolžnih akterjih (kar je splošna lastnost modernih subjektov), kakor tudi kot odraz splošno razširjenega izjemniškega diskurza o širši nordijski regiji kot pretežno, če ne povsem, izvzeti iz tokov evropskih (neo)kolonialnih globalnih odnosov (Loftsdóttir in Jensen 2012, 2).

Posebna pozornost v raziskavi je bila posvečena opaženi diskrepanci med splošnimi opisi finske kulture in Fincev kot ‘plašnih’, ‘zaprtih’ in ‘težavnih’ pri vzpostavljanju stikov, prevladujočimi negativnimi percepcijami, ki se nanašajo na ljudi, ki niso finskega izvora, ter na drugi strani skorajda enoglasnim navdušenjem, ki so ga študentje izrazili o vlogi raznolikosti oziroma diverzitete v izobraževalnem procesu. Zgolj štirje študentje (1 %) so namreč menili, da raznolikost oz. diverziteta 'ne' pripomore h kakovosti njihovega študija na univerzi. Ta paradoks je bil analiziran preko del Homija Bhabhe (1994), Gerta Bieste (2010) ter drugih avtorjev na način, ki privzema sposobnost nadzora nad pogoji srečanja z Drugim oz. drugačnostjo/raznolikostjo kot odločujoči faktor, ki določa, kdaj je raznolikost dojeta kot 'grožnja' in kdaj kot 'priložnost'. Na podlagi analize tako kvalitativnih kot kvantitativnih podatkov je bilo možno sestaviti argument, po katerem je možno domnevati, da finski študentje v srečanjih z ljudmi iz raznolikih ozadij, kadar le-ta potekajo v nepričakovanih, nenadzorljivih, nereguliranih in pretežno nezamejljivih pogojih, ta srečanja dojemajo kot potencialno ogrožajoča njihovi (nacionalni) identiteti ter pozunanjeni (pozitivni) samo-podobi. Številna nenadzorovana, vsakdanja srečanja bi lahko pretežno šteli v to kategorijo. Podobno je bilo možno opaziti, da povečana razlika v družbenem (in drugem) ozadju vnaprej preprečuje priložnost vzpostavljanja globljih oziroma bolj intimnih odnosov.

V nasprotju s temi vsakdanjimi srečanji, ki potekajo pogosto v nenadzorovanih pogojih, je bila raznolikost v kontekstu visokošolskega okolja dojeta kot precej manj ogrožajoča, saj so pogoji srečanja znani vnaprej, možno se je namreč informirati o tem, kakšne vrste bo to srečanje, kaj bo tema pogovora, kdo bo sodeloval, kako dolgo in pod kakšnimi pogoji. Raznolikost tako postane 'varna', saj so študentje (in univerze) skorajda popolnoma nadzorujejo in določajo

pogoje srečanja. V tem oziru je možno posledice te sposobnosti za nadzor nad pogoji srečanja z raznolikostjo in pripadajoče 'sterilizacije' oz. 'zavarovanja' izobraževalnih prostorov, razumeti v smislu vzpostavljanja izobraževalnega okolja, kjer so možnosti za 'moteča' (disruptive) srečanja (in njihov potencial za drugačne, bolj globoke izobraževalne izkušnje) resno omejene.

Po Biesti (2010) bi to lahko sovpadalo s tem, kar on imenuje proces 'učevanja izobraževanja' (learnification of education), kjer so možnosti za *smiselna* – to je globoka, izzivov polna, moteča (disturbing) in posledično pogosto neprijetna srečanja z Drugim skorajda popolnoma izničene. Za Biesto (2013, 452) to pomeni, da naše vztrajanje pri nadzoru nad pogoji srečanja resno omejuje naše možnosti, da smo 'podučeni' (being taught) od Drugega, namesto da se od njega zgolj 'učimo' (learn from). Nenadzorovana, to je 'ne-varna', srečanja z Drugim, so z vidika psihoanalize pogosto dojeta s strani subjekta kot eksistencialno ogrožajoča, saj potencialna enakost Drugega predstavlja grožnjo predstavam o lastni superiornosti (Bhabha 1994), saj takšna srečanja v sebi vedno nosijo tveganje 'razkrinkanja' subjekta, in razkritja njegove »družbene igre« (Žižek 1991, 102).

Na tretjem, zadnjem nivoju analize, je bilo identificiranih sedem glavnih značilnosti finskega izjemništva oziroma izjemniških diskurzivnih praks/strategij, ki so bile združene v družbeno kartografijo pod kratico S.I.L.E.N.C.E. Kratica S.I.L.E.N.C.E. se v izvirniku nanaša na; ***S***elf-depreciation ali shyness; (***I***n)direct denigration of the Other; ***L***oss of identity; ***E***uphemisation; ***N***aturalization, ***C***ultural differentialism or culture clash and ***E***xceptionalism[24]. Pod kratico S.I.L.E.N.C.E. so bile torej zbrane glavne skupine predstav in zgodb/naracij o sebi, narodu in Drugem, ki jih je bilo moč opaziti v odgovorih študentov. Kartografija S.I.L.E.N.C.E. je bila razvita z namenom raziskovanja, kako nam konkretni izrazi izjemniškega diskurza in izjemniških tendenc lahko pomagajo razumeti katere (splošne) diskurzivne strategije se uporabljajo za konstrukcijo in potrjevanja binarnih hierarhij med (nacionalnimi) subjekti in njihovimi Drugimi.

Čeprav je namen teh strategij, ki so bile zbrane pod kratico S.I.L.E.N.C.E., pogosto prav prikrivanje rasno motivirane strukture tega odnosa, jo te strategije nehote razkrivajo – prav s tem, ko ta odnos *ne* opredeljujejo kot takšen. V več pogledih je možno zanikanje obstoja rasizma oziroma diskriminatornega vedenja (skozi prakse samo-depreciacije, evfemizacije,

[24] V slovenskem prevodu: Samo–depreciacija, (In)direktno poniževanje Drugega, Izguba identitete, Evfemizacija, Naturalizacija, Kulturni diferencializem in Izjemništvo.

naturalizacije in odkritega izjemništva) ter izražanje diskriminatornih oziroma poniževalnih pogledov na druge (skozi prakse (in)direktnega poniževanja ter kulturnega diferencializma), videti kot zgolj prvi korak v subjektovi igri ustvarjanja pozitivne samo-podobe. Mnogo težje bi bilo prepoznati verjetni naslednji korak, ki bi lahko bil *zanikanje skozi priznavanje.* Subjekt ima namreč vedno priložnost, da lahko poskusi vztrajati v samo-zanikanju preko izražanja prepričanja, da se *zaveda* lastnega diskriminatornega vedenja *ali* zanikanja le-tega.

Čeprav takšnih primerov ni bilo možno zaznati v tej raziskavi, je možno domnevati, da bi se lahko pojavile v primeru uporabe drugačnih oblik raziskovanja, recimo preko daljših, pol-strukturiranih intervjujev. Po drugi strani pa za to ni nikakršnega zagotovila. Glede na subjektovo vztrajanje na pretvarjanju na vse bolj in bolj prefinjene načine, da je samemu sebi transparenten ter splošno iskren in dobronameren, je močno dvomljivo ali lahko manifestna priznanja lastnega diskriminatornega ali rasno motiviranega vedenja vedno jemljemo kot avtentična, sploh kadar se zdi, da tovrstna priznanja niso zahtevala nobenega večjega osebnega napora in neprijetnosti. Rečeno drugače, zdi se, da pomeni znebiti se lastnih rasno motiviranih, diskriminatornih odnosov in vedenja, predvsem znebiti se lastne samo-podobe, ki smo jo ustvarili, in cena za to gotovo ni majhna.

V tem oziru je verjetno ključna poanta, ki jo to raziskava želi izpostaviti, to, da teh (relativno) novih, subtilnih oblik rasizma, o katerih pišejo Balibar (1991), Bonilla-Silva (2006), Goldberg (2002; 2009) in številni drugi, ne gre jemati kot neke vrste odklonskosti ali pomanjkljivosti neustrezno izobraženih modernih subjektov (najsi bodo študentje ali ne), temveč prej kot 'normalne', celo konstitutivne elemente njihove/naše osebnosti. Toda, čeprav se zdi, da ni možno nikogar posebej kriviti za to, da smo socializirani na tak način, tega ne gre jemati kot še enega (prikladnega) izgovora, ki nam omogoča, da se še naprej izogibamo soočenju s to težavno in potencialno kontroverzno vsebino.

Kot je omenjeno v 2. poglavju o teoretičnem okvirju te raziskave, je bil problem vztrajnosti binarnih hierarhični predstav o sebi in Drugem oziroma problem vztrajnosti rasno motivirane diferenciacije, ki ne temelji več na biološkem razumevanju rase, temveč na *kulturi* in/ali *etniji,* prepoznan že pred več desetletji (Said 1978; Kuper 1999; Balibar 1991; Goldberg 2002). Kljub temu je zelo vprašljivo, ali smo v času, ki je pretekel od takrat, uspeli te probleme zadovoljivo nasloviti, oziroma, ali je sploh možno, da nam jih bo uspelo *kadarkoli* nasloviti. Said (1978) je izrazil svoje dvome o obstoju takšne možnosti, in številni drugi avtorji, zlasti iz različnih šol

psihoanalize (Žižek 1985; Žižek 1991; Bhabha 1994; Kapoor 2014), so mnenja, da je dekonstrukcija ambivalentnih, binarnih, hierarhičnih predstav o sebi in Drugem najverjetneje nemogoča zaradi naših nezavednih odvisnosti od njih in posledičnih osebnih investicij v njihovo ohranjanje. Četudi te predstave 'privlečemo' na plan, to samo po sebi še ne jamči njihove razrešitve, saj to predstavlja zgolj prvi korak na dolgi in najverjetneje neskončni poti do njihove dekonstrukcije.

Vprašanje, ki po tej raziskavi neizbežno ostaja odprto, je: Kaj *točno* nam preprečuje, da bi dekonstruirali te hierarhične predstave, ki v temelju opredeljujejo naš pogled na svet ter naše medsebojne odnose? Bhabha (1994) in McAllan (2014) sta mnenja, da se soočamo z eksistencialnim strahom pred priznavanjem naše so-vpletenosti v reprodukciji škodljivih in nasilnih odnosov. Ta strah ni strah pred neznanim, o katerem lahko pogosto slišimo v javnem govoru o naraščajočem toku migracij ter drugih vprašanjih, ki so povezana z izzivi vse bolj globalizirane družbe. Prej se zdi, da je to strah pred tem, kar (na nekem globljem nivoju) že vemo, vendar *nočemo* vedeti.

V tem oziru me močno zanima, kakšne odzivi se utegnejo pojaviti na to raziskavo. Jih bo mogoče razporediti na podobno kartografijo, kot je bila uporabljena tukaj, ali pa jih bo moč nekako mobilizirati v druge smeri, proč od samo-depreciacije, samo-viktimizacije in samo-obrambe? Močno verjamem, da živimo v času, ko tovrstni odzivi ne bodo več vzdržni – ne, da so kdaj v resnici bili. Moj namen nikakor ni bíti plat zvona (to so z minimalnim uspehom poskušali že številni drugi) v luči multiplih ekonomskih, političnih, okoljskih in človeških kriz, s katerimi se soočamo na našem edinem razpoložljivem planetu. Bolj kot omenjene krize, me preganja dvom v našo posamezno in kolektivnost sposobnost za trezen premislek in predvsem *pripravljenost* na soočenje s težavnim in neprijetnim znanjem/védenjem (Britzman 1998; 2009), ki med drugim vključuje tudi vprašanja rase, privilegijev in nenazadnje, spola.

In čeprav nimam praktično nobenih predlogov o tem, kako bi se lahko premaknili iz trenutnega stanja otopelosti, sem vendar mnenja da nas uživanje v lastnem sindromu (če nekoliko parafraziram Žižka) ob teh težkih vprašanjih ne bo pripeljalo prav daleč. Ne verjamem, da si lahko privoščimo, oziroma da imamo pravico, še naprej uživati v strukturnem/sistemskem nasilju in diskriminaciji na način, na katerega smo mi (moderni subjekti) to počeli tokom preteklih stoletij.

Z vidika relacionalnih ontologij, o kakršnih govori Fiona McAllan (2014), je vse, kar smo uspeli doseči, zgolj to, da nam je uspelo pozabiti da smo *že* neločljivo povezani drug z drugim, čeprav se na vse načine trudimo zanikati obstoj teh povezav. V tem oziru bi bilo moje vprašanje za nadaljnjo razpravo sledeče: Če smo vpleteni v strukturno nasilne in škodljive medsebojne odnose in odnose do sveta okrog nas, kaj je potrebno, da bomo pripravljeni poskusiti nekaj *drugega*?

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# Appendix – *EIHE* Questionnaire

# ETHICAL INTERNATIONALISM IN HIGHER EDUCATION
## INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH PROJECT

### EIHE QUESTIONNAIRE VERSION v.2.2

Dear Student,

We invite you to complete the ***Ethical Internationalism in Higher Education*** questionnaire. Your participation in this questionnaire will greatly contribute to our understanding of internationalization and the role of universities in wider society.

This questionnaire is part of an international collaborative research project which complies with the research ethics guidelines of the University of Oulu, Finland and of your university.

The completion of this questionnaire is voluntary. We are very interested in your thoughts and opinions.

All of the information that you provide in this questionnaire is *strictly anonymous*. The data collected in different universities will be analyzed and compared, and reports of the project will be published in academic journals, presented in conferences, and made available in libraries and research databases.

You have the right to refuse to participate in this study. The completion of this questionnaire indicates that you have been informed about the aims of this research and that you consent to participate. We appreciate your time.

On behalf of the project team, I would like to thank you for your assistance in this international effort.

Professor Vanessa de Oliveira Andreotti, Principal Investigator
Faculty of Education, University of Oulu, vanessa.andreotti@oulu.fi

More information about this project can be found at: http://www.oulu.fi/edu/eihe.
An executive summary of this research will also be made available when the analysis is complete.

## Part A — We would like to invite you to offer your views on the *social role* of higher education and the *internationalization* of *higher education*.

Completely fill in the circle or square that best matches your response as indicated in this example: ① ● ③ ④ □ □

**1. To what extent do you agree with the following statements?**

| | strongly disagree | disagree | agree | strongly agree | unsure | no opinion |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Universities are important to wider society because they** | | | | | | |
| contribute to scientific knowledge | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| contribute to national culture | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| contribute to national economic growth | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| promote critical awareness of social problems | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| provide effective solutions for social problems | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| create spaces to challenge injustices | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| contribute to democratic debate about the future | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| enable the production of innovations for society | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| develop rational thinking | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| enable the development of commercial products | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| build understandings that contribute to social harmony | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| enable the discovery of facts | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| train a highly skilled workforce | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| **The internationalization of universities can offer students the opportunity to** | | | | | | |
| become global leaders | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| develop intercultural competencies | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| learn from other students from different countries | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| participate in study abroad programs | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| build international careers | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| volunteer abroad | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| compare universities through global rankings | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| engage with perspectives from multiple social groups in courses | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| learn from instructors from different countries | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| become aware of global interdependence | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| critically analyse global issues | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| learn new languages | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| understand global inequalities | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| develop skills to reduce global inequality | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| **The internationalization of universities can pose the following challenges** | | | | | | |
| foreign students experience discrimination | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| local students are disadvantaged | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| universities accept students with poor language skills | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| countries lose their strong students who move to other countries | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| more content is added to an already crowded curriculum | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| only skills related to the international economy are valued | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| other languages of instruction change to English | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |
| local and international students do not interact socially | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | □ | □ |

**2. To what extent do you consider the following items important to develop or to learn about in your field of study or academic discipline?**

| | not relevant | somewhat relevant | relevant | very relevant | unsure | no opinion |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Skills and dispositions relevant to my field of study** | | | | | | |
| thinking critically | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| working well with people from different cultures | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| engaging with conflicting perspectives | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| considering the impact of my actions on society | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| questioning what I have taken for granted | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| becoming an entrepreneur | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| empathizing with those who are disadvantaged | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| analysing power relations | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| making ethical decisions that benefit society | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| promoting innovation in the marketplace | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| **Global themes that are relevant to my field of study** | | | | | | |
| economic growth | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| trade barriers | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| global mobility | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| technological advancements | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| access to education | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| international cooperation | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| international solidarity | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| poverty | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| climate change | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| human rights | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| discrimination | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| government overspending | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| loss of jobs | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| gap between rich and poor | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| unequal relations of power | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| over-consumption | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| corporate greed | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| waste of resources | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| terrorism | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| disease epidemics | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| over-surveillance | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| distribution of wealth | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| racism | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| **Social and political issues relevant to my field of study** | | | | | | |
| how my field can generate profit | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| how my field affects society | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| how governments influence my field | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| how social inequalities are created | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| how rich countries influence poor countries | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| how academic knowledge can be biased | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |

**Other, please specify:**

**3. To what extent do you agree with the following statements?**

| In my courses, I value | strongly disagree | disagree | agree | strongly agree | unsure | no opinion |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| learning from people from completely different contexts | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| learning through the Arts (e.g. film, drama, music, poetry) | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| learning about how poorer countries can be helped to develop | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| having my views challenged | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| learning from successful young entrepreneurs | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| being given clear cut answers to problems in my courses | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| learning content that makes me competitive in the job market | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| having issues presented from different perspectives in my courses | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| learning about how my lifestyle is related to global problems | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| learning about other cultures | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| debating course ideas | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| learning from leaders of industry | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| learning from people who think very differently from me | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| making up my own mind in courses | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| learning from people who have experienced injustices | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| choosing what I learn | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| learning about the role my country has played in global injustices | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |
| building consensus | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ☐ | ☐ |

## Part B We would like to know a few details about you

**4. What is your current study programme?**

Area of study/academic major: _____

Current year of study: _____

Language of instruction: _____

Your first language: _____

**5. Do you identify as**

female ☐ male ☐ other ☐

**6. In what year were you born? _____**

**7. Which statements reflect your family context in this country** (mark all that apply)

| no | yes | |
|---|---|---|
| ☐ | ☐ | I am living in this country permanently |
| ☐ | ☐ | I am living in this country temporarily |
| ☐ | ☐ | I was born in this country |
| ☐ | ☐ | Both of my parents were born in this country |
| ☐ | ☐ | Only one of my parents was born in this country |
| ☐ | ☐ | All my grandparents were born in this country |

**8. Have you ever spent more than six months living or travelling outside of your home country?**

☐ no ☐ yes

**Have you ever chosen to travel to another country**

| no | yes | |
|---|---|---|
| ☐ | ☐ | for leisure/holiday/tourism |
| ☐ | ☐ | to study |
| ☐ | ☐ | to gain employment |
| ☐ | ☐ | to learn about a different culture |
| ☐ | ☐ | to learn another language |
| ☐ | ☐ | to volunteer for charity work |
| ☐ | ☐ | to visit family |

**9. In your university context, do you define yourself as**

| no | yes | | Optional comments |
|---|---|---|---|
| ☐ | ☐ | an ethnic minority | _____ |
| ☐ | ☐ | a religious minority | _____ |
| ☐ | ☐ | a language minority | _____ |
| ☐ | ☐ | a minority in terms of social-economic status | _____ |
| ☐ | ☐ | a minority in terms of sexual identity | _____ |
| ☐ | ☐ | another minority | _____ |

**10. Who was your primary carer when you were growing up?** (who looked after you the most)

mother ☐ father ☐ other ☐

**What is the closest description of the highest level of education and/or training of each of your parents or carer(s)?** (if known)

| | primary carer | other carer |
|---|---|---|
| Left full-time education before 15 years of age | ☐ | ☐ |
| Left full-time education between 15-17 years of age | ☐ | ☐ |
| Remained in full-time education to 18 years of age | ☐ | ☐ |
| Higher education lasting less than 3 years | ☐ | ☐ |
| Higher education degree or equivalent professional qualification (3 years or more) | ☐ | ☐ |

**11. What have been your interactions with people with different cultural, social or economic backgrounds, at different times in your life? Mark the closest match:**

5. All or nearly all people from a different background from mine
4. Mostly people from a background different from mine
3. About half and half
2. Mostly people from my own background
1. All or nearly all from my own background

**How would you describe the composition of the following?**

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Neighbourhood where I grew up | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ⑤ |
| My school experiences | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ⑤ |
| My friends growing up | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ⑤ |
| My friends at this university | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ⑤ |
| My online friends | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ⑤ |
| My romantic relationships | ① | ② | ③ | ④ | ⑤ |

## Part C We would like to invite you to provide more details about your views

**(we are interested in your own thoughts and concepts - there are no right or wrong answers)**

**12. How does internationalization affect society in general?**

positively ..... ☐

negatively ..... ☐

mixed ..... ☐

unsure ..... ☐

no opinion ..... ☐

**12a. Please explain your answer to Question 12.**

**13. Do you see yourself as a global citizen?**

Yes ☐

Maybe ☐

No ☐

Unsure ☐

No opinion ☐

**13a. How do you imagine global citizens should think, relate and/or act in the world?**

**14. Apart from possible language difficulties, do international students or students with diverse backgrounds face challenges in your institution?** ☐ no ☐ yes

**Please explain your answer.**

**15. Can diversity enrich your university experience? (**e.g. exposure to students, instructors, and course content from different countries and from less powerful groups) ☐ no ☐ yes

**Please explain your answer.**

**16. To conclude, we welcome any final thoughts you have regarding your university experience, internationalisation, and this survey.**

**Thank you very much for completing this questionnaire!**

**All responses will be kept anonymous.**

**Identification codes are used only for statistical purposes.**

**More information about this project can be found at:** http://www.oulu.fi/edu/eihe.

**An executive summary of this research will also be made available on this website when the analysis is complete.**